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THE LINDISFARNE GOSPELS

New Perspectives

Edited by
Richard Gameson



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The Lindisfarne Gospels

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A subvention from the History of the Book fund, Durham University, which enabled this volume to be produced in a form worthy of its subject matter, is acknowledged with gratitude.

Cover illustration: Cotton Nero D.iv, fol. 94v (detail).

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Gameson, Richard, editor.
Title: The Lindisfarne gospels : new perspectives / edited by Richard Gameson.
Description: Leiden ; Boston : Brill, 2017. | Series: Library of the written word, ISSN 1874-4834 ; VOLUME 57 | Series: The manuscript world ; VOLUME 9 | Includes index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2017014857 (print) | LCCN 2017022927 (ebook) | ISBN 9789004337848 (E-book) | ISBN 9789004337831 (hardback : alk. paper)
Subjects: LCSH: Bible. Gospels. Latin. Lindisfarne Gospels. | Bible. Gospels. English (Old English). Lindisfarne Gospels. | Lindisfarne Gospels. | Bible. Gospels--Manuscripts. | Manuscripts, Latin (Medieval and modern)--England. | Manuscripts, English (Old) | England--Church history.
Classification: LCC BS2552.L56 (ebook) | LCC BS2552.L56 G36 2017 (print) | DDC 226/.047--dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2017014857

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 1874-4834
ISBN 978-90-04-33783-1 (hardback)
ISBN 978-90-04-33784-8 (e-book)

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Preface

The exhibition, 'Lindisfarne Gospels Durham: one amazing book, one incredible journey', held at Palace Green Library, Durham, from July to September 2013 and visited by well over 100,000 people, presented the nature, history and evolving significance of the Lindisfarne Gospels from its origin on Holy Island *c.* 700, through its sojourn at Chester-le-Street from the late ninth to the late tenth centuries, to its arrival at Durham in 995. Complementing the exhibition, a series of distinguished speakers presented new research on the manuscript, its contexts and comparanda. Those lectures, duly revised, form the present book.

The collection starts with three chapters that survey the archaeological, historical and bibliographical contexts in which the Lindisfarne Gospels was made. The disparate evidence for the nature and development of the settlement on Holy Island and, by extension, the cultural forces to which it was subject, is carefully sifted (Ch. 1). The complicated, fluctuating relationships between a protean Ireland and a varied Northumbria in the generations around 700 are scrutinised in new detail (Ch. 2). And the panorama of early Northumbrian manuscripts as a whole is set out, before being interrogated for the light it sheds on the Lindisfarne Gospels in particular (Ch. 3). The fourth chapter then explores the manuscript's relationship, in broad terms, to the church universal of its day, arguing that its text and presentation made conscious statements about the place of the Insular church in general and of Lindisfarne in particular within an international ecumenical orthodoxy.

The next four chapters examine in detail specific aspects of the Lindisfarne Gospels itself. The complexities and practical applications of the canon table apparatus are expounded (Ch. 5); and the design of the Canon Tables themselves along with their contingent symbolic resonances are explored (Ch. 6). The systems of liturgical readings prefixed to, and embedded within, the text are outlined, and the nature and significance of additions to them are explicated. Contemplation of the liturgical roles of the book also provides a new perspective from which to consider the symbolic dimensions of its carpet pages (Ch. 7). Scrutiny of the artistic intricacies of the carpet pages via their many internal symmetries brings to light the mathematical principles – and possibly even ludic factors – that inform them and highlights possible iconographic content within their designs (Ch. 8). Then, by juxtaposing the Lindisfarne Gospels with what is arguably the earliest extant fully decorated Insular gospel-book, the Book of Durrow, Chapter 9 sets the manuscript in the complementary perspective of artistic and codicological practices at other Columban foundations.

The focus of the final chapters is the texts. The original Latin text and the Old English gloss that was added to it in the tenth century by Aldred of Chester-le-Street are examined as a whole (Ch. 10); whereafter enigmatic words and phrases within the gloss are subjected to detailed scrutiny (Ch. 12). If a general view of Aldred's work highlights his erudition, close focus on particular words and comments emphasises both his thoughtfulness and his spirituality. An aspect of the glossator's work that is intriguing in a different way is the change from brown to red ink part-way through John's Gospel. A further dimension to the 'Lindisfarne Gospels Durham' project was a campaign of scientific analysis of the inks and pigments used in the exhibited manuscripts. The resulting reassessment of the pigments of Northumbrian illuminators as a whole is published elsewhere (*Scriptorium* 69); here are presented the findings that relate specifically to the glossator's ink and its possible significance (Ch. 11).

Identifying the nature of the red ink provides a new perspective from which to consider the activities and circumstances of the glossator at Chester-le-Street. Correspondingly, as each of the closely-focused studies in this volume casts a searching light on the Lindisfarne Gospels from a different standpoint, illuminating complimentary features, collectively they cast into sharp relief the manifold complexities of this magnificent manuscript.

RG Feast of St Aidan, 2016



Lindisfarne Gospels Durham, 2013

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List of Abbreviations

AAe	*Archaeologia Aeliana*
ASE	*Anglo-Saxon England*
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City
BHL	Society of Bollandists, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis*, 2 vols. (Bruxelles, 1898–9); *Supplementi* (Bruxelles, 1911); *Novum Supplementum* (Bruxelles, 1986)
BL	British Library, London
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
BM	Bibliothèque municipale
BodL	Bodleian Library, Oxford
Brown, *LG*[1]	M.P. Brown, *The Lindisfarne Gospels. Society, Spirituality and the Scribe* (London, 2003)
Brown, *LG*[2]	M.P. Brown, *The Lindisfarne Gospels and the Early Medieval World* (London, 2011)
CCCC	Corpus Christi College, Cambridge
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
Charles-Edwards, *ECI*	T.M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge, 2003)
CLA	E.A. Lowe (ed.), *Codices Latina Antiquiores*, 11 vols. plus *Supplement* (Oxford, 1934–71), 2nd ed. of vol. II (Oxford, 1972); B. Bischoff and V. Brown, 'Addenda to *Codices Latini Antiquiores*', *Medieval Studies* 47 (1985), 317–66; B. Bischoff *et al.*, 'Addenda to *Codices Latini Antiquiores* (*II*)', *Medieval Studies* 54 (1992), 286–307
Cod. Lind.	*Codex Lindisfarnensis*, ed. T.D. Kendrick, T.J. Brown, R.L.S. Bruce-Mitford, H. Roosen-Runge, A.S.C. Ross, E.G. Stanley and A.E.A. Werner, 2 vols. (Olten and Lausanne, 1956–60); references are to vol. II.
CPL	E. Dekkers, *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, 3rd ed. (Steenbrugge, 1995)
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CUL	Cambridge University Library
DCL	Durham Cathedral Library
EEMF	Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile (Copenhagen)
EETS	Early English Text Society
EPNS	English Place-Name Society
HA	Bede, *Historia abbatum*: *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*, ed. and trans. C. Grocock and I.N. Wood (Oxford, 2013), 21–75
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society
HE	Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*: *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969)
HSC	*Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, ed. T. Johnson South, Anglo-Saxon Texts 3 (Cambridge, 2002)
Libellus	Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de exordio atque procursu istius hoc est Dunelmensis ecclesie*, ed. D. Rollason (Oxford, 2000)
MA	*Medieval Archaeology*
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
NMI	National Museum of Ireland, Dublin
OE	Old English
ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
PL	*Patrologia Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–64)
RB	*Revue bénédictine*
RSB	*Regula Sancti Benedicti*
SS	Surtees Society
TCD	Trinity College, Dublin
UB	Universitätsbibliothek [*vel sim.*]
UL	University Library
VC	*Vita Cuthberti Bedae*: *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*, ed. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1940), 141–307

VCAA	*Vita Cuthberti auctore anonymo*: *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*, ed. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1940), 59–139
VCol	*Adomnán, Vita Columbae*: *Adomnan's Life of Columba*, ed. A.O. Anderson and M.O. Anderson (London, 1961)
VW	Stephen, *Vita Sancti Wilfridi*: *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus*, ed. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1927)

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IV. *Lindisfarne Gospels, fol. 25v.*



v. *Lindisfarne Gospels, fol. 26v.*



VI. *Lindisfarne Gospels, fol. 27r.*



VII. *Lindisfarne Gospels, fol. 29r.*



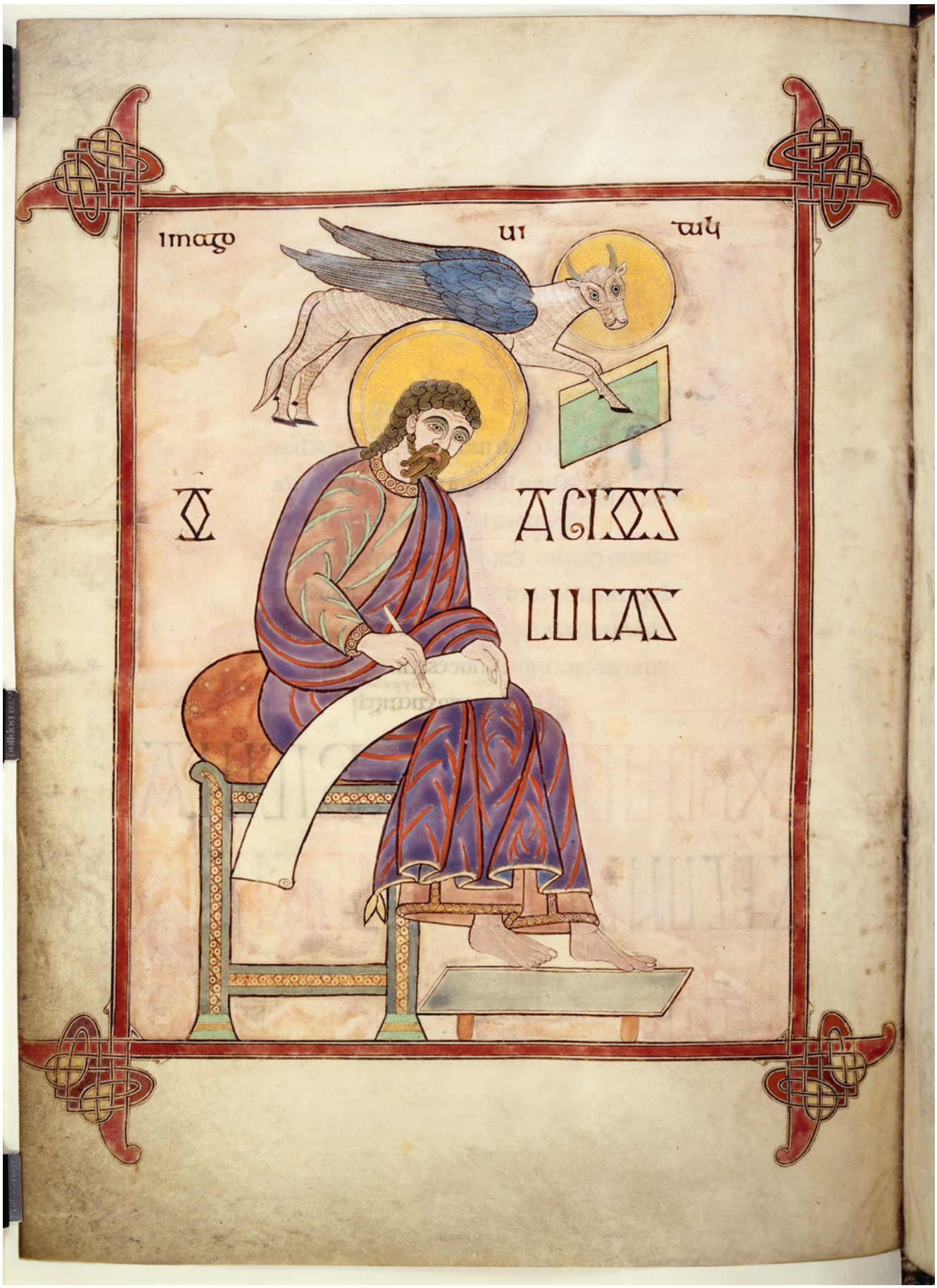
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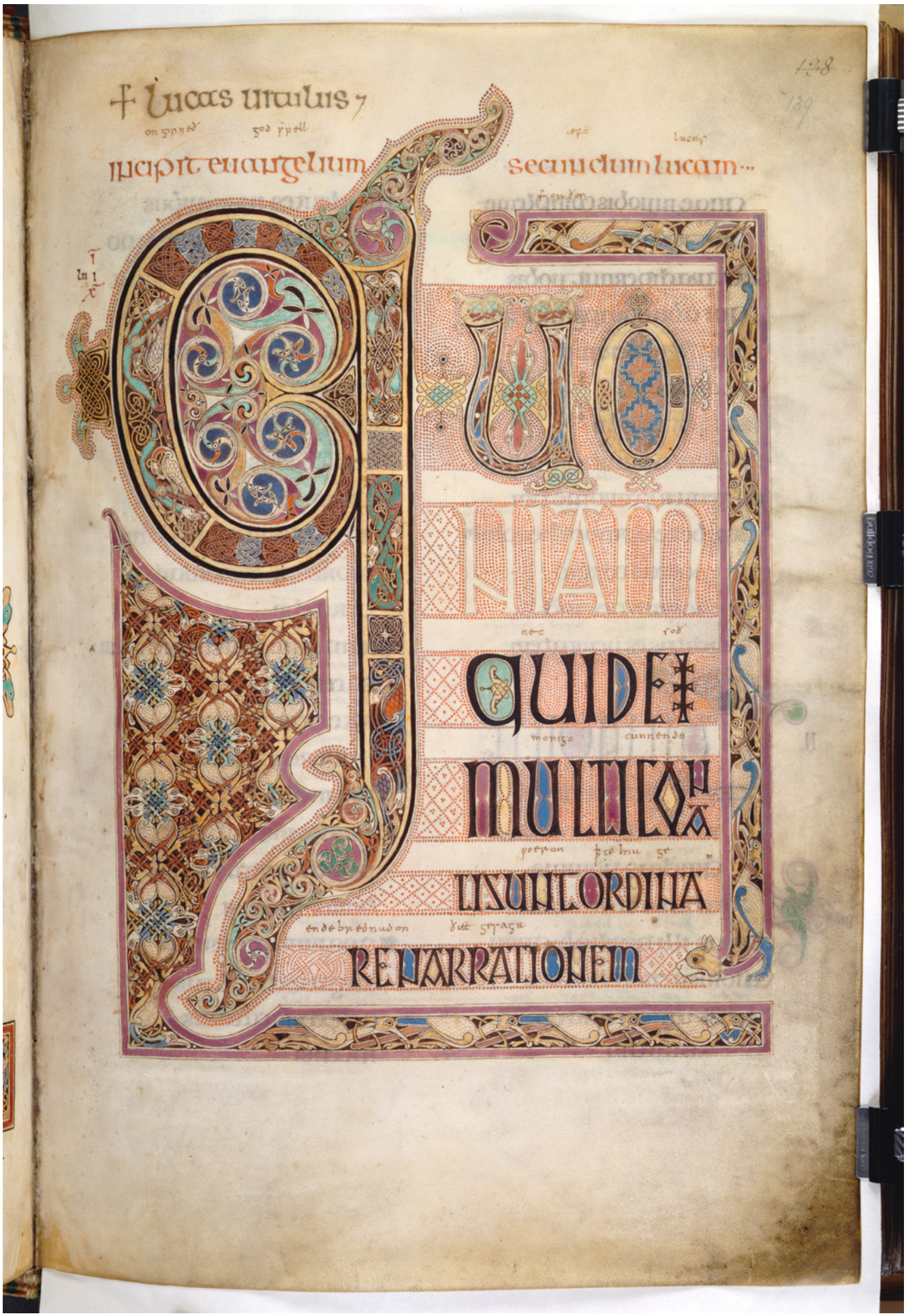
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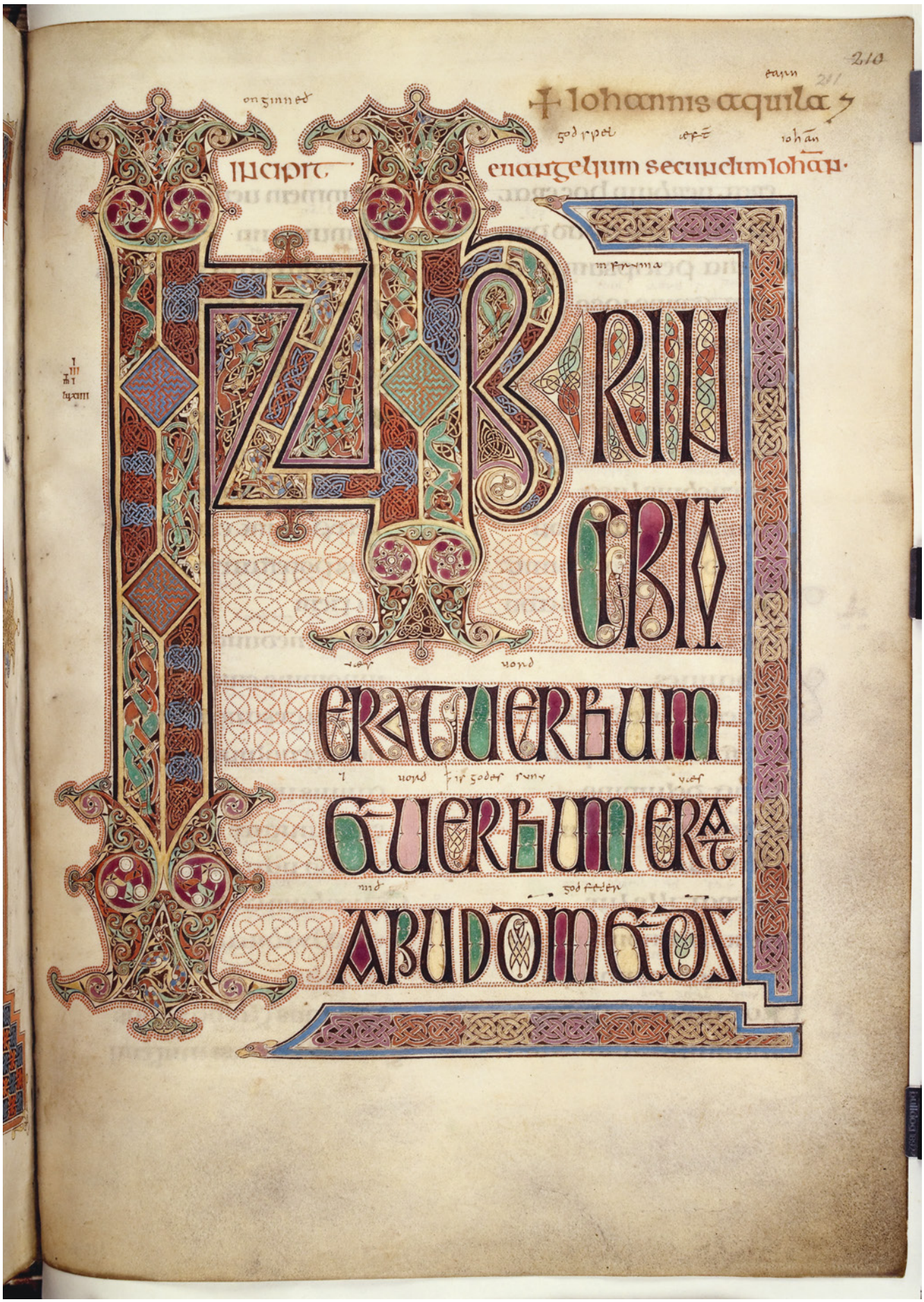
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xv. *Lindisfarne Gospels, fol. 210v.*



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ILLUSTRATION 1.1 *View across Holy Island from Lindisfarne Castle.*
© DAVID PETTS.

CHAPTER 1

'A place more venerable than all in Britain': The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon Lindisfarne

David Petts

For those who take the east coast train line from York to Edinburgh, crossing Northumbria, the two most prominent landmarks are Durham, the site where Cuthbert's relics now rest, and Holy Island, where his cult was first promoted (ills. 1.1–1.2). For nearly 250 years, the Anglo-Saxon monastery on Holy Island was one of the foremost religious centres in Northern Britain, and for nearly 175 years, the cult of St Cuthbert was at its centre. However, despite the survival of the impressive ruins of the Norman priory refounded by the monks of Durham, there is very little to see of the early medieval monastic site. Compared with Iona, the great island monastery and cult centre of the kingdom of Dál Riata, there has been far less archaeological investigation on Holy Island.[1] With the intense level of investigation and, crucially, publication of fieldwork on Northumbrian monasteries in the last generation, the lack of a solid understanding of the early medieval landscape of the island is increasingly noticeable. The publication of Rosemary Cramp's landmark excavations at Jarrow and Wearmouth, as well as important work at Hartlepool, Hoddom, Whithorn, Inchmarnock, the Isle of May, Ripon, Portmahomack, Whitby, Auldhame, not to mention the long history of research on Iona, now mean that an archaeological understanding of Northern British monasticism can be based on a solid corpus of excavated sites.[2] In this context, the absence of an up to date analysis of the evidence for early medieval activity on Holy Island is all the more remarkable, considering the central role it played in the religious culture of Northumbria during its 'Golden Age'. In this chapter I attempt to draw together the diverse and often ephemeral range of evidence for the development of the early medieval monastic site. In the absence of large-scale excavation within the monastic enclosure, this is inevitably an exercise in exploring many different types of evidence ranging from antiquarian observations, the results of archaeological interventions carried out through planning imperatives, historic maps and documents, isolated small finds and geophysical survey. Nonetheless, despite the disparate nature of the existing archaeological resource, it is possible to outline important elements of the development of the monastery of Lindisfarne and point the way towards key areas where future field investigation may prove profitable.

History of Research

The important Romanesque remains of the post-Conquest priory on the Island have long attracted interest, on account of their picturesque nature and their architectural importance.[3] However, understanding the pre-Conquest monastic activity on the island did not begin until the late nineteenth century. The first archaeological finds on Lindisfarne from the early medieval period came not from the vicinity of the Priory, but on the northern side of the island at Green Shiel, when workmen constructing a light railway to service the nearby quarries discovered the remains of a series of building foundations. These were dated at the time to the ninth century AD by the discovery of a small number of *styca*.[4]

1 Cf. J. O'Sullivan, 'More than the sum of the parts: Iona: archaeological investigations 1875–1996', *Church Archaeology* 2 (1998), 5–18.

2 M.O.H. Carver, 'An Iona of the East: the early medieval monastery at Portmahomack, Tarbert Ness', *MA* 48 (2004), 1–30; R. Cramp *Wearmouth and Jarrow Monastic Sites*, 2 vols. (Swindon, 2005–6); R. Daniels, *Anglo-Saxon Hartlepool and the Foundations of English Christianity: an Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon monastery* (Hartlepool, 2007); R. Hall and M. Whyman, 'Settlement and Monasticism at Ripon, North Yorkshire, from seventh to eleventh centuries AD', *MA* 40 (1997), 62–150; P. Hill, *Whithorn and St Ninian: the excavation of a monastic town, 1984–91* (Stroud, 1997); H. James and P. Yeoman, *Excavations at St Ethernan's Monastery, Isle of May, Fife, 1992–7* (Perth, 2008); J.M. McOmish and D. Petts, *Fey Field, Whithorn: Excavations by David Pollock and Amanda Clarke.* The Archaeology of York Web Series (York, 2008); C. Lowe, *Excavations at Hoddom, Dumfriesshire: an early ecclesiastical site in South-West Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2006); C. Lowe, *Inchmarnock: an early historic island monastery and its archaeological landscape* (Edinburgh, 2008); O'Sullivan 'More than the sum'.

3 H. Clarke, 'Holy Island Priory', *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists Club* (1834), 111–4.

4 J.S. Selby, 'On the foundations of ancient buildings and coins of the Saxon kingdom of Northumbria recently discovered', *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists Club* (1845), 159–63.

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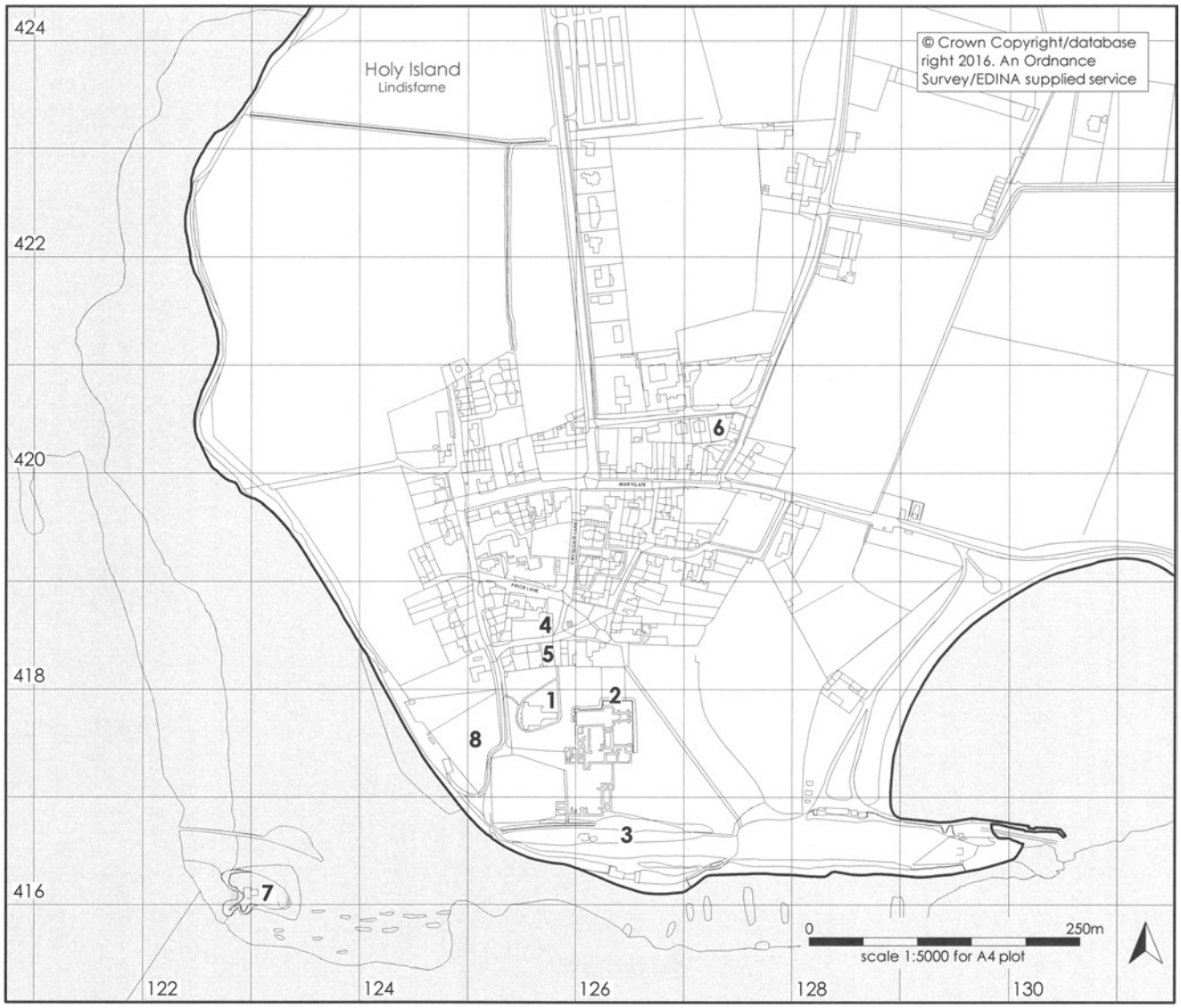


ILLUSTRATION 1.2 *Outline map of Holy Island, showing key sites: (1) St Mary's Church (parish church); (2) St Peter's Church; (3) The Heugh; (4) The Winery; (5) Visitors' Centre; (6) Castle View Gardens; (7) St Cuthbert's Island; (8) Rectory Field.* IMAGE PRODUCED BY ARCHAEOLOGICAL SERVICES DURHAM UNIVERSITY.

Clearance of the interior of the Priory by, first, William Crossman, and then from 1915 by the Ministry of Works directed by Sir Charles Peers, led by chance to the discovery of a major assemblage of early medieval stone sculpture, some of which was built into the fabric of the later priory and other claustral buildings. This added to the small quantity of material which appears to have been placed within the parish church at some point preceding the 1860s.[5] Most of these fragments of sculpture were found in disturbed ground in rubble within the priory church, the western range of the priory, and in and around the cloister. Two were also found in the parish churchyard and one (seemingly redeposited) on St Cuthbert's Isle.[6] Whilst they were all found in secondary contexts, their general clustering in and around the priory and parish church is good, albeit circumstantial, evidence that the heart of the early medieval monastic complex is likely to have stood in the immediate vicinity. The extent to which the clearance work by Crossman and the Ministry destroyed any early medieval stratigraphy is uncertain. Both sets of clearance were relatively poorly recorded; however, the complete absence of any early medieval finds does

5 W. Crossman, 'The recent excavations at Holy Island priory', *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists Club* 13 (1890), 225–40; C. Peers, 'The Inscribed and Sculptured Stones of Lindisfarne', *Archaeologia* 74 (1923–4), 255–70; J. Stuart, *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, vol. II (Aberdeen, 1867).

6 Peers, 'Inscribed and Sculptured Stones'.

suggest that early layers were not touched. At Whitby Abbey, which was also excavated by Peers and also suffered from problematic recording, a substantial number of early finds were identified, implying that if Peers had found similar material on Holy Island, it would have been noted and recovered.[7]

Following this early work, the island saw little archaeological research until September 1962, when Brian Hope-Taylor, fresh from completing his landmark excavations at Yeavering (Northumberland), carried out a series of excavations. Although there was a 'folk memory' of this work and its results, it was never published, and only recently have the dig records become available (currently held in the Royal Commission for Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland in Edinburgh). These show that Hope-Taylor opened three trenches along the top and northern edge of the Heugh. Much of the material he found was post-Conquest in date, but a west-east structure on the top of the Heugh and to the east of the coastguard tower appeared to pre-date the eleventh/twelfth century ceramic horizon on the island. He also opened three trenches in Rectory Field, a paddock that lies to the west of the parish church. Here he found substantial medieval occupation, as well as hints of earlier pre-ceramic activity.

The next phase of investigation came in the late 1980s and early 1990s, when a major campaign of research was instituted by Deirdre O'Sullivan and Rob Young of the University of Leicester.[8] Although a significant pause in research investigation followed, this did not mean that all archaeological activity ceased. Changes in UK planning law in the early 1990s led to an increase in archaeological investigations taking place within the context of construction and development in Holy Island village. As far as the early medieval period is concerned, the two most important interventions were excavations on the site of the extension to the Lindisfarne Winery and at Castle View Gardens in advance of the construction of new housing. Unfortunately, due to the nature of the funding, much of this work has yet to be published, and information is only available as short interim statements and unpublished 'grey literature' reports.[9]

Most recently a programme of new research by Durham University has begun on the island. This commenced with a major campaign of geophysical survey, superseding the earlier work by the University of Leicester, as well as a number of less-formal walkover surveys which have succeeded in identifying a range of new sites of all dates.[10] The project is also taking the opportunity to re-address the legacy data from previous excavations, drawing on the newly available Hope-Taylor excavation archives and the unpublished reports from the post-1990 planning-led archaeology.

A Shifting Landscape

Despite the relatively remote location and the superficial sense of timelessness that the visitor may experience on the island, one of the biggest challenges that faces any attempt to understand the archaeology of Lindisfarne is the fact that the landscape has changed radically since the early Middle Ages. Today, access to the island is via the causeway that leaves the mainland near Beale and runs along the length of the south side of the island, skirting the impressive dune fields that dominate the western half of Lindisfarne. These dunes, like most of those along the North Northumberland coast, developed during the Little Ice Age (between AD 1300 and 1900).[11] The encroachment of dunes over the site of the late Anglo-Saxon settlement

7 R.J. Cramp, 'Analysis of the finds register and location plans of Whitby Abbey', *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D.M. Wilson (Cambridge, 1976), 453–7; C. Peers and C.A.R. Radford, 'The Saxon monastery at Whitby', *Archaeologia* 59 (1943), 27–88.

8 This was a wide ranging project that followed on from a small-scale excavation on the site of the new English Heritage visitor centre by O'Sullivan in 1977: D. O'Sullivan, 'An excavation in Holy Island village, 1977', *AAe* 5th Series 13 (1985), 27–116; see also P. Beavitt, D. O'Sullivan and R. Young, *Recent Fieldwork on Lindisfarne* (Leicester, 1985); P. Beavitt, D. O'Sullivan and R. Young, *Holy Island. A Guide to Current Archaeological Research* (Leicester, 1986); P. Beavitt, D. O'Sullivan and R. Young, 'Fieldwork on Lindisfarne, Northumberland, 1980–1988', *Northern Archaeology* 8 (1987), 1–25; D. O'Sullivan and R. Young, 'The early medieval settlement at Green Shiel, Northumberland', *AAe* 5th series 19 (1987), 55–69; D. O'Sullivan and R. Young, 'The early medieval settlement at Green Shiel, Northumberland: an interim report on the excavations 1984–9', *Archaeology North* 2 (1992), 17–21; D. O'Sullivan and R. Young, *Lindisfarne, Holy Island* (London, 1995); D. O'Sullivan and R. Young, 'Current research on Lindisfarne', *Archaeology in Northumberland 1995–96* (1996), 10–1.

9 Ian Farmer Associates, *Castle View, Holy Island, Berwick-Upon-Tweed, Northumberland TD15 2SG* (unpublished data structure report, contract no. 11011; 2007); Northern Archaeological Associates, *The Winery & Village Hall, Holy Island: Archaeological Post Excavation Assessment* (NAA Unpublished report 01/4. 2001); M. Kirby, *Castle View, Holy Island, Berwick-upon-Tweed, Northumberland, Archaeological Works* (Unpublished Report No. 1713, Musselburgh, 2010).

10 D. Petts, 'Expanding the Archaeology of Holy Island (Lindisfarne)', *MA* 57 (2013), 302–7.

11 P. Wilson, J. Orford, J. Knight, S. Braley and A. Wintle, 'Late Holocene (post-4000BP) coastal dune development in Northumberland, north-east England', *Holocene* 11(2) (2001), 215–29.

at Green Shiel are a clear indicator that the dune systems were evolving during this period, and dune formation may not have ceased until as late as the early seventeenth century.[12]

Pollen samples taken from the Lough show that what is now largely a treeless island had had different vegetation in the past.[13] They suggest that before the seventh century AD, there was a higher presence of hazel/birch woodland, at least on the north side of the island. However, in a period carbon dated to AD 657–785, there was a progressive opening-up of this woodland, with new areas of grass or scrub becoming more dominant. It is hard to resist the conclusion that this significant change was due to the intensification of activity on the island following the establishment of the monastery. Then just before the period 1270–1395, the woodland disappeared almost entirely, leading to the open landscape seen on the island today. The lack of early pollen has led investigators to suggest that the Lough was artificially constructed or at least significantly reworked during the early medieval period. One possibility is that this was in order to use it as a fishpond. Alternatively, the activity could indicate water management connected to the construction of one or more mills; certainly on Iona, the place-name *Sruth a'Mhuilinn* is testament to an early mill. Excavations on the Pictish monastery at Portmahomack have located a mill pond and dam.[14] Michael Herity has suggested that at Ardoileán (Co. Galway) a stone platform close to the lake on the island may have been the foundations for a horizontal mill;[15] other possible mill sites associated with early medieval Irish monasteries include High Island and Nendrum.[16] As well as these functional aspects of the Lough, its potential utility for devotional immersion should not be ignored – this devotional technique is strongly attested in Irish and Welsh tradition, whilst closer to Lindisfarne, Cuthbert was recorded immersing himself in the sea at Coldingham, and Dryhthelm was recorded as immersing himself for penitential purposes in the Tweed at Melrose, although in the case of Lindisfarne, any such immersive practices are perhaps more likely to have taken place in the sea.[17]

The current network of rectilinear fields is a product of post-medieval enclosure of the early 1790s, although it is clear that before this date there was a distinction between an area of infield and the stinted pasture of Holy Island Common.[18] A map of 1623 shows what appears to be arable fields to the north of the village, but not extending eastwards of the stream that drains the Lough. A geophysical survey carried out in 2012 revealed medieval ridge and furrow in pasture land to the north of the current village core. Aerial photographs also show dunes encroaching over areas on the north side of the island, beyond the boundary of the current field system, where there is evidence for ploughing. It is not clear whether this is also medieval in date and perhaps relates to activity around Green Shiel, or whether it is related to a yet unidentified post-medieval, but pre-enclosure, phase of agricultural expansion, which was abandoned in the later eighteenth century, perhaps due to issues of drainage. Possible drainage features are identifiable in the form of earthworks beyond the current limit of enclosure. Although the extensive field walking programme on the island remains unpublished, the limited interim reports do seem to confirm the chronological progression of farming, or at least manured arable farming, northwards from a core centred on the village.[19]

The pre-dune landscape of the western half of the island is poorly understood, although traces of pre-dune land surface are still visible. Traces of at least one enclosure can be identified within the sand-dune area, although it is impossible to date without excavation. The area was at least partly used for rabbit warrens: these are shown on the north side of the island on Greenwood's map of 1828.

12 O'Sullivan and Young, *Holy Island*, pp. 22–3; K. Walsh, *The early medieval landscapes of Lindisfarne: A case study* (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Leicester, 1993).

13 K. Walsh, D. O'Sullivan, S. Young and A.G. Brown, 'Medieval land use, agriculture and environmental change on Lindisfarne (Holy Island), Northumbria', *Ecological Relations in Historical Times: Human Impact and Adaptation*, ed. R.A. Butlin and N. Roberts (Oxford, 1995), 101–21, at 107–10.

14 Carver, 'An Iona of the East', pp. 19–21.

15 M. Herity, 'Early Irish hermitages in the light of the Lives of St Cuthbert', *St. Cuthbert, his cult and his community to AD 1200*, ed. G. Bonner, D. Rollason and C. Stancliffe (Woodbridge, 1989), 45–63.

16 C. Rynne, 'The early monastic watermill', *High Island: an Irish Monastery in the Atlantic*, ed. J. Marshall and G. Rourke (Dublin, 2000), 185–213; T. McErlean and N. Crothers, *Harnessing the tides: the early medieval tide mills at Nendrum Monastery, Strangford Lough* (Belfast, 2007).

17 Herity, 'Early Irish hermitages', p. 53; *Vita Sancti Cuthberti auctore Beda* [hereafter *VC*], 10: *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert. A Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne and* Bede's *Prose Life* ed. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1940), 140–308; *Vita Sancti Cuthberti auctore anonymo* [hereafter *VCAA*], 3.3: *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert,* ed. Colgrave, 59–140; Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* [hereafter *HE*], V.12: *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969).

18 A. Baker, *Studies of Field Systems in the British Isles* (Cambridge, 1973), 109–10.

19 O'Sullivan and Young, 'Current Research'.

There were clearly some encroachments into the waste at the Snook End of the island; and an assart is recorded in this area in the early fourteenth century.[20]

Another aspect of the landscape which has clearly changed since the First Millennium AD is the topography of the harbour, known as the Ouse, which lies to the east of the village. Although the edge of the cove has not changed significantly, a sixteenth-century map shows that there was then a significant lagoon lying behind it. Being surrounded by water on three sides, the peninsula on which the village is built was then much more pronounced. In the seventeenth or eighteenth century this lagoon was reclaimed with a network of drainage ditches, creating new common land. Notably, the course of Marygate, which now continues eastwards along the edge of the Ouse towards Lindisfarne Castle, once stopped where it met the lagoon, and access eastwards towards the castle followed the lagoon edge along Crooked Loaning.

A final key difference between the earlier landscape of the island and that of today is the access points. As Lindisfarne is a tidal island, access has always been via paths and causeways that cross the sands. There are two modern routes – the constructed causeway that runs from Beale to the western end of the island, and a pedestrian route across the sands that runs from Beale more directly towards the village, meeting the island at Chare End. The route used by traffic is first shown on the second edition OS map dating to the 1920s, when it was a foot crossing only. The tarmac road causeway was not built (slightly to the south of the foot crossing) until 1954. Armstrong's map of Northumberland (1769) shows the Chare End route, as well as route running from Fenham on the mainland directly to Holy Island village, where it appears to have led directly onto either Marygate or Tripping Chare. It also shows a smaller route running from the village to Old Law on the mainland peninsula which forms the western edge of Budle Bay. By the time of Fryer's 1820 map of Northumbria, the route from Fenham to the village had ceased, although spurs running from Fenham and Marygate/Tripping Chare survive, running up to meet the main Beal/Chare End route. A final, perhaps relatively short-lived way (first shown on Fryer's 1820 map, last found on the 1957 OS map) ran from Goswick Links down to meet the main Beale/Chare End route.

The shifting sands of the channel between the island and the mainland have clearly influenced this varying pattern of access points, but the street plan of the village and, as will be seen, the geophysical survey, indicate the antiquity of the route to Fenham. This is particularly important, as Fenham was the estate centre for the block of land on the mainland known as Islandshire that was owned by Holy Island priory.[21]

Location of Structures

It is against this picture of an island that appeared very different in the seventh century that we should consider the available documentary evidence for the layout of the early monastery (ill. 1.3). Luckily, due to the significance of the foundation on Holy Island for the Northumbrian church, and more particularly to the importance of Cuthbert and his cult, there are a number of contemporary references to the early medieval monastery and its appearance. It features in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, in the same author's two Lives of Cuthbert and in an anonymous Life of the saint; their information can be supplemented by observations in the later *Historia de sancto Cuthberto* and the works of Symeon of Durham.

There was an outer precinct or zone (*in exterioribus*) where Cuthbert finds a place of retreat before moving to Inner Farne.[22] A more probable reference to the Isle comes when Eadberht, bishop of Lindisfarne 688–698, is described as seeking solitude on an island surrounded by the sea at flood tide.[23] Both Lives refer to a guest-house,[24] and there is the mention of a dormitory.[25] The narrative of Cuthbert's death refers to a watch-tower, from which a monk was able to observe Inner Farne.[26]

Not surprisingly, the best evidence concerns the provision and nature of the ecclesiastical heart of the island. There was at least one cemetery – Bishop Aidan (d. 651) was buried in 'the cemetery of the brethren',[27] with the implication that there were others. We know nothing about the earliest church in the monastery, although a church, dedicated to St Peter, was built by Finan (651–61), Aidan's successor, and was described as being of wood and thatch construction 'after the manner of the Scots'.[28] Aidan's body was subsequently moved into this 'great church' and buried on the right (south) side of the altar.[29] Curiously, this church is then described as being entirely

20 Walsh *et al.*, 'Medieval land-use', pp. 116–7.

21 G.R.J. Jones, 'Historical geography and our landed heritage', *University of Leeds Review* 19 (1976), 53–78.

22 Bede, *VC* 17.

23 Bede, *VC* 40.

24 Bede, *VC* 20; *VCA* 16.

25 Bede, *VC* 16.

26 Bede, *VC* 40.

27 Bede, *HE* III.17.

28 'more Scottorum non de lapide': Bede, *HE* III.25.

29 'basilica maior': Bede, *HE* III.17.

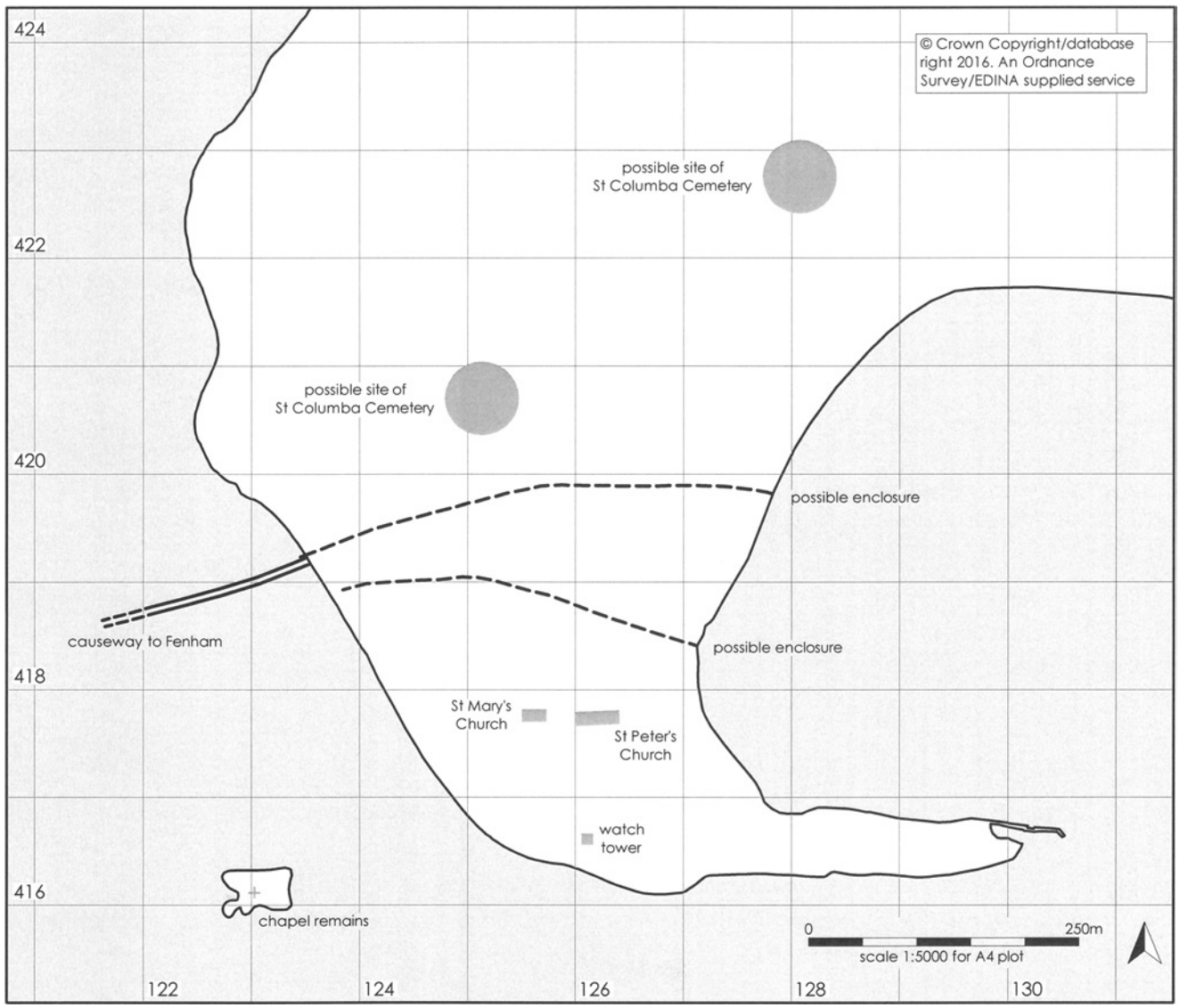


ILLUSTRATION 1.3 *Conjectural plan of the early medieval monastic site.* IMAGE PRODUCED BY ARCHAEOLOGICAL SERVICES DURHAM UNIVERSITY.

covered with plates of lead by Eadbert (687–698), Cuthbert's successor – it is possible that this took place during the flurry of activity related to the establishment of the cult of Cuthbert.[30] The importance of lead as a roofing material is reflected in Æthelwulf's *De Abbatibus*, written about an unlocated daughter house of Lindisfarne, which mentions that both churches at that site were roofed with lead.[31] Cuthbert's body was also placed at the right hand of the altar, in a stone sarcophagus, although whether he replaced Aidan or was laid alongside him is not clear.[32] Certainly, Colmán was recorded as taking some of Aidan's relics with him when he returned to Iona following the Synod of Whitby – it may have been that this removal of the relics connected to the founder of the monastery partly stimulated the drive to promote a new patron saint in Cuthbert. Other key figures known to have been buried in the church of St Peter include the bishops Eadberht, Eadfrith and Æthelwald.[33]

Miracles associated with Cuthbert's relics before his translation in 698 had a physical impact on the fabric of the monastery. Bede narrates two healings associated with water used to wash the saint's body, noting that the pit

30 Bede, *HE* III.25.

31 *De Abbatibus*, ll. 226–30, ed. and trans. A. Campbell (Oxford, 1967), p. 21.

32 Bede, *VC* 40.

33 Symeon of Durham *Libellus de exordio atque procursu istius, hoc est Dunhelmensis, ecclesie* [hereafter *Libellus*], II.6: *Tract on the origins and progress of this the church of Durham*, ed. D.W. Rollason (Oxford, 2000).

into which the water was poured could still be seen as a wooden-sided feature filled with pebbles.[34] At the translation, Cuthbert's body was placed in a chest on the sanctuary floor, the body of Eadbert (who died soon after) being relocated in Cuthbert's old tomb.[35]

John Blair has suggested that the term *basilica maior* used to describe the church in which Aidan and subsequently Cuthbert were laid to rest can best be translated as the 'greater church' and was used to distinguish the main church from any other churches on the island.[36] The evidence for several churches on the island is persuasive, despite the absence of physical remains. The later Priory church is probably the location of the earlier church of St Peter.[37] During his clearance work within the Priory, Peers noted a foundation visible beneath the wall of the north aisle, which he interpreted as a small rectangular building, and which, by inference, may have been a small, earlier church of pre-Norman date. Although O'Sullivan suggested that Cuthbert's tomb remained unsheltered following the removal of Finan's church to Norham (AD 875), these, admittedly fragmentary, structural remains suggest that a stone church was built over the grave at some point between the original translation of Cuthbert's remains and the eleventh century.[38]

The neighbouring parish church of St Mary, which lies to the west of the Priory church, has no certain pre-Conquest fabric, although there are hints of a structure that preceded the construction of the late-twelfth-century northern aisle around the chancel arch and the eastern wall of the nave. Taylor and Taylor see this as post-Conquest and Blair is cautious about ascribing it to the Anglo-Saxon period, but there is no *a priori* reason to reject a pre-Conquest date.[39]

The two churches are almost on the same alignment – an arrangement of churches which is common in the Anglo-Saxon period.[40] Between the two structures stands the Anglo-Saxon cross base known as the 'Petting Stone', whilst in the Priory church, within the footprint of the rectangular building observed by Peers, lies a well on the same alignment. Also on the same alignment, but less certainly *in situ* is another cross-base built into the base of one of the Romanesque crossing piers. This arrangement of features provides good, but circumstantial, evidence for the alignment of the churches. The alignment is not quite perfect – St Mary's lies fractionally to the north of the Priory church; John Blair has however suggested that this is because the builders of the new church aimed to place the former tomb of Cuthbert in a central position within the church, whereas, originally, it would have stood to the south of the altar, resulting in a slight offset in the construction of the new church.[41] The 2012 geophysical survey revealed a range of features to the east of the Priory Church, including a possible stone rectangular structure built on approximately the same alignment as the other two churches.[42] This might be another church building, but other interpretations are possible and it may relate either to later medieval activity connected to the Priory or to sixteenth-century military activity in its vicinity.

There is also textual evidence for two more possible churches on the island, although their precise position cannot be determined. The *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* records that Bishop Ecgred (830–45) oversaw the transfer of an entire wooden church built by Aidan from the island to Norham.[43] This may refer to the church built under Finan but incorrectly dated, or to another early structure. It does, however, emphasise the importance attached not just to portable relics, but to entire structures believed to be imbued with sanctity. Another substantial monument that was moved was the stone cross erected by Æthelwald, which was carried with the body of St Cuthbert, and eventually placed in Durham.[44] Damaged in Viking raids, and repaired with lead, this would have acted as a potent mark of the continuity of the community despite its spatial dislocation, as well as a reminder of the reason why the move had occurred in the first place. It is possible that the mention by Bede of Finan's church being covered in lead may have marked part of the process of the sacralisation of a building, perhaps echoing the enclosure of Edwin's wooden oratory at York by a larger, stone church (*HE* II.14).

The early twelfth-century *Libellus de exordio* by Symeon of Durham mentions a further church on the island,

34 Bede, *VC* 41.

35 Bede, *VC* 43.

36 J. Blair, 'The early churches at Lindisfarne', *AAe* 5th series 19 (1981), 47–53.

37 Although Reginald of Durham refers to it as the church of St Cuthbert rather than the church of St Peter, he also mentions that it held the tomb (*tumbam*) of Cuthbert: *Reginaldi Monachi Dunelmensis Libellus de admirandis Beati Cuthberti Virtutibus*, ed. J. Raine, SS 1 (London, 1835), pp. 45–6.

38 O'Sullivan and Young, *Holy Island*, p. 67.

39 Blair, 'The early churches', pp. 48–9; H.M. Taylor and J. Taylor *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1965), I, p. 398.

40 Blair, 'The Early Churches'; H. Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 55–102.

41 Blair, 'The Early Churches', p. 51.

42 Petts, 'Expanding the archaeology'.

43 *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* [hereafter *HSC*], 9: *A History of Saint Cuthbert and a record of his patrimony*, ed. T. Johnson South (Cambridge, 2003).

44 *Libellus* I.12.

known as the 'Grene Cyrice' (Green Church).[45] He notes that Cuthbert constructed it for women, so they would not need to come near the main monastic church. It is not possible to tie down the location of this church, although the fact that it was called the Green Church on account of the 'verdant greenness of the plain' where it stood suggests that it was situated away from the heart of the monastic *enceinte*. Although this description states that the Green Church was built by Cuthbert, implying a seventh-century AD date, it is possible that the structure may have had a later origin and had been provided with a fictive connection with the central ecclesiastical figure associated with the monastery.

It is possible that one or more churches stood on the Heugh. Hope-Taylor's excavations revealed a building (c. 15 × 6 m) aligned west-east that stood to the east of the twentieth-century coastguard observation tower. This produced no ceramic finds and could feasibly date to the early medieval period. The excavator interpreted this as a church, perhaps because of its alignment, though it is important to note that this was probably dictated by the underlying grain of the Heugh itself. To the west of the Coastguard are the stone remains of what is known as the Chapel of the Lamp, which is usually believed to be an eighteenth-century lighthouse; however, very little work has been carried out on this structure, and an ecclesiastical origin, if not later use, should not be dismissed. Certainly, a mid-sixteenth-century map of the village appears to show a small church or chapel in approximately the same location as this structure.

St Cuthbert's Isle, just off the south-west corner of Holy Island, was a place of retreat used by Cuthbert, Eadberht and later monks. The remains of a structure with an east-west alignment, almost certainly a chapel, can still be seen as turf-covered foundations. Surveys of the island by Crossman and the Leicester team also located traces of a possible enclosure or boundary around the chapel, other possible structural remains and a low circular mound north-west of it.[46] More recently work by Durham University has located a small landing area constructed on the beach below the chapel, which was probably used as the main access point to the island when the tide was high, as the rocky foreshore on the other sides of the island would have prevented a boat approaching. In its current form, the chapel is probably of medieval date, and the site was certainly known as a site of pilgrimage in the medieval period.[47] However, it is possible that earlier remains survive beneath the current structure. The possible enclosure may also be of early date and the mound could feasibly be a small circular stone hut of the type associated with early Christian eremitic sites.[48]

There are also hints of several cemeteries connected to the monastic complex on the island. We have already noted the reference to the 'cemetery of the brethren' in which Aidan was initially interred; the discovery of a number of name stones during Peer's clearance work on the Priory suggests it may have lain in the vicinity of the later church. The Durham antiquarian James Raine recorded human skulls observed during construction of a path that 'runs down from the Heugh to the place where the fishermen put out and in with their boats'.[49] Whilst this most likely refers to the construction of the path that runs along the north side of the Heugh to the Ouse, it could conceivably also refer to the small beach to the south of the Heugh, where there are now a number of nineteenth-century boat houses.

There is also reference to a cemetery of St Columb in a Priory Account Roll of 1395,[50] and mentions in 1390–1, 1393, 1394–5 and 1450 of a collecting box of St Cuthbert and St Columb, suggesting that Columba was still culted on the island as late as the fifteenth century.[51] There are two possible locations for the cemetery. The name Columba is almost certainly retained in St Coombs Farm, which lies a little distance to the north of the current village, and a St Comb's was recorded in a 1592 Roll.[52] It may also be reflected in the Colmesgarth mentioned in a lease of 1551.[53] However, limited geophysical survey in the area failed to identify any traces of potential cemetery features. A more likely location is in the area of Lewin's Lane where, according to antiquarian sources, bodies were found in the zone between the Lane and Chare End, the main road out of the village.[54]

45 *Libellus* II.7.

46 W. Crossman, 'Chapel of St Cuthbert-in-the-Sea', *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists Club* 13 (1890), 241–2.

47 E.J. Wells, '"… he went round the holy places praying and offering": Evidence for Cuthbertine Pilgrimage to Lindisfarne and Farne in the late Medieval period', *Newcastle and Northumberland: Roman and Medieval Architecture and Art,* ed. P. Ashbee and J. Luxford, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 36 (Leeds, 2013), 214–31.

48 O'Sullivan and Young, *Holy Island,* p. 43.

49 J. Raine, *The History and Antiquities of North Durham, as subdivided into the Shires of Norham Island and Bedlington* (London, 1852).

50 Ibid., p. 114.

51 Ibid., p. 113.

52 Ibid., p. 154.

53 Ibid., p. 160.

54 O'Sullivan and Young, *Holy Island*, p. 45.

Boundaries

One of the most important spatial features of early medieval monasteries was the *vallum*, which marked the physical and symbolic boundary of the community. Its form could vary widely from one location to another. At Iona the monastic site was bounded by a substantial, re-used Iron Age bank and ditch, whereas at Whithorn, the putative boundary feature was far less substantial, comprising simply a shallow gully.[55] At Oundle, the *vallum* was recorded as being marked by a thorn hedge;[56] a hedge was also used at Culross.[57] At other sites, such as Armagh, where no physical remains mark the course of the boundary, the surviving pattern of roads has been argued to indicate the course of this and other early linear features.[58]

The evidence from Lindisfarne for a *vallum* and related features is equivocal. Deirdre O'Sullivan suggested a putative boundary that ran along the course of Marygate and then turned south down Fiddler's Green.[59] This is not impossible, although it would have left a thin strip of land between the west of the village and the shoreline, outside the monastic enclosure. Perhaps more problematic is the fact, noted above, that the main causeway between Fenham and Holy Island village appears to have been aligned on Marygate, and the recent geophysical survey by Durham University produced evidence for a trackway that indicates that Marygate once continued westwards to the shoreline. Whilst Marygate may have formed a boundary, it also clearly once acted as the main point of access into the village.

The same geophysical survey produced an alternative candidate for a boundary. This is the line of Prior's Lane, which runs at an angle to Marygate from the Market Place towards Fiddler's Green. The geophysical survey seems to show a linear feature extending along the same alignment westwards towards the shoreline. Significantly, this feature seems to divide an area of paddocks or small field enclosures to the north from an area of high magnetic responses, possibly small-scale industrial activity (hearths, ovens, etc.) to the south. Previously, it had been suggested that the curious angle of Prior's Lane was due to a partial replanning of the village in the sixteenth century as part of a known, but uncompleted, attempt to turn the village into a defended fort.[60] However, the fact that the alignment can be seen continuing beyond the built-up area of the village suggests that its course is of greater antiquity.

Ultimately, neither Marygate nor Prior's Lane can be accepted or rejected as the formal *vallum*. Indeed, it is quite possible that both roads, either together or separately at different times, acted as boundary features within what was likely to have been a substantial, polyfocal and relatively dispersed monastic settlement. However, it is clear from the extensive geophysical survey that there are no other obvious candidates for a boundary visible in the area around the village.

Wherever the boundary of the monastery was sited, we know from comparable monastic sites that the overall area of the monastery is likely to have been extensive and included areas of residential and agricultural activity, as well as the ecclesiastical core of churches and cemeteries. This means that much of the Anglo-Saxon monastery is likely to have extended beyond the current area of the Priory and would lie under the modern village.

The first excavation to identify possible early medieval activity in this zone was the work of Deirdre O'Sullivan under what is now the English Heritage Visitors' centre.[61] Located just to the north of the Priory and Parish Church, this had been an open garden area in the recent past, but investigation revealed extensive medieval and post-medieval stratigraphy. The early medieval features were more ephemeral, consisting of a shallow hearth and an area of sandstone paving.[62] These were the earliest remains in the sequence, being cut into the natural boulder clay. Over them was a layer of apparently wind-blown loam, with no features cut through it. It is possible that this represented a period of abandonment, with activity not recommencing until perhaps as late as the fifteenth century. It is tempting to link the build-up of loam to the period following the shift of the main part of the monastic community to the mainland in the ninth century. However, in the absence of any solid dating beyond a late medieval *terminus ante quem*, caution should be exercised in forcing this archaeological sequence into a historical narrative. The only clearly early medieval artefact was a residual ring pin of a type that could date from any period from the fifth to the eleventh century.[63]

55 Hill, *Whithorn,* pp. 26–66.

56 *Vita Sancti Wilfredi*, 67: *The Age of Bede*, ed. and trans. J.F. Webb and D.H. Farmer (Harmondsworth, 1983), p. 181.

57 *Vita Kentigerni,* 6: *Lives of Saint Ninian and Saint Kentigern,* ed. A.P. Forbes, *Historians of Scotland* 5 (Edinburgh, 1874), 243–52.

58 N. Edwards, *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Ireland* (London, 1996), pp. 107–11.

59 D. O'Sullivan, 'The plan of the early Christian monastery on Lindisfarne', *St. Cuthbert, his cult and his community*, ed. Bonner, Rollason and Stancliffe, 125–42.

60 C. Hardie and Northern Archaeological Associates, 'Fun at the Palace', *Archaeology in Northumberland 2000–2001,* pp. 20–1.

61 O'Sullivan, 'An excavation'.

62 Ibid., pp. 31–4.

63 Ibid., p. 103.

Around one hundred metres to the north, on the other side of the Market Square, excavation in advance of construction at the site of the Lindisfarne Winery revealed a similar sequence.[64] Beneath a series of later deposits, an early phase of probably Anglo-Saxon features was identified. The area excavated was limited in extent, but it was possible to identify a ditch and a couple of small pits. These pre-date the ceramic horizon and an early medieval comb was found, although, as no images of this have been published, it is not possible to refine its date.

A final site which has produced evidence for early medieval activity was revealed in advance of the construction of new houses at Castle View on the south side of Green Lane to the north of Marygate.[65] Here, below later medieval features, a possible Anglo-Saxon ditch was identified, which contained the partial remains of a burnt wattle and daub structure.[66]

In summation, the limited evidence from the Visitor's Centre, the Winery and Castle View Gardens is indicative of the survival of early medieval stratigraphy across the village. The relatively small size of the trenches used to locate these features means that it is not practical to try to reconstruct wider evidence for spatial zoning within the monastery, and it is noticeable that the structure identified at Castle View Gardens lies to the north of – and hence outside – both putative boundary features. Of the early medieval deposits, much is probably still buried; archaeological interventions elsewhere have noted a substantial build-up of post-medieval midden deposits across the built-up area.[67]

Over the years, a number of other middens have been identified across the island, particularly eroding out in coastal situations. The most extensively excavated is Jenny Bell's Well, on the shoreline opposite St Cuthbert's Isle. This produced extensive medieval and post-medieval deposits, but little evidence of early medieval material; it was probably related to the extensive medieval activity in the field immediately to its east identified by Hope-Taylor.[68] Another substantial midden was found at the east end of the Heugh, below Osbourne's Fort.[69] This included quantities of charcoal, struck flint, shell and animal bones. They remain undated, but are more likely to be of prehistoric than early medieval date. Other middens located include a small shell midden eroding out of the trackway to the east of the Crown and Anchor public house on the edge of the raised beach, and smaller patches of shells eroding out of the southern edge of the Heugh. These, too, lack dating evidence and may be of any period from prehistory to post-medieval, although there is a notable lack of ceramic material from any of them.

Beyond the Monastery

Whilst there may still be some debate over the precise location of the monastic boundary, it is clear that the focus of Anglo-Saxon monastic activity was in the vicinity of the later priory and the village. However, there is some evidence of other activity of broadly pre-Conquest date from elsewhere on Lindisfarne. The best understood site is Green Shiel.[70] Originally identified during construction of a waggon way in the nineteenth century, the site became a focus of a major excavation in the mid-1980s. This revealed a group of five conjoining rectangular structures constructed from local stone, the outer faces of the walls built of roughly-shaped stones with a rubble infill. In many areas the buildings had paved flooring. One had a series of partial cross walls and was almost certainly a byre. Several buildings showed evidence for phasing (including a blocked doorway in one structure), indicating that they had a significant period of use.

A range of finds clearly datable to the ninth and tenth centuries AD were found, including a spearhead. Nineteen coins were recovered (including the two found in the nineteenth century), all of ninth-century date. These were mostly found in relatively close proximity to each other, perhaps indicating a small, dispersed hoard. There was also a significant faunal assemblage, dominated by cattle, including several complete articulated cattle skeletons. There was also good evidence for the exploitation of local marine resources, including seal, whale and fish bone, along with the bones of birds including a great auk. The lack of any ceramics appears to confirm the eleventh / twelfth century ceramic horizon on the island.

Evidence for early medieval activity near Lindisfarne Castle is equivocal. Constructed in the mid-sixteenth century, the castle was placed in an impressive position atop

64 Northern Archaeological Associates, *The Winery*.

65 Kirby, *Castle View*.

66 Ian Farmer Associates, *Castle View*.

67 J. Barlow *Manor House Hotel, Lindisfarne, Northumberland, Report of Archaeological Monitoring and Recording* (Unpublished Report; Bamburgh Research Project, 2011); Bamburgh Research Project, *Village Hall, Lindisfarne: Report of Archaeological Monitoring and Test Pit excavation* (Unpublished Report; Bamburgh Research Project, 2011).

68 Beavitt *et al.*, 'Fieldwork on Lindisfarne'.

69 O'Sullivan and Young, *Holy Island*, pp. 31–3.

70 O'Sullivan and Young, 'The early medieval settlement'; O'Sullivan and Young, *Holy Island,* pp. 77–88.

a high ridge of Whin Sill known as Beblowe.[71] The toponym appears to include the personal name of Bebba, an Anglo-Saxon queen of Northumbria who, according to Bede, also gave her name to the *villa regalis* at Bamburgh,[72] and in later traditions was the wife of Æthelfrith.[73] The saddle-shaped ridge is very similar to the kind of topographic location favoured for the construction of 'nuclear forts', such as at Dunadd, Dumbarton and possibly Bamburgh. However, there is no evidence for any such construction on the crag, though there has been no archaeological investigation on this site, and it is possible that later military activity destroyed any earlier traces that may have existed.

Chance Finds

There have been relatively few chance finds of early medieval material from the island. An Anglo-Saxon strap-end was reportedly found in the seawall near the Castle in 1986, although very little is known about this item, and no pictures have been published.[74] More recently, a cast copper-alloy animal head terminal was reported to the Portable Antiquities Scheme having been found by a metal detectorist (ill. 1.4).[75] Given its fragmentary nature, it is impossible to identify the object of which it was originally part (possibly a pin or stylus) and difficult to estimate its date (late in the first millennium AD is most likely, although it could conceivably be Romanesque). Unfortunately, the precise find location is unknown, so this item remains only a tantalising indicator of the potential survival of early medieval metalwork from Lindisfarne.



ILLUSTRATION 1.4 *Animal-head terminal found by metal detectorists on Holy Island.* IMAGE FROM PORTABLE ANTIQUITIES SCHEME. REPRODUCED UNDER A CREATIVE COMMONS LICENCE.

Comparisons

Considering its importance in the story of Northumbrian Christianity, Holy Island has seen relatively little archaeological excavation, certainly compared with the substantial open-area investigations at Whithorn, Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, or the large number of smaller interventions that characterise the archaeological work carried out on Iona or in Hartlepool.[76] It is salutary to observe that even in the case of the extensively excavated sites, only a limited area of the early medieval monastic site has been sampled. The large scale and diffuse, polyfocal nature of the activities carried out at Northumbrian monasteries militates against anything resembling total excavation, and there is not one monastery where we can be certain that the entire plan has been recovered. In some cases, such as at Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, the focus of research has been on the central core of church, cemeteries and claustral structures, whilst at others, such as Hoddom, the excavation instead homed in on structures

71 O'Sullivan and Young, *Holy Island*, pp. 92–3.

72 Bede, *HE* III.6 and III.16. See also Section 6 of E.G. Stanley's chapter in the present volume.

73 *Historia Brittonum*, 63: *British History and the Welsh Annals*, ed. J. Morris (London, 1983), p. 79.

74 Glasgow University Archaeology Research Division, *Northumberland Coastal Survey* (unpublished, 1993).

75 PAS number: DENO-264785.

76 Hill, *Whithorn*; Cramp, *Wearmouth and Jarrow*; O'Sullivan, 'More than the sum'; Daniels, *Anglo-Saxon Hartlepool*.

seemingly related to agricultural production and processing located at the periphery of the site.[77]

It is important to resist the temptation to combine the various better explored elements of these various sites to create a composite 'ideal' against which the archaeology of Lindisfarne can be compared. The monasteries of Northumberland are a diverse group. Some, such as Lindisfarne and Hartlepool, owe their foundation to the initial phase of Irish influence under Aidan and Oswald; Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, however, belong to the Romanising world of the post-Synod of Whitby Northumbrian church. Some foundations were mother churches, founded by kings and often acting as homes to members of royal families and the aristocracy who had taken holy orders; these monastic 'power houses' would have had a network of daughter houses, granges and hermitages dependent upon them. Even within the *paruchia* of a single monastic federation the physical aspects of the *monasteria* could have varied widely.

Monasteries were also dynamic settlements, changing and evolving in response to political, social and religious developments. Some, such as Hartlepool, were relatively short lived, giving way in regional importance to Whitby, although perhaps struggling on until the ninth century. Others, such as Whithorn, had their origins in the fifth century AD but continued to act as a focus for ecclesiastical activity far longer. All excavated sites have demonstrated clear evidence that activities and spatial patterning could vary widely over their period of use. Yet despite these cautionary observations, we do have enough comparative data to make a tentative start at contextualising the early medieval archaeology of Lindisfarne as currently understood.

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the monastery is its setting on a tidal island. Given the Ionan connections of Aidan and Oswald, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the decision to place a foundation on an island was a direct reference to Iona. The islands are similar in size (c. 1.5 × 3 miles) and in both cases, the monastery is placed on the landward side, with views of the mainland, rather than on the more remote seaward side. This is important as, whilst there is a clear tradition in Irish monasticism of using islands as solitary retreats, with the ocean being transformed into a metaphorical desert,[78] in the case of both Iona and Lindisfarne, the decision was not taken to place the focus of the monastery in the more isolated parts of the island. In the case of Lindisfarne, the easy intervisibility between the Island and the *villa regalis* at Bamburgh emphasised the links between the secular and ecclesiastical poles of North Bernicia. The presence of the relics of Oswald's arm, kept at Bamburgh, and his head, kept on the island, emphasised this connection. At Iona, the nearest land was itself an island (Mull), and in the archipelagic seascape of Argyll, the selection of an island for a monastic location may not have been as symbolically laden as on the very different coastline of North Northumberland.[79] Although the topographies of the islands varied somewhat, with Iona having substantially more relief than Lindisfarne, the basaltic outcrops of the Heugh and Beblowe on the latter would at least have acted as a partial reflection of the landscape of Iona. It is intriguing to note that Hartlepool, the other Northumbrian monastery clearly founded under the aegis of Aidan, may also have originally been a tidal island. The environmental evidence from the site indicates that in prehistory the headland would have been separated from the mainland, and the monastery's name (*Heruteu* – 'island of the hart') retains the notion of an island.[80]

It is also worth considering the potential longer term symbolic significance of the meaning of island sites, which may have had some wider importance stretching back into the prehistoric period.[81] Some etymological discussions of *Medcaut*, the British name for Lindisfarne, have suggested it derives from *medicate* (*insula*) and that the site may have been seen as a healing sanctuary before the establishment of the monastery, although there is very little archaeological evidence for earlier activity on the island.[82]

Lindisfarne: Irish and Roman Influences

Given Lindisfarne's Columban connections, it is necessary to consider the extent to which these links might be

77 Cramp, *Wearmouth and Jarrow*; Lowe, *Hoddom*.

78 D. O'Sullivan, 'Space, silence, and shortage on Lindisfarne: the archaeology of asceticism', *Image and Power in the Archaeology of Early Medieval Britain. Essays in Honour of Rosemary Cramp*, ed. H. Hamerow and A. McGregor (Oxford, 2001), 33–52; J. Wooding, 'Island and Coastal Churches in Medieval Wales and Ireland', *Ireland and Wales in the Middle Ages*, ed. Karen Jankulak and Jonathan M. Wooding (Dublin, 2007), 201–28.

79 See also D. Petts, 'Coastal landscapes and early Christianity in Anglo-Saxon Northumbria', *Estonian Journal of Archaeology* 13.2 (2009), 79–95.

80 Daniels, *Anglo-Saxon Hartlepool*.

81 T. Ó Carragáin, 'The view from the shore: perceiving island monasteries in early medieval Ireland', *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 19 (2013), 209–20.

82 A. Breeze, 'Medcaut, the Brittonic name of Lindisfarne', *Northern History* 42 (2005), 187–8.

reflected archaeologically. It is important to bear in mind though, that the period of the most intimate contact only lasted around thirty years – from the foundation of Lindisfarne to Colmán's return. This is a relatively small proportion of the total life of the monastery. Also, it is important to distinguish between Columban connections and more general patterns of Irish influence. From the seventh to the tenth centuries there were currents of influence flowing both ways and, in the absence of fine dating, it is not always easy to distinguish which way the influence was running in relation to particular similarities. The potential for Northumbrian influence on Ireland can be seen when considering the evidence of the small group of distinctive carved stones known as 'name stones'. These very small stones, bearing carved crosses and the name of one or more individuals, are mainly found in the two Northumbrian monasteries with the closest direct links with Iona via Aidan – Lindisfarne and Hartlepool.[83] There is a variety of parallels for these items both in the Insular world and on the Continent. One very similar Irish stone comes from Caher Island (Co. Mayo), a site with close connections to Colmán following his return to Ireland from Lindisfarne.[84] In this case, the direction of influence appears to be going from east to west rather than *vice versa*. In her chapter in this volume Clare Stancliffe makes a strong case for the continuation of a wide range of connections between the Northumbrian and Irish churches following the Synod of Whitby.[85] Whilst it is possible to recognise aspects of Irish influence in monastic life at Lindisfarne, it is important to be cautious in ascribing a pre-Whitby chronological horizon to such evidence.

The clearest example of a Columban influence on Lindisfarne is the continued culting of Columba at the monastery. This is reflected in the presence of a churchyard (and by extension presumably a church) of St Columba, and his name appearing in several place names in the village, presumably close to this church. He also recurs in Priory accounts from the fourteenth century related to the collecting of donations from visitors, again perhaps indicating some kind of low-level pilgrimage activity still associated with him. The most likely location of the churchyard of St Columba is to the north of Marygate in the Lewin's Lane area, beyond both the putative monastic boundaries. In this respect, it resembles the location of the cemetery known as Reilig Òdhrain on Iona, which lies beyond the *vallum*, outside the monastic core. Whilst the documentary attestations to the culting of Columba on Holy Island all post-date the refoundation of the Priory, the Ionan parallels with the location of the churchyard of Columba is suggestive of an earlier origin to the tradition.

There may be other hints of Irish influence in the spatial organisation of the monastic boundaries. As explored above, there is circumstantial evidence for at least two monastic boundaries (Marygate; Prior's Lane). This pattern of multiple, broadly concentric boundaries is paralleled in several Irish contexts, such as Nendrum and Armagh. The early-eighth-century *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* prescribed the following rules for the layout of a monastery:

> There ought to be two or three *termini* around a holy place: the first which we allow no one at all to enter except priests, because women do not come near it, or women unless they are clerics; the second, into its streets the crowds of common people, not much given to wickedness, we allow to enter; the third, men who have been guilty of homicide, adulterers and prostitutes, with permission and according to custom, we do not prevent from going within. Whence they are called, first *sanctissimus*, the second, *sanctior*, the third *sanctus* bearing honour according to their differences.[86]

This seems to reflect aspects of the putative layout of Lindisfarne and similar zoning is potentially found at early sites such as Whithorn and, of course, Iona.[87] At Lindisfarne, the parallels to the layout promoted by the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* can however be extended. The gendered use of space, with women restricted from accessing the sacred core of a monastic site, can be found in Symeon's early twelfth-century description of the 'Grene Cyrice':

> For this reason he built on the island of his episcopal see a church which is called in the language of the inhabitants Grene Cyrice (that is 'Green Church') because it is sited on the verdant greenness of the plain and *he ordered that women should gather here to hear masses and the word of God, so that they*

83 C. Maddern, *Raising the dead: early medieval name stones in Northumbria* (Turnhout, 2013).

84 Ibid., 38–9.

85 Ch. 2 below.

86 Quoted in C. Doherty, 'The monastic town in Early Medieval Ireland', *The Comparative History of Urban Origins in Non-Roman Europe*, ed. H.B. Clarke, and A. Simms (Oxford, 1985), 45–75 at p. 59.

87 Hill, *Whithorn*; O'Sullivan, 'More than the sum'.

> *should never come any nearer to the Church where he and his monks were* [author's emphasis]. This custom is still meticulously observed today to such an extent that women are not even given permission to enter the cemeteries of those churches where his body rested for a time unless they are forced to seek refuge there, either from fear of enemy attack or because the place where they live has been burned down.[88]

While this comparison is striking, as ever it is important to be cautious, particularly given the minimal excavated evidence from Holy Island. At Whithorn, which has seen far more extensive excavation, it is clear that patterns of activity during the early medieval period could shift and change focus, with not all enclosures in use at any one time.[89] Multiple concentric enclosures identified in topographic analysis need not be contemporary. Equally, one must be cautious in accepting an early twelfth-century description of a church and its situation as reflecting an earlier reality.

A further possible aspect of Irish influence can be found in the statement by Bede that Finan built his church 'after the manner of the Scots',[90] which is to say, in wood. Bede contrasts this with the use of stone to build churches, which he links with the Roman church; according to Bede, the Pictish King Nechtan wrote to Ceolfrith asking for masons to help build a stone church 'after the Roman manner'.[91] However, there is evidence that early Northumbrian churches were also constructed out of wood; this can be seen clearly at Whithorn where some of the churches were built out of timber as late as the ninth century AD,[92] as was the probable church (Building B) excavated by Brian Hope-Taylor at Yeavering.[93] Bede, writing seventy years after the Synod of Whitby, appears to be making retrospective judgements about the cultural or ethnic status of particular building styles, which were unlikely to have been recognised at the time of the construction of the church in question. It is most likely that stone as a constructional technique only really obtained this symbolic equation with *Romanitas* (and by extension, wooden construction with Irish religious loyalty) following the Synod of Whitby, and may in particular reflect the architectural influence of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow. Given this, the use of wood at Lindisfarne cannot be seen as an example of western influence, either Irish in general or Columban in particular.

A final potential dimension of Irish influence might be seen in the possible presence of a wider devotional landscape around the island. There is a wide range of evidence that ritual activity spilled beyond the ecclesiastical focus of the main church complex. The hermitages on Inner Farne and St Cuthbert's Isle were both attested as the focus for later pilgrimage.[94] O'Sullivan and Young have also suggested that the series of structures on the Heugh may have acted as 'stations' on a pilgrimage circuit around the monastery and island.[95] There are also hints from placename evidence on the island; the name 'Coves Cross' is shown on the north side of the island on the Speed Map of 1610, although no cross is known here now.

A final, and hitherto not recognised hint at some kind of ritual touring practices can be seen on the cross-base known as the Petting Stone.[96] On the top surface of the base a number of hollowed depressions are visible. These may have been caused by the rotation of a smaller rounded stone on the Petting Stone. A broadly similar depression can be found on a cross-base from Iona[97] known as *Clach bràth* (the stone of judgement / doom). Both may have been created by the practice of twisting or turning small cobbles as part of a cursing ritual. Ritual cursing stones are best attested at the Columban site of Inishmurray, where they are associated with a late first millennium AD *leacht*.[98]

To this physical evidence can be added evidence from the Lives of Cuthbert. The Anonymous *Life* records that following his miraculous cure from paralysis, a youth 'went round the places of the sacred martyrs [*circuibat loca sanctorum martyrum*] giving thanks to the lord'[99] – in his version of the story Bede records that 'when morning came he went to the church and, with everyone watching and congratulating him, he went round the holy places [*circuiuit loca sancta*] praying and offering sacrifice of praise to his Saviour'.[100] It is tempting to draw parallels

88 *Libellus* II.7.

89 D. Petts, 'Discussions and Conclusions', *Whithorn: Excavations by David Pollock and Amanda Clarke*, ed. McOmish and Petts.

90 See note 28.

91 *HE* V.21.

92 Hill, *Whithorn*, pp. 44–6.

93 B. Hope-Taylor, *Yeavering: An Anglo-British Centre of Early Northumbria* (London, 1977), p. 72.

94 Wells, 'He went round the holy places'.

95 O'Sullivan and Young, *Holy Island*, pp. 47–8.

96 Cramp, *Corpus,* 201–2, pl. 198.

97 RCAHMS, *Argyll Inventory of Monuments, volume 4: Iona* (Edinburgh, 1982), 214–5, fig. 99b.

98 J. O'Sullivan and T. Ó Carragáin, *Inishmurray: Monks and Pilgrims in an Atlantic Landscape* (Cork, 2008), 335–41.

99 *VCAA* 4.17.

100 *VC* 45.

with this possible landscape of religious foci and the Irish penitential *turas*.[101]

It is important to exercise caution. None of the evidence from Lindisfarne, apart from the reference from the lives of Cuthbert, is particularly early, and it need not imply that the possible Irish influence arrived as a part of the initial pre-Whitby phase of activity when Ionan influence is likely to have been strongest. The cross type from the boulder beneath the Castle is probably tenth century or even later. Herity in his original discussion of the potential of ritual circuit round the island drew on Irish parallels which he dated as early as the sixth or seventh century.[102] However, the best understood example of such a circuit from Ireland is that recorded on Inishmurray (Co. Sligo). The focus of a recent programme of fieldwork, the *leachta* associated with the pilgrim circuit on the island are more likely to date from late in the first or early in the second millennium AD.[103] Even if it were possible to pull the date of the putative ritualised landscape as early as the seventh or eighth century, this need not reflect Irish influence. Liturgical processions were widely known throughout early medieval Europe.[104] The stational liturgy used in Rome was influential in Northumbria. A list of stational churches was copied around the turn of the eighth century into the so-called Burchard Gospels, most likely at Monkwearmouth-Jarrow.[105] The procession by Ceolfrith between Monkwearmouth and Jarrow on his final departure to Rome may well have drawn on this model.[106] Rogationtide processions (OE *gangdagas* 'walking days') were also known in Northumbria; the *Epistola de obitu Bedae* records that the monks had to process 'with the relics, as the custom of that day [Wednesday before Ascension] required'.[107] There were other dates on which processions into the wider landscape might occur, such as on the feast day of St Oswald, when the monks of Hexham processed to the site of the battle of Heavenfield to hold a vigil and celebrate mass.[108]

There was doubtless a sliding scale of formalised interactions with sites beyond the confines of the monastic core, ranging from large-scale, congregational, rigidly choreographed liturgical ceremonies to small-scale, more personal, penitential or devotional engagements. Whilst it is highly probable that a range of such activities took place on Lindisfarne, it is not easy to identify any element which is particularly Irish, except the possible (but not provable) use of a cursing stone possibly associated with the Petting Stone.

Whatever the influence of Iona and the Irish monastic tradition on the foundation at Lindisfarne, it is probably that the impact of the Synod of Whitby and the increasing Romanisation of the Northumbrian church in the later seventh century made its mark. The most immediate result was obviously the decision of Colmán to withdraw first to Iona and then Ireland with those Lindisfarne monks who could not accept Oswiu's decision. He took with him *some* of the relics of Aidan who had been buried to the right of the altar in the main church. It is probable that a cult of Aidan had already started to develop – Bede records some miracle stories associated with him,[109] although he only died a little over a decade before the Synod of Whitby. It is notable that, although a cult of Columba had developed on Iona, it was not just focused closely on the body, but engaged with his secondary relics more widely.[110] The decision by Colmán to take relics may indeed reflect his adoption of Anglo-Saxon attitudes to culting primary corporal relics rather than secondary relics (a phenomenon more common in the Celtic world).[111]

By the end of the seventh century Cuthbert was clearly a new focal figure of devotion at Lindisfarne, and more widely across Northumbria. His translation and placing in the wooden chest above his former tomb was a powerful signal that he had supplanted any incipient cult of Aidan that may have developed on the island. It is doubtful that the cult of Cuthbert was initially constructed to provide the island with a new Romanised figurehead. His translation did not occur until over 30 years after the Synod; this was not a rapid replacement of an Irish cult focus by a Roman one, but rather a hiatus of over a generation before Cuthbert assumed the mantle of Lindisfarne's sacred patron. Cuthbert's close association with the Romanised church is perhaps primarily a construction of Bede rather than a reflection of reality. It is clear that there were

101 Cf. M. Herity, 'The antiquity of *an turas* (the pilgrimage round) in Ireland', *Lateinische Kultur im VIII Jarhundert* (1989), 95–143.

102 Ibid.; Herity, 'Early Irish hermitages'.

103 O'Sullivan and Ó Carragáin, *Inishmurray,* pp. 317–8.

104 Gittos, *Liturgy*, p. 106.

105 Würzburg, UB, M.p.th.f.68: E. Ó Carragáin, *The City of Rome and the World of Bede*, Jarrow Lecture 1994 (Jarrow, 1995), pp. 9–14.

106 Gittos, *Liturgy*, pp. 107–8; Ó Carragáin, *City of Rome*, pp. 12–3.

107 'Epistola de obitu Bedae': *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People,* ed. Colgrave and Mynors, 579–87 at 584–5.

108 *HE* III.2.

109 *HE* III.15–17.

110 T.O. Clancy, 'Columba, Adomnán and the cult of saints in Scotland', *Spes Scotorum: Hope of the Scots – Saint Columba, Iona and Scotland*, ed. D. Broun and T.O. Clancy (Edinburgh, 1999), 3–35 at 28–33.

111 N. Edwards 'Celtic saints and early medieval archaeology', *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West* ed. Alan Thacker and R. Sharpe (Oxford, 2002), 225–65.

some Irish traditions, such as penitential practices that continued to be carried out after AD 664; the Synod of Whitby should not be seen as a sharp point of rupture entirely sundering the connections between the Irish and Northumbrian churches.[112]

The end of the seventh century was the period that saw real investment in developing a new set of symbolic resources for the monastery. In addition to the promotion of Cuthbert, there is also, most obviously, the creation of the Lindisfarne Gospels (ills. I–XVI). Although there is a debate about the extent to which the production of the Gospels was related directly to the saint making of Cuthbert or more widely to the post-Whitby re-orientation of Lindisfarne, it is clear that its complex blend of Insular, Anglo-Saxon and Continental influences served to convey a range of sophisticated messages about Lindisfarne's place in eighth-century Christendom.[113]

Circumstantial evidence suggests that there may have been a period of architectural investment on the island. As has been discussed above, the linear alignment of the medieval parish church and the Priory church probably maintains the earlier alignment of a pair of Anglo-Saxon churches. Church groups are known from both Western/Irish contexts and from the Anglo-Saxon and Frankish ones.[114] However, strict axial alignment is more a feature of the Anglo-Saxon-Frankish world; and the most obvious local parallel is the axial arrangement of churches at Jarrow (AD 681/2), which may well have derived from its founder, Benedict Biscop's encounter with Frankish sites such as Chelles and even Saint Denis.[115]

The western church at Lindisfarne is dedicated to Mary and there is no reason to doubt the antiquity of this dedication; the pairing of Peter and Mary dedications is widely attested.[116] In particular, dedications to Mary were often added to older sites in the later seventh and early eighth century:[117] Monkwearmouth acquired a Marian church sometime between 674 and *c.* 685; at Lastingham the church of Mary was a secondary addition;[118] that at Hexham was probably constructed in the early eighth century;[119] and the Marian church at the monastery recorded in *De abbatibus* (a daughter house of Lindisfarne) was probably of a similar date.[120]

Together, this admittedly circumstantial evidence seems to suggest that the most likely context for the creation of the two aligned churches at Lindisfarne, one dedicated to Mary, is the later seventh century. Given the probable influence of Jarrow on the axial planning, a date after AD 681/2 is most likely and it may well represent a wider re-ordering of ecclesiastical space related to the translation of Cuthbert.

The End of Lindisfarne: Changing Perceptions

The traditional narrative for the end of the Anglo-Saxon monastery on Holy Island places the termination of activity unequivocally in AD 875, when the monks left the Island in the face of continued Viking raiding. Taking with them the shrine of Cuthbert and a range of other relics, they retreated first to Norham (Northumberland) before continuing their peregrinations, only finally settling in Durham in 995.[121] It has often been assumed that this meant the end of the monastery; however, it is increasingly clear that some religious activity continued on the island from the later ninth century until the re-foundation of the Priory in the early twelfth.

The evidence from Green Shiel clearly dates to the ninth and tenth centuries but, whilst it is most likely that the farmstead was related in some form to the monastery, this does not provide direct evidence for continuation of activity in and around the monastic site. The best evidence for this comes instead from the substantial body of stone sculpture dating to the period after 875, including cross shafts (ill. 1.5),[122] burial markers[123] and ring-headed crossheads.[124] As much sculpture appears to post-date the departure of the community for Norham as precedes it, and the most iconic piece of sculpture from Lindisfarne – the so-called Domesday Stone, depicting a group of armed

112 See further Clare Stancliffe, Ch. 2 in this volume.

113 R. Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham: the contexts and meanings of the Lindisfarne Gospels* (Durham and London, 2013), p. 71. See also the chapters by Michelle Brown and Richard Gameson in this volume.

114 J. Blair, 'Anglo-Saxon Minsters: a topographical review', *Pastoral Care before the Parish*, ed. J. Blair and R. Sharpe (Leicester, 1992), 226–66; Gittos *Liturgy*, 55–102; D. Petts and S. Turner, 'Multiple church complexes on early medieval ecclesiastical sites in Western Britain', *The Archaeology of the Early Medieval Celtic Churches,* ed. N. Edwards (Leeds, 2009).

115 Gittos, Liturgy, p. 71.

116 Blair, 'Anglo-Saxon Minsters', p. 200; Gittos *Liturgy*, pp. 94–5.

117 Gittos, *Liturgy*, p. 111.

118 *HE* III.23.

119 E. Cambridge and A. Williams, 'Hexham Abbey: a review of recent work and its implications', *AAe* 23 (1995), 51–138, esp. 73–4.

120 *De abbatibus* c. 14.

121 *HSC* 20; D. Rollason, 'The Wanderings of St Cuthbert', *Cuthbert: Saint and Patron*, ed. Rollason (Durham, 1987), 45–61.

122 Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture* 1, 195–6, pl. 190.

123 Ibid., 206–7, pl. 201, 1132–4.

124 Ibid., 243–4, pl. 245, 1361–3.

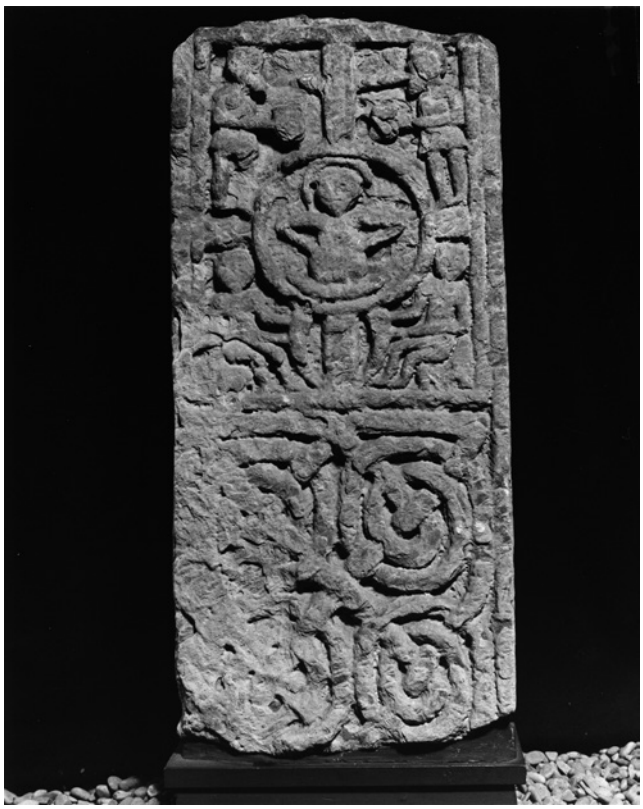


ILLUSTRATION 1.5 *Tenth-century cross shaft from Holy Island.* © CORPUS OF ANGLO-SAXON STONE SCULPTURE.

men, swords raised – probably belongs to the late ninth century, perhaps a generation after Cuthbert's relics had left.[125] This sculptural corpus is a ready indicator that in the tenth and eleventh centuries there was both a client base seeking to invest in commemorative stone carvings on the island and a workshop capable of producing such monuments. The fact that the earlier and later sculpture appears to be coming from the same general area of the village seems a solid indication of the continuity of the monastic site as a focus of activity.

It is also possible to collate an increasing quantity of historical references to the island, and probably the monastery, in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Symeon of Durham records an attack on Lindisfarne by the Scots in 893,[126] whilst Olaf Guthfrithsson led raids on Lindisfarne, Tyningham and Aldhame in 941.[127] There was a further Scottish attack on the island in 1061; the *Historia Regum Anglorum* records that this resulted in Malcolm breaking the *pax sancti Cuthberti*.[128] It is hard to imagine the island attracting such hostile attention if there was not an attractive focus for raiding, a monastery or church being the most likely candidate.[129] Æthelwine's community and the relics of Cuthbert returned temporarily to the island in 1069 to avoid the 'Harrying of the North'.[130] During their stay there, the shrine was visited by Earl Gospatrick who brought presents and gifts in penitence for expropriating church property.[131] Presumably the community had maintained contacts with the island and was able to retreat there with confidence that there was the necessary physical infrastructure (secular and ecclesiastical) to accommodate it.

Conclusion

Despite the lack of a major campaign of fieldwork focusing on the monastic core of Lindisfarne, comparable with the research at Monkwearmouth, Jarrow or Whithorn, there is still much that can be said about the early medieval monastery. It was clearly an extensive site with an ecclesiastical core, focused on the churches of Peter and Mary, where the tomb of Cuthbert was culted. There were also other ecclesiastical areas associated with the monastery, including the cemetery of St Columba and the 'Grene cyrice', although these remain to be located precisely.

One of the challenges, though, remains in collating the information from a variety of often unpublished sources. The problems with trying to understand a complex site through a myriad of small-scale interventions have been emphasised by Jerry O'Sullivan in his overview of the archaeological investigations on Iona[132] and he noted Richard Reece's salutatory observation that 'the information extracted in a small trench was not commensurate with the information that was destroyed'.[133]

Currently, the biggest challenge in understanding the archaeology of the monastery is the lack of chronological resolution. Early medieval activity has been located in a number of places but, in the absence of diagnostic material culture, it is hard to date with precision. Given the

125 Ibid., 206–7, pl. 201, 1132–4.

126 *Libellus* II.13.

127 *Libellus* II.13.

128 Symeon of Durham, *Historia regum*, ed. T. Arnold, Rolls Series 75, 2 vols. (London, 1882–5), II, 174–5.

129 W. Aird, *St Cuthbert and the Normans: the Church of Durham, 1071–1153* (Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 9–58.

130 *Libellus* III.15.

131 *Libellus* III.16.

132 O'Sullivan, 'More than the Sum'.

133 R. Reece, *Excavations on Iona 1964–74* Institute of Archaeology Occasional Papers 5 (London, 1981), 56.

increasing evidence for continued activity at the monastery between AD 875 and the early twelfth century, the early material in question could in principle belong anywhere between the seventh and the eleventh century. There is a lack of any deep early medieval stratigraphy which could act as a chronological control over the wider patterns of development across the site. Whilst both O'Sullivan's excavations on the site of the Visitor Centre and the Northern Archaeological Associates' work at the Winery located early medieval features, these were surprisingly ephemeral given the length of occupation of the Anglo-Saxon monastery.[134] Was the Anglo-Saxon activity so dispersed and shifting that substantial occupation layers failed to develop (in contrast to the substantial medieval and post-medieval midden which appears to underlie the modern village)? The more substantial, but frustratingly poorly understood remains from Castle View, however, hint at the potential survival of more significant deposits elsewhere in the village.

Although the Leicester research project was thorough, tackling many aspects of the island's archaeology, there is still real potential for taking their work forward. The development in archaeological techniques in recent years offers scope for further work. The 2010 geophysics identified a whole series of features that had not been picked up by earlier survey work, most notably the features to the east of the Priory Church, but also possible industrial activity in the area to the west of the parish church. The advent of easily available LIDAR (Light Detection and Ranging) data, which provide large swathes of highly-accurate topographical information, and the potential for using drone-mounted cameras for aerial photography also offer further possibilities for getting to grips with the wider landscape of the island. The economic base of the monastery has barely been touched on in this discussion, but again, new techniques, including bone isotope analysis, may provide a chance to address the provisioning of the monastery and its subsistence base; while the suite of landscape techniques mentioned above also provides an opportunity better to understand the mainland estates belonging to the monastery, with key sites for further investigation including the granary and earthwork complex at Fenham and the undated fish traps that survive in Budle Bay.

Lindisfarne is a nationally, indeed internationally, important site. Whilst much of the site remains under the post-medieval village, it has not suffered the massive impact of development that Monkwearmouth, Jarrow and Hartlepool have undergone. As even at these three sites, significant archaeological deposits have been identified and excavated, there is still a great future for archaeological research on Lindisfarne.[135]

134 *Winery and Village Hall*; D. O'Sullivan, 'An Excavation in Holy Island Village, 1977', *AAe* 5th series 13 (1985), 27–116.

135 A large number of people have directly or indirectly assisted with my work assessing the current state of the early medieval archaeology of Lindisfarne in advance of a planned new programme of fieldwork. Particular thanks should go to Gabor Thomas, Victoria Whitworth and Sam Gerace for comments about the copper-alloy terminal, and Victoria Whitworth, Derek Craig and Rosemary Cramp for thoughts about the carved stone boulder near the castle. Dr Brian Buchanan assisted in walkover surveys of the island, and the geophysical survey was carried out by Archaeological Services, Durham University, with funding from National Geographic. Chris Burgess and Elizabeth Williams of the Archaeology Section, Northumberland County Council have also assisted with information from the Historic Environment Record. The digitisation of the Brian Hope-Taylor archives was funded by a small research grant from the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Thanks are also due to the landowners, farmers and residents of Holy Island. I would particularly like to thank Clare Stancliffe for an extremely helpful conversation about Holy Island and its context, and for picking up some key errors. The comments of the anonymous readers were also extremely helpful in reframing many of the arguments presented here; any errors of course remain my own.

CHAPTER 2

The Irish Tradition in Northumbria after the Synod of Whitby

Clare Stancliffe

It has long been known that although the Synod of Whitby in 664 abolished the Northumbrian church's direct dependence on Iona, it did not end contacts between Northumbria and Ireland. Hitherto, however, the subject has often been treated in just those terms: as a matter of tracing contacts.[1] When scholars have gone further, they have tended to focus on such matters as Irish influence on script, art, and scholarship, or on individual Christian practices for which Irish ancestry could be claimed. The present chapter, while not neglecting some, at least, of these topics, shifts the focus to include the organisational structures of the church (Parts I and II). At the same time it builds on recent scholarship to gain greater precision as to the whereabouts and the nature of Northumbrian / Irish interaction (Part III). This enables us to reformulate the topic as one where the old contrasts between Roman and Irish, and to some extent between Irish teachers and Northumbrian students, are superseded. The chapter also examines (in Part IV) a small sample of Northumbrian churches to assess continuing Irish influence during the two generations following Whitby (en route identifying the presence of an additional Irish text there, which had not previously been known to circulate in Anglo-Saxon England). The conclusion reached runs counter to what one would expect from the main narrative sources, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and Stephen's *Life of St Wilfrid*, which currently provide the basis for scholars' views. Inevitably, there will be imperfections in such a wide-ranging survey that deals briefly with complex issues on the basis of inadequate sources. My hope is that, despite these, it will not only provide a more accurate context for the Lindisfarne Gospels, but that it will also stimulate us to think anew about the nature, intensity, and duration of Irish / Northumbrian interaction, about the engagement in this of Wilfrid's foundations as well as Lindisfarne, and thus about the formation and continuing development of the Northumbrian church as a whole during the crucial period that runs from 664 to 735, often regarded as its 'golden age'.

The historical context for our topic is provided by the synod of Whitby in 664 and the ongoing struggle between Wilfrid and the tradition of Lindisfarne that followed it. We will therefore begin with a brief look at this, together with the question of whether it is possible to isolate and identify an 'Irish' tradition. Interestingly these issues are related, as the Wilfridian and the Bedan depictions of – and attitudes towards – 'Irish' tradition are not identical, and both diverge in various respects from our own twenty-first century perception. The Irish tradition that I shall focus on thereafter rests on my own reading of the evidence, rather than on those passages in Stephen and Bede which explicitly flag up 'Irish' practices. The artificial nature of such passages, with their implied or stated contrast lying between 'Irish' and 'Roman', has become apparent thanks to recent scholarship.[2] The historical reality was more complex, and more interesting, as we shall see.

1 Whitby, Its Aftermath, and the Identification of an Irish Tradition

On the face of it, investigating the survival (or otherwise) of Irish practices and traditions in the Northumbrian church after the Synod of Whitby would appear straightforward in theory, even if difficult to carry out because of gaps in the evidence. The effective evangelisation of Northumbria had been the work of Columban missionaries from Iona, led in the first instance by Aidan (d. 651); and they would naturally have instituted the practices that they were already accustomed to in their own monastery. At the Synod of Whitby in 664, however, King Oswiu had declared himself in favour of the Easter practice advocated by Wilfrid as being that 'of the Apostolic See and of almost the whole world',[3] rather than that advocated by his

1 Excellent instances are Kathleen Hughes, 'Evidence for contacts between the churches of the Irish and English from the Synod of Whitby to the Viking Age', *England before the Conquest: Studies in primary sources presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. P. Clemoes and K. Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), 49–67, and Fiona Edmonds, 'The Practicalities of Communication between Northumbrian and Irish Churches, *c.* 635–735', *Anglo-Saxon / Irish Relations before the Vikings*, ed. J. Graham-Campbell and M. Ryan (Oxford, 2009), 129–47.

2 See M.E. Hoenicke Moore, 'Bede's Devotion to Rome: The Periphery defining the Center', *Bède le Vénérable entre tradition et postérité*, ed. S. Lebecq, M. Perrin and O. Szerwiniack (Lille, n.d.), 199–208.

3 Stephen, *VW*, Ch. 10.

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Ionan appointed bishop, Colmán. Since Colmán was unable to accept such a change without explicit approval from Iona, he returned there with all his Irish monks and thirty of his English ones who likewise refused to accept the decision made at Whitby.[4] In addition to Easter, the shape of the tonsure was a matter of dispute, with the so-called Petrine tonsure now replacing that traditional on Iona. Apart from this, however, Bede implies that everything else carried on much as before, with Eata, trained from boyhood under Aidan, taking over as abbot of Lindisfarne.[5] True, the see was switched from Lindisfarne to York, but Tuda, an Englishman trained and consecrated in southern Ireland was initially appointed bishop, and later Lindisfarne regained its status as an episcopal see when the huge diocese of Northumbria was divided. The question would then be one of how the Irish traditions fared in a world that saw considerable continuity in the Northumbrian church, but with closer links also being established with Gaul and Rome through such figures as Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop (d. 689).

Modern scholarship, however, brings corrections and complexity to this traditional understanding. Even in the matter of Easter practice, it was not in reality a question of an Irish and British tradition versus a continental or Roman one. Rather, there were two different Easter practices in use on the Continent in the seventh century, and, after 632, two (and eventually three) different Easter practices in use in Ireland. Further, this sketch glosses over the considerable and ongoing disagreement within the Northumbrian church that followed on from the Synod of Whitby. Whereas Bede, as we have seen, passes lightly over this, Stephen's *Life of St Wilfrid* implies that differences within the Northumbrian church continued at least until peace was patched up between Wilfrid and his opponents in 706, and arguably beyond. According to Thomas Charles-Edwards' convincing reconstruction of events, the Synod of Whitby resulted not so much in the exodus of the diehard adherents of the British and Irish Easter and the unanimity of everyone else in Northumbria, but rather in the exodus of the diehards *and also* a division between those who stayed behind, arising from how they regarded adherents of the traditional British and Irish Easter. All those who stayed behind accepted the Easter practice advocated at Whitby by Wilfrid, that is, presumably, Dionysian Easter practice. But whereas Wilfrid and his followers regarded those who kept the traditional British and Irish Easter practice as Quartodeciman heretics, and so refused to have anything to do with them or their tainted traditions, many of those who stayed behind were willing to accept Dionysian Easter practice for themselves, but refused to regard their erstwhile comrades as 'heretics', and saw no reason to break off all relations with them. This 'middle party' included people linked to Aidan and his disciples, and to his foundation of Lindisfarne, such as Hild of Whitby, Chad, Eata, and Cuthbert. It is also the view reflected in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*.[6]

This new understanding is very pertinent to the matter in hand, as it means that after Whitby the pendulum swung between Wilfrid's views and those of Lindisfarne; and at first glance it seems likely that attitudes to Irish traditions will have varied accordingly. Wilfrid's views were dominant during his years as bishop of York, 669–678. In 678 he was replaced by two 'middle party' bishops, Whitby-trained Bosa at York, and Lindisfarne-trained Eata at Hexham. In 685, the Northumbrian King Ecgfrith was killed in battle in Pictland, and his successor was his half-brother, King Aldfrith. Aldfrith was regarded by Bede as an illegitimate son of Oswiu, born of a liaison between Oswiu and an Uí Néill princess, Fín; and he was a pupil of Adomnán, abbot of Iona.[7] He was thus well placed to mend relations with Iona, but the ecclesiastical politics of his early reign are confusing. At Archbishop Theodore's behest, he allowed Wilfrid back as bishop in 686, but Stephen paints a picture of alternating peace and discord between Wilfrid and the king until, after five years, Wilfrid departed once more into exile; he may in reality have spent part even of that five years in exile, as he is found witnessing charters in the south of England *c.* 687–8.[8] In all events, Aldfrith clearly remained on excellent terms with Adomnán: he received him twice at court, and on the first occasion agreed to Adomnán's request to free Irish hostages seized by his predecessor, Ecgfrith. He further showed his appreciation for Adomnán's gift of a book he had written, *De locis sanctis*, by circulating it widely.[9] A letter written by Ceolfrith, abbot of Wearmouth-Jarrow, tells us that Adomnán had also visited that monastery and that the two abbots had had friendly conversations together. As a

4 Bede, *HE* III.26 and IV.4.

5 *HE* III.26 and IV.12. Cf. Alan Thacker, 'Bede and the Irish', *Beda Venerabilis: Historian, Monk & Northumbrian*, ed. L.A.J.R. Houwen and A.A. MacDonald (Groningen, 1996), 31–59 at p. 46.

6 Charles-Edwards, *ECI*, pp. 317–21; Clare Stancliffe, *Bede, Wilfrid, and the Irish,* Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow, 2003).

7 C.A. Ireland, *Old Irish Wisdom attributed to Aldfrith of Northumbria: an edition of Bríathra Flainn Fhína maic Ossu* (Tempe, Arizona, 1999), pp. 52–4.

8 Stephen, *VW* Chs. 43–45; Catherine Cubitt, 'St Wilfrid: A Man for his Times', *Wilfrid: Abbot, Bishop, Saint*, ed. N.J. Higham (Donington, 2013), 311–47, at pp. 315–6, 331–3, 345–6.

9 *HE* V.15, but note Jean-Michel Picard, 'Bede, Adomnán, and the Writing of History', *Peritia* 3 (1984), 50–70, esp. pp. 60–3.

result, Adomnán had accepted Dionysian Easter practice, though not the Petrine tonsure; but he had been unable to persuade his own monks on Iona to agree to change their Easter practice, though he had had success in converting many in the northern half of Ireland to the Dionysian Easter.[10] But if these events brought the monasteries of Lindisfarne and of Wearmouth-Jarrow, usually thought of as representing different traditions in Northumbria, into friendly relations, the same cannot be said for Wilfrid and his followers. At the Synod of Austerfield in 702 or 703, Wilfrid and his followers were excommunicated. On appeal, the pope exonerated him and ordered his restoration. King Aldfrith refused point blank, but after the king's death this was arranged at a new synod in 706: the bishop of Hexham was moved to York so that Wilfrid could receive back his two key monasteries of Ripon and Hexham, and become bishop of Hexham. On Wilfrid's death in 710 he was succeeded at Hexham by his disciple, Acca. This seesawing of ecclesiastical influence between Wilfrid and Lindisfarne after 664 provides the context for the topic considered here.

Its *prima facie* relevance to us is apparent in the speech which Wilfrid's hagiographer, Stephen of Ripon, put into his hero's mouth when he was outlining his life's achievements in the face of hostility at the synod of Austerfield in 702/703: 'Was I not the first, after the death of the first elders sent by St Gregory, to root out the poisonous weeds planted by the Irish? Did I not change and convert the whole Northumbrian race to the true Easter and to the tonsure in the form of a crown, in accordance with the practice of the Apostolic See…? And did I not instruct them in accordance with the rite of the primitive church to make use of a double choir singing in harmony, with reciprocal responsories and antiphons? And did I not arrange the life of the monks in accordance with the rule of the holy father Benedict, which none had previously introduced there?'[11] Now neither Bede's nor Stephen's account of the synod of Whitby suggests that it had ruled on any topic apart from Easter observance and the shape of the tonsure; and that these were the two specific issues which were linked to the charge of heresy in the second half of the seventh century is shown by the more contemporary evidence of Theodore's rulings.[12] What, then, should we make of Wilfrid's reported attitude to liturgy and monastic rules, two of the issues highlighted by Stephen? Should we see it as the same as that towards Easter and the tonsure, or as more comparable to Bede's contrast between building in wood 'after the Irish fashion' and in stone 'after the Roman fashion', where these are seen as cultural markers rather than a matter of orthodoxy versus heterodoxy?[13] Essentially, the question is whether Wilfrid regarded all Irish traditions as *ipso facto* 'poisonous weeds' to be rooted out, or only some of them. Thomas Charles-Edwards has argued that Wilfrid's attack on the tradition of Aidan and Columba included the deliberate promotion of a different script, Roman Uncial, a different style of church building, in stone, and a different monastic rule, that of Benedict. 'Nothing, neither script nor church-building nor monastic rule, was to be meekly accepted from the Irish-influenced past of Northumbria, from the days of "the bishopric of the Irish"'.[14] My own suggestion, based on the evidence discussed later in this paper, is that we should distinguish between two things: the rooting out of what, in Wilfrid's eyes, was heretical, and replacing it with practices in conformity with Roman usage; and, secondly, the promotion of all that was associated with Rome in terms of fine stone churches, Uncial script, the Benedictine Rule, and chant. Here, we may readily grant that Wilfrid used the latter as propaganda for all things 'Roman'; but it is implausible to think of him tearing down all wooden churches, given the expense and difficulty of replacing them in stone, and given that there were in any case many wooden churches on the Continent.[15] Similarly, manuscripts were too valuable to be discarded because they were in the wrong script, and Insular Minuscule had obvious advantages in terms of speed of execution and taking up less precious parchment, while Ripon itself did not always adhere to the Benedictine Rule, and many a monastery is unlikely to have had the resources to make singing the office with a double choir feasible. In reality, both Stephen and Bede appear to have deliberately constructed such things as style of building or of chant in terms of an antithesis between 'Irish' and 'Roman', which does scant justice to the actual complexities on the

10 *HE* V.21; Clare Stancliffe, '"Charity with Peace": Adomnán and the Easter Question', *Adomnán of Iona: Theologian, Lawmaker, Peacemaker*, ed. J.M. Wooding *et al.* (Dublin, 2010), 51–68 at pp. 51–9.

11 Stephen, *VW*, Ch. 47.

12 *HE* III.25; Stephen, *VW*, Ch. 10. For Theodore's rulings, see Stancliffe, *Bede, Wilfrid*, esp. pp. 12–5.

13 *HE* III.25 and V.21 (at pp. 294, 532), and cf. III.4 on building in stone being unusual among the Britons.

14 Charles-Edwards, *ECI*, pp. 323–43 at p. 332.

15 Tomás Ó Carragáin, *Churches in Early Medieval Ireland* (New Haven and London, 2010), pp. 15–7; also David Petts, Ch. 1 in this volume. I have placed 'Roman' in quotation marks because what Wilfrid had in mind was probably the usage not just of Rome but of *Romania*, those parts of the Continent where Roman traditions still survived: cf. Bede, *HA*, Ch. 5; J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Early Medieval History* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 120–32, esp. p. 128.

ground.[16] Last, but not least, there is the question of how far Wilfrid would have been able to root out Irish practices, even if he had wanted to.

This means that we need to think carefully about what constituted 'Irish tradition', and we should be prepared to differentiate between what we might class as Irish tradition, as opposed to Stephen's or Bede's construction of it. At the outset I should clarify that it is only the Christian Irish tradition that will be considered here, not secular or political traditions (although these may well have influenced Oswald, Oswiu, and Aldfrith). But distinguishing an Irish Christian tradition is far from straightforward. Of course, Ireland and the Irish colony of Dál Riada in Argyll, where Iona was located, enjoyed its own strong linguistic, cultural, ethnic, and social identity, and all of it belonged to the same political and ecclesiastical world.

Nonetheless, it lacked either political or ecclesiastical unity. As regards reaching a decision on the crucial Easter question, whereas the churches in the southern half of Ireland generally reached a consensus at a synod in the 630s, the conversion of the rest of Ireland was a more drawn out affair, with Armagh converting some decades before Iona, the last church to come over (in 716). The implication is that major churches here reached their own decisions, though it is possible that there was some more unified decision making in the 690s as a result of Adomnán's preaching. If, as has been argued,[17] those who accepted the Roman Easter in the southern half of Ireland formed their own cultural group as *Romani* and comprised a distinct school of exegetes, then we may need to look out for Irish *traditions* (in the plural). At the other end of the scale, distinguishing what is Irish from what belongs to western Christendom as a whole is contentious. Whereas the differences between Ireland and the Continent would have been obvious in the early fifth century, by the seventh century Ireland had become integrated into what one might call a northern Christian area, which, in addition to Ireland and Britain, included parts of northern Gaul, running in an arc from the territory of the Bretons, through Normandy to the Seine, and then curving southeast. This belonged to what Pierre Riché has called 'Barbarian Gaul', as opposed to 'Roman Gaul', which comprised the southern half of Neustria, Aquitaine, and Burgundy. A very similar division is drawn by John Blair, and both authors contrast the more romanised south, where written documents continued in use and towns and trade survived better, with the more rural and orally based societies of the north.[18]

One development that bound together Francia, England, and Ireland in the seventh century was the movement of Christian *peregrini* between them. Columbanus had left Bangor in north-east Ireland as a *peregrinus* and established an important monastery at Luxeuil near the Jura in the 590s before finishing his days at Bobbio in Italy. Shortly after his death, Luxeuil had accepted Victorius of Aquitaine's Easter reckoning and the Petrine tonsure, while Columbanus's original austere Rule was revised in significantly different ways by various monastic legislators who appear to have been contesting his legacy.[19] One of those Frankish monasteries that looked back to Columbanus was Faremoutiers, east of Paris; and Bede notes that it was particularly resorted to by English women wishing to live the religious life, including Kentish and East Anglian princesses, close relatives of Æthelthryth, *quondam* queen of King Ecgfrith of Northumbria (reigned 670–685). Other 'Columbanian' monasteries lay nearby, including Jouarre, founded by the extended family of Audoen, while Jouarre in turn provided an abbess for the reformed monastery of Chelles – another monastery named by Bede as frequented by the English, including Hild of Whitby's sister.[20] The extent to which these 'Columbanian' monasteries in Francia retained any specifically Irish monastic practices is unclear; but it means that potentially England could have been influenced by Irish traditions coming from two different directions: direct, from Ireland and Scottish Dál Riada, and indirect, from 'Columbanian' monasteries on the Continent. An excellent illustration of

16 Ó Carragáin, *Churches*, pp. 15–6, 65; Jesse D. Billett, 'Wilfrid and Music', *Wilfrid*, ed. Higham, pp. 163–85.

17 Pádraig Ó Néill, '*Romani* influences on seventh-century Hiberno-Latin literature', *Irland und Europa: Die Kirche im Frümittelalter*, ed. Próinséas Ní Chatháin and Michael Richter (Stuttgart, 1984), 280–90.

18 Pierre Riché, *Éducation et culture dans l'occident barbare VIe–VIIIe siècles*, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1962), p. 224; John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), p. 35; cf. also D.L.T. Bethell, 'The Originality of the Early Irish Church', *Journal of the Royal Society of the Antiquaries of Ireland* 111 (1981), 36–49.

19 Albrecht Diem, 'Columbanian monastic rules: dissent and experiment', *The Irish in Europe in the Early Middle Ages: Identity, Culture and Religion*, ed. Roy Flechner and Sven Meeder (London and New York 2016), 68–85. I am very grateful to Albrecht Diem for allowing me to read this paper before publication.

20 *HE* III.8 (where Faremoutiers is named as Brie; it later took its named from its founding abbess, Burgundofara); IV.19; IV.23. Alain Dierkens, 'Prolégomènes à une histoire des relations culturelles entre les Îles Britanniques et le continent pendant le haut moyen âge', *La Neustrie: Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850*, ed. Harmut Atsma, 2 vols. (Sigmaringen, 1989), II, 371–93 at pp. 373–85. Yaniv Fox, *Power and Religion in Merovingian Gaul: Columbanian Monasticism and the Frankish Elites* (Cambridge, 2014).

these links is the Frank, Agilbert, who was responsible for ordaining Wilfrid priest shortly before the Synod of Whitby, and who entrusted to Wilfrid the task of putting the case for the 'continental' Easter at the synod.[21] (Agilbert presumably followed the Easter reckoning of Victorius, whereas Wilfrid probably used that of Dionysius.) Before coming to Wessex and then showing up at Ahlfrith's court in Deira, Agilbert 'had spent a long time in Ireland for the purpose of studying the Scriptures'.[22] Indeed, it is probable that he was consecrated a bishop there.[23] Eventually, after becoming bishop of Paris, Agilbert was buried in the crypt at Jouarre; he was the brother of its first abbess, Theudechild, and step cousin of Audoen, and this background plausibly explains his Irish destination, even if his exile was forced on him.[24] In theory, Agilbert could have transmitted Irish works to Northumbria. In any case, it was probably through such Frankish Columbanian links that Columbanus's sermons became known in Northumbria. A letter from an anchorite, Alchfrith, addressed to Hyglac, a member of a monastery linked to Lindisfarne *c.* 780, quotes extensively from Columbanus's sermons 3, 7, and 9,[25] and to my knowledge is the only clear evidence that these sermons had reached Britain or Ireland in the early middle ages. They were probably delivered at Bobbio, and their extant manuscript tradition is exclusively continental.[26] It might have been from Agilbert that Wilfrid acquired his admiration for the Rule of St Benedict.[27] Yet before we follow Stephen's *Life of St Wilfrid* in seeing his promotion of this as antithetical to the Irish tradition in Northumbria, we have to remember that either the Rule of St Benedict, or its source, the Rule of the Master, was used by none other than Columbanus himself![28]

In seeking to navigate these eddying currents I shall focus principally on 'Irish tradition' as being that which came to Northumbria either from Iona or from contacts with mainland Ireland, and which reflects Christian practices in these areas that were not generally followed elsewhere in western Christendom at that time. We should, however, allow the cross currents of 'Columbanian' monasticism a subliminal space: they may explain why certain practices which may have originated with the Irish were not regarded as Irish by Wilfrid, but had by then simply become part of the northern Christian world that he inhabited. Turning now to the question of which aspects of the Christianity introduced to Northumbria might have claims to be regarded as Irish, there is no evidence for any difference in matters of faith, but simply in matters of practice, although Ireland's greater openness to apocryphal and heretical writings should be acknowledged. Nor shall I discuss Easter and the tonsure, as these issues were decisively settled at the Synod of Whitby. There remains, however, the question of a church where the monastic element impacted in ways, and to a degree, that were unusual in the Latin west (at least prior to the advent of Irish *peregrini*), as well as an Irish cultural tradition that manifested itself in art, script, and written works.

In former Roman areas on the continent, the lynchpin of the church's organisation was the bishop, with his see in the *civitas* capital.[29] Bishops were responsible for pastoral care in their dioceses, and to this end established a network of local churches in *vici* (villages). Monasteries or other ascetic establishments sprang up more haphazardly, and were not part of this recognised network: lay people might visit them, or indeed attend mass in a private estate church, but for the crucial rite of baptism they must go to their local *vicus* church or to the cathedral itself. Gallic church councils established that abbots and their monasteries should be under the jurisdiction of their local bishop, and Gregory I had applied the same principle (laid down at Chalcedon) in Italy. Complicating this general picture is the overlap that occurred when a monk was elected bishop; Martin of Tours, Caesarius of Arles, and

21 *HE* III.25. On Agilbert, see Carl I. Hammer, '"Holy Entrepreneur": Agilbert, a Merovingian Bishop between Ireland, England and Francia', *Peritia* 22–23 (2011–12), 53–82.

22 *HE* III.7.

23 Hammer, '"Holy Entrepreneur"', pp. 63–5.

24 As suggested recently by Barbara Yorke at a conference on Lyminge in April 2015.

25 Wilhelm Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946), pp. 296–302; Kathleen Hughes, 'Some Aspects of Irish Influence on Early English Private Prayer', *Studia Celtica* 5 (1970), 48–61 (reprinted in her *Church and Society in Ireland, A.D. 400–1200*, ed. David Dumville, London 1987), p. 59; F.M. Biggs, 'A further quotation of Columbanus in Alchfrid's Letter to Hyglac', *Notes and Queries* n.s. 53 (2006), 12–4.

26 Clare Stancliffe, 'The thirteen sermons attributed to Columbanus and the question of their authorship', *Columbanus: Studies on the Latin Writings*, ed. Michael Lapidge (Woodbridge, 1997), 93–202, at pp. 96–105.

27 Patrick Wormald, 'Bede and Benedict Biscop', *Famulus Christi*, ed. Gerald Bonner (London, 1976), 141–69, at pp. 145–6.

28 Stephen *VW*, Ch. 47; Clare Stancliffe, 'Columbanus's Monasticism and the Sources of his Inspiration: From Basil to the Master?', *Tome: Studies in Medieval Celtic History and Law in Honour of Thomas Charles-Edwards*, ed. Fiona Edmonds and Paul Russell (Woodbridge, 2011), 17–28, at pp. 18, 23–6. On the subsequent use or omission of *RSB* by monasteries looking back to Columbanus, see Diem, 'Columbanian monastic rules'.

29 Cf. Blair, *Church*, pp. 34–43.

Gregory the Great are well-known examples. In such cases their ascetic ideals impacted upon how they regarded their pastoral work, preached and (for authors) wrote; but this fusion of the monastic and the pastoral took place in the heart and mind of the individual – it did not lead to monasteries becoming integrated into the structures of pastoral care.[30] When a shortage of suitable candidates for the priesthood occasionally led Gregory to order a monk to be ordained, the abbot released the candidate from his monastery.[31] Augustine's mission to England is also revealing. Although Gregory chose monks as his missionaries, their priority was the foundation of cathedrals in former Roman cities, as with Paulinus at York, not the establishment of monasteries; Paulinus left behind a deacon, not a monastic community.[32]

Ireland's ecclesiastical structures evolved from those implanted by the missionaries, and even in Patrick's time there may have been a coming together of monastic ideals and ecclesiastical structures in a way that was unusual on the continent, though perhaps pioneered by that atypical monk-bishop, Martin of Tours.[33] It may be significant that Sulpicius Severus's Martinian writings were well known and St Martin highly regarded in early Ireland. In seventh-century Ireland, while regular pastoral care was in the hands of clerics[34] (who were sometimes also monks), the Lives of the monastic heads Brigit and Columba portray their protagonists interacting extensively with lay people, both through travelling around, meeting people's practical needs and preaching and baptizing, and equally through lay people seeking them out at their monasteries. One significant role that they played was in administering penance to lay people.[35] Yet both saints remained contemplatives, and their lives exemplify a fusion between the active and contemplative elements.[36] In this they resemble the ideals of St Martin or Gregory the Great, although their readiness to preach, baptize, and administer penance might have run them into trouble with some in the institutional church in Gaul or Italy.[37] But in addition to this overlap visible in the lives of these individuals, there was also a coming together of different functions at the level of institutions. In effect, what historians have traditionally called 'monasteries' are generally better thought of as multifunctional religious communities, living under an abbot (*abbas*) or head (*princeps*).[38] In the seventh century the larger ones would typically have had monks (as we understand that term); they might have had their own

30 Although the monk-bishop might establish his own community in his household, cf. W.E. Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 88–93, 181–22; Barbara Müller, 'Gregory the Great and Monasticism', *A Companion to Gregory the Great*, ed. Bronwen Neil and Matthew Dal Santo (Leiden, 2013), 83–108, esp. pp. 86, 88–9. Martin may be an exception, see below n. 33.

31 G. Jenal, 'Grégoire le Grand et la vie monastique dans l'Italie de son temps', *Grégoire le Grand*, ed. J. Fontaine, R. Gillet and S. Pellistrandi (Paris, 1986), 147–57 at p. 150.

32 Cf. *HE* I.27 (Q. 1), I.29 and 33, II.14 and 20; Müller, 'Gregory', pp. 101–2; Blair, *Church*, pp. 65–9.

33 Michael Herren, 'Mission and Monasticism in the *Confessio* of Patrick', *Sages, Saints and Storytellers*, ed. D. Ó Corráin, L. Breatnach and K. McCone (Maynooth, 1989), pp. 76–85; Charles-Edwards, *ECI*, pp. 223–6. Martin's foundation of Amboise looks like a fusion of monastic *fratres* and a clerical community, perhaps serving the population: Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogi* III.8.4-7, ed. J. Fontaine, *Sulpice Sévère: Gallus, Dialogues sur les 'vertus' de saint Martin*, Sources Chrétiennes 510 (Paris, 2006), 318–21; but by Gregory of Tours's time it appears to have been regarded as a *vicus* church, see his *Historia* X.31.iii.

34 Patrick J. Corish, 'The pastoral mission in the early Irish church', *Léachtaí Cholm Cille* 2 (1971), 14–25; Richard Sharpe, 'Churches and communities in early medieval Ireland: towards a pastoral model', *Pastoral Care before the Parish*, ed. John Blair and Richard Sharpe (Leicester, 1992), 81–109; Catherine Swift, 'Early Irish priests within their own localities', *Tome*, ed. Edmonds and Russell, 29–40.

35 E.g. Adomnán, *VCol*, I.33 and II.32; I.30 and II.39 (pp. 274, 396, 266–8, 420–34); Cogitosus, *Vita Sanctae Brigitae*, Chs. 17, 22 and 25. This represents Cogitosus's original chapter numbers, and I am very grateful to Richard Sharpe for having supplied me with a working edition containing an accurate text of Cogitosus's *Vita*, including this chapter numbering. For a printed edition see *Trias Thaumaturga*, ed. John Colgan (Louvain, 1647), Chs. 18, 23, 26. Cogitosus' Life, though scarcely 'historical', presumably presented Brigit in a way that seemed plausible at the time of writing. Although Brigit as a lay woman could not herself baptize, she is represented in the ?eighth-century anonymous Latin Life as having a tame cleric to perform the rite after she had done the preparatory work of conversion: *Vita I Sanctae Brigitae*, Chs. 40–41, ed. Colgan, *Trias Thaumaturga*. Cf. Christina Harrington, *Women in a Celtic Church: Ireland 450–1150* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 95–100, and cf. 54–68. *HE* IV.4 implies that monks travelling around was not limited to the conversion period in Ireland.

36 Cogitosus, *Vita Brigitae*, Ch. 17 (ed. Colgan, Ch. 18); Adomnán, *VCol*, II. 26, and III, Chs. 8, 16 and 18.

37 Cf. the case of Equitius: Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* I.4.8-19, ed. A. de Vogüé, Sources Chrétiennes 260 (Paris, 1979), pp. 44–57.

38 These do not represent the only type of church in seventh-century Ireland, but they are the ones most clearly relevant for contemporary Northumbria. For details see Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Ireland *c.*800', *A New History of Ireland* I, ed. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Oxford, 2005), 509–608 at pp. 592–608; Clare Stancliffe, 'Religion and Society in Ireland', *The New Cambridge Medieval History* I, ed. Paul Fouracre (Cambridge, 2005), 397–425, at pp. 402–25; Charles-Edwards, *ECI*, pp. 117–23, 223–6, 241–64. On *abbas* and *princeps* see Thomas Charles-Edwards, 'The pastoral role of the church in the early Irish laws', *Pastoral Care*, ed. Blair and Sharpe, 63–77 at p. 67, and *ECI*, pp. 264–9.

bishop and would in any case have had priests and other clerics exercising pastoral care, though whether these were themselves monks or not may have varied; they would have been supported by the agricultural labours of *manaig*, 'monastic tenants'; they would have had a school; and they might have had special areas within the monastic enclosure set aside for particular groups, such as virgins, or anchorites, and also penitents.[39] Often there would be a number of monasteries founded by the same abbot, and these formed a family of monasteries under the jurisdiction of the monastery where the founder abbot was buried. They often appear not to have been under effective episcopal supervision,[40] although in many cases the bishop and abbot was one and the same person (as at Armagh). In the case of Kildare, in Leinster (which may have relevance for Northumbria), the founding abbess was St Brigit, who is then portrayed in the Life by Cogitosus as summoning a hermit to be her bishop and rule her monastery alongside her so as to provide for the sacramental needs not just of her own community, but also of all the churches in other kingdoms which commended themselves to her.[41] The community had female and male components, and the church had internal partitions to accommodate in separate areas the bishop and his clergy, the abbess, her virgins and widows, and lay people of both sexes. Kildare was closely involved with the laity (including kings), serving as a sanctuary or 'city of refuge' for fugitives, a place of safety for royal treasures, and a pilgrimage centre which drew crowds for feasting, for healing, or just for enjoying the spectacle.[42]

Iona was rather different since the main monastery lay on a small island, which probably did not have lay people living on it, and it was not a cult centre: St Columba was buried there, but there was no promotion of a tomb cult. Iona principally housed monks (as we understand that term), though there was apparently a school which was not restricted to those intended for the religious life. There was also provision for lay people who wished to stay there as pilgrim guests for a period, while penitents were housed at subsidiary monasteries on Tiree or on *Hinba*, and the latter island also had a settlement devoted to anchorites.[43] Although lay people came to seek help, advice, or to confess their sins, we do not know whether Iona itself exercised regular pastoral care for lay people in the vicinity, but this may be implied by the burial of laymen in its cemetery.[44] It is in any case likely that such was provided by its subsidiary monasteries on the mainland, like that on Loch Awe.[45] As for its governance, Bede's description is explicit: 'This island always has for its ruler an abbot who is a priest, to whose authority the whole province, including even bishops, have to be subject. This unusual arrangement follows the example of their first teacher, who was not a bishop but a priest and a monk'.[46] The abbot of Iona also appointed the priors (*praepositi*) of its daughter houses, frequently members of the founder's family (to which Iona's abbot also belonged, in most instances).

There are two areas in which these Irish developments may have been significant for Northumbria. One is in terms of ecclesiastical structures: for instance, how did the relationship between bishops and monasteries and pastoral care work out, and did this change over the period we are considering? Related to this is the question of whether there are any religious practices that might be seen as distinctively Irish which spread from Ireland to Northumbria. These two topics will be investigated in Part II below, while in Part III personal contacts and the influence of Irish books and Christian culture will be briefly considered. Some significant areas of Irish tradition will not be broached here through lack of space, together with lack of expertise on my part. These include building traditions and the physical layout of church sites, codicology and palaeography, art, liturgy, and the Christian literary traditions that impacted on English devotional and

39 Cf. *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* XLII, 15, ed. H. Wasserschleben, *Die irische Kanonensammlung*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1885), p. 166.

40 Stancliffe, 'Religion and Society', pp. 418–20; for a different view see Richard Sharpe, 'Some Problems concerning the Organization of the Church in early medieval Ireland', *Peritia* 3 (1984), 230–70 at p. 253; Colmán Etchingham, 'Bishops in the early Irish church: a reassessment', *Studia Hibernica* 28 (1994), 35–62, who, however, relies entirely on prescriptive sources and does not discuss the evidence of Bede and Adomnán. In his *Church Organisation in Ireland A.D. 650 to 1000* (Maynooth, 1999), pp. 91–2, Etchingham notes their evidence, but does not discuss it.

41 Cogitosus, *Vita Brigitae*, preface.

42 Ibid., Ch. 32 (ed. Colgan, Chs. 35–36).

43 Adomnán, *VCol*, III. 21 and R. Sharpe (trans.) *Adomnán of Iona: Life of St Columba* (London, 1995), n. 393 (school); *VCol*, I. 4 and 32 and Sharpe, *Life*, notes 69 and 144 (visitors); *VCol*, I. 21, 30 and 45 and II. 39 and Sharpe, *Life*, notes 182, 194 (penitents); *VCol*, III, 23 (anchorites).

44 Adomnán, *VCol*, I. 16; cf. Charles-Edwards, *ECI*, pp. 117–8, 382, n. 170. Note also that Oswald and Oswiu had been baptized by Ionan monks: *HE* III.3.

45 Adomnán, *VCol*, I.31, and cf. II.46. Gilbert Márkus, 'Iona: Monks, Pastors and Missionaries', *Spes Scotorum: Hope of the Scots*, ed. Dauvit Brown and Thomas Owen Clancy (Edinburgh, 1999), 115–38 at pp. 131–2.

46 *HE* III.4.

ecclesiastical literature more generally.[47] My chief focus lies on what can reasonably be assigned to Northumbria in the two generations after Whitby, *c.* 664–735.

11 Irish Influence on Northumbrian Ecclesiastical Structures and Religious Practices

The initial impact of Irish monasticism on the Northumbrian church is symbolised by Aidan's decision to operate as a bishop out of his newly founded monastery on Holy Island (ills. 1.1-3), rather than returning to Paulinus's see in the old Roman city of York. In part, this can be explained by political factors: whereas Paulinus had been evangelising during the reign of a Deiran king, Edwin, whose ancestral power base lay in the area of York, Aidan came at the request of the Bernician king, Oswald, whose ancestral power base lay in the area of the *urbs regia* of Bamburgh.[48] There was, however, more to Aidan's choice than political pragmatism. Gregory I's and Paulinus's opting for York was due to its position as the capital of a former Roman province in Britannia. This tallied with the location of metropolitan sees on the continent, and also meant that it was well served by the network of Roman roads. Aidan's choice of Lindisfarne rather than, say, Corbridge, or even Bamburgh or Milfield, encapsulates both his indifference to the Roman past and his prioritising a monastic site that was set apart rather than an accessible episcopal centre. Lindisfarne is cut off by the tide for approximately eight hours out of every twenty-four. One naturally thinks of Aidan's home monastery of Iona, also set on an island.[49] It suggests that Aidan viewed his mission to Northumbria through a monastic lens. After the Synod of Whitby the Northumbrian see was switched back to York, possibly at Wilfrid's behest;[50] but within twenty years Lindisfarne had once more regained its position as the seat of a bishop as well as a monastery, this time alongside York and Hexham.

In addition to Lindisfarne's role as an episcopal see, this foundation of Aidan epitomises what was arguably the most significant institution which the Irish brought to Northumbria: that is, their adaptation of the monastery as a many-faceted community which could embrace those living the contemplative life, who maintained the liturgical round of services and trained up future generations, but also included priests who could evangelise and provide pastoral care for the surrounding population.[51] The larger monasteries, like Lindisfarne, achieved a critical mass which a bishop's *familia* could not hope to emulate,[52] and crucially provided the stability needed for training Anglo-Saxons in literacy, Latin and the liturgy, and also grounding them in the Bible and its interpretation, so that there was a pool of potential candidates for the priesthood. Underpinning all this, they were generously endowed and had the manpower to utilise their estates effectively. Since Lindisfarne was from the start the seat of a bishop, evangelisation and pastoral care were more significant than they are ever likely to have been on Iona. In other respects, however, Lindisfarne seems to mirror its mother house: like it, set apart by its island site, with an abbot ruling the monastery; and since the bishop and his clergy were monks in that monastery, within its bounds they will have owed obedience to the abbot.[53] After Whitby this idiosyncrasy temporarily disappeared, since the episcopal see was switched to York. But once Lindisfarne had reacquired its own bishop, the separation between bishop and abbot reappeared, with Herefrith holding the abbacy during Cuthbert's episcopate (685–7).[54] The way that many Lindisfarne bishops succeeded in balancing their pastoral role with the discipline of the contemplative life, by temporarily withdrawing to a remote place for prayer, was a pattern inherited from the Irish tradition, which had already pioneered the fusion between monasticism and pastoral care.[55]

There were various changes to the monastic rule at Lindisfarne in the years following Whitby. At some point Eata, abbot of both Lindisfarne and Melrose, appointed Cuthbert as prior on Lindisfarne, charging him with imparting a new monastic rule. This appears to have taken

47 On this last Charles D. Wright, 'The Irish Tradition', *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, ed. Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine Treharne (Oxford, 2001), 345–74, provides an excellent overview.

48 *HE* I.29, II.14, III.3, 6 and 16; cf. David Rollason, *Northumbria, 500–1100* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 45–50.

49 See further David Petts, Chapter 1 above.

50 See Eric John, 'The Social and Political Problems of the Early English Church', *Land, Church, and People*, ed. Joan Thirsk (*Agricultural History Review* 18, Supplement; Reading, 1970), 39–63 at pp. 42–9. Note Stephen's emphasis on York as a metropolitan see in *VW,* Ch. 10, and cf. Ch. 12.

51 This is Blair's 'minster' (*Church*, p. 3), and his book contains an excellent, differentiated discussion, which wisely avoids pigeonholing which aspects came from which sources. My specific topic compels me to wrestle with these complexities.

52 Bishop Colmán took all the Irish and some thirty English monks when he left Lindisfarne (*HE* IV.4), but Lindisfarne survived.

53 Bede, *VC*, Ch. 16.

54 *VC*, Ch. 37.

55 Cf. Bede *HE* III.16 and *VC,* Ch. 42; Clare Stancliffe, 'Cuthbert and the Polarity between Pastor and Solitary', *St Cuthbert, his Cult and his Community to AD 1200*, ed. Gerald Bonner, David Rollason and Clare Stancliffe (Woodbridge, 1989), 21–44, at pp. 31–42.

the place of their customary observance. The Lindisfarne monk who wrote the earliest *Life of St Cuthbert* notes that this rule was still observed to his day (*c.* 700), along with that of St Benedict.[56] The latter was presumably a later addition, and probably due to Wilfrid, who held the bishopric of Lindisfarne for a bruising year after Cuthbert's death (687–8). It seems likely that Wilfrid was also responsible for demoting Herefrith from the abbacy: *c.* 720, Bede refers to Herefrith as 'former abbot'.[57] The subjection of a diocesan bishop to an abbot was uncanonical, which would have offended Wilfrid, so he probably assumed the title of abbot himself.[58] One might have expected him to have appointed Herefrith as prior, given that, as bishop, Wilfrid would often have been away on pastoral work; but perhaps he wished to reduce Lindisfarne to obedience, and therefore dispensed with that office, instead appointing *decani*, 'deans', an office recommended in the Benedictine rule. This is implied by the fact that we do not hear of an abbot or prior being involved in the decision to translate the relics of St Cuthbert in 698, but rather of a council of *decani*, who then sought the permission of Bishop Eadberht,[59] though by 720 the bishop and abbot model had been restored.[60] Given the transformative implications of the translation of St Cuthbert's body, one would expect the abbot to have played a key role in this decision, if such an office holder had then existed separate from the bishop. The translation, which followed precedents in Gaul and Ely, changed the community, bringing 'an influx of fugitives and guilty men', and sometimes an angry king in pursuit.[61] Thus a community which had started out on the Ionan model began to take on some of the characteristics of Kildare or St Martin's, Tours, acting as a sanctuary.

It is possible that both Gallic and Irish influences were in play here. As we will see in Part IV below, there is good evidence for Cogistosus's Life of St Brigit of Kildare being known at Whitby by *c.*700, and it was probably also known at Lindisfarne by that date.[62] It may therefore be relevant to note this Life's account of sanctuary at Kildare, which is described as a *ciuitas refugii* 'in whose suburbs, which St Brigit herself marked out with a fixed boundary, no carnal adversary nor enemy host is feared, but it with all its suburbs outside is the safest city of refuge in the whole of Ireland for all fugitives'.[63] The idea of inner and outer zones at Lindisfarne may, as David Petts suggests, be implicit in Bede's wording of Cuthbert's retreat to a more secluded place 'in the outer precincts of the monastery', and this may also be discernible in the street pattern in the village today.[64] Further, it is just possible that the extensive and graduated areas of sanctuary which are later attested for Beverley, Ripon, Hexham, and York owe something in their development to the influence of the Kildare model in the early eighth century, although tenth-century Irish influence coming via the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* may be the more plausible route.[65] In all events, the sixty

56 *VCAA*, III.1; *VC* ch.16.

57 Cf. *VC*, Chs. 8 and 37.

58 Clare Stancliffe, 'Disputed Episcopacy: Bede, Acca, and the Relationship between Stephen's *Life of St Wilfrid* and the early prose Lives of St Cuthbert', *ASE* 41 (2013), 7–39 at pp. 28–30, and cf. 15–8. On Wilfrid's rule at Lindisfarne see Alan Thacker, 'Lindisfarne and the Origins of the Cult of St Cuthbert', *St Cuthbert,* ed. Bonner, Rollason and Stancliffe, 103–22 at p. 120.

59 *VCAA*, IV.14; Charles-Edwards, *ECI*, p. 325. Benedict allows for both *decani*, and, if desired, a prior: *RSB,* Chs. 21 and 65, ed. Timothy Fry, *RB 1980: The Rule of St Benedict* (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1981), pp. 216–9, 284–7.

60 *VC*, Ch. 16, 'usque hodie'; *HE* V. 1, Guthfrith as abbot in Æthilwald's episcopacy.

61 *VC*, Ch. 37; Symeon of Durham, *Historia Regum*, *s. a.* 750: *Symeonis monachi opera omnia,* ed. T. Arnold, 2 vols, Rolls Series 75 (London, 1882–5), II, 39–40. For continental parallels cf. Thacker, 'Lindisfarne', pp. 103–9; Alan Thacker, 'The Making of a Local Saint', *Local Saints and Local Curches in the Early Medieval West*, ed. Alan Thacker and Richard Sharpe (Oxford, 2002), 45–73 at pp. 45–8, 54–60, 66–71; Julia M.H. Smith, 'Women at the Tomb: Access to Relic Shrines in the Early Middle Ages', *The World of Gregory of Tours*, ed. Kathleen Mitchell and Ian Wood (Leiden, 2002), 163–80 at pp. 170–5.

62 Below, pp. **37–8, 36** and n. 133. Note that the verbal reminiscence cited there occurs in the sentence but one before the passage quoted here.

63 Cogitosus, *Vita Brigitae*, Ch. 32 (ed. Colgan, *Trias Thaumaturga* Ch. 36).

64 'In exterioribus eius cellae partibus', *VC*, Ch. 17. See David Petts, Chapter 1 above; cf. also Deirdre O'Sullivan, 'The Plan of the Early Christian Monastery on Lindisfarne', *St Cuthbert,* ed. Bonner, Rollason and Stancliffe, 125–42 at pp. 138–40; the parallel curves of Marygate and Church Lane are suggestive.

65 Cogitosus, *Vita Brigitae*, Ch. 32. Cf. *Collectio Canonum Hibernensium* XLIV, 2 and 5, ed. Wasserschleben, pp. 174, 175 and note (e). Note also that Iona under Adomnán was already claiming differentiated fines for offences against churches and their sanctuaries: those committed within the church settlement area carried full fine, while those committed further out, beyond the *faithche* ('green') carried only half fine: *Cáin Adomnáin* §36, ed. P.P. Ó Néill and D.N. Dumville, *Cáin Adomnáin and Canones Adomnani*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 2003), I, pp. 38–9. On the Irish developments see Charles Doherty, 'The Monastic Town in Early Medieval Ireland', *The Comparative History of Urban Origins in Non-Roman Europe*, ed. H.B. Clarke and A. Simms, 2 vols., BAR int. ser. 255 (Oxford, 1985), I, 45–75 at pp. 55–9; Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Irish Vernacular Law and the Old Testament', *Irland und die Christenheit*, ed. P. Ní Chatháin and M. Richter (Stuttgart, 1987), 284–307 at pp. 296–307; Jean-Michel Picard, 'Space

years following the Synod of Whitby saw a series of changes at Lindisfarne, and those that were due to Wilfrid were not the most important and had not all lasted. Instead it was Lindisfarne-trained monks who took the decision to move away from its original observance, and above all the momentous one of translating St Cuthbert's body and so establishing a tomb cult, looking in this instance to Ely and the Continent, and possibly also Kildare.

Let us now turn from the particular problems posed by Lindisfarne's role as monastery, episcopal seat, and sanctuary to consider the role of Northumbrian monasteries more generally. Links to East Anglian royalty and to the Frankish 'Columbanian' monasteries of Chelles, Faremoutiers, and Jouarre had already impacted on Northumbrian monasticism, giving rise to the establishment of double monasteries. Whitby, established under Hild in 657, is the best known example. Beginning with Oswiu's gift of land for twelve monasteries in 655, monasteries emerge to take centre stage in the Northumbrian church.[66] That they served both as religious communities and as centres whence pastoral work radiated out is indicated by a provision of Theodore's *Penitential* as well as in narratives such as those depicting Cuthbert's pastoral journeys when prior of Melrose.[67] Although there are continental parallels, tellingly, these are from Frankish 'Columbanian' houses;[68] and this basic ecclesiastical structure provided by multifunctional monasteries, which included priests dispensing pastoral care, can legitimately be seen as Irish in origin. As in Ireland, monasteries appear to have formed federations (*paruchiae*), under the jurisdiction of the head of the chief church, who appointed the prior of subordinate houses. We find this both with Eata, abbot of Lindisfarne and Melrose, and, on a greater scale, with Wilfrid.[69] Thanks to his years of exile, Wilfrid had acquired monasteries in many kingdoms as well as Northumbria, and the bonds which bound them to him appear to be what counted, not allegiance to the bishop in whose diocese they were located. One indication of an abbot's freedom to approach whichever bishop he wished is Eanmund's request that Bishop Ecgberht, a *peregrinus* in Ireland, should consecrate an altar for his monastery in Northumbria.[70] Perhaps the most striking example of the relative power of abbots and abbesses within their own federations is that of Abbess Æthelflæd of Whitby, who chose to approach Cuthbert, bishop of Lindisfarne, to consecrate a church on her estate of *Osingadun*, although it probably lay in the diocese of York.[71] This looks very like the Ionan pattern where abbots were the key figures. (At another Irish, non-Columban Hebridean monastery, an abbot was able to summon a bishop and compel him, against his better judgement, to ordain as a priest a man with blood on his hands.[72]) But we need to be careful before assuming that Æthelflæd simply disregarded canon law.[73] Columbanus had appealed to the pope for confirmation that he should not be subject to the jurisdiction of the Frankish bishops (and their Easter practice); and, after his death, Abbot Bertulf of Bobbio had persuaded Pope Honorius to exempt Bobbio from the jurisdiction of its

Organization in Early Irish Monasteries', *Glendalough: City of God*, ed. C. Doherty, L. Doran and M. Kelly (Dublin, 2011), 54–63. On their possible relationship to English developments see Wendy Davies, '"Protected space" in Britain and Ireland in the middle ages', *Scotland in Dark Age Britain*, ed. B.E. Crawford (St Andrews, 1996), 1–19; T.B. Lambert, 'Spiritual protection and secular power: the evolution of sanctuary and legal privilege in Ripon and Beverley, 900–1300', *Peace and Protection in the Middle Ages*, ed. T.B. Lambert and David Rollason (Durham and Toronto, 2009), 121–40; and Blair, *Church*, pp. 221–5. Davies and Lambert incline to a tenth-century date, but Blair cautiously suggests an early date. The geographical distribution of Davies's 'chartered sanctuaries' (northern England and Cornwall alongside Wales, Ireland and Scotland, pp. 5–6) is suggestive. See also below, p. **39**.

66 Bede, *HE* III.24. Blair, *Church*, pp. 72–108.

67 Theodore, *Penitential* II. vi. 7, ed. P.W. Finsterwalder, *Die Canones Theodori Cantuariensis und ihre Überlieferungsformen* (Weimar, 1929), p. 320: if a monastery relocates, a priest must remain to serve the church in the original place. *VCAA*, II. 5–6; Bede, *VC*, Chs. 9, 12–13. Alan Thacker, 'Monks, Preaching and Pastoral Care in early Anglo-Saxon England', *Pastoral Care before the Parish*, ed. Blair and Sharpe, 137–70, at pp. 139–52.

68 Thacker, 'Lindisfarne', p. 104, citing Jouarre, Faremoutiers, Luxeuil, and Chelles. I would view these Frankish Columbanian instances as arising from Columbanus's own concern for the salvation of people at large (as well as his own monastic calling) as stated in *ep.* 4 §4, and implied by the fact that his *Penitential* contains an entire section devoted to the laity: ed. G.S.M. Walker, *Sancti Columbani Opera* (Dublin, 1957), pp. 28, 174–9. Recent archaeological discoveries at Luxeuil imply a level of integration of Columbanus's monastery there into local ecclesiastical structures that is carried well beyond what our literary sources suggest: see S. Bully *et al.*, 'Les origines du monastère de Luxeuil (Haute-Saône) d'après les récentes recherches archéologiques', *L'empreinte chrétienne en Gaule du IVe au IXe siècle*, ed. M. Gaillard (Turnhout, 2014), 311–55.

69 Bede, *VC*, Chs. 6, 16. Stephen, *VW*, Chs. 14, 21, 40, 41, 44, 48, 60–65. Sarah Foot, 'Wilfrid's Monastic Empire', *Wilfrid*, ed. Higham, pp. 27–39.

70 Æthelwulf, *De abbatibus*, Ch. 6 (cf. also Ch. 5), ed. A. Campbell (Oxford, 1967), pp. 10–17.

71 *VCAA*, IV. 10; Bede, *VC*, Ch. 10; Thacker, 'Pastoral Care', p. 149. Æthelflæd sent a messenger to her main monastery, presumably Whitby, and the messenger returned the following day, which implies somewhere closer to Whitby than the river Aln, then the southern border of the diocese of Lindisfarne.

72 Adomnán, *VCol*, I.36.

73 Cf. Council of Hertford, c. 2 (*HE* IV.5).

diocesan bishop, putting it directly under the papacy.[74] Honorius's charter for Bobbio seems to lie at the start of a continental charter tradition of monastic exemptions, with later instances appearing in Frankish 'Columbanian' circles.[75] It seems that Wilfrid acquired charters of this type for Ripon and Hexham, and Biscop for Wearmouth and Jarrow.[76] Since we know that Hild sent messengers of her own to the pope in connection with Wilfrid,[77] it is not impossible that she also acquired a charter exempting Whitby from her diocesan. So, are we seeing direct Irish influence, or indirect from continental 'Columbanian' circles? Either way, the structures of the nascent Northumbrian church – as of that in England as a whole – are idiosyncratic or innovative as compared with the church on the Continent, tallying in important respects with Irish models; and Wilfrid, far from seeking to change them, appears to have adopted them and operated within them.[78]

We turn now to the question of distinctive religious practices introduced by the Irish that continued in Northumbria after 664. The most significant of these practices was the extension of repeatable penance to lay people, using the system of tariffed penances in a penitential, which could be administered by a priest.[79] For this there is evidence from Coldingham (where the penitent was an Irishman named Adamnán), from Melrose (where Dryhthelm, a former nobleman, lived as a permanent penitent), and from Lindisfarne and Farne (where many confessed to Cuthbert), while Bede's own concerns with penance are apparent in his allotting the topic so much space in his *History*.[80] The clearest evidence, however, comes from Theodore's *Penitential*. In the preface, the editor identifies himself as 'discipulus Umbrensium'. This same nomenclature of designating the Deirans a 'Humbrian' *gens* recurs in the Life of Gregory, written in the early eighth century by a monk or nun of Whitby.[81] The *Penitential*'s preface has been helpfully discussed by Charles-Edwards. A priest named Eoda had consulted Theodore about a *libellus Scottorum*, which can be identified as the penitential of an Irishman, Cummian the Tall.[82] Theodore had given his approval to this penitential: it was by an 'ecclesiasticus homo', which, given the confused Latin of this preface, might be taken to mean either a churchman, or, perhaps, a man whom Theodore recognised as belonging to the church (i.e. not heretical on Easter). In other words, Theodore himself is portrayed as having given his approval to the Irish system of repeatable penance; and book I of the *Penitential*, which is an edited version of his rulings, is full of tariffed penances, after the Irish fashion. Theodore also acknowledged that there was no public reconciliation of penitents by the bishop 'in this *provincia*' because there was no public penance there.[83] This suggests that Irish penitential practices had become established throughout Northumbria – indeed, England; and that the Deirans were as interested in them as the Bernicians.

There are also many religious practices that are characteristic of the Irish tradition, but by no means exclusive to it. Underlying them all was an understanding of the monastic life which saw it in terms of the individual monk's striving for the purity of heart that would enable contemplation of God even in this life, with monasteries facilitating this, rather than being schools for beginners, where the emphasis fell more on fostering the common life.[84] Although such striving for perfection in this life was widespread in the foundational texts of monasticism such as Athanasius's *Life of St Antony*, Jerome's letters and saints' Lives, and at least the earlier part of Cassian's *Conferences*, in the west controversy over the relationship between monks and ordinary church members and the condemnation of Pelagius in 418 led to a changed interpretation of the monastic life. This did not happen overnight, however. It took time to become embedded in Gaul, and seems

74 Columbanus, *ep*. 3 §2; Jonas, *Vita Columbani abbatis discipulorumque eius* II. 23, ed. B. Krusch, *Ionae Vitae Sanctorum Columbani, Vedastis, Iohannis*, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis separatim editi (Hanover and Leipzig, 1905), pp. 281–3; Clare Stancliffe, 'Jonas's *Life of Columbanus and his Disciples*', *Studies in Irish Hagiography: Saints and Scholars*, ed. J. Carey, M. Herbert and P. Ó Riain (Dublin, 2001), 189–220 at 207–8.

75 Patrick Wormald, 'Bede and Benedict Biscop', at 148–9; cf. Dierkens, 'Prolégomènes', pp. 389–92.

76 Stephen, *VW*, Ch. 45; Bede, *HA*, Ch. 15; Anonymous, *Vita Ceolfridi*, Ch. 20, ed. Grocock and Wood, *Abbots*. Wormald, 'Bede and Benedict Biscop', pp. 146–7 and notes pp. 161–3.

77 Stephen, *VW*, Ch. 54.

78 Cf. Blair, *Church*, pp. 73–121.

79 Or even, perhaps, an abbess: note Theodore's prohibition, *Penitential* II. vii. 2b. In general, see Allen J. Frantzen, *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1983).

80 *HE* IV.25, V.12, *VC*, Chs. 16 and 22, and see also *HE* V.13–14.

81 *Penitential*, preface, ed. Finsterwalder, p. 287; *Vita Gregorii Papae*, ed. B. Colgrave, *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great* (Kansas, 1968), Ch. 12, and cf. Ch. 9 for the identification of the *gens* as the Deirans.

82 Thomas Charles-Edwards, 'The Penitential of Theodore and the *Iudicia Theodori*', *Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies on his Life and Influence*, ed. Michael Lapidge (Cambridge, 1995), 141–74, at pp. 147–58.

83 *Penitential* I. xiii. 4.

84 I.e. the basic contrast between Cassian and Benedict. For a nuanced discussion of these traditions see Conrad Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism from Augustine to Gregory the Great* (Oxford, 2000), esp. pp. 8–19, 33–8, 45–59, 106–7, 122–8. Fundamental also is R.A. Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (Cambridge, 1990), *q.v.* for the terms 'Desert' and 'City'.

not to have reached Ireland. It may be indicative that the Irish continued to cite Pelagius openly by name throughout the early middle ages. This may explain why practices typical of the Desert tradition continued in Ireland in the seventh and eighth centuries to a far greater extent than on the Continent at this period. The Desert tradition in question explains the rigorous asceticism manifested in such practices as praying while immersed in cold water, the idea of the ascetic life as a form of 'martyrdom', the propensity to seek individual retreat in remote places such as islands, and also to leave and go elsewhere if monks felt that that would aid their spiritual journey. This in turn linked to the Irish custom of *peregrinatio.* All these practices can be seen in the Irish tradition, and they continued in Northumbria after 664, most notably with Cuthbert.[85] The high regard in which Lindisfarne continued to hold hermits is shown by the placing and existence of a special section of the Durham *Liber vitae* devoted to them,[86] and testifies to its continuance in the Desert tradition. Hermits also appear elsewhere in Northumbria, with Hereberht on Derwentwater, Wilgils near the mouth of the Humber, and in the eighth century with Balthere on the Bass Rock and Echa at Crayke.[87] Intriguingly they are equally found in Wilfrid's monasteries, with Oethilwald, a priest from Ripon, following Cuthbert as a hermit on Farne.[88] This was something that the Rule of Benedict made allowance for,[89] and in any case Wilfrid probably made selective use of the Rule in his own monasteries.[90]

Nonetheless, the general thrust of the Rule of St Benedict was different from the Irish tradition, in that it emphasised virtues conducive to community life, including stability, humility, and obedience to the Rule, over against the overriding imperative of the individual's progress to perfection. Here, Wearmouth-Jarrow stands more obviously in the Benedictine tradition than Wilfrid's monasteries.

The Irish and Anglo-Saxon understanding of *peregrinatio* ('pilgrimage') is particularly relevant for our topic, as it denoted the ascetic discipline of leaving one's homeland and travelling elsewhere 'for the sake of God'. For the Irish, this might be to another kingdom in Ireland, though it was considered more meritorious to travel overseas; for the Anglo-Saxons, it meant leaving Britain to travel overseas, either to Ireland or the Continent (including Rome).[91] Ireland was readily accessible, particularly after Ecgfrith had extended Northumbrian control westwards to include harbours on Britain's western coast.[92] We need to remember that Northumbria was ruled for fifty-five out of the seventy odd years from Oswald's accession (634) to Aldfrith's death (705) by kings who had spent many years in Dál Riada and were bilingual in Irish and English. In view of this and the fact that Northumbrian students had been trained by Irish masters, that the Irish welcomed them generously, and that travel to Ireland was considered positively meritorious, it is not surprising that considerable numbers of Northumbrians travelled there. The close contacts that ensued and their pivotal role in developing and maintaining a common Insular culture regardless of the Synod of Whitby deserves separate, more detailed treatment.

III *Peregrinatio* and the Development of a Common Insular Culture

Bede is our chief historical source for *peregrinatio* between Northumbria and Ireland and provides an obvious starting point. In addition we have place-name evidence from Ireland, material evidence in the form of manuscripts and inscriptions on stone, and also the indirect evidence of the transmission of writings from Ireland. Bede talks of 'many' going to Ireland in the period 651–664, some to live the monastic life, others visiting 'the cells of

85 Stancliffe, 'Cuthbert', pp. 31–44; Colin Ireland, 'Penance and Prayer in Water: an Irish Practice in Northumbrian Hagiography', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 34 (1997), pp. 51–66; on asceticism as martyrdom cf. *VCAA*, IV.15, Clare Stancliffe, 'Red, White and Blue Martyrdom', *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe*, ed. D. Whitelock, R. McKitterick and D. Dumville (Cambridge, 1982), 21–46; and the *Glossa in Psalmos: The Hiberno-Latin Gloss on the Psalms of Codex Palatinus Latinus 68*, ed. Martin McNamara (Vatican, 1986), p. 100, on which see below.

86 E. Briggs, 'Nothing but Names: The Original Core of the Durham *Liber Vitae*','*The Durham Liber Vitae and its Context*, ed. David Rollason *et al.* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 63–85, esp. p. 69.

87 *VCAA*, IV.9 and Bede, VC, 28; Levison, *England and the Continent*, pp. 54–5; Alcuin, *Versus de patribus regibus et sanctis euboricensis ecclesiae* lines 1319–1393: Alcuin: *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York*, ed. P. Godman (Oxford, 1982), pp. 104–9, and cf. lvi–lvii. See further Mary Clayton, 'Hermits and the Contemplative Life in Anglo-Saxon England', *Holy Men and Holy Women*, ed. P.E. Szarmach (Albany, 1996), 147–76 at 152–5.

88 *HE* V.1. This presumably owed much to Wilfrid's position in charge of Lindisfarne after Cuthbert's death. For Wilfridian anchorites see also Stephen, *VW*, Chs. 62, 64.

89 *RSB*, Ch. 73; Leyser, *Authority*, pp. 106–7.

90 Wilfrid's appointment of abbots in Stephen, *VW* Chs. 52–54, scarcely conforms to *RSB*, Ch. 64.

91 T.M. Charles-Edwards, 'The Social Background to Irish *peregrinatio*', *Celtica* 11 (1976), 43–59. For Rome, Stephen, *VW*, Chs. 3–4 and 55; anonymous *Vita Ceolfridi*, Chs. 21 and 27, equating Ceolfrith *peregrinaturus* to Rome with Cynefrith's withdrawal to Ireland (Ch. 2).

92 Edmonds, 'Practicalities'.

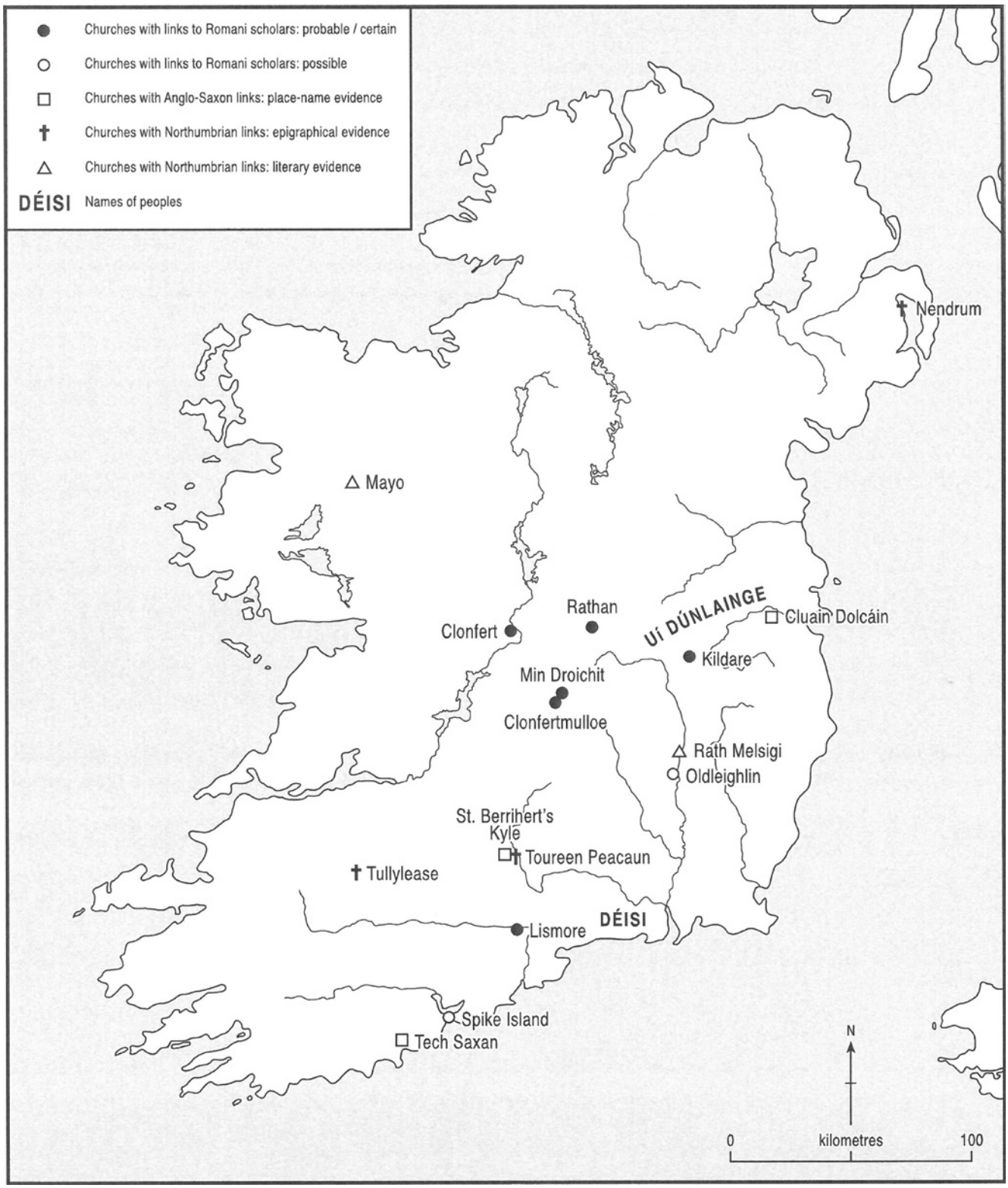


ILLUSTRATION 2.1 *Map of Ireland, showing places mentioned in the text.*

various teachers and apply[ing] themselves to study'. The Irish welcomed them and even 'provided them with books to read and with instruction, without asking for payment'.[93] The flow did not stop in 664. Some eighteen individuals are named, such as Cynefrith, brother of Bede's abbot Ceolfrith, who left his abbacy of Gilling to go on *peregrinatio*,[94] and Ecgberht, who played a prominent role in a community, probably Rath Melsigi, that had many English *peregrini*. They included a disciple of Boisil, trained at Melrose, and also Willibrord, a monk from Ripon trained by Wilfrid, thus again indicating an absence of any anti-Irish feeling on the part of Wilfridians. Rath Melsigi has been plausibly identified as Clonmelsh, near Carlow (see ill. 2.1).[95] In addition, Tullylease (Co. Cork) and Toureen Peacaun (Co. Tipperary) are shown through epigraphical evidence to have had Northumbrian *peregrini* links, and St Berrihert's Kyle (Co. Tipperary) is closely associated with the latter and its eponymous saint bears an Anglian name.[96] Harder to date, but potentially early, is the transference of the cult of St Cuthbert to Cluain Dolcáin (Co. Dublin), attested by the place-name Cell Mo Chudric.[97] Nearer home, a fragmentary inscription in Insular decorative capitals from Nendrum (Co. Down) suggests Northumbrian contacts there also.[98]

What is significant is that all but the last of these sites lie in the provinces of Leinster and Munster, and thus in parts of Ireland that had already adopted continental Easter practice. There was therefore no reason why the synod of Whitby should have disrupted these close relationships. A further, equally significant point is that they were within reach of *Romani* scholarly circles that were active in teaching and writing computistical, theological, and exegetical works which we know reached Bede in Northumbria. These included Manchianus of Min Droichit near Clonfertmulloe, a monk of the latter house named Laidcenn, Carthach's foundations of Lismore and Rathan, and Cummian, probably bishop-abbot of Clonfert on the Shannon, and author of the penitential lying behind Theodore's, as discussed above (see ill. 2.1).[99] If we accept the attractive suggestion that the small stone bearing the names of Cummene and Ladcen at Toureen Peacaun (ill. 2.2) was not a grave marker but a stone equivalent of a *liber vitae* memorialising two of these scholars, Cummian and Laidcenn, then we have direct evidence for a link between two of these prominent *Romani* and a monastery frequented by Northumbrians.[100]

The works by these *Romani* scholars (or from places directly linked to them) which reached early Northumbria include Cummian's *Penitential* (and possibly his *De controversia paschale*),[101] Laidcenn's *lorica*,[102] the anonymous *De ordine creaturarum*,[103] a computus anthology and Irish

93 *HE* III.27.

94 *Vita Ceolfridi*, Ch. 2.

95 Bede, *HE* III.27, V.9-10; Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, 'Rath Melsigi, Willibrord, and the earliest Echternach Manuscripts', *Peritia* 3 (1984), 17–49; Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, *The Kings Depart: The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon Royal Exile in the sixth and seventh centuries*, Quiggin Pamplet (Cambridge, 2007).

96 E. Okasha and K. Forsyth, *Early Christian Inscriptions of Munster: A Corpus of Inscribed Stones* (Cork, 2001), pp. 119–23, 220–3, 290–7; G. Charles-Edwards, 'The East Cross inscription from Toureen Peacaun: some concrete evidence', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 132 (2002), pp. 114–26, who reads the final word of the inscription as Osgyth, a female name found on an early name stone at Lindisfarne, and appearing elsewhere in pre-Conquest sources only in its *Liber vitae* (*The Durham Liber Vitae*, ed. David and Lynda Rollason, 3 vols (London, 2007), II, p. 140). Edmonds, 'Practicalities', pp. 135 (map), 143–5. For the Northumbrian associations of the Insular Decorative Capitals at Toureen Peacaun see John Higgitt, 'The Display Script of the Book of Kells and the Tradition of Insular Decorative Capitals', *The Book of Kells*, ed. Felicity O'Mahony (Aldershot, 1994), 209–33 at p. 216.

97 A.S. Mac Shamhráin, *Church and Polity in pre-Norman Ireland: the Case of Glendalough* (Maynooth, 1996), pp. 125 and 142, n. 3.

98 G. Charles-Edwards, 'Reading the Nendrum "runestone"', *Harnessing the Tides: The Early Medieval Tide Mills at Nendrum Monastery, Strangford Lough*, by T. McErlean and N. Crothers *et al.* (Norwich, 2007), 396–404. For links between this area and Whithorn see Fiona Edmonds, *Whithorn's Renown in the Early Medieval Period*, 2008 Whithorn Lecture (Whithorn, 2009).

99 Paul Grosjean, 'Sur quelques exégètes irlandais du VIIe siècle', *Sacris Erudiri* 7 (1955), 67–98; Gerard MacGinty, 'The Irish Augustine: *De Mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae*', *Irland und die Christenheit*, ed. Ní Chatháin and Richter, 70–83; Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, 'The Irish Provenance of Bede's Computus', *Peritia* 2 (1983), 229–47 at pp. 238–42; Laidcenn was apparently taught by Bicgu of Clonmacnoise: Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Creating the past', *Peritia* 12 (1998), 177–208 at p. 200; on Cummian see also above, p. **29.**

100 Okasha and Forsyth, *Inscriptions*, pp. 253–5, 325–6; cf. Christine Maddern, *Raising the Dead: Early Medieval Name Stones in Northumbria* (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 127–31, 205–11, 248–53. Another Anglo-Saxon/*Romani* link could have been between Spike Island in Cork Harbour, later portrayed as a possession of Carthach (see Marina Smyth, *Understanding the Universe in seventh-century Ireland* (Woodbridge, 1996), pp. 11–2), and Tisaxon, which lies two miles west of Kinsale.

101 Above, n. 82 and below, n. 146.

102 Below, n. 136.

103 This work was certainly known to Bede: below, n. 175. The likelihood that it was written by one of the Manchianus/Cummian/Laidcenn circle of scholars arises from the findings of Lucia Castaldi, 'La transmissione e rielaborazione dell'esegesi patristica nella letteratura ibernica delle origini', *L'Irlanda e gli irlandesi nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane di studio della Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioeveo 57 (Spoleto, 2010),



ILLUSTRATION 2.2 *Stone at Toureen Peacaun inscribed 'CVMMENE' and 'ladcen'.*

treatise *De computo dialogus*,[104] and, linked by the scholar Banbán of Kildare, Cogitosus of Kildare's *Vita Sanctae Brigitae*.[105] In addition to the southern Irish houses already visited by Northumbrians, the Synod of Whitby in the long term extended Northumbrian / Irish links, since it led to the establishment of the Anglo-Saxon émigrés from Lindisfarne at Mayo, in Connacht. This community remained Northumbrian and in close contact with Northumbria right through the eighth century.[106]

It is these continuing links that are so significant for our present topic. Many Northumbrians went to Ireland simply for a period of study, and returned home, as did Chad.[107] Even when they remained in Ireland, contacts with their home country continued. As we have seen, a nobleman seeking to found a monastery in early eighth-century Northumbria sent a messenger to Ecgberht in Ireland to ask for instruction in monasticism, an altar, and help with finding an appropriate site.[108] The messenger, like other Northumbrians returning home, might well have brought books with him. These could have included both patristic works and original Irish compositions. Occasionally one can trace transmission via the Irish because of particular textual variants. Thus we can be reasonably confident that Lindisfarne received its copy of Isidore's *De officiis ecclesiasticis* from Iona, and that Wearmouth-Jarrow derived its psalter *iuxta Hebraicum* (used in the Codex Amiatinus) from the same source; possibly, also, its copy of the Catholic Epistles may have come from the Irish.[109] It is likely that all the works of Isidore cited by Bede came via the Irish.[110]

In some ways, however, this language of transmission may obscure what was actually happening because it implies two discrete groups of people: the Irish, who possessed texts and learning, and the Northumbrians, who received them. In early days, and no doubt later in at least some instances, this will have been true. But in some, perhaps many, monasteries, there will have been both Irish and Northumbrian monks present, all of whom were engaged upon a common task: grappling with Latin, with the complex issues of time reckoning needed for understanding such matters as determining the correct date of Easter, and, above all, seeking to understand the Scriptures. These contacts can be seen in the glosses on some manuscripts. Some may just have helped the reader to construe the text properly. But close study of the way in which glosses were used implies that in certain instances, we are witnessing a trilingual scholarly community who were at home in Latin, Irish and English, switching fluently between languages.[111] Sometimes words from these two vernaculars were even used in the body of the text for reasons of precision, as occurs in the Munich computus, written in Latin by an Irishman in 718 or 719, which uses Irish *cetene*, *tomel*, and *noinaic* alongside English *gerím*.[112] Conversely the Northumbrian poet, Æthelwulf, used the Latin/Irish term *castra beorum* for the land of the living to which

393–428 at pp. 412–27. Castaldi argues that Irish Augustine's *De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae* (long recension) uses *De ordine creaturarum*, not vice versa; and that he revised and augmented a revered master's original version of *De mirabilibus* (i.e. the short recension) after *De ordine creaturarum* became available. Since the latter used Isidore's *Differentiae* and since Irish Augustine published his longer recension in 654 or 655, the timing is relatively tight, and it therefore seems likely that the two authors were in touch with each other.

104 Below, notes 155 and 174.

105 Below pp. 37–8 and notes 154–5.

106 Bede, *HE* IV.4; Vera Orschel, 'Mag nEó na Sacsan: An English Colony in Ireland in the seventh and eighth centuries', *Peritia* 15 (2001), 81–107.

107 Bede, *HE* IV.3.

108 Æthelwulf, *De abbatibus*, Ch. 6; above n. 70.

109 Richard Sharpe, 'Books from Ireland, fifth to ninth centuries', *Peritia* 21 (2010), 1–55 at 39–40; Pádraig P. Ó Néill, *Biblical Study and Mediaeval Gaelic History*, Quiggin Pamphlet (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 23–4, and cf. Martin McNamara, *The Psalms in the Early Irish Church* (Sheffield, 2000), pp. 108–9.

110 J.N. Hillgarth, 'Ireland and Spain in the seventh century', *Peritia* 3 (1984), 1–16.

111 Patrick P. O'Neill (*alias* Pádraig P. Ó Néill), 'The Irish Role in the Origins of the Old English Alphabet: A Reassessment', *Anglo-Saxon / Irish Relations*, 3–22, especially 21–2; Jacopo Bisagni, 'Prolegomena to the study of Code-switching in the Old Irish Glosses', *Peritia* 24–25 (2013–2014), 1–58.

112 Immo Warntjes, *The Munich Computus: Text and Translation* (Stuttgart, 2010), pp. lxxv–lxxvi.

Abbot Wulfsig passed on his death, 'accompanied by shining birds' – another Irish touch.[113]

The nature of this 'Insular' activity, in which Irish and Anglo-Saxons engaged together, is epitomised by a gloss commentary on the psalms of *c.* 700. Although principally in Latin, it includes twenty-five Old Irish and five Old English glosses, nearly all marked out by suprascript thin diagonal lines, and all incorporated into the text apart from two of the Irish ones.[114] It is preserved in a unique manuscript, Vatican, BAV, Palatinus Latinus 68, with a colophon recording the scribe as Edilberict son of Berictfrid.[115] The spelling of these names and of some of the Old English glosses indicates the Northumbrian dialect and a date no later than the early eighth century.[116] Since this is compatible with E.A. Lowe's dating of the manuscript to the eighth century, it seems reasonable to take the colophon at face value and view this manuscript as Edilberict's early eighth-century copy of a recent compilation.[117] Although Edilberict was clearly English, the palaeographical evidence puts this manuscript firmly in the Irish tradition, with Insular type parchment arranged in quinions, numerous Insular abbreviations (but the Anglo-Saxon tur-symbol), and a rather pointed Insular Minuscule script. The contents of the commentary also reveal this mixed heritage, but with the Irish tradition dominating. We find the characteristically Irish red, white, and blue martyrdom,[118] while the patristic source supplying the most glosses is Julian of Eclanum's translation of Theodore of Mopsuestia's *Expositio in psalmos*, in the epitome version – a commentary which survives only in the Irish tradition where its influence is 'all-pervading'.[119] (Conversely there is no trace of Cassiodorus, whose *Expositio psalmorum* is well attested in eighth-century Northumbria: ill. 3.3.[120]) Further interesting sources are the apocryphal Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew (which was known to the designer of the Ruthwell Cross, and probably also circulated in Ireland);[121] Adomnán of Iona's *De locis sanctis*;[122] Hiberno-Latin lore on the bird *herodius* such as is found in a more developed version in the Pseudo-Bede *Collectanea* and the Irish apocryphal *In Tenga Bithnua* ('The Evernew Tongue');[123] and a Trinitarian interpretation of Alleluia that seems to derive from Theodore's school at Canterbury and is also found in the Leiden Glossary, the Pseudo-Bede *Collectanea*, the Whitby *Life of St Gregory*, and other Insular texts.[124] Further clues as to the place of origin of our commentary are its references to the biblical interpretations of 'Romani', the Roman party in the seventh-century Irish church; and the fact that the psalter version commented on is Gallican (universal in the early Irish church and introduced from here to

113 *De abbatibus* lines 576–7, and Campbell's comments, citing the Irish *tír na mbéo* (pp. 46 and cf. xxx, xxxii); on this, see Andrew Breeze, 'Celtic Symptoms in the *De abbatibus* and *Altercatio magistri et discipuli*', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 15 (2005), 148–52 at pp. 148–50. See further below, notes 141 and 145.

114 *i. anoirdes ab hierusalem* added in the upper margin of folio 11v, and *i. fer. i. iacitinum* added above 'mane sicut herba' on folio 20v, alongside several Latin interlinear glosses. All seem to be in the same or a similar hand to that of the scribe. I have consulted the digitised MS on the Vatican Library's website, 24 March 2015, at http://digi.vatlib.it/view/bav_pal_lat_68; cf. McNamara, *Glossa*, pp. 19–26; N.R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), no. 388.

115 McNamara, *Glossa*, p. 311. Unfortunately both names are common; but, in view of the clustering of names from a common origin in the Durham (Lindisfarne) *Liber Vitae* (Briggs, 'Nothing but Names'), it is worth noting that the names Eðilberct and Berctferð occur one after the other on folio 35v (at 38 and 39): *Durham Liber Vitae*, ed. Rollason, I, p. 118.

116 McNamara, *Glossa*, pp. 6, 24–8, 72–3; Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 457–8.

117 *CLA* I, no. 78. McNamara's reasons for regarding the MS as later eighth or ninth century (*Glossa*, pp. 25–6 and cf. 72–3) are opaque. The view that the scribe did not understand OE rests on slender evidence that can be interpreted differently: cf. Patrick O'Neill, 'Old English *brondegūr*', *English Studies* 62 (1981), 2–4, and McNamara, *Glossa*, p. 25.

118 McNamara, *Glossa*, p. 100; cf above n. 85.

119 McNamara, *Glossa*, pp. 48–56; Martin McNamara, *Psalms*, pp. 91–2.

120 Michael Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 41, 205, 296; Helmut Gneuss and Michael Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments written or owned in England up to 1100* (Toronto, 2014), nos. 154, 237, 822.

121 McNamara, *Glossa*, p. 308; Martin McNamara, *The Apocrypha in the Irish Church* (Dublin, 1975), no. 41; P. Meyvaert, 'A New Perspective on the Ruthwell Cross', *The Ruthwell Cross*, ed. Brendan Cassidy (Princeton, 1992), pp. 95–166 at 125–9.

122 McNamara, *Glossa*, pp. 55–6. Specific details show that it was taken from Adomnán's original, which circulated in Northumbria (*HE* V. 15), rather than from Bede's adaptation.

123 McNamara, *Glossa*, p. 213; *Collectanea Pseudo-Bedae*, ed. M. Bayless and M. Lapidge (Dublin, 1998) §63, pp. 128–9, 214–5; *In Tenga Bithnua*, ed. John Carey, CC, Series Apocryphorum 16 (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 164–8, 329–33.

124 McNamara, *Glossa*, p. 216; Alan Thacker, 'Memorializing Gregory the Great', *Early Medieval Europe* 7 (1998), 59–84 at pp. 77–8 and notes; *Collectanea Pseudo-Bedae* §251, pp. 152–3, 251–4. Some of Theodore's teaching was seemingly known, but critically regarded, on Iona: cf. *Canones Adomnani* §15 and §16 (ed. Ó Néill and Dumville, *Cáin Adomnáin and Canones Adomnani*, II, pp. 12–3) and Theodore, *Penitential* I, vii, 2 and II, xii, 20 (ed. Finsterwalder, pp. 298, 328); Charles-Edwards, 'Penitential of Theodore', pp. 159–62. Cf. also M. Lapidge, 'The Career of Aldhelm', *ASE* 36 (2007), 15–69 at pp. 43–8.

Northumbria), but it appears to have been compared with the Hebraicum – a scholarly procedure that can be traced in the Cathach, an early seventh-century psalter manuscript from Iona.[125] These might point to Iona, or more generally to Irish circles still maintaining their traditional eighty-four year Easter cycle.[126] However, there are also sporadic readings from the *Psalterium Romanum*; and although these may derive from their occurrence in the Julian of Eclanum epitome, their identification as being from the 'new translation' may point to a Northumbrian comment.[127] Wilfrid probably attempted to supplant the Gallican with the Romanum during his caretaker year at Lindisfarne, whereas there is virtually no evidence of the Roman psalter in the Irish psalter tradition. Overall, the evidence suggests origin at an Irish centre, plausibly Iona, with Northumbrian(s) active in it. But the most crucial point to make is how palaeography, text, and vernacular glosses all point to a mixed Irish / Northumbrian heritage for this gloss commentary from the 690s or early eighth century.

IV Irish Influence in Northumbria after 664: Five Case Studies

In Part I of this chapter we sought to identify an Irish Christian tradition, and in parts II and III we highlighted specific aspects of the Northumbrian church which tallied with this tradition, together with extensive evidence for continuing contacts between the two areas and the forging of a common Christian culture. The main topic that remains to be tackled is what happened to these in the years following the synod of Whitby, when Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop were turning to the Continent for ideas, practices, images, craftsmen, and books. How did the incoming Roman and Gallic influences impact on the Insular traditions in Northumbria? Did this mixed Irish / Northumbrian culture continue as a living tradition within Northumbria in the period 664–735 in just a few outposts, or was it more widespread? Of course, it is easier to ask these questions than to answer them, especially since Bede focuses on Northumbrians visiting Ireland during the period 651–64, and includes later material only incidentally. But our starting point must be that all the English who were in post in 664 were Irish trained and will have been supplied by the Irish with books which they continued to use.[128] To advance further, let us look at those Northumbrian monasteries which have left us with written sources – Lindisfarne, Whitby, Ripon, Wearmouth-Jarrow, and the unnamed monastery that forms the subject of Æthelwulf's *De abbatibus*. Although this selection is atypical in that, for the majority of monasteries, we lack written sources, it has the great merit of including both those most likely to be in the Irish tradition (Lindisfarne) and those most likely to be in the continental tradition (Ripon and Wearmouth-Jarrow).

The clearest evidence of Lindisfarne's continuance in the Irish tradition is found in the anonymous *Life of St Cuthbert*, written by a Lindisfarne monk between 698 and 705. The actual structure of this *vita* in four books suggests derivation from the Irish hagiographical tradition, where division into books was common, whereas it was little practised on the Continent.[129] Further, the presentation and interpretation of Cuthbert's life, particularly his attempted anachoresis, his reluctance to accept a bishopric, and his withdrawal alone to Farne at the end of his life all stand in the Irish, 'Desert', tradition, and were rewritten in

125 McNamara, *Glossa*, pp. 40–3, 30–5; McNamara, *Psalms*, pp. 28–31, 107–9.

126 The remaining parts of northern Ireland appear to have conformed to the Roman Easter around the 690s, still leaving Iona as the likeliest place for self-conscious identification of a 'Romani' tradition different from its own. It is a usage which occurs in the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis*, which was the work of two scholars, one of them from Iona.

127 McNamara, *Glossa*, pp. 31–4; Ó Néill, *Biblical Study*, p. 24; cf. Stancliffe, 'Disputed Episcopacy', pp. 22–3, and below. On the question of the Romanum and Ireland, see McNamara, *Psalms*, p. 102; but his equation of the Romanum and Old Latin (*Glossa*, p. 30) is confusing. Properly speaking the Romanum is a conservative revision of the Old Latin; and it is likely to be the Old Latin (which had been used by St Patrick, see McNamara, *Psalms*, p. 253) which contaminated the Irish Hebraicum tradition (ibid., p. 102). See also D.A. Bullough, 'The Missions to the English and Picts and their Heritage (to *c.* 800)', *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter*, ed. Heinz Löwe, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1982), I, 80–8, at p. 98, where the first instance of Adomnán's usage tallies with the Romanum.

128 Margaret Pepperdene, 'Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*: A new perspective', *Celtica* 4 (1958), 253–62; Bullough, 'Missions', pp. 94–5.

129 On two-book continental *vitae* see Albrecht Diem, 'Monks, kings, and the transformation of sanctity', *Speculum* 82 (2007), 521–59 at p. 549, n. 160, where Audoin's *Vita Eligii* and the *Vita Sadalbergae* provide the best parallels. W. Berschin's suggested parallels ('Bede's *opus deliberatum ac perfectum*', in *St Cuthbert*, pp. 95–102 at p. 98) are unconvincing, as they are not to a *vita* focusing just on the life of an individual saint, written by a single author. Contrast Muirchú's *Life of St Patrick* (originally in three books, see *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, ed. L. Bieler (Dublin, 1979), pp. 2–15), Tírechán's *Life of St Patrick* (in two books), and Adomnán's *Life of St Columba* (in three books).

other terms by Bede.[130] Thirdly, the psalm quotations are all from the Gallican psalter, and the evidence of lections also suggests Gallican usage, in both respects tallying with Irish practice.[131] Fourthly, Irish tradition is apparent in the choice and use of material for the prefaces, which include a lengthy citation from Victorius of Aquitaine to flag up the author's 'Roman' Easter allegiance, a source also used in this way in Cogitosus's *Vita Brigitae*.[132] Finally, and following on from this, the Lindisfarne author's 'nullius sermone explicari potest' looks like a verbal reminiscence of Cogitosus's 'quis sermone explicare potest', which suggests that he knew this Irish Life. On its own, the idea is too slight and commonplace to prove a relationship, but the better attested presence of the work at contemporary Whitby (see below) renders this probable.[133] That is not to say that the Irish tradition was the only one on Lindisfarne *c.* 700: we have already seen that the translation of St Cuthbert derived from Gallic models, and both traditions are apparent on the coffin-reliquary of 698.[134] As regards the Lindisfarne author's use of Gregory the Great, that could (but need not) be seen as a 'Roman' symptom, although whether derived directly from southern England and Italy, or via the Irish, must remain an open question.[135] In addition to the Lindisfarne *Vita Cuthberti*, Michael Lapidge has recently made out a strong case for regarding three Latin poems by Lutting as products of Lindisfarne in the 680s, and two of these have versification norms typical of the Irish, while David Dumville has argued strongly for seeing a core of Lindisfarne-derived texts from the time of Bishop Æthilwald (*c.* 724–40) preserved in the ninth-century Book of Cerne, and these include some that are Irish or have strong Irish affinities, including the *lorica* of Laidcenn.[136] Finally, the earliest part of the Durham *Liber vitae* – for which I accept a St Cuthbert's community origin *c.* 840 – gives an honoured place to anchorites, and also contains the names of some twenty people in a form implying that they were Irish; and since the lists on which it was based were only begun well after the Synod of Whitby, this implies continuing Irish contacts or inmates.[137]

Turning now to the unnamed monastery that was founded by Eanmund during Osric's reign (705–16), but is known from Æthelwulf's *De abbatibus* of 803–21, we have already seen that its founder sought advice from Ecgberht, then living as a *peregrinus* in Ireland, as well as from Bishop Eadfrith of Lindisfarne (698–722). Links with both Lindisfarne and Ireland continued. It included among its early inmates an Irish scribe-artist named Ultán, while later in the eighth century its teacher, Hyglac (*floruit c.* 770s), received a letter from an anchorite made up almost entirely of quotations from Columbanus's sermons.[138] A strong case has been made for Æthelwulf having studied at York with Alcuin for a time,[139] but the teachers whom he names are from his own monastery, the Hyglac just mentioned and one Eadfrith, seen in a dream as 'a face from Ireland'.[140] These continuing Irish links would explain Æthelwulf's use of an Irish-Latin phrase and his

130 Stancliffe, 'Cuthbert'; eadem, 'The Riddle of the Ruthwell Cross: Audience, Intention and Originator Reconsidered', forthcoming in *Crossing Boundaries: Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Art, Material Culture, Language and Literature of the Early Medieval World*, ed. Eric Cambridge and Jane Hawkes (Oxford); below, n. 172.

131 D.A. Bullough, 'A Neglected early-ninth-century manuscript of the Lindisfarne *Vita S. Cuthberti*', *ASE* 27 (1998), 105–37, at pp. 114–6.

132 D.A. Bullough, 'Columba, Adomnan and the Achievement of Iona', *Scottish Historical Review* 43 (1964), 111–30 and 44 (1965), 17–33; Stancliffe, 'Disputed Episcopacy', pp. 12–4 (cf. below p. 36–7.).

133 *VCAA*, II. 1; Cogitosus, *Vita Brigitae.* Ch. 32.

134 E. Kitzinger, 'The Coffin-reliquary', *The Relics of Saint Cuthbert*, ed. C.F. Battiscombe (Durham, 1956), 202–304; Stancliffe, 'Disputed Episcopacy', p. 13.

135 Stancliffe, 'Disputed episcopacy', pp. 13–4. Máire Herbert, 'The representation of Gregory the Great in Irish sources of the pre-Viking era', *'Listen, O Isles unto Me': Studies in Medieval Word and Image in honour of Jennifer O'Reilly*, ed. Elizabeth Mullins and Diarmuid Scully (Cork, 2011), 181–90, at pp. 189–90, suggests that Irish *Romani* might have promoted Gregorian traditions in England. But in addition to the obvious English respect for Gregory, note that he was equally appreciated by Columbanus (*ep.* 1, §§8–9); and Adomnán (who also cites Gregory) may have seen him as a respected authority whom all could agree to revere.

136 Michael Lapidge, 'The earliest Anglo-Latin poet: Lutting of Lindisfarne', *ASE* 42 (2013), 1–26. D.N. Dumville, 'Liturgical Drama and panegyric from the eighth century?' *Journal of Theological Studies* n.s. 23 (1972), 374–406. Michelle P. Brown, *The Book of Cerne* (London and Toronto, 1996), pp. 129–57, has questioned, but not disproved, Dumville's contention that Cerne is largely a copy of an earlier nucleus of texts. Her suggestion (pp. 181–2) about the acrostic poem being recycled from Aediluald (of Lindisfarne) to Aedeluald (of Lichfield) is ingenious.

137 Briggs, 'Nothing but names'; D.N. Dumville, 'Gaelic and other Celtic names in the ninth-century "Northumbrian *Liber vitae*"', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 22 (2006), 1–25; Paul Russell, '"Ye shall know them by their names": names and identity among the Irish and English', *Anglo-Saxon/Irish Relations*, 99–111.

138 *De abbatibus* Chs. 2–8; above, notes 25 and 70.

139 Michael Lapidge, 'Aediluulf and the school of York', repr. in his *Anglo-Latin Literature 600–899* (London, 1996), pp. 381–98; his further suggestion that the unnamed monastery might be Crayke is unconvincing.

140 *De abbatibus* Ch. 22, p. 58.

interesting descriptions of supernatural birds, perhaps representing holy souls or angels, noted elsewhere.[141]

Next we may take Whitby, founded in 657 by Hild, who had been instructed in the religious life by Aidan amongst others, and who took the Columban side at the synod of Whitby, which she hosted. Hild fostered biblical study to such good effect that five Whitby monks became bishops. One of them studied with Theodore at Canterbury and later went on pilgrimage to Rome, but we hear of no comparable links with Ireland from Bede.[142] We are therefore thrown back on the inferences to be drawn from the Whitby Life of Pope Gregory the Great, written between 704 and 713. Such a work has less scope for revealing an Irish-influenced mental universe than Lindisfarne's Life of St Cuthbert, but this makes its pointers the more significant.[143] In terms of content we may note its interest in the spiritual powers of anchorites,[144] and its description of Paulinus's death, with his soul 'journey[ing] to heaven in the form of an exceedingly beautiful great white bird, like a swan', which has Irish (and Welsh) parallels.[145] Also probably derived from the Irish is its praise of Gregory the Great as 'golden mouthed', an epithet first found in Cummian's *De controversia paschali* of *c.* 632.[146] Indeed, it is possible that Cummian's work was the direct source for the Whitby author, given the links between Northumbrian *peregrini* and *Romani* circles in southern Ireland which we have explored. Also pointing to *Romani* circles in southern Ireland is its use of Cogitosus's *Life of St Brigit*, the legendary founder-abbess of Kildare. This seventh-century *vita* became widely known on the Continent, but since it has not hitherto been recognised as circulating in early England the evidence, comprising verbal reminiscences in the Whitby Life, will be presented here. The Whitby author writes:

> *Caritas enim urget nos* [II Cor 5: 14] iuxta nostri modulum ingenioli hoc memorie tradere signa, de hoc nostro Deo nobis donante doctore. Unde etiam … quantum in nobis est verum diximus. Id vero scrupulum nec ulli moveat, licet horum ordo preposterus, quia …[147]

The first pointer is the wording, 'licet … ordo preposterus'. The expression 'prepostero ordine' occurs in Cummian's *De controversia paschale* in the context of refuting the traditional Irish Easter on the fourteenth moon, and the editors note that the expression was frequently used by Jerome in his biblical commentaries.[148] However, the *Vita Brigitae* supplies a closer parallel since it occurs there with the *licet*, and in the context of a saint's Life, in the final sentence of Cogitosus's preface: 'Exinde ego…beatae huius Brigitae uirtutes…tanto studio breuitatis licet praepostero ordine uirtutum conpendiose explicare conabor'. Donald Bullough has long since pointed out the parallels between the prefaces of Cogitosus, Adomnán, and the anonymous author of the Lindisfarne *Life of St Cuthbert* in their use of sources, and one can take this further by showing how they were not simply referencing the same sources, but also using them to flag up their Roman Easter allegiance. Elsewhere I have expressed it in terms of the Lindisfarne Life 'standing in the same tradition as saints' Lives written by Irish adherents of the Roman Easter'.[149] I would now go further and regard Cogitosus's *Vita Brigitae* as probably known to both the Lindisfarne[150] and the Whitby authors. The phrase 'licet praepostero ordine' was also used at the end of Adomnán's introductory chapter in his *Vita Columbae*, picked up from Cogitosus's work;[151] but

141 Above, n. 113, and below n. 145.

142 *HE* III.23, 24 and IV.23.

143 I have not yet seen a paper by Colin Ireland on the Irish affinities of the Whitby Life, advertised as forthcoming in a Festschrift for Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland and Europe*, ed. P. Moran and I. Warntjes, which will doubtless cover topics that I have not the space to explore here, including vocabulary, and use of hyperbaton and alliteration.

144 *Vita Gregorii*, Chs. 4 and 7.

145 Æthelwulf, *De abbatibus* lines 575–8, and cf. Introduction, p. xxxii; Breeze, 'Celtic symptoms', pp. 148–50. Note the bird flying into Christ's mouth as he lay in the grave to symbolise his Resurrection, depicted on the high crosses of Durrow and Clonmacnois, Cross of the Scriptures: F. Henry, *L'Art irlandais* II (La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1964), p. 277 and pl. 112. Cf. also John Carey, *A Single Ray of the Sun* (Andover Massachusetts and Aberystwyth, 1999), pp. 56–7.

146 *Vita Gregorii*, Ch. 24; *Cummian's Letter De Controversia Paschali*, ed. Maura Walsh and Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Toronto, 1988), p. 82 lines 190–1 and editors' notes pp. 78–9 and 82–3; Patrick Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600–800* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 186–7, who suggests wordplay involving Irish *óir* and Latin *os*, *oris*. Thacker, 'Memorializing Gregory', pp. 62, 71, 77, prefers to see Cummian and the Whitby author independently drawing on stories circulating in Rome, but note Herbert's comment about Cummian's practice of assigning epithets: 'Representation of Gregory', p. 182.

147 *Vita Gregorii*, Ch. 30, pp. 128–30.

148 *Cummian's Letter*, p. 68, line 85, and n.

149 Stancliffe, 'Disputed Episcopacy', pp. 12–4; Ó Néill, '*Romani* influences'; Bullough, 'Columba', pp. 19–20.

150 See also above, n. 133.

151 I, 1, ed Anderson and Anderson, p. 204; noted by J.-M. Picard, 'Structural Patterns in Early Hiberno-Latin Hagiography', *Peritia* 4 (1985), 67–82 at p. 74.

the Whitby Life's 'scrupulum nec illi moveat' points rather to Cogitosus as the source, since this phrase occurs in his *Vita Brigitae* at the beginning of his chapter on the dog and the bacon, 'Et quibus hoc eiusdem opus…auribus antea inauditum scrupulum non moveret?'[152] One should also note that Whitby's 'iuxta modulum ingenioli hoc memorie tradere signa' picks up on the wording of Cogitosus's preface, 'memorie litterisque tradere' and 'rusticus sermo ingenioli mei', although such phraseology was widespread.[153] Given these further parallels, I regard it as reasonably certain that the Whitby author knew Cogitosus's work, and likely that the Lindisfarne author did.

In view of the contacts adumbrated above, this is far from surprising. Rath Melsigi was in the province of Leinster, where Kildare's St Brigit was the patron saint, and it was at Kildare that Cogitosus wrote his Life. The two churches lay only twenty-five miles apart, along a known routeway (see ill. 2.1). Now a scholar named Banbán, *fer légind* of Kildare, who died in 685, has been identified as the Banbán who is named as an authority in an Irish commentary on the Catholic epistles alongside Manchianus and Laidcenn, and also as the Banbán who is named in the *Cáin Fhuithirbe* of *c.* 680 alongside Cummíne (and Díblíne).[154] Banbán thus links Kildare, where Cogitosus wrote, to the circle of scholars already mentioned. Banbán may also be the link in the transmission of an Irish anthology of computistical texts to Bede, whether this operated via the kingdom of the Déisi of Munster (where he may have originated), or whether it came from Rath Melsigi via Kildare.[155] It is therefore plausible that Northumbrian *peregrini* were responsible for bringing both texts back to Northumbria. Obviously Whitby, a double monastery headed by a royal abbess, would have been interested in the Life of St Brigit, who herself headed a double monastery, and one which in the seventh century was closely associated with the overkings of Leinster: Áed Dub, 'royal bishop of Kildare and all Leinster', was the brother of the Uí Dúnlainge overking Fáelán mac Colmáin.

From Whitby we may pass to Ripon, the chief monastery (alongside Hexham) founded by Wilfrid, where he was buried, and one of whose churchmen named Stephen was commissioned to write his Life *c.* 713. Wilfrid's Ripon had direct links with Ireland. Wilfrid was able to arrange the return of the Merovingian prince Dagobert from his exile in Ireland to Austrasia in 676.[156] Two years later, when Wilfrid himself was exiled, Willibrord, his spiritual son and a Ripon monk, went into exile in Ireland to Ecgberht's monastery, probably Rath Melsigi.[157] Willibrord remained there till 690, when he left to evangelise Frisia. Friendly links with Wilfrid were maintained, with Willibrord's companions sending Swithberht to be consecrated bishop by him *c.*695 and with Wilfrid staying with Willibrord *en route* for Rome *c.* 703.[158] Links between Ripon and Rath Melsigi were also maintained, with Ripon coming to hold relics of Ecgberht and another of his Northumbrian protégés, Wihtberht, who had unsuccessfully attempted the evangelisation of Frisia and then returned to Ireland to live as a hermit.[159] This Ripon-Rath Melsigi link might explain how the commemoration of some saints of Northumbrian, especially Deiran, significance reached Ireland.[160] It might also explain the parallel of an

152 *Vita Brigitae*, Ch. 13.

153 Cf. Cassian, *Conlationes* I–X, preface §§3–4, ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL 13 (Vienna, 1886), p. 4. Bullough, 'Columba, Adomnan' (1965), pp. 19–20.

154 *The Annals of Tigernach*, ed. Whitley Stokes, 2 vols. (reprinted Felinfach, 1993), I, 169; Grosjean, 'Quelques exégètes', pp. 78–9; identification accepted by T.M. Charles-Edwards, *The Chronicle of Ireland* (2 vols. Liverpool, 2006), I, 167. Liam Breatnach, 'The ecclesiastical element in the Old-Irish legal tract *Cáin Fhuithirbe*', *Peritia* 5 (1986), 36–52 at pp. 43–7. Pádraig Ó Riain, *A Dictionary of Irish Saints* (Dublin, 2011), p. 85.

155 As Ó Cróinín has noted, the significant clue for establishing the origin of this anthology is its dating note giving the obit of Suibne mac Commáin, king of the Munster Déisi (died 658). Given that Suibne's daughter was married to Fáelán mac Colmáin, Uí Dúnlainge overking of Leinster (633–66), and that Fáelán's brother Áed Dub was then abbot-bishop of Kildare, this dating note could have been entered at Kildare rather than in Suibne's kingdom: cf. Ó Cróinín, 'Irish provenance', pp. 233–8, and F.J. Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings* (London, 1973), pp. 151–4. On the contradictory genealogies for Banbán cf. Ó Cróinín, loc. cit. and Ó Riain, *Dictionary*, p. 85, which also notes the late tradition that he was bishop of Oldleighlin, just six miles south-west of Rath Melsigi.

156 *VW*, Ch. 28. Dagobert's place of exile is unknown, although Louth or Slane are possibilities: cf. Jean-Michel Picard, 'Church and politics in the seventh century: The Irish exile of King Dagobert II', *Ireland and Northern France AD 600–850*, ed. Jean-Michel Picard (Dublin, 1991), 27–52 at 34, 43–5.

157 *VW*, Ch. 26; *HE* V.9-11; Levison, *England and the Continent*, pp. 51–9; Ó Cróinín, 'Rath Melsigi', esp. pp. 21–4, 32–3.

158 *HE* V.11 and III.13.

159 Edmonds, 'Practicalities', pp. 145–6.

160 Gregory, Paulinus, Oswine, the Hewalds, Wilfrid, and also Oswald might fit Ripon better than Lindisfarne: cf. Pádraig Ó Riain, *Anglo-Saxon Ireland: The evidence of the Martyrology of Tallaght*, H.M. Chadwick Memorial Lecture, 3 (Cambridge, 1993), esp. pp. 6–9; Alan Thacker, '*Membra disjecta*: the division of the body and the diffusion of the cult', *Oswald: Northumbrian King to European Saint*, ed. Clare Stancliffe and Eric Cambridge (Stamford, 1995), 97–127 at 98–102, 107–19. Note that Michael Lapidge has on other grounds suggested Hexham (likely to have maintained close links with Ripon) as the place where the Latin forerunner

unusual infancy miracle story which appears in the early anonymous Latin *Life of St Brigit* and Stephen's *Life of St Wilfrid*. In both, the house in which the newly born saint is lying appears to those outside to be on fire. As suggested elsewhere, the borrowing may have arisen through oral sources.[161] Although this miracle story stands on its own, it is noteworthy because it does not occur in previous hagiography,[162] and because, apart from some significant and malicious borrowings from the Lindisfarne *Life of St Cuthbert*, Stephen shows no evidence of any other hagiographical influences.[163] At first glance one might regard Stephen's use of a scattering of Greek-derived words, *celeuma*, *cimba* and *charaxare* in the sense of 'to write', as indicative of Irish influence. The first two, however, are taken from Jerome's letter to Heliodorus, while the last, albeit a definite Irish pointer, may have come via Aldhelm.[164] But Stephen's use of *parrochia* to denote Wilfrid's monastic federation rather than his diocese, and his reference to Wilfrid's *regnum ecclesiarum* and the *principatus* of an abbot all tally with Irish usage.[165] One final possibility was mentioned earlier, namely that Ripon's extensive and graduated sanctuary rights, albeit attested only late in the Anglo-Saxon period, might originate in the early eighth century and derive from Irish models such as Kildare (as portrayed in Cogitosus's *Life of St Brigit*), and more generally as found in the texts collected and interpreted in the early eighth-century *Collectio canonum Hibernensis*.[166] In this connection, in addition to the discussion of previous scholars,[167] we might note that three of the four best-attested Northumbrian sanctuaries have direct Wilfridian connections, Ripon, Hexham, and York. A further point is that Stephen of Ripon deliberately uses Tabernacle and Temple parallels for Wilfrid's church at Ripon in a way that has affinities with contemporary Irish usage, although the Irish went further in that they used the Bible to develop the idea of distinct zones and sanctuary rights for Irish churches.[168] Stephen also claimed Wilfrid's protection for the whole monastic precinct at Ripon (albeit not for sanctuary seekers).[169] All this suggests that Ripon would have been interested in the way that sanctuary rights were being developed in contemporary Ireland, but it falls short of proving a link as regards the operation of sanctuary.

Finally, we turn to Wearmouth-Jarrow. Our sources for the development of this monastery are good, and that makes the general absence of any recorded links to Ireland noteworthy. The emphasis in Bede's *Historia abbatum* and the anonymous *Vita Ceolfridi* is unremittingly on their continental contacts. It is only from Ceolfrith's letter to the Pictish king Nechtan that we learn that Adomnán had visited his monastery while on a legation to King Aldfrith – a visit for which Adomnán took the initiative, although his conversation with Ceolfrith may have resulted in mutual influence.[170] Bede certainly fostered a more Benedictine approach to monasticism, in contrast to the Irish-derived 'Desert' tradition of Lindisfarne. This appears in some of the changes which he made when he rewrote the Lindisfarne Life of St Cuthbert.[171] For instance, while the Lindisfarne author portrayed Cuthbert gladly resigning his bishopric to return to the contemplative life on Farne, 'content with the converse and ministry of angels', Bede omits the theme of angelic converse, instead writing of how 'the flame of his old contrition might consume more easily the implanted thorns of worldly cares'. The question of whether Bede is here reproducing a Wearmouth-Jarrow approach, or simply his own view, is complex. On the one hand, Bede's phrase is lifted from his abbot Hwætberht's letter recommending Ceolfrith to the pope, suggesting a general Wearmouth-Jarrow approach.[172] On the other hand, however, the anonymous Wearmouth-Jarrow author of the Life of Ceolfrith talks of Ceolfrith 'abandoning worldly cares' and hastening to go abroad as a pilgrim so that, 'freer and purer in soul, he

of the *Old English Martyrology* – a sister text to that whence the Irish martyrologies derive – was composed: 'Acca of Hexham and the origin of the *Old English Martyrology*', *Analecta Bollandiana* 123 (2005), 29–78.

161 Stancliffe, *Bede, Wilfrid*, p. 3 and n. 11.

162 W. Levison knew of no closer parallel to *VW*, Ch. 1 than Adomnán's *VCol*, III.2: *Vita Wilfridi* 1, ed. Levison, MGH, SRM 6 (Hanover & Leipzig, 1913), p. 194, n. 1.

163 Stancliffe, 'Disputed episcopacy', pp. 14–22.

164 Cf. *VW*, Ch. 13 ('pro celeumate' and 'cimba processit in altum') and Jerome, *ep*. 14, 10, 1 ('fragilis in altum cumba processit…celeuma cantandum est'.). *VW* Ch. 50 (*caraxatum*) and M.W. Herren, 'Insular Latin *C*(*h*)*araxare* (*Craxare*) and its derivatives', *Peritia* 1 (1982), 273–80.

165 *VW*, Chs. 24, 21, 64. For references, Stancliffe, *Bede, Wilfrid* pp. 33–4 and n. 6.

166 Above, notes 63, 65.

167 Davies, Lambert, and Blair, as n. 65 above.

168 *VW* Ch. 17, discussed by M.D. Laynesmith, 'Stephen of Ripon and the Bible', *Early Medieval Europe* 9 (2000), 163–82, at pp. 172–3. Cf. Catherine Swift, 'Forts and fields of the early Irish church', *The Journal of Irish Archaeology* 9 (1998), 105–25; Picard, 'Spatial Organization'; M.C. Maddox, 'Finding the City of God in the Lives of St Kevin', *Glendalough*, ed. Doherty *et al.*, 1–21.

169 *VW*, Ch. 68, and cf. Ch. 67.

170 *HE* V.21; above, n. 10.

171 Stancliffe, 'Cuthbert'.

172 Cf. *VCAA*, IV.11, Bede *VC* Ch. 36, and *Vita Ceolfridi*, Ch. 30; Stancliffe, 'Riddle'.

might be restored to the contemplation of the company of angels in heaven'.[173] This is the same approach as we find in the anonymous Lindisfarne author writing about Cuthbert's final retreat to Farne. The explanation may be that Wearmouth-Jarrow was actually more open to the 'Desert' view espoused by Lindisfarne and the Irish than Bede implies, or at least that both views coexisted in the community. It may even be that Hwætberht had commissioned Bede to draft the letter recommending Ceolfrith to the pope. In all events, although we lack any documented links to Ireland, Bede certainly knew and used many works of contemporary Irish scholarship. His most significant debts were not to Adomnán's *De locis sanctis*, which he acknowledged, but rather to works from southern Irish *Romani* circles. Pride of place must go to the collection of computistical sources from southern Ireland already mentioned. This included the Easter tables of Victorius and of Dionysius and accompanying texts, together with an Irish work, *De computo dialogus*, which probably gave him the idea of writing works focused solely on issues relating to time.[174] He also made use of the theological treatise, *De ordine creaturarum* (and possibly of the Irish Augustine's *De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae*), of Virgilius Maro Grammaticus' quirky work on grammar, and he knew an Irish commentary on the Catholic Epistles ascribed to one Hilary, though he explicitly refers to the latter only to contradict its interpretation.[175] He may have publicly corrected what he regarded as erroneous interpretations just because such works were influential in Northumbria in his own day.[176] This view receives some support from the manuscript evidence assembled below by Richard Gameson. Patently this represents only a tiny portion of those manuscripts which must once have circulated in seventh- and eighth-century Northumbria, but the proportion of Insular to Patristic works is worth noting. As regards theological and exegetical works, there are thirteen manuscripts representing patristic authors, principally Jerome, Augustine, Cassiodorus, and Gregory the Great, set against two or three containing texts of Irish origin.[177] If we add in the manuscripts containing Pelagian exegesis or works, which must have reached the Northumbrian church either via the Irish or direct from British Christians, then the number of Insular texts is doubled,[178] and we grasp why Bede was so wary of erroneous interpretations. It would suggest that Irish and Pelagian works formed a substantial minority of the theological texts circulating in Bede's Northumbria.

v Conclusion

We have now surveyed the evidence. What conclusions may we draw? First, both the depth and the continuance of the Irish tradition in Northumbria are undeniable, as is the fact that it appears throughout Northumbria, in Deira as in Bernicia, and at Ripon as at Lindisfarne. The Synod of Whitby had a strictly limited impact: it led to the adoption of the Roman tonsure and Dionysian Easter practice and to the revival of the see of York, and it ended the abbot of Iona's authority over the Northumbrian church. But it did not change the general structure of the Northumbrian church as that had been established by the Irish missionaries, with multifunctional monasteries engaging in pastoral care and enjoying a high degree of autonomy from their diocesan bishops. Nor did it affect the religious practices characteristic of the Irish tradition that those missionaries had brought, such as repeatable penance, *peregrinatio*, and a high respect for the eremitical life. Nor did it do much, if anything, to lessen the cultural and religious interchange between Northumbria and Ireland in the short term. The reason that the ecclesiastical structures and the religious practices were left intact was

173 *Vita Ceolfridi*, Ch. 27 (my translation).

174 Faith Wallis (trans.), *Bede: The Reckoning of Time* (Liverpool, 1999), pp. xxiii–xxvi, lxxii–lxxix; *Bedae opera de temporibus*, ed. C.W. Jones (Cambridge Mass., 1943), pp. 105–13; Ó Cróinín, 'Irish provenance'. Cf. above n. 155.

175 Jean-Michel Picard, 'Bede and Irish scholarship: scientific treatises and grammars', *Ériu* 54 (2004), 139–47; *ibid*., 'Bède et ses sources irlandaises', *Bède le Vénérable entre tradition et postérité*, ed. S. Lebecq *et al.* (Lille, n.d.[2005]), 43–61; Damian Bracken, 'Virgil the Grammarian and Bede: a preliminary study', *ASE* 35 (2006), pp. 7–21. For the *De mirabilibus* see Calvin B. Kendall and Faith Wallis (trans.) *Bede: On the Nature of Things and On Times* (Liverpool, 2010), p. 137 (and cf. their discussion of Bede's attitude to Isidore, pp. 13–20, with the question of his attitude to the Irish).

176 Picard, 'Bède', p. 61.

177 In addition to the Vatican MS of the gloss commentary on the psalms and the Basel MS of *De ordine creaturarum*, note Hereford Cathedral Library, P.II.10, with its paraphrase of the arguably Irish *Liber quaestionum in evangeliis*, on which see J. Ritmueller, ed., *Liber quaestionum in evangeliis,* CCSL 108F (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 30*, 63*-67*, 140*-42*.

178 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Grimm 139.1; Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 10. 5 + London, BL, Cotton Vitellius C.viii; and note the Pelagian text (*CPL* no. 763) in Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. 221 (noted in Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 831.6). David Dumville, 'Late-seventh or eighth-century evidence for the British transmission of Pelagius', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 10 (1985), 39–52.

presumably because they had become so embedded that no one questioned them. They suited the society, and in any case they would not have seemed particularly 'Irish' to those accustomed to the Frankish 'Columbanian' monasteries. Further, the religious practices brought by the Irish mostly tallied with traditions respected across Christendom, albeit not mainstream in the Latin west at that period; and even repeatable penance had become familiar in Francia after Columbanus's mission. As regards the personal links, the reason that Whitby made so little difference was because Northumbrian *peregrini* were already drawn more to the *Romani* teachers and monasteries of Leinster and Munster than to Iona. Ecgberht was clearly a pivotal figure here: widely respected (and probably of very high birth), and in episcopal orders, with links to Melrose, the unnamed monastery of *De abbatibus*, and Ripon. It was from southern Irish *Romani* circles that Northumbria received its most important Irish texts, including Cummian's penitential and the collection of computistical materials used by Bede, as well as Cogitosus's *Life of St Brigit* whose presence in Northumbria has been identified here. Given the traceable links between Rath Melsigi, Toureen Peacaun and Tullylease on the one hand, and Northumbria on the other, it is likely that these texts travelled direct with Northumbrian *peregrini*, rather than via southern England. At the same time, if links with Iona had ever been severed (rather than going underground, which is more likely), they were clearly restored by Adomnán's visit to Aldfrith, if not earlier. We may plausibly see Edilberict's copy of the gloss commentary on the psalms as encapsulating this close relationship, while the English foundation of Mayo provided yet another link.

There is, then, no sense of a switch being flicked in 664 or 669, and the Continent replacing Ireland as the major destination for pilgrims and source of books and influences. Rather, Ireland and Northumbria continued to form a closely conjoined cultural area, with *peregrini*, books, and ideas flowing in both directions. Over time, however, this relationship evolved to become an equal one, and then one where England arguably had more to offer in terms of schools (Canterbury), writings (Bede), and textual resources (Cassiodorus's commentary on the psalms, for instance, may well have been transmitted from Northumbria to Ireland).[179] Meanwhile, Northumbrian links to the Continent grew stronger. Over time, then, Irish cultural and religious influence in Northumbria became diluted, first through a major influx of books and traditions (e.g. mode of psalmody) imported from the Continent,[180] secondly through the writings of Bede, and thirdly through the increased numbers of Northumbrians travelling to the Continent. Yet it was a dilution, not a cessation; and we have to remember that the Irish themselves were eager recipients of continental books and keen participants in Theodore's school at Canterbury. We should also recognise that initially, at least, Ireland maintained its attractive power. There was a difference between Benedict Biscop *buying* manuscripts in southern Gaul and Rome, divorced from any context of engagement with those texts, and Northumbrian students in Ireland being introduced to books and ideas through discussion with teachers. There, they could follow a curriculum that suited the needs of Christians who were non-native speakers of Latin, studying Latin grammar, computus, and biblical exegesis. In all these fields the Irish were authors and teachers who both engaged with the traditions transmitted to them and produced new works that suited contemporary circumstances. In both countries the church was adapting itself to non-Roman societies where it needed to work out a *modus vivendi* with local kings and nobles and their culture if it was to prosper. All this is likely to have been a significant draw for the Northumbrians, and may even have stimulated Bede to write his own works. In many ways he is better seen as the crown of Insular scholarly endeavour, rather than as a lone Father writing in a void.[181] But would not the teaching of Theodore and Hadrian in the 670s have made visiting the Irish schools redundant? The comparable evidence from Wessex suggests not. Two of the ten surviving letters of Aldhelm are addressed to Anglo-Saxon students who either had studied or were proposing to study in Ireland, and in that to Heahfrith Aldhelm asks why 'fleet-loads' of English students are going to Ireland when nearer home they have teachers from Greece and Rome, Theodore and Hadrian.[182] It is likely that the same was true of Northumbria, and that although Canterbury attracted some students, like Oftfor from Whitby, others continued along the well known route to Ireland. In addition, Ireland appears to have kept its allure for *peregrini* seeking to realise their spiritual ideal of a life of exile.

179 See McNamara, *Psalms*, p. 57, for its use by Bede before its first attestation in Ireland. Given that it survives in three MSS from early Northumbria (see above, n. 120, and Richard Gameson, Ch. 3 in this volume), it must have been well known there.

180 Bede, *HA*, Chs. 4–6, 9, 11, 15; D.N. Dumville, 'The importation of Mediterranean manuscripts into Theodore's England', in *Archbishop Theodore*, ed. Lapidge, 96–119 at 107–11.

181 Cf. Clare Stancliffe, 'British and Irish contexts', *The Cambridge Companion to Bede*, ed. Scott DeGregorio (Cambridge, 2010), 69–83 at pp. 81–2.

182 *Ep*. 5, trans. Michael Lapidge and Michael Herren, *Aldhelm: The Prose Works* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 163, and cf. pp. 145–6 and 139–40.

When we seek to go beyond generalisations to understand what happened to Irish traditions on the ground in Northumbria, our study of the five individual monasteries is revealing. In all of them, Irish influence persisted in some discernible form, frequently hybridising with other influences. If we can see Irish influence continuing in these major centres, then it is even more likely to have survived in lesser ones, especially since they will probably have lacked Ripon and Wearmouth-Jarrow's strong links to the Continent. Yet we should not think of it only in terms of survival. The continuing links to Ireland meant that fresh influences could come in, especially from southern Ireland. At Lindisfarne, the community's crucial decision to translate St Cuthbert's body clearly followed Gallic precedents, but Lindisfarne may also have been influenced by Kildare in the way that it went on to develop its sanctuary rights. This alerts us to a crucial point. The popular version of 'Irish tradition' focuses solely on a monastery like Iona, which was ascetic and relatively cut off from society. Yet the example of Kildare demonstrates that there were also Irish monasteries that engaged fully with society; and the evidence that Kildare traditions were known at Ripon, Whitby, and probably Lindisfarne itself means that we should accept the possibility that, as well as Iona, monasteries like Kildare may have been influential in Northumbria. This makes it easier to understand the Irish links we have noted with Wilfrid's monastery of Ripon, which, like Kildare, sought to engage with kings and nobles, and understood the importance of feasting in contemporary secular culture.[183] At Ripon, it is clear that Wilfrid cannot have outlawed all Irish practices, regardless of the speech assigned him by Stephen where he claims to have 'root[ed] out the poisonous weeds planted by the Irish'. This must have applied simply to the Columban Easter practice and tonsure. Links with *Romani* circles in southern Ireland appear to have been warm and ongoing, notably through Willibrord and the Rath Melsigi connection. Perhaps most remarkable of all, Wilfrid appears to have been perfectly happy to embrace the concept of a monastic federation that cut across diocesan boundaries.

The one monastery which stands out as seemingly uninfluenced by Irish religious traditions (though not uninterested in Irish works) is Wearmouth-Jarrow. It appears to have had an entirely correct relationship with its diocesan bishop, as shown, for instance, in its request to Acca to confirm Hwætberht as abbot after Ceolfrith's unexpected departure for Rome.[184] Noticeable is the lack of any personal links to Ireland, or of any of the practices identified as being characteristically Irish (unless we regard Ceolfrith's decision to abandon his abbacy for pilgrimage to Rome as belonging in the Irish *peregrinatio* tradition). Given that our sources are good, this suggests either that there were none, or perhaps that Bede deliberately omitted them.[185] It is significant that Biscop brought back from the Continent not only books, but also craftsmen, altar plate, vestments, relics, images, and even a teacher, John the Archcantor of St Peter's, Rome; and we must also give due weight to the fact that Biscop had been trained as a monk at Lérins for over two years.[186] Wilfrid also spent a considerable time in Gaul, and brought over continental craftsmen to build his two major churches, but he does not seem to have thought in terms of importing everything for his churches. Also his continental monastic links were probably with the Frankish 'Columbanian' houses of northern Gaul, which had already been influenced by the Irish pattern of multifunctional monasteries. Thus the monastery which over time did most to dilute and so reduce Irish influence was probably not one of Wilfrid's foundations, but rather Wearmouth-Jarrow and its leading author, Bede, whose many works reduced reliance on their Irish forerunners.

Yet that is only half the story. The other half is the friendly collaboration between Wearmouth-Jarrow and Lindisfarne that developed during Ceolfrith's abbacy, appearing in the loan of a Wearmouth-Jarrow exemplar for the Lindisfarne Gospels, in Bede acceding to Bishop Eadfrith's request to rewrite the Life of St Cuthbert, and in Lindisfarne enrolling Ceolfrith and Bede in its *liber vitae*. Out of this collaboration emerged a synthesis between traditions derived from Ireland and from the Continent, and, indeed, from Britain. There were, then, many different kinds of tradition jostling together in early Northumbria, and labelling them according to their place of origin is a tricky task that becomes, over time, impossible. What emerges from the process of hybridisation is a Northumbrian tradition of Christianity and a Northumbrian Christian culture.

183 Stephen, *VW*, Chs. 17 and 21; Wormald, 'Bede and Benedict Biscop', pp. 150–1; above p. 25 and n. 42; cf. Bonnie Effros, *Creating Community with Food and Drink in Merovingian Gaul* (New York, 2002), pp. 2–6, 25–9, 32–7.

184 Bede, *HA*, Ch. 20.

185 Cf. Wormald, 'Bede and Benedict Biscop', p. 153.

186 Bede, *HA*, Chs. 5–6; Ch. 2.

CHAPTER 3

Northumbrian Books in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries

Richard Gameson

Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, other written sources, and archaeological evidence reveal that Northumbria in the seventh and eighth centuries – a kingdom that stretched from the Humber to the Forth – had numerous Christian foundations. Every one of them must have possessed some books. However, owing to horrendous losses over the years – not least as a result of the Viking onslaught in the ninth century – only a tiny fraction of these volumes has come down to us. Moreover, because of a lack of evidence, few of the small number of manuscripts that happen to have survived can be linked to a particular scriptorium. Their script and ornament suggest that they are Northumbrian, but more than that we cannot say. And even some of the volumes that look Northumbrian may not actually have been made in the kingdom – very similar styles of writing and decoration were practised elsewhere, not least in Anglo-Saxon missionary foundations on the Continent.[1] To consider the problem from a different perspective: there are only two centres in seventh- and eighth-century Northumbria with which extant manuscripts can certainly be associated, plus a third to which a few might tentatively be linked. The corpus of material unquestionably includes books that were made – not to mention owned – at other places, but it is impossible to identify the foundations in question. No surviving books can thus be associated with even such important and well-documented centres as Beverley, Coldingham, Hartlepool, Hexham, Lastingham, Melrose, Ripon, Tynemouth, Whitby, and Whithorn.

In order to approach the fragmentary evidence for this field in a comprehensive yet concise way, we shall first survey the documentary sources that provide a glimpse of the book culture of certain Northumbrian locations at particular times. We shall then interrogate the corpus of manuscripts attributable – with differing degrees of probability – to Northumbria (a body of material that is assembled in the Appendix). Thereafter we shall look in more detail at the couple of centres to which surviving manuscripts can certainly be attributed, and at a third with which a few books can tentatively be associated. We shall then be in as well informed a position as possible to perceive the general points that arise from Northumbrian books of the period as a whole and to appreciate what these broader perspectives reveal about the Lindisfarne Gospels in particular: these are the themes that will be considered in conclusion.

Written Sources

The early documentary references that provide a glimpse of, or permit us to make inferences about, the book culture of individual Northumbrian locations at particular times are, by their nature, episodic, being scattered in diverse sources and alluding to isolated items or events. The best way to take account of them, therefore, is simply to survey the most telling examples in approximate chronological order.

The first church in Northumbria, the wooden structure at York in which King Edwin was baptized in 627, was overseen, and presumably provisioned, by Paulinus; coming to the Northumbrian court in the retinue of the Kentish princess who became Edwin's bride, he was one of the missionaries who had been dispatched to Kent from Rome by Pope Gregory the Great.[2] The first books in Northumbria were not, therefore, Irish but rather Roman or possibly – reflecting the beginnings of Christianity in Anglo-Saxon Kent itself – Frankish. They immediately alert us to a further difficulty of our topic: the impossibility of recognizing some of the material even if it happens to have survived. When Edwin was killed, his Kentish queen, their children, and Bishop Paulinus fled back to Kent, the mission he left behind being greatly reduced. If any of these first Christian books in Anglo-Saxon Northumbria were still extant, they would look Italian

1 The Northumbrian scribe who styled himself 'Peregrinus' and who worked at Friesing during the second half of the eighth century, contributing to Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6237, 6297, 6299 and 6433 (*CLA* IX, nos. 1253, 1263, 1265 and 1283; H. Sauer (ed.), *Angelsächsisches Erbe in München. Anglo-Saxon Heritage in Munich* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 2005), nos. 4–6) is an unequivocal example of the phenomenon; his subscription in Clm 6237 is reproduced in Sauer. Other cases are less clear cut, and the problem is particularly acute for fragmentary manuscripts.

2 *HE* II.9, 14 (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 162–4, and 186–8).

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or Frankish; and if they bore any evidence of English provenance, it would be more likely to tie them to Kent than to Northumbria.

The Christianity that was reimplanted in Northumbria by King Oswald (reigned 633–42) was Irish: the community he established at Lindisfarne in 635 came from Iona, a Columban house. Bede stresses the studiousness of its founding generation: 'All Aidan's companions whether tonsured or lay, had to engage in some form of study, that is to say, to occupy themselves either with reading the scriptures or learning the Psalms'.[3] Even allowing for exaggeration, common sense suggests that they will indeed have had psalters and certain other parts of the Bible as a matter of course. That their holdings ranged beyond this is indicated by the record that, as a boy on Lindisfarne, Wilfrid 'rapidly learned the Psalms and certain other volumes',[4] for if the texts in question had been scriptural ones alone, such would surely have been spelled out. The vague phrase *aliquot codices* was presumably chosen to imply a wider range of material. The circumstance that Lindisfarne was in effect a daughter house of Iona and remained so until 664 means that not only will its very first books have come from there, but so surely will many others during its early years. More generally, Bede notes that the many Anglo-Saxons who went to Ireland in the time of Bishops Finan (651–61) and Colmán of Lindisfarne (661–4) were freely provided there with books[5] – at least some of which may have been brought back to Northumbria. When 'all the Irish' and many of the English retreated from Holy Island to Iona in the aftermath of the Synod of Whitby,[6] they are likely to have taken some of their books with them. There is thus a difficulty parallel to that just noted in relation to York, namely that if any of the removed volumes happened to survive in an Irish context or even a 'neutral' one, there would be nothing to show that their history had included a Northumbrian phase.[7]

At Melrose, seemingly an early foundation from Lindisfarne, Abbot/Prior Boisil (d. 660/661) possessed a copy of St John's Gospel which, we are specifically told, was in seven quires.[8] In addition to the light that it sheds on Melrose, on Boisil and on the use of John, this is notable as evidence for *de facto* individual, as opposed to institutional, ownership of books – another theme that hovers around some of our material, bedevilling its localisation. A subsequent prior of Melrose, Æthilwold (who held that office from *c.* 700 to *c.* 722), was celebrated as a skilled binder – an accolade which implies that he had bound a fair number of books.[9] The fact that he seems to have come to Melrose from Lindisfarne suggests that the latter foundation was where he had learnt this craft. He returned there as bishop for the last fifteen or so years of his life (724–40), being responsible for binding the Lindisfarne Gospels.

At Whitby (founded *c.* 657), Abbess Hild (d. 680) required *inclusi* to devote time to studying scripture.[10] This surely implies more than just a bare minimum of books, and the fact that her regime produced six bishops suggests that reasonable literary resources were indeed available there. Hild also had the Old English poetry of the cowherd Cædmon transcribed, obliging her scribes to rise to the challenge of rendering in Latin letters a language with different phonetic requirements.[11] A generation later, the author of the *Vita Gregorii* that was composed at Whitby between 704 and 714 knew various biblical books plus the main works of Gregory the Great, and alludes to writings of Augustine and Jerome along with the *Liber Pontificalis*,

3 *HE* III.5 (p. 226).

4 *HE* V.19 (p. 518).

5 *HE* III.27 (p. 312).

6 *HE* III.29 (p. 308).

7 The 'Wormsley' fragment of Eusebius (Wormsley Library, Wormsley Park, near Stockenchurch, Bucks.) is a case in point: the circumstance that this Irish book was in England *c.* 1600 raises the possibility – it can be no more – that it had crossed the Irish Sea at a very early date. It need hardly be underlined how many uncertainties there are here. The difficulties that attend the evaluation of early Irish book culture itself are surveyed in R. Sharpe, 'Books from Ireland, Fifth to Ninth Centuries', *Peritia* 21 (2010), 1–55.

8 Bede, *Vita Cuthberti*, c. 8: *Two Lives of St Cuthbert*, ed. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1940), p. 182.

9 *Teste* the colophon of the Lindisfarne Gospels: *Cod. Lind.*, 11, Book 2, pp. 5–11; R. Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham: the contexts and meanings of the Lindisfarne Gospels* (London, 2013), pp. 16–26.

10 *HE* IV.23 (p. 408) and cf. IV.24 (p. 416): 'multis doctoribus viris praesentibus'. Oftfor is specifically said to have devoted himself to the reading and observance of scripture ('lectioni et obseruationi scripturarum operam dedisset': *HE* IV.23 (p. 408)) in both of Hild's monasteries, indicating that this was the practice at Hartlepool as well as at Whitby.

11 *HE* IV.24 (pp. 414–20). P. H. Blair, 'Whitby as a Centre of Learning in the Seventh Century', *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England. Studies presented to Peter Clemoes*, ed. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), 3–32, esp. 22–9. On the nature of the text that Bede recorded and its relationship to Cædmon himself see, e.g., J. Opland, *Anglo-Saxon Oral Poetry* (New Haven, 1980), pp. 106–20; K. O'Brien O'Keeffe, *Visible Song: transitional literacy in Old English Verse* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 23–46; and P. Cavill, 'The Manuscripts of Cædmon's Hymn', *Anglia* 118 (2000), 499–530.

confirming the availability there of a reasonable range of texts.[12]

Ripon – founded from Melrose in the 650s, refounded under Wilfrid in the 660s – was given by that bishop (d. 710) a spectacular gospel-book written in golden script on purple parchment, complete with a precious case.[13] We are specifically told that both the book and the case were made to his command (though where they were produced is not recorded). Now, the great majority of the earliest codices *de luxe* with purple parchment were written in silver ink but this one, by contrast, is specifically said to be gold on purple: it is thus aligned, not with its late antique predecessors, but rather with the only surviving Anglo-Saxon example of the genre – made in Kent in the mid-eighth century – and with most subsequent instances, Carolingian and Ottonian. Wilfrid was presumably inspired by late antique volumes he had seen on the Continent, but he commissioned his *codex aureus* to accord with his – and Anglo-Saxon – taste.[14]

The exceptionally well documented case of Wearmouth (founded 673/4) and Jarrow (681) – where distinguished libraries were rapidly created through the book-collecting activities of the founder, Benedict Biscop, and his successor, Ceolfrith – is considered in more detail below.[15] Here it suffices to note that a significant number of volumes are known to have been brought from the Continent to the twin foundation by the time of Biscop's death in 689, and that its holdings are then reported to have doubled by 716 – by which time Wearmouth-Jarrow had been distributing texts to other centres for some years.

At Hexham (founded by Wilfrid in 671–3), Acca its bishop from 710–32 'built up a very comprehensive and highly celebrated library, gathering together with utmost industry accounts of the passions [of apostles and martyrs] along with other ecclesiastical volumes'.[16] Given that the standards of the author of these lines, Bede, were defined by the exceptional resources at Wearmouth-Jarrow, this surely implies a very significant collection. Some of the titles in question came from Wearmouth-Jarrow itself: there must have been copies of the nine works that Bede specifically dedicated to Acca, and other parts of his oeuvre were evidently supplied as well for, in his *Commentary on Acts*, Bede mentions sending copies of his commentaries on the Apocalypse and on I John to the bishop.[17] We can also be confident that Hexham received Stephen of Ripon's *Life of Wilfrid* since Acca was its co-dedicatee.[18] In addition, if Acca was indeed the compiler of a lost Latin martyrology that lies behind the extant Old English one, then we can identify a run of specific *passiones* plus the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* and Bede's Martyrology as works that he had at his fingertips.[19]

Then there is the encomium of a great scribe, the Irishman Ultán, who worked in the earlier eighth century at an unidentified monastery linked to Lindisfarne and whose handwriting was sufficiently distinctive to be recognised as his by subsequent generations who could not, apparently, match its quality; because in life Ultán had written the word of God, after death his hand-bones were credited with performing miracles.[20] As well as revealing the continuing presence of Irish scribes in Northumbria long after the Synod of Whitby, the case thus advertises the high regard in which skilled scribes were held, along with the spiritual potency of their role, their handiwork, and even their mortal remains.

Where Ultán reveals an enduring scribal relationship with Ireland, personnel at York hint at continuing bibliographical connections with the Continent. Commenting in his *Dialogus* on an element of liturgical usage, Archbishop Egbert of York (d. 766) recollected missals and antiphonals that he had inspected in Rome (and with which those at York agreed regarding the point in question);[21] while Alcuin's celebration of his master, Ælbert of York (d. *c.* 778), demonstrates that Anglo-Saxons continued to

12 *Vita Gregorii*: *the Earliest Life of Gregory the Great*, ed. B. Colgrave (Kansas, 1968), pp. 53–4.

13 *Vita Wilfridi*, c. 17: *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus*, ed. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1927), p. 36.

14 The one Anglo-Saxon example is Stockholm, Kunglinga Biblioteket, A.135. For an overview of the field as a whole, with comment on the place of Wilfrid's MS within it, see R. Gameson, 'Codices Aurei', *The Edge: Journal of the Calligraphy and Lettering Arts Society* 14/5 (2009), 3–7 and 15/1 (2009), 7–10.

15 See notes 85–93.

16 *HE* V.20 (p. 530): 'Sed et historias passionis eorum [scil. apostolorum et martyrum] una cum ceteris ecclesiasticis voluminibus, summa industria congregans, amplissimam ibi ac nobilissimam bibliothecam fecit …'.

17 *De die iudicii*; *De eo quod ait Isaias*; *De mansionibus filiorum Israel*; *Expositio Actuum Apostolorum*; *In Ezram et Neemiam*; *In Genesim*; *In Lucae euangelium expositio*; *In Marci euangelium expositio*; *In Primam partem Samuhelis*. See *Expositio Actuum Apostolorum*, Preface, ll. 76–9, ed. M. Laistner, CCSL 121 (Turnhout, 1983).

18 *Vita Wilfridi*, Preface, ed. Colgrave, p. 2.

19 M. Lapidge, 'Acca of Hexham and the Origin of the *Old English Martyrology*', *Analecta Bollandiana* 123 (2005), 29–78.

20 Æthelwulf, *De Abbatibus*, c. 8, ed. A. Campbell (Oxford, 1967), pp. 19–23; L. Nees, 'Ultán the Scribe', *ASE* 22 (1993), 127–46.

21 'Quod non solum nostra testantur antiphonaria, sed et ipsa quae cum missalibus suis conspeximus apud apostolorum petri et pauli limina' (*Dialogus*, Ch. 16; printed: *Councils and Synods* III, ed. Hadden and Stubbs, p. 412).

collect books on the Continent well into the eighth century.[22] Better documented by this time, however, is the flow of volumes in the opposite direction – from Northumbria to the Continent.[23]

We also know – though it often seems to be forgotten – that there will have been at least some books at every Northumbrian court that embraced Christianity.[24] In a few cases the 'court collection' evidently extended beyond what was used and maintained by attendant clerics. King Aldfrith (ruled 686–705), a learned man educated in Ireland, is known to have had books of his own. He received works from Adamnán of Iona and Aldhelm of Malmesbury, and bought a handsome anthology of works on cosmography from Wearmouth-Jarrow.[25] Equally, King Ceolwulf (ruled 729–31 and 731–7) received two copies of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* – a preliminary draft and the finished version.[26] It is natural to wonder whether these manuscripts remained at court when Ceolwulf was immured on Lindisfarne or whether they might rather have joined the stock on Holy Island; unfortunately, this is yet another question that is unanswerable.

The Manuscript Evidence

Let us now turn to the extant manuscripts.[27] The evidence for linking books and fragments to Northumbria varies in strength and reliability from case to case. At best the attribution may be supported by textual evidence and/or provenance as well as codicology, script and decoration; often, however, it rests largely or entirely on palaeographical judgments – perforce the case for some items that are more or less fragmentary. Such assessments are at their most fragile in relation to those volumes that are now, and have for a long time been, on the Continent: were the manuscripts in question written in Northumbria and taken abroad by missionaries, or were they rather made on the Continent by Anglo-Saxon missionaries and those whom they trained? The Echternach Gospels is a case in point.[28] Certainly at Echternach by the first half of the eighth century, the book has plentiful links with manuscripts both from Northumbria and from Echternach, yet lacks close textual relatives at either (something which is all the more intriguing given the credentials of its gospel text, which is stated in a colophon to reflect Jerome's own copy). There is thus nothing to prove definitively which side of the North Sea it was actually made. Yet if the truth is – and is likely to remain – almost impossible to establish in most such cases, these volumes are probably offset statistically by those books from Ireland or the Continent which were imported into Northumbria during the seventh or eighth centuries but which bear no trace of their sojourn there and so are now unrecognizable as part of our corpus.

Notwithstanding the manifold uncertainties, the number of extant manuscripts that can be attributed to Northumbria during the seventh and eighth centuries is nearly eighty – considerably more than can be associated with any other Anglo-Saxon kingdom. Moreover, despite the incalculable losses, the corpus still embraces a variety of material. In the first place there are the fundamental texts of Christian belief and observance: gospel-books, Bibles, and part-Bibles, along with psalters, office-books and mass-books. Then there is a sweep of patristic commentary – works by Ambrose, Augustine, Cassiodorus, Chrysostom, Gregory the Great, Isidore and Jerome – plus some post-patristic theology (principally from the pen of Bede). There are also works of pedagogy (such as Priscian's Grammar and Bede's *De temporum ratione*) and general reference (notably Isidore's *Etymologiae*), along with

22 Alcuin, *The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York*, ll. 1454–7, ed. P. Godman (Oxford, 1982), p. 114.

23 See below note 117.

24 See in general R. Gameson, 'The Earliest English Royal Books', *1000 Years of Royal Books and Manuscripts*, ed. K. Doyle and S. McKendrick (London, 2013), 3–35.

25 Adomnán, *De locis sanctis*, ed. D. Meehan, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 3 (Dublin, 1958). Aldhelm, *De metris et enigmatibus ac pedum regulis* (*Epistola ad Acircium*): *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. R. Ehwald, MGH Auctorum Antiquissimorum XV (Berlin, 1919), pp. 33–204. 'Dato quoque cosmographiorum codice mirandi operis quem Romae Benedictus emerat': Bede, *Historia abbatum*, c. 15: *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*, ed. C. Grocock and I. N. Wood (Oxford, 2013), p. 58. See further *HE* IV.26, V.12 and V.15 (pp. 430, 496, and 508); B. Yorke, *Rex Doctissimus: Bede and King Aldfrith of Northumbria*, Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow, 2009), esp. pp. 4–7; *eadem*, 'Adomnán at the Court of King Aldfrith', *Adomnán of Iona. Theologian, Lawmaker, Peacemaker*, ed. J. M. Wooding (Dublin, 2010), 36–50, esp. 41–6.

26 *HE* Preface (p. 2).

27 The items in question are set out in the Appendix.

28 Paris, BnF, lat. 9389. For the affiliations between its prefatory (but not gospel) texts and those of the Durham and Cambridge-London Gospels see C. Verey, 'A Northumbrian Text Family', *The Bible as Book: the manuscript tradition*, ed. J. Sharpe and K. van Kampen (London, 1998), 105–22, esp. 107–10. That there were direct connections between Lindisfarne and Echternach 698 × 705 is shown by the anonymous *Vita Cuthberti*, III.16 (*Two Lives*, ed. Colgrave, pp. 134–6) which reveals the presence of a member of the household of St Willibrord, missionary to the Frisians and founder of Echternach (d. 739), staying on Holy Island.

writings on history and geography (Eusebius-Rufinus, Bede, Justinus, Orosius, and Pliny), not to mention Christian poetry (Paulinus of Nola) and Canon Law.

There are huge differences in numbers (and, one might presume, in the survival rate) both from one class of work to the next, and from one text to another. By far the best represented individual text is the gospels (of which some twenty examples survive), a predictable reflection of its centrality to Christian faith, observance and mission.[29] Next come Bibles, part-Bibles, and individual biblical books (of which there are eleven examples[30]), and then mass- and office-books (of which there are seven).[31] Given the multiple threats of wear and tear, obsolescence owing to liturgical reform and, eventually, proscription to which members of the last class were exposed over the centuries, the fact that seven examples have nevertheless come down to us shows how considerable must have been the original number. By contrast, the survival rate of psalters – two – is surprisingly low given the key role of the text in religious life during the early Middle Ages as thereafter, not to mention the certainty that some copies will have been very handsome and hence likely in principle to have been treasured in subsequent centuries.[32]

Most other works, of whatever class, are represented by a single copy. This doubtless reflects much smaller numbers originally – itself in part a product of the wider range of potential texts. The exceptions (with two witnesses in each case) are Cassiodorus's Commentary on the Psalms, Gregory the Great's *Dialogi* and *Moralia*, Eusebius's *Historia ecclesiastica*, a couple of Bede's works, the *Carmina natilicia* of Paulinus of Nola (d. 431) and – transmitted in two different forms[33] – Pelagius's commentary on the Pauline Epistles. All but the last two are readily intelligible in terms of what we know of ecclesiastical culture in Northumbria during the seventh and eighth centuries. The presence of the Pelagian material may relate directly or indirectly to the preservation in British contexts of work by a British author.[34] The prominence of a series of poems composed to celebrate the natal day of St Felix of Nola would seem even less predictable; yet we know that, in addition to the centres that produced and/or owned the extant manuscripts, the work was also available at Wearmouth-Jarrow, where it was used by Bede.[35] It is feasible that the collection's popularity reflects use in the school-room as a model for Christian Latin verse. If so, the case would remind us that, in the early stages of the development of a literary society when the range of texts to hand was strictly limited, it was possible for one that happened to be available and which met a particular need to enjoy disproportionate circulation. That said, the fact that the best represented author is Bede, with a total of eight manuscripts – one of his *Commentary on Proverbs*, two of *On Reckoning Time*, and no fewer than five of the *Ecclesiastical History* – is surely a genuine reflection of real popularity. At the same time, the circumstance that we have no Northumbrian copies of the other thirty or so works that Bede listed in the autobiographical note at the end of the *Ecclesiastical History* is a sobering reminder of how enormous have been the losses.[36]

Yet with due allowance made for the accidents of survival, the corpus of extant manuscripts does reflect the sort of book collection that is likely to have been possessed by the great Northumbrian houses listed earlier. They would undoubtedly have had core holdings of gospel-books and psalters, along with certain other parts of the Bible and, of course, texts for use in the office and at mass. Alongside some hagiography, they are likely to have owned a selection of patristic theology – augmented during the eighth century by the commentaries of Bede – for *lectio divina* and study. And they will have had guides to church law, computus, and the liturgical calendar, texts for teaching and refining skill in the Latin language, plus

29 Plus one single-gospel codex: the Cuthbert Gospel of John, BL, Add. MS 89,000.

30 Excluding psalters and gospel-books.

31 Berlin, lat. fol. 877 etc.; DCL, A.IV.19; Durham, Ushaw College, 44; Köln, Historisches Archiv, GB Kasten B nos 24 + 123 + 124; München, Haupstaatsarchiv, 108; Münster-in-Westfalen, IV.8; Paris, BnF, lat. 9488, fols. 3–4. The gospel-books DCL, A.II.16; A.II.17, part 1; BL, Cotton Nero D.iv; Royal 1 B.vii; and Würzburg, UB, M.p.th.f.68 have liturgical notes (on which see further Carol Farr, Ch. 7 in this volume).

32 The number of psalters from late Anglo-Saxon England is more closely comparable to that of gospel-books.

33 As a commentary per se, and within a gloss.

34 The text: *Pelagius's Expositions of Thirteen Epistles of St Paul*, ed. A. Souter, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1922–6). For exploration of exiguous but suggestive evidence for an early exemplar of the work from Wales and its transmission to England see D. N. Dumville, 'Late Seventh- or Eighth-Century Evidence for the British Transmission of Pelagius', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 10 (1985), 39–52.

35 For his prose Life of St Felix of Nola (BHL 2873; PL 94.789-798); it also informed and is quoted in his *De arte metrica*. Detailed comparison of Bede's citations with the readings in the Northumbrian MSS suggests that the copy to which he had access was their 'direct lineal ancestor' albeit at some remove: *Codex Vaticanus Palatinus Latinus 235: an early Insular Manuscript of Paulinus of Nola, Carmina*, ed. T. J. Brown and T. W. Mackay (Turnhout, 1988), esp. pp. 41–53 (quoted phrase on p. 52).

36 *HE* V.24 (pp. 566–70).

some reference works on history and geography. The library of Wearmouth-Jarrow clearly ranged beyond this both in breadth and depth, but it was equally clearly exceptional; if Hexham and perhaps Whitby might also be suspected to have had bibliographical riches, it may be doubted that many other Northumbrian centres will have done so.

A measure of indirect confirmation that the surviving manuscripts do indeed give a fair impression of the greater Northumbrian libraries of this period is provided by one of the oldest surviving book-lists from the medieval West. The document in question dates from the eighth century and comes from Würzburg.[37] As this see was established (in 741) by the Anglo-Saxon missionary Boniface, and as its first incumbent was his follower, the Anglo-Saxon Burchard (d. 754), it seems reasonable to assume that its earliest books will have reflected Anglo-Saxon values and resources. The fact that the list itself is written in Insular Minuscule is concordant with this assumption. Thirty-six items are inventoried. No gospel-books, psalters or service-books appear – showing either that they were kept separately or that they were simply not included here[38] – and the list starts with a biblical item, a copy of the Acts of the Apostles. There is a reasonable holding of patristics, with works by Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory and Jerome (including a title by the last which, from the ninth century at least, was widely used as part of a bibliographical handbook).[39] Anglo-Saxon taste is evident in the prominent representation of Gregory the Great and in the 'book of Aldhelm', not to mention the presence of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*.

The copy of Acts that heads the list can probably be identified with a surviving manuscript; the volume in question had a dramatic life.[40] Made in the late sixth century, possibly in Rome, and seemingly in Sardinia no later than February 614, it had by 709 migrated to Northumbria (more specifically Wearmouth-Jarrow) where it was used by Bede. At some point during the eighth century it reached Germany, first perhaps Hornbach (founded 727), subsequently Würzburg; the manuscript is now back in England in the Bodleian Library. Yet it was not alone in such travels: on the contrary, one of the best documented aspects of books during this period is their mobility. Internal and external evidence along with general contextual data all demonstrate that during the seventh and eighth centuries manuscripts travelled into, within, and out from Northumbria. Let us consider these three types of movement in turn.

The first books in Northumbria at the very beginning of the seventh century came, as we have seen, from Italy or Francia via Kent to the court of King Edwin and his new church at York. With the foundation of Lindisfarne in 635, volumes started to arrive from Iona and ultimately Ireland, along with missionaries to teach writing and book-making in the Irish manner. The fragmentary gospel-book, New Testament or Bible, Durham Cathedral Library, A.II.10, of Irish text-type, script and general aspect but of Northumbrian provenance, is a probable witness to this phase (ill. 3.1).[41]

Then in the second half of the seventh century, especially after the Synod of Whitby (664), increasing numbers of manuscripts were brought back from Italy and Gaul, above all by Benedict Biscop (d. 689). The Burchard Gospels, a fragment from the Book of Maccabees at Durham (ill. 3.2), and the Laudian Acts are surviving examples.[42]

That volumes were still being imported from the Continent in the second half of the eighth century is shown by Alcuin's comments on the book-collecting activities of

37 BodL, Laud Misc. 126. E. A. Lowe, 'An Eighth-Century List of Books in a Bodleian Manuscript from Würzburg and its probable relation to the Laudian Acts' in his *Palaeographical Papers*, ed. L. Bieler, 2 vols. (Oxford 1972), I, 239–50; D. Mairhofer, *Medieval Manuscripts from Würzburg in the Bodleian Library, a descriptive catalogue* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 403–5 with fig. 67. M. Gorman, 'The Oldest Lists of Latin Books', *Scriptorium* 58 (2004), 48–63, advances the hypothesis that the Anglo-Saxons pioneered the use of book-lists.

38 The 22 books listed in ?*s.* ix ?Irish script in BAV, Pal. Lat. 210 of Lorsch provenance, include 2 sacramentaries, 2 homiliaries and 2 antiphonaries. List reproduced in E. Mittler (ed.) *Bibliotheca Palatina,* 2 vols. (Heidelberg, 1986), II, p. 106 (as catalogue no. C7.2/1); edited in Gorman, 'Oldest Lists', pp. 56–7.

39 The oldest surviving copy of the complete collection in question (Hereford Cathedral Library, O.III.2; France, *s.* ix^2) descends from a MS that was produced in an Insular milieu: see *Cassiodori Senatoris Institutiones*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1937), p. xv.

40 BodL, Laud Gr. 35: *CLA* II.251; Lowe, 'Eighth-Century List', pp. 247–50; A. Lai, *Il Codice Laudiano Greco 35. L'Identità missionaria di un libro nell'Europa Altomedievale* (Editoriale Documenta Cargeghe, 2011).

41 *CLA* II.147; R. A. B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the end of the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1939), no. 6; R. Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures of Durham Cathedral* (London, 2010), no. 2. For its text – Vulgate with an Old Latin block at Mark 2.12b–6.5 – see J.-C. Haelewyck, 'Un nouveau témoin vieux latin de Marc: le MS. Durham Cathedral Library, A.II.10 + C.III.13 + C.III.20', *RB* 122 (2012), 5–12.

42 Würzburg, UB, M.p.th.f.68 (the divergent Canon Tables may only have been joined to this MS in *s.* xi: see F. Lifshitz, *Religious Women in Early Carolingian Francia: a study of manuscript transmission and monastic culture* (New York, 2014), p. 38); DCL, B.IV.6, fol. 169*; BodL, Laud Gr. 35.

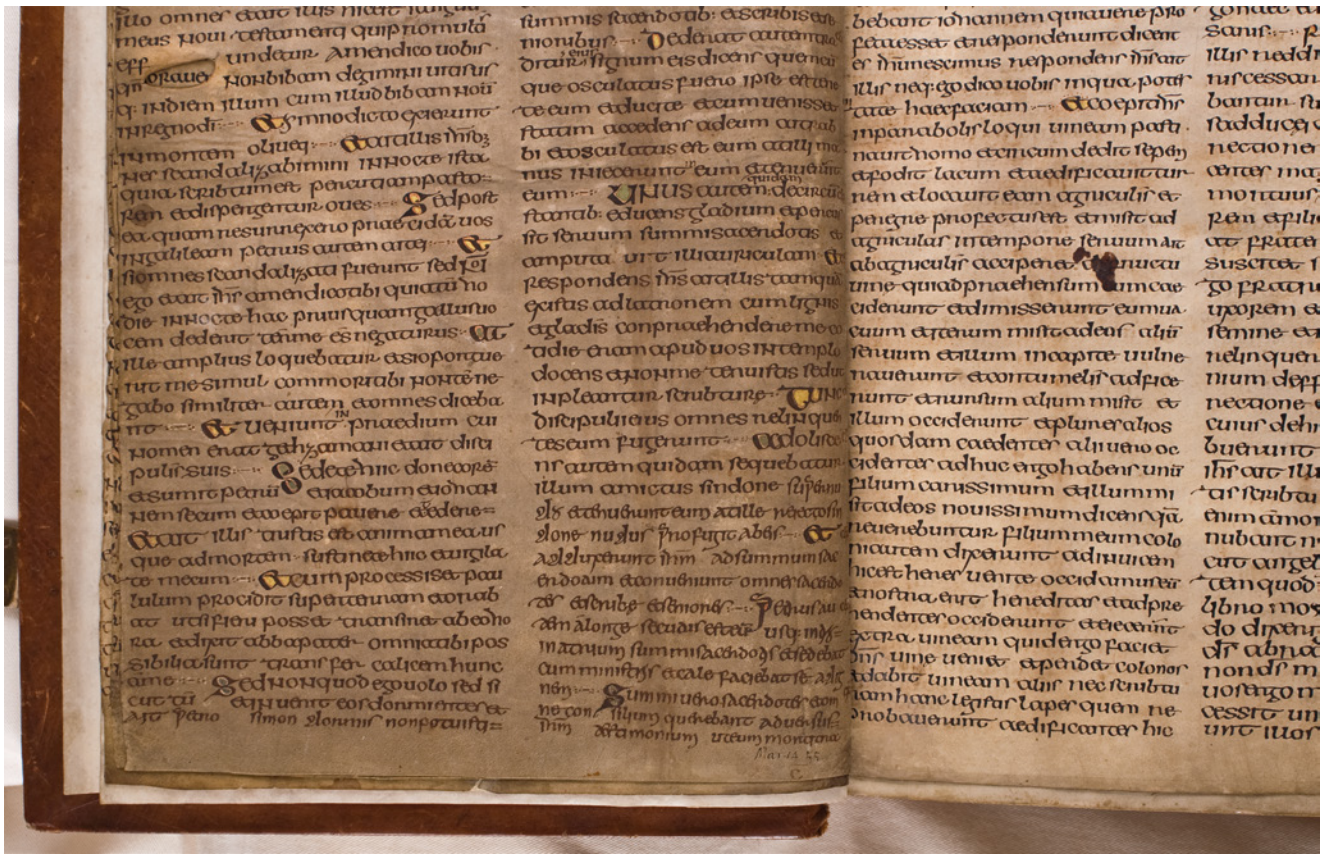


ILLUSTRATION 3.1 *DCL A.II.10, fol. 2v (detail).*

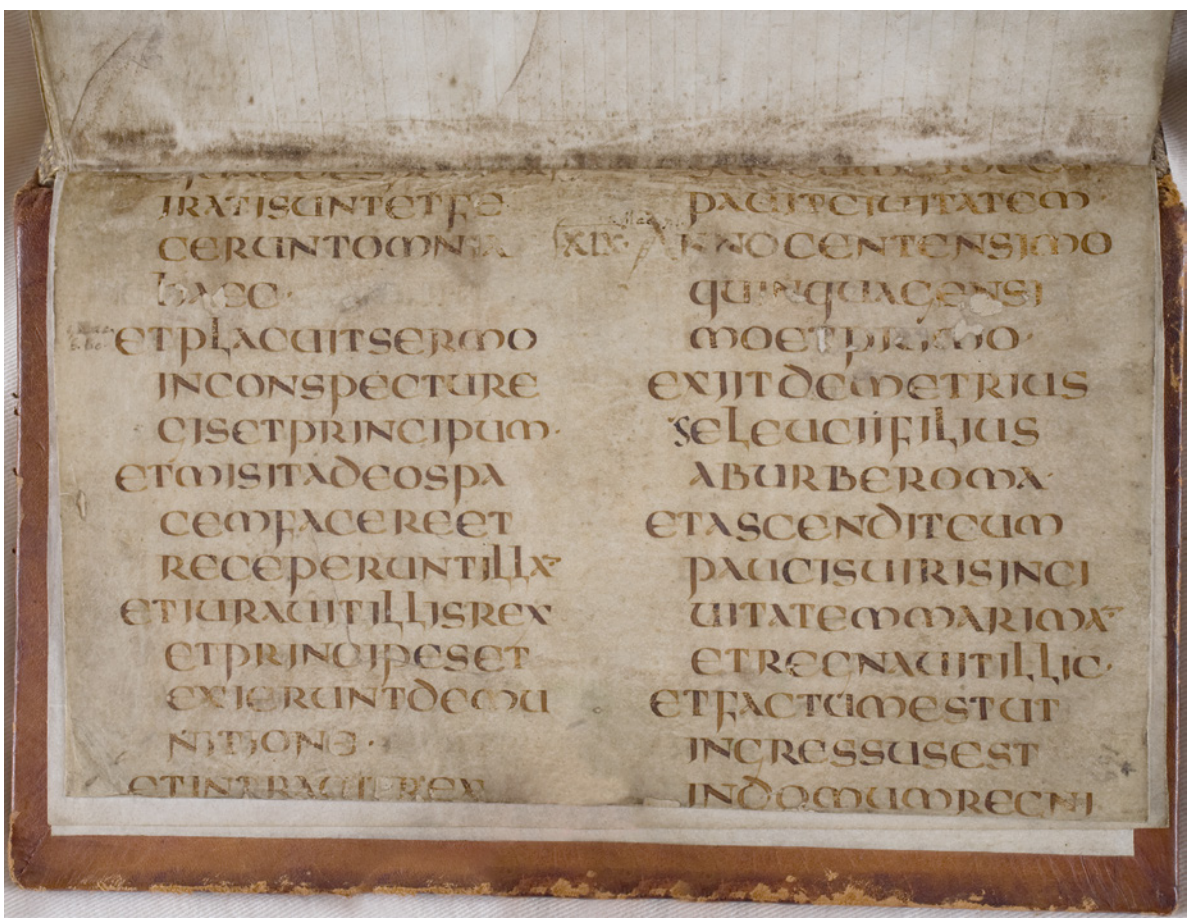


ILLUSTRATION 3.2 *DCL, B.IV.6 (Maccabees), fol. 169*.*

Ælbert of York (d. c. 778), noted above.[43] Equally, the 'acknowledgments' in works by Bede reveal other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms supplying Northumbria with texts, some made locally, other from further afield – one thinks of the *libellus* of the miracles of the Nuns of Barking, the varied material sent by Albinus of Canterbury, the *memorabilia* transcribed by Nothelm, priest of London, and an illustrated Life of St Paul that had been brought from Rome to England by Cuthwine, bishop of Dunwich.[44]

Within Northumbria, when one house founded or helped to found another, the former must have supplied the latter with books as well as personnel. Thus manuscripts as well as people will have been transferred from Lindisfarne to Melrose, for example, from Hartlepool to Whitby, and from Ripon to Hexham. Though undocumented, there can be no doubt that this was the reality. And by the end of the seventh century we can actually perceive books moving from one Northumbrian centre to another. One such case is the gospel-book from Wearmouth-Jarrow that was very probably used as the exemplar for the text of the Lindisfarne Gospels and is documented as a possession of the Community of St Cuthbert by the tenth century;[45] the Gospel of St John from the same centre that was eventually enclosed within Cuthbert's coffin may be another.[46] A copy of the *Life* of that saint that was composed at Lindisfarne between 699 and 705 clearly reached Jarrow shortly thereafter since Bede used it, while the great scholar of Jarrow duly supplied Lindisfarne in turn with his new prose *Life of Cuthbert*, as its bishop had requested, offering at the same time to forward a copy of his earlier poetic version.[47] Equally, Bede sent a run of his biblical commentaries to Hexham, two versions of his *Historia ecclesiastica* to the Northumbrian court, and he envisaged all of these works being circulated more widely, implying chains of copying and dispatch.[48]

When Northumbrian ecclesiastics founded churches in other English kingdoms, they will automatically have taken some books with them, which may have been reinforced by subsequent dispatches from their 'home' monasteries. When Cedd (d. 664) went to evangelise Mercia, he doubtless had Northumbrian books in his baggage, and the same will surely have been true as he moved on to Essex (the circumstance that he was consecrated bishop of the East Saxons by Finan of Lindisfarne, suggests that some books for his foundations at Bradwell-on-Sea and Tilbury may have come from Holy Island, his own alma mater).[49] Equally, when setting up a Mercian see at Lichfield, his brother Chad will presumably have started with books from Lastingham, whence he had been summoned. That bibliographical and scribal connections between Northumbria and other areas of England continued into the eighth century is suggested by the echoes of the styles of northern manuscripts in those produced elsewhere: one thinks, for instance, of the relationship between the script and some of the decoration in the Lichfield Gospels (of Welsh and Mercian provenance) and the Lindisfarne Gospels, and of the carpet page (an Insular, more particularly Columban, feature) that was included in the Kentish Vespasian Psalter.[50]

By the first half of the eighth century, manuscripts were being dispatched from Northumbria to the Continent. A giant Bible (Codex Amiatinus: ills. 3.4–3.5) was famously carried all the way from Jarrow to Rome in 716, and a few volumes went to northern Francia.[51] Larger numbers, however, were sent to Germany to help equip the new missionary foundations there, namely Fulda, Hornbach, Lorsch or Mainz, Regensburg, Werden and Würzburg as also perhaps Cologne and Echternach. The manuscripts exported thereto, it will be remembered, included volumes that had themselves been brought to Northumbria from Italy a generation or two earlier.[52] During the second half of the eighth century, there was a growing demand from these foundations for the works of Bede: by the end of the century at least three copies of the *Historia ecclesiastica* were demonstrably on the Continent, one indeed at the court of Charlemagne;[53] and the formidable circula-

43 Alcuin, *Bishops, Kings and Saints of York*, ll. 1454–7, ed. Godman, p. 114.

44 *HE* IV.7 (p. 356); Preface (p. 4) – which also alludes to (presumably modest) written material supplied by Daniel, bishop of the West Saxons, and from unspecified people in East Anglia; Bede, *Liber quaestionum*, c. 2: PL 93.456.

45 DCL, A.II.17 (part 2).

46 London, British Library, Add. MS 89,000. For what is known about its early history and for possible contexts for its transmission from Wearmouth-Jarrow to the Community of St Cuthbert see Richard Gameson, 'History of the Manuscript to the Reformation', *The St Cuthbert Gospel. Studies on the Insular Manuscripts of the Gospel of John*, ed. C. Breay and B. Meehan (London, 2015), 129–36.

47 *HE*, prologue (p. 6). *Vita Cuthberti,* prologue: *Two Lives*, ed. Colgrave, pp. 142–6.

48 See note 17 above. *HE* Prologue (p. 2).

49 *HE* III.22, 23, 28 (pp. 282–4, 289, 316).

50 Lichfield Cathedral Library, 1. BL, Cotton Vespasian A.i (the relevant page, now lost, is known from offsets).

51 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino 1. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Hamilton 553; Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque de l'Agglomération, 257; St Petersburg, Russian National Library, F.v.I.3 (Part I and Part II); and Q.v.XIV.1.

52 BodL, Laud Gr. 35; Würzburg, UB, M.p.th.f.68.

53 The one at Charlemagne's court is the extant CUL, Kk.5.16 (facsimile: *The Moore Bede*, ed. P. Hunter Blair and R. A. B. Mynors, EEMF 9 (Copenhagen, 1959); see further note 77). A second copy

tion of Bede's numerous works in Germania and Francia thereafter must perforce have rested ultimately on exemplars from Northumbria.[54] The export of older books also continued, for in the later 790s we find Alcuin trying to bring books from York to his new home of Tours.[55] All these circumstances are reflected in the present location of our nearly eighty early Northumbrian manuscripts: only thirty-four remain in Britain, whereas overseas there are more than forty, many of which manifestly got there at an early date.

Case Studies: York, Wearmouth-Jarrow, Lindisfarne

Let us now examine the two and a half cases wherein extant books can be linked to a particular scriptorium. The 'half' case – where there are tentative attributions but none that is certain – is York, which we shall consider first.[56]

York

If some of the volumes brought by Paulinus presumably remained *in situ* for the use of the deacon James to whom the mission was entrusted, others may have left with the Roman missionary when he fled back to Kent around 633 and might conceivably have come to rest at Rochester where he ended his days.[57] As the nature of the church at York itself is shadowy for the next hundred years,[58] it is impossible to offer any comment on its books during this period.

A watershed in York's fortunes appears to have come with Egbert, bishop from 732–5 then (with the elevation of the see) archbishop from 735–66, for much of which time he enjoyed the further advantage that his brother, Eadbert, was king of Northumbria (reigned 737–58). One presumes that, as a pupil of Bede who wrote a treatise on ecclesiastical discipline and who was celebrated as a teacher of chant, Egbert will have wanted to consolidate his church's holding of books.[59] On one occasion he makes passing reference to the antiphonals that were at York in his day, noting their agreement on a particular point with liturgical books in Rome.[60] And he will surely himself have received copies of some, possibly many of Bede's works (he was the addressee of the splenetic *Epistola ad Egbertum*[61]) – something that would, incidentally, provide an economical explanation for Alcuin's broad-ranging familiarity with the Bedan oeuvre. Yet whether Egbert passed these on to his church (as opposed to his successor or a schoolmaster) is debatable for, while Alcuin's encomium of York and its archbishops celebrated Egbert's skill in teaching music and his gifts of textiles and ornaments, no mention was made of any books.[62] There is seemingly good evidence for an active scriptorium at York around the middle of the eighth century: in 746–7 Boniface wrote to Egbert, requesting copies of Bede's shorter works;[63] subsequently the missionary thanked the archbishop for the *libelli* that had been supplied and asked him for copies of Bede's *Homiliae* and *In Parabolas Salomonis*.[64] Nevertheless, a note of caution should be sounded. Boniface asked several parties for books, the precise implication of the request varying from case to case. If in one instance he clearly expected the recipient to organise the production of the manuscript in-house (even undertaking to supply her with relevant materials), in another he explicitly asked for a pre-existing volume not a new one.[65] The precise wording of his request to Egbert was, 'I beg that you see fit to copy out and send to me certain tracts from the oeuvre of the *lector* Bede';[66] plainly, however, the missionary did

is now known only by the witness of a descendant written in northern Francia in the late eighth century: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August Bibliothek, Weissenburg 34 (*CLA* IX.1385; Colgrave and Mynors, pp. xliv-xlv, siglum 'U'). The third is that documented on the Würzburg book-list in Laud Misc. 126 (see note 37). See further in general D. Rollason, *Bede and Germany*, Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow, 2001).

54 Overview: R. McKitterick, 'Exchanges between the British Isles and the Continent c. 450-c. 900', *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain I*, ed. R. Gameson (Cambridge, 2012), 313–37, esp. 321–6 and 331–5.

55 Alcuin, Ep. 121, ed. E. Dümmler, MGH Epistolae IV, Karolini Aevi II (Berlin, 1895), p. 177.

56 See in general M. Garrison, 'The Library of Alcuin's York', *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain I*, ed. Gameson, 633–64.

57 *HE* II.20 (pp. 202–6).

58 For an overview of what can be deduced from the exiguous sources see *Charters of Northern Houses*, ed. D. A. Woodman (London-Oxford, 2012), pp. 27–33.

59 *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1869–78), III, 403–13.

60 Idem, p. 412.

61 *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, ed. C. Plummer, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1896), I, pp. 405–23.

62 Alcuin, *Bishops, Kings and Saints of York*, ll. 1265–72, ed. Godman, pp. 98–100.

63 'obsecro ut mihi de opusculis Bedae lectoris aliquos tractatus conscribere et dirigere digneris …': ep. 75, ed. E. Dümmler, MGH, Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini Aevi I (Berlin, 1892), 346–7.

64 'Dona ac libellos … a uobis directa … gaudentes suscepimus': Ep. 91, ed. Dümmler, pp. 376–7.

65 Epp. 35 and 63: *S. Bonafatii et Lulli Epistolae*, ed. E. Dümmler, MGH Epistolarum Tomus III: Merowingici et Karolini Aevi I (Berlin, 1892), pp. 286 and 329–30.

66 See note 63.

not expect the archbishop to undertake the copying himself but rather to organise it. Directing requests for Bede's works to the archbishop of the Northumbrian scholar's province was eminently logical; however, it does not necessarily mean that Egbert had his own episcopal scriptorium that undertook the task – as opposed to being in prime position to arrange for copies to be made somewhere within his jurisdiction (most obviously Wearmouth-Jarrow itself). In sum, York may well have had skilled scribes in the mid-eighth century, but the documentary evidence falls short of actually proving this.

What is clear is that York's library (as distinct from sacred texts and service books) was principally built up by Ælbert, the York alumnus and master who became the next archbishop (sedit *c.* 767-*c.* 778).[67] That his book collection was impressive can hardly be doubted: Alcuin celebrated 'the choicer tracts of scholastic learning which I had in my native land through the good and most earnest industry of my master [Ælbert] or even through some effort of my own';[68] citations and allusions in Alcuin's own writings reflect wide reading, some – perhaps much – of which will have been accomplished in these very books;[69] and they evidently included certain titles that Alcuin was subsequently unable to obtain in Charlemagne's Francia.[70] Yet while the creation of such a collection *might* imply that Ælbert fostered or enhanced a scriptorium at York, this does not necessarily follow. For it is notable in a poem that lauds prominent characters in that church's history and (apparently) runs through authors who could be read there, that Alcuin makes no specific mention of any scribes or their work. By contrast, what he does record is that Ælbert procured at least some of his books while travelling on the Continent.[71] And this was unequivocally a personal rather than an institutional book collection for, shortly before his death, Ælbert gave it to Alcuin.[72] Moreover, other evidence strongly suggests that there was by then (or still) a shortage of scribes at York. When Lul of Mainz wrote to Ælbert as archbishop, asking for a tract about tides and for other cosmographical works, the latter apologised for not fulfilling the request, one of the grounds he gave being that he had difficulties securing copyists, even for himself.[73]

If we charitably discount the possibility that Ælbert exaggerated the shortage of scribes in order to excuse himself (and them) from a demanding request, can we then 'square the circle' of a major school associated with an archiepiscopal see that may have had scribes around 750 (assuming it had indeed been able to supply books to Boniface) but seemingly lacked them a generation later? In point of fact, the very nature of the establishment may be the key to this apparent paradox. Any scriptorium – in the sense of an organised group of scribes – will have waxed and waned according to its evolving demographic on the one hand and, on the other, to the changing needs of the centre it served. Such fluctuations are likely to have been more pronounced at an archbishopric than in a monastery, given the potentially greater transience of its personnel – above all of the students at its school. Any body of scribes putatively nurtured by Egbert towards the middle of the eighth century would, if not renewed, have been declining by the time Ælbert took up the archiepiscopal mantle. Furthermore, if copying of texts was associated with the school under Ælbert and Alcuin, some of the individuals in question may have been passing through and so will have taken their skills elsewhere (as we shall see to have been the case for one of them in particular, Liudger of Utrecht). Logically, therefore, we might expect fluctuation rather than continuity in York's productivity as a writing centre. The same may apply to its book collection as a whole: this is certainly what we see in relation to Alcuin.

Alcuin (d. 804) became even more famous as a teacher than Ælbert, attracting to York continental pupils such as Liudger of Utrecht (d. 809). Liudger sat at Alcuin's feet on two occasions, departing the second time, his biographer states, 'with an abundance of books'.[74] Around 781/2

67 For what may be deduced about Ælbert's knowledge of Latin verse from his letter to Lul see Alcuin, *Bishops, Kings and Saints of York*, ed. Godman, p. lxiv.

68 '… exquisitiores eruditionis scolasticae libelli quos habui in patria per bonam et deuotissimam magistri mei industriam uel etiam mei ipsius qualemque sudorem': ep. 121, ed. Dümmler, MGH Epistolae IV, Karolini Aevi II (Berlin, 1895), p. 177.

69 For Alcuin's reading see Alcuin, *Bishops, Kings and Saints of York*, ed. Godman, pp. lxvi-lxxx; D. Bullough, *Alcuin, Achievement and Reputation* (Leiden, 2004); M. Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 40–2.

70 See note 75 below.

71 Alcuin, *Bishops, Kings and Saints of York*, ll. 1454–7, ed. Godman, p. 114.

72 Alcuin, *Bishop, Kings and Saints of York*, ll. 525–35, ed. Godman, p. 120.

73 '… Iam sepius mihimet perscribere destinaui sed non illorum potui scriptores adquirere': ep. 124, ed. Dümmler, p. 413. He is unable to supply the work on tidal phenomena because it is completely unknown, conceivably spurious ('omnino incognitum – nisi quia falsum – est').

74 'habens secum copiam librorum': Altger, *Vita Liutgeri* 1.12, ed. G. Pertz in MGH Scriptores II, 403–19 at p. 408. Possible candidates are discussed by K. Zechiel-Eckes, *Katalog der frühmittelalterlichen Fragmente der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf. Vom beginnenden achten bis zum ausgehenden neunten Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 2003), nos. K1:B215 (p. 27); K2:C118 (p. 30); K15:009 (p. 47); K19:Z8/8 (p. 60); M.TH.u.Sch.29a (ink) Bd4,



ILLUSTRATION 3.3 DCL *B.II.30* (*Cassiodorus,* In Psalmos)*, fol. 212v* (*detail*).

Alcuin was recruited by Charlemagne, leading to the loss of more volumes from York, for it is inconceivable that he did not take some of his books with him to help him fulfil the role of court scholar, and fifteen or so years later (796/7) he sought the emperor's support for removing from York certain titles that he could not find in Francia ('may it please your excellency … that I send some of our lads to procure from there everything that is necessary for us'[75]).

Alcuin's poem on York, composed at some point between 780 and 796, most probably in the period from 781/2 to 792/3, celebrated its holding of texts, naming forty-one authors and outlining the broad curriculum that was followed there.[76] Even if all the works that this implies were genuinely in book chests at York – as opposed to on a 'wish-list', or being what Alcuin thought an ideal library should posses – they formed the school master's collection, not a cathedral library, and a good number of them may not have been written in York. So: many 'York' books in the eighth century may have been made elsewhere and might soon have moved elsewhere – taken by Liudger in 773, by Alcuin around 781/782 and again in 797 – moreover, they may not resemble other 'York' books.

No extant volume can with certainty be attributed to York. If this is primarily because of the devastating losses of evidence, it may also, to a lesser extent, reflect the particular nature of book collecting and production at York. In the absence of ownership inscriptions or other internal documentation, localising early medieval manuscripts relies primarily on identifying groups of volumes that display related features and have a common provenance which might then also be their place of origin. Yet the vestiges of a collection that was slow to develop then fairly fluid, and which is likely to have included many volumes that were 'imported' rather than home-made, and whose 'in-house' products may have been of divergent appearance would be unidentifiable by this method.

One possible candidate, on circumstantial grounds, is the Moore Bede, a copy of the *Historia ecclesiastica* that was written in Northumbria around the third quarter of the eighth century but which by *c.* 800 had reached the

vorderer Spiegel (p. 65); and the same, hinterer Spiegel. Also Garrison, 'Library', pp. 645–7.

75 Ideo haec vestrae excellentiae dico … ut aliquos ex pueris nostris remittam qui excipient inde nobis necessaria quaeque': ep. 121, ed. Dümmler, p. 177. For the immediately preceding sentence – and hence the implied subject here – see note 68 above.

76 *Bishops, Kings and Saints of York*, ed. Godman, date discussed at pp. xlii-xlvii; Garrison, 'The Library', pp. 652–62.

circle of Charlemagne, where it was annotated.[77] The most obvious way for a Northumbrian book to have passed into Charlemagne's milieu would be via Alcuin – though, needless to say, this was by no means the only possible route.

Stronger, though still circumstantial, is the case of the Durham Cassiodorus (ill. 3.3).[78] Here there are two independent but intersecting pointers. First, the manuscript contains not the whole of Cassiodorus's lengthy work but rather an abbreviation of it, plus a Preface that is in certain respects unparalleled. The fact that Alcuin seems to have used a reduced version of the text and was also, as it happens, interested in the themes articulated in the unique Preface, hints at an association with his milieu (Bede knew the work *in toto*[79]). The second pointer arises from the existence in Düsseldorf of a leaf from a sister volume – an otherwise lost copy of the abbreviated version.[80] The Düsseldorf leaf is comparable to the Durham Cassiodorus in format as well as text type, suggesting that the two books are related. The only evidence for the provenance of the leaf dates from the sixteenth century, when 'Moers' was written on it. Now Werden Abbey had property at Moers, and Werden (many of whose manuscripts are today in Düsseldorf) was founded by the Liudger who had twice studied at York, from which, it will be remembered, he is explicitly said to have taken many books.[81] The most obvious explanation for these circumstances is that the Durham Cassiodorus and its sister copy have a common association with York.

Several unprovenanced manuscripts share one or more features – be it size, format, type of hand, scribal flourish or ornament – with the Durham Cassiodorus.[82] If the elements in question are generally too modest to *require* production in the same centre, it should be borne in mind that the possible conditions of book production at York may well have favoured diversity rather than homogeneity of appearance. Nevertheless, the fact that one can understand how and why York-made manuscripts might have lacked a distinctive house style does not change the reality that the modest similarities between the volumes in question here are insufficient, in the absence of other evidence for origin or even provenance, to permit attribution to a single centre. The circumstance that scribes trained at York were more likely than those at Wearmouth-Jarrow, for instance, to have moved on to other locations adds to the uncertainties. Moreover, it is an inconvenient fact that the contenders include a biblical volume that was negligently copied, something which is not easily reconciled with the glowing image of the York school painted by Alcuin.[83] In brief: some of these volumes may conceivably have been made at York, but we are unlikely ever to know for certain; and the library of a centre where scribal production seemingly waxed and waned, and to and from which books assuredly came and went in some quantities is likely always to remain elusive. That very elusiveness may be a reflection of genuinely fluid circumstances.

Wearmouth-Jarrow

With Wearmouth-Jarrow we reach firmer ground. Indeed, it is the best attested writing centre of early Anglo-Saxon England as a whole, with a number of securely attributed manuscripts, plus a range of informative documentation.[84] Given two physically separate foundations, it might

77 CUL, Kk.5.16. For the date see D. N. Dumville, 'The Earliest Manuscripts of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*', *Anglo-Saxon* 1 (2007), 55–108, esp. 59–75. For the association with Charlemagne's court: B. Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, trans. M. Gorman (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 67–8. Colour plate of the additions: P. Binski and S. Panayotova (ed.), *The Cambridge Illuminations. Ten Centuries of Book Production in the Medieval West* (Turnhout, 2005), fig. 16 (p. 44).

78 DCL, B.II.30: Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures*, no. 5; Garrison, 'The Library', pp. 648–9.

79 R. N. Bailey, 'Bede's Text of Cassiodorus' Commentary on the Psalms', *Journal of Theological Studies* n.s. 34 (1983), 189–93; Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 256–8.

80 Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek K16:Z3/1: *CLA* S.1786; Zechiel-Eckes, *Katalog*, pp. 50–1.

81 See note 74.

82 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, lat. fol. 877 etc. (Calendar; Sacramentary). CUL, Kk.1.24 etc. (gospel-book): *CLA* II.138 – the compressed script used for prologue and capitula resembles some in DCL, B.II.30. BL, Cotton Tiberius B.v, fol. 75 (gospel-book): *CLA* II.190 – decorative S-curls in margins like DCL B.II.30. BL, Egerton 1046, fols. 17–31 (Old Testament books): *CLA* II.194b – broad similarities to some of the script in DCL B.II.30. Leiden, Voss. Lat. F.4 (Pliny): *CLA* X.1578 – same format as, and initial paralleled in DCL B.II.30; script more rectilinear, however. Paris, BnF, lat. 9377, fol. 3 (Paul's Letter to Corinthians): *CLA* S.1746 – same format as DCL B.II.30. For a thoughtful exploration of the case for Leiden Voss. Lat. 4 being a York book which appropriately concludes that it is a plausible hypothesis but impossible to prove, see M. Garrison, 'An Insular Copy of Pliny's *Naturalis historia* (Leiden VLF 4, fols. 4–33)', *Writing in Context. Insular Manuscript Culture 500–1200*, ed. E. Kwakkel (Leiden, 2013), 66–125. The case made in *CLA* II.194a for linking BL, Egerton 1046, fols. 1–16, 32–48 (Old Testament books) to DCL B.II.30 is altogether weaker (merely generalised similarities to some script on one folio, 62v) and was presumably predicated on the questionable belief that these pages had the same origin as fols. 17–31 of the same volume, whose relationship to B.II.30 is stronger.

83 BL, Egerton 1046, fols. 17–31. On the text: R. Marsden, *The Text of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1995), 265–7, 287–92, 303–4; cf. Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 258–9.

84 The relevant MSS are listed and discussed by M. B. Parkes, *The Scriptorium of Wearmouth-Jarrow*, Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow, 1982); D. N. Dumville, *A Palaeographer's Review: the Insular system of*

be logical to think in terms of two scriptoria; however, as we are now unable to distinguish between products of Wearmouth and of Jarrow, the books are perforce regarded as the results of a common operation by the twin community.

What the case unquestionably shows is how rapidly a substantial library could be assembled and an important scriptorium (or scriptoria) established if the founder and his immediate successors exerted themselves to achieve this. For within a generation of the founding of Wearmouth in 673/4 and of Jarrow *c.* 681, the twin community possessed an impressive library and supported a skilled and highly efficient writing operation. The main developments that facilitated this extraordinary rise are outlined in the documentary record. Prior to, as well as after setting up his monasteries, Benedict Biscop acquired books in Italy and Francia; he collected them on at least three separate occasions,[85] being joined on one of these (678–80) by his colleague and future successor, Ceolfrith.[86] Bede is clear that the numbers of volumes involved each time were substantial and the range of subject matter broad: indeed, one of the only two titles to be specified in the written sources was not a scriptural or patristic text, but rather a collection of the work 'of the cosmographers'.[87] The other acquisition to be named was a one-volume Bible, a rarity which can be identified more specifically as Codex Grandior, a pandect made for (and described by) the administrator turned monastic founder, Cassiodorus (d. after 580).[88] Direct connections with, and the possibility of bibliographical acquisitions from, Rome continued for at least the next twenty-five years. Monks from the community were there again no later than 701[89] and at least one of them – Hwætbert, the man who was to succeed Ceolfrith – took advantage of the opportunity to linger 'a long while, learning, transcribing and bringing back all that he thought necessary for his studies'.[90] And when Ceolfrith departed on pilgrimage to Rome at the end of his life (716), he had eighty companions – an insight, perhaps, into the size of the parties that could have accompanied Biscop on his collecting trips, and hence into the quantity of books and other treasures that it would have been feasible to transport. Owing to Ceolfrith's untimely death en route, only some of the group reached Rome on this occasion; nevertheless, they delivered to the Pope the great Wearmouth-Jarrow Bible, Codex Amiatinus (ills. 3.4–3.5), a heavy load in itself.

The nature of the remarkable library built up from continental sources by Biscop, Ceolfrith and Hwætbert is reflected in the output of Bede, whose own writings imply access to some 200 titles, an extremely large number for

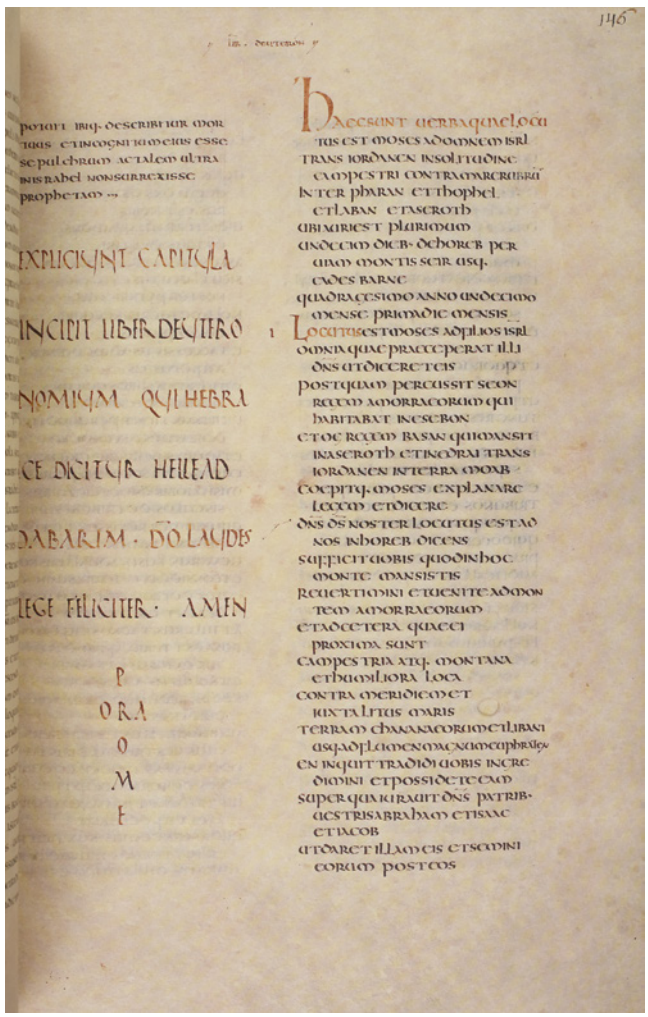


ILLUSTRATION 3.4 *Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino 1 (Bible: Deuteronomy), fol. 146r.*

scripts in the early middle ages (Osaka, 1999), esp. 64–74; idem, 'Earliest manuscripts of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*', pp. 87–93; and R. Gameson, 'Materials, Text, Layout and Script', *St Cuthbert Gospel*, ed. Breay and Meehan, 13–39 and 171–83.

85 Namely his 4th, 5th and 6th visits to Rome in 671, 678–80 and c. 684–6: *Historia abbatum*, cc. 4, 6, 9 (pp. 30, 34, 44); *Vita Ceolfridi*, cc. 5 and 9 (pp. 84, 86).

86 *HA*, c. 7 (p. 38); *Vita Ceolfridi*, c. 10 (p. 88); *HE* IV.18 (p. 388).

87 Bede, *Historia abbatum*, c. 15, ed. Grocock and Wood, p. 58. The precise texts in question here are a matter of debate.

88 *Cassiodori Senatoris Institutiones*, I.14.2, ed. R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1937), p. 40. The relevant sentence in *HA*, c. 15 (pp. 56–8) is ambiguous concerning whether it was Biscop or Ceolfrith who secured the Bible; translators – and hence commentators – have generally opted for the latter.

89 *HA*, c. 15 (p. 58); *Vita Ceolfridi*, cc. 10 and 20 (p. 98); also Bede, *De temporum ratione*, c. 47: *Baedae Opera de temporibus*, ed. C. W. Jones (Cambridge, Mass., 1943), p. 267.

90 'et non paruo ibidem temporis spatio demoratus quaeque sibi necessaria iudicabat, didicit, descripsit, retulit …': *HA*, c. 18 (p. 66).

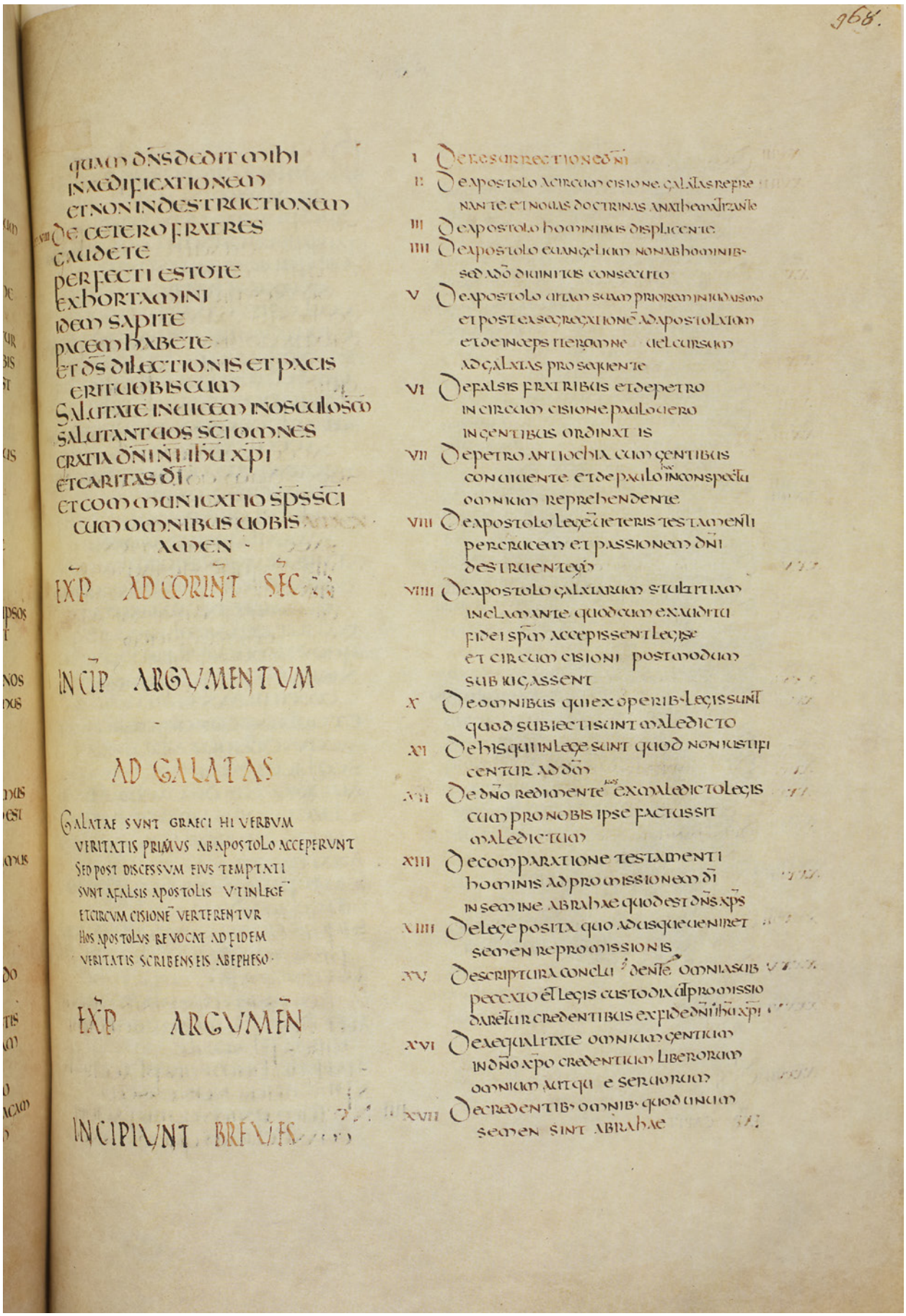


ILLUSTRATION 3.5 *Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino 1, fol. 968r.*

the time.[91] The works he used included a good range of the writings of the Latin Church Fathers (Ambrose, Augustine, Cassiodorus, Gregory, Isidore, Jerome), selected works by Greek Fathers (Basil, Chrysostom, Eusebius and Origen) in Latin translation, plus certain classical Latin authors (Virgil, Pliny, and the Grammarians), not to mention the whole Bible – something that was itself comparatively scarce in the early medieval West. Even if some of the volumes in question were borrowed and a few works were known in excerpted form or via intermediaries, there will have been other books at Wearmouth-Jarrow that are not reflected in Bede's oeuvre, so that the actual total is unlikely to be any lower. From the Italian manuscripts that were used by Bede, there are – against all the odds – a couple of possible survivors.[92] Augmenting the core of books acquired directly from the Continent were works from Ireland (such as *De ordine creaturarum*, Computistica, and Adomnán's *De locis sanctis*) not to mention texts obtained from elsewhere in England (notably the *libellus* on the Nuns of Barking and the illustrated *passiones sive labores* of St Paul that had belonged to the Bishop of Dunwich).[93]

The literary output of Bede also sheds light on the quantity of scribal work that was undertaken at Wearmouth-Jarrow itself. For from the 690s onwards his community was necessarily transcribing the stream of new texts he was composing. The 'first edition' of each work surely comprised at least three copies (one for Wearmouth, one for Jarrow, and one for an outside dedicatee). Further copies were then presumably produced for other centres within England, not least York and Canterbury – certainly, this was Bede's vision for his work – and by the third quarter of the eighth century yet more were being made for export to the new mission fields of Germany. The quantity of Bede's works that was shipped to Germany can be appreciated from its impact.[94] Based on the corpus of surviving Carolingian manuscripts, Bede appears to have been the second most popular author on the Continent in the ninth century (and the fact that he was eclipsed only by Augustine of Hippo, a towering authority and a prolific writer, is in itself testimony to his status): some 300 manuscripts of Bedan texts have come down to us from this period, all of which ultimately go back to exemplars written at Wearmouth-Jarrow.[95] Now as Bede wrote more than thirty works, this programme of transcribing them implies around 100 manuscripts for the first editions alone, and even if we assume no more than a couple of subsequent copies of most of them made for other individuals and institutions – far more likely to be an underestimate than an overestimate – we arrive at a minimum total approaching 200 volumes. To this must be added the production of liturgical books[96] and, perhaps, of several part-Bibles. For among the many literary works listed in the autobiographical note that he appended to the *Historia ecclesiastica*, Bede recorded that he drew up *capitula lectionum* for the Pentateuch, Joshua and Judges, Kings, Chronicles, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Isaiah, Ezra, Nehemiah, Tobit, Judith and Esther as for all the books of the New Testament except the gospels.[97] This implies that he had been dividing biblical books into chapters, of which he then composed summaries – something there would be little point in undertaking unless copies of the newly-divided texts complete with these chapter summaries were then produced.[98] The well known fact that Wearmouth-Jarrow produced three great pandects should not blind us to the likelihood that it also made part-Bibles, the normal form for scripture in the early medieval West.[99]

91 Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, pp. 34–7 and 191–228; R. Love, 'The Library of the Venerable Bede', *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. Gameson, 606–32, who carefully draws a distinction between texts and books, but still concludes (p. 631) 'we might nevertheless be looking at a remarkable collection of just under 200 books of diverse origins and ages'.

92 Namely the Durham Maccabees fragment, DCL, B.IV.6, fol. 169* (ill. 3.2); and the Laudian Acts, BodL, Laud Gr. 35.

93 *HE* III.19 (pp. 271–5). For the debt to Irish computistica see *Bedae Opera de Temporibus*, ed. Jones, pp. 105–13; and D. Ó Cróinín, 'Bede's Irish Computus' in his *Early Irish History and Chronology* (Dublin, 2003), 201–12. The text of Psalms in Codex Amiatinus derived from an Irish tradition: Marsden, *Text of the Old Testament*, p. 141. See further in general Clare Stancliffe, Ch. 2 in this volume. For the other material see note 44.

94 D. Whitelock, *After Bede*, Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow, 1960); J. A. Westgard, 'Bede and the Continent in the Carolingian Age and Beyond', *The Cambridge Companion to Bede*, ed. S. DeGregorio (Cambridge, 2010), 201–15; R. McKitterick, 'Exchanges between the British Isles and the Continent c. 450-c. 900', *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain I*, ed. Gameson, 313–37.

95 This estimate – based on M. Laistner, *Handlist of Bede Manuscripts* (Cornell, 1943) with appropriate revisions in the light of B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*, 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1998–2014) – will be replaced by a more accurate figure when G. H. Brown and J. Westgard publish their promised handlist of Bede manuscripts.

96 Bede makes passing but specific reference to a sacramentary ('… in libro sacramentorum …') in his *In Marci Evangelium Expositio* II.vi.37, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 122 (Turnhout, 1960), p. 512.

97 P. Meyvaert, 'Bede's Capitula lectionum for the Old and New Testaments', *RB* 105 (1995), 348–80.

98 Only those for Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua and Judges might have been used in Codex Amiatinus: see Meyvaert, 'Bede's Capitula lectionum'.

99 For the possibility that a Wearmouth-Jarrow part-Bible may have got to York and be reflected in the distinctive recension of Tobit used in Alcuin's *De laude Dei* see R. Marsden, *The Text of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 222–35.

The quality of the output of Wearmouth-Jarrow's scriptorium is no less impressive than its quantity. If Codex Amiatinus alone, with its 1030 enormous folios, provides irrefutable testimony to the resources that were devoted to book making, the most important facts to stress here about this colossus of the early Middle Ages are first, the general high quality and relative homogeneity of the script that was sustained across its more than 2,000 pages, and second, the efficiency with which its production was organised (ills. 3.4–3.5). The task of writing the main body of the book was divided between seven skilled scribes, all but one of whom were responsible for approximately the same amount of text – around twenty quires, some 300 pages.[100] The great majority of the 130 quires of which the volume is composed are quaternions;[101] the fact that the few exceptions occur at the end of individual stints implies that the scribes were working simultaneously – testimony to efficient organisation. The practicalities of simultaneous transcription further suggest that the scribes are unlikely to have been copying from one or both of the other two pandects that were made at Wearmouth and Jarrow unless it or they had remained disbound – something which their declared purpose as reference copies for the churches of the two monasteries renders unlikely.[102] More probably, the scribes of Amiatinus were transcribing from what lay behind those pandects too – namely a series of part-Bibles that are likely to have been the subject of an on-going process of revision and marking up. Study of the text of Codex Amiatinus has revealed the heterogeneous nature of the exemplars from which the Wearmouth-Jarrow scriptorium crafted its unitary volume.[103] This underlying diversity appears to be echoed in the tituli and colophons to its individual biblical books which, far from following a standard formula, vary in wording, length, and layout (ills. 3.4–3.5).[104]

The biblical text of Codex Amiatinus, written in Uncials, is set out *per cola et commata* (with a new line for each sense unit), the presentation adopted at an early date for Jerome's Vulgate. This system would not, however, have been followed in Cassiodorus's Codex Grandior, the one-volume bible acquired in Italy by Ceolfrith that provided the general inspiration for Codex Amiatinus, since its text is specifically stated to have been, not the Vulgate, but rather an Old Latin one (more specifically the hexaplaric revision). In Amiatinus, Rustic Capitals were generally used for titles and colophons, while Capitular Uncials (the distinctive Wearmouth-Jarrow form of that script) were widely deployed for the chapter summaries.[105] The result is a hierarchy of script linked to the status of the text in question: scripture in one form, ancillaries in another, rubrics in a third (ill. 3.5). There is hardly any decoration within the text (merely some very modest interlace in the 'L' of *Liber generationis* heading the New Testament proper); however, the incipits to each biblical book and the capitula divisions within most of them were signalled by the use of red ink, as in late Antique manuscripts (ill. 3.4). Red was also used for numbering capitula lists, for the title of each psalm, for the Greek letters flagging the Ten Commandments in Exodus and Leviticus,[106] and for internal rubrics, such as 'The Voice of the Church' and 'The Voice of Christ' in The Song of Songs (bringing out its nature as an allegorical dialogue). The orderliness with which script type and red ink were used to articulate this very lengthy text, despite the heterogenous exemplars from which it was copied and the many hands amongst which the work was divided, provides irrefutable testimony to the discipline of the scriptorium and the clarity of vision of its supervisor(s).

The St Cuthbert Gospel, which is unlikely to be earlier, more probably a little later than Codex Amiatinus, may be plausibly ascribed to the second or third decade of the eighth century.[107] Its presentation – entirely written in Uncials bar a final 'Amen' in Rustic Capitals, the text laid out *per cola et commata*, with one or two red letters at the start of each chapter, and without any decoration – is (by contemporary Northumbrian standards) closely akin to that of Amiatinus. However, the point to stress in the present context is that there are, nevertheless, significant differences. The parchment is generally arranged in the Insular manner, and the pricking and ruling were done with the quires folded, again in accordance with Insular

100 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino 1. Collation formulae: L. Alidori *et al.*, *Bibbie Miniate della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze* (Florence, 2003), pp. 4–5. Caveat lector: the diagrammatic presentation by P. Meyvaert, 'Dissension in Bede's Community shown by a Quire of Codex Amiatinus', *RB* 116 (2006), 295–309 at 296–7, is misleading, invariably presenting as bifolia the many pairs of singletons that occur within quires of 8 leaves.

101 Albeit often with a pair of singletons, as opposed to a bifolium, for their second and seventh or their third and sixth leaves.

102 *Vita Ceolfridi*, c. 20, ed. Grocock and Wood, p. 98.

103 L. Bieler, 'Ireland's Contribution to Northumbrian Culture', *Famulus Christi. Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede*, ed. G. Bonner (London, 1976), 210–28, esp. 224–5; Marsden, *Text*, pp. 144–201.

104 Printed (inter multa alia): L. Alidori *et al.*, *Bibbie Miniate*, pp. 26–53.

105 Alternatively, a smaller version of the main text Uncial was used.

106 The Ten Commandments in Deuteronomy 5 were also flagged via Greek letters, but these were in ordinary black ink.

107 BL, Add. MS 89,000. Facsimile: *The Stonyhurst Gospel of St John*, ed. T. J. Brown, Roxburghe Club (London, 1969), refined and supplemented by the studies in Breay and Meehan (ed.), *St Cuthbert Gospel*. The case for this date range is put by Gameson, 'Materials, Text, Layout and Script', pp. 27–33.

tradition. The script is the lighter gauge Capitular Uncial that was developed at Wearmouth-Jarrow itself rather than the weightier Italianate Uncial that was deployed for the biblical text in Amiatinus, and word separation (which varies from one scribe to the next in Amiatinus) is relatively consistent. Moreover, although Cuthbert's text type is closely akin to that of John in Amiatinus (agreeing in every respect 99% of the time), its single scribe nevertheless preferred certain Insular spellings ('athuc' for 'adhuc', 'scribsit' for 'scripsit', and so on). Thus while preserving the general appearance of an Italian book, the Cuthbert Gospel reveals an increased responsiveness to Insular practices.[108] Whether this contrast between Amiatinus and Cuthbert extended to their original bindings, the most consistently visible part of them, is a matter of speculation as that of the former is long lost. However, the remarkable survival of the first and only binding of the Cuthbert Gospel,[109] sparingly adorned with vine-scroll and interlace on the front cover and with step patterns on the back, reveals a tempered use of Insular motifs that accords with the subdued but nonetheless unmistakable Insular dimension to the rest of the book.

That Wearmouth-Jarrow continued to produce substantial volumes written in Uncial during the second quarter of the eighth century is suggested by the fortuitous survival of a fragment from a copy of Gregory's *Moralia in Iob* which is more likely to postdate than to predate the Cuthbert Gospel (ill. 3.6).[110]

The *Moralia* is a very long text and this part-leaf (from Book XVIII, Chapter 26) permits us to infer hundreds more complete pages like it. The fact that the same formal script was also being used for the works of Bede in the second quarter of the century is demonstrated by the surviving leaves from a couple of copies of his *De temporum ratione*, a work that was only 'published' in 725 (ill. 3.7); moreover, other material in one of these copies provides a probable *terminus post quem* for that manuscript of 731.[111]

What is equally notable in both these cases, however, is how regular has become the word division, an Insular feature.

A copy of Bede's Commentary on Proverbs that probably dates from the mid-eighth century was constructed entirely in the Insular way and, although the biblical lemmata are in Uncials, the main body of the text is written in Insular Minuscule with consistent word separation and with typically Insular abbreviations (ill. 3.8).[112] This Insular Minuscule is, however, a particularly neat and regular form of the script in which even the serifs are scrupulously aligned on the same diagonal, revealing a scriptorium which, while increasingly adopting Insular practices, continued to value discipline and orderliness. Correspondingly, no letters are outlined with the red dots that are almost ubiquitous in Insular manuscripts made elsewhere; and, while the first letter of the Uncial passages tends to be slightly bigger than the rest, there is no other use of enlarged initials, let alone of diminuendo, the mainstays of Insular text articulation in general. Where other visual emphasis was needed, ivy leaves were deployed. Ivy leaves also feature prominently, alongside simple knotwork or foliate curls, in the modest initials that head the individual books, the effect of which is reminiscent of the decoration on the front cover of the Cuthbert Gospel.

The main text of the broadly contemporary St Petersburg Bede is entirely written in Insular Minuscule, the hands of its four scribes being less scrupulously calligraphic than the one we have just considered. Enlarged capitals of Insular design head each chapter (more elaborate in the stint of scribe one than thereafter) and the initial for the Preface is a large, stylised, flat-topped 'g' of Insular type, outlined by dots.[113] Yet this is the one and only place in the book where such dots appear; and echoes of past 'continental' practices are still apparent. In addition to the striking use of Rustic Capitals of various forms for rubrics, and of both Rustics and Capitular Uncials for the concluding formulae of papal letters, there is the absence of diminuendo after the chapter initials, the very sparing deployment of interlace (regimented in form and

108 The evidence is presented in more detail in Gameson, 'Materials, Text, Layout and Script'.

109 N. Pickwoad, 'Binding' and L. Webster, 'Decoration of the Binding', *St Cuthbert Gospel*, ed. Breay and Meehan, 41–63 and 65–82 respectively.

110 New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, 516: *CLA* Addenda, no. 1849; C. Lutz, 'A Manuscript Fragment from Bede's Monastery' in her *Essays on Manuscripts and Rare Books* (Hamden CT, 1975), 19–23; reproduced in colour: Gameson, 'Material Fabric, Text, Script', fig. 1.12.

111 Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, 4262: B. Bischoff and V. Brown, 'Addenda to *Codices Latini Antiquiores*', *Medieval Studies* 47 (1985), 317–66, no. 1822 (pp. 325–6). Braunschweig Stadtbibliothek, Fragm 70 + Bückeburg, Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv, Depot 3/1 + Münster im Westfalen, Staatsarchiv, MSC. I.243, fols. 1–2, 11–2: *CLA* IX, no. 1233; J. Petersohn, 'Neue Bedafragmente in northumbrischer Unziale saec. viii', *Scriptorium* 20 (1966), 215–47; J. Storey, 'The Frankish Annals of Lindisfarne and Kent', *ASE* 34 (2005), 59–109 esp. 61–4.

112 BodL, Bodley 819.

113 St Petersburg, Russian National Library, Q.v.I.18: *The Leningrad Bede*, ed. O. Arngart, EEMF 2 (Copenhagen, 1952); colour plates: T. Voronova and A. Sterligov, *Manuscrits enluminés occidentaux VIII^e–XVI^e siècles* (Bournemouth, 1996), pp. 11 and 227. The most elaborate chapter initial (I.2, fol. 29v) has a bird head terminal. Note the seven lines of higher grade Set Minuscule at the start of Book III (48v, within the stint of scribe 2).

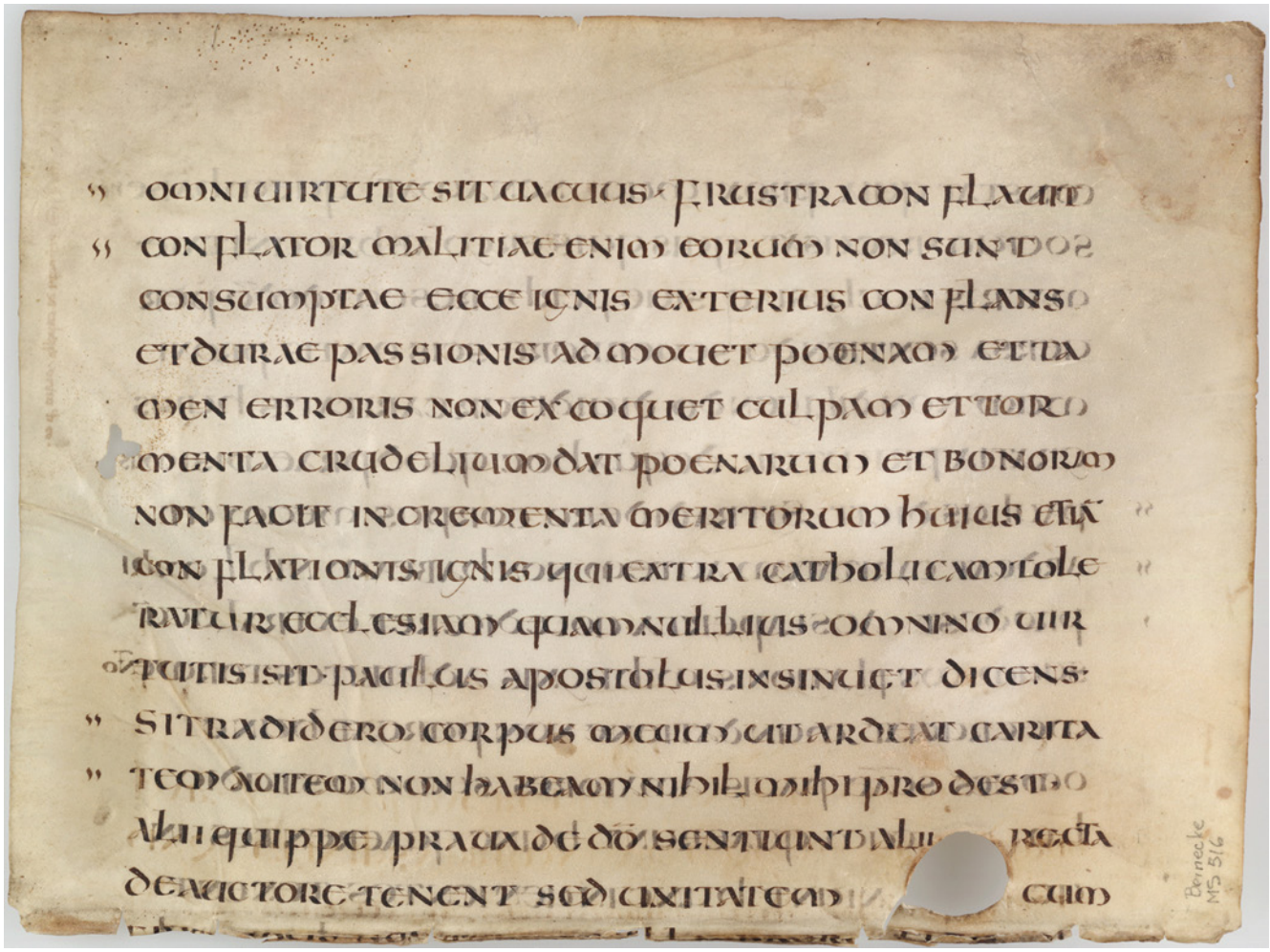


ILLUSTRATION 3.6 *New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, 516* (*Gregory,* Moralia).

restricted to filling the outlines of the incipit initial to Books I and II), and the reappearance within the initial to Book I of plant and ivy motifs akin to those on the binding of the Cuthbert Gospel.[114] Even the manuscript's most celebrated decorative feature, the image of Gregory the Great within the initial to Book II, owes as much to late antique art (a bust portrait) as to the Insular repertoire (an enlarged initial).[115] The importance of both these traditions for the development of such a form is underlined by the fact that its only precursors, the two historiated initials in the Vespasian Psalter,[116] were also produced in an English centre where late antique (more specifically Roman) traditions were strong – Canterbury.

In sum, the available evidence suggests that, set up shortly after the foundation of the twin community itself, the scriptorium of Wearmouth-Jarrow was continuously productive into the second half of the eighth century and probably beyond. While there are hardly any attributable manuscripts from the later eighth century, this is likely to be an accident of survival compounded by our inability to identify potentially relevant volumes (which were no longer written in the community's distinctive script, Capitular Uncial) since the documented demand for Bede's work suggests that output is likely to have remained high.[117] Indeed, there is good reason to believe that the output for much of the 100 years from the late seventh to the late eighth century was (by the standards of the day) prodigious. Initially characterised by emulation of Italian prac-

114 Formulae in Capitular Uncial on 15r, 15v, 23r, 77r; in Rustic Capitals on 22v, 36r, 37v, 39r, 46r; in both on 23v–24r.

115 Fol. 26v. Reproduced in colour: Voronova and Sterligov, *Manuscrits enluminés*, p. 227.

116 BL, Cotton Vespasian A. i. Facsimile: *The Vespasian Psalter*, ed. D. Wright, EEMF 14 (Copenhagen, 1967).

117 Boniface to Hwætberht (746/7); Cuthbert to Lul (764 – response to a lost letter); Lul to Cuthbert; and the latter's reply (767x77): *Die Briefe*, ed. Dümmler; and *Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus*, ed. M. Tangl (Berlin, 1916) nos. 76, 116, 126 and 127. The implications for the scriptorium are discussed by Parkes, *Scriptorium*, pp. 12–20; D. N. Dumville, 'Earliest Manuscripts of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*', pp. 87–93; and Gameson, 'Materials, Text, Layout and Script', p. 27.

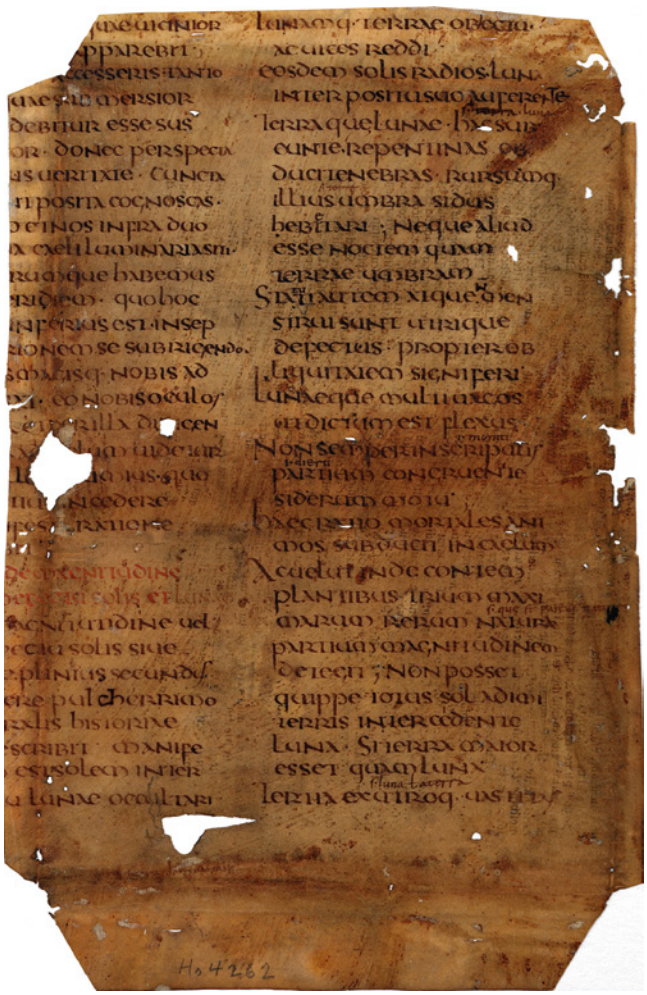


ILLUSTRATION 3.7 *Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, 4262* (*Bede,* De temporum ratione).

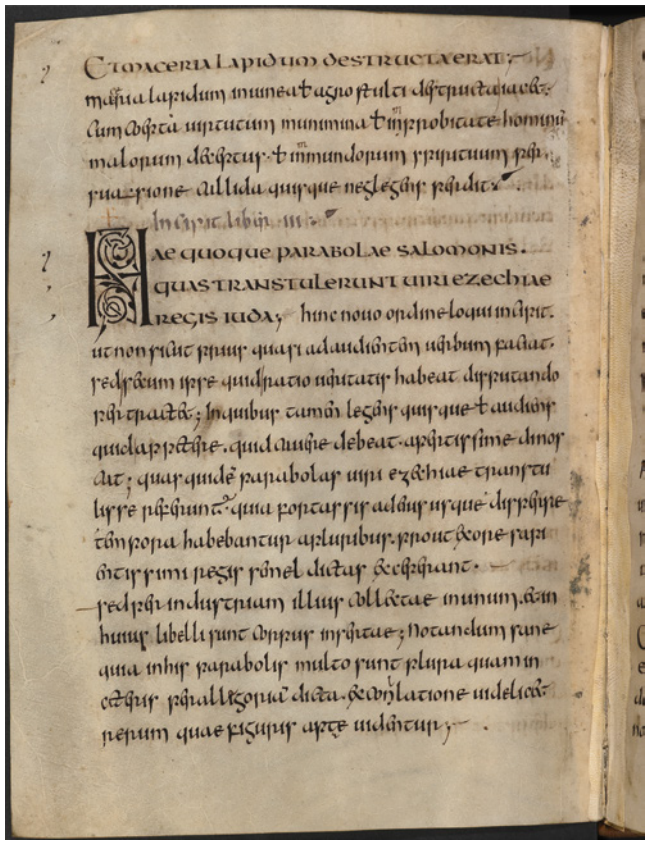


ILLUSTRATION 3.8 *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 819* (*Bede,* In Proverbia Salomonis)*, fol. 79v.*

tices, the scriptorium increasingly admitted Insular approaches to book-making and text presentation, and by the third quarter of the eighth century these were predominant, albeit still tempered by certain late antique / continental values.

Lindisfarne

For the scriptorium of Lindisfarne, the key witness is the Lindisfarne Gospels itself, owing to the colophon that links the manuscript to Holy Island and dates it to before 722 (ills. I–XVI; 3.9).[118] Other manuscripts can then be

118 BL, Cotton Nero D. iv. Colophon printed and translated by E. G. Stanley, Ch. 12 in this volume. Discussion: *Cod. Lind.*, II, Book 2, pp. 5–11; J. Roberts, 'Aldred Signs off from glossing the Lindisfarne Gospels', *Writing and Texts in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. A. R. Rumble (Cambridge, 2006), 28–43; R. Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham: the contexts and meanings of the Lindisfarne Gospels* (London, 2013), pp. 16–26; F. L. Newton, F. L. Newton Jr, and C. R. J. Scheirer, 'Domiciling the Evangelists in Anglo-Saxon England: a fresh reading of Aldred's Colophon in the Codex Lindisfarnensis', *ASE* 41 (2013), 101–44. The Newtons and Scheirer regard the absence of references to Cuthbert in the poem that is embedded within Aldred's colophon – an absence pointed out to them by the present writer – as militating against its authenticity and existence. Quite aside from the fact that there *is* a poem within his text (as Roberts demonstrates), there are further difficulties with this view. First, theirs is virtually a circular argument: as Aldred's text, dating from the 960s, is the earliest – indeed the only – pre-Conquest evidence for an association between the Lindisfarne Gospels and Cuthbert, how can it possibly prove that an earlier source with an alternative perspective is wrong, let alone non-existent? Second, there is an element of self-contradiction because the Newtons and Scheirer simultaneously maintain that Aldred's text was not based on an earlier one yet (in effect) assert that Aldred's views on the Lindisfarne Gospels and Cuthbert must exactly reflect those of the time when the book was made. Third, to insist upon consistency of meaning and an original association with Cuthbert flies in the face of all comparanda, for no other early medieval gospel-book is known to have been made in honour of a saint. Those that have associations with particular cults gained them over time: the evolution of views in relation to the Lindisfarne Gospels from the Old English poem through Aldred to Symeon of Durham broadly corresponds to what we see in other cases. Fourth, they demonstrate that portions of the Latin of Aldred's colophon are indebted to the verse of Ovid, Alcuin and Theodulf of Orléans; why, then, should not his Old English correspondingly be

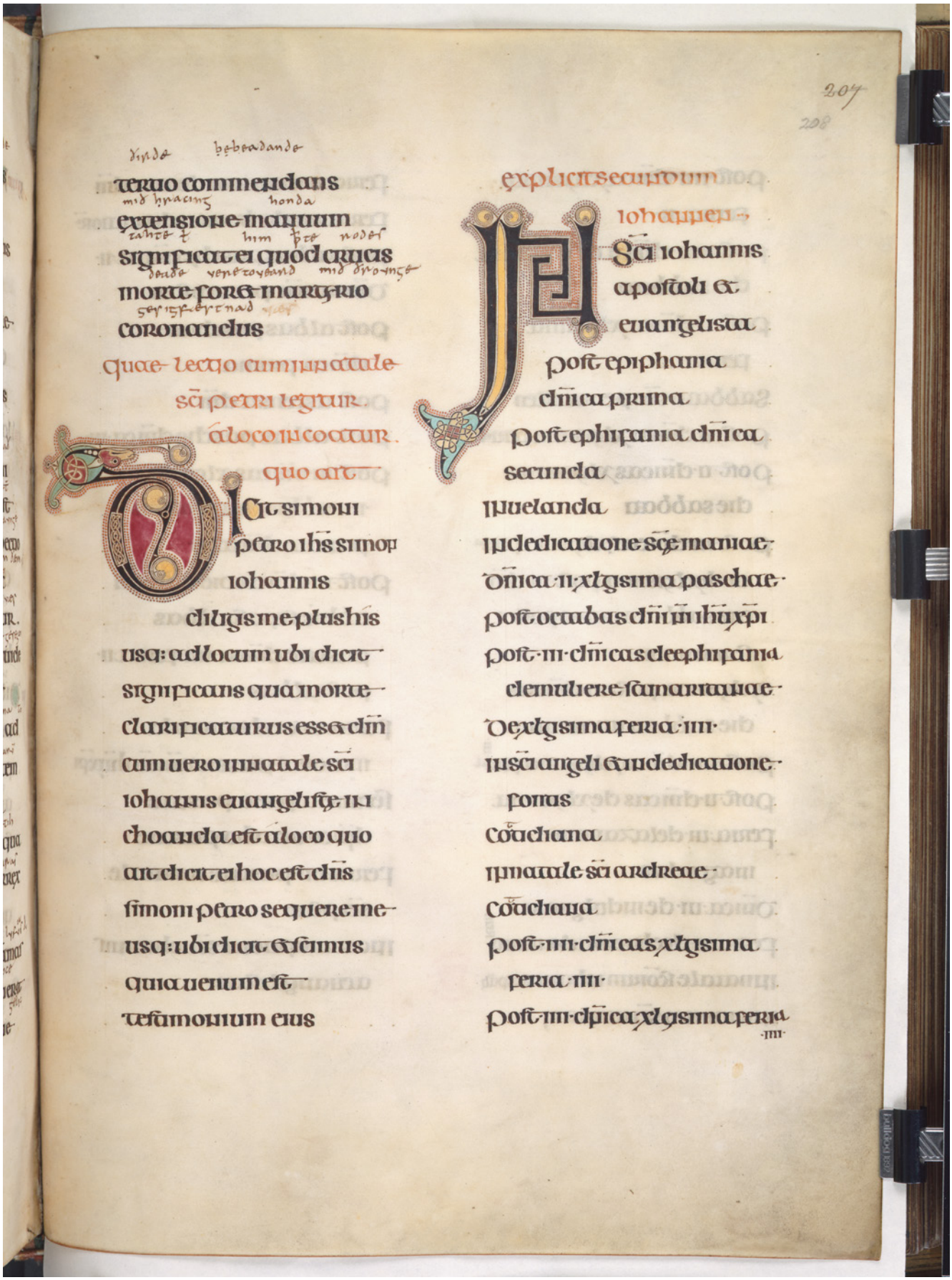


ILLUSTRATION 3.9 *Lindisfarne Gospels, fol. 208r.*

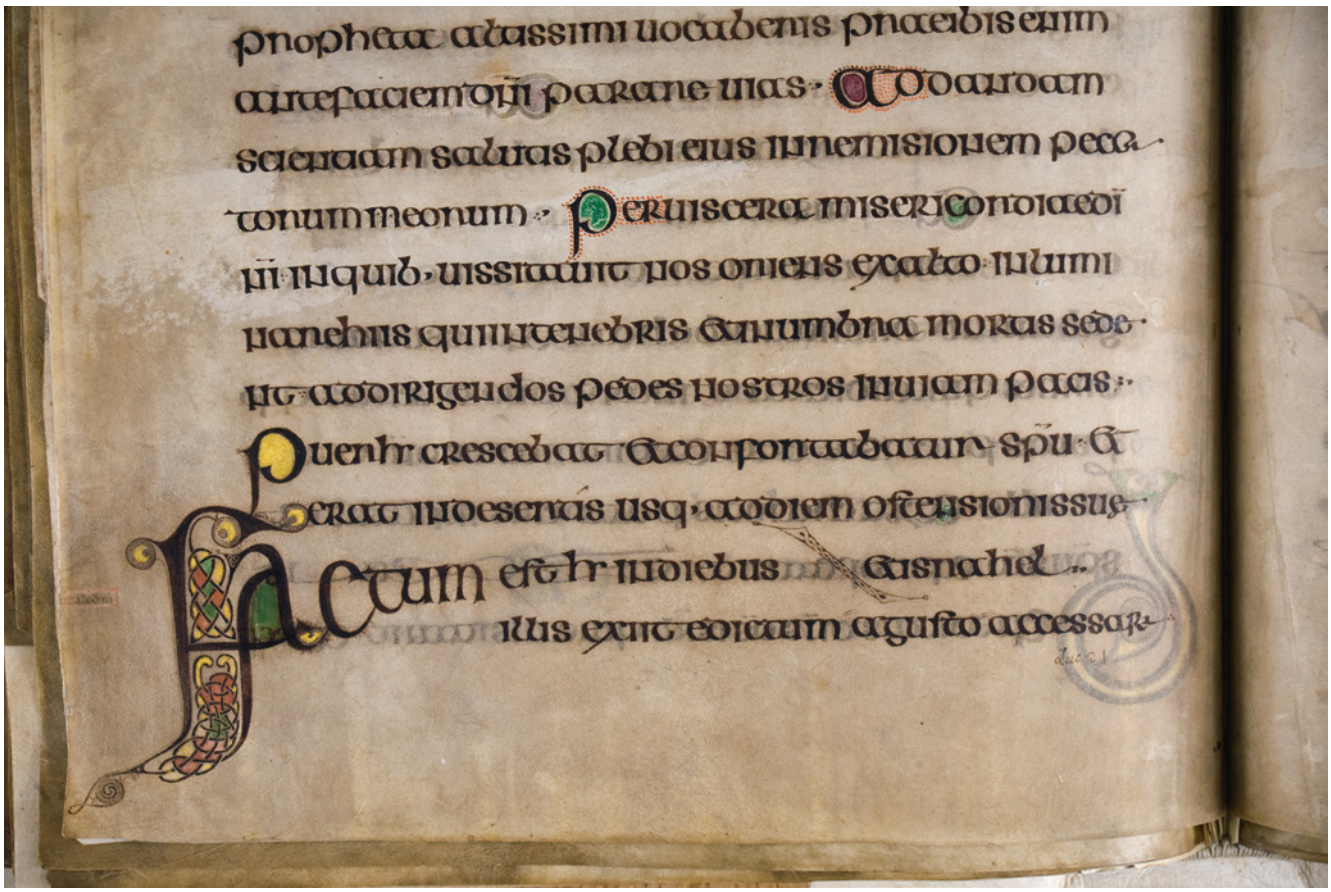


ILLUSTRATION 3.10 *DCL, A.II.17, Part 1 (Durham Gospels), fol. 72v (detail).*

grouped around it. The oldest of them is probably the Durham Gospels, a grand volume with a Vulgate text yet with plenty of features, ranging from parchment type to artwork, that link it to Irish traditions (ill. 3.10).[119] If the volume was indeed made on Holy Island (as opposed to somewhere else in the extended family of Columban monasteries), it is unlikely to date from before the revival of the community's fortunes at the end of the 680s, after a slough that had extended from 664 to 688,[120] and it would demonstrate a continuation of Irish scribal practices there a generation after the Synod of Whitby.

Next there is the Lindisfarne Gospels itself, which on circumstantial grounds is unlikely to have been started before the late 690s or to have been completed later than *c.* 710.[121] As Eadfrith, its extremely talented scribe-artist,

indebted to a vernacular poem? It in no way undermines the body of Newton, Newton and Scheirer's nuanced study of the artistry of Aldred's work to acknowledge that he started with his basic information in the form of an Old English poem. Indeed the fact that, like many artists, he created a new work from pre-existing matter enhances, rather than detracts from, his skill. No one thinks any the less of Brahms's opus 35, Liszt's 'Études d'execution transcendentales', Schumann's opera 3 and 10, or Rachmaninov's opus 43 for their all being based on Paganini's opus 1, no. 24 (Caprice in A Minor); or of Bach's many choral preludes for their basic melodies being supplied by hymns. On the contrary, that was precisely their point. Medieval art and literature throve on re-presenting and reinterpreting inherited material. A great many colophons rework, if they do not simply restate, pre-existing texts. If one were going to write oneself into the history of the Lindisfarne Gospels, as Aldred set out to do, then redeploying some or all of a pre-existing text was manifestly the most efficacious way to proceed. That, even without the colophon, a good case can be made for assigning the Lindisfarne Gospels to Holy Island is shown by Brown, *LG*[1], pp. 38–66 and *LG*[2], pp. 70–2.

119 DCL A.II.17, part 1. Facsimile: *The Durham Gospels*, ed. C. Verey *et al.*, EEMF 20 (Copenhagen, 1980); Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures*, no. 4.

120 For a summary of the history of the community from 664–688 see Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham*, pp. 68–70.

121 The date-range of DCL A.II.17, part 2 (discussed by Gameson, 'Materials, Text, Layout and Script', esp. pp. 27–33, 38 n93, and 39 n112), the probable exemplar for the text, provides an approximate *terminus post quem*; the age of Eadfrith and the fact that the Lindisfarne Gospels is manifestly not the work of someone suffering any diminution in acuity of eye or steadiness of hand as a result of senescence suggest the approximate *terminus ante*

generally performs at a superb level, and as, furthermore, it is difficult to perceive much evolution in his approach to his artwork (in contrast to that which is apparent in the initials of the Book of Durrow[122]), it is inconceivable that he came to the project without previous experience making other high-grade manuscripts. None, unfortunately, has come down to us; however, any attempt to understand the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Lindisfarne scriptorium more generally, not to mention its influence, must take account of their former existence. The Lindisfarne Gospels, a particularly splendid copy of the new Italo-Northumbrian text-type (for which a now fragmentary Wearmouth-Jarrow gospel-book was probably the exemplar[123]), is more cosmopolitan in its presentation and artwork than the Durham Gospels and has a far more extensive palette.[124]

Then, probably dating from the earlier eighth century, there are the Cambridge-London and the Royal Athelstan Gospels. The former, whose text-type is akin to that of Durham, is stylish in its own right but smaller and less luxurious than Durham or Lindisfarne (ill. 3.11).[125] The latter, transcribed from the same textual exemplar as the Lindisfarne Gospels (though with canon tables copied from a different source), is a simpler 'workaday' book, its Insular Half-Uncial script functional rather than calligraphic, its decoration limited and cursory.[126]

Although the Echternach Gospels, too, is sometimes attributed to Lindisfarne, this is difficult to substantiate given, on the one hand, the use of a different text-type, script and palette from those of the manuscripts just surveyed and, on the other, the fact that it was demonstrably at Echternach by the first half of the eighth century.[127]

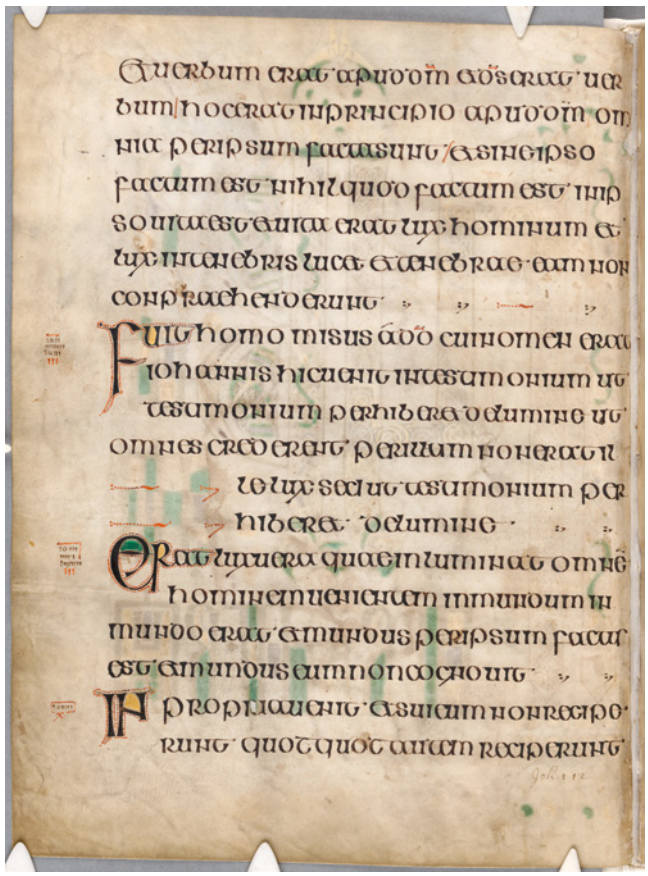


ILLUSTRATION 3.11 *Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 197B (Cambridge-London Gospels), fol. 2v (p. 248).*

A more plausible candidate is the Lincoln College Gospels (ill. 3.12).[128] Now just a fragment of unknown early provenance, it is linked to other Lindisfarne (or probably Lindisfarne) books by script type alone – a particularly majestic Insular Half-Uncial. Though tragically reduced to a mere two leaves, both drastically cut down and neither including a portion of text that would feature even a minor decorated initial, what survives is nevertheless sufficient to show that this was once a very grand volume.

The circumstance that the core localisable manuscript is a gospel-book written in a high-grade Insular Half-Uncial naturally favours the localisation to Lindisfarne of other copies of the same text and renders impossible the

quem (see further Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham*, pp. 18–9; for a different view cf. Brown in this volume *et alibi*).

122 See Nancy Netzer, Ch. 9 in this volume.

123 See note 121.

124 See A. Beeby, A. Duckworth, R. Gameson and C. Nicholson, 'Pigments of the Earliest Northumbrian Manuscripts', *Scriptorium* 69 (2015), 33–59.

125 CCCC 197B + BL, Cotton Otho C.v + Royal 7 C.xii, fols. 2–3: *CLA* II.125; M. O. Budny, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art, an illustrated catalogue*, 2 vols. (Kalamazoo, 1997), no. 3.

126 BL, Royal 1 B.vii: CLA II.213; R. Gameson, 'The Royal 1 B.vii Gospels and English book production in the seventh and eighth centuries', *The Early Medieval Bible: its production, decoration and use*, ed. Gameson (Cambridge, 1994), 24–52; S. McKendrick, J. Lowden and K. Doyle (ed.), *Royal Manuscripts. The Genius of Illumination* (London, 2011), no. 1.

127 BnF, lat. 9389. For a summary of views to date see M.-P. Laffitte and C. Denoël, *Trésors carolingiens. Livres manuscrits de Charlemagne à Charles le Chauve* (Paris, 2007), no. 2, pp. 67–70. The principal exponent of a Lindisfarne origin was T. J. Brown in *Cod. Lind.* It is distanced from the other probable Lindisfarne products by the type of its parchment, by the use of a hybrid minuscule script for most of the text, and by the design of its canon tables. If a scriptorium possessed a Latin gospel text that was believed to descend from Jerome himself (as was the case here), it is difficult to understand why it would not have been preferred, and hence reproduced in other copies.

128 Oxford, Lincoln College 92, fols. 165–6: *CLA* II, no. 258; *Cod. Lind.*, II, pp. 89–106; T. J. Brown, 'Late Antique and Early Anglo-Saxon Books', *Manuscripts at Oxford: R. W. Hunt Memorial Exhibition*, ed. A. C. de la Mare and B. C. Barker-Benfield (Oxford, 1980), 9–14; no. II.8. Reproduced in colour: Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham*, p. 69.

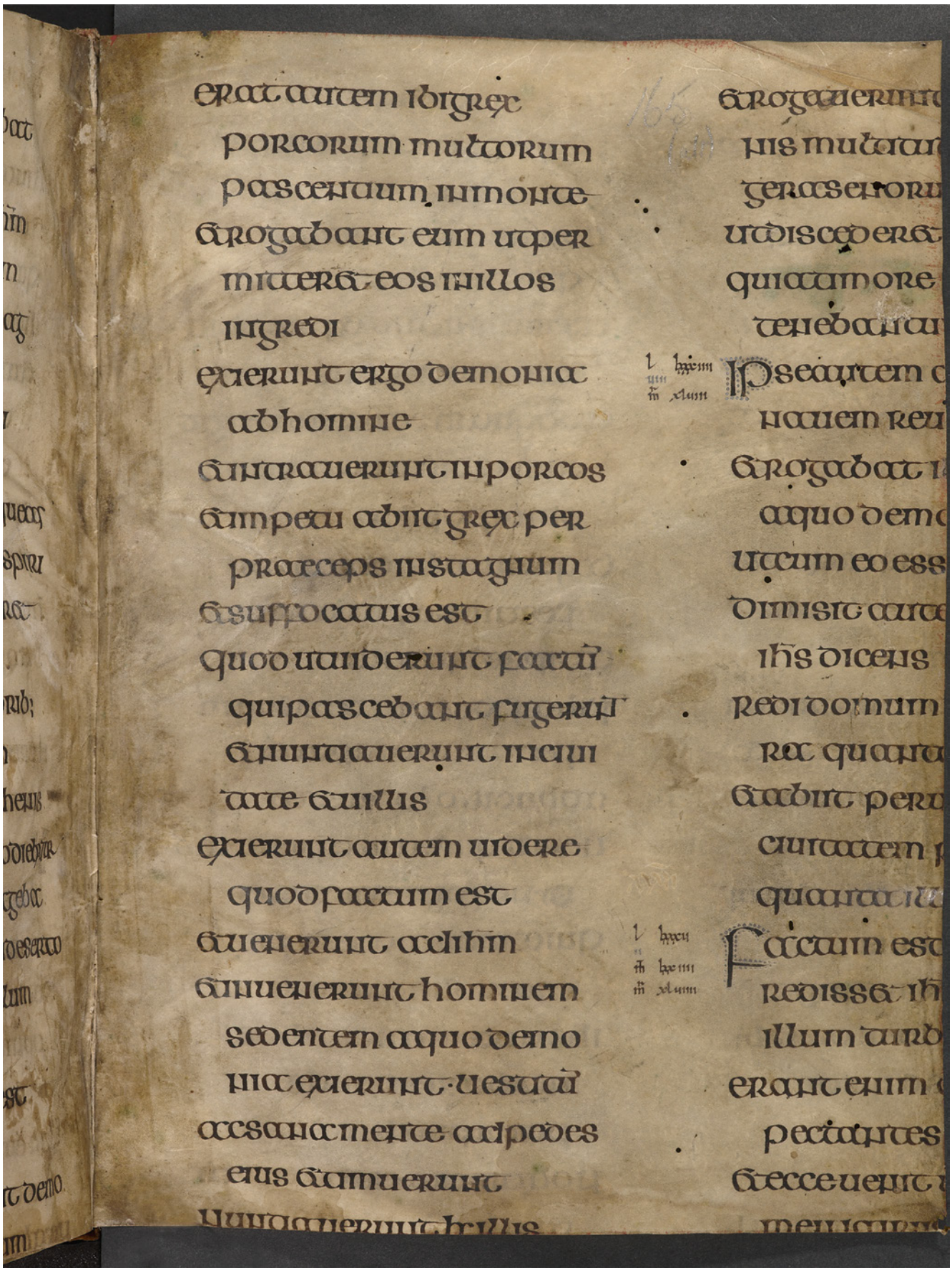


ILLUSTRATION 3.12 *Oxford, Lincoln College, Lat. 92, fol. 165r.*

attribution of lower-grade volumes written in less formal scripts. Nevertheless, this undoubted imbalance in no way negates the likelihood that Holy Island at the end of the seventh century and the beginning of the eighth did indeed produce multiple copies of the gospels, the supreme Christian text. It would presumably have been doing so not just for internal use but also to equip cells and other foundations that would struggle to make such volumes for themselves. Procuring the requisite parchment, ink and pigment, not to mention a suitable exemplar, and training and supporting appropriately skilled scribes to make manuscripts of the quality of these gospel-books (even the simplest of them) was a complicated and costly business that is likely to have presented severe challenges for all but the best equipped centres. A scriptorium – in the sense of a group of scribes working on a regular basis – is likely to have been the exception rather than the norm in seventh- and eighth-century Northumbria.

No Lindisfarne library books can be identified. Until 664 the principal source of supply of relevant texts – be it in the form of outright gifts or of exemplars to copy – was presumably Iona, and what we know about the latter's library in the time of Adomnán, abbot from 679–704 (a run of patristic works – particularly Jerome – plus hagiography and monastic instruction, along with liturgica) provides general guidance as to what might have been transmitted to Lindisfarne.[129] Although some books doubtless went back to Iona with the exodus of personnel after the Synod of Whitby, it is difficult to imagine the book-chests being stripped bare. Acquisitions (many presumably via the new Romanising houses in Northumbria) doubtless started again with the revival of the community's fortunes in the late 680s; and a glimpse of a few of the texts that were available on Holy Island by *c.* 700 is offered by the anonymous *Life* of St Cuthbert that was written there between 699 and 705. Its author had read various saints' lives, the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great, Isidore's *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, some Ambrose, Victorius of Aquitaine's dedicatory letter to Hilary of Rome, and various parts of the Bible.[130] A retrospective beam of light may then be cast by the poet Æthelwulf, active at the start of the ninth century at an unnamed monastery linked to Lindisfarne; he was familiar with works by Alcuin, Aldhelm and Bede, along with Ovid and Virgil plus, probably, the *Miracula Nynie episcopi*.[131] Æthelwulf also shows us, incidentally, that there was a master Irish scribe at his monastery in the early eighth century.[132] This, like the Durham Gospels (ill. 3.10), is a useful reminder that the Synod of Whitby did not end Lindisfarne's relationships with Ireland in general and with its Columban heritage in particular; rather it forced the community to re-evaluate and redefine them, and that it was but one phase, albeit a dramatic one, in a complex, continuously evolving relationship.[133] Indeed, the Durham, Lindisfarne, Cambridge-London, Royal Athelstan and Lincoln Gospels do not (however one orders them) reveal a neat evolution from Insular practices towards continental ones, but rather a more complicated pattern in which certain cultural features are sometimes more prominent only to be replaced by, or to revert to, others.[134]

129 T. O'Loughlin, 'The Library of Iona at the time of Adomnán', *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain I*, ed. Gameson, 570–9. For the key extant witness to Ionan book production see *The Schaffhausen Adomnán. Schaffhausen, stadtbibliothek, MS Generalia 1*, ed. D. Bracken and E. Graff, 2 vols. (Cork, 2008–14). For Columba's probable knowledge of the Rule of St Basil and the works of John Cassian plus the likelihood that they were available on Iona see Charles-Edwards, *ECI*, pp. 285–7. That Adomnán's *Vita Columbae* itself was available in Durham, *s.* xii is shown by its use by Reginald of Durham. The ?*s.* xii^{ex} copy, BL, Add. 35110 of Newcastle provenance, is generally assumed to have been made in Durham on the grounds of the Durham interest of much of its content (*Two Lives*, ed. Colgrave, p. 31; *Adomnan's Life of Columba*, ed. A. O and M. O. Anderson (Edinburgh, 1961), p. 4; R. Sharpe, *Adomnán of Iona, Life of St Columba* (Harmondsworth, 1995), p. 237), raising the possibility that this might have been copied from a venerable exemplar whose provenance could have been Lindisfarne.

130 *Two Lives*, ed. Colgrave, pp. 11–3; C. Stancliffe, 'Disputed episcopacy: Bede, Acca and the relationship between Stephen's *Life* of St Wilfrid and the early prose *Lives* of St Cuthbert', *ASE* 41 (2013), 7–39 at 12–6.

131 *Æthelwulf, De abbatibus*, ed. A. Campbell, pp. xliv-xlviii. The case that Æthelwulf may also have had some connection with York is put by M. Lapidge, 'Aediluulf and the School of York' in his *Anglo-Latin Literature 600–899* (London and Rio Grande, 1996), 381–98.

132 *De abbatibus*, c. 18 (pp. 19–23). See also note 20.

133 The ecclesiastical factions in Northumbria after Whitby and their relationship to Ireland and Irish culture are helpfully summarised by Charles-Edwards, *ECI*, pp. 319–21 and 336–7. See further Stancliffe, Ch. 2 in this volume. Suggestive of connections with Ireland at an even later date is the cross-shaft from Alnmouth (now in The Great North Museum, Newcastle-upon-Tyne) which is stylistically akin to work found on Lindisfarne and which is inscribed, 'Myredah [i.e. Old Irish Muiredach] made me'; it has been ascribed on stylistic grounds to the late ninth or early tenth century: E. Okasha, *Hand-List of Anglo-Saxon Non-Runic Inscriptions* (Cambridge, 1971), no. 2; R. Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture I: County Durham and Northumberland*, 2 vols. (London-Oxford, 1984), I, pp. 161–2.

134 On the broader context see Clare Stancliffe, Ch. 2 in this volume.

Sketchy though these sources are, they suggest that, notwithstanding its fluctuating fortunes, Lindisfarne by the end of our period possessed a selection of works by the Fathers of the Church, along with some of the classical literature that was part of the early medieval curriculum, and that it had acquired copies of the new works by Anglo-Saxon authors – much as we might expect. Its scriptorium produced gospel-books ranging from the deluxe to the workaday and that displayed differing responses to the available cultural traditions. It also made multiple copies of the *Life* of St Cuthbert that was composed in-house.[135] That Lindisfarne also made library books can hardly be doubted: it is highly likely that the volumes in question will, until 664, have been indistinguishable from Irish manuscripts, and that the same may have been true of some thereafter, while others will surely have displayed stronger responses to continental work; however, none can now be identified.[136]

Conclusion

We have tried to recover something of the broad sweep of Northumbrian book culture and manuscript production by following virtually the only course that is available to us, namely balancing the generalised evidence of the extant manuscripts as a whole with the specific activities of the couple of better known centres, all set within the broader context adumbrated by scattered documentary records and by the evidence, direct and indirect, for the circulation of texts. It need hardly be reiterated that the result is but a glimpse; nonetheless, the world it seems to show is a rich and varied one. For one general point that is immediately striking in relation to the two and a half centres for which some detail is recoverable is how disparate they were both in terms of their overall profile of production (continuous or intermittent) and in terms of the appearance of the volumes that resulted (with varying and evolving debts to Insular and continental traditions). Though the differences between them may be exaggerated by the main method of attributing manuscripts – identifying physical parities – there is no reason to doubt the basic reality of this diversity. Indeed given that every Christian foundation must have had books yet only two or three centres can now be associated with surviving examples, the range of modes of manuscript production in Northumbria is likely to have been greater and the trajectories of development at individual scriptoria yet more disparate. What mélange of models and traditions might have been found at Ripon, for instance, given an initial Columban foundation (from Melrose) overlaid by a Romanising re-foundation (at the hands of Wilfrid)? The material counterpart to such abstract speculations is an intriguing case like the gospel-book, Durham Cathedral Library, A.II.16, wherein are juxtaposed two hands that wrote Uncial and two others that used Half-Uncial of quite different forms (ills. 3.13–3.14).[137]

There is no reason to assume, however, that many centres will have had significant libraries. Indeed, Bede states as much in the preface to his *Commentary on Genesis*:[138] only the very wealthy were in a position to acquire a run of the works of the Fathers of the Church; his commentary was designed (in part) to make the relevant learning more widely available for a new audience.[139] Early Northumbrian regular life presumably required *lectio divina* (in Wilfrid's circle practices are likely to have been based on those in the *Rule of St Benedict*, and the same may well have been true at Lindisfarne[140]), implying one volume per member of the community; however, the titles in question might sometimes have been single books of the Bible or individual sections of multi-volume works. Pedagogical texts were

135 In addition to however many copies were at Lindisfarne itself, one was sent to Wearmouth-Jarrow (*HE* Preface (p. 6)). Orthography suggests that a Northumbrian copy lies behind the oldest surviving MS of the work – within Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 15817, made at Salzburg, *s.* ix[1]: D. A. Bullough, 'An Early Ninth-Century Manuscript of the *Vita S. Cuthberti*', *ASE* 27 (1998), 105–37, esp. 107–8.

136 The case for attributing St Petersburg, Russian National Library, Q.v.XIV.1 and Vatican City, BAV, Pal. Lat. 235 to Holy Island is put in *Paulinus of Nola, Carmina*, ed. T. J. Brown and T. W. Mackay (Turnhout, 1988), esp. pp. 16–28; however, given our state of unknowing about other centres, this is simply a hypothesis.

137 *CLA* II, no. 148; Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts*, no. 7; Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures*, no. 6.

138 *Bedae Venerabilis Opera II, opera exegetica I. Libri quatuor in principium Genesis*, ed. C. W. Jones, CCSL 118A (Turnhout, 1967), p. 1.

139 In the rather different world of the late Anglo-Saxon period, priests were enjoined to possess eight to ten key texts as the *sine qua non* of their duties – implying that, even then, many had fewer: Ælfric, epp. I.53; 2.137; and II, 157: *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics in altenglischer und lateinischer Fassung*, ed. B. Fehr, 2nd ed. with supplement by P. Clemoes (Darmstadt, 1966), pp. 13, 51 and 126–7, with discussion at pp. lxxxvi–xcii.

140 For Wilfrid's championing of the *Rule of St Benedict* see Stephen of Ripon's *Vita Wilfridi*, Ch. 47 (ed. Colgrave, p. 98). The anonymous Lindisfarne *Vita Cuthberti*, III.1: *Two Lives*, ed. Colgrave, p. 96, notes that in the author's day, *c.* 700, the *Rule of St Benedict* was current – alongside local customs. Chapter 48 of the *Rule* sets out the periods throughout the day that should be devoted to reading, and mandates the distribution of a book to each monk in Lent.

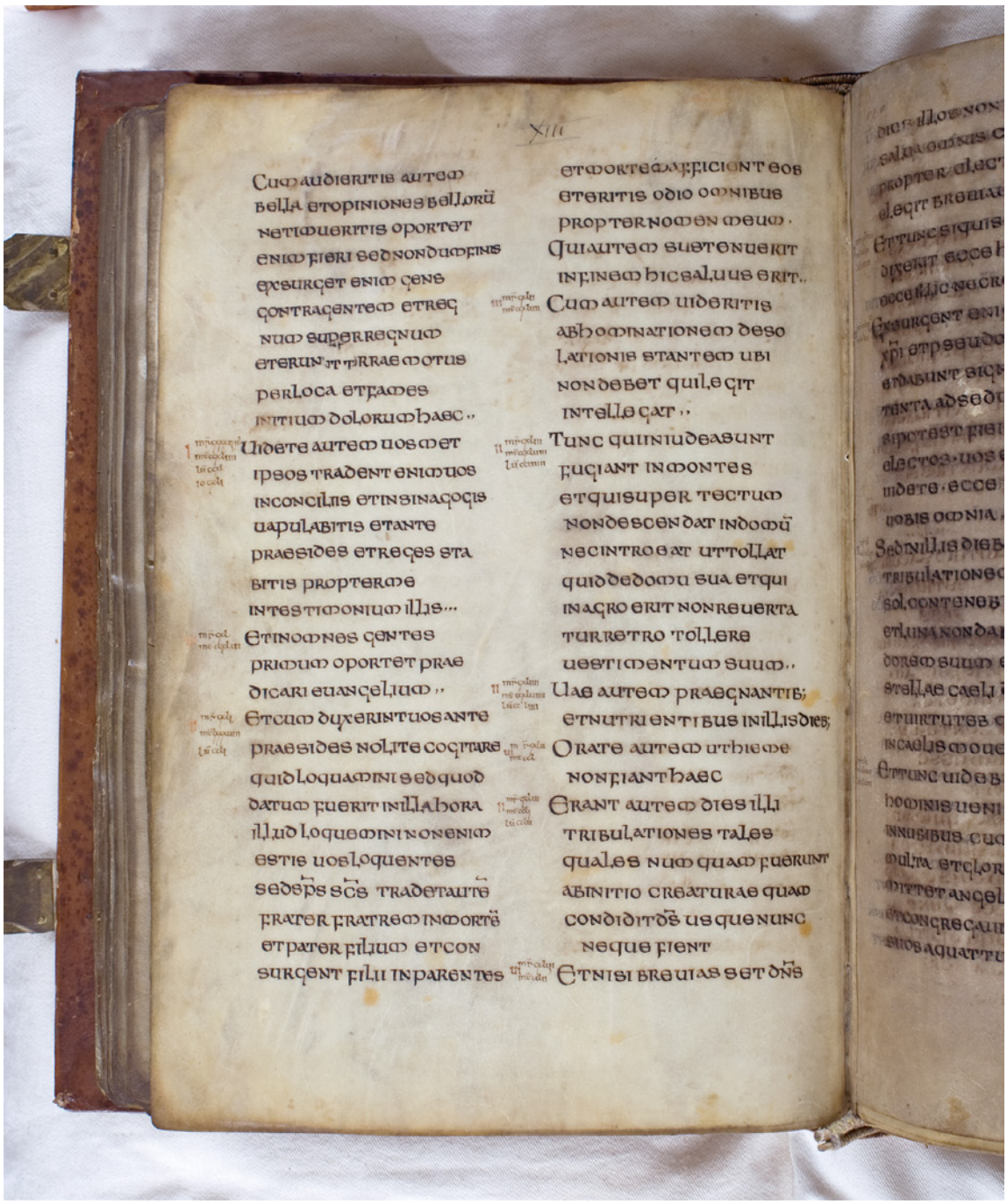


ILLUSTRATION 3.13 *DCL A.II.16, fol. 54v.*

a desideratum for learning Latin, yet this need not imply any great range of them nor multiple copies of the text(s) in question: a single copy for the schoolmaster would suffice, as his charges could take down on wax tablets the passages relevant to the day's lesson – indeed, transcription from dictation was itself a useful pedagogical exercise.[141] A larger book collection for teaching and study was only necessary for more scholarly pursuits, and – notwithstanding Bede's understandable interest in highlighting the intellectual attainments of his contemporaries – these

141 For *s.* vii-viii styli from Jarrow and Whitby see J. Backhouse and L. Webster (ed.), *The Making of England: Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture AD 600–900* (London, 1991), nos. 105d and 107c-e. The writing tablets from Springmount Bog provide physical evidence from *s.* vii Ireland: *ibid.*, no. 64; reproduced in colour: T. O'Neill, *The Irish Hand. Scribes and their Manuscripts from the Earliest Times*, 2nd ed. (Cork, 2014), p. 2.

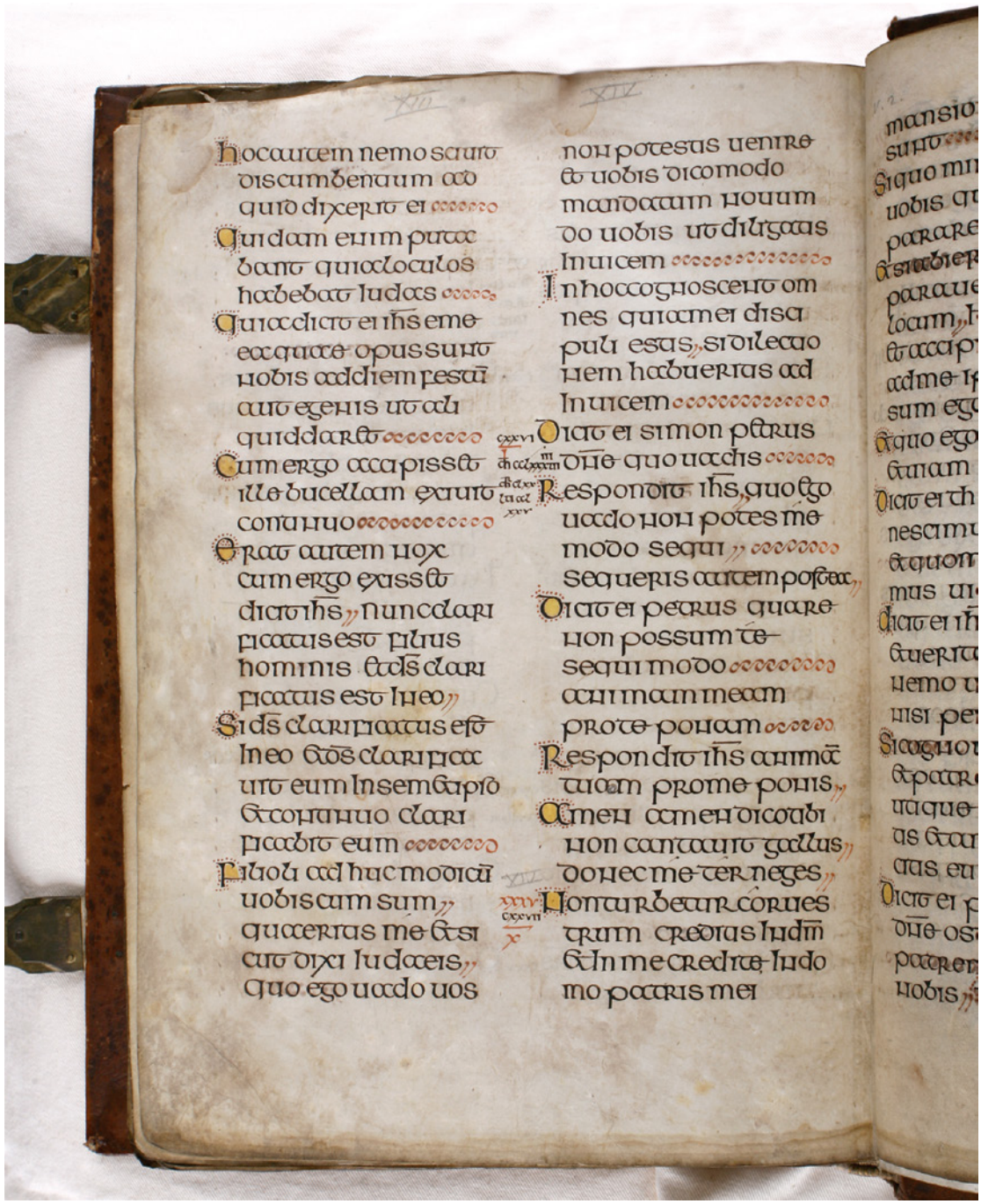


ILLUSTRATION 3.14 *DCL A.II.16, fol. 126v.*

were unquestionably the exception rather than the norm in early Christian Northumbria.

Scribal activity raises similar issues. It might happen at smaller centres (the cell of Lindisfarne where Ultán, the Irish master-calligrapher, lived and presumably worked is a case in point[142]), but economic and ergonomic factors meant that it was generally going to be focused at major ones. Book production was expensive and time-consuming, presupposing elaborate training and requiring continual access to specialist resources. Challenging to maintain in larger centres if they lacked a firm institutional

142 See note 20. By contrast, consider the absence of any archaeological evidence for literary activities – styli and leather-/parchment-working tools – at Hartlepool: R. Daniels, *Anglo-Saxon Hartlepool and the Foundations of English Christianity. An Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Monastery*, Tees Archaeology Monograph Series no. 3 (Hartlepool, 2007), this point discussed at pp. 207–8.

commitment to it, this would be difficult to achieve in smaller ones. Thus we should probably think in terms of a relatively small number of scriptoria, generally based in the larger centres, supplying the book needs of other places. As suggested above, such a model would explain the number of gospel-books associable with Lindisfarne: a few will have been for in-house use, others for export. It is certainly what we can see at our best documented scriptorium, Wearmouth-Jarrow, which at an early date in its history was sending books to Lindisfarne, not to mention Rome, and then undertook the heroic labour of distributing the considerable oeuvre of Bede.

Correspondingly, with volumes passing regularly from one centre to another – not to mention arriving from, and leaving for, both Ireland and the Continent – early Northumbrian book collections seem to have been fairly fluid. As we have seen, the school master's collection associated with York appears to have been treated as an *ad hominem* one, and this may have been the case in relation to others elsewhere. The value of books was readily appreciated: a pillar of the new religion, they could be highly symbolic as well as functional, their appearance as resonant as their content. Yet it may be doubted that the concept of a library – in the sense of a shaped collection of texts, built up and maintained in perpetuity as a continuously growing reference resource – was equally current. On the contrary, beyond those individuals who had seen major repositories on the Continent, and the tiny number who might conceivably have had opportunity to contemplate bibliographical listings such as Augustine's *Retractationes* and the Jerome-Gennadius, *De viris illustribus* (and it is worth noting that not even Wearmouth-Jarrow seems to have had a copy of the most informative text of the genre, Cassiodorus's *Institutiones*[143]), such an idea is likely to have been alien to early churchmen in Northumbria.

Indeed, its very absence was surely the context for words that were put into the mouth of the founder of Northumbria's greatest library. On his deathbed, Benedict Biscop is reported to have articulated the wish that his library should be kept intact: 'He ordered that the excellent and very extensive library which he had brought from Rome and which was essential for the education of the church should be carefully preserved intact and not be damaged through carelessness or scattered piecemeal'.[144] Biscop will have been well aware how exceptional was his sizeable collection of continental books in the context of seventh-century Northumbria; and since he had profited from acquiring some of the spares and remnants of continental libraries, he must also have been keenly conscious of the fragility of even venerable *bibliothecae*. Accordingly, he may well have said something along these lines in 689. Be that as it may, there can be little doubt that this would (also) have been the view of the author of the account, Bede, composing it some time after the death of Ceolfrith in 716. That, of course, was not only the year in which Wearmouth-Jarrow's other great bibliophile abbot had departed for Rome (an event which in itself Bede found deeply distressing) but also when the greatest book made at Wearmouth-Jarrow, indeed in Northumbria as a whole – Codex Amiatinus – had gone with him.[145] And there were now increasing demands to provide bibliographical support to Anglo-Saxon missionaries in Germany, demands to which Wearmouth-Jarrow evidently responded by sending older volumes (such as the Burchard Gospels and the Laudian Acts) as well as new ones. It is not difficult to see why in such circumstances, the house's greatest scholar and most assiduous user of its book collection may have thought it timely and expedient to publish a reminder – conceivably even to crystallise the claim – that the founder had specifically wanted his (now their) library to be kept intact. Who but Bede is likely to have viewed scrupulously preserving the founder's library as on a par with free and fair abbatial elections in securing the nature and future of the community? Similarly, it is no disrespect to Bede's scholarly energy, didactic fervour and christian charity to observe that writing new biblical commentaries, as he did so prolifically in the eighth century, provided a double justification for retaining the older books in Wearmouth-Jarrow's collection: such work both presupposed continuing access to them and provided new texts to distribute in their place.

So what light does all this shed on the Lindisfarne Gospels? In the first place, it provides a context for, and so helps us to understand, both the complex nature and the assurance of the cultural synthesis embodied in that manuscript. As is well known, the Lindisfarne Gospels draws upon, and reflects different cultural traditions – Irish, Italian and even Greek as well as Anglo-Saxon. What our material has underlined is that by *c*. 700 these had reasonably deep roots in Northumbria in general and within Northumbrian book culture in particular. Italian manuscripts first reached the kingdom in the 620s, Irish ones from the

143 Certain evidence for knowledge of the text in England dates from the later eleventh century: Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, pp. 28–9 and 296.

144 'Bibliothecam quam de Roma nobilissimam copiosissimamque aduexerat ad instructionem ecclesiae necessariam, sollicite seruari integram, ne per incuriam fedari, aut passim dissipari praecepit': *Historia abbatum*, c. 11 (p. 48).

145 See note 100.

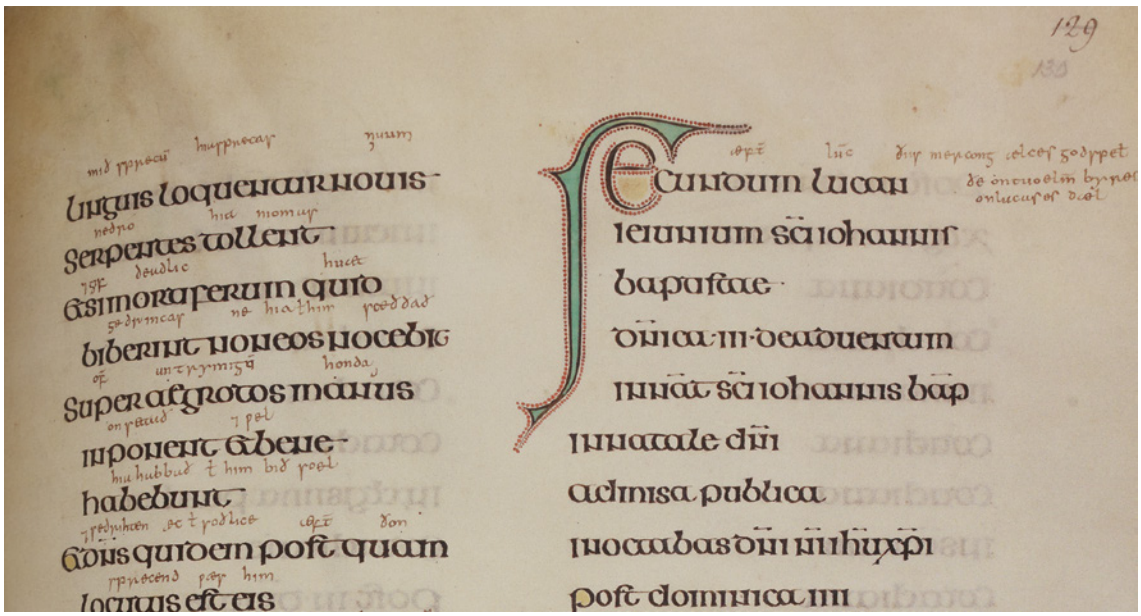


ILLUSTRATION 3.15 *Lindisfarne Gospels, fol. 130r (detail).*

630s, and there were connections with Francia from the 640s. After the Synod of Whitby, continental culture was ascendant. Yet Irish material may then have been revalorised at the end of the seventh century when Aldfrith, who had been living in exile among the Irish, became ruler of the kingdom (686–705). Whatever the precise details, the cultural mix observable in the Lindisfarne Gospels was the result of fifty to seventy years of interaction between these different traditions and their books on Northumbrian soil, an interaction that was to continue into the eighth century. Overall, the process was less a progression from one tradition to another than a series of responses to different currents that were eddying back and forth.

The second point concerns overall quality. The Lindisfarne Gospels is an exceedingly fine book. Acknowledging that the decoration, if not the script, includes occasional elements of lesser quality (ill. 3.15),[146] that small areas on some of the principal pages were not quite finished,[147] and that supplies of orpiment may sometimes have been running low (reflected in a parsimonious use of the pigment on certain pages, where the yellow is, in consequence, rather pale) does not alter this.

More important than awareness of the very modest deficiencies, however, is the recognition that the manuscript is not without peers in terms of grandeur and general quality. The Durham Gospels (ill. 3.10) in its original form probably had more full-page decoration than Lindisfarne, while the Lincoln College Gospels (ill. 3.12) was evidently bigger and presumptively grander than both.[148] Of another fine copy written in Insular Half-Uncial and now in Munich, only part of one leaf survives, so it is difficult to assess in any detail (ill. 3.16); however, it too was manifestly an elegant volume produced to a larger scale and with a higher degree of elaboration than Lindisfarne (every one of its colon and comma divisions starts with a slightly enlarged initial adorned with red dots, which is not the case in the Lindisfarne Gospels).[149]

The Salaberga Psalter, an imposing book with a suite of major decorated initials (albeit not of the very highest quality) suggests how magnificent the best Northumbrian psalters are likely to have been.[150] The two surviving gospel-books from Wearmouth-Jarrow, written in very spacious Uncial script and distinguished by their austere calligraphic beauty, must both have had many more leaves of elegant text than Lindisfarne and evidently made more extensive use of gold (ill. 3.17);[151] while Wilfrid's deluxe

146 E,g, the ornamentation of the Canon Tables on 13v, 14r, 15v, 16r, and the simplicity of the initial on 130r.

147 See Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham*, pp. 39–40.

148 DCL, A.II.17 (Part 1). Oxford, Lincoln College, 92.

149 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 29270.9: *CLA* IX, no. 1335; Sauer (ed.), *Angelsächsische Erbe*, no. 2. Probable original written area, 315 × 215 mm (Lindisfarne Gospels, 235 × 190 mm); space between lines, 13 mm (Lindisfarne, 10 mm); height of minims, 5 mm (Lindisfarne, 3 mm); initial at Jn 12.41, 20 mm high (that in Lindisfarne, 8 mm).

150 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Hamilton 553: Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts*, no. 14; A. Fingernagel, *Die illuminierten lateinischen Handschriften Süd- West- und Nordeuropäischer Provenienz der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 4.-12. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1999), I, no. 118; II, ills. 326–335.

151 DCL A.II.17 (part 2); Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 32.

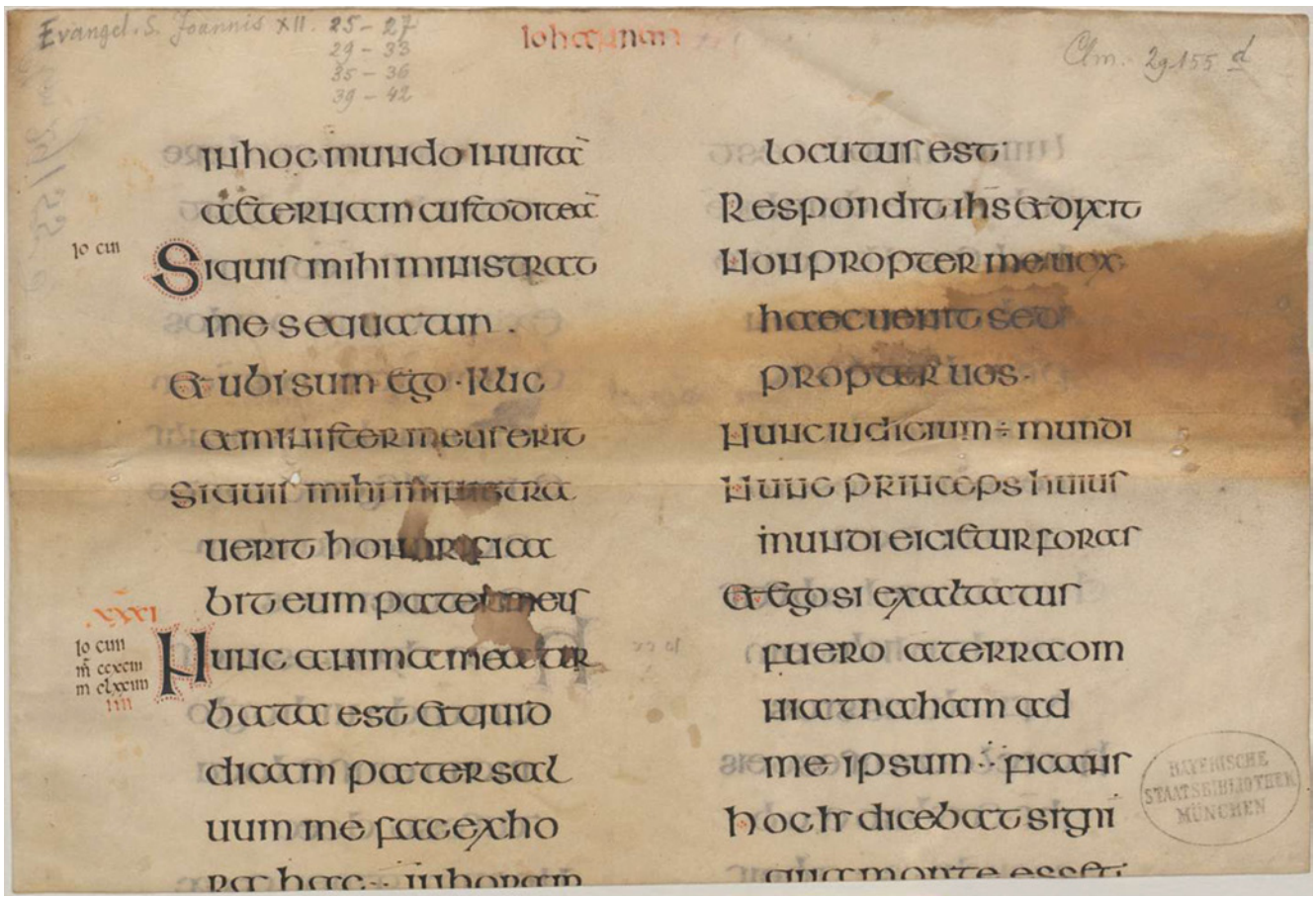


ILLUSTRATION 3.16 *Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 29270/9 (Gospel-Book).*

gospel-book, written in gold on purple parchment, was the acme of opulence.[152]

Above all, there was the monumental Codex Amiatinus, grandest of the three Wearmouth-Jarrow pandects (ills. 3.4–3.5): it boasts purple parchment, simulated chrysography, and the most extensive palette of any Northumbrian book, including significant quantities of gold leaf;[153] its Uncial script is no less fine than the Insular Half-Uncial of Lindisfarne and there is over eight times as much of it. The main text of Codex Amiatinus, it will be remembered, was produced by a well organised team of seven scribes, six of whom wrote more than the single scribe of the Lindisfarne Gospels.

Third, it is striking how many of the outstanding books just mentioned were produced in the generation around 700. Various factors doubtless lie behind this. One may have been the greater range of models and resources that were newly and relatively suddenly made available during the last third of the seventh century thanks to the collecting activities of Biscop and Ceolfrith, as also perhaps of Wilfrid. Another may have been continuing rivalries and jockeying for position between older 'Irish' and newer 'continental' foundations, a milieu of competition within collaboration in which the production of fine books with distinctive features could be a powerful expression of identity.[154] But a third factor might have been the favourable context provided by a book-loving king in the person of Aldfrith – a ruler, moreover, whose personal book collection included items both from Iona (offered by Adomnán indeed) and from Rome (via Benedict Biscop and Wearmouth-Jarrow). We know that Aldfrith either organised the distribution of one of Adomnán's works himself or loaned out his own manuscript for copying, and that he gave a considerable sum in land to acquire a fine but arcane Roman volume from Wearmouth-Jarrow.[155] It is by no means impossible that such a ruler would have been prepared to sponsor book production within monasteries (be it commissioning books for his court or elsewhere, or even altruistically underwriting vol-

152 *Vita Wilfridi*, c. 17, ed. Colgrave, p. 36.

153 Amiatino 1: see the summary listing of securely identified pigments by manuscript in Beeby, Duckworth, Gameson and Nicholson, 'Pigments', pp. 39–40. Much of the gold leaf has unfortunately flaked off.

154 Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham*, pp. 68–72.

155 *HE* V.15 (p. 508); *HA*, c. 15 (p. 58).

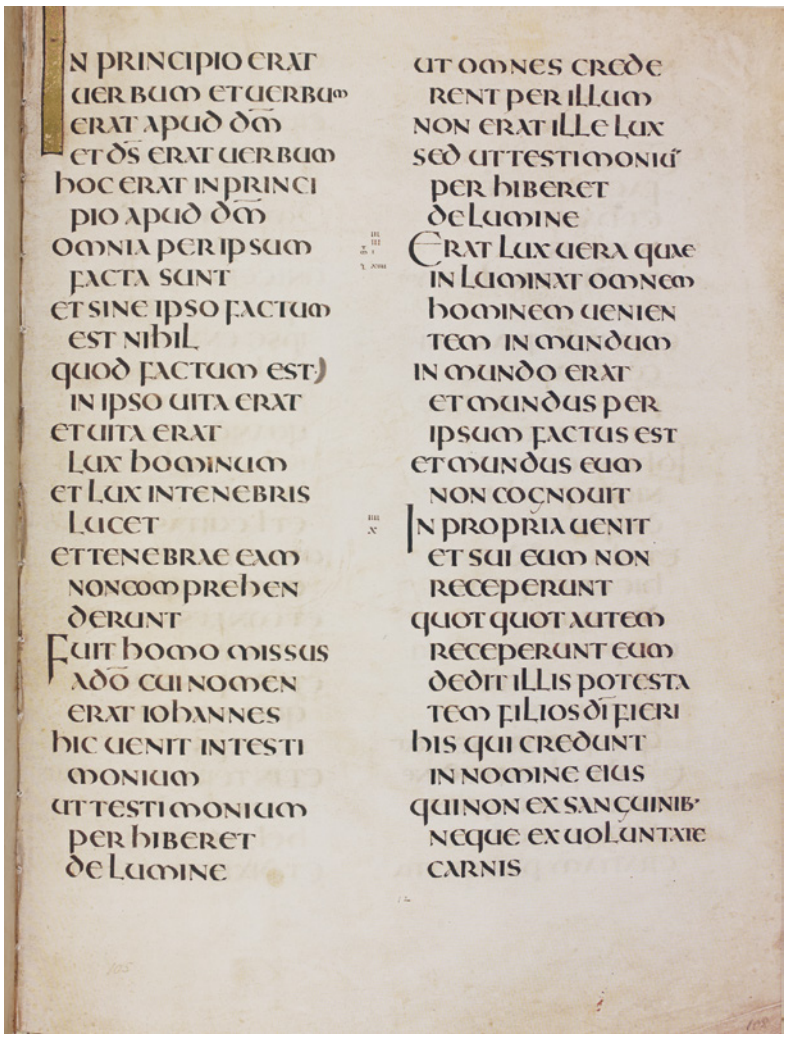


ILLUSTRATION 3.17

Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek 32, fol. 108r (*Gospel-Book*).

umes destined for in-house use), above all perhaps in the one on his doorstep – Lindisfarne.

Whatever the truth of the last suggestion, it is quite clear that particularly important scribal projects, not to mention the formation of book collections, required the impetus of one or more individual(s) who were not just committed to their cause but also influential, and this is the fourth point. One thinks of Biscop, Ceolfrith, Hwætbert and of course Bede himself at Wearmouth-Jarrow; of Acca at Hexham; and of Ælbert then Alcuin at York. Are there any appropriate figures at Lindisfarne around the relevant time? Indeed there are. Eadbert, bishop from 688–98, a man 'learned in the scriptures',[156] was followed by Eadfrith, the scribe-artist of the Lindisfarne Gospels itself, who also commissioned a *Life* of St Cuthbert from a monk of Lindisfarne and then another from Bede.[157] And Eadfrith's successor, Æthilwold, was a skilled bookbinder.[158] Such a succession of leaders will unquestionably have provided a supportive context for investing time and resources in fine books.

Fifth, the material also reminds us that, crucial though the initiative of a leading figure was, a great scribal project presupposed the involvement of the community as a whole. This was most obviously true in the case of the seven scribes who shared the main text of Codex Amiatinus, as also in relation to the many Wearmouth-Jarrow monks of subsequent generations who were committeed to copying the works of Bede. Moreover, alongside the scribes themselves, there was the larger group of those who were involved in making or procuring the parchment, inks, pigments and other materials without which book production was impossible. And beyond these, there was the rest of the extended community that supported them in one way or another, not least by prayer: everyone who prayed while the scribe wrote, was making a contribution

156 *HE* IV.29 (p. 442).

157 His career discussed: *Cod. Lind.*, II, pp. 17–8. For his death date: C. Stancliffe, 'Disputed episcopacy: Bede, Acca and the Question of the Relationship between Stephen's Life of St Wilfrid and the early Prose Lives of St Cuthbert', *ASE* 41 (2013), 7–39; Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham*, pp. 26–7 with 144–5 (note 1).

158 *Cod. Lind.*, II, pp. 18–9.

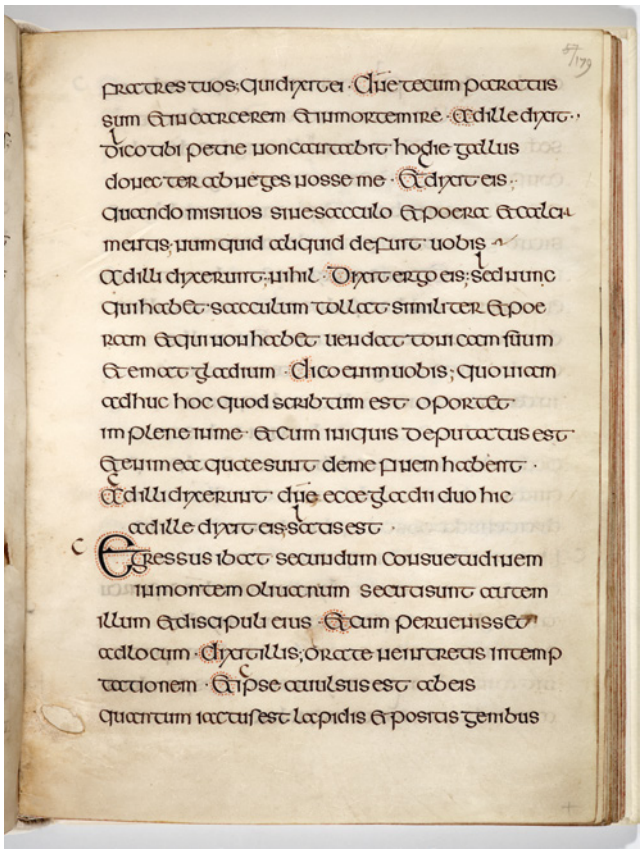


ILLUSTRATION 3.18 *Cambridge University Library, Kk.1.24 (gospel-book), fol. 179r.*

to the book. The Lindisfarne Gospels was largely written by one man with modest contributions from another, but it was far from being just their work: on the contrary, it was both practically and spiritually the book of everyone on Lindisfarne.

Sixth, the evidence of the surviving manuscripts as a whole suggests that gospel-books were the most commonly copied texts in seventh- and eighth-century Northumbria: some twenty of them have come down to us – a quarter of the sample. Even making allowance for grossly imbalanced patterns of survival that would favour the most sacred of books, the reality of its prevalence can hardly be doubted. Multiplying the gospels, the text of greatest spiritual significance, the *sine qua non* of any Christian activity, would always have been a priority (moreover, the range of other works that one could transcribe was comparatively limited, albeit steadily expanding). Furthermore, the appearance of gospel-books varied more than that of any other work, with copies ranging from the simple and functional (like Royal Athelstan) to the highly elaborate (such as Lindisfarne itself).[159] Thus if one were going to use any book to make a statement, a grand gesture, this was the prime text to choose.

159 BL, Royal 1 B.vii; Cotton Nero D.iv.

Seventh, the available material shows that books were acquired and produced both for internal use within the community that made them and for 'export' as gifts to (or commissions from) other churches, missionaries and occasionally even royalty and the papacy. Contemporary sources record a range of specific uses to which books were put and of motivations for making them. As well as informing the liturgy, they could be deployed for daily devotional reading, or might be destined to become church reference copies; essential for the basic education of a community, they could be used for additional spiritual enlightenment and enrichment, as also for intellectual development; they might be commissioned for the good of the patron's soul and could form spiritual and diplomatic gifts; while particular volumes might come to be regarded in part as a memorial to their maker or donor and an enduring witness to the skill of their scribe.[160]

Yet even if volumes like the last might be treasured for their association with particular individuals, there is no hint in the contemporary sources of books having been made in honour of saints as part of their cults. Even Wilfrid's gold-on-purple gospel-book, which was early associated with the memory of that colourful churchman, was not created within the context of his cult; rather he himself commissioned it to enrich Ripon. One would have to have compelling reasons, therefore, to believe that any volume was specifically made as part of a cult. Although the Lindisfarne Gospels has sometimes been viewed as an apparent exception, recent work has shown that this is a misapprehension: the association of the manuscript with Cuthbert grew up and strengthened over the centuries, being crystallised at Durham around 1100 – some four centuries after the book had been made. The earliest record concerning the manufacture and purpose of the Lindisfarne Gospels, by contrast, makes no mention of St Cuthbert. This is in accord with what we know of other early gospel-books.[161]

Why, then, was the Lindisfarne Gospels made, and in the way that it was? The presence within the community on Holy Island of a supremely talented scribe-artist made the project feasible; the engagement of the community as a whole made it practicable; and the reign of a bibliophile king, based at nearby Bamburgh, provided a supportive general context – conceivably even sponsorship in money or kind. The exposure of Northumbria over several generations to various Christian cultural traditions sup-

160 Specific examples of these (uncontentious) overlapping roles are, or come from: Boisil's Gospel of John; Biscop's deathbed speech; Alcuin's comments on Ælberht; Ceolfrith's first two pandects; Codex Amiatinus; Boniface's letters; Bede and Alcuin; the books or booklets written by John the Archcantor; Wilfrid's golden gospels; the volumes written by Ultán.

161 Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham*, pp. 138–41.

plied rich resources on which to draw, while the new availability of a particular text-type and visual models – thanks to the endeavours of Biscop and Ceolfrith – along with a renewed appreciation of Lindisfarne's Irish heritage during the reign of a Hibernophile king, meant that it could take the form that it did.

As for more specific motivation, we might consider the wish to create a sacred object that would make a statement about Lindisfarne, its community and its spiritual identity in the most potent and durable way possible. This was undertaken within the context of a resurgence in the fortunes of the community that only began under Bishop Eadbert from 688 and which had to be maintained in the face of on-going challenges to its identity from Wilfrid, then Acca. There is no shortage of parallels for ecclesiastical renewal and for external challenges being a spur for the production of fine books – and here we have both factors coinciding. Promoting the cult of St Cuthbert was part of the same phenomenon. But the Lindisfarne Gospels was not made for Cuthbert: rather, both were parallel responses to the wish to create and define the community's spirituality and its place in the wider christian world, at a delicate juncture in its history.[162]

For whom was the Lindisfarne Gospels made? The earliest record of the function of the book, composed while the community was still on Lindisfarne, states that it was made 'for all the saints/holy folk' on the island, probably meaning all the christians there, past, present and future. As key observances of the first generation of Lindisfarne monks together with their founder (Aidan) and their ultimate patron saint (Columba) had been found wanting at the Synod of Whitby in 664, the production of a book that presented the new Italo-Northumbrian text and mediterranean imagery in Insular script and decoration broadcast the new identity of a resurgent community that embraced what the Roman church had to offer yet retained the best of its Irish roots. Linking the new identity of Lindisfarne to the most sacred of texts, this was a potent way of redefining the past, celebrating the present, and modelling the future.

Consideration of the range of early Northumbrian books and book production as a whole helps us better to understand the broader context of the Lindisfarne Gospels, and hence to see its particular characteristics in sharper focus. Now, the Lindisfarne Gospels is unusual among this corpus not only for its remarkably good state of preservation but also for the quantity of early documentation relating to it; only Codex Amiatinus approaches it in these respects. Both cases demonstrate how great an investment of time, resources, thought, craftsmanship and belief went into the very grandest manuscripts of seventh- and eighth-century Northumbria. Yet they should also alert us to the fact that every single volume will likewise have been made in response to specific circumstance and will reflect resources, decisions, and aspirations which, though now irrecoverable and often less exalted, will have been no less particular. If the Lindisfarne Gospels provides a sharp lens through which to see the culture and belief of Holy Island around 700, so our corpus of material in its entirety sheds a bright if diffuse light on the origins and development, on the affiliations and connections, on the spirituality and intellectual culture of the Northumbrian church as a whole. The more we recover of early Northumbrian book culture and the harder we look at those vestiges, the more complicated – and accordingly the more credible – is the picture that appears.

Appendix: Early Northumbrian Books

The following list of manuscripts that were, or might have been, written or owned in Northumbria up to the mid-ninth century attempts to indicate in a summary form the evidence for, and strength of the attribution thereto. The entry for each item comprises: shelfmark; principal content; main script type; presence or otherwise of decoration (many of the fragments do not include passages where one would expect to find significant ornament; the near-ubiquitous penwork initials embellished with red dots are not normally noted); origin and date [the evidence for the association with Northumbria being given within brackets in summary form]; provenance; selective bibliography. With books and fragments that are often highly imperfect and poorly documented, the grounds for localisation are often limited to general aspect – type of parchment, script, and articulation/decoration (here all subsumed under the designation 'Script'). The bibliography is confined to CLA and publications which include helpful (or at least the best available) illustrations of the manuscript in question.

?Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, F.III.15b, fols. 1–19

Ps.-Isidore, *De ordine creaturarum*
Insular Minuscule
?Northumbria; viii[1] [script]
Prov.: Fulda (?s. ix)
CLA VII, no. 844.

?Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Grimm 139.1

Pelagius, *Expositio in Epistolam Pauli ad Philippenses*

162 See futher *Ibid*. For the MS's possible relationship to Christian 'world' history more generally see Michelle Brown, Ch. 4 in this volume.

Insular Minuscule.
?Northumbria; viii[1] [script]
Prov.: unknown
CLA S, no. 1676.

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Hamilton 553

Creed; Psalterium Romanum; Canticles ('Salaberga Psalter')
Insular Half-Uncial. Decorated initials. Corrections in Insular Half-Uncial and Insular Minuscule.
Northumbria; viii[1] [script and decoration]
Prov.: Laon, nunnery of Saint-Jean (xii[1]; inventory of its treasury on 26v)
CLA VIII, no. 1048; A. Fingernagel, *Die illuminierten Lateinischen Handschriften Süd-, West- und Nordeuropäischer Provenienz der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz 4–12 Jahrhundert*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1999), no. 118.

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Lat. fol. 877 + Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Cim 1 + Hauzenstein, Gräflich Walderdorffsche Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Cim 1

Calendar, Sacramentary
Insular Half-Uncial and Hybrid Minuscule. Decorated initials.
Northumbria; viii[med] [script akin to DCL B.II.30]
Prov.: Regensburg (viii[3/4]) [diocese created in 739]
CLA VIII, no. 1052; K. Gamber, *Das Bonifatius-Sakramentar* (Regensburg, 1975); Sotheby's, *Western Manuscripts and Miniatures* (London, 4 December 2007), no. 44.

Cambridge University Library, Ff.5.27, fol. i

Psalterium Romanum
Uncial. Unadorned initials
Wearmouth-Jarrow; viii[1/3] [WJ Capitular Uncial]
Prov.: ?Durham
CLA S, no. 1682; T. A. M. Bishop, 'A Fragment in Northumbrian Uncial', *Scriptorium* 8 (1954), 111–3, pl. 1; Lowe, *English Uncial*, pl. XIV; R. Gameson, 'Materials, Text, Layout and Script', *The St Cuthbert Gospel*, ed. C. Breay and B. Meehan (London, 2015), fig. 1.10.

Cambridge University Library, Kk.1.24 + London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B.v, fols. 74 and 76 + Sloane 1044, fol. 2

Gospel-book
Insular Half-Uncial; Insular Hybrid Minuscule. Major incipits lost.
Northumbria; viii?[2/2] [script akin to DCL B.II.30]
Prov.: Ely (*s.* x).
CLA II, no. 138; R. Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham: the contexts and meanings of the Lindisfarne Gospels* (London, 2013), ill. 78; ill. 3.18 here.

Cambridge University Library, Kk.5.16

Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*
Insular Minuscule
Northumbria; viii[3/4] (?748 or later, from an exemplar of 734)
Prov.: Court of Charlemagne (*s.* viii/ix).
CLA II, no. 139; *The Moore Bede*, ed. P. Hunter Blair, EEMF 9 (Copenhagen, 1959).

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 197B + London, British Library, Cotton Otho C.v + Royal 7 C. xii, fols. 2–3

Gospel-book
Insular Half-Uncial. Evangelist symbol; decorated incipits and other initials.
Northumbria (?Lindisfarne); viii[1/3]
Prov. S. England (?Canterbury), ?viii[2]/ix[in]
CLA II, no. 125; Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham*, ills. 31 and 81–2.

?Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 2981(4)

Bible Fragment (Daniel)
Insular Set Minuscule. Minor initials surrounded by red dots.
?Northumbria; ix[1] [script akin to BL, Cotton Domitian vii]
R. Marsden, *The Text of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1995), pl. V.

??Cambridge, St John's College, Aa 5.1 (fol. 67)

Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*
Insular minuscule, semi-cursive
?Northumbria; viii [features in common with BL, Cotton Tiberius A. xiv]
Prov.: Ramsey
CLA S, no. 1679.

Cambridge, Trinity College, B.10.5 + London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C. viii, fols. 85–90

Epistolae Pauli with gloss (partly ex Pelagius). Gloss in OE by original scribe.
Insular Minuscule. Set Minuscule for display. Penwork initials outlined with red dots.
?Northumbria; viii[1]
Prov.: Durham (*s.* xiv)
CLA II, no. 133; S. D. Keynes, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts ... in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge* (Binghamton, 1992), no. 1, pl. I.

Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, 4262

Bede, *De temporum ratione*
Uncial
Wearmouth-Jarrow; viii[2/4] (not before 725)
Prov.: Continent by ix[2] (corrections and glosses in Caroline minuscule)

CLA A, no. 1822; C. Stiegmann, M. Kroker and W. Walter (ed.), *Credo. Christianisierung Europas im Mittelalter*, 2 vols. (Petersberg, 2013), II, no. 219c; Gameson, 'Materials, Text, Layout and Script', fig. 1.11.

Durham Cathedral Library, A.II.10, fols. 2–6 and 338–8a + C.III.13, fols. 192–5 + C.III.20, fols. 1–2

Gospel-book or New Testament
Insular Half-Uncial. Decorated initial and colophon.
Ireland or Northumbria; vii$^{2/3}$
Prov.: Northumbria; Durham
CLA II, no. 147; R. A. B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the end of the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1939), no. 6, pl. 4; R. Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures of Durham Cathedral* (London, 2010), no. 2.

Durham Cathedral Library, A.II.16 + Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 2981 (18)

Gospel-book [conceivably parts of two or three gospel-books]
Uncial. Insular Half-Uncial. Decorated initials.
Northumbria; viii^{2}
Prov.: Durham
CLA II, no. 148a–c; Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts*, no. 7, pls. 5–7; Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures of Durham Cathedral*, no. 6.

Durham Cathedral Library, A.II.17, Part 1 (fols. 2–102) + Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 2981 (19)

Gospel-book
Insular Half-Uncial. Miniature; decorated initials.
Northumbria (?Lindisfarne); vii^{ex}
Prov.: Community of St Cuthbert/Chester-le-Street (*s.* x); Durham
CLA II, no. 149; Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts*, no. 4, fp and pl. 3; *The Durham Gospels ...*, ed. C. Verey *et al.*, EEMF 20 (Copenhagen, 1980); Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures*, no. 4.

Durham Cathedral Library, A.II.17, Part 2 (fols. 103–11)

Gospel-book (Lk 21.33-22.26; 22.33-23.44)
Uncial
Wearmouth-Jarrow; vii/viii
Prov.: Community of St Cuthbert/Chester-le-Street (*s.* x); Durham
CLA II, no. 150; Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts*, no. 3, pl. 2; *The Durham Gospels ...*, ed. C. Verey *et al.*, EEMF 20 (Copenhagen, 1980); Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures*, no. 3.

Durham Cathedral Library, A.IV.19, fol. 89

Mass lectionary
Insular Half-Uncial; Insular Set Minuscule.
?Northumbria; viii^{2} [scripts akin to DCL, A.II.17 part 1 and DCL, C.IV.7]
Prov.: Durham
CLA II, no. 151; Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts*, no. 12; *The Durham Ritual ...*, ed. T. J. Brown *et al.*, EEMF 16 (Copenhagen, 1969).

Durham Cathedral Library, B.II.30

Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum* (abbreviated)
Insular Set Minuscule. Miniatures; decorated initials.
Northumbria (?York); viii$^{2/3}$
Prov.: Durham
CLA II, no. 152; Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts*, no. 9, pls. 8–10; Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures*, no. 5.

*Durham Cathedral Library, B.IV.6, fol. 169**

Maccabees
Uncial.
Italy; vi
Prov.: Wearmouth-Jarrow by *s.* vii/viii
CLA II, no. 152; Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts*, no. 1, pl. 1; Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures*, no. 1.

Durham Cathedral Library, C.IV.7, Flyleaves

Leviticus
Insular Half-Uncial
Northumbria; viii$^{2/3}$ [script – compare Durham, Ushaw 44 – and provenance]
Prov.: Durham
CLA II, no. 154; Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts*, no. 10, pl. 11.

Durham, Ushaw College, 44

Office Lectionary
Insular Half-Uncial. Decorated initials.
Northumbria; viii$^{2/3}$ [script – compare DCL, C.IV.7 – and provenance]
Prov.: Durham
A.I. Doyle, 'A fragment of an Eighth-Century Northumbrian Office Book', *Words, Texts and Manuscripts. Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Helmut Gneuss ...*, ed. M. Korhammer (Cambridge, 1992), 11–27; J. E. Kelly (ed.), *Treasures of Ushaw College* (Durham and London), pp. 52–3.

?Düsseldorf, Nordrhein-Westfälisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Z 11/1 + Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, M O41

Orosius, *Historiae adversus paganos*
Insular Minuscule
?Northumbria; viii^{2} [script]
Prov.: Werden
CLA S, no. 1687; K. Zechiel-Eckes, *Katalog der frühmittelalterlichen Fragmente der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf* (Wiesbaden, 2003), pp. 64–5.

Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Fragm. K1:B 215 + K2: C 118 etc.

Johannes Chrysostom, *De reparatione lapsi*, *De compunctione cordis*; *Passio S. Justi pueri*; *Pastor Hermae*
Insular Minuscule, pointed. Calligraphic initials.
?Northumbria (??York); viii^{med} [script, provenance]
Prov.: Beyenburg
CLA VIII, no. 1187; Zechiel-Eckes, *Katalog der frühmittelalterlichen Fragmente*, pp. 27–8, 30, 66; frontispiece and pls. 4, 6, 25.

Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Frag. K15:017 + K19:Z8/7b + Gerleve, Stiftsbibliothek, s.n.

Isidore, *Etymologiae*
Insular Minuscule of differing degrees of formality
?Northumbria; viii^{2} [script, akin to Kassel 2^{0} Theol.21]
Prov.: Werden
CLA VIII, no. 1189; Zechiel-Eckes, *Katalog der frühmittelalterlichen Fragmente*, p. 59, pl. 19; M. Garrison, 'An Insular Copy of Pliny's *Naturalis historia* (Leiden, VLF4, fols. 4–33)', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Book culture. Writing in Context: Insular Manuscript Culture 500–1200*, ed. E. Kwakkel (Leiden, 2013), 67–125, pl. 14.

Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Fragm. K16: Z3/1

Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum* (abbreviated)
Insular Set Minuscule
Northumbria (?York); viii$^{2/3}$ [relationship to DCL B.II.30]
Prov.: Moers (??Werden)
CLA S, no. 1786; Garrison, 'Insular Copy', pl. 13.

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino 1

Bible
Uncial. Miniatures and Diagrams.
Wearmouth-Jarrow; viii^{in} (by 716)
Provenance: Rome viii$^{1/4}$; San Saluatore, Monte Amiata (by *s.* xi).
CLA III, no. 299. E. A. Lowe, *English Uncial* (1960), pls. VIII–IX.

??Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, Mbr. I.18

Gospel-book
Insular Half-Uncial. Decorated initials.
Northumbria or Continent; viii [script; order of prologues and capitula lectionum akin to those of BL, Cotton Nero D.iv and Royal 1 B. vii.]
Provenance: Lake Constance region (viii–ix – *teste* corrections); ?Murbach
CLA VIII, no. 1205.

Hereford Cathedral Library, P.II.10, fols. 1 and 61

Pseudo-Alcuin, *Liber quaestionum in evangeliis*
Uncial
?Northumbria; viii [similarity of script to WJ Uncial]
Prov. of host book unknown.
CLA II, no. 158; Lowe, *English Uncial*, pl. XV.

?Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. 221, fols. 54–107

Gregory, *In Ezechielem*
Insular Set Minuscule
?Northumbria or Continent; viii^{med} [script]
Prov.: Reichenau (by *s.* ix, where completed)
CLA VIII, no. 1095.

??Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Fragm. Aug 122 + Aug. perg. 116 (binding) + Zürich, Staatsarchiv, A.G.19 Nr XIII, fols. 26–7

Priscian, *Institutio de nomine, pronomine et verbo*
Insular Pointed Minuscule
?Northumbria; VIII^{ex} [script]
Prov: Reichenau
CLA VII, no. 1009 + VIII, p. 30.

Kassel, Gesamthochschulbibliothek, 2° Ms Theol. 21

Jerome, *In Ecclesiasten*; Ambrose, *De apologia Prophetae David*; Jerome, *Altercatio Luciferani et orthodoxi*; *Epistola* 57
Insular Minuscule of varying degrees of formality
Northumbria; viii^{2} [some script akin to St Petersburg Bede]
Prov.: Fulda by *s.* ix^{med} (library catalogue)
CLA VIII, no. 1134.

?Kassel, Gesamthochschulbibliothek, 4°Ms Theol. 2

Beda, *Historia ecclesiastica* (IV–V)
Insular Minuscule
Northumbria; viii^{2} [script – feature paralleled in St Petersburg Bede]
Prov.: Fulda (? ix)
CLA VIII, no. 1140.

Köln, Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, 213

Canon Law (Collectio Sanblasiana)
Insular Half-Uncial. Decorated initials.
Northumbria; vii/viii–viii$^{1/3}$ [textual correspondence with citation by 'Northumbrian disciple'; OE gloss]
Prov.: Köln, viii^{ex}
CLA VIII, no. 1163 + S, p. 62. J. Plotzek *et al.*, *Glaube und Wissen im Mittelalter. Die Kölner Dombibliothek* (Munich, 1998), no. 18.

?Köln, Historisches Archiv der Stadt, GB Kasten B, nos. 24 + 123 + 124

Sacramentarium Gelasianum
Insular Half-Uncial. Penwork initials.
?Northumbria; viii^{med} [script]
Prov.: Köln, Gross-St-Martin
CLA VIII, no. 1165; Stiegemann and Wemhoff, *799*, II, p. 487.

Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. Lat. F.4, fols. 4–33

Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, Books II–VI
Insular Set Minuscule. Decorated initials.
Northumbria; viii$^{2/3}$ [script; same format as DCL, B.II.30; initials akin to BL, Royal 1 B. vii]
Prov.: France (by *s.* xiv)
CLA X, no. 1578; Garrison, 'Insular Copy', pls. 7–10.

?Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Rep. I.58a and II.35a

Gospels
Insular Set Minuscule of differing degrees of formality. Decorated initials.
?Northumbria; viii^{1} [script and decoration]
Prov.: ?Niederaltaich
CLA VIII, no. 1229.

Lincoln Cathedral Library, 298A

Gospel-book
Insular Set Minuscule
?Northumbria; viii^{2} [script]
CLA II, no. 160.

London, British Library, Add. 37777 + 45025 + Loan 81

Bible
Uncial
Wearmouth-Jarrow; vii/viii (after 686)
Prov.: Worcester (by s. xi^{2}, possibly by viii^{2}/^{2})
CLA II, no. 177.

London, British Library, Add. MS 89,000 (olim Loan 11)

Gospel of St John
Uncial. Plain red initials.
Wearmouth-Jarrow; viii$^{1/3}$
Provenance: ?Lindisfarne; Chester-le-Street; Durham
CLA II, no. 260. *The Stonyhurst Gospel of St John*, ed. T. J. Brown, Roxburghe Club (Oxford, 1969); C. Breay and B. Meehan (ed.), *The St Cuthbert Gospel. Studies on the Insular Manuscript of the Gospel of John* (London, 2015).

*??London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra A.iii**

Augustine, *De consensu evangelistarum*
Insular Cursive Minuscule of Irish aspect
?Ireland or Northumbria; viii^{2}
Prov.: Canterbury, St Augustine's Abbey
CLA II, no. 184*.

London, British Library, Cotton Nero D.iv

Gospel-book (Lindisfarne Gospels)
Insular Half-Uncial. Miniatures and decorated initials.
Lindisfarne; vii/viii
Prov.: Chester-le-Street; Durham
CLA II, no. 187. *Codex Lindisfarnensis*, ed. T. Kendrick, T. J. Brown *et al.*, 2 vols. (Olten and Lausanne, 1956–60). *Das Buch von Lindisfarne*, ed. M. P. Brown (Lucerne, 2002).

London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.xiv

Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*
Insular Minuscule; penwork initials
Wearmouth-Jarrow; viii$^{3/4}$ (not before 746) [related to St Petersburg Bede]
CLA S, no. 1703; Lowe, *English Uncial*, pl. XXXVIII. E. Maunde Thompson and G. F. Warner, *Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts in the British Museum II; Latin* (London, 1884), pl. 20; Gameson, 'Materials, Text, Layout and Script', fig. 1.14.

?London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B.v, fol. 75

Gospel-book
Insular Half-Uncial
?Northumbria or Ireland; viii^{2} [script similar to CUL, Kk.1.24; marginal flourishing akin to DCL B.II.30]
Prov.: Exeter (*s.* x^{1})
CLA II, no. 190.

??London, British Library, Egerton 1046, fols. 1–16, 32–48

Old Testament (part): Proverbia (incomplete), Ecclesiastes, Canticum canticorum, Ecclesiasticus (4.10–44.13)
Insular Set Minuscule, variable.
??Northumbria; viii$^{2/3}$ [script; possible early association with Egerton 1046, fols. 17–31]
CLA II, no. 194.

London, British Library, Egerton 1046, fols. 17–31

Sapientia; Ecclesiasticus 1.1–1.35
Insular Set Minuscule
Northumbria; viii^{2} [similarities of script to DCL, B.II.30; CUL, Kk.1.24]
CLA II, no. 194b. Thompson and Warner, *Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts II*, pl. 26.

London, British Library, Harley 5915, fol. 10

[Another fragment from the same book, formerly Weinheim, Sammlung E. Fischer, s.n., now appears to be lost.]
Justinus, Epitome of Pompeius Trogus, *Historia Philippicae*
Insular Minuscule
?Northumbria; viii^{2} [akin to hand 'd' of St Petersburg Bede]
CLA IX, no. 1370 (showing the Weinheim fragment). J. Crick, 'An Anglo-Saxon Fragment of Justinus's *Epitome*', *ASE* 16 (1987), 181–96 (with pl. VI showing Harley).

London, British Library, Royal 1 B. vii

Gospel-book
Insular Half-Uncial; penwork decoration
Northumbria (?Lindisfarne); viii^{1} [textually close to BL, Cotton Nero D.iv]
Prov.: ?West Saxon royal court (*s.* x^{1})
CLA II, no. 213; Thompson and Warner, *Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts*, pl. 16; M. P. Brown, *The Lindisfarne Gospels and the Early Medieval World* (London, 2011), ills. 33–34; Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham*, ill. 77.

?London, Private Collection, Fragment

Augustine and Ps.-Augustine, *Sermones*
Insular set minuscule
?Northumbria; viii$^{2/2}$ [script]
Sotheby's *Western Manuscripts and Miniatures* (London, 19 June 2001), lot. 3.

??Luzern, Staatsarchiv, Fragm. PA 1034/21007

Isidore, *Sententiae*
Northumbria; viii^{2}
CLA A^{2}, no. 1874 (= B. Bischoff *et al.*, 'Addenda to *CLA* (II)', *Medieval Studies* 54 (1992), 286–307).

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 29270/9 (olim 29155d)

Gospels
Insular Half-Uncial. Significant elaboration of very minor initials.
Northumbria; viii$^{2/3}$ [script akin to CUL, Kk.1.24 etc.]
CLA IX, no. 1335; H. Sauer (ed.), *Angelsächsisches Erbe in München. Anglo-Saxon Heritage in Munich* (Frankfurt am Main, 2005), no. 2.

??München, Hauptstaatsarchiv, Raritäten-Selekt 108 [apparently lost]

Calendar
Insular set minuscule. Decorative monograms.
?Northumbria or Continent; viii$^{2/2}$ [script and decoration]
Prov.: Tegernsee or Ilmmünster, *s.* ix
CLA IX, no. 1236.

Münster in Westfalen, Staatsarchiv, MSC I.243, fols. 1, 2, 11, 12 + Braunschweig, Stadtbibliothek, Fragm. 70 + Bückeburg, Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv, Depot 3/1

Bede, *De temporum ratione*; Dionysius Exiguus, *Cyclus paschalis magnus* + Northumbrian Annals
Northumbria (?Wearmouth-Jarrow); viii$^{2/4}$ (not before 725, very probably after 731)
Prov. Fulda (where copied in BSB, Clm 14641), Werden, Corvey
CLA IX, no. 1233 + S, p. 4; Lowe, *English Uncial*, pl. XVIII. J. Petersohn, 'Neue Beda Fragmente in Northumbrischer Unziale *saec.* VIII', *Scriptorium* 20 (1966), 215–47.

Münster in Westfalen, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Fragmentenkapsel 1, no. 3

Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*
Insular Set Minuscule
Northumbria; viii^{2} [script]
Prov.: Werden
CLA A, no. 1848; Stiegemann and Wemhoff (ed.), *799. Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit. Karl der Grosse und Papst Leo III in Paderborn*, 3 vols. (Mainz, 1999), II, no. vii.41.

?Münster in Westfalen, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Fragmentensammlung IV.8

Sacramentarium Gelasianum mixtum
Half-Uncial
?Northumbria; viii^{1} [script]
Prov.: Werden (*s.* ix)
CLA A^{2}, no. 1880; Stiegemann and Wemhoff (ed.), *799*, II, no. vii.39.

New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, 516

Gregory, *Moralia*
Uncial
Wearmouth-Jarrow); viii$^{2/4_med}$ [script]
Prov.: Soest (*s.* xiv)
CLA A, no. 1849. C. Lutz, *Essays on Manuscripts and Rare Books* (Hamden CT, 1975), frontispiece; Gameson, 'Materials, Text, Layout and Script', fig. 1.12.

?New York, Morgan Library, G 30

Gregory, *Moralia*
Uncial
?Northumbria; vii^{ex} [script – akin to Wroclaw]
CLA XI, no. 1664.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 819

Bede, *In Proverbia Salomonis*
Insular Minuscule with Uncial for lemmata. Penwork initials

Wearmouth-Jarrow; viii$^{3/4}$
Prov.: Chester-le-Street (*s.* x); Durham
CLA II, no. 235; Lowe, *English Uncial*, pl. XXXVIII; *Codex Lindisfarnensis* II, pl. 60. A. C. de la Mare and B. C. Barker-Benfield (ed.), *Manuscripts at Oxford: R. W. Hunt Memorial Exhibition* (Oxford, 1980), fig. 2. Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham*, ill. 54.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Gr. 35

Actus apostolorum (Greek-Latin)
Uncial
Italy (?Rome, ?Sardinia); vi/vii.
Provenance: Northumbria, Wearmouth-Jarrow (*s.* vii/viii [used by Bede]); Hornbach (?*s.* viii^{ex}); ?Fulda [booklist]; ?Würzburg (c. 800 [booklist]).
CLA II, no. 251; Lowe, *Palaeographical Papers*, pls. 27–30. N. Wilson, *Medieval Greek Bookhands. Examples selected from Greek Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA, 1972–3), pls. 4 and 10. D. Mairhofer, *Medieval Manuscripts from Würzburg in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford, 2014), figs. 5–7.

Oxford, Lincoln College 92, fols. 165–6

Gospel-book (Lk 8.13–50)
Insular Half-Uncial. Decoration.
Northumbria (?Lindisfarne); viii^{1} [script]
CLA II, no. 258; *Cod Lind*, II, pl. 15; de la Mare and Barker-Benfield (ed.), *Manuscripts at Oxford*, II.8 (fig. 5). Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham*, ill. 40. Ill. 3.13 here.

?Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 4871, fols. 161–8

Isidore, *Etymologiae*
Insular Minuscule
?Northumbria; viii/ix [script]
Prov.: bound with a volume from Moissac
CLA V, no. 559.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 9377, fol. 3

Paul, *Epistola ad Corinthios*
Insular Set Minuscule
?Northumbria; viii$^{2/3}$ [script; same format as DCL B.II.30 and Leiden, Voss. Lat. F.4]
Prov. France, *s.* viii (notes in Luxeuil minuscule)
CLA S, no. 1746.

?Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 9389

Gospel-book
Insular Half-Uncial; Insular Set Minuscule. Miniatures and initials.
Northumbria or Continent (Echternach); vii/viii.
Prov.: Echternach by viii$^{2/4}$
CLA V, no. 578. *Cod. Lind.*, pls. 3, 5, 7, 9, 12–14, 19, 26, 33, 50. M. P. Laffitte and C. Denoël (ed.), *Trésors carolingiens. Livres manuscrits de Charlemagne à Charles le Chauve* (Paris, 2007), no. 1.

?Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 9488, fols. 3–4

Sacramentary (Gelasianum mixtum)
Insular Half-Uncial
?Ireland or Northumbria or Echternach; viii
CLA V, no. 581.

?Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 13089, fols. 49–76

Gregory, *Regula pastoralis*
Insular Minuscule, variable
?Northumbria; viii^{2} [script, similarities to some in St Petersburg Q.v.I.18]
CLA V, no. 651.

?Prague, Národní Knihovna, Ceské Republiky, Roudnice VI.Fe.50

Gospel-book
Insular Set Minuscule
?Northumbria or Echternach; viii^{1} [script – akin to that of prefaces in BnF, lat. 9389]
Prov.: Germany (by *s.* x)
CLA X, no. 1567.

Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque de l'Agglomération, 257, fols. 1–7

Gospel-book
Insular Set Minuscule
Northumbria; viii^{1} [script – similar to that of gospel prefaces in BnF lat. 9389]
Prov.: Saint-Bertin
CLA VI, no. 826.

?St Petersburg, Russian National Library, F.v.I.3, fols. 1–38

Job with planned interlinear gloss (from commentary by Philippus Presbyter)
Uncial (main text); Insular Minuscule (gloss). Decorated initial.
?Northumbria or Continent; viii^{2}. [Script; ?same scriptorium as next item.]
Prov.: Corbie
CLA XI, no. 1599; Lowe, *English Uncial*, pl. XXXVII. M. Kilpiö and L. Kahlas-Tarkka, *Ex Insula Lux. Manuscripts and Hagiographical Material connected with Medieval England* (Helsinki, 2001), pl. 9.

?St Petersburg, Russian National Library, F.v.I.3, fols. 39–108

Jerome, *In Isaiam*
Insular Minuscule of different styles
?Northumbria or Continent; viii[2]. [Script – same scriptorium as previous item.]
Prov.: Corbie.
CLA XI, no. 1600.

??St Petersburg, Russian National Library, F.v.I.8

Gospel-book
Insular Half-Uncial. Major decoration.
??Northumbria; viii[3/3] [Textual relationship of prefatory material and gospel texts to BL, Cotton Nero D. iv and Royal 1 B. vii.]
Prov.: Saint-Maur-les-Fossés
CLA XI, no. 1605; T. Voronova and A. Sterligov, *Manuscrits occidentaux VIII[e]–XVI[e] siècles* (Bournemouth-St Petersburg, 1996), ills. 284–4; Kilpiö and Kahlas-Tarkka, *Ex Insula Lux*, pls. 11–12; C. Stiegemann, M. Kicker and W. Walter (ed.), *Credo. Christianisierung Europas im Mittelalter*, 2 vols. (Petersburg, 2013), II, frontispiece and pp. 283–5.

St Petersburg, Russian National Library, Q.v.I.18

Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*
Insular minuscule, and a little Capitular Uncial. Decorated and historiated initials
Wearmouth-Jarrow; viii[3/4] (not before 746; ?rubricated not earlier than 758) [linked to WJ by display scripts]
CLA X, no. 1621; *The Leningad Bede* …, ed. O. Arngart, EEMF 2 (Copenhagen, 1952); Voronova and Sterligov, *Manuscrits occidentaux*, p. 11 and pls. 282–3.

?St Petersburg, Russian National Library, Q.v.XIV.1

Paulinus of Nola, *Carmina natalitia*
Insular Minuscule (Insular Half-Uncial on flyleaf; added drawings)
?Northumbria; viii[1] [script akin to BAV, Pal. lat. 235]
Prov.: Corbie (by *s.* xii)
CLA X, no. 1622; Kilpiö and Kahlas-Tarkka, *Ex Insula Lux,* pls. 13–14; M. Evans, *Medieval Drawings* (London, 1969), pl. 5.

?Shrewsbury, Shropshire Record Office, 1052/1

Jerome, *In Evangelium Matthaei*
Insular Minuscule
?Northumbria; viii[2] [script: broadly akin to St Petersburg Q.v.I.18 and Kassel 2° MS Theol. 21]
CLA S, no. 1760; N. R. Ker, 'Fragments of Jerome's Commentary on St Matthew', *Medievalia et Humanistica* 14 (1962), 7–14.

Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek 32, fols. 94–105

Gospel-book
Uncial. Gold initials; decorative title
Wearmouth-Jarrow; viii[1/3] [shares scribe with BL, Add. 89,000]
CLA X, no. 1587; Lowe, *English Uncial*, pl. XI; *Utrecht Psalter: Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe der Handschrift 32 aus den Besitz der Bibliotheek der Rijkuniversiteit te Utrecht*, ed. K. van der Horst and J. Engelbregt, 2 vols. (Graz, 1982–4).

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 68, fols. 1–46

Catena on Psalms
Insular Minuscule
Northumbria; viii. [The scribe reveals himself in a colophon to be an Anglo-Saxon: Edilberict son of Berictfrid; commentary includes words in Irish and English (dialect Northumbrian)]
Prov.: Lorsch or Mainz (by *s.* ix)
CLA I, no. 78; R. Gameson, *The Scribe Speaks? Colophons in Early English Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 2002), pl. 4.

?Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 235, fols. 4–29

Paulinus of Nola, *Carmina natalitia*
Insular Minuscule, varied
Northumbria; viii[1] [scribally akin to St Petersburg Q.v.XIV.1]
Prov.: Germany (*s.* viii)
CLA I, no. 87; *Codex Vaticanus Palatinus Latinus 235*, ed. T. J. Brown and T. Mackey, Armarium codicum insignum 4 (Turnhout, 1988).

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, series nova 3644

Eusebius (Rufinus), *Historia ecclesiastica*
Insular Set Minuscule and Cursive Minuscule
?Northumbria or Continent; viii [script]
CLA X, no. 1515.

??Wormsley Park near Stockenchurch (Bucks.), Wormsley Library

Eusebius (Rufinus), *Historia ecclesiastica*
Insular Half-Uncial
Ireland; vii. ?In Northumbria at an early date.
Provenance: England [where re-used *c.* 1600]
CLA A, no. 1864; Sotheby's *Western Manuscripts and Miniatures* (25 June 1985), lot. 50.

Wroclaw (Breslau), Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Akc. 1955/2 + 1969/430

Gregory, *Dialogi*
Uncial
Northumbria; viii[1/2] [script – Capitular Uncial]
Prov.: Continent (*s.* x – corrections)
CLA XI, no. 1595 + S, p. 31.

Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.68
Gospel-book ('Burchard Gospels')
Uncial
Italy; vi.
Prov.: Wearmouth-Jarrow (fols. 10–21 and 95/96, prologues and restoration leaves in Wearmouth-Jarrow Uncial) by *s.* vii/viii. Würzburg (by *s.* viii).
CLA IX, no. 1423a-b; Lowe, *English Uncial*, pls. III–IV; Gameson, 'Materials, Text, Layout and Script', fig. 1.5.

Other Manuscripts that are Sometimes, but Doubtfully, Attributed to Northumbria

Avranches, Bibliothèque municipale, 48, fols. i–ii + 66, fols. i–ii + 71, fols. A–B + St Petersburg, O.v.I.1, fols. 1–2
Gospel-book
?Southumbria; viii.

Freiburg i. Br., Universitätsbibliothek, 702, bifolium
Gospel-book
Uncial. Insular Half-Uncial
?Echternach; viii
Prov.: Tholey near Trier.

New York, Morgan Library, M 826
Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*
Insular Minuscule
Prov.: ?Bath; *s.* xi^{2}, Saint-Vaast, Arras.

St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 1394, pp. 95–8
Sacramentary
Insular Half-Uncial and Minuscule
?Ireland; viii$^{1/2}$.

Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Theol. et Philos. Qu. 628
Gregory, *Dialogi*
Uncial
Continent; vii–viii
Prov.: Ehingen near Wiblingen (*s.* xvi).

CHAPTER 4

Reading the Lindisfarne Gospels: Text, Image, Context

Michelle P. Brown

In this paper I wish to supply what I consider to be a significant gloss to my previous publications on the Lindisfarne Gospels:[1] namely to examine further how the visual programme of the project works as a whole and to suggest a new perspective on how it may have been conceived in relation to its historical context. In short, I shall attempt to discern what the underlying structural conceptualisation of the book may have meant to those involved in its planning, making and use, and how this might have been devised in reaction to certain specific historical circumstances.

My previous research led me to conclude that the book now known as the Lindisfarne Gospels was probably conceived and physically made by Bishop Eadfrith of Lindisfarne from around 710, when he was busy developing the cult of St Cuthbert to meet contemporary needs, until his death in 722 (which may account for the incomplete nature of some of the artwork).[2] I have pointed to a single artist-scribe's intellectualisation and refinement of an Insular style of art and script in which features characteristic of the various traditions represented in the British Isles and Ireland during the early eighth century are distilled and synthesised in what I perceive to be a consciously eirenic visual rhetoric, aimed at promoting reconciliation: ecclesiastical, political and cultural.

The evidence must, perforce, remain circumstantial, but I will reprise here (for readers' convenience)[3] some key features of the Lindisfarne Gospels and will then go on to relate them to one another in order to show that together they were designed to form a structured programme. This essentially embodies a sophisticated textual and visual statement of the adherence of the newly reconciled Insular Church to the international ecumenical orthodoxy of Chalcedon. Previous discussions setting the book primarily in its western context have omitted to take full account of this wider picture or to realise certain aspects of its implications for the study of Insular culture and of post-Roman relations between Near East and far West. It is worth revisiting the book's context and meaning in light of these relations.[4]

Chalcedonian orthodoxy was represented in the West by the papacy and by the latinate Vulgate tradition; such is accordingly celebrated in the choice of a good Vulgate textual exemplar for the Lindisfarne Gospels. However, in other aspects of its visual programme and codicological structure, and in the eremitic single-handed manner of its making, the book also references the eastern origins of this ecclesiastical and linguistic tradition of transmission of Scripture and acknowledges the spiritual contribution of the Desert Fathers. The concern manifest in the planning of the manuscript to situate it, and its cultural milieu, within this far-reaching world view becomes particularly understandable in the context of the political and ecclesiastical agendas and events that are its historical backdrop.

A New Perspective on the Historical Context: International Doctrinal Controversies – Patterns of Schism and Reconciliation

Let us begin by singling out, inter-relating and interpreting some historical landmarks which I now consider of

1 Of relevance here, see particularly M.P. Brown, *LG*[1]; *LG*[2]; '"A good woman's son": Aspects of Aldred's Agenda in Glossing the Lindisfarne Gospels', *The Old English Gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels* (ANGB 51), ed. Julia Fernández Cuesta and Sara M. Pons-Sanz (de Gruyter, 2016), 13–26; and 'The Lindisfarne Scriptorium', *The Oxford Handbook of Palaeography*, ed. F. Coulson and R. Babcock (Oxford, forthcoming).

2 M.P. Brown, *LG*[1]; *LG*[2]; *The Book and the Transformation of Britain, c.550-1050: a Study in Written and Visual Literacy and Orality*, (London, 2011). For other recent studies, see R.G. Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham: the Contexts and Meanings of the Lindisfarne Gospels* (Durham and London, 2013) and D. Barbet-Massin, *L'Enluminure et le sacré: Irlande et Grande Bretagne vii[e]-viii[e] siècles* (Paris, 2012). On the revised date of 722, rather than 721, for Eadfrith's obit, see C. Stancliffe, 'Disputed episcopacy: Bede, Acca, and the relationship between Stephen's Life of St Wilfrid and the early prose Lives of St Cuthbert', *ASE* 41 (2013), 7–39, with a further detail in Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham*, pp. 144–5, n. 1.

3 See n. 34, below.

4 See M.P. Brown, 'Imagining, Imaging and Experiencing the East in Insular and Anglo-Saxon Cultures: New Evidence for Contact' Proceedings of the ISAS conference, Madison, 2012, ed. J.D. Niles, *et al.* (Tempe, forthcoming); 'The Bridge in the Desert: towards establishing an historical context for the newly discovered Latin manuscripts of St Catherine's Sinai', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* (Supplement, forthcoming), and *The Latin Manuscripts of the Holy Monastery of St Catherine's, Sinai* (forthcoming).

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particular relevance in understanding the background to the production of the Lindisfarne Gospels.

The Synod of Whitby in 664 has traditionally been represented as a struggle for control over the newly converted English Church by 'Celtic' and 'Roman' factions.[5] Yet both terms are inappropriate in this context, for 'Celtic' in this case was the Columban Federation; many other Irish foundations already observed 'Roman' traditions and probably had done since Palladius was sent by the Pope in 431 to those who already believed.[6] Nor was it 'Rome' per se that was in opposition (in the sense of the later concept of a 'Roman Catholic Church' which began to emerge after the Photian Schism of the ninth century), but rather the international catholic orthodoxy of Chalcedon, focused upon Constantinople, and represented in the West by the Patriarch / Pope of Rome. This raises the question: how Roman was the Papacy? In fact, it remained eastwards-facing, as well as westwards-facing. The great missionary pope to the 'barbarians' who had settled in much of Rome's former western empire, Gregory the Great (d. 604), was also in regular diplomatic contact with the eastern emperor and with clerics such as the Patriarch of Alexandria, who in 610 sent famine relief to far-off Cornwall, on the back of the centuries old tin trade.[7] Current research is also revealing interesting relations between Gregory and the monastic community of St Catherine's, Sinai, which helped to shape his approach towards spirituality, monasticism, the use of figural imagery in art and of the book as a cultural and sacred icon.[8]

It is too seldom taken into account that five orthodox Syrian popes held office between 668 and 731, and eventually the Syrian population of Rome became so large that it was dispersed by Pope Donus (676–78).[9] Pope Sergius (687–701) played a particularly prominent role in introducing Eastern influences to Roman liturgy and art – trends that continued into the eighth century when Pope John XII (705–707) had the walls of Santa Maria Antiqua, at the very heart of the Forum, painted in Byzantine fashion.[10] Insular travellers to the Mediterranean would therefore have encountered those from the Near East – and their arts and ideas – midway, without actually going there. However, my recent research at St Catherine's, Sinai, indicates that there were at least two English scribes at work there during the second half of the eighth century, adding important evidence for demonstrable *prima facie* contact in addition to the parallelism and secondary contacts that also enabled eastern influences to pervade Insular culture.[11]

In 669 one such Syriac pope appointed a learned Byzantine cleric as Archbishop of Canterbury – Theodore, from Tarsus in Asia Minor, who may have studied at Antioch. He was accompanied by the Berber North African Hadrian, latterly an abbot in Naples, to serve as Abbot of Saint Augustine's, Canterbury. There they established a school, along classical and Cassiodoran lines, and worked to ensure the orthodoxy of the English Church.[12]

5 The term Celtic is a loaded one, considered outmoded by some scholars whilst others argue that it retains some cultural and linguistic validity. It can nonetheless remain a useful shorthand for those parts of the British Isles, and Ireland, where the Celtic languages enjoyed / enjoy currency – Ireland, Scotland, Man, Wales, Cornwall and Brittany, and for areas that experienced significant Irish political and / or cultural influence. I use it here to distinguish from Anglo-Saxon and British (areas of post Romano-British continuity of population and culture, sometimes in the form of politically distinct kingdoms) and, in inverted commas, to reference earlier historical misapplication or over-simplification of the term.

6 D. Ó Cróinín, 'New light on Palladius', *Peritia* 5.1 (2009), 276–283. See further Clare Stancliffe, Ch. 2 in this volume.

7 On this episode and St John the Almsgiver, see E. Campbell, *Continental and Mediterranean Imports to Atlantic Britain and Ireland, AD 400–800*, CBA Research Report 157 (York, 2007) and J.M. Wooding, *Communication and Commerce along the Western Sealanes AD 400–800*, BAR International Series 654 (Oxford, 1996). For a discussion of context see Brown, 'Imagining, Imaging and Experiencing the East in Insular and Anglo-Saxon Cultures'.

8 See Brown, 'The Bridge in the Desert'. Here I discuss, *inter alia*, Gregory's desire, expresssed in his correspondence concerning St Catherine's monastery, to withdraw to the wilderness himself – as an antidote to the urban centrality of Rome and the responsibilities of high office – and his endowment of places within the monastery. See Gregory the Great, *Registrum Epistularum* XI,1, ed. D. Norberg, 2 vols., CCSL 140–140A (Turnhout, 1982), II, pp. 857–9.

9 D. Noy, 'Immigrants in Late Imperial Rome', *Ethnicity and Culture in Late Antiquity*, ed. S. Mitchell and G. Greatrex (London, 2000), 18; I. Peňa, *Arte Cristiano de la Siria Bizantina* (Madrid, 1997), 232.

10 N.F. Åberg, *The Occident and the Orient in the Art of the Seventh Century*, 2 vols. (Stockholm, 1943), I, 44–8; P.J. Nordhagen, 'The Frescoes of John VII (AD 705–707) in S. Maria Antiqua in Rome', *Acta ad Archaeologium et Artium Historiam Pertinentia* 3 (1968), 97–106.

11 M.P. Brown, 'The Eastwardness of Things: Relationships between the Christian Cultures of the Middle East and the Insular World', *The Genesis of Books: Studies in the Interactions of Words, Text, and Print in Honor of A.N. Doane*, ed. M. Hussey and J.D. Niles (Turnhout, 2012), 1–35; 'Mercian Manuscripts: the implications of the Staffordshire Hoard, other recent discoveries, and the "new materiality", *Writing in Context: Insular Manuscript Culture 500–1200*, ed. E. Kwakkel (Leiden 2013), 23–66; and for the most recent of my research findings relating to St Catherine's Sinai 'Imagining, Imaging and Experiencing the East in Insular and Anglo-Saxon Cultures' and 'The Bridge in the Desert'.

12 M. Lapidge (ed.), *Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies in his Life and Influence* (Cambridge, 1995), 3. On the importation

Theodore and Hadrian were appointed soon after the Synod of Whitby, for its focus upon the dating of Easter was not a merely local affair, but part of wider church politics calling for personnel with previous experience of the issues besetting religious and political relations in the East. The Paschal Controversy had been addressed at the First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea (325), and the schism it provoked remained of intense concern over subsequent centuries, leading the papacy to monitor the unfolding situation on both the eastern and western *limes* of its authority, and the Insular milieu obviously featured significantly within this policy.

Another important factor in international relations was the Monothelete controversy, which had caused schisms in the Christian Orient and the assassination of Pope Martin I in 655. England once again played a prominent role in this international debate. In 679 Theodore convened the Council of Hatfield, which affirmed the orthodox faith of the English Church in the doctrine that Christ had a fully human will, accompanied by human courage, thereby rejecting the Monothelete denial of Christ's human will. Hatfield was held in preparation for the Sixth Ecumenical Council, held in Constantinople in 681, which proclaimed that the divine and human wills were united in Christ who, being incorruptible, never conflicted with the divine will, his incorruptibility stemming from his conception from the Virgin by the Holy Spirit.[13] Use of iconographies of the Virgin and of the Cross, symbolising the key moments of conception and redemption and the utter integration of the wills, when God and humanity are reconciled, accordingly assumed wider currency, initially in eastern art but also rapidly pervading western art.[14]

Pope Agatho had sent John the Archcantor to represent him at the Council of Hatfield and his subsequent journey to Northumbria with Benedict Biscop was, evidently, not only to teach chant but to promote catholic orthodoxy. Tellingly, in 681, the very year of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, Biscop founded the second of his twin foundations – Jarrow, dedicated to St Paul of Tarsus, joining St Peter's, Wearmouth. The dedication stone at Jarrow does not reference this,[15] but it is possible that in establishing an unusual monastery in two places but united as one, Biscop may have intentionally alluded to the complementary nature of Christ's divine and human wills and the complementary missions of Peter in the West and Paul in the East.

These were matters of 'universal' Christian import, not merely symptoms of local separatism or centralising Roman authority, as they have so often been represented. Britain and Ireland were participating in a web of ecumenical Christian debate and diplomacy that extended from the Atlantic seaboard to the Mediterranean, and beyond. Set within this international context, establishing ecumenical harmony and reconciliation after schismatic conflict was of prime import to the English Church, especially at the point of greatest interaction with its Irish, Pictish and British neighbours – Northumbria and southern Scotland.

Cuthbert was appointed as bishop in 685 in order to promote harmony and insisted upon Lindisfarne as his see, it being the key historic bridgehead between the Columban and English Churches. Along with Bishop Eadberht, Abbot Ceolfrith and Abbot Adomnán of Iona, he worked tirelessly to achieve it. His successors continued the process by promoting his cult, and notable amongst them was Bishop Eadfrith (698-722) who with Bede's help developed the Cuthbertine cult during the early eighth century, arguably as a focus of reconciliation.

Considerable reconciliation was required, not only in the wake of Whitby and of Wilfrid's appeals to the papacy

of books from the Mediterranean to England at this time, see D.N. Dumville, 'The Importation of Mediterranean Manuscripts into Theodore's England', *Archbishop Theodore,* ed. Lapidge, 96–108. See also D. Ganz, 'Roman Manuscripts in Francia and Anglo-Saxon England', *Roma fra Oriente e Occidente,* Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 49 (Spoleto, 2002), 607–48; and M. Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford, 2006), 5–52.

13 For the text of the Council of Hatfield, see *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. A.W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1869–1878), III, pp. 141–144. An account of it is given in Bede, *HE* IV.17[15]. For the text and context of the Sixth Ecumenical Council (or Third Council of Constantinople), see R. Riedinger (ed.), 'Concilium Universale Constantinopolitanum Tertium', in *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, ser. 2, II (Berlin, 1990 and 1992), 1–2.

14 Early Insular occurrences of images of the Virgin and Child and of the Crucifixion occur on St Cuthbert's coffin and in the Durham Gospels respectively, for example; see discussion in Brown, 'Imagining, Imaging and Experiencing the East in Insular and Anglo-Saxon Cultures'. See also K. Jolly, C. Karkov and S.L. Keefer (ed.), *The Cross and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England* (Morgantown, 2007); J. Mullins, J. Ní Ghrádaigh and R. Hawtree (ed.), *Envisioning Christ on the Cross in the Early Medieval West* (Dublin, 2013); and M. Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1990). The relationship of the Monothelete controversy to the iconography of the Ruthwell Cross has been discussed by Éamonn Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood: Liturgical Tradition and the Old English Poems of the Dream of the Rood Tradition* (London, 2005), 225–8.

15 See I. Wood, *The Most Holy Abbot Ceolfrith*, Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow, 1995).

for intervention on his behalf in domestic ecclesiastical politics, but as a result of internecine hostilities attendant upon Northumbrian expansionism and the campaigns of attrition under rulers such as Ecgfrith (r. 670-85), who attacked his fellow Christian (if schismatic) British, Pictish and Irish / Scottish neighbours. Nor were relations entirely eirenic on the stage of international Christendom. In 692 the Quinsext Council, or Council in Trullo, was held in Constantinople and was attended mainly by eastern clergy, though the future Pope Gregory II, then still a deacon, accompanied Pope Constantine to Constantinople and argued successfully against one of its main purposes, which was an attempt to suppress various practices in the western Church (including priestly celibacy) and to ensure that the whole Christian world conformed to Byzantine Orthodox practices. The Byzantines considered it an Ecumenical Council (as the Fifth and Sixth councils had been), but the West opposed this.[16] One of its decrees prohibited the iconography of the Precursor – John the Baptist with the Lamb. This nonetheless features prominently on the Bewcastle Cross, a monument of Northumbrian workmanship which probably dates to the first half of the eighth century. This may intentionally represent an Insular expression of opposition to the Council and a reassertion of support for the papal position and of more local traditions within ecumenical orthodoxy.[17]

Pope Gregory II (715-731) had served as papal paymaster (almoner of the Church) and librarian whilst he was a deacon,[18] which would have made him fully aware of the cultural, economic and political value of books. His visitors in Rome included Abbot Ceolfrith. He also welcomed the English King Ine, who founded the *Schola Anglorum* near the Vatican, and Duke Theodo I of Bavaria. Gregory sent the latter St Boniface as a missionary, recommending him also to Charles Martel whom Gregory was encouraging in his resistance to the spread of Islam from Iberia. Once again, Insular personnel were figuring in mainstream European politics. Gregory was also concerned with relations inside Italy, and in particular with the Lombards and the Byzantine Exarchate of Ravenna.

Growing tension between Constantinople and Rome culminated in a Byzantine assassination attempt on Pope Gregory II. In 727 Emperor Leo III the Isaurian / Iconoclast published an unacceptable set of decrees in Rome which brought matters to a head. Pope Gregory II convened a council in Rome which opposed Leo's unreasonable demands for taxes, his espousal of iconoclasm (which Gregory opposed as anti-Chalcedonian) and imperial interference in matters of ecclesiastical authority. As a result, the Count of Naples (an area which, as we shall see, was of particular significance around the time that the Lindisfarne Gospels was probably being made) attempted to assassinate the pope at the emperor's behest. Gregory nonetheless prevailed and is consequently said to have freed the western Church from subjugation to Byzantium. As the East plunged into almost a century of intermittent iconoclasm, the Pope emphasised the distinction by reasserting the appropriateness of figural imagery in the West, reaffirming the stance first advanced by his namesake, Pope Gregory I.[19] The appearance of images and ornament, especially in books, therefore carried profound implications.

The Lindisfarne Gospels as a Statement of Reconciliation and of the Insular Church's Chalcedonian Orthodoxy

Let us now consider how the Lindisfarne Gospels fit into this picture of historical relations and how the various

16 H. Ohme (ed.), *Concilium Constantinopolitanum a. 691/2 in Trullo habitum,* Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum, Series Secunda II: Concilium Universale Constantinopolitanum Tertium, Pars 4 (Berlin, 2013). Discussed by G. Nedungatt, '*The Council of Trullo revisited: Ecumenism and the canon of the councils*', *Theological Studies* 71 (September 2010), 651–676. The council's validity was questioned by Bede (in his *De sexta mundi aetate*), and by Paul the Deacon (in Ch. 6 of his *Historia Langobardorum*, VI, ed. by W.F. Schwarz (Darmstadt, [2009)).]

17 See E. Ó Carragáin, J. Hawkes and R. Trench-Jellicoe, 'John the Baptist and the *Agnus Dei*: Ruthwell and Bewcastle Revisited', *Antiquaries Journal* 81 (2001), 131–53.

18 On the papacy at this time, and on Gregory II's career, see H.K. Mann, *The Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages, Vol. I: The Popes Under the Lombard Rule, Part 2, 657–795* (London, 1903); for a more recent view of his significance and the context of his papacy, see A.J. Ekonomou, *Byzantine Rome and the Greek Popes: Eastern Influences on Rome and the Papacy from Gregory the Great to Zacharias, A.D. 590–752* (Lexington, 2007).

19 C. Chazelle, 'Pictures, Books, and the Illiterate: Pope Gregory I's Letters to Serenus of Marseilles', *Word & Image* 6 (1990), 138–53. On Gregory's stance and the role that his interest in St Catherine's Sinai and its icons may have played in this, see for example Gregory's letter to John, Abbot of Mount Sinai, http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/ Nicene_and_Post-Nicene_Fathers:_Series_II/ Volume_XIII/ Gregory the_Great/Book_XI/Letter_1, ed. by P. Shaff *et al.* (Peabody, Mass., 1994). For discussion of this correspondence in the context of Gregory's interest in St Catherine's Monastery and its possible implications for Insular culture see Brown, 'The Bridge in the Desert'. See also P. Darby, 'Bede, Iconoclasm and the Temple of Solomon', *Early Medieval Europe* 21.4 (2013), 390–421, which directly discusses Bede's response to iconoclasm.

components of its visual rhetoric might be read as a structured programme designed in response to such relations. While some of the components that follow have often been discussed individually, here we shall explore how they may have been intended to relate to one another as an integral whole, imbued with layers of contextualised meaning and contemporary political and ecclesiastical relevance as well as inherent theological and exegetical resonance.

I have suggested previously that the translation of St Cuthbert's relics to the high altar at Lindisfarne in 698 marked the beginning, not the culmination, of the process of establishing his cult as a symbol of post-schismatic reconciliation in the aftermath of the Synod of Whitby. The Lindisfarne Gospels, which would have taken at least five years for its single artist-scribe to make, given other commitments within the monastic community, was probably not begun until the second decade of the eighth century, after Eadfrith had commissioned Bede to rework the *vita*, which he did both in prose and in verse form, to shape it to such an eirenic agenda, creating a hagiographic hero whom all could embrace and who embodied the distinctive nature of Northumbrian Christian culture.[20]

I have pointed to the presence of lections, amongst those marked by initials within the volume, which commemorate a new stational liturgy introduced in Rome at the end of the seventh century but which only begins to feature in Roman liturgical books from around 715.[21] This would suggest that the Lindisfarne Gospels' layout was finalised around this time. Indeed, some scholars have suggested that it may have been made significantly later in the eighth century but I am inclined to view manufacture by Bishop Eadfrith of Lindisfarne (698–722), in the last years of his life, as the most appropriate context for production.[22] The Columban federation perceived the work of the scribe of Scripture (in the priestly Old Testament sense), as opposed to the copyist, to be the preserve of the 'seniores' – the most spiritually tried and tested members who are likely to have achieved high office and / or eremitic anchorite status. Some of these aspired to the role of the solitary hero-scribe, like St Columba himself and his friend St Canice / Kenneth.[23] Bishop Eadfrith may have seen fit to join their ranks. I have suggested that Aldred's colophon, added to the volume in the 950s–960s, preserves earlier material from lost flyleaves, a treasure binding or a cumdach (book-shrine), including the remains of a poem, which was accurate in ascribing manufacture to Bishop Eadfrith.[24] The Columban tradition of requiring such work to be undertaken by figures in such elevated positions suggests that he would likely have undertaken the work himself, rather than commissioning it. I have suggested that some of that work may have taken place on 'Cuddy's Isle', a tidal islet in the bay beside the monastery on Holy Island, where during Lent and Advent the busy bishop was able to retreat to his own wilderness on spiritual sabbatical.[25] A similar regimen of Lenten fasting, study, and copying of Scripture was also favoured by prominent eastern ecclesiastics, including Euthymius, patriarch of Constantinople (d. 912), and patriarch Methodius (d. 847), both of whom copied a complete psalter during Lent.[26]

In 715 the final bastion of Columban tradition, Iona, conformed to orthodox practices and, tellingly, within a year Ceolfrith had departed for Rome, taking the Codex Amiatinus as ambassador for these islands and the newly unified Insular Church, to present to his friend, the newly appointed librarian-pope, Gregory II.[27] As is well known,

20 Brown, *LG*[1].

21 Brown, *LG*[1], pp. 185–99. Further on the marking of lections within the MS see Carol Farr, Ch. 7 in this volume.

22 See n. 1, above. For a different view see Richard Gameson, Ch. 3 in this volume, with further discussion of the evidence in *From Holy Island to Durham*, pp. 18–9.

23 M.P. Brown, *In the Beginning was the Word: Books and Faith in the Age of Bede*, Jarrow Lecture 2000 (Jarrow, 2000) and *LG*[1]; and R.G. Gameson, *The Scribe Speaks? Colophons in Early English Manuscripts*, H.M. Chadwick Memorial Lectures 12 (Cambridge, 2002).

24 See Brown, '"A good woman's son"'.

25 Brown, *LG*[1]. See also Rosemary Cramp, *The Hermitage and the Offshore Island*, 2nd Paul Johnstone Memorial Lecture (London, 1981). There were local prehistoric roots for the phenomenon of island hermitages in Britain; see Arthur Burns, 'Holy Men on Islands in Pre-Christian Britain', *Glasgow Archaeological Journal* 1 (1969), 2–6.

26 C. Rapp, 'Holy Texts, Holy Men, and Holy Scribes: Aspects of Scriptural Holiness in Late Antiquity', *The Early Christian Book*, ed. William E. Klingshirn and Linda Safran (Washington, DC, 2007), 194–222 at p. 209.

27 B. Fischer, 'Codex Amiatinus und Cassiodor', *Biblische Zeitschrift, n.f.* 6 (1962), 57–79; R Bruce-Mitford, *The Art of the Codex Amiatinus*, Jarrow Lecture 1967 (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1967); P.J. Nordhagen, *The Codex Amiatinus and the Byzantine Element in the Northumbrian Renaissance,* Jarrow Lecture 1977 (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1977); K. Corsano, 'The First Quire of the Codex Amiatinus', *Scriptorium* 41, pt 1 (1987), 3–34; G. Henderson, 'Cassiodorus and Eadfrith Once Again', *The Age of Migrating Ideas. Early Medieval Art in Northern Britain and Ireland* (Stroud, 1993), ed. M. Spearman and J. Higgitt, 82–91; I. Wood, *The Most Holy Abbot, Ceolfrid,* Jarrow Lecture 1995 (Jarrow, 1995); P. Meyvaert, 'Bede, Cassiodorus and the Codex Amiatinus', *Speculum* 71 (1996), 827–83; C. Farr, 'The Shape of Learning at Wearmouth-Jarrow: the Diagram Pages in the Codex Amiatinus', *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. J. Hawkes and S. Mills (Stroud, 1999), 336–44; P. Michelli, 'What's in the Cupboard',

this remarkable tome (ills. 3.4-5) was not recognised as English work until the late nineteenth century, so convincing is its Italo-Byzantine stylistic cloaking, with its Gregorian-style Roman Uncial script and its classicising painterly style (redolent of the Syriac frescoes found in parts of Sta Maria Antiqua in the forum, painted at the beginning of the eighth century). Its text (along with the gospels as preserved in the Lindisfarne Gospels) is considered the best extant witness to St Jerome's editorial work on the Vulgate, undertaken in the Holy Land during the fourth century, and represents a masterly work of scholarly reconstruction on the part of the Wearmouth-Jarrow team, of which Bede would undoubtedly have formed part.[28] Amiatinus proclaims the fulfilment of the Apostolic mission, for only in these far-flung islands on the edge of the then known world could such a feat of biblical transmission and scholarship have occurred in the post-Roman age, building upon the vestiges of Cassiodorus's library and his vision for biblical scholarship and publication.

The Insular Church was thus capable of being 'more Roman than the Romans' (and with a decidedly Greco-Syriac twist), but it also celebrated its own indigenous traditions. I propose that the Lindisfarne Gospels was intended to reassert these traditions, stylistically, whilst framing them iconographically and symbolically in a collaborative context of post-schismatic, reconciled Chalcedonian Orthodoxy, represented in its westwards-facing guise by Rome and its specially commissioned Latin Bible – St Jerome's Vulgate, the text of which is adopted in the manuscript. Whilst the Codex Amiatinus adopts the appearance of a post-colonial successor and heir to the Greco-Roman world of Early Christian late Antiquity, the Lindisfarne Gospels deconstructs its principal component parts and reconstructs them with the cultural contributions of the peoples of the British Isles and Ireland fully integrated in a new, early medieval, visual identity.

The eastern elements that I am detecting within Insular culture and in the Lindisfarne Gospels, along with the material trappings and formal arrangement of the early cult of St Cuthbert, would therefore accord with this wider, ecumenical world view and a desire to signal the breadth of Christian cultural affiliations and collaborations, as would the eremitic mode of solitary manufacture of the Lindisfarne Gospels and its underlying spirituality.[29] It is therefore possible to perceive the early development of St Cuthbert's cult as, at one level, an assertion of the enduring value of the eremitic tradition within this, and of East /West integration in the face of escalating fears concerning the rise of Islam and in the face of ongoing tensions between Rome and Constantinople.

The choice of text, script and images in the Lindisfarne Gospels finds an appropriate historical context and relevance within the political, spiritual and ideological framework outlined above.

I have discussed elsewhere how the artwork in the Lindisfarne Gospels, and other cult books of the federation of Columba, weave together elements of all the cultures in the islands, along with other cultural references and signifiers drawn from cultures stretching across Europe to the Near East.[30] Pilgrims to the shrine of St Cuthbert – the most popular in Britain until Becket – would have seen something familiar to them in this rich vision of a harmonised Creation to come. This visual esperanto was not new, but rather was the culmination of a process that had been ongoing for a century or more, as the metalworkers' manufacturing debris from the royal citadel of Dunadd in the Irish expatriate kingdom of Dalriada (western Argyll) demonstrates.[31] But the Lindisfarne Gospels represents an ideological refinement or normalisation of evolving Insular art and script which effectively achieves a new stylistic level, rather as Middle English had evolved some time before Chaucer, Hoccleve and Lydgate took it to a new literary level.

The development of the canon of Christian Scripture during the Early Christian centuries featured the enshrinement of a fourfold voice for the works of witness that became known as the Gospels. Attempts to distinguish, inter-relate and harmonise them preoccupied Christian scholars and exegetes in both East and West.[32] Eusebius's Canon Tables visually embody attempts to articulate these relationships, eschewing attempts by Tatian and others to produce an integrated diatessaron in favour of an exploration and celebration of unity and harmony through diversity – four different witnesses for different audiences, affirming one another by synoptic relationship whilst

*Northumbria's Golden Age,*ed. Hawkes and Mills, pp. 345–58; P. Meyvaert, 'The date of Bede's *In Ezram* and his image of Ezra in the Codex Amiatinus', *Speculum* 80 (2005), 1087–1133.

28 Further on the text see Richard Marsden, Ch. 10 in this volume. M.P. Brown, 'Bede's Life in Context: Materiality and Spirituality', *The Cambridge Companion to Bede*, ed. Scott de Gregorio (Cambridge, 2010), 3–24.

29 Brown, 'Imagining, Imaging and Experiencing the East in Insular and Anglo-Saxon Cultures'.

30 Brown, *LG*[2].

31 A. Lane and E. Campbell, *Dunadd. An Early Dalriadic Capital*, Cardiff Studies in Archaeology (Oxford, 2000).

32 For an illustrated overview of the extant material evidence for this process, see M.P. Brown, ed., *In the Beginning: Bibles Before the Year 1000*, exhibition cat., Freer and Sackler Museum, Smithsonian Inst. (Washington DC, 2006).

challenging and advancing spiritually through John's visionary reprise. The Lindisfarne Gospels are therefore introduced by illuminated Canon Tables, the sacred computus of the Gospels expressed through numbers duly enshrined within the architectural arcades of the holy of holies, their columns adorned by and sustaining an interlaced multitude of the fauna of Creation (ill. III).[33] The fourfold theme is then extended throughout, to underpin the visual structure, with four suites of Gospel openings comprising evangelist miniature (ills. IV, VIII, XI, XIV), cross-carpet-page (ills. V, IX, XII, XV) and decorated incipit (ills. VI, X, XIII, XVI). As summarised below,[34] the evangelist miniatures form a fourfold exegetically-based meditation upon the integral nature of the humanity and divinity of Christ, which I suggest is intended in part as an authoritative statement, in the form of sacred figurae, of the Insular stance in relation to Monotheletism and orthodoxy. The carpet-pages and incipits, by their inclusion of crosses and display letter-forms representing different cultural traditions from East and West, form a statement of collaborative contribution to the wider Christian ecumen which transcends time and space. The Vulgate text – in a form based upon a well-researched exemplar obtained via Wearmouth-Jarrow – is representative of the contribution of Insular scholarship in rediscovering and preserving Jerome's fourth-century work for a new age and contains a series of liturgical lections marked by small decorated initials within the text. The cultural backgrounds of these lections, along with that of the Canon Tables, also introduce a fourfold allusion to different local traditions of churchmanship which had all been reintegrated into the mainstream orthodoxy of Chalcedon by c. 715 when, I have argued, the actual production (plus a pre-planning period) of the Lindisfarne Gospels commenced.

This fourfold structure was also imbued with further deep Christian philosophical significance in relation to the ordering of the natural world. Victor Elbern, for example, has discussed the elevation of the Cross as a universal trope of the ordered cosmos of Christianity with its cascade of 'fournesses': four cardinal points, four winds, four seasons, four elements and four rivers of paradise.[35] In terms of the Lindisfarne Gospels, if Scripture and the Cosmos were arranged in a cruciate fourfold form, I suggest that it was considered fitting that the book's conceptual visual and textual structure should also be so and that, in so doing, it became an embodiment of Logos – the very image of Christ. This cruciate structuring thereby represents, as Paulinus of Nola wrote in 405, 'the cross dividing the world into four regions to draw the peoples of every land into life'.[36]

By adducing in this paper such a coherent visually signposted intellectual structure for the Lindisfane Gospels and by relating it to the particularised reading of the historical narrative outlined above, I hope to have made a further contribution to the understanding of how the book might be 'read' in ways that go beyond and yet essentially complement its textual contents. This served effectively to situate the Insular contribution within the ongoing process of transmission of faith, integrating it into a union that transcends time and space.

The evangelist images of the Lindisfarne Gospels represent a neat visual formulation of the English position in such debates and drew upon Roman, Byzantine, and Coptic iconographic and stylistic features in an informed manner in order to do so. The bearded, ageing figures of Matthew and Luke (ills. IV, XI), depicted in Byzantine fashion, symbolise the mortal aspect of Christ's human will – representing his incarnation and sacrifice — whilst the clean-shaven, youthful, romanising figures of Mark and John (ills. VIII, XIV) – redolent of kingship, resurrection, and second coming – represent his immortal divine will. The figures are painted in a two-dimensional style against pink grounds, the pigment burnished to recall the Egyptian encaustic (hot wax) painting technique, framed and set upon the page like eastern icons.[37]

33 C. Nordenfalk, *Die Spätantike Kanontafeln; Kunstgeschichtliche Studien über die eusebianische Evangelien-konkordanz in den vier ersten Jahrhunderten ihrer Geschichte* (Göteborg, 1938); N. Netzer, 'The origin of the beast canon tables reconsidered', *The Book of Kells. Proceedings of a Conference at Trinity College Dublin, 6–9 September 1992*, ed. F. O'Mahony (Aldershot, 1994), 322–31. See further Thomas O'Loughlin and Heather Pulliam, Chs. 5 and 6 in this volume.

34 I have signposted in the footnotes where I have published discussion of these components in greater detail, but am summarising some of that discussion here, for the convenience of the reader, so that its place within the structured programme and historical context that I am newly proposing in this paper can be more readily comprehended.

35 V.H. Elbern, 'Bildstruktur – Sinnzeichen – Bildaussage. Zusammenfassende Studie zur unfigürlichen Ikonographie im frühen Mittelalter', *Arte medievale*, 1 (1983), 17–37.

36 Qui cruce dispansa per quatuor extima ligni Quatuor attingit dimensum partibus orbem, Ut trahat ad vitam populos ex omnibus oris. See Paulinus of Nola, *Sancti Pontii Meropii Paulini Nolani Opera*, ed. W. de Hartel, vol. 2 (2nd. ed., ed. Margit Kamptner, 1999).

37 See M.P. Brown, 'Bearded Sages and Beautiful Boys: Insular and Anglo-Saxon Attitudes to the Iconography of the Beard', *Listen, O Isles, unto Me: Studies in Medieval Word and Image in Honour*

Just as the Lindisfarne Gospels' evangelist miniatures sit like framed icons on the page, portraying aspects of Christ's nature obliquely through their symbolism, the texts that follow are introduced by exquisite cross carpet-pages (ills. V, IX, XII, XV), indebted to Coptic art and recalling the *crux gemmata* (the jeweled cross celebrated in the Old English poem *The Dream of the Rood*, symbol of the Second Coming) and the prayer mats (the *oratorio*) which were sometimes used in northern Europe at this time – including the Good Friday liturgy celebrated in Bede's Northumbria – as well as in the Christian Orient, where they were also adopted by Islam.[38] Each of Lindisfarne's individual Gospels is introduced by a cross of different form – Latin, Greek, Celtic ring-head and Coptic / Ethiopic tau – celebrating the various church traditions which came together in harmony, like the varying voices of the evangelists. Standing at the entrance to the 'holy ground' of sacred text, these carpet-pages may have been intended to evoke the Eastern prayer mat, while the facing incipits expand exuberantly across the whole page, the letters themselves celebrating the Divine in a neat visual solution of Insular origin, subsequently adopted in later medieval Judaic and Islamic calligraphy.

The range of letter-forms employed in the display script of the Lindisfarne Gospels' incipit pages reinforces the theme of a fourfold harmony, blending together Roman latinate square capitals, Greek letters, stylised angular forms resembling Germanic runes and forms evoking Irish / Celtic ogam (see the M composed of a vertical line crossed by four horizontal lines at the end of line 3 on fol. 139r, the Luke incipit page: ill. XIII). Such an arrangement might speak of an intellectualised visual statement of the essential harmony of the eastern, western, Germanic, Celtic and British experiences in the service of *Godspel* (Old English 'Good News').[39]

This fourfold voice picks up on the visual prominence accorded to the Canon Tables in the Lindisfarne Gospels and a number of other Insular gospel-books (ills. III, 6.6, 6.8-12). In Lindisfarne these are set beneath decorated architectural arcades – the sacred numerology of Scripture set within the holy of holies of the chancel arch. Here the agreement, and disagreement, of the four testimonies which were eventually deemed canonical by the early Church councils is celebrated. Different voices for different audiences, all seeking to relate the same truth. One of the many ways of reading the Lindisfarne Gospels' visual programme, in characteristically Insular multivalent fashion, is to extend this premise of harmony in diversity (as expressed in the testimony of the four evangelists) to that of the different international and local church traditions. The visual and textual references to these varied church traditions which are to be found in the Lindisfarne Gospels are thus brought together and reconciled in the design and structure of one book, recalling the way in which these churches are united in the orthodoxy of Chalcedon. This in turn parallels the way in which the four gospel accounts are reconciled in their shared recounting of the integration of Christ's human and divine will and its enactment in the act of redemption.

The initials in the text which mark the Eusebian sections that correspond with the numbers in the Canon Tables are part of a scheme by which the maker of the Lindisfarne Gospels rationalised and utilised the hierarchy of decoration to help navigate the text in a sophisticated fashion (ill. 5.1). Capitula divisions are also marked by minor initials, as are a number of lections relating to the Columban, the Neapolitan and the Roman liturgies, the last taking the form of the new stational liturgy for Good Friday. Lindisfarne was therefore right up to the minute in referencing both recent liturgical changes and, as we shall see, those of traditions only recently reconciled to orthodoxy, just as its landscape was newly adorned with stone crosses commemorating the new stational liturgy and the supreme act of reconciliation represented by the Cross itself.[40] This use of initials to mark lections may have formed a symbolic commemoration of the contribution of different traditions of churchmanship to the public celebration of the liturgy, enshrined in the gospel-book on the high altar (rather like the names of benefactors and key figures were enshrined in a *liber vitae* or 'book of life').[41]

of Jennifer O'Reilly, ed. E. Mullins and D. Scully (Cork, 2011), 278–90.

38 Brown, *LG*[1], pp. 312–30 and M.P. Brown, 'The Cross and the Book: The Cross-Carpet Pages of the Lindisfarne Gospels as *Sacred Figurae*', *Cross and Cruciform in the Anglo-Saxon World*, ed. Karen Jolly, Catherine Karkov, and Sarah Keefer (Morgantown, WV, 2009), 1–26.

39 M.P. Brown, 'The Tower of Babel: the architecture of the early western written vernaculars', *Omnia Disce. Medieval Studies in Memory of Leonard Boyle,* ed. A.J. Duggan, J. Greatrex and B. Bolton, (Aldershot, 2005), 109–28; *The Book and the Transformation of Britain*; 'A good woman's son'; 'Beowulf and the Origins of the Old English Vernacular', *Revista de la Sociedad Española de Lengua y Literatura Inglesa Medieval* 20 (2013–2014), 81–120. See further Richard Marsden and E.G. Stanley, Chs. 10 and 12 in the present volume.

40 Brown, *LG*[1], pp. 106 and 321.

41 Brown, *LG*[2], pp. 186–99; on the stational liturgy and the c. 715 dating see especially pp. 188–93. On the *liber vitae* of the Community of St Cuthbert, see D.W. Rollason *et al.*, *The Durham*

Another curious cultural debt owed by the Lindisfarne Gospels' text is the Aquileian influence apparent in its Canon Tables and in some of its textual variants.[42] These appear to have been derived from a source or sources other than the Neapolitan gospel-book which served as the main textual exemplar (and which probably circulated in the form of copies published by Wearmouth-Jarrow).[43] For to judge by the different solutions adopted in the other extant Insular copies of the ultimately Neapolitan exemplar – namely the St Petersburg Gospels and BL, Royal MS 1 B.vii – that volume did not contain Canon Tables. Was the choice of an Aquilean textual exemplar for this part of the book incidental, or might there have been a historical reason for its selection?

This is perhaps best answered in the broader context of whether there might be any particular programmatic significance underpinning these textual allusions to distinctive practices of Rome, Naples, Aquileia and the Columban Churches, which are integrated into a particularly reliable version of St Jerome's Latin Vulgate, composed in fourth-century Caesarea. The Columban and Roman connections are historically explicable and evident in a Northumbrian context, but what of those to Aquileia and Naples?

The Aquileian Context

Gregory II is seen by later Greek historians as the pope who freed the Church in the West from Byzantine subjugation, but in fact he remained loyal to the emperor, and continued to support Byzantium in its attempts to defend territory against the Lombards. However, he wrote many letters against Leo's teachings and in 727 held a council in Rome at which he pronounced on the correct stance concerning the use of images (a precursor to the *libri Carolini*). He also recognised the authority of the ancient patriarchate of Aquileia, the liturgical rite of which is thought to be one of the oldest Gallican rites, preserving aspects of the Ravennate rite in Italy. Aquileia also had the distinction of being the birthplace of St Jerome, who was born about the year 342 at Stridonius, a small town nearby.

The patriarchate of Grado, which was the source of that of Aquileia, had been formed in the Venetian lagoon when the Orthodox fled from Lombardic invasion (it would later become the patriarchate of Venice). The see had been split by the Schism of the Three Chapters which endured from 553 to 698. This resulted from Byzantine attempts to reconcile the monophysites of the Middle East (including the Coptic and Ethiopic churches) with Chalcedonian Orthodoxy by condemning, by imperial edict in 543, some of the writings of eastern Christian writers (known as the Three Chapters). Some of the North Italian bishops (including that of Milan, which was restored to communion with Rome in 581), led by Bishop Macedonius of Aquileia, saw this as anti-Chalcedonian and split from Rome and the rest of the Church in Italy, with the bishop assuming the title of Patriarch in 560. Pope Gregory the Great and the Byzantines worked to try to heal the schism, and those who could not accept this fled back to the Lombard-controlled mainland, splitting the patriarchate into Grado and Old Aquileia.

The schism hardened along Roman / Lombardic lines, with the Irish missionary Columbanus intervening in 612-615 on behalf of the Lombards, within whose territory his foundation of Bobbio lay. Columbanus daringly informed Pope Boniface IV that he was suspected of heresy for accepting the rulings of the Fifth Ecumenical Council of 553, but as the Lombards began to relinquish Arianism and to join western orthodoxy, the schism was formally ended at the Council of Aquileia in 698, the year of the translation of St Cuthbert's relics, and Aquileian textual influence may have been deemed acceptable after this time. The Lombards enthusiastically embraced the papal pro-image stance, using it as justification for taking the iconoclast Exarchate of Ravenna in 752.

The Neapolitan Context

What might have made Naples such a resonant source for the copy of the Vulgate so valued as an exemplar at Wearmouth-Jarrow and Lindisfarne?[44] Abbot Hadrian

Liber Vitae and its Context (Woodbridge, 2004) and *The Durham Liber Vitae: London, British Library, MS Cotton Domitian A. VII: edition and digital facsimile with introduction, codicological, prosopographical and linguistic commentary, and indexes*, ed. D. and L. Rollason, 3 vols. (London, 2007). See also C. Breay and B. Meehan (ed.), *The St Cuthbert Gospel. Studies on the Insular Manuscript of the Gospel of John* (London, 2015).

42 A 'Capuan' exemplar for the Lindisfarne Gospels' Canon Tables may also have exerted an influence upon its gospel texts, to judge from some variants which find their earliest correspondence in the Codex Fuldensis. There is also some agreement in the Lindisfarne Gospels with variant readings which find their earliest parallels within the Old Latin tradition or the Italian 'mixed' tradition and several of them seem to relate to volumes from northern Italy, probably from Aquileia; see Brown, *LG*[1], pp. 176 and 180.

43 *Ibid.*, pp. 187 and 190–1; see also P. Meyvaert, 'The Date of Bede's *In Ezram* and his image of Ezra in the Codex Amiatinus', *Speculum* 80 (2005), 1087–133.

44 In the Lindisfarne Gospels each Gospel is introduced by prologues concerning authorship, by chapter summaries, and by instructions concerning readings for certain feast days. The

had come to England in 667 from serving in Naples and may well have brought books from that area with him, along with its reputation for Christian scholarship. Such associations were evidently valued: the Insular Echternach Gospels, for example, contains a transmitted colophon attesting to the authority of its text by identifying it as the copy of a book belonging to Eugippus, abbot of Lucullanum near Naples, which in turn had been copied from a book owned by St Jerome himself.[45]

Naples also had a tradition of being on the early Christian 'front line'. Bishop Nostrianus fought against Pelagianism there around 450 and during his incumbency St. Gaudiosus, fleeing from the persecutions of the Vandals in Africa, landed at Naples, and died there. Bishop Demetrius was deposed by Gregory the Great (593), who appointed to the See of Naples the Roman Fortunatus; Bishop Angelus (671-91) saved the city from the invasion of the Saracens; Sergius, before he became bishop in 716, was famous for having retaken the castle of Cuma from the Arian Lombards. Naples was also a part of the Ravennate Exarchate and came under Lombardic pressure in the seventh and early eighth centuries. It was from Naples that Exhileratus was sent by Emperor Leo III to assassinate Gregory II, c. 727, but he was forced to turn back and was killed by the infuriated populace.

The Significance of the Years 715–716

The year 715 witnessed a number of significant events. The papal librarian, a friend of Ceolfrith of Wearmouth-Jarrow, became Pope Gregory II. He had additional cause for celebration, for that year Sergius became bishop of Naples, having repulsed the Arian Lombards (recently, during the late seventh century, it had also been successfully defended against Islam) – the important early Christian centre of Naples was thus restored to orthodoxy. That same year Columban Iona was also received back into Chalcedonian orthodoxy.

It was also around 715 that the stational liturgy, introduced in Rome at the end of the seventh century, appeared in Roman liturgical manuscripts when Pope Gregory II introduced stational masses for the Thursdays in Lent – and these are referenced in the Lindisfarne Gospels.[46]

It is probably no coincidence that the following year Abbot Ceolfrith set out for Rome with Codex Amiatinus, one of the three massive pandects made in the Wearmouth / Jarrow scriptorium, which may have formed part of a Cassiodoran-type publication programme to reconstruct and disseminate St Jerome's Vulgate edition of Scripture. This programme would presumably have taken some years to plan and execute (although it should be recalled that in the ninth century the Tours scriptorium could produce several such pandects per annum, even if these were more economically conceived),[47] perhaps spanning the decade preceding Ceolfrith's departure for Rome. It is tenable, therefore, that the Lindisfarne Gospels, with its close relationship to the Codex Amiatinus, was conceived during this time and that its programme was then finalised and implemented around 715-722, incorporating visual and textual allusions to a conjunction of key events that clustered around 715. Bishop Eadfrith may have made the Lindisfarne Gospels with his own hands, in accordance with Columban tradition, having spent some time planning the project as a cult focus and a celebration of different traditions and their reconciliation in ecumenical orthodoxy, led in the West by Rome. The book's complex blend of iconic and aniconic artistic responses to the issues of the day still displays sensitivity to eastern sensibilities in a way that would shortly change with the onset of iconoclasm.

Thus, on the very eve of Byzantium's iconoclast controversy (which erupted in 720) the maker of the Lindisfarne Gospels was experimenting with sophisticated iconic, aniconic and oblique iconographic solutions to depicting the divine. These were to form a distinctive aspect of the Insular approach to imagery in the service of complex international theological debate. Its sensitivity to the iconoclast debate and to unease concerning idolatry suggests that it predates Pope Gregory II's reassertion of anti-iconoclastic figural imagery from 727 as part of the Western Orthodox Church's rebuttal of absolutist subjugation to the Emperor Leo the Iconoclast.[48] Eadfrith's death in 722 sits within this chronological margin.

The great cult book of St Cuthbert would therefore have formed a fitting contribution to the shrine of the saint, which resembles that of contemporary Egyptian

saints celebrated include Januarius and Stephen, pointing to Naples (which had churches dedicated to them) as the source of the textual model. This model (or 'exemplar') was also copied at Wearmouth / Jarrow and it, or more likely a copy of it, probably came from them to Lindisfarne. See Brown, *LG*[1], pp. 162–78. On the feasts, see K. Gamber, *Codices Liturgici Latini Antiquiores*, 2nd ed. (Freiburg, 1968) and U. Lenker, *Die westsächsische Evangelienversion und die Perikopenordnungen im angelsächsischen England* (Munich, 1997).

45 BnF, lat. 9389: Gameson, *Scribe Speaks?*, no. 2, pl. 1.

46 Brown, *LG*[1], p. 188.

47 H. Kessler, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours* (Princeton, 1977); R. McKitterick, 'Carolingian Bible Production: the Tours Anomaly', *The Early Medieval Bible: its production, decoration and use*, ed. R. Gameson (Cambridge, 1994), 63–77.

48 See n. 19 above.

bishops, interred incorrupt in their vestments in decorated wooden coffins (some Copts being buried with a Christian book of life, instead of the traditional book of the dead – perhaps paralleled in Northumbria by the St Cuthbert Gospel).[49] Other of the relics of St Cuthbert came from the West, and in its assembly of components and influences garnered from across the then known world, the early shrine of St Cuthbert in some ways recalls the princely burials of Sutton Hoo and Prittlewell (which contain Germanic, Celtic, Frankish, Coptic and Byzantine artefacts as a means of indicating the breadth of economic and cultural contacts enjoyed by the deceased and their peoples), in which the grave-goods and the form of memorial reflect the agendas, aspirations and wide-ranging affiliations of the leaders of a new age and the historical context in which these were conceived.[50]

Appendix: A Selective Chronological Context

325 The First Council of Nicaea debates the Easter Controversy (which arose during the second century when Bishop Irenaeus asserted the quatrodeciman Jewish/Johannine calculation). Nicaea prescribed an Alexandrine single rule for Easter, computed independently of the Jewish calendar, but did not prescribe details of the computation, which took centuries to become normative. A letter of Irenaeus shows that the diversity of practice regarding Easter had existed at least from the time of Pope Sixtus I (c. 120). Irenaeus states that St. Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, observed the fourteenth day of the moon, whatever day of the week that might be, following the tradition which he claimed to have derived from St John (might this be why the Columban Book of Durrow adopts Irenaeus's ordering of the evangelist symbols and why the Book of Kells champions the Johannine stance?).

451 The Council of Chalcedon (Fourth Ecumenical Council) debated the 'nature' of Christ, resulting in an enduring schism between the 'monophysite' Oriental Orthodox churches and the 'Chalcedonian' Western / Eastern Orthodox churches.

553 The Fifth Ecumenical Council was convened in Constantinople and attempted to reconcile the monophysites. This provoked the Schism of the Three Chapters in Italy, during which the Patriarchate of Aquileia split in two and was not reconciled until 698.

563 Iona founded by St Columba who launched his federation's Scots / Pictish mission.

597 Augustine arrives in Kent as Pope Gregory the Great's representative to convert the pagan Anglo-Saxons to orthodoxy.

612-615 The Irish missionary Columbanus intervenes from Bobbio on behalf of the Lombardic Arians, condemning the pope for accepting the Fifth Ecumenical Council's rulings.

635 Lindisfarne is founded from Iona.

655 Pope Martin is assassinated over the monothelete schism.

664 The Synod of Whitby. The Alexandrine computus is adopted by the English Church. Wilfrid argues 'it was the universal practice of the Church, even as far as Egypt'. Bishop Colman, having failed to assert the Columban Johannine tradition, returns to Ireland. The Columban and British Churches are effectively schismatic.

669 Archbishop Theodore of Tarsus and Abbot Hadrian (a Berber from North Africa, latterly from Naples) are sent by the pope to England with Benedict Biscop. Cuthbert is entrusted with Lindisfarne's post-Whitby reconciliation process, Eadberht and Adomnán with that of the Columban federation.

679 Archbishop Theodore convenes the Council of Hatfield (north of London) as a pre-debate for the Sixth Ecumenical Council.

681 The Sixth Ecumenical Council is convened in Constantinople to resolve the monothelete controversy – it declares the divine and human nature of Christ indivisible. Jarrow is founded, joining Monkwearmouth (founded 674) as 'two places with but one will'.

685-7 Cuthbert is appointed bishop by King Ecgfrith and then serves the part-Irish king Aldfrith (d. 705) who trained on Iona and who opposes Wilfrid.

692 The Quinsext Council / Council in Trullo, tries to subject the western Church to eastern control. It is not accepted as a truly ecumenical council in the West.

698 The Schism of the Three Chapters is resolved and the reunified Aquileian patriarchate is received back into western orthodoxy. Cuthbert's relics are translated at Lindisfarne.

709 Wilfrid dies and his cult is established at Ripon, with its focal point a purple codex displayed in the crypt. This may have presented potential competition to the nascent cult of St Cuthbert.

715 The papal librarian, a friend of Ceolfrith's, becomes Pope Gregory II. Columban Iona is received back into western orthodoxy

c.715 the stational liturgy, introduced in Rome at the end of the seventh century appears in Roman liturgical manuscripts, and in the Lindisfarne Gospels.

716 Abbot Ceolfrith sets out for Rome with Codex Amiatinus, one of the three massive pandects made in the Wearmouth-Jarrow scriptorium.

49 BL, Add. 89,000. For further discussion of these aspects of the shrine, see Brown, 'Imagining, Imaging and Experiencing the East in Insular and Anglo-Saxon Cultures' and 'Concealed and Revealed: Insular visualisations of the Word', *Clothing Sacred Scripture*, ed. D. Ganz and B. Schellewald (forthcoming).

50 See Brown, 'Imagining, Imaging and Experiencing the East in Insular and Anglo-Saxon Cultures'.

Sergius becomes bishop of Naples, having repulsed the Arian Lombards; during the late seventh century it had been successfully defended against Islam. The important early Christian centre of Naples is thus restored to orthodoxy.

c. 715-722 Eadfrith makes the Lindisfarne Gospels, having spent some time planning the project as a cult focus and celebration of different traditions and their reconciliation in ecumenical orthodoxy, led in the West by Rome. The book's complex blend of iconic and aniconic artistic solutions and responses to the issues of the day still display sensitivity to eastern sensibilities in a way that will shortly change with the onset of iconoclasm.

727 Pope Gregory II convenes a council in Rome opposing Byzantine iconoclasm, taxation and claims to absolute jurisdiction.

The Count of Naples attempts to assassinate the pope at the emperor's behest.

Gregory prevails and is consequently said to have freed the western Church from subjugation to Byzantium. He reasserts the appropriateness of figural imagery in the West.

CHAPTER 5

The Eusebian Apparatus in the Lindisfarne Gospels: Ailerán's *Kanon euangeliorum* as a Lens for Its Appreciation

Thomas O'Loughlin

1 Eusebius and Jerome in the Lindisfarne Gospels

The opening folios of the Lindisfarne Gospels devoted to the Canon Tables (10r–17v: ills. III, 6.8–12) are visually arresting.[1] These tables, which can all too often appear as a forbidding mass of numbers arranged in an arcane code, form one element in a work of exegetical scholarship known today as 'the Eusebian Apparatus'. Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 260–c. 340) produced it as a system for showing how the four gospels can be brought into concord. The system's core is the division of the texts of the gospels (with the exception of the long ending of Mark) into numbered units which can then be related to the 'gospel tradition', the *euangelium qui Christum predicat*, through a series of ten relationships indicated in the margins of the page which are then tabulated as the ten 'canons' in the opening pages of codices.[2] My purpose in this paper is to draw explicit attention to this element of the Lindisfarne Gospels, to examine what the manner of its presentation in this codex tells us about the exegetical milieu of its makers, and to explore what we can know about their appreciation of the Apparatus through asking how a knowledge of a seventh-century poem on the Apparatus by Ailerán the Wise could have contributed to an exegete's work with the gospels when using such a codex.

The Apparatus is a paratextual feature of Lindisfarne and many other four-gospel codices[3] which enables the reader to know at every point in the text whether the detail, statement, or story being read is an item found in just that gospel, in only one or two other gospels, or whether it can be found in all four of them. Consequently, its acceptance as a valuable part of a codex fosters both a sense that these four early Christian texts are an harmonious expression of the 'one gospel of Jesus Christ',[4] and that the ideal way to interpret the gospels is to read each text with constant reference to the other three.[5] The Apparatus works by means of being a running index to the gospels. First, each gospel is broken down into 'sections' whose rationale is simply whether or not that piece of information is found only there or whether it found somewhere else in the gospels. Using this criterion, one can divide the gospels into 1162 items, and these are numbered sequentially in the margin of the text.[6] Hence an item in one of the gospels, with its own specific number, can be related to the corresponding numbers in the other three gospels (if it is an item found in all four), in combinations of two other gospels (if found in three gospels), in just one other gospel (if found in only two gospels), or identified as an item found only there and nowhere else in the canonical

1 For study of this aspect of the codex, see Brown, *LG*[1], pp. 179–82, and Heather Pulliam, Ch. 6 in the present volume; other aspects of this question have been examined by P. McGurk, 'The Canon Tables in the Book of Lindisfarne and in the Codex Fuldensis of St. Victor of Capua', *Journal of Theological Studies* n.s. 6 (1955), 192–8.

2 Many scholars, following a long trend in palaeography and art history where the 'canons' as an item in the fore-matter of a gospel codex is the object of attention, use the phrase 'Eusebian Canons' indiscriminately: sometimes referring to the lists at the beginning of a codex, sometimes referring to the marginal numbers, and sometimes for the entire system. In this paper a sharper distinction will be drawn: the system will be referred to as the 'Eusebian Apparatus', and the phrase 'Eusebian Canons' reserved for the actual tables/lists that are found in the introductory matter to gospel codices/editions. See T. O'Loughlin, 'Harmonizing the Truth: Eusebius and the Problem of the Four Gospels', *Traditio* 65 (2010), 1–29; and M.R. Crawford, 'Ammonius of Alexandria, Eusebius of Caesarea and the Origins of Gospels Scholarship', *New Testament Studies* 61 (2015), 1–2.

3 The Apparatus can be found in both Greek and Latin codices; for a list of those in Latin, see P. McGurk, *Latin Gospel Books from A.D. 400 to A.D. 800* (Paris, 1961) who notes the presence of the Canon Tables which usually can be taken as indicating the presence of the Apparatus.

4 See M. Hengel, *The Four Gospels and the One Gospel of Jesus Christ: An Investigation of the Collection and Origin of the Canonical Gospels* (London, 2000) for the background to this long-standing issue in reading the gospels.

5 This notion that one should read biblical texts, and especially the gospels, in conjunction with one another was a commonplace, but it was formalised for the Latin world by Augustine: see T. O'Loughlin, 'St Augustine's view of the place of the Holy Spirit in the formation of the gospels', *The Holy Spirit in the Fathers of the Church*, ed. D.V. Twomey and J.E. Rutherford (Dublin, 2010), 86–95.

6 That is 355 sections in Mt; 233 in Mk; 343 in Luke; and 232 in Jn; the exact number of sections varies slightly between Latin and Greek, but this figure can be taken as a 'base line' in that it is based upon *Nouum Testamentum Graece*, ed. E. Nestle, K. Aland, *et al.*, 28th ed. (Stuttgart, 2012).

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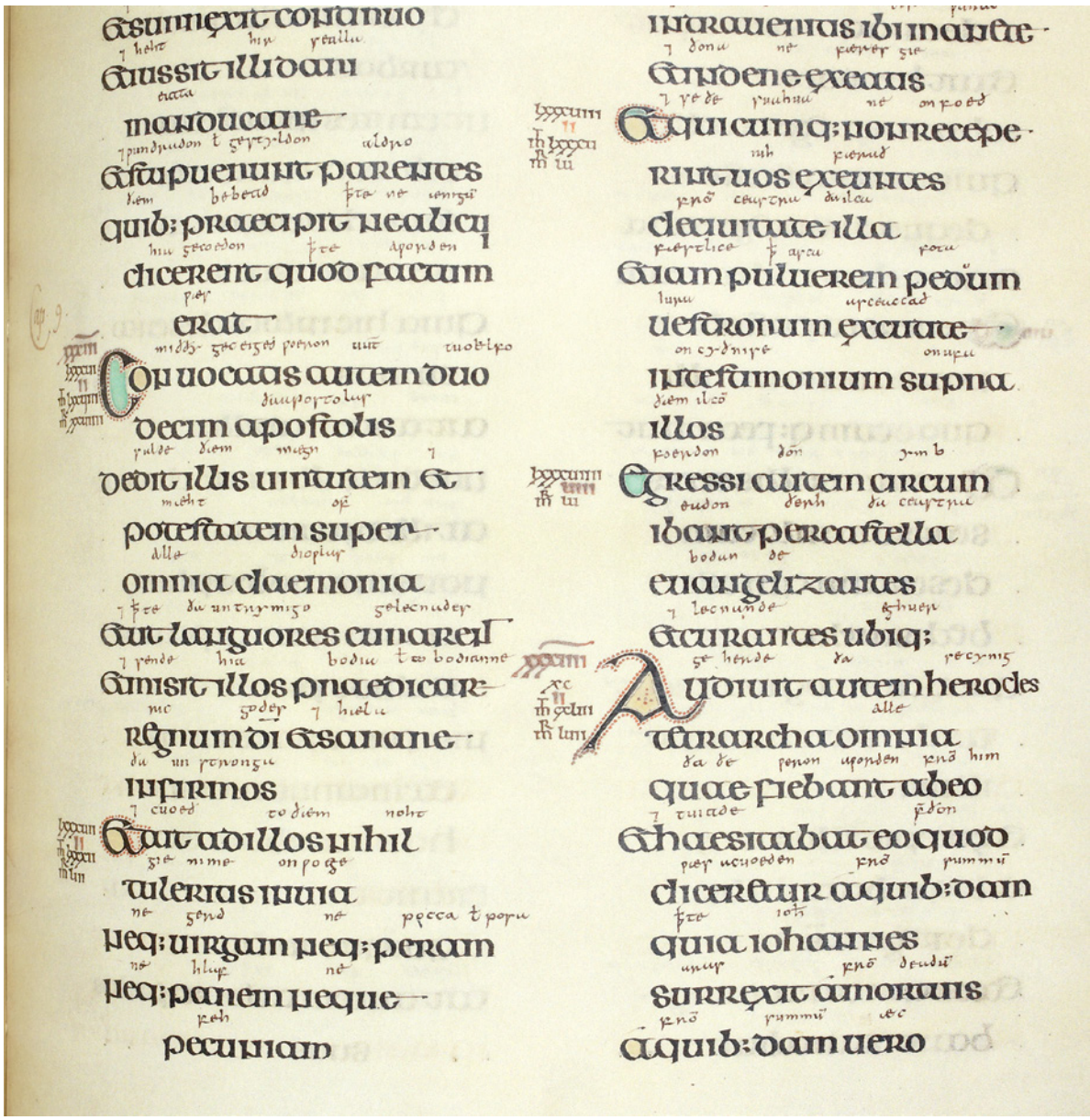


ILLUSTRATION 5.1 *Lindisfarne Gospels, fol. 162r.*

gospels. These various relationships between items in the gospels can be expressed in thirteen lists (*canones*) as follows.

First, a list presenting, in parallel columns, those items found in all four gospels. For example, John the Baptist's statement about baptising Jesus can be found in a single verse in Matthew (3.11) and this verse is the eleventh item in that gospel using the criterion just outlined. A similar statement can be found in Mark 1.7–8 and is the fourth item in his gospel. Likewise, Luke has a statement by John the Baptist but this is only part of a single verse in his gospel (3.16), and this detail, within the verse, is the tenth item using this criterion. Lastly, there are a group of four statements in John's Gospel (1.15; 1.26–7; 1.30–31; and 3.28) that were seen as that evangelist's version of this piece of testimony; and these four statements are numbered items 6, 12, 14, and 28 in his gospel. This can be expressed in a grid thus:

Mt 11 = Mk 4 = Lk 10 = Jn 6
Mt 11 = Mk 4 = Lk 10 = Jn 12
Mt 11 = Mk 4 = Lk 10 = Jn 14
Mt 11 = Mk 4 = Lk 10 = Jn 28

Part of what is labelled *Canon primus in quo quattuor* in codices, these numbers, presented in Roman numerals, can be found on fol. 10r of the Lindisfarne Gospels.

We then need lists that compare three gospels, such as Mt, Mk, and Lk, which gives us Canon II (fols. 11v to 13r in Lindisfarne: ill. 6.9); Mt, Lk, and Jn, which gives us Canon III (13v in Lindisfarne: ill. 6.10); and Mt, Mk, and Jn giving us Canon IV (14r in Lindisfarne: ill. 6.10).

Then we need lists of those items only found in two of the gospels such as Mt and Lk – Canon V (14v-15r in Lindisfarne: ill. 6.11); Mt and Mk – Canon VI (15v in Lindisfarne); Mt and Jn – Canon VII (16r); Lk and Mk – Canon VIII (also on 16r in Lindisfarne); and Lk and Jn – Canon IX (16v). Lastly we need four lists for those items of information that are found in only one of the gospels; collectively called 'Canon X', these can be found on folios 16v to 17v in the Lindisfarne Gospels (ill. 6.12).

In its simplest and by far its most common form, the Apparatus appears on the page of a gospel-book as a set of numbers in sequence along with the number of the canon where one could look up the corresponding passages. This latter number – always between 1 and 10 – was usually placed directly beneath the section number such that it looks to us like a fraction.[7] So, for example, on fol. 162r of the Lindisfarne Gospels (ill. 5.1),[8] in the right-hand column, we read these words from Lk 9.5

> *et quicumque non receperint uos exeuntes de ciuitate illa*
> *etiam puluerem pedum uestrorum excutite in testimonium supra illos*
> and just to the left of *et* we have
> lxxxuiii
> ii.

This tells us that the passage quoted here is the eighty-eighth section of Luke when broken up according to the above criterion, and that the related passages can be found in Canon II. To help distinguish visually the section number (i.e. lxxxuiii) from the canon number (i.e. ii), the latter is written in red – a practice recommended by Eusebius.[9] The ideal reader when seeking out all the nuances of this passage was expected to combine it with the corresponding passages in the other gospels, in this case Mt and Mk, and did this by going via the second Canon Table at the beginning of the book, looking up LXXXVIII in the Lk column and taking note that it relates to Mt LXXXV and Mk LV. The ideal reader could then find these two passages in their respective gospels – itself an easy task since the sections numbers are in sequence in each gospel.

So the Apparatus is composed of two elements: first, the sectioning; and then the lists of 'parallel' passages located at the beginning of the gospels. As it has come to us, this whole Apparatus is the work of Eusebius of Caesarea – hence its name – and was designed both as a defence of the integrity of the gospels against those who would seek to undermine them by pointing out their mutual contradictions, and as a exegetical tool such that their combined 'message' could be read while preserving the identity of the four gospels as distinct texts (which is, after all, the form they have when they are most frequently encountered, namely in the liturgy, as the *sanctum euangelium*).[10] Eusebius described the origins and use of his Apparatus in a letter to an otherwise obscure cleric named Carpianus, and this text became a fixed part of the transmission of the Apparatus, being seen as its 'user manual'. The text in question, *Eusebius Carpiano*, can be found in the Lindisfarne Gospels on folios 8r to 9r.

One modern enthusiast for the Eusebian Apparatus averred that the logic of Eusebius' sectioning of the text 'is readily apparent', but did admit that 'a little practice in the use of the Eusebian canons is required …'.[11] However, this is far too optimistic. Anyone simply seeing the numbers in the margins of the gospels' texts would be hard-pressed to deduce what they were for: sometimes they seem to indicate a unit of narrative, often they coincide with significant turning points in the text and consequently can seem to indicate narrative divisions, then again they sometimes just identify a sentence, or even part of a sentence, and so could be imagined as a system of highlights. Indeed, we have Insular gospel-books where each of these misunderstandings of the Apparatus can be seen at work.[12] Moreover, as a 'user manual', the letter to Carpianus is a failure: unless one already knows how the Apparatus works and why it is a worthwhile addition in the first place, then this letter will not be very helpful. Eusebius took too much for granted in his readers' level of comprehension and tried to impart his method in too few words.

7 The 'fraction' format was developed by Jerome and so is the most common form in Latin manuscripts; in Greek gospel-books the canon number is often separated from the item number by a comma or a colon.

8 I am choosing this example as the relevant part of the folio is reproduced in R. Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham: The Contexts and Meanings of the Lindisfarne Gospels* (London, 2013), p. 32.

9 The introduction can be found in Greek in Nestle-Aland, 89*-90*; in Jerome's Latin translation (the form in which it is found in the Lindisfarne Gospels) in *Nouum Testamentum Latine: Euangelia*, ed. J. Wordsworth and H.J. White (Oxford 1889–98); and in English by H.H. Oliver, 'The Epistle of Eusebius to Carpianus: Textual Tradition and Translation', *Novum Testamentum* 3 (1959), 138–45 at 144–5.

10 I take the phrase *sanctum euangelium* from the form of the liturgical introduction to a lection from the gospels in the liturgy: *sequentia sancti euangelii secundum* …. On the liturgical use of Insular gospel-books see Carol Farr, Ch. 7 in this volume.

11 F.W. Danker, *Multipurpose Tools for Bible Study* (St Louis, MO, 1960), pp. 40–1.

12 See T. O'Loughlin, 'Division systems for the gospels: the case of the Stowe St John (Dublin, R.I.A.D.ii.3)', *Scriptorium* 61 (2007), 150–64; and 'The Biblical Text of the Book of Deer (CUL, Ii.6.32): Evidence for the Remains of a Division System from its Manuscript Ancestry', *Scriptorium* 63 (2009), 30–57.

A pointer that these defects in Eusebius's communication skills were recognised in Antiquity comes from Jerome. He was so impressed with the Apparatus that he wanted it to become a standard component in Latin gospel-books but, in addition to translating the letter to Carpianus, he gave his own guide to its use in his preface to the revision of the gospels. This preface, known after its incipit as *Nouum opus*, is found in the Lindisfarne Gospels on folios 3r to 5v (ill. 11). Moreover, the preface was often understood – and the Lindisfarne Gospels is a case in point – not simply as an introduction to Jerome's whole project with regard to the translation of the gospels (as we tend to read it) but as guide to the Apparatus and so can be subtitled: *Incipit prologus x canonum* (fol. 3r).[13] However, Jerome was more interested in the canons, as such, than in the Apparatus as a tool to be used in the course of reading. Indeed someone reading *Nouum opus* without a teacher who understood how to use the Apparatus would be left with the impression that simply seeing the canon number *beneath* the section number – a convention found in the Lindisfarne Gospels that originates with Jerome – was almost an end in itself: it told you that this passage was in concord with other passages. There was also a latent confusion in *Nouum opus* in that Jerome said that the section numbers enabled the reader to track down, through the canons, parallel *capitula* – which, by accident, they often do – and this led to an assumption by some that the sections were narrative divisions. We have noted how this confusion can be observed in some surviving gospel-books; but that it led to genuine misunderstanding, even among those one would expect to know better, can be seen in the treatment of the Apparatus in Isidore's *Etymologiae* which is not only confused, but would lead anyone who attempted to use it as a guide to the system to give up on the whole affair.[14]

Yet another problem besets the reader who seeks to use the Apparatus as produced by Eusebius: the constant need to go backwards and forwards while trying to remember numbers and find numbers in what can appear as a sea of minims. One has to remember the section number of the passage just read and the canon number, go to the front of the book and find the page with that canon, then recalling the section number, find it in the appropriate column (and only the Mt column is ever in numerical sequence); next the reader must note one or more other numbers – no fewer than six in the example used above – and then proceed to look up the relevant sections in the other gospels, before returning to the passage that was the reader's starting point. I doubt if anyone has ever used the Apparatus without some sense that, for all its benefits in building up the details of a scene or finding the exact location of a half-remembered quotation which is at odds with the text before one's eyes, it was also mighty cumbersome! An obvious way to make it less awkward (or, in a more modern parlance, more 'user friendly') would be to cut out the action of having to go back and search the Canon Tables before being able to move on to the parallel passage. And this is precisely what happened at some point in the fifth century when a variation on the Apparatus appeared whereby the parallel section numbers were added in the margins of the text so that Eusebius's work now functioned as an integrated system of marginal cross-references.[15] It is this extended form of the Apparatus that we find in the Lindisfarne Gospels and we can see how it works by looking, once more, at its treatment of Lk 9.5 on fol. 162r. What we see in the margin is this:

lxxxviii	*This is the number of the section in this gospel.*
ii	*This, in red, points to the second canon.*
MT	*This is a cross-reference, derived from Canon II,*
lxxxv	*indicating that the parallel passage is Section 85 in Matthew.*
MR lv	*This is a cross-reference, derived from Canon II, indicating that the parallel passage is Section 55 in Mark.*

Now seeking out the parallel passages is far easier: one turns directly from the gospel one is reading to the relevant sections – which, obviously, are in numerical sequence – in other gospels. This is virtually the same process we use today in following up marginal cross-references such as are found in critical editions of the New Testament.

One consequence of this extended Apparatus is that it makes the actual Canon Tables at the front of the codex redundant in any actual engagement with the work of Eusebius. So why was so much parchment – the tables take up eight folios – and labour expended on the Canon Tables in the Lindisfarne Gospels – and indeed other gospel-books such as the Book of Durrow or (probably) the Lincoln College Gospels[16] which have this

13 Fol. 3r is reproduced in Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham*, p. 5; this phrase which may be a key to their understanding of the *Nouum opus* is in red at the top of the folio.

14 *Etymologiae* 6,15; there is an analysis of the passage in O'Loughlin, 'Harmonizing the Truth', pp. 21–3.

15 The date is established by its presence in St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 1395: see T. O'Loughlin, 'The Eusebian Apparatus in Some Vulgate Gospel Books', *Peritia* 13 (1999), 1–92.

16 The Apparatus can be seen clearly on the folio from the Lincoln College Gospels that is reproduced in Gameson, *From Holy*

cross-reference system? I suspect that two distinct factors need to be considered to account for this. First, an inherent conservatism in the copying of biblical texts, such that it is easier to add new materials than to omit something that one already finds in one's exemplar. This is the instinct to preserve 'lest it perish' combined with an attitude of docility in the face of tradition: who can authorise an omission of something that the Fathers have authorised to be copied?[17] Moreover, once a habit has been established about what a gospel codex should contain, it is more likely that it will continue to contain those elements – unless one is omitted by accident – than that someone will make a conscious decision to exclude something. This phenomenon of habit is, after all, the basis on which we assemble textual and manuscript families. A second factor, and one whose influence it is far more difficult to prove, is that the Canon Tables may have been perceived as a visual display of the coherence of the four gospels; Jerome, after all, had remarked in *Nouum opus* that this was part of their attraction for him. One could believe, as Christians had done since the time of Irenaeus of Lyons in the late second century, that the four gospels formed a unity, but looking at these tables, on folio after folio, offered a visual experience of this 'fact' of Christian tradition. So we can say that, while they may have been redundant as an exegetical tool, the tables were still functioning as a theological icon.

In any case, in the Lindisfarne Gospels we find that everything connected with the Apparatus is included in a clear, accurate, and beautiful manner.

2 The Use and Understanding of the Apparatus

Given that the Eusebian Apparatus is present in the Lindisfarne Gospels, our first task has been to describe it, explain how it works, and sketch the tasks for which it was intended. In a sense, this is an abstract problem in that, details apart, one could be explaining the Apparatus as it appears in this gospel codex or in a modern printed edition containing Eusebius's work. While its presence thus elicits how an ideal reader, sharing Eusebius's convictions about the nature of the gospels, would have approached it, we cannot know whether or not there was any such ideal reader in the book's original milieu. While we could argue from a series of *a priori* positions such as 'teachers knew the need for harmonious reading', 'they were taught its underlying hermeneutical assumptions' such as the inadmissibility of contradictions between the gospels, and 'they would not have included it if it were not relevant to their work', there is sufficient circumstantial evidence to warn us off that approach. We have seen that even widely respected masters such as Isidore knew the Apparatus and could recognise it in a codex, but were *de facto* unfamiliar with its working: one can safely say that he must have often seen it, but equally that he never used it. Likewise, there is the fact of the resources expended on the tables in this gospel-book, but no hint that the scribes and artists recognised the redundancy in what they were doing. Taking another tack, it has been commonplace in art-historical studies to make elaborate comparisons between this codex and the Book of Kells. But in the latter case it is clear that its creators had little or no understanding of the Apparatus: although Kells has magnificent zoomorphic tables (ill. 6.13), the actual numbers are often misaligned (making them useless), while the actual sectioning, the *sine qua non* of the Apparatus, is completely lacking.[18] It is certain that in the case of books such as Lindisfarne and Durrow we have very meticulous producers, but does that mean that they understood this part of the codex? Our suspicion that they may not always have done so is heightened when we look at other, smaller-sized gospel-books which indicate a complete misunderstanding of the whole affair.[19]

Leaving aside *our* appreciation of the wonderful object that is the Lindisfarne Gospels, we are left with a question: can we determine what an *average* reader might have made of the Apparatus in the milieu in which it was created? One way to approach the question is to examine teaching materials that predate the Book of Lindisfarne as these can be taken as indicative of what was

Island to Durham, p. 69. The rest of the MS has unfortunately perished.

17 See T. O'Loughlin, *Teachers and Code-Breakers: The Latin Genesis Tradition, 430–800* (Turnhout, 1999), pp. 263–5.

18 Despite a steady stream of books devoted to this codex (TCD 58 (A.1.6)), often with detailed studies of the art of its Canon Tables, it generally goes un-noticed that the actual Apparatus, of which the Tables are a function *and not vice versa*, is missing, thus making the Tables redundant and indicating that its producers did not understand it as serving any useful purpose. I take the most recent major work on the Book of Kells as a case in point: B. Meehan, *The Book of Kells* (London, 2012) devoted pp. 35–45 (and ills. 25–32) to the Tables but does not point out the omission, while on p. 192 showing fol. 292v (where the Apparatus has been added by another hand) there is the statement that 'the small red digits are concordance numbers probably added by Scribe B' but no indication that this is related to the Canons or that the whole manuscript is erratic in this respect.

19 The Stowe St John and the Book of Deer are examples; see n. 12 above.

'common knowledge'. And there is just such a suitable didactic text in the form of a poem by Ailerán from the mid-seventh century. My case shall be that this poem provides us with a measure by which to assess how the Apparatus in the Lindisfarne Gospels, and similar great gospel-books, might have been appreciated in their original setting.

This short poem, a *memoria technica*, of forty-two lines which begins *Quam in primo speciosa quadriga* has not been without attention since its first printing in 1617 among the works of Alcuin.[20] It is a teacher's overview of the Eusebian Apparatus, and it is not surprising therefore that when Jean-Baptiste Pitra happened upon it in a manuscript in Poitiers he edited it, with so many other items from the world of classroom theology, in *Specilegium Solesmense*.[21] Subsequently, it attracted attention as a piece of poetry from two other scholars: firstly, Wilhelm Meyer who edited it in 1911 along with other poems all linked with the name of Gildas, but who was apparently unaware that any other scholar was working on this text at the same time;[22] secondly, David Howlett who has analysed it in terms of the structures of its Latinity and produced an English translation.[23] From another angle, because the poem relates to the Apparatus that surrounds the Scriptures, it attracted historians of the biblical text. Thus in 1912, Donatien de Bruyne, aware of the then recently published article by Meyer, argued that it should be attributed to the mid-seventh-century Irish writer Ailerán the Wise.[24] The attribution, made on the testimony of two manuscripts which contain the words *Aileránus dicit*,[25] has not been disputed.[26] De Bruyne also edited the text in his collection of introductory apparatus relating to the Vulgate.[27] He presented the *Kanon* without formal comment but, by locating it with a variety of other introductions to the Eusebian Apparatus, pointed out that it should be understood in the larger context of guides to the study of the Scriptures,[28] and in the more precise context of the auxiliary literature to the Eusebian Apparatus that was intended to make that Apparatus easier to use or to highlight some of the many uses to which it can be put.[29] The exegetical aspect of the poem that attracted de Bruyne's attention in 1912 also drew Bernhard Bischoff to it in his 'Wendepunkte' article.[30] There he classified it among the Irish exegetical texts that were his concern – and thus pointed to its original purpose in a teaching milieu – and noted two details: first, that another poem intended to introduce the Apparatus, beginning *In primo certe canone*, might also be an Irish production;[31] and second, that the beginning of Ailerán's poem can be found in Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare XXXVIII (36), fol. 118v, as a *probatio pennae*. Leaving aside the question of the origin of the poem *In primo certe canone*, we should draw an important point from Bischoff's mention of Ailerán's poem, namely that it has to be seen in the context of the many other 'introductions without tears' that were

20 *Alcuini Opera*, ed. A. Du Chesne (Paris, 1617), 1686; from which it was re-printed in PL 101.729. The text is given in Appendix 1 below, along with a rendering in English.

21 J.B. Pitra, *Specilegium Solesmense* (Paris, 1855), vol. 3, 407–8.

22 W. Meyer, 'Gildae Oratio rythmica', *Nachrichten-Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften Göttingen 1912* (Göttingen 1912), 48–108 at pp. 63–7 (but with references to the work elsewhere in that article); Meyer produced an edition based on four MSS, including Zürich, Zentralbibliothek C. 68. It is this edition that is given as the primary reference in E. Dekkers and A. Gaar, *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, 3rd ed. (Steenbrugge, 1995), no. 1121, entitled *Carmen in Eusebii canones*; and in H.J. Frede, *Kirchenschriftsteller: Verzeichnis und Sigel*, 4th ed. (Freiburg, 1995), 95 with the siglum: **AIL** Eus and with the same title as in the *Clavis*.

23 D. Howlett, 'Seven Studies in Seventh-century Texts', *Peritia* 10 (1996), 1–70 at pp. 11–20.

24 D. de Bruyne, 'Une poésie inconnue d'Aileran le Sage', *RB* 29 (1912), 339–40.

25 BAV, Barbarini 587; and Paris, BnF, latin 258.

26 Thus it is presented under the name of Ailerán without further ado not only by the *Clavis* and Frede, but by the two standard surveys of Irish material: J.F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical* (New York, 1929), 280–1 (n. 107); and M. Lapidge and R. Sharpe, *A Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature, 400–1200* (Dublin, 1985), 83 (n. 300); and even E. Coccia ('La cultura irlandese precarolingia: Miracolo o mito?', *Studi Medievali* 8 (1967), 257–420 at pp. 333–4) has not disputed this – Coccia's article contains valuable notes to other work on the *Kanon* done in the course of the nineteenth century.

27 *Préfaces de la Bible Latine* (Namur, 1920 [see the reprint with new introductions by P.-M. Bogaert and T. O'Loughlin, Turnhout, 2015]), p. 185.

28 See T. O'Loughlin, 'Early Medieval Introductions to the Holy Book: Adjuncts or Hermeneutic?' *Studies in Church History 38: The Church and the Book*, ed. R.N. Swanson (Woodbridge, 2004), 22–31.

29 Two excellent example of this genre of literature that have largely escaped notice are (1) the commentary on the Eusebian Apparatus by Sedulius Scottus (Lapidge and Sharpe, *Bibliography*, no. 673); and (2) the explanation by Sedulius Scottus of the relationship between the Apparatus and a *capitula* system (Lapidge and Sharpe, *Bibliography*, no. 677). The first was discovered and both were edited by M. Esposito, 'Hiberno-Latin Manuscripts in the Libraries of Switzerland I', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 28c (1910), 62–95 at pp. 83–91 and pp. 91–5 respectively.

30 'Turning-Points in the History of Latin Exegesis in the Early Middle Ages', *Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association* 1 (1976), 74–160 at p. 110.

31 See n. 138; the poem is edited in de Bruyne, *Préfaces*, 186.

intended to help students of the Scriptures find their way when using the Apparatus. I deliberately refer to 'students of the Scriptures' here rather than the larger category of 'reader', as the Apparatus only comes into play when one is deliberately comparing gospels or assembling elements of them into a larger scene; if one is reading them liturgically – the key *locus* of biblical reading[32] – then the Apparatus is irrelevant. That anyone should have chosen the poem as the material for a *probatio pennae* is also significant in that it shows that the poem was not only widely diffused – a fact we can infer from the number of extant witnesses – but that it was actually committed to memory as a working *memoria technica*: a *probatio pennae* is used to test the instrument of communication (in this case the correct cutting of the quill so that it carries and releases ink appropriately), not to show the writer's scholarly acumen. As such, it demonstrates that our poem was as familiar among clerical scribes in the way that 'Mary had a little lamb' was among microphone testers a generation ago. The scribe of Verona XXXVIII (36) was familiar with it as something deep within his memory that he could recite at will: such items are known not only through being taught, but through being used repeatedly in work.

Some other writers must also be mentioned here. The first is Mario Esposito who edited the poem in 1912.[33] While he was aware that Wilhelm Meyer had been interested in the poem in 1880s, he was unaware that at the same time that he himself was working with Zürich, Turicensis C. 68 and producing an edition of the poem on the basis of that manuscript, so too was Meyer;[34] equally, he was unaware that de Bruyne was linking it with Ailerán. However, Esposito also came to the conclusion that the poem was by an Irishman[35]

> … named Laurentius, who must have lived towards the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century. Laurentius is the Latinized form of the Irish Lorcan. Nothing whatever is known of this personage beyond the fact that he was the scribe of the splendidly illuminated copy of the Gospels written in an Irish hand, which is now … at Maihingen in Bavaria.

While this attribution withered once scholars had read de Bruyne's article of the same year, it was by way of Esposito's article – to judge by the references in later works – that the poem became more widely known among modern writers on Insular Latin. The second scholar is J.F. Kelly who included the poem in his catalogue of Hiberno-Latin biblical commentaries.[36] Kelly noted that some of its 'rhymes are ingenious' and also addressed himself to the purpose of the poem, but his judgment was somewhat harsh: 'The work is more clever than informative, and whether this little piece ever helped anyone to understand the Eusebian canons is probably an irrelevant question'. However, the use of the poem as material for a *probatio pennae*, mentioned earlier, suggests that it was actually used as a practical aid in working with the Apparatus.

A third scholar who has drawn attention to the poem is Nancy Netzer in relation to the Trier Gospels.[37] She used its references to the evangelists' symbolic animals as evidence that by Ailerán's time zoomorphic Canon Tables were current in Ireland and she reproduced the text of the poem as an appendix to her study.[38] While I do not wish to stray into questions of the art relating to the Canons, it may be that she overstated the evidence, in that the link between the four evangelists and the four beasts is much older than Ailerán and is not simply confined to the presence of those images in Canon Tables. Ailerán could have used this allegorical system, particularly within a poetic context, without ever having seen zoomorphic tables – after all the association of the four evangelists with the four animals[39] of Revelation 4.6–10 is at least a century

32 See P.J. Achtemeier, '*Omne verbum sonat*: The New Testament and the Oral Environment of Late Western Antiquity', *Journal of Biblical Literature* 109 (1990), 3–27.

33 'Hiberno-Latin Manuscripts in the Libraries of Switzerland II', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 30c (1912), 1–14 at pp. 2–5.

34 Meyer, 'Gildae Oratio rythmica'.

35 Esposito, 'Hiberno-Latin Manuscripts in the Libraries of Switzerland II', p. 2.

36 'A Catalogue of Early Medieval Hiberno-Latin Biblical Commentaries (II)', *Traditio* 45 (1989–90), 393–434 at pp. 393–4.

37 *Cultural Interplay in the Eighth Century: The Trier Gospels and the Making of a Scriptorium at Echternach* (Cambridge, 1994). She had already examined the poem in relation to the so-called 'Augsburg Gospels' (Augsburg, UB, I.2.4°2) [formerly 'the Maihingin Gospels': cf. McGurk, *Latin Gospel Books*, n. 72] (where it can be found on fol. 1v) in 'The origin of the beast canon tables reconsidered', *The Book of Kells: Proceedings of a conference at Trinity College Dublin 6–9 September 1992*, ed. F. O'Mahony (Aldershot, 1994), 322–32.

38 Netzer's position on Ailerán's poem was further developed in D. Mac Lean, 'Scribe as Artist, not Monk: The Canon Tables of Ailerán "the Wise" and the Book of Kells', *Peritia* 17–18 (2003–2004), 433–68, which views the poem as a product of zoomorphic Eusebian Canons, without recognising that the imagery is older in Christian use than the artistic representations or that the Canons only take on meaning in reference to the actual Apparatus and the use that might be made of it.

39 Scripture scholars object that 'animal' is not an adequate translation of *zóon*; while I agree that 'living creature' is a better

older than Eusebius's work and was a far more widely diffused symbol within Christian iconography than their use in Canon Tables.[40] Furthermore, we should remember that it is fundamental to the semiotics of pre-Carolingian exegesis that a *res* (for instance: the evangelist Mark or his text) and its *signum* (in this instance, most commonly, the image of a lion) are simply convertible.[41] However, it is important to note Netzer's larger point: we can only appreciate the poem in terms of its working relationship with a codex which contains all four gospels augmented with the Eusebian Apparatus. Many of the insights of Netzer (and Howlett) have recently been brought together by Dominique Barbet-Massin.[42] She examines the discrepancies between the number of sections mentioned in the poem and those found in the Vulgate – noting also that the Lindisfarne Gospels differs again in having only ninety-five sections under Canon X:Jn – and views these as significant for tracing relationships between scriptoria. I shall return to this matter of discrepancies later,[43] but for now wish only to note that Barbet-Massin's research demonstrates that the poem was not an obscure work, but rather one that must have been widely known in Insular circles.

3 The Value of the Poem in the Work of Exegesis

We can now come to the central question: how would a knowledge of this poem have contributed to an exegete's work with the gospels? Answering this involves conjecture: we have no direct evidence of any use of the poem (aside from that single *probatio pennae*), but we can infer from what the poem tells us about the Apparatus the likely impact it would have had on those who committed it to memory. Furthermore, we can examine an actual codex, in this case the Lindisfarne Gospels, and see how our appreciation of what we see is enhanced when it is viewed or read with the poem as background.

The final lines of the poem's first stanza suggest that it operated at two levels. It conveyed practical information about the Apparatus: the first canon speaks through seventy-one headings. Therefore, whenever he sees a section number in the margins of a gospel-book over the canon number 'I', the reader knows that there are seventy-one places of concord between all four of the gospels; and, incidentally, that there are that number of groups of four numbers in the first Canon Table. In contrast to this practical information, the final line, 'they [the four-fold team of evangelists] speak the same things about the Lord', makes a bold theological claim: the four gospel texts are one gospel (in the theological sense) because they have their unity in the unity of their subject – the Christian proclamation of salvation. This is a fundamental Christian claim not only about the unity of the gospels' tradition, but also of their relationship to Christian belief: they are not *qua tale* sacral texts, but have a derived sacrality in that they witness to the message of Jesus. This line of the poem is a positive doctrinal assertion in a concern that we know interested Insular scholars at the end of the seventh century,[44] and stretches back through Augustine[45] to the apologetic concerns of Eusebius, and, indeed, to Christian writers of the second century.[46] The gospels do not merely provide the same message, they

translation, I am retaining the usage because it is familiar in discussions of the Canon Tables and reflects the Vulgate's rendering of this with *animalia*.

40 The earliest attestation of the link between the four animals around the heavenly throne and the four evangelists (and other sets of four) is to be found in Irenaeus of Lyons, *Aduersus haereses* 3,11,8; however, as with many exegetical items in Irenaeus, this linkage may be older and simply be recorded by him as the tradition of the churches. While it is taken for granted in iconography that this was a very stable system (Matthew – man; Mark – lion; Luke – calf; and John – eagle), it should be remembered that there were several systems for linking individual images with particular evangelists.

41 See T. O'Loughlin, 'The Symbol gives Life: Eucherius of Lyons' Formula for Exegesis', *Scriptural Interpretation in the Fathers: Letter and Spirit*, ed. T. Finan and V. Twomey (Dublin, 1995), 221–52.

42 *L'Enluminure et le sacré: Irlande et Grande-Bretagne vii-viii siècles* (Paris, 2013), pp. 368–75.

43 The question of the number of parallels mentioned by Ailerán is dealt with on pp. 371–2; this topic has attracted attention since Howlett's, 'Seven Studies', p. 20 and n. 23, and is addressed in appendix 2, below.

44 See T. O'Loughlin, *Adomnán and the Holy Places: The Perceptions of an Insular Monk on the Locations of the Biblical Drama* (London, 2007), 94–103; and T. O'Loughlin, 'Adomnán's *De locis sanctis*: a textual emendation and an additional source identification', *Ériu* 48 (1997), 37–40.

45 See his *De doctrina Christiana* (cf. T. O'Loughlin, 'Tyconius' use of the canonical gospels', *RB* 106 (1996), 229–33) and *De consensu euangelistarum* (cf. A.D. Fitzgerald, '*Consensu evangelistarum, De*', *Augustine through the Ages: An Encyclopedia*, ed. A.D. Fitzgerald (Grand Rapids, MI, 1999), 232–3; and A. Penna, 'Il *De consensu euangelistarum* ed i Canoni Eusebiani', *Biblica* 36 (1955), 1–19).

46 See M. Hengel, *The Four Gospels and the One Gospel of Jesus Christ*, 24–64, for a study of the problem at it emerged in the second century; it is as part of this debate that we should read Irenaeus's *Aduersus heraeses* on the four-foldness of the gospels which he saw exemplified in the four animals of Rev 4.

proclaim the same Truth which is personalised as 'the Lord' (*de Domino conloquuntur*), in the manner of Augustine who frequently, when quoting Jesus from a gospel, says: 'as Truth himself says'. These related uses, practical and doctrinal, have to be examined in succession. Finally, we can ask: does the poem make an actual codex containing the Apparatus, such as the Lindisfarne Gospels, easier to use?

We have noted that Eusebius's letter to Carpianus is not a good introduction to the Apparatus unless one already understands the system. Moreover, while it is present in the Lindisfarne Gospels, it only 'appeared spasmodically' in early Latin gospel-books as a whole.[47] Therefore, what most readers had to rely upon was Jerome's introduction in the latter part of *Nouum opus*.[48] Alas, the reader has to persevere through the long, self-serving account of his own work, encounter confusing details about obscure older translations of the Hebrew texts of the Old Testament, and a few random comments on the evangelists to get to the final section of the letter which mentions his augmentation of his text with the Apparatus. After all this, what the reader encounters is not user-friendly: it includes details irrelevant to the actual use of the system which serve to confuse the issue, it does not adequately explain why a reader might want to use it, and it is less than clear about how to make sense of the various numbers scattered in the margins of the codex.[49] *Nouum opus*, that ever-present and often only introductory text (apart from the Canon Tables) in a gospel book, would not help a reader to whom the Apparatus had not been previously explained; indeed on the contrary, it would create the impression that the whole thing was too complex to understand and use – even if one knew why one would possibly want to use it![50]

We also need to take account of psychological factors that probably influenced attitudes to the Apparatus. Many people find numbers off-putting! The mere appearance on the page of columns of numbers creates for many people, then as now, a feeling that the information is so abstruse, that no amount of labour will make it comprehensible to them,[51] and, indeed, that they can probably get on quite well without all the bother, happily leaving such matters to the experts![52] Moreover, the gospel texts themselves came with their own complexity: embedded within them were *notae* of various sorts,[53] additional capitular information which functioned as summaries,[54] and other possible division systems in various places.[55] All this, along with the necessarily small numbers of the Apparatus,[56] could make the margins confusing and off-

47 The judgment of McGurk, *Latin Gospel Books*, pp. 7–8.

48 However, in Poitiers 17(65), Ailerán's poem is found alongside a Latin translation of Eusebius, in addition to *Nouum opus* (cf. P. Minard, 'L'évangéliaire oncial de l'Abbaye de Sainte-Croix de Poitiers: Ses pièces inédites et ses particularités', *Revue Mabillon* 33 (1943), 1–22), which demonstrates that our poem was perceived to have a value of its own even when there was a clear guide to the Apparatus in a book's introductory matter.

49 Some modern readers do not appreciate how confusing Jerome is on the matter because they read *Nouum opus* having already read Eusebius or a modern introduction to the Apparatus, and if one relies on that pre-existing knowledge, then one can 'figure out' what is in Jerome. To appreciate the incompetence of *Nouum opus* one must assume no knowledge about these marginal numbers apart from what Jerome communicates.

50 The best indication of Jerome's lack of clarity is the notice given by Isidore to the Apparatus in his *Etymologiae* (6,15) where he adds no information to what is contained in *Nouum opus* but does make the numerical details clear (or, at least, not confusing).

51 It is a recognised ploy in marketing that, when some negative feature of a product must be included in the information about that product, the best way to hide it is by burying it in a mass of figures: people tend to find grids of numbers unattractive.

52 Most mobile phones come with a hefty volume of instructions, yet most people begin using the instruments after just a few introductory notes (labelled: 'Getting started') and assume that they can look up the more complex information – valuable as it is – as and when they need it.

53 See the guide to such *notae sententiarum* in Isidore, *Etymologiae* 1,21; on their use by Jerome, cf. T. O'Loughlin, 'Inventing the Apocrypha: The Role of Early Latin Canon Lists', *Irish Theological Quarterly* 74 (2009), 53–74.

54 See [D. de Bruyne], *Sommaires, Divisions et Rubriques de la Bible Latine* (Namur, 1914 [see the reprint with new introductions by P.-M. Bogaert and T. O'Loughlin, Turnhout, 2014]), 240–311; and J.R. Edwards, 'The Hermeneutical Significance of Chapter Divisions in Ancient Gospel Manuscripts', *New Testament Studies* 56 (2010), 413–26.

55 For example, remnants of the *kephalia* system (see *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 35*–6*, and cf. G. Goswell, 'Early Readers of the Gospels: The *Kephalaia* and *Titloi* of Codex Alexandrinus', *Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism* 6 (2009), 134–74); liturgical notes and lectionary marks – such as are found in the Lindisfarne Gospels; or confusion with division systems used in the Pauline corpus (cf. L.C. Willard, *A Critical Study of the Euthalian Apparatus* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1971)). For an instance of the variety of such systems, and how they can leave their traces in a manuscript, see A. Souter, 'Traces of an unknown system of *Capitula* for St Matthew's Gospel', *Journal of Theological Studies* 33 (1932), 188–9.

56 The size of the marginal numbers has to be small if they are to be fitted in near the opening of the correct section, given the amount of space needed by Roman numerals. A good example of this need is Mt 10.39–41 where each verse is a section (nn. 97–99, what would appear as 'xcvii' to 'xcviiii', or, more

putting. If today the various *marginalia* in copies of the Greek New Testament are treated as 'beyond me' or are simply not perceived by many biblical scholars, then we can assume that many earlier readers were similarly ignorant of them. Finally, we should note one optical problem peculiar to the Canon Tables: when the eye must read across from a number in one column to the same point in another, it may have difficulties holding its place. Even today, when columns have been well aligned by a computer, it is still often necessary to connect figures in two columns of a set of accounts by using a straight edge such as a ruler or a sheet of paper. In well executed Canon Tables, such as those in the Lindisfarne Gospels, this problem has been addressed by organising the parallels in small groups by means of a horizontal line drawn after every fourth or fifth parallel, thereby helping the eye to move from one column to the corresponding point in the next.[57] However, in many manuscripts the numbers in the Tables are not well aligned, and a reader seeking to make sense of the system with such a codex might quickly abandon the effort in frustration.

Is there any evidence that scribes or readers were so frustrated by the Apparatus? There is a common perception that this could not have been the case because medieval religious readers are often assumed to have had an abundance of patience and devotion to expend on mastering the biblical text. However, we have already noted the confusions and misunderstanding of the Apparatus evidenced in the books of Kells, Deer, and the Stowe Missal.

A variety of factors (the failure of Jerome to provide a suitable introduction, the on-going requirement for an 'idiot's guide' to a system perceived as abstruse, the need of the user to recall which Canon contains which evangelists) combined to provide the occasion for the many introductory guides that have survived in prose and verse, of which Ailerán's poem is but one. At a practical level, all such introductions had to de-mystify the numerical aspect of the Apparatus, provide a quick 'getting started' guide so that a reader can use the Apparatus and through use appreciate its potential, and, preferably, be always at hand – such as a *memoria technica* – while a gospel was being read. So how does our poem measure against these criteria?

4 Reading a Gospel with Ailerán in Mind

The message that is driven home on no fewer than nine occasions in the poem – once in each of the first nine stanzas – is that the purpose of the Apparatus, and thereby of the Canons, is to make comparisons between the four gospels. Each Canon lists relationships that exist between groups of two, three, or all four gospels in order to have a fuller reading of any particular passage where parallels exist. In other words, do not try to understand just one gospel on its own when there may be passages in the other gospels that can throw light on what you are reading – an appeal that implicitly asserts the gospels' unity. This might seem so obvious as not to need stating: but it is this most obvious point that was so often missed. Moreover, even today when, for other reasons, teachers of Scripture stress the need for students to make comparisons of the Synoptics to appreciate a passage in one gospel – and there are so many specially designed tools to facilitate the process – students still forget to do it! The poem's repetition of how one can compare the different texts may well be founded on classroom experience. From a premodern perspective, this is driving home the message that reading any one gospel text is only to read '*secundum Marcum*' or whoever, while 'the gospel' is made up of the four witnesses together.

In the process of reading the gospels using the Apparatus – for now assuming that it appeared in its standard rather than the extended format – the most pressing need is to remember which Canon is which. Remembering that Canon VI refers to what is found only in Matthew and Luke gives the experienced reader a sense of what the parallel will contain – additional details of the scene or an extra sentence or two. By contrast, in the case of a parallel in Canon VII (items common to only Matthew and John) the parallel may have John apparently supplying a theological commentary on Matthew. So depending on his needs, a reader may decide that only one parallel – and there is very often a choice – is worth looking up. Now it is

consuming of space, as 'lxxxxvii' to 'lxxxxviiii'), but where there would be need for six sets of parallels (24 numbers) in a codex with the expanded form of the Apparatus; cf. T. O'Loughlin, 'The Eusebian Apparatus in some Vulgate Gospel Books', p. 13, where the scribe of both codices opted to show only the first set *in margine* and, thereby, *de facto* hid the other five sets of parallels from the reader.

57 This can be seen in all the Canon Tables in this manuscript (folios 10r–17v) – see, for example, the reproduction of fol. 11r in Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham*, p. 27; the extreme form of this help is found in the Book of Durrow (TCD, 57 (A.4.5)) where the numbers have been placed in boxes (five parallels to each): these may not be aesthetically pleasing, but they are very easy to use. The interesting point is that in both these codices the actual Canon Tables are redundant: so the use of these lines after every fourth or fifth set of parallels must have developed separately from the extended form of the Apparatus.

very easy to remember that Canon I refers to all four gospels, and that Canon X in its four sub-sections refers to what is 'proper material' in each; the problem is Canons II to IX. Modern users can often remember the content of Canon II because it broadly corresponds, materially, to what is referred to as 'the Synoptic Tradition' and likewise with Canon VI, which somewhat corresponds with 'Q'. But that still leaves six Canons whose content is only obvious through memory – and for the original users all eight had to be learned by rote as they did not privilege certain relationships in the way that we do.[58] In this central task lies the greatest practical benefit of our poem: one only needs to see 30/IX while reading Lk 5.4 and the mind jumps from IX to *Nonus ordo ... conloquuntur uitulus et uolucer* and one knows that the parallel is in John. The proof that this is a real benefit, answering a practical need for those who were working with the Apparatus, is the fact that some unknown scholar went to the trouble of producing from the Tables the extended form found in some manuscripts, such as the Lindisfarne Gospels, which answer this exact need and more.[59] We might well speculate why this more elaborate form never became standard within gospel-books. The answer probably lies in the circumstance that the earlier form continued to be widely available and hence the more common exemplar for those producing them, while among those who had seen the more elaborate form, some may have thought that the additional labour and space required to reproduce it was too demanding. Be that as it may, the fact remains that the standard form was all that most knew and our poem provided a key to one of its constant problems.

The poem also conveyed the understanding that the Apparatus had to be viewed as a whole and that it was not enough to read the first two Canons or identify what is not found elsewhere (Canon X) and which therefore cannot be contradictory with any other passage. Eusebius's intention was a concordance[60] that eliminated contradictions; and in this, his system is radically different in intention from modern source theories or modern parallels, be they of three or four texts,[61] even though they often use the same snippets of text. Because of this desire to reconcile and resolve 'apparent' contradictions, all ten Canons must be seen as an integral, single, and unified system with each particular parallel being seen as simply a moment in the whole process of the harmonization that produced the 'one gospel'. The poem encourages a complete understanding of the whole, rather than allowing the student to become too absorbed in understanding what is happening in Canon I, as is the natural tendency when one begins to use the Apparatus.

As a practical tool, the poem has two weaknesses. First, it does not tell its user how to move from the marginal and sequential 'Section number' in the text, to the Canon, and back to the marginal sequential Section number in another gospel – the point explained so eloquently and simply by Eusebius in his letter. This apparent failure indicates that the poem was not envisaged as an all-encompassing or teach-yourself guide to the Apparatus. The student had to be shown how the system worked; then the poem, once committed to memory, enhanced the understanding and made the activity simpler. The second weakness is the use of the word *capitulum* in stanzas 1 and 4, when what is meant is the actual sections of the text that form the bedrock of the Apparatus.[62] Systems of *capitula*, on the other hand, break-up units of sense, pericopes, within the gospels allowing us to pin-point sermons, healings, miracles, parables and events. Ailerán's use of the word *capitulum* may indicate that he himself was confusing the two realities; certainly, it would have contributed to such later confusion as we see underlying

58 To the modern reader overlaps, essentially verbal overlaps, are interesting as they are the pieces of evidence within a theory of gospel origins; to the early mediaeval reader the overlaps (both verbal and theological) were of interest as showing that the texts supported and agreed with one another.

59 See T. O'Loughlin, 'The Eusebian Apparatus in some Vulgate Gospel Books'.

60 It is best to refer to Eusebius's work as a 'concordance' and keep the word 'harmony' for those works which descend from the work of Andreas Osiander (1498–1552) who coined the term 'harmony' in this context (see his *Harmoniae evangelicae libri iv graece et latine* [Basel, 1537]) which in its assumptions about verbal inspiration and inerrancy go far beyond any positions held by early Christian writers regarding the nature of the texts they were reading.

61 For example, K. Aland, *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum*, 13th revised ed. (Stuttgart 1988); or A. Huck and H. Greeven, *Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien*, 13th ed. (Tübingen, 1981). Or in the case of comparing Matthew and Luke, with the intention of isolating 'Q', a work like J.M. Robinson, P. Hoffmann, and J.S. Kloppenborg, *The Sayings Gospel Q in Greek and English* (Minneapolis, MN, 2002).

62 These are sometimes referred to as the 'Ammonian Sections' out of regard for Eusebius's claim in the letter to Carpianus that he improved on the method of Ammonius. However, the title is erroneous and redundant: it is erroneous in that it assumes we know how Ammonius broke up his texts and we cannot simply assume that Eusebius took them over (Eusebius is more likely to have taken over the idea than the actual sectioning), furthermore, giving the sections this name creates the impression that there are specific 'sections' [imagined as somehow analogous to modern paragraphs] found in manuscripts apart from the Apparatus; the title is redundant in that what we are dealing with are simply the building blocks of a whole system: the Eusebian Apparatus.

the exemplars of both the Stowe St John and the Book of Deer.

Before leaving the practical utility of the poem, one further point needs to be considered. Didactic poems are not to our modern taste and we sometimes decry them with an opposing counsel of perfection. Modern introductions to Aristotelian logic point out that there is nothing to be gained from learning the verse *Barbara celarent* if one has mastered the internal and necessary rationality of the syllogism and applies that rationality consistently; likewise, one who has a thorough understanding of the Apparatus has no need of this *vade mecum*. Such objections, while containing an element of truth, fail to account for the human situation. Someone who has learned both the rationality of the syllogism *and* knows *Barbara celarent* can often spot a doubtful argument more quickly by simply noting how it does not fit the valid paradigms. Equally, anyone using the Apparatus is assisted by having a ready means of identifying a relationship without having to turn to the Canons. It is worth noting that in the case of both poems, the user needs more information, not to mention training and skill, than can be extracted from the lines that are committed to memory. As such, each is an aid to a scholar, rather than a substitute for careful study.

We can now look at the theological message that is conveyed both directly and indirectly by the poem. It is no exaggeration to say that the driving force in exegesis throughout the early medieval period was to show that the Scriptures were both consistent and non-contradictory. Any failure to do so was seen as amounting to either the failure of the gospels themselves (and being unwilling to accept this was *sine qua non*) or of the act of exegesis (and few are willing to admit their work a failure). This need for reconciliation of the texts was at the heart of Eusebius's endeavours with the gospels and in his case it was part of active apologetic against the attacks of Porphyry; the need for reconciliation of texts, as a task inherited from the Fathers, was by Ailerán's time no longer being driven by apologetic, but by the awareness that any unresolved contradiction was indicative of a failure of understanding of the key texts that the Spirit had given to the church. Every such problem, until it was resolved, indicated an imperfection in spiritual understanding. And alas, the more that anyone looks at the four texts with the belief that they can be reconciled, the more one discovers that they do not fit together: was Jesus born in Bethlehem and then moved with his family to Nazareth after a time in Egypt (Matthew's story) or did they travel from Nazareth to Bethlehem (Luke's story); did Jesus's ministry last one year (Matthew, Mark, and Luke) or three (John); was Good Friday the Day of the Passover (Matthew, Mark and Luke) or the eve of the Passover (John); was it dark at the crucifixion or not? The more one studies, the more one has to reconcile! In the face of this challenge to every exegete, our poem aims to settle a basic position in the mind: the four gospels can all be shown to speak as one, each can be reconciled with the other, and none can be found wanting. While Canon I (equals stanza 1) tells us that all four speak together, Canon VII (stanza 7) tells us that John and Matthew are consonant. In each case, the *animalia* are presented as speaking to each other of the One, Jesus, and only speaking alone (that is, being different) where any adds a unique detail (Canon X).

It is in relation to this concern with stating that the gospels are mutually consistent that we should understand the statistics about the Canons provided by Ailerán as statements meant to buttress the sense of the coherence of the gospels. Sometimes these numbers are given directly, as in the case of Canon Table II as 109 (*decem in se atque nouem numerus*), and sometimes, as in Canon Table VI, by way of a biblical puzzle: the number of the Levitical cities (*sacerdotis oppidis*) in the guide to the land in Numbers 35:6–8: forty eight cities/parallels.[63] The entire set of numbers is given by Ailerán, thus: Canon I: 71; II: 109; III: 22; IV: 26; V: 83; VI: 48; VII:7; VIII: 13; IX: 21: and X: 62, 19, 72, and 97.[64] The fact of giving these totals might suggest that they had a practical purpose, but this information is not of any practical value to a user of the Apparatus.[65] So why give them? My conjecture is that being told the impressive number of concordances between the various gospels establishes a confidence that the harmony of the whole system of four gospels has been proven. If the four concord in all these places, then discrepancies must be a peripheral problem which further diligent investigation would surely resolve.

The poem having 'established' that the four gospel texts come into perfect consonance, it is then possible to convey the message that there is truly one gospel; and that the revelation of the New Covenant forms a single integral whole. This leaves just one question: is it the case that

63 The expectation that someone would remember that there are forty-eight Levitical cities may be a further indication of the poem's Irish origin. These cities included the six 'cities of refuge' (Num. 35.6) and interest in these latter seems to be a concern that is only found in Irish circles, see T. O'Loughlin, 'Map and Text: A Mid Ninth-Century Map for the Book of Joshua', *Imago Mundi* 57:1 (2005), 7–22 and pl. 1.

64 See Appendix 2, below.

65 The only possible use I can imagine for it is as a check on the number of rows in producing Canon Tables – but this would be little value as confusions in sets of Tables occur due to some lines being skipped while others are repeated, and knowing the overall number of rows would not be a corrective!

there is 'the Christ and his gospel' or is it the case that 'the Christ is the good news'? In the first case, the message can be distinguished from the messenger, in the latter case the messenger is the message.[66] Again, Ailerán takes the high ground and the four texts sing about the Lord: they exist as witnesses to him in words rather than as his words recorded in a message. Thus in stanza 1 we have *de Domino conloquuntur*; in stanza 7 Matthew and John are *consona de Domino*; and twice the evangelists are held to proclaim 'the words of God' (stanzas 8 and 10). Ailerán's poem leaves its reader in little doubt as to why these four texts are so worth the labour of studying them.

5 Approaching the Lindisfarne Gospels

If these assertions about Ailerán's poem have worth, then knowing it should enrich not only our actual use of the Apparatus but also our appreciation of a codex containing it. So, is the reader's appreciation enhanced in the case of using the Lindisfarne Gospels? The codex was planned as a single entity: a copy of the four gospels. Here the poem makes its first claim: this is not simply a collection of four texts of a similar genre, but rather a single four-fold narrative. These texts, while they have their individuality (Canon X), are through and through singing out a single message, and in approaching them as a unity the reader is inclined to view them as concordant rather than as a puzzle of contradictions. The sense of the fundamental unity of the four will be reinforced as he progresses through the text and meets the evangelists' portraits (ills. IV, VIII, XI, XIV), each shown under their 'living creature', which reminds him that these are not four individual writers, but a four-animal team, the *speciosa quadriga*, for each is linked to his 'living creature' and these four have their fixed places around the heavenly throne (Rev. 4).[67]

As the reader progresses through the opening folios containing the Canons, there would have been a curious sense that it is good to see all this information, whose underlying structure he understands from the poem, laid out so clearly. The actual Tables in the Lindisfarne Gospels are *de facto* redundant because the cross-references are in the margins.[68] The reader who has seen the codex before, and so knows it contains the extended Apparatus, is probably aware that he will never have to go back and consult these Tables, but having all the parallels listed (and from the poem he knows just what a quantity of them there are) gives a sense of security on that fundamental point: they sing together. If ever his mind is disturbed by spotting or hearing a reference to an incongruity, he senses that the evidence is 'back there' by which it can be 'sorted out'. Moreover, as he looks at those pages of tables, he is not put-off by a feeling of complexity: he knows what each refers to, its size, and what its message is. If he ever needs to work with them, he could do so. If the reader is diligent and reads the introductory matter, then the confusing section of *Nouum opus* will not detain him: he knows all about this, and can move on without trying to tease out what Jerome is saying. When he comes to the letter to Carpianus, on the other hand, he may read it not so much for instruction as for historical interest: this is Eusebius's account of how he came to produce the Apparatus he knows so well; and, again, it need not detain him.

However, the real benefits of the poem appear once the reader begins to move through the text with the Apparatus beside him on the page. He does not need the poem, with the Lindisfarne Gospels, to remind him which Canon contains which evangelists because the names are given. So what does the poem do for him? I suspect the answer lies in giving him a sense of assured comprehension: he knows what it is all about; he understands its purposes; he can value it as a valuable addition to the codex quite apart from any actual use he might make of it; and, if he needs to, he will have no hesitation in using it with confidence. We have an analogous situation today in that until quite recently it was taken for granted that students of the gospels in Greek were given an introductory course on the editing of the text, told about the great Uncials and the meaning of 'A', 'B', or 'D' in the *apparatus criticus*, and of the importance of the little *sigla* running through the text. The purpose of such courses was not to train them as text critics, nor even to enable them to judge an alternative reading's value for themselves – it was known that most students would take the editors' text for granted – but to accustom them to the apparatus of the text and to help them recognize the complexity of its formation. Our reader of the Lindisfarne Gospels is in a similar situation: he will, more likely than not, never put pen to parchment himself in tackling the problems to which the Eusebian Apparatus brings assistance, but he will read the texts,

66 On the origins of this debate, see Hengel, *The Four Gospels*, pp. 61–5.

67 See folio 25v: Matthew / man; folio 94v: Mark / lion; folio 138v: Luke / calf; and folio 209v: John / eagle.

68 They are not entirely redundant because in some cases there are alternative sets of parallels given by Eusebius in the Canon Tables, but there is never more than one set given in the margins. Moreover, one would have had to make extensive use of the Apparatus – indeed be a *peritus* in gospel exegesis – before one became aware of these alternatives. For such a scholar the poem was probably that which one taught one's students rather than something one relied upon oneself.

and view the pages, with a deeper awareness of the complexity of what he is reading and the structure of the correct solution to problems – because the Apparatus had, by association and transmission, almost the same authority as the text itself. This 'borrowed' authority is reflected in the level of decoration given to the Tables in a codex like Lindisfarne, while it is echoed in the way the poem presents the Apparatus as, in effect, speaking about the Lord.[69]

Proof that not every reader had that level of appreciation of the Apparatus can be seen in the contrast between the Lindisfarne Gospels and that other codex with which it is so often compared: the Book of Kells.[70] In short, if someone knew a poem like Ailerán's, that person would be more likely to appreciate the excellence of the Lindisfarne Gospels and all the energy that was invested in its production. Learning a poem like this would be one way of becoming an 'ideal reader' of the Lindisfarne Gospels. The poem is a lens through which we perceive the didactic and theological concerns of an early medieval exegete of the gospels and an index which helps us assess the level of biblical knowledge that is displayed in a gospel-book such as that of Lindisfarne. Moreover, when we compare the Apparatus as we find it in the Lindisfarne Gospels with this poem, we are led to an awareness of the complex history of this work of Eusebius in the biblical culture of the early middle ages.

Appendix 1

Ailerán the Wise, *Canon euangeliorum*

Quam in **primo** speciosa quadriga	
Homo, Leo, Vitulus, et Aquila	Man=Mt / Lion=Mk / Calf=Lk / Eagle=Jn
Septuaginta unum per capitula	71 parallels
De Domino conloquuntur paria.	
In **secundo** subsequente protinus	
Homo, Leo loquitur et Vitulus	Man / Lion / Calf
Quibus inest ordinate positus	
Decem in se atque nouem numerus.	109 parallels
Tum deinde **tertio** in ordine	
Homo et Bos loquitur cum Volucre	Man / Ox / Bird
Numero in quo consistunt antiquae	
Alphabeti Hebraeorum litterae.	22 parallels
Quarto loco fatentur aequalia	
Una Homo, Leo, atque Aquila	Man / Lion / Eagle
Uno ore loquentes capitula	
Verbi summi sena atque uicena.	26 parallels
Quinta uice concordant in loquella	
Homo prudens atque mitis hostia	Man / Calf
Iesu Christi emicantes agmina	Cf. Lk 10.1, 17 (Vg: *septuaginta duo*)[71]
Iuda sine Saluatori credula.	83 parallels (= 72 + 11)
Ecce **sexto** pari sonant clamore	
Natus Adam cum clamoso Leone	Man / Lion
Conputata traditis pro munere	
Sacerdotum oppidis in honore.	48 parallels [cf. Num 35.8]
En loquuntur septies in **septimo**	7 parallels
Homo, Avis consona de Domino.	Man / Bird
In **octauo** nunc Leonis catulus	Lion / Calf
Dei uerba profert atque Vitulus	
Quorum simul conputatur numerus	
Adiecto Paulo apostolicus.	13 parallels
Nonus ordo in quo duo partier	
Conloquuntur Uitulus et Volucer	Calf / Bird
Inspirati sensu spiritaliter	
Proloquuntur ternum septempliciter.	21 parallels
Homo nempe uerbum profert proprium	Man
Sexaginta et per duo numerum	62 cases
Rugientemque Leonem audies Lion	(cf. 1 Pet 5:8)
Solum sane decies et nouies	19 cases
Bouem solum fatentem inuenies	Ox
Uerba Dei bis et septuagies	72 cases
Subuolantem ad astra reperies	Flying creature
Nonagies loqui atque septies.	97 cases

[The canon of the gospels, that is] how there is a wondrous four-beast chariot, in the first canon,

69 Note the contrast between Lindisfarne where the Tables are given as much care as the gospels' text and the approach of modern editions, such as Nestle-Aland, where the introductory material is in such small type that reading it for any length of time is especially tiring on one's eyes.

70 Or in lesser artistic register, those other examples, mentioned above, which betray faulty understandings of the Apparatus. See n. 12 above.

71 This reading in Lk 10 is problematic; see B.M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London, 1975), pp. 150–1; most modern translations give '70' but the evidence is almost evenly divided for the Greek witnesses.

A man, a lion, a calf, and an eagle,
They speak the same things, in seventy-one headings,
About the Lord.

Then in the second canon which follows,
A man, a lion, and a calf speak,
When arranged in order,
Ten squared, plus nine.

Then in the third order
A man and a cow speak with a bird,
And this comes to the same number
As the ancient Hebrew alphabet.

In the fourth, equal things are uttered
A man, a lion, and an eagle
In one mouth speaking
Six and twenty headings of the Highest Word.

In the fifth, things are said concordantly
By a prudent man and a gentle victim
The multitude going outwards
Believing of Jesus Christ, but without Judas.

In the sixth, with equal clamour are heard
One born of Adam with a shouting lion
The computation being that of the towns handed over
for the benefit and honour of the priests.

And in the seventh, seven times
A man and a bird speak the same things about the Lord.

Now in the eighth a lion's cub
Professes the words of God with a calf
And these amount to the same number that is given
To the apostolical group with Paul added on.

Now in the ninth order, two are equal
A calf and a bird speaking as one
Inspired with the spiritual sense
They speak thrice sevenfold times.

A Man, indeed, professes his *proper* word
To the number of sixty-two.
A Lion roaring is heard,
This is the case, but nineteen times.
A Cow speaking alone the words of God
Is found on seventy-two occasions.
A Flying Object is found beneath towards the stars
Speaking ninety and seven times.

Appendix 2

Nancy Netzer pointed out in 1994 that some of the totals found in the Canon Tables in the 'standard' tables as found in editions of the Vulgate, some references in the poem, and some gospel-books differ.[72] In particular she noted that for Canon X-Jn that while 'the standard number of passages for John in Canon X is either ninety-six or ninety-eight' that 'ninety-seven … is a rare number, matched among medieval canon series only in a few other Insular gospel-books including the Books of Durrow, Armagh, and Kells, and the Echternach Gospels' and the Augsburg Gospels. She used this fact to argue that the poem 'may have been conceived as a series of *tituli* for individual tables' and that this indicates 'that beast canon tables were probably known in the poet's native Ireland in the seventh century'. This was taken up by David Howlett in 1996 who noted that there were differences in the number of parallels cited in several of the Canons (i.e. I, IV, V, and X-Jn) between 'Eusebius' and Ailerán and suggested that this could be a diagnostic for a particular set of Tables differing from the norm and thus which might indicate a gospel-book of Irish provenance. The argument has now reappeared in Barbet-Massin who has drawn particular attention to the total of 95 parallels in Canon X:Jn in the Lindisfarne Gospels '*ce qui est également rare*'.[73] While similar errors and omissions are the basis of establishing links between manuscripts, these links between the poem and some gospel-books need to be set in a larger context. First, given the nature of some of the textual parallels pointed out by the Apparatus, where a single section of one gospel relates to more-than-one in some other gospel, the totals are more fluid than it being simply a case of a particular set of related manuscripts departing from Eusebius. This fluidity can be demonstrated by comparing Ailerán with the editions of the Tables in the Greek New Testament and the Vulgate.

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X – Mt	X – Mk	X – Lk	X – Jn
G	74	111	22	25	82	47	7	13	21	62	19	72	96
A	71	109	22	26	83	48	7	13	21	62	19	72	97
V	72	109	22	25	84	48	7	13	21	62	19	72	96

G = Greek New Testament; A = Ailerán; V = Vulgate.

72 Netzer, 'The origin of the beast canon tables reconsidered', pp. 326–7.

73 *L'Enluminure et le Sacré*, p. 372.

This fluid situation means that until we have established that all the gospel-books from a particular region conform to a particular set of numbers, we cannot use these variations as a diagnostic. Lastly, we have the number of parallels given in Canon X-Jn on fol 17v of the Lindisfarne Gospels.[74] Where we find these differences from those 'standard' in the Vulgate:

'Standard' Vulgate	**Lindisfarne**	
9	uiii	*Most probably a case of minim confusion.*
16	xiii	*This could be dittography – the previous number is 13 or a failure to read 'xui' in the exemplar correctly – again minim confusion.*
97	xcui	
127	cxxu	*Probably dittography as the previous section is 125.*
171	clxxi	*The omission of Section 177 accounts for the number of sections in this Canon amounting to 95. Rather than see this as a rare example of anything, it would be better to see it as a simple omission due to haplography.*
173	clxxiii	
177	clxxuiiii	
179	clxxxi	
181	clxxxuiiii	
189		
202	cii	
226	ccxxxui	
232	ccxxi	

These variations point to the problem of copying Roman numbers with accuracy rather than to anything more significant; while it remains true that common errors in extant manuscripts may point to a common exemplar. We cannot infer that there were distinct forms of the Apparatus.

74 Reproduced in Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham*, p. 28.

CHAPTER 6

Painting by Numbers: The Art of the Canon Tables

Heather Pulliam

In recent decades, scholarship has demonstrated the extent to which the decoration of Insular manuscripts acts as a kind of visual exegesis. Instead of narrative illustration, imagery conveys intricate chains of associated meanings that reflect the liturgy as well as patristic and Insular interpretations of the scriptures. While publications have identified instances of such symbolism within the Canon Tables of the Book of Kells and in the evangelist portraits of the Lindisfarne Gospels, relatively little attention has been given to the relationship between ornament and meaning within the Canon Tables of the Lindisfarne Gospels.[1] With the notable exception of Elizabeth Mullins and Carol Neuman de Vegvar, art historians have largely confined analysis of the Insular Canon Tables to investigations of style and influence.[2] As shown in the previous chapter in this volume, the Canon Tables are in practical terms a redundant, and in some cases–most notably the Book of Kells–unusable part of the Eusebian Apparatus. In the light of this, it may be that their visual aspect serves a pragmatic purpose and deserves greater attention.

The decorative vocabulary employed within the Lindisfarne Canon Tables is markedly restrained, employing a far narrower range of motifs and colours than the rest of the manuscript.[3] By contrast, deluxe Carolingian examples such as the Gospels of Saint-Médard de Soissons include recognizable biblical figures and scenes;[4] various species of fruit, birds and creatures inhabit the Canon Tables of Armenian gospel-books such as the Etchmiadzin Gospels;[5] among the Insular corpus, the Book of Kells includes images of Christ and men fighting beasts.[6] Such detailed and varied imagery invites comparison with specific exegetical tracts or biblical verses. Decoration within the Lindisfarne Canon Tables, however, is limited to zoomorphic interlace, knotwork and fretwork. Although beautifully and expertly executed, the ornamentation offers, at first glance, little traction for iconographic interpretation.

Nonetheless, this essay argues that the adornment of the Lindisfarne Canon Tables draws upon exegesis and the scriptures, visually expressing the theological concerns found in a range of texts. It begins with a consideration of the ornament of the Lindisfarne Canon Tables within the broader context of the Late Antique tradition as well as other Insular, Armenian, Frankish and Anglo-Saxon examples. In so doing, it analyses the various approaches to decoration, establishing commonalities, but also hitherto unnoticed peculiarities in the ornamentation of the Lindisfarne Canon Tables. In particular, it shows the extent to which the restraint and regularity of Lindisfarne's imagery is distinct and seemingly at odds with the rest of the corpus. The only other exception to this trend is a closely related Northumbrian manuscript, the Codex Amiatinus.[7] The essay then explores various possible explanations for the anomalous character of these two manuscripts, arguing that in the case of the Lindisfarne Tables the decoration conveys meaning

1 For the Book of Kells, see É Ó Carragáin, '"Traditio evangeliorum" and "sustentatio": the Relevance of Liturgical Ceremonies to the Book of Kells', *The Book of Kells: Proceedings of a Conference at Trinity College Dublin, 6–9 September 1992*, ed. F. O'Mahony (Aldershot, 1994), 398–436, particularly 426–30 and H. Pulliam, *Word and Image in the Book of Kells* (Dublin, 2006), pp. 155–76 and 197–98. For the Lindisfarne Gospels, see Brown, *LG*[1], pp. 346–70; L. Kendrick, *Animating the Letter: The Figurative Embodiment of Writing from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Columbus, Ohio, 1999), pp. 161–66; H. Pulliam, 'Eyes of Light: Colour in the Lindisfarne Gospels', *Newcastle and Northumberland*, ed. J. Ashbee and J.M. Luxford, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 36 (2013), 54–72, at p. 66.

2 E. Mullins, 'The Insular Reception of the Eusebian Canon Tables: Exegesis and Iconography', unpublished Ph. D. thesis (University College Cork, 2001) and 'The Eusebian Canon Tables and Hiberno-Latin Exegesis: The Case of Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 940', *Sacris Erudiri* 53 (2014), 323–43; C. Neuman de Vegvar, 'Remembering Jerusalem: Architecture and Meaning in Insular Canon Table Arcades', *Making and Meaning in Insular Art*, ed. Rachel Moss (Dublin, 2007), 228–41. For discussion and overview of literature on stylistic relationships between Canon Tables, see N. Netzer, 'The Origin of the Beast Canon Tables Reconsidered', *Book of Kells: Proceedings*, ed. O'Mahony, 322–32.

3 See discussion below.

4 Paris, BnF, latin 8850. A limited bibliography and digitised version of the manuscript are available at 'Europeana Regia', http://www.europeanaregia.eu/ (accessed 10-xi-2014).

5 Yerevan, Matenadaran 2374, formerly Etchmiadzin 229. Images available online at http://armenianstudies.csufresno.edu/iaa_miniatures/index.htm (accessed 15-xi-2014).

6 TCD 58 (A.1.6), a digitised version of the manuscript is available at TCD 'Digital Collections', http://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/home/index.php?DRIS_ID=MS58_003v (accessed 10-xi-2014).

7 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino 1. See discussion below.

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through both numeric and mathematical forms of expression, portraying divine perfection through measure and proportion in a manner wholly suited to the form and function of the Eusebian Canon Tables.

Artistic Contexts: Insular, Late Antique and Continental Canon Tables

In order to appreciate fully the distinctive nature of the visual apparatus of the Lindisfarne Canon Tables and thereby reconsider its purpose, it is necessary first to consider the broader artistic framework of early medieval Canon Tables. Only fifteen Insular manuscripts with Canon Tables survive, making a rather small and fragmented sample (see Appendix).[8] The Book of Durrow and the Echternach Gospels are thought to predate the Lindisfarne Gospels, and both of these manuscripts use a simple grid rather than the architectural format for their Tables. The two sets of Canon Tables closest in date and place of origin to the Lindisfarne Gospels are those from the Codex Amiatinus and the Royal Athelstan Gospels. Five additional examples occur in manuscripts associated with the Insular continental diaspora, specifically Echternach and Salzburg.[9] The Book of Kells and four additional Insular manuscripts likely made in Mercia and Southern England complete the corpus.[10] On the whole, the Insular Tables demonstrate great ingenuity in the shape and decoration of their frames, ranging from the architecturally accurate columns of the Trier Gospels, through the geometrically articulated arcades of the Royal Athelstan Gospels, to the calligraphic, fluid fantasies of the St Petersburg and Cutbercht Gospels. Both Mildred Budny and Elizabeth Mullins have noted that the decoration of Insular Canon Tables is emphatically varied.[11] Far from being distinctive, they share this characteristic with Late Antique, Armenian, Insular, Frankish and Carolingian examples, as will be demonstrated below.

A brief comparison of the Canon Tables in the Codex Amiatinus and Lindisfarne Gospels shows that as early as the beginning of the eighth century, Northumbrian scribes were able to choose quite distinct approaches to their ornamentation. The two manuscripts were made within the same generation, possibly the same decade, in monasteries only 60 miles apart.[12] Many elements of the Codex Amiatinus were based on a Late Antique pandect, the Codex Grandior, that had recently been brought from Italy to Monkwearmouth-Jarrow. The two Northumbrian manuscripts share a number of characteristics, including the nature of the gospel text and the type of figure used for Ezra in Amiatinus and for Matthew in Lindisfarne.[13] The Codex Grandior, however, had an Old Latin text and consequently would not have possessed Canon Tables. The creators of the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Codex Amiatinus would have had to locate a different exemplar(s) to create their Canon Tables.[14] While Lindisfarne may have had a fine library, Jarrow certainly possessed what must have been one of the greatest collections of Late Antique manuscripts outside the Italian peninsula, largely due to the efforts of Benedict Biscop.[15]

Although Gerald Baldwin Brown and Bruce-Mitford characterised the decoration of the Amiatinus Tables as closer to the Late Antique tradition than that of the Lindisfarne Gospels,[16] a review of surviving exemplars calls this into question. From an artistic perspective, the most noticeable difference between the Amiatinus and Lindisfarne Tables is the latter's use of Insular motifs, specifically knot-work and zoomorphic interlace, to fill its arches, columns, capitals and bases. The decoration of the architectural components of the Amiatinus Tables, on the other hand, consists of flat bands of gold, silver and colour.[17]

8 See Appendix for the shelfmarks, dates and origins of, and bibliographical references for, these manuscripts.

9 The Schloss Harburg, Trier, and Cutbercht Gospels, and the fragments of two manuscripts currently bound together as the Codex Eyckensis: see Appendix.

10 The Barberini and St Petersburg Gospels, the Royal Bible, and Stockholm Codex Aureus: see Appendix.

11 M.O. Budny, 'London, British Library MS Royal 1.E.vi: the Anatomy of an Anglo-Saxon Bible Fragment', unpublished Ph.D. thesis (London University, 1985), p. 571, cited in E. Mullins, 'Insular Reception' and 'Eusebian Canon Tables'.

12 I am proceeding on the assumption that the Lindisfarne Gospels was made at Lindisfarne or nearby. The main point, however, is that both manuscripts are from the same cultural milieu. Further on the relationship between the two manuscripts and the scriptoria that created them, see R. Bruce-Mitford, 'The Art of the Codex Amiatinus', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 32 (1969), 1–25; P.J. Nordhagen, *The Codex Amiatinus and the Byzantine Element in the Northumbrian Renaissance*, Jarrow lecture (Jarrow, 1977); P. Meyvaert, 'Bede, Cassiodorus, and the Codex Amiatinus', *Speculum* 71 (1996), 827–83 and 'The Date of Bede's 'In Ezram' and His Image of Ezra in the Codex Amiatinus', *Speculum* 80 (2005), 1087–1133.

13 For the gospel text see Richard Marsden, Ch. 10 in this volume. For a summary of other connections see Bruce-Mitford 'Art of the Codex Amiatinus', pp. 19–22.

14 L. Nees, 'Problems of Form and Function in Illuminated Bibles of the Early Medieval West', *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible*, ed. J. Williams (University Park, PA, 1999), 122–77 at pp. 160–61.

15 See further Richard Gameson, Ch. 3 in this volume.

16 In their discussions, Bruce-Mitford and Baldwin Brown do not distinguish between 'classical', 'Late Antique' and 'Mediterranean' and seem to use the terms as interchangeable.

17 Bruce-Mitford, 'Art of the Codex Amiatinus', p. 15.

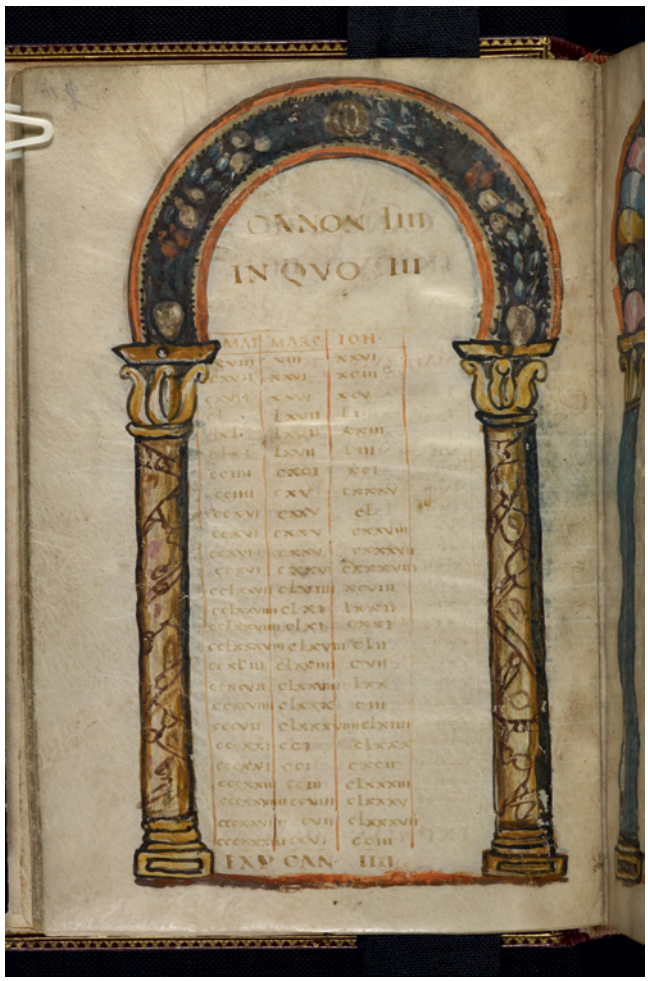




ILLUSTRATION 6.1A-B *BL, Harley 1775, fols. 10v+11r.*

For Brown and Bruce-Mitford, this restraint, regularity and use of gold leaf aligned the Amiatinus Tables with Mediterranean examples, whereas the Lindisfarne Tables have been 'infected' by 'native idiom'.[18] Some such distinction was to be expected given the respective histories, connections and orientations of the two scriptoria. A re-examination of Canon Tables from deluxe Late Antique manuscripts, however, suggests that in many ways it is the Lindisfarne Gospels that is more closely aligned with Mediterranean traditions due to its slightly more varied ornamental repertoire.

Even though the number of extant Canon Tables from deluxe Late Antique manuscripts is relatively small,[19] certain commonalities emerge in their ornamentation, the most prevalent of which is a preoccupation with diversity. Perhaps the most exquisite example of the phenomenon is the Canon Tables of a sixth-century Italian gospel-book, BL Harley MS 1775: each arch of the nineteen pages in question presents a virtuoso display of optical illusions and naturalism, adorned with a varied succession of daisies, pears, pomegranates, jewels, ribbons and a number of fanciful abstract motifs (ill. 6.1).[20]

The columns vary through colour and painterly effects that imitate a spectacular selection of stone and even degrees of polish. Several surviving Late Antique manuscripts make use of what Carl Nordenfalk describes as the N-M framework, where a larger arch spans a smaller arcade.[21] Examples include the fragmentary mid-sixth-century BAV, lat. 3806 and the eighth-century Codex Beneventanus produced in San Vincenzo al Volturno.[22] The large, spanning arches in these examples resemble

18 *Ibid.* and G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England* vol. V (London, 1921), pp. 354–60.

19 See C. Nordenfalk, *Die spätantiken Kanontafeln*, 2 vols. (Göteborg, 1938).

20 A digitised version of the manuscript and recent bibliography are available at BL, 'Digitised Manuscripts', http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/ (accessed 10-xi-2014).

21 Nordenfalk, *spätantiken Kanontafeln*; for a more up to date bibliography on Canon Tables, see Netzer *Cultural Interplay,* p. 55.

22 BL, Add. 5463: Nordenfalk, *spätantiken Kanontafeln,* pp. 168–9; 177–79 and pls. 48–57. For BAV, lat. 3806, see also Netzer, *Cultural*



ILLUSTRATION 6.2 *BL, Add. MS 5111, fols. 10v+11r.*

those of BL, Harley 1775 and similarly luxuriate in a wide range of ornamental foliage, fruit and birds, while the smaller arches of the arcades are relatively simple. When compared to such specificity and variety, the decoration of the Codex Amiatinus and Lindisfarne Tables appear stark and repetitive.

The Canon Tables of two sixth-century Greek manuscripts, Vienna ÖNB 847 and the fragmentary BL, Add. 5111, similarly play with a wide variety of motifs (ill. 6.2).[23] The columns of both sets of Tables favour a more abstract form of ornament rather than the trompe l'oeil effects of the Latin manuscripts discussed above. In both examples, however, every opening and even facing pages within a single opening have distinct and varied designs as can be seen on fols. 4v–5r of the Vienna Tables, where the decorative motifs of the capitals, columns and large spanning arch of one page differ considerably from those opposite. The columns of the Vienna Tables include designs that are obvious linear exaggerations of the veining, speckling and mottling of stone, indicating the relationship between the naturalism of some Late Antique examples and the more abstract and linear decoration found in many later Insular and continental examples. Further variety occurs in the arches of BL, Add. 5111, which are cluttered with floral motifs, spinning wheels, human heads, flowers, fish and marigolds.[24]

The small number of surviving Late Antique Canon Tables inevitably raises the question of whether this sample is a representative one. Later witnesses show similar trends in the type of decoration, suggesting that the emphatic variety found in extant Late Antique Tables is indicative of a broader tradition.[25] Although most Armenian examples come from a much later period, Nordenfalk believed them – especially the Etchmiadzin Gospels of 989 – to be much closer to the fourth-century archetype created by Euseubius in Palestine.[26] The arches, columns and arcades of the Etchmiadzin Canon Tables – like their Late Antique predecessors – vary significantly from opening to opening. They do not,

Interplay, pp. 55–60 and 76–82; Brown, *LG*[1], p. 301. For the Codex Beneventanus, see D. Wright, 'The Canon Tables of the Codex Beneventanus and Related Decoration', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 33 (1979), 135–55.

23 For Vienna ÖNB 847, see Nordenfalk, *spätantiken Kanontafeln*, I, pp. 268–69 and II, 40–46. A recent bibliography for BL, Add. 5111 is available with its images at BL, 'Digitised Manuscripts', http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/ (accessed November 10, 2014).

24 This flat, abstract decoration of these arcades runs counter to Bruce-Mitford's characterisation of Late Antique Canon Tables, 'Art of the Codex Amiatinus', p. 15.

25 Bruce-Mitford, 'Decoration and Miniatures', *Cod. Lind.*, pp. 109–260 at 186.

26 Yerevan Matenadaran MS 2374: Nordenfalk, *spätantiken Kanontafeln*, I, pp. 61–62. Further on Armenian examples, see D.



ILLUSTRATION 6.3 A-B *Abbeville, BM, 4, fols. 15v+16r.*

however, tend to differ within openings. Decorative features such as the colour of the column shafts and types of capital create architectural rhythms such as ABBA (verso)-ABBA (recto) that are symmetrical. As with most Armenian Canon Tables, openings also vary the design of their arcades and the choice of motifs. The arches of folios 2v and 3r host white birds, and flowers grow from the crevices, while black birds and baskets of either fruit or flowers nest on the arches of the following opening.

Fortunately, two Armenian tracts survive that discuss the decoration of the Armenian Canon Tables, one believed to have been composed by an eighth-century bishop and another by a twelfth-century theologian. Both commentaries explain in detail the various theological meanings carried by the different types and numbers of foliage and birds. For example, seven doves convey the gifts of the Holy Spirit; purple represents the 'omnipotent kingdom' of the Divinity; olive trees indicate the light of spiritual teachings through their oil; herons and other birds that fish represent the apostles, as 'fishers of men'.[27] Such interpretations are viable because the artists have carefully indicated specific species. Most pertinent to the current study, the Armenian examples provide evidence that the birds, beasts and plants within some early Canon Tables carried meaning, not only in terms of kind – that is, species – but also in terms of number.

Like the Armenian and Late Antique Canon Tables, those from the Court School of Charlemagne employ diverse column types, styles and colours. The columns of the late eighth-century Abbeville Gospels mimic the colouristic effects of a wide assortment of stones, albeit without the finesse of BL Harley 1775.[28] Considerable variation is present within a single opening of the Abbeville Tables (ill. 6.3).

Kouymjian, *Index of Armenian Art*, fascicles I and II (Paris and Fresno, 1977 and 1979), available online at http://armenianstudies.csufresno.edu/iaa_miniatures/index.htm (accessed 15-xi-2014).

27 See Avedis Krikor Sanjian, *Armenian Gospel Iconography: The Tradition of the Glajor Gospel* (Dumbarton Oaks, 1991), pp. 172–75.

28 Abbeville, BM 4. A digitised version of the Abbeville Gospels and limited bibliography are available at 'Europeana Regia',



ILLUSTRATION 6.4 *Autun, BM, 4, fol. 8r.*

On folio 15v the shafts of the four columns – although subtly different in their marbling – are all of the same approximate colour and the shafts are all of the plain Tuscan type. The facing page, folio 16r, incorporates two fluted red shafts (columns six and eight of the opening), two burgundy shafts with black marbling (columns seven and nine), and a single mauve-purple shaft with white marbling (column ten). The bases of the columns on folio 15v are all the same red-orange while those on folio 16r are coloured yellow, grey, and orange. The two arches of the opening have markedly different decoration, with gold spheres flanked by tri-dot motifs in the arch of folio 15v, and small red medallions with crosses in that of folio 16r.

At the other end of the artistic spectrum, Canon Tables within manuscripts that are further from the Late Antique tradition such as the ninth-century Bodmin Gospels from Brittany and the eighth-century Flavigny Gospels, demonstrate the same, if not greater, commitment to variety, albeit achieved by significantly less accomplished draughtsmanship and very limited palettes.[29] The first page of the Flavigny Gospels is well known for its imagery that conveys the diversity of the four evangelists unified through the message of Christ (ill. 6.4).

While lacking the rich materials and painterly skills employed in finer manuscripts, every arch, capital and column exhibits a unique arrangement, cycling through an impressive range of styles and motifs (ill. 6.5).

In the Bodmin Gospels, the designs, artistic ability and dependence on a single colour – a salmon pink, most likely red lead – might in principle restrict variation and yet through alternation, combination and conflation of basic motifs such as zigzags, undulating lines, scroll forms,

http://www.europeanaregia.eu/ (accessed 10-xi-2014). See also W. Koehler, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen* 2: *Die Hofschule Karls des Grossen*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1958), I, pp. 49–55 and II, pls. 33–41; and C. Denoël, 'Les Évangiles de Saint-Riquier', *Art de l'enluminure* 46 (2013).

29 BL, Add. MS 9381 and Autun, BM, 4. A recent bibliography and digitised version of the Bodmin Gospels are available at BL, 'Digitised Manuscripts', http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/ (accessed 10-xi-2014). Images of the Flavigny Gospels are available at 'Enluminure', http://www.enluminures.culture.fr/documentation/enlumine/fr/index3.html (accessed November 10, 2014).

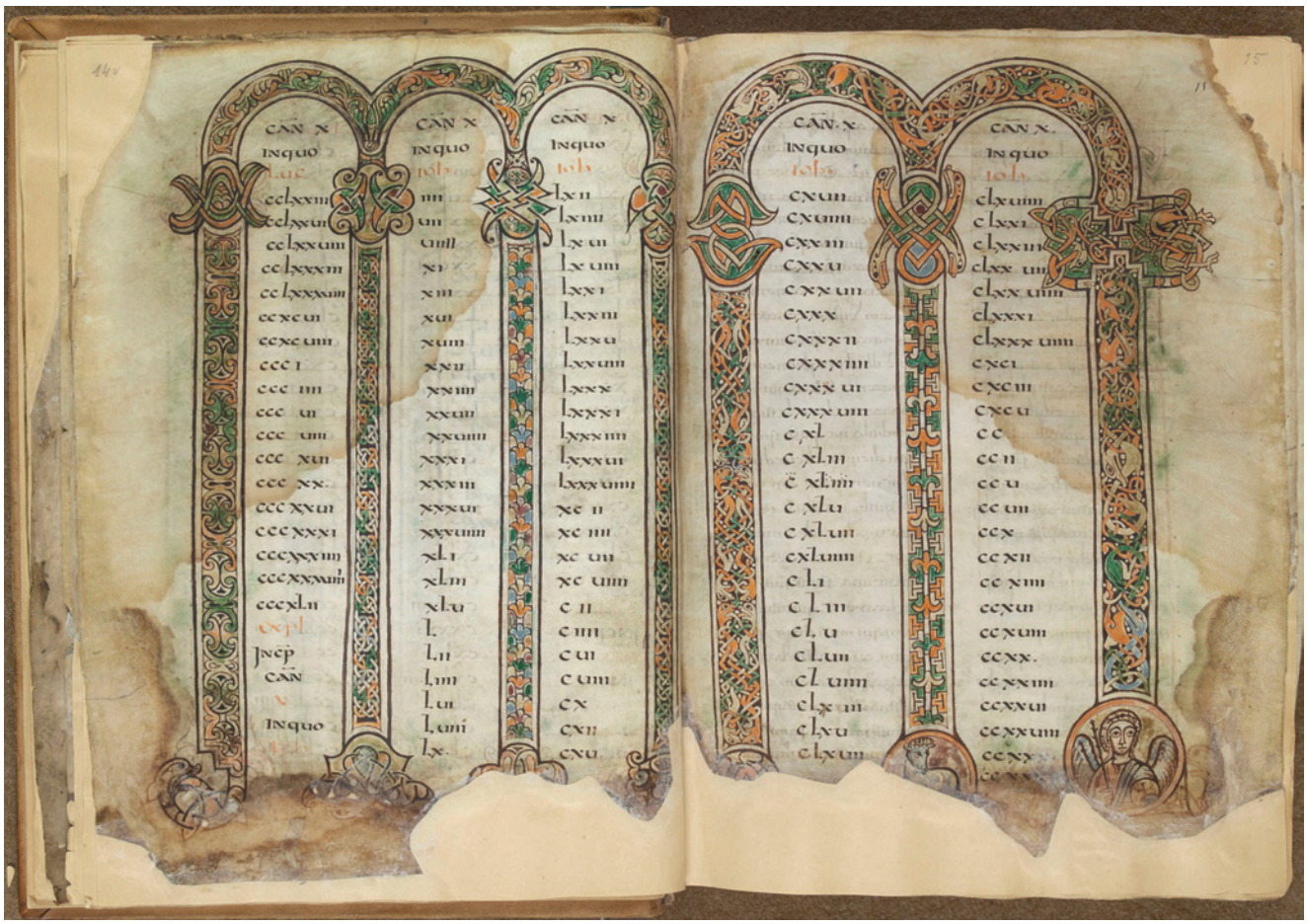


ILLUSTRATION 6.5 A-B *Autun, BM, 4, fols. 14v+15r.*

ascending and descending arcades, each framing arch is unique. The consistent variety present in even these impoverished examples raises the question as to why the Canon Tables of both the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Codex Amiatinus restrict themselves to such a limited and repetitive repertoire of ornament.

It is necessary first to consider why the decorated Canon Tables of Late Antique manuscripts and many of the Armenian, Merovingian and Carolingian examples that followed them eschewed restraint, regularity and even symmetry in favour of diversity. Architectural parallels may help to provide some insight into this practice. Beginning with Constantine, the classical orders and system of columnar arrangements were abandoned in churches and tombs in favour of an eclectic cornucopia of styles, colours, textures and materials.[30] It has been suggested that this shift in aesthetics reflects Christianity's celebration of 'diverse graces, one Spirit … diverse ministries, but the same Lord' (1 Corinthians 12.4), and the role of the incarnation, specifically the mixing of two natures within one body.[31] From this perspective, although the ornamentation of the Amiatinus Tables is more classical – in the strictest sense of that word – than that of the Lindisfarne Tables, the latter more closely resembles Late Antique models. Both manuscripts diverge from the traditions, but in different ways and for different reasons.

The unusual character of the Codex Amiatinus in this respect may possibly be derived from a manuscript like the sixth-century Codex Fuldensis from southern Italy;[32] the metalwork on the manuscript's binding suggests some

30 See further B. Brenk, 'Spolia from Constantine to Charlemagne: Aesthetics versus Ideology', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987), 103–9; J. Onians, *Bearers of Meaning: The Classical Orders in Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance* (Princeton, 1988), and D. Kinney, 'Bearers of Meaning', *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 50 (2009), 139–53.

31 M. Carruthers, '*Varietas*: a word of many colours', *Poetica: Zeitschrift für Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft* 41 (2009), 33–54, at pp. 46–54.

32 Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Bonifatianus 1, also known as the Victor Codex. See, Bruce-Mitford, 'Decoration and Miniatures', p. 190.

connection with Northumbria during the early medieval period.[33] The narrow pages of Fuldensis measure a mere 290 × 140 mm, and the long slender columns of its Canon Tables rest on simple, rectangular bases. It is awkwardly drawn and inexpertly painted in a limited palette of yellow, green and red. Perhaps, in their search for a Late Antique exemplar from which to model their Tables, the Amiatinus scribes used the Codex Fuldensis, or a manuscript that closely resembled it. This scenario raises a number of questions, however. It suggests that the Jarrow scriptorium had only a single model of Late Antique Canon Tables. Why else employ such an impoverished exemplar for what was surely intended to be a sumptuous pandect complete with gold, silver and empurpled pages? Additionally, why would the Lindisfarne Gospels – made in a scriptorium that likely possessed far fewer Late Antique manuscripts than Jarrow – appear to be so much more fluent in the decorative vocabulary of Late Antique Canon Tables?

The use of gold and silver in the Codex Amiatinus Tables points to an alternative explanation. Few Insular manuscripts contain gold or silver.[34] The handful of tiny triangles and dots of gold leaf and the few words written in gold ink that occur within the Lindisfarne Gospels suggest that gold was highly desirable but difficult either to obtain or use,[35] which might explain the relative narrowness of the Codex Amiatinus columns and lack of ornamentation. While Late Antique scribes might make paint and ink with gold, media that could be used for highlighting and adding delicate details, Insular artists seemed largely restricted to the use of gold leaf, which did not lend itself to the creation of additional ornamentation.

The fundamental distinction between the Lindisfarne Tables and other examples is how the variety of ornament is achieved: rather than a wide range of motifs, Lindisfarne uses a restricted number of patterns which are subject to endless variation. As first noted by Bruce-Mitford, the limited nature of the motifs is at odds with the wide assortment of figurative imagery, abstract spiral-work, medallions, crosses, trumpet spirals, peltas and step patterns used elsewhere in the manuscript.[36] The basic elements are relatively simple; it is their placement and number that vary.[37] Onto these foundations, Eadfrith layers additional rhythms of colour and orientation. For every bird that turns left, somewhere one turns right; for every creature moving up, there is one going down; for every red wing there is a blue wing. The viewer can quickly become absorbed in the many puzzles, searching and resolving apparently asymmetries through careful looking. Bruce-Mitford spends ten pages of text tracing these intricacies, pointing out the numerous rhythms and harmonies.[38] Where words fail, as they frequently do when attempting to describe these patterns, he resorts to constructing tables of his own, as have I (Table 6.1). The briefest of surveys reveals an artist whose obsession with rhythm and pattern is equalled by his skill in rendering them.

Above all, the decoration of the Lindisfarne Tables plays with numbers. Motifs are repeatedly arranged in groups of forty-two and twelve. Five pages each include exactly forty-two creatures which, Elizabeth Mullins has suggested, might refer to the generations before Christ (Table 6.1 ill. 6.8).[39] Additionally, folios 11v and 12r both have a total of forty-two red knots and forty-two yellow ones (Table 6.1; ill. 6.9). Each of the five pages with forty-two creatures places twelve of them within the large spanning arch. Similarly, folio 12r has twelve red knots and twelve yellow ones in its arch. Folio 13r contains twelve red beasts and twelve blue ones while its verso has twelve large blue rectangles. Square numbers also feature prominently, especially sixteen. The Canon Tables, rather unusually, consist of sixteen pages.[40] Three pages–folios 15v, 16r and 17v–have only sixteen creatures. Sixteen features numerous times on folio 13v: the number of knots in the arch, of rectangles in its columns and of beasts in the bases and capitals (ill. 6.10). Sixteen knots occur in each of the spanning arches on folios 15v and 16r. Units of nine, twenty-five, one hundred, and especially four also feature within the arcades, as shown in Table 6.1. In contrast, Carolingian and even Late Antique manuscripts seem

33 *Ibid.* M. Gullick, 'Bindings', *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain 1 c. 400–1100*, ed. Richard Gameson (Cambridge, 2012), 294–309 at 298.

34 Manuscripts associated with Southern England, such as the Vespasian Psalter (c. 725–50), the Stockholm Codex Aureus (mid-eighth century) and the Royal Bible (c. 800–50), are the notable exceptions. Brown, *LG*[1], p. 277. One of the few written references to gold in the context of illumination, Boniface's letter of 735 to Abbess Eadburgh, also points to the area of Kent: *ibid.*, p. 200.

35 *Ibid.,* pp. 200, 278–9 and 289.

36 Bruce-Mitford, 'Decoration and Miniatures', p. 175.

37 *Ibid.*, pp. 176–77.

38 *Ibid.*, pp. 176–85. See further the discussion by Michael Brennan, Ch. 8 in this volume.

39 Mullins, 'Insular Reception', p. 192, cites George Henderson's observation (*From Durrow to Kells*, p. 41) that two of the carpet pages from the Book of Durrow emphasize the number forty-two through their decoration, which he compares to the number of generations of Christ.

40 Brown, *LG*[1], pp. 179–80.

TABLE 6.1 *Numerical breakdown of Motifs within the Lindisfarne Canon tables.*

Folio	Columns (4 or 5)	Arch	Total	Capitals & bases
10r	(6×5) **30** birds	**12** birds	**42**	Interlace
10v	(6×5) **30** birds **15** blue +**15** red	**12** birds	**42**	Interlace
11r	(6×5) 30 birds **15** blue + **15** red	**12** birds	**42**	Interlace
11v	(**14** × 4) **56** knots **28** yellow+**28** red	**28** knots **14** ylw+**14** red	**84** **42** ylw+**42** red	(4+4) **8** beasts
12r	(**14**×4) **56** knots **28** yellow+28 red	**24** knots **14** ylw+**14** red	**84** **42** ylw+**42** red	(4+4) **8** beasts
12v	(5×4) **20** beasts **10** blue **10** red	**27** (28)* **14** blue **13** [14]*red	47 (48)* **24** Blue 23 [24]*	Interlace
13r	(6×4) **24** beasts **12** red **12** blue	11 (12)* 6 red 5(6)* blue	35 ([36]*	Interlace
13v	(3×4) **12** rectangles[a] (4×4) (16) knots	(4) rectangles **10** knots	(16) **26** knots	(8+8) (16) beasts
14r	(3×5) **15** rectangles (4×5) **20** knots	(4) rectangles **5** knots	**19** rectangles (25) knots	(8+8) (16) beasts
14v	(5×5) (25) birds	**10** birds	**35**	Interlace
15r	(5×5) (25) birds	**10** birds	**35**	Interlace
15v	(4x5) **20** rectangles (8×5) **40** knots	(9) rectangles (16) knots	**56** rectangles **56** knots	(6+6) **12** beasts
16r	(4×5) **20** rectangles (8×5) **40** knots	(9) rectangles (16) knots	**56** rectangles **56** knots	(6+6) **12** beasts
16v	(6×5) **30** beasts	**12** beasts	**42**	Interlace
17r	(6×5) **30** beasts	**12** beasts	**42**	Interlace
17v	20×5 (100) 'frets'	**40** 'frets'	**140**	(6+6) **12** beasts

[a] Loops in interlace, see discussion in text.

somewhat haphazard in the repetition and distribution of motifs, resulting in odd and random numbers, asymmetries and even incomplete, partial motifs.[41] Such explicit play with numbers might be dismissed as merely symptomatic of Insular approaches to design or Eadfrith's particular artistry. A closer exploration of the broader conceptualisation of Canon Tables, the specific range of integers and role of the 'being made square', however, suggest a purposeful and ingenious arrangement of patterns

41 For example, in Charlemagne's Harley Golden Gospels, BL, Harley 2788, the opening at folios 8v-9r appears symmetrical. Both spanning arches contain alternating designs of X-shaped flowers and squares set with X's. Closer inspection reveals that neither the individual arches nor the pair of arches is symmetrical. The arch on folio 8v has twenty-two motifs on the right side and twenty and one-half on the left. The facing page has twenty-six on the left; twenty-three on the right. A digitised version of the manuscript and recent bibliography are available at BL, 'Digitised Manuscripts', http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/ (accessed 10-xi-2014). Similarly, in Charlemagne's Coronation Gospels (Vienna, Kaiserliche Schatzkammer) openings and arches seem symmetrical but closer inspection reveals a number of imbalances both across openings (e.g. the number of gemstones on folios 9v-10r) or within the arch itself, for example the distribution of pinnacles on folio 8r. The latter typically consist of minor discrepancies, likely the product of carelessness or error. W. Koehler, *Die karolingischen Minaturen 3: Die Gruppe des Wiener Krönungsevangeliars. Metzer Handschriften*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1960), II, taf. no. III.7–III.8.

to convey the perfection of divine space and place. It is to this that we now turn.

The City of God: Made to Measure

Carl Nordenfalk was the first to suggest that the arches within Canon Tables created an atrium, marking the entrance into the sacred text of the gospels.[42] Noting that a number of Canon Tables end with an image of a pavilion-like structure that resembles early representations of the Tomb of Christ, he also posited a connection between architectural Canon Tables and the Aedicule in the Anastasis Rotunda.[43] Proceeding from Nordenfalk's observations, Carol Neuman de Vegvar has investigated connections between the archaeological evidence from the Aedicule and the architectural features of the Canon Tables, specifically the number of columns used within certain Canon Series.[44] Additionally, Elizabeth Mullins has demonstrated the exegetical connections between the Canon Tables and the Temple of Solomon.[45] Both Aedicule and Temple served as metaphors for the City of God, and Mullins and Vegvar see the arches of the Canon Tables as a reference to John 10.9, 'I am the Door. By me, if any man enter in, he shall be saved'.[46] The prefatory material of the early ninth-century Gospels of Saint-Médard de Soissons conveys a similar chain of associations. Its Canon Tables are prefaced by a full-page image depicting John's apocalyptic vision of the heavenly city, followed by the texts of the *Plures Fuisse* and *Novum Opus,* and then a full-page image of the Fountain of Life.[47]

In this context, the five pages within the Lindisfarne Tables that each contains forty-two creatures might refer to the City of God as described in the Book of Revelation, specifically when the Angel of God commands John:

> Rise up and measure the temple of God, and those who are worshiping in it, and the altar. But the atrium, which is outside the temple, set it aside and do not measure it, because it has been given over to the Gentiles. And they shall trample upon the Holy City for forty-two months.[48]

This verse raises the possibility that the forty-two creatures do not represent the faithful and/or Christ's ancestors, but rather those who will be kept out of heaven because they persecuted Christ and his followers.[49] The creatures' bodies form an X at the apex of the arch,[50] which might be read as reference to Christ's crucifixion.[51] A similar visual trope is conveyed in the Tables of the Book of Kells. On folio 2v, the head and torso of a naked Christ is shown stretched out between two snarling beasts whose tongues loop around his wrists. In their attack, the creatures pull Christ's body into a cross-shape. It has been suggested that the image recalls Habbakuk 3.3, 'You will be known in the midst of two animals', a verse frequently referenced in Insular art.[52] It is worth noting, however, that although the page in the Book of Kells includes zoomorphic filler in its architectural parts, the creatures only add up to a total of thirty, not forty-two.[53]

The imagery of the Lorsch Gospels,[54] however, suggests that the frequent instances of forty-two within the Lindisfarne Tables are more likely to represent Christ's ancestors than those who persecute the Church. The Carolingian artist has surrounded the Argument to

42 C. Nordenfalk, 'The Apostolic Canon Tables', *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 6 (1963), 17–34 at p. 18; C. Nordenfalk, 'Canon Tables on Papyrus', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 36 (1982), 29–39 at p. 30; C. Nordenfalk 'The Beginning of Book Decoration', *Beiträge für Georg Swarzenski zum 11. Januar 1951*, ed. O. Goetz (Berlin-Chicago, 1951), 9–20 at p. 16.

43 Nordenfalk, *spätantiken Kanontafeln*, I, pp. 109–26.

44 Neuman de Vegvar, 'Remembering Jerusalem'.

45 Mullins, 'Insular Reception'. See also P. Darby, 'Sacred Geometry and the Five Books of the Codex Amiatinus Maiestas Domini', *Islands in a Global Context. Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on Insular Art*, ed. C. Newman, M. Manion and F. Gavin (Dublin, forthcoming) and P. Darby, 'Codex Amiatinus *Maiestas Domini* and the Gospel Prefaces of Jerome, (*Speculum*, forthcoming).

46 Mullins, 'Insular Reception', p. 189 and Neuman de Vegvar, 'Remembering Jerusalem', pp. 254–55. Pointing to the frequent use of four columns in Insular Canon Tables, Neuman de Vegvar cites Bede's description (*De Tabernaculo* 2:13) of the four gospels as the multiple gates that lead to the single door that is Christ.

47 See note 4.

48 Revelation 11.1.

49 The number's association with the wicked is repeated in Revelation 13.5, where the dragon of the Antichrist speaks blasphemies and reigns for 42 months.

50 Mullins, 'Insular Reception', p. 188.

51 S. Lewis, 'Sacred Calligraphy: The Chi Rho Page in the Book of Kells', *Traditio* 36 (1980), 139–59.

52 É Ó Carragáin, '"Traditio evangeliorum"', pp. 398–436, especially pp. 422–27.

53 This number includes the two beasts that threaten Christ. The opposite page, which has complementary iconography, may contain forty-two creatures. Thirty-seven birds are visible, but the central medallion is so damaged that it is impossible to distinguish the number in its lower section.

54 BAV, Pal. Lat. 50 and Bucharest, National Library, Filliale Biblioteca Batthyáneum Alba Julia R.II.1; fol. 7r of the former.

Matthew with an architectural framework. Instead of an arch, the columns support a rectangle.[55] Christ sits in a mandorla that surmounts the top and centre of the rectangular structure, the interior of which is surrounded by thirty-nine men, arranged in three groups of thirteen. Each group carries a portrait, two of which still bear the labels 'DA(VID)' and 'IE(CHO)/N(IAS)'. As Robert Walker has observed, the Argument immediately draws attention to the fact that Matthew's Gospel begins by listing the forty-two ancestors of Christ and the image therefore illustrates Matthew 1.17, 'So all the generations from Abraham until David are fourteen generations; and from David until the carrying away into Babylon are fourteen generations; and from the carrying away into Bablyon unto Christ are fourteen generations'.[56] It is worth noting the manner in which the Argument to Matthew, which in the Lindisfarne Gospels directly follows the Canon Tales, emphasizes that Matthew 'showed forth the progress of generation of the Lord's advent, in such wise that, by the fullness of the mystical number and of the time, he showed forth what he himself was.... Now the God Christ is the time, the order, the number, the arrangement, and the reason of all things'.[57]

The reference to the City of God also helps to explain the repeated arrangement of motifs within the Lindisfarne Tables into groups of twelve, which otherwise seems somewhat odd, given the fact that there are ten, not twelve, Canon Tables. While much of the Book of Revelation is devoted to John's vision of the Heavenly City, chapter twenty-one provides the details most relevant to the Lindisfarne Canon Tables. New Jerusalem has twelve gates inscribed with the names of the twelve tribes. By each gate stand twelve angels. The chapter goes on to explain that the twelve foundations of the wall of the city have the names of the twelve apostles written on them. It seems possible, even likely, that the five instances of twelve creatures within the arches of the Lindisfarne Tables, might bear some correspondence to the twelve gates, tribes, angels, foundations, and apostles described in Revelation 21. Possibly, the twenty-four knots (twelve red, twelve yellow) within the arch of folio 12r could be construed as a reference to the twenty-four elders of Revelation 4.4, 'And surrounding the throne were twenty-four smaller thrones. And upon the thrones, twenty-four elders were sitting'.[58] The elders are represented in the Canon Tables of the Saint-Médard de Soissons Gospels, standing in two groups of twelve, worshiping the lamb standing on the sea of glass, high above the buildings and columns.[59]

Other aspects of the decoration seem to reflect biblical descriptions of the Tabernacle. Both the Temple and the Tabernacle served as metaphors for the City of God and the three are often conflated in Insular art, most notably in the Codex Amiatinus and the Book of Kells.[60] In Exodus, the Lord instructs Moses:

> Truly, thus shall you make the tabernacle: You shall make ten curtains of fine twisted linen, and hyacinth as well as purple, and twice-dyed scarlet, with diverse embroidery (*variatas opere plumario*). The length of one curtain shall have twenty-eight cubits. The width shall be four cubits. The entire set of curtains shall be of one measure.[61]

It seems possible that the ten curtains of the tabernacle might be seen as corresponding to the ten Eusebian Canons. Folio 11v of the Lindisfarne Tables emphatically repeats the number twenty-eight: its columns contain a total of twenty-eight red knots and twenty-eight yellow ones, while the page's spanning arch holds another twenty-eight knots (ill. 6.9).[62] As noted above, the measurements of the Lindisfarne arcades are exactingly consistent, to the millimetre, possibly in keeping with the biblical emphasis that 'the entire set of curtains shall be of one measure'. While the manuscript's zoomorphic and interlace decoration has often been compared to metalwork, undoubtedly these bands of bright,

55 R. Walker, 'Illustrations to the Priscillian Prologues in the Gospel Manuscripts of the Carolingian Ada School', *The Art Bulletin* 30 (1948), 1–10, at pp. 9–10.

56 *Ibid.*, p. 9.

57 Translation cited from *Ibid.*

58 Also Revelation 4.10, 5.8, 5.14, 11.16 and 19.4.

59 See note 4. Alternately it might carry connotations of Matthew 19.28, 'And Jesus said to them: "Amen I say to you, that at the resurrection, when the Son of man shall sit on the seat of his majesty, those of you who have followed me shall also sit on twelve seats, judging the twelve tribes of Israel."'

60 See further Carol A. Farr, *The Book of Kells: Its Function and Audience* (London, 1997), pp. 51–75.

61 Exodus: 26.1–2. The command is reiterated in Exodus 36.8–9: 'And all those who were wise of heart, in order to accomplish the work of the tabernacle, made ten curtains of fine twisted linen, and hyacinth, and purple, and twice-dyed scarlet, with diverse workmanship by the art of embroidery. Each of these was twenty-eight cubits in length, and in width, four. All the curtains were of one measure.'

62 As indicated in Table 6.1, the opening at folios 11r-12v may contain two errors. These arches are uniquely asymmetrical, and it seems likely that the arch on folio 12v should have had twenty-eight rather than twenty-seven beasts.

varicoloured birds and knots would have also closely resembled Insular embroideries.[63]

Moreover, the markedly limited palette of the Lindisfarne Canon Tables echoes the colours of the Tabernacle hangings as described in Exodus. The Tables are painted in white, blue, burgundy, orange and yellow.[64] The pinks, violets, greys and peaches found elsewhere in the manuscript are wholly absent here. Green is confined to rubrics and the arches of the arcades, but both features are likely the additions of another artist.[65] Given that a conscious choice seems to have been made to restrict the palette of the Canon Tables to these four colours, it is possible that they were meant to evoke the four colours of the Tabernacle hangings: linen (which Bede describes as 'white'), blue, purple (which Bede says 'displays the colour of blood') and scarlet (which 'has the appearance of fire'), with yellow representing the various gold and brass parts.[66] Finally, as demonstrated in Table 6.1, nearly every numerical value which occurs in the decoration of the Lindisfarne Tables, such as four, nine, sixteen, twenty, twenty-nine, thirty, forty, fifty and one-hundred, also features in descriptions of the Temple and Tabernacle.[67]

The decoration of the Lindisfarne Canon Tables might also reflect quandaries faced by patristic commentators, specifically the sometimes contradictory numerical descriptions within the Bible. A number of writers interpreted Psalm 86 as a celebration of the diversity of the City's citizens. In his commentary on the Psalm, Augustine noted with concern the basic mathematics: for, if Christ is also 'one gate', as stated in John 10.9, cited above, the result is thirteen, not twelve, gates. The problem is further exacerbated by Matthew 19.28, 'And Jesus said to them: "Amen I say to you, that at the resurrection, when the Son of man shall sit on the seat of his majesty, those of you who have followed me shall also sit on twelve seats, judging the twelve tribes of Israel."' This verse provoked Augustine to subtract Judas, add Matthaias and then fret about Paul, the 'thirteenth' apostle. Thirteen, plus Christ, cannot be made to equal twelve. Faced with such a logical conundrum, Augustine changed tack, claiming there is 'deep mystery' in the number twelve and that it is 'typical of a sort of universality, as the Church is destined to prevail throughout the whole world'.[68] Bede likewise suggested that the twelve gates indicate 'the mystery of the number twelve', which he similarly interpreted as a metaphor for the 'perfection of the Church…for that the faith of the Holy Trinity was to be made known by it to the four-square world'.[69]

Commentators explained that the Heavenly City is constructed not only from the stones of the apostles who form its foundations, but also upon the person of Christ and the 'many peoples' who are its citizens.[70] A number of Canon Tables render the scriptural exhortation 'to be living stones' in a rather literal fashion. In the Flavigny Gospels, Christ and the four evangelist symbols serve as the capitals of the Canon Tables' supporting columns, while John the Baptist and the four evangelists act as their bases (ill. 6.4). The sixth-century Greek manuscript, BL, Add. 5111, includes medallion portraits lodged within the architectural framework of the Canon Tables (ill. 6.2).[71] Three sets of Canon Tables associated with Echternach – those of the Trier Gospels, Maaseik Gospels and the Maaseik Fragment – include medallion portraits of the apostles within the keystone position of the large spanning

63 Such as the Maaseik embroideries, on which see M. Budny and D. Tweddle, 'The Maaseik Embroideries', *ASE* 13 (1984), 65–96.

64 It seems likely that the burgundy colour is made from an organic substance and the orange from red lead. The white is plain vellum. These observations are based on the various colour reports available and my own inspection of the manuscript. K.L. Brown and R. Clark, 'The Lindisfarne Gospels and Two Other 8th Century Anglo-Saxon/Insular Manuscripts: Pigment Identification by Raman Microscopy', *Journal of Raman Spectroscopy* 35 (2004), 4–12 and Brown, *LG*[1], pp. 430–51. Also, G. Henderson, *Vision and Image in Early Christian England* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 122–35.

65 Bruce-Mitford, 'Decoration and Miniatures', p. 176.

66 A Holder, *Bede, On the Tabernacle* (Liverpool, 1994), pp. 49–50. Bede, *De tabernaculo* II, 'candidum'; 'Purpura quia colorem sanguinis ostendit'; 'Coccus quia ignis': CCSL 119A, pp. 45–46.

67 Only three numerical values occur within the decoration that have no equivalent in the descriptions of the Temple, Tabernacle or City of God: 19, 56 and 84 (See Tables 1 and 2). Two of these numbers (56 and 84) are multiples of numerical values that do occur within the relevant biblical texts (2 x 42 and 2 x 24). The opulent use of gold and silver in the Canon Tables of the Codex Amiatinus may also reflect the silver bases of the Tabernacle and the abundant use of gold in the construction of the Tabernacle, Temple and City of God.

68 P. Schaff and A. Coxe, *St. Augustine: Expositions on the Psalms* (New York, 2007), p. 421. Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Ps. 86(87).4, 'Sacramentum est cuiusdam uniuersitatis; quia per totum orbem terrarum futura erat ecclesia': CCSL 39, p. 1201.

69 E. Marshall, *The Explanation of the Apocalypse by the Venerable Bede* (Oxford and London, 1878), p. 146. Bede, *Explanation of the Apocalypse* 3.40–44, Revelation 21.13, '… duodenarii numeri uoluit indicare mysterium…quia per eam orbi quadrato sanctae trinitatis erat fides intimanda': CCSL 121A, p. 527. The artists who created the Trier, Maaseik, Luxeuil and Speyer Gospels all negotiated this issue with relative ease, keeping to just twelve portraits. See Appendix R in Netzer, *Cultural Interplay*, p. 207.

70 Augustine, *Enarrationes*, Ps. 86(87) 4: CCSL 39, p. 1202.

71 See note 23.

arch.[72] In the Saint-Médard de Soissons Gospels, on folio 11r, the rock crystal-like medallions of the evangelist symbols are inserted into the columns themselves. Within a number of Carolingian Tables, including those of the Saint-Médard de Soissons Gospels, ghostly faces and figures are hidden within the marbling and graining of the various columns.[73] Such imagery visually renders the scriptural and religious texts that identify Christ and his followers as the stones and pillars of the Church.

Psalm 86 and various commentaries emphasise that the City of God is made up of diverse peoples, in Bede's words, of faith spread 'to the four-square world'. The *Fons Vitae* imagery and some of the prefatory texts associated with Canon Tables carry similar messages.[74] The men who form the 'stones' of the Temple/Tabernacle structure within the Book of Kells have varied styles and colour of hair.[75] Pomegranates frequently appear at the apex of the arch, cut open so that their red interiors are visible (ill. 6.1). Unsurprisingly, for Bede and numerous other commentators, the cut fruit, the juice of which had long been associated with healing, represented the salvific blood of Christ, shed at his crucifixion.[76] It is perhaps no coincidence that discussions of the pomegranate as a figure of Christ, including those of Bede, typically also see the fruit with its many seeds as an image of the mystical body of the Church and emphasize the diversity of its members.[77] Additionally, this variety was seen as a union of the peoples of the New and Old Testaments,[78] which Mullins has shown to be a key theme in Insular commentaries on the Canon Tables.[79] Possibly, along with the use of the 'mystical' number twelve, the four colours used in the Lindisfarne Tables similarly invoke both variety and the priesthood. Although the Temple has only four hues, Bede describes the 'diverse beauty of the colours' as symbolising the diversity of the Church and the faith of its many peoples. Additionally, God commanded that the combination of blue, purple (burgundy), red (orange) and white be used to clad not only the Tabernacle, but also his priests.[80]

The City of God is extemporal, perfect and whole, and thus defies tangible, visible constructions. Within the commentaries, the 'mystical' nature of the number twelve becomes a metaphor for the infinite diversity and universality that encompasses the paradoxical relationship of Christ and his Church as both many and one, head and body, mortal and immortal:

> And approaching him as if he were a living stone, rejected by men, certainly, but elect and honoured by God, be also yourselves like living stones, built upon him (superædificamini), a spiritual house, a holy priesthood, so as to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God through Jesus Christ.[81]

Responding to this verse, Augustine worries over the paradox inherent within it, 'How, then, are the Prophets and the Apostles foundations, and yet Christ so, than whom nothing can be higher?'[82]

Playing upon the visual tensions between word and image, the decoration of the Lindisfarne Tables manages to address the apparent contradictions. In the spanning arches of five folios, the twelve creatures meet at its apex, their bodies intersecting to form an X that Insular

72 Netzer, *Cultural Interplay*, pp. 62–71.

73 These images may be in part based on examples from architecture: see John Mitchell, 'Believing Is Seeing: The Natural Image in Late Antiquity', *Architecture and Interpretation: Essays for Eric Fernie*, ed. Jill Franklin, T.A. Helsop, and Christine Stevenson (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 16–41. Mitchell, p. 34, notes two manuscript examples – the series of silhouettes that run up the columns of folio 11r of the Coronation Gospels and the faces that peer out from the Lorsch Gospels.

74 For the relationship between prefatory text and images, see Walker, 'Illustrations'. For *Fons Vitae* imagery and its relationship to Canon Tables, see P. Underwood, 'The Fountain of Life in Manuscripts of the Gospels', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 5 (1950), 41–138; for similar references within the Book of Kells prefatory materials see Henderson, *From Durrow to Kells*, pp. 153–55 and H. Pulliam, 'Light, Color, and Cloth in the Book of Kells' Virgin and Child Page', *Insular & Anglo-Saxon Art and Thought in the Early Medieval Period*, ed. Colum Hourihane (University Park, PA, 2011), 59–78.

75 Folio 202v, a digitised version of the manuscript is available at TCD 'Digital Collections'. http://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/home/index.php?DRIS_ID=MS58_003v (accessed 10-xi-2014). Further on the structure as a metaphor for the Temple, Tabernacle and Church, see Farr, *Book of Kells,* pp. 51–75.

76 G.H. Brown 'Patristic Pomegranates, from Ambrose and Apponius to Bede', *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, ed. K. O'Brien O'Keeffe and A. Orchard, 2 vols. (Toronto, 2005), II, 132–49. I am grateful to Peter Derby for pointing out this reference to me.

77 Bede, *De Templo II*, *CCSL* 119A, 203–4 and 206.

78 See previous note.

79 Mullins, 'Insular Reception' and Darby, 'Sacred Geometry'.

80 Exodus 28.

81 I Peter 2.4–5.

82 Schaff and Coxe, *Augustine*, p. 420. Augustine, *Enarrationes* 86.3. *Quomodo ergo fundamenta prophetae et apostoli, et quomodo fundamentum christus iesus, quo ulterius nihil est?*: CCSL 39, p. 1200.



ILLUSTRATION 6.6A-B *Lindisfarne Gospels, fols. 10r (detail) and 14v (detail).*

audiences undoubtedly would have recognised as the Chi of Christ in Greek (ills. 6.6 and 6.8).

Insular artists frequently manipulated the Chi symbol, exploring its exegetical connections to the cross and the number ten.[83] This relatively unusual motif appears again on folio 9v of the Royal Athelstan Gospels[84] as well as in at least two other manuscripts, both made in continental scriptoria with strong Insular connections (ill. 6.7a).

In Canon II of the late eighth/early ninth-century gospels made at Mondsee,[85] two pairs of birds form the capitals of the outermost columns, their long, brightly coloured beaks forming a Chi shape that is echoed in the decoration of the spanning arch. In the Anhalt-Morgan Gospels, probably made in St. Omer or Arras,[86] two birds hover above a double spanning arch, their beaks crossed and pointing towards the arches' intersection (ill. 6.7b).

As Elizabeth Mullins points out, the Lindisfarne *Novum Opus* is inscribed 'Incipit prologus X canonum', and therefore might be read as the 'prologue of the ten canons' or as 'the canons of the cross or Christ'.[87] Insular exegetes, observing several mathematical and visual associations

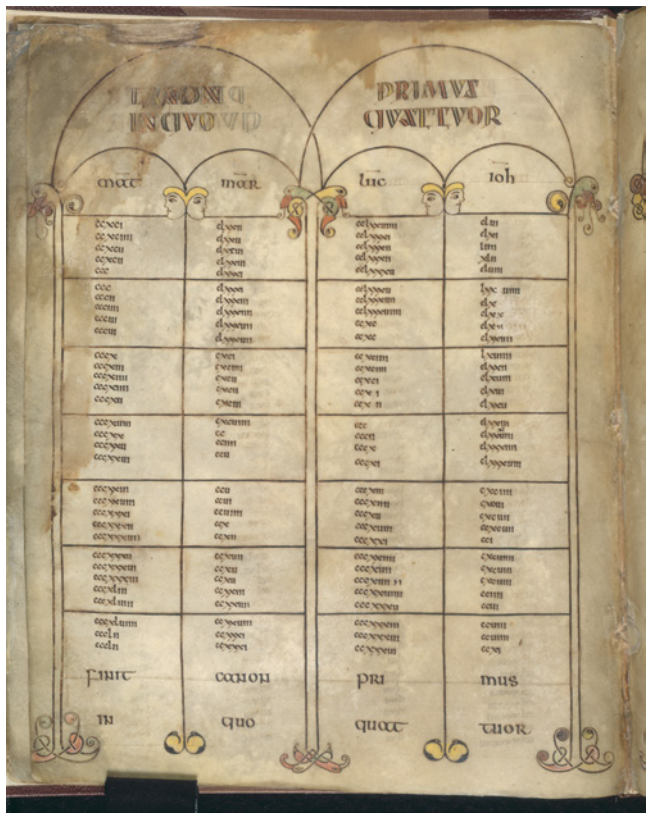




ILLUSTRATION 6.7A-B *Royal-Athelstan Gospels (BL, Royal 1 B vii), fol. 9v. Morgan Library, M 827, fol. 14v.*

83 S. Lewis, 'Sacred Calligraphy', 139–59.

84 BL, Royal 1 B.vii.

85 Kremsmünster, Schatzkasten Cim. 1: *Codex Millenarius, vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe* ..., ed. W. Neumüller and K. Holter (Graz, 1974).

86 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 827: catalogue entry and digitised images available via Pierpont Morgan Cosair Website, http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?DB=local&PAGE=kbSearch (accessed 4-5-2016).

87 Mullins, 'Insular Reception', p. 190.

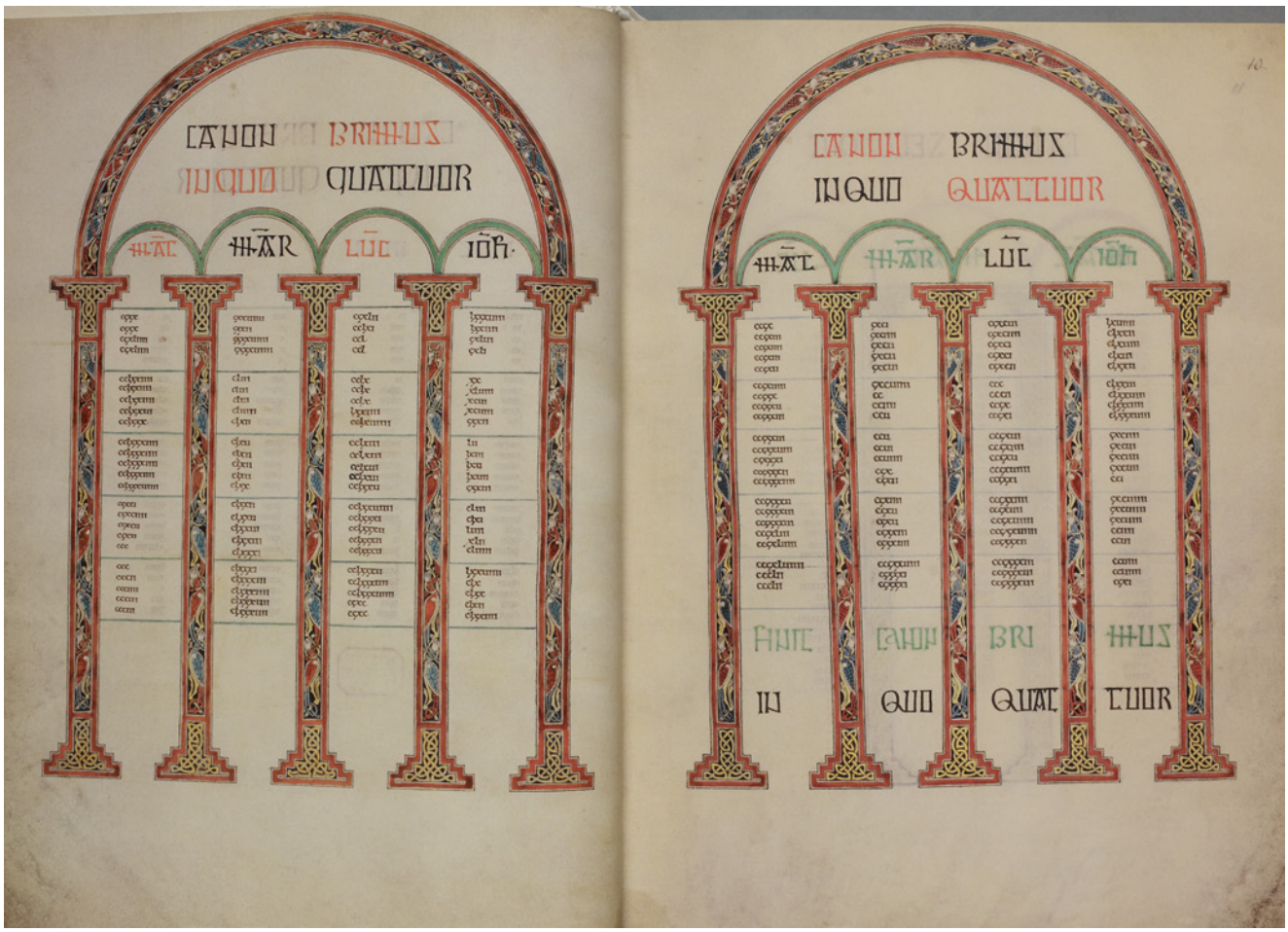


ILLUSTRATION 6.8 *Lindisfarne Gospels, fols. 10v+11r.*

TABLE 6.2 *Pattern formed by alternating red and blue birds.*

10v						11r				
B	**R**	**B**	**R**	**B**		**B**	**R**	**B**	**R**	**B**
R	B	R	B	R		R	B	R	B	R
B	R	B	R	B		B	R	B	R	B
R	B	R	B	R		R	B	R	B	R
B	R	B	R	B		B	R	B	R	B
R	**B**	**R**	**B**	**R**		**R**	**B**	**R**	**B**	**R**

between the numbers ten and four, saw this as a sign of wholeness, perfection and the agreement between the Old and New Testaments.[88] Through number and design, Eadfrith manages to portray the City of God as simultaneously being twelve, ten, four and one. Christ, as the letter 'Chi' and number 'ten' is in the apex of his Church but is also constituted through the bodies of his members, and they through him. As with the keystone of an arch, the Chi resolves the opposing movement and thrust, sealing the parts into a single, interdependent structure.

Perhaps the most intrinsic and remarkable incorporation of the 'X', however, is accomplished through the use of colour. The alternation of blue and red birds on folios 10v–11r creates a series of intersecting red and blue diagonals, forming a series of X's (Table 6.2 and ill. 6.8).

This is the only design characteristic that occurs with absolute consistency on every page of the Lindisfarne Canon Tables (ills. 6.8–6.12) Across folios 11v–12r, the alternation of yellow and red knots creates a series of X's while blue and red beasts do the same on folios 12v–13r and 16v–17r (ill. 6.9). The alternation of blue panels with sections of white interlace against red grounds creates X's on folios 13v–14r, and this pattern is reversed on folios 15v–16r

88 *Ibid.*

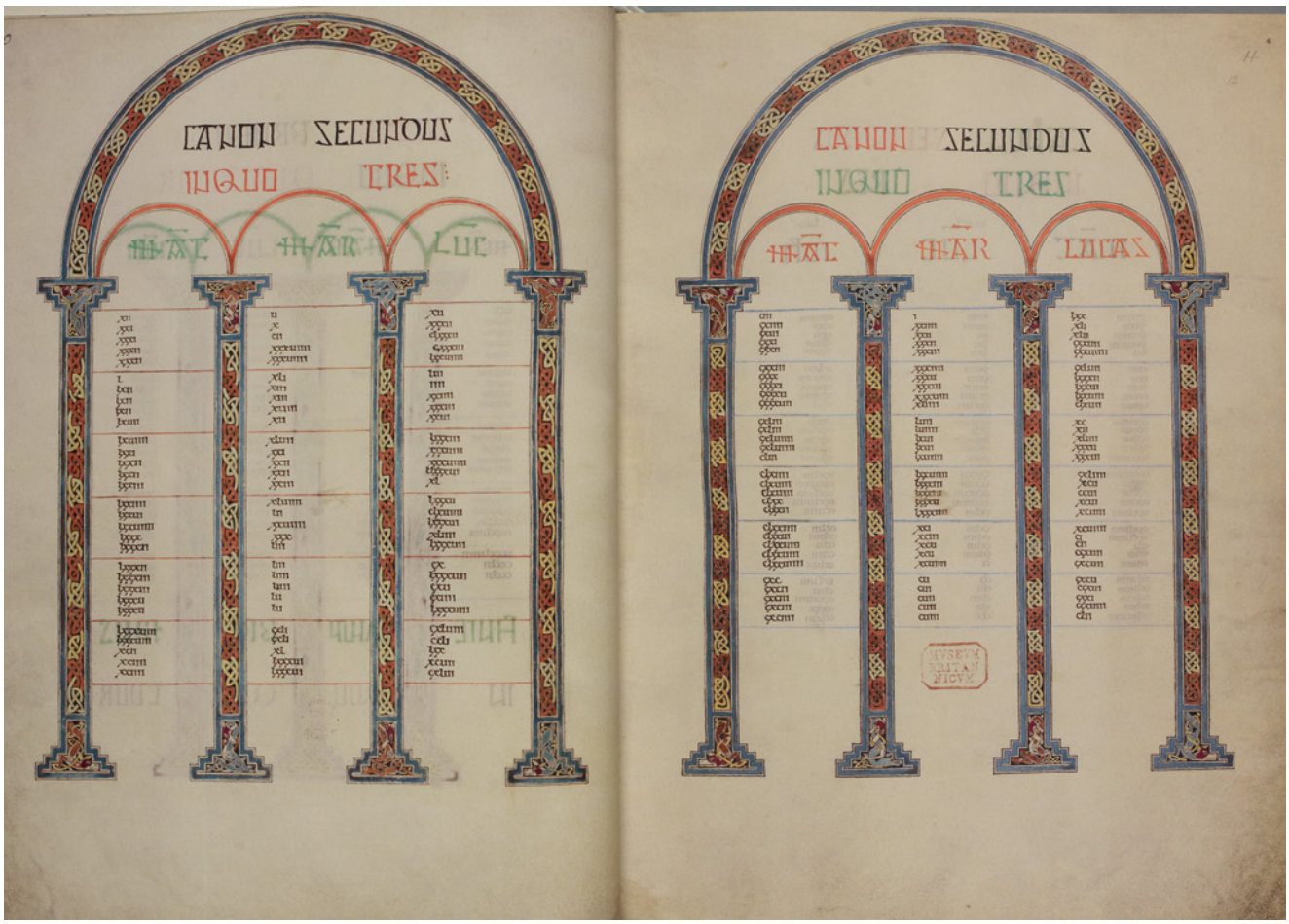


ILLUSTRATION 6.9 *Lindisfarne Gospels, fols. 11v+12r.*

(ill. 6.10). Finally, the opening at 14v–15r echoes that of 10v–11r, although with fewer birds (ill. 6.11).

Within the Book of Kells, the black and red Eusbian numbers also create a series of intersecting X's, although unfortunately the loss of red pigment has greatly diminished the effect (ill. 6.13). It is only in the act of tracing these diagonals that the precision of the Tables' artistry – despite the flawed nature of its contents – is apparent. Parallel lines intersect at the exact middle point of the cluster of Eusebian numbers – the middle row, the middle of the row, and in the middle of that letter that is part of the Roman numeral.[89] The X's are woven into the very fabric of the pages' design.

Augustine, answering his own question as to how Christ can be both the foundation and the apex of a building, responds that the believer must move beyond the earthly to the mystical:

> In material edifices, the same stone cannot be above and below: if at the bottom, it cannot be at the top: and vice versa: all bodies are liable to limitations in space: nor can they be everywhere or for ever; but as the Godhead is in every place, from every place symbols may be taken for It. And not being any of these things in external properties, It can be everything in a figure.[90]

89 As noted by Thomas O'Loughlin, Ch. 5 in this volume, the numbers of the Book of Kells Canon Tables are misaligned, which makes their visual precision even more striking.

90 Schaff and Coxe, *Augustine*, p. 420. Augustine, *Enarrationes*, 86.3. 'In aedificiis istis non potest esse idem lapis in imo et in summo: si fuerit in imo, in summo non erit; si in summo fuerit, in imo non erit. Angustias enim omnia paene corpora patiuntur; nec ubique esse possunt, nec semper. Diuinitas autem quae ubique praesto est, undique ad eam potest duci similitudo; et totum potest esse in similitudinibus, quia nihil horum est in proprietatibus': CCSL 39, p. 1200.

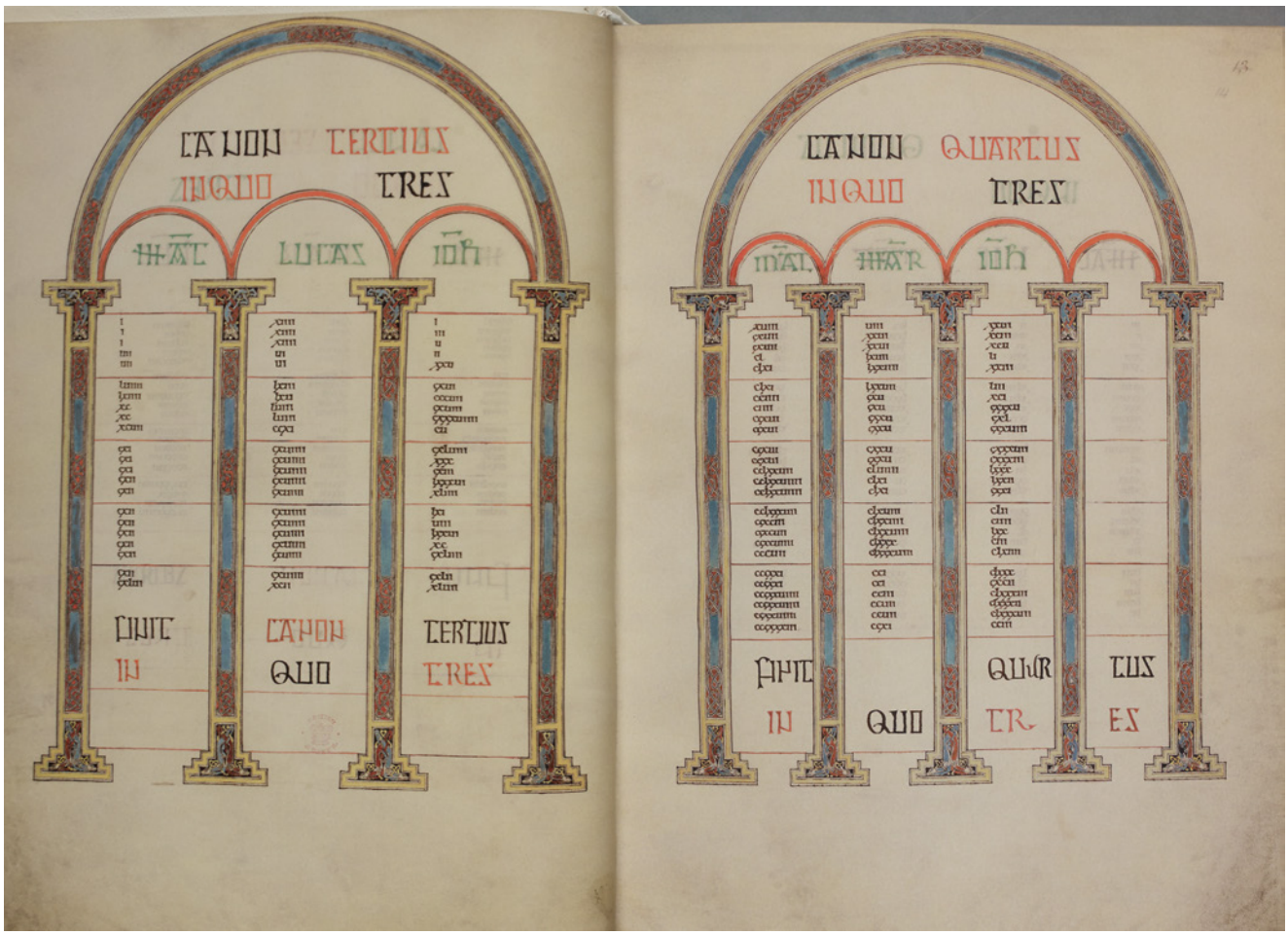


ILLUSTRATION 6.10 *Lindisfarne Gospels, fols. 13v+14r.*

The Lindisfarne Canon Tables manage to convey an omnipotent and infinite God through a finite medium by means of number, measure, and pattern. The 'stones' of the Holy City are constructed of birds, beasts and knots that represent the citizens and apostles of the Church, but God is revealed in the 'X' shapes formed by their bodies. Perhaps coincidentally, God is represented in the abstract, by number (ten) and word (Chi).

The popular description of the faithful as the living stones of New Jerusalem might also explain the prevalence of square numbers in the decoration of the Lindisfarne Canon Tables. In the first book of *On the Temple*, under the heading 'What Kind of Stone the Temple Was Made Of', Bede begins with I Kings 5.17, 'And the king ordered them to bring great stones, precious stones, for the foundation of the temple, and to square them (*quadrarent eos*)'. Bede explains that, 'properly speaking', these squared foundation stones are 'the prophets and apostles who either visibly or invisibly received the word and mysteries of truth from the very wisdom of God', but goes on to say that, more generally and in a modest way, all who follow the teachings of the church and adhere faithfully to the Lord 'these too can be symbolized by these great and precious stones'.[91] He concludes that they are hewn and made square through righteousness so that they fit into the foundation of the Temple, no matter which way they are turned.[92]

While the Book of Revelation and Psalm 86 make no mention of square stones, they certainly feature in the writings of both Bede and Augustine.[93] The City itself is

91 *Bede, On the Temple*, trans. Seán Connolly, (Liverpool, 1995), p. 14. Bede, *De Templo* 1.4; '... proprie sunt prophetae et apostoli qui uerbum et sacramenta ueritatis siue uisibiliter siue inuisibiliter ab ipsa dei sapientia perceperunt....his possunt lapidibus grandibus ac pretiosis indicari.' Bede, *De templo* II: CCSL 119A, p. 154. Bede picks this theme up again in *On the Tabernacle,* 2.1.

92 Bede, *On the Temple,* 4.1: CCSL 119A, p. 42.

93 Augustine, *Enarrationes*, Ps. 86.3: CCSL 39, pp. 1199–1200. For Bede, see below.



ILLUSTRATION 6.11 *Lindisfarne Gospels, fols. 14v+15r.*

described as square in Revelation 21.16. Commenting on the verse, Bede wrote, 'For to be perfect, as the Apostle says, that is, to be wise, to have peace, is truly to subsist in the solidity of a square'.[94] Proceeding to the following verse that describes the wall of the city as one hundred and forty-four cubits (twelve squared), Bede observed that this 'also signifies the perfection of the holy city'.[95] Significantly, Bede's transition from speaking of a square city to a square number shows that the concept of 'square numbers' could be applied to the square as a sign of the City's spiritual perfection.

In the synoptic gospels, Christ quotes Psalm 117.22, 'The stone which the builders have rejected, this has become the head of the corner'. This comment is elaborated upon in Acts 4.11, I Peter 2, Romans 9 and Ephesians 2, where it is connected to Isaiah 28.16, 'Behold, I will set a stone within the foundations of Zion, a tested stone, a cornerstone, a precious stone, which has been established in the foundation'. The scriptural chain raises the question as to whether the 'stone at the head of the corner' is a foundation stone, a corner stone or a keystone.[96] For Augustine, commenting on Psalm 86, the answer is simple. The divinity is omnipresent and universal and therefore can be any and all stones simultaneously. Within the Lindisfarne Canon Tables, the frequency with which the 'X' appears at the top and centre of framing arches suggests an emphasis

94 Marshall, *Explanation*, p. 147. Bede, *Explanatio Apocalypsis* 3.37, Revelation 21.16, 'Perfecti enim secundum apostolum esse idem sapere, pacem habere, - uere est in soliditate quadra subsistere': CCSL 121A, p. 529.

95 Marshall, *Explanation,* p. 147. Bede, *Explanatio Apocalypsis* 3:37, Revelation 21.17, 'significans et ipsa stabilem ciuitatis sanctae perfectionem': CCSL 121A, p. 531.

96 This summary is heavily indebted to G. Ladner, 'The Symbolism of the Biblical Corner Stone in the Mediaeval West', *Mediaeval Studies* 4 (1942), 43–60, especially p. 43.

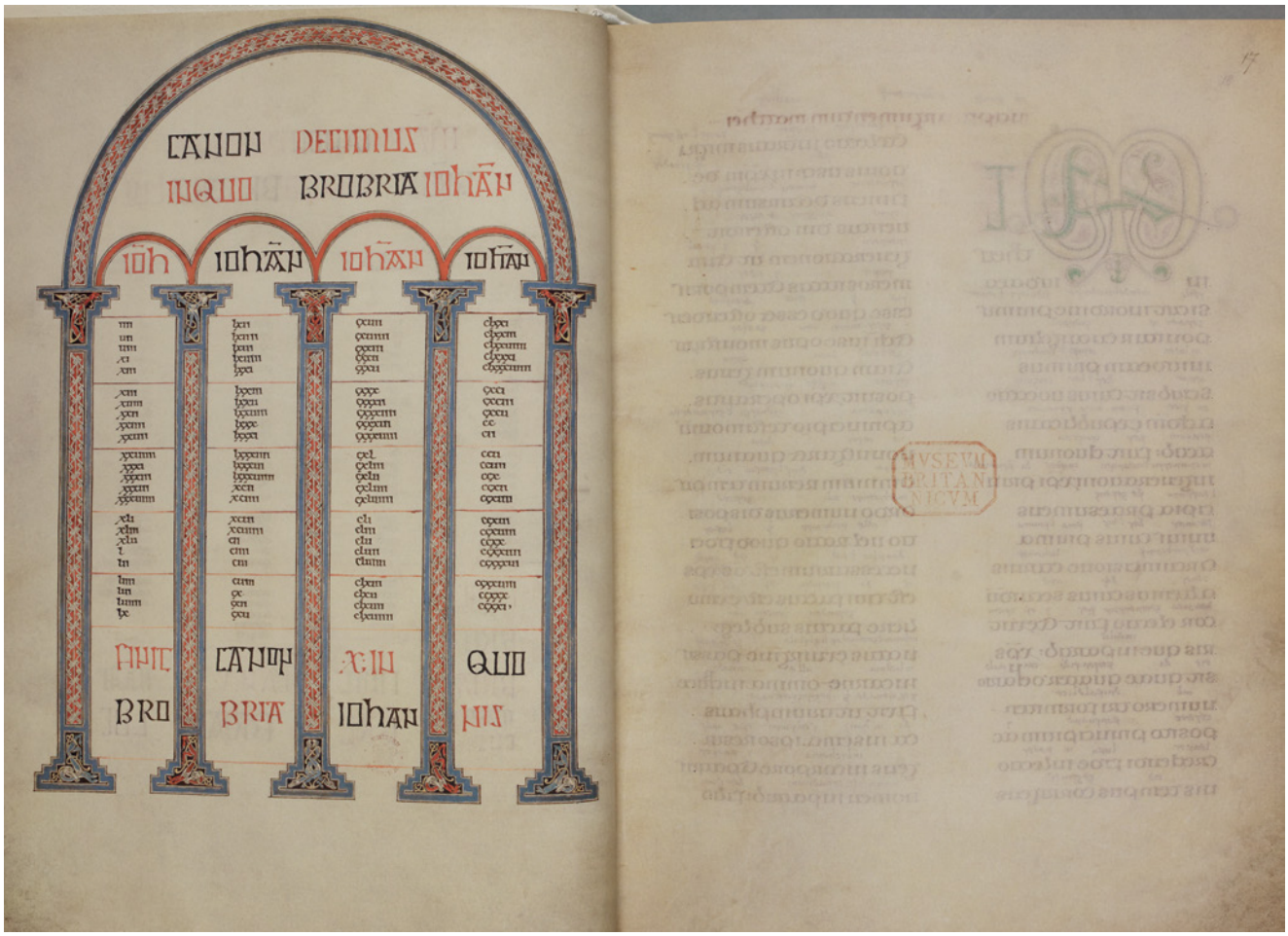


ILLUSTRATION 6.12 *Lindisfarne Gospels, fols. 17v+18r.*

upon Christ's role as keystone. Gerhard Ladner's survey of patristic interpretation of the verse, however, suggests that its most basic use was simply to refer to a stone that joins two walls together, 'symbolising the unity of Jews and gentiles in the Church'.[97] This interpretation would agree with recent analyses of the position, decoration and patristic commentaries on the Canon Tables, which have identified a clear emphasis upon the connection between the Old and New Testaments.[98]

One final aspect of Eadfrith's numerical patterns needs to be given consideration. Mullins has suggested that as viewers proceed through Canon Tables they become ever closer to God, moving from Canon I to Canon X, from the outer sanctum to the inner.[99] In the Trier Gospels, this is perhaps suggested by the posture of the birds, who bow more deeply as the Tables approach the final opening.[100] Within the Lindisfarne Gospels, the grouping of motifs into square numbers begins exactly midway through the Canon Tables. The last page of the series consists of the Eusebian sections containing material and events that only occur in John's gospel, Canon X(Jn) (ill. 6.12). The content of John differs substantially from the synoptic gospels. Insular writers and artists held John and his gospel in special esteem, largely due to his status as the 'beloved disciple' whom God had favoured with an eschatological vision of the Last Things and New Jerusalem.[101] Many aspects of the portrait of John on

97 *Ibid.*

98 See note 45. This reference may explain the positioning of the Chi-forming birds in the Anhalt-Morgan Gospels, see above and ill. 6.7b.

99 Mullins, 'Insular Reception'.

100 See folios 15r and 15v as opposed to the upright birds earlier in the Tables. Reproduced in Netzer, *Cultural Interplay*, pls. 13 and 14.

101 J. O'Reilly, 'St. John the Evangelist: Between Two Worlds', *Insular and Anglo-Saxon Art: Art and Thought in the Early Medieval Period*, ed. C. Hourihane (Princeton, 2011), 198–218.



ILLUSTRATION 6.13 *Book of Kells* (TCD, *58* [*A.1.6*]), *fol. 2r.*

folio 209v of the Lindisfarne Gospels delineate his special, singular nature.[102]

In terms of decoration, Lindisfarne's Canon x(Jn) stands out from the rest of the Tables, principally on account of its stark simplicity. The dominance of white sets both the first and last page of the series apart from the rest, but the effect is far more noticeable on the latter for a number of reasons. The last page has a more limited range of hues, allowing the white of the empty vellum to dominate (the first page uses the same colours but adds burgundy and yellow); even the rubricator respects the restricted colour scheme of John, adding no further colour.[103] On other folios, colours interweave with one another, transforming the surface into a colourful tapestry – in the first page of the Canon Tables, for example, the birds' blue necks, red tail feathers and pale yellow talons interlace within one another – but on the last page, the white, red and blue stay largely separate.

Above all, Canon x(Jn) is set apart in its inclusion of fretwork, which occurs nowhere else in the Canon Tables. Creatures are restricted to the capitals and bases, allowing abstraction to dominate the page. The pattern created by the fretwork has a number of unique features. It forms a series of X's that articulate the shape of the arch and its shaft. It also creates a number of optical illusions. The fretwork in the arch, for example, may be read as travelling up and towards the centre, or, alternatively, as moving down and outwards. Whereas in the other pages, birds and beasts cross at the top of the arch, here the design intersects throughout. The change within the Lindisfarne Canon Tables, from the colourful, zoomorphic riot of the early Tables to the stark, white fretwork of Canon x(Jn) could reflect moving from the worldly to the divine, from the tangible to the abstract. The beasts and birds of the earlier Tables, along with their emphasis upon the human aspect of Christ's heritage through the repetition of the number forty-two, eventually become the quiet abstraction of x(Jn) and the perfection and totality of its one hundred hidden crosses.

Numerology, however, is at best an uncertain discipline. Religious commentators frequently expounded upon the significance of every number between one and ten, with the possible exception of nine.[104] From this perspective, any group of motifs or repeated pattern containing fewer than eleven elements could be (mis-)understood as symbolically significant. The issue is further complicated by the fact that medieval artists, especially Insular ones, employed number, measure and geometry to rule their pages and shape most elements of their compositions.[105] Process, methods and aesthetics might unintentionally create the repetition of certain numbers. Additionally, when working with Tables that typically had between three and five columns, one might expect multiples of three, four and five.

Several aspects of the Lindisfarne decoration indicate that Eadfrith consciously used numerical patterns to convey theological meanings. As shown in Table 6.1, the

102 H. Pulliam, 'Eyes of Light', p. 66; L. Kendrick, *Animating the Letter,* pp. 161–66. Brown, *LG*[1], pp. 346–50.

103 Further on the rubricator, see Bruce-Mitford, 'Decoration and Miniatures', p. 175.

104 Hilary Richardson, 'Number and Symbol in Early Christian Irish Art', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 114 (1 January 1984), 28–47.

105 Both Jacques Guilmain and Robert Stevick have produced numerous publications on this topic: e.g. Jacques Guilmain, 'The Geometry of the Cross-Carpet Pages in the Lindisfarne Gospels', *Speculum* 62 (1987), 21–52; and Robert D. Stevick, *The Earliest Irish and English Book Arts: Visual and Poetic Forms Before A.D.1000* (Philadelphia, 1994). See also Michael Brennan, Ch. 8 in this volume.

multiples of twelve and sixteen appear with such frequency and consistency that it is difficult to imagine their occurrence could be accidental, or simply the result of a geometrical approach to design. Additionally, the Lindisfarne Tables arrange motifs into groups of twenty-four, forty, forty-two, eighty-four and one hundred. The higher numbers are far less likely to be coincidental. Most manuscripts tend either to use several motifs in groups of twelve or fewer or to repeat a single motif over and over. Many Carolingian manuscripts deploy a motif many times but, unlike the Lindisfarne Gospels, the resulting numbers are neither mathematically nor religiously significant: an arch may contain forty-three, fifty-seven and one-half, or one hundred and thee dots, pearls, marigolds or pinnacles. While quite a few Canon Table series base designs around the numbers ten, twelve and – to a lesser extent – sixteen, only the Lindisfarne Gospels makes such consistent and repeated use of square numbers and at the same time incorporates symbolic numbers from the higher end of the numerical scale, such as twenty-nine, forty-two, sixty, and so on.

In the Book of Revelation, after eating the book, John is given 'a reed, similar to a staff' and commanded to 'Rise up and measure the temple of God, and those who are worshiping in it, and the altar'.[106] Later, the angel of the Lord uses a golden rod to measure the City, its gates and wall. Eadfrith chose to portray the City according to number rather than depicting the fruits, foliage, jewels and fountains of paradise. It is wholly appropriate to the ontological nature of Canon Tables, as groupings of numbers that show the measure and balance of the four gospels. Additionally, as hidden numerical patterns that have to be identified and resolved by the audience as they contemplate the Tables, Eadfrith's designs are entirely in keeping with the Insular love of knotty problems and allusive riddles. Within the same generation in a nearby monastery, Bede would ruminate upon the descriptions of Temple and the Tabernacle, finding meaning in all of their many, detailed measurements and materials. It is unsurprising that within the same cultural milieu, Eadfrith could create a peerless representation of God's City through the symbolism of number and colour.[107]

106 Cited above.

107 I am most grateful to Richard Gameson for all of his advice and patience. Additionally, I am also indebted to Elizabeth Mullins, Dickran Kouymjian, Peter Darby and James Palmer for their suggestions and assistance. I would also like to thank Rosemary Cramp and the Bede's World staff, in particular Sophie Anderton, Jane Lovett and Georgiana Ascroft for their help with the Codex Amiatinus facsimile.

APPENDIX *Insular manuscripts with Canon tables.*[a]

Manuscript	**Shelfmark**	**Origin**	**Date**
Lindisfarne Gospels	BL Cotton Nero D. iv	Lindisfarne	Late 7th/early 8th century
Book of Durrow[b]	TCD 57 (A.4.5)	Insular	Late 7th/early 8th century
Echternach Gospels[c]	BnF, latin 9389	Insular	Late 7th/early 8th century
Codex Amiatinus[d]	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino 1.	Northumbria	Late 7th/early 8th century
The Royal Athelstan Gospels[e]	BL Royal 1 B. vii.	Northumbria	First half of 8th century
Codex Eyckensis[f]	Maaseik, Church of St Catherine, s.n. ff. 1–5	Insular? Continent?	First half of 8th century
Codex Eyckensis[g]	Maaseik, Church of St Catherine, s.n. ff. 6–132	Insular? Continent?	First half of 8th century
Schloss Harburg Gospels[h]	Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Schloss Harburg Codex I.2.4°.2	Echternach	First half of 8th century
Trier Gospels[i]	Trier, Domschatz 61	Echternach	First half of 8th century
Cutbercht Gospels[j]	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek Codex 1224	Salzburg?	Late 8th century
The Book of Kells[k]	TCD 58 (A.I.6)	Insular	Late 8th/early 9th century

APPENDIX *Insular manuscripts with Canon tables.* (cont.)

Manuscript	Shelfmark	Origin	Date
Barberini Gospels[l]	BAV, Barberini lat. 570	Insular	Second half of 8th century
St Petersburg Gospels[m]	National Library of Russia F.v.I.8	Insular	Late 8th century
The Royal Bible[n]	BL Royal 1 E.vi	Canterbury	Early 9th century
Stockholm Codex Aureus[o]	Stockholm, Royal Library A.135	Canterbury	Mid-8th century

[a] The dating and place of origin of most Insular manuscripts is problematic, uncertain and contested. See L. Nees, 'Recent Trends in Dating Works of Insular Art', *Insular and Anglo-Saxon Art and Thought in the Early Medieval Period*, ed. C. Hourihane (University Park, PA, 2011), pp. 14–30. For this reason, the broadest possible range of dates and places of origin have been used.
[b] Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts, 6th to the 9th century* (London, 1978), pp. 30–32; B. Meehan, *Book of Durrow: A Medieval Masterpiece at Trinity College Dublin* (Dublin, 1996), pp. 17–22.
[c] Alexander, *Insular Manuscript*s pp. 42–43 and Europeana Regia, http://www.europeanaregia.eu/ (accessed 10-xi-2014) for digitised version and bibliography.
[d] Alexander, *Insular Manuscript*s, pp. 32–35.
[e] *Ibid.* p. 48 and BL, 'Digitised Manuscripts', http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/ (accessed 10-xi-2014) for digitised version and bibliography.
[f] Alexander, *Insular Manuscript*s, pp. 50–51 and N. Netzer, *Cultural Interplay*. For digitised version, see Europeana Regia, http://www.europeanaregia.eu/ (accessed 16-v-2016).
[g] Alexander, *Insular Manuscript*s, p.51 and N. Netzer, *Cultural Interplay*. For digitised version, see Europeana Regia, http://www.europeanaregia.eu/(accessed 16-v-2016).
[h] Alexander, *Insular Manuscript*s, pp. 51–52.
[i] *Ibid.*, pp. 52–54 and N. Netzer, *Cultural Interplay*.
[j] Alexander, *Insular Manuscript*s, pp. 62–63.
[k] Alexander, *Insular Manuscript*s, pp. 71–76 and B. Meehan, *Book of Kells* (London, 2012). For digitised version, see TCD Digital Collections, http://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/home/index.php?DRIS_ID=MS58_003v (accessed 16-v-2016).
[l] Alexander, *Insular Manuscript*s, pp. 61–62. For digitised version, see the Vatican Library Digitised Collections, https://www.vatlib.it/home.php?ling=eng&res=1680x1050 (accessed 17-v-2016).
[m] Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts*, pp. 65–66.
[n] *Ibid.,* pp. 58–59.
[o] *Ibid.*, pp. 56–57, and *The Codex Aureus : An Eighth-Century Gospel Book*, ed. R. Gameson, 2 vols., EEMF 28–9 (Copenhagen, 2001–2).

CHAPTER 7

The Lindisfarne Gospels and the Performative Voice of Gospel Manuscripts

Carol Farr

The Public Life of the Lindisfarne Gospels

Anyone who has waited in the queue to catch a glimpse of the Lindisfarne Gospels in its exhibition case will probably understand that it exerts a kind of power over its viewers. Its astonishing decoration and brilliant graphic design can hold any modern viewer like a magnet. Early medieval audiences, too, almost certainly felt the attraction of its stunning virtuosity. Furthermore its makers and community of keepers intended their magnificent gospel-book to act beyond its pages. One could say that it had a public life in a broadly communal sense, which would be contiguous with interior reception of its text and decoration by individual early medieval viewers.

Some degree of scepticism may rightfully confront any assertion that the Lindisfarne Gospels had an intended public dimension. After all, its decoration has to be viewed at close range to be fully appreciated. The intricate complexity of its carpet pages readily evoke a contemplative process of design executed as meditative devotion. The decorated incipit pages would need extended close viewing to be effectively read and visually comprehended. Moreover, its famous tenth-century colophon states that it was made 'for God and Saint Cuthbert', so would not its intended audience be heavenly, without need for human intermediaries?

Nevertheless, the Lindisfarne Gospels, like all gospel-books, bears a text which was read publicly in excerpts throughout the year in the liturgies of the mass and the divine office. Furthermore, the church's temporal cycle of liturgical feasts is based upon events related in the gospels. The account of the Institution of the Eucharist in the Gospel of Matthew is quoted or alluded to in early documents of the Mass, such as the Stowe and Bobbio Missals.[1] Whether or not the manuscript was made for display or performance in the liturgy, the gospel text itself has definite liturgical associations. Indeed, certain features of the Lindisfarne Gospels suggest that it may have been used liturgically at some time in its history.

Thesis and Argument: The Non-figural Cross Pages as Visual Signs of Liturgy's Enacted Cosmological Perfection

In the present study, we shall examine the evidence of liturgical use that is presented in the manuscript itself and suggest some ways in which the designs of the cross or 'carpet' pages may put in visual terms the aims of the liturgy in which reading of gospel texts had an essential role. First, the idea that liturgy is a social act will be introduced with a brief explanation of theories of conventional speech acts – which include rituals such as Christian liturgy – developed in the disciplines of anthropology, philosophy and religious studies. It should be emphasised that early medieval Christians did not understand liturgy as a dramatic performance that they would attend as an audience, but rather as a communal experience of the body of believers as the body of Christ.[2] Groups within the body of believers (i.e. cities, kingdoms, monastic communities, inhabitants of locales, families) would have had intense desires to establish their rightful places within the salvation being enacted. The liturgy, therefore, was not separate from the community performing it and the individuals within that community.

To show that the Lindisfarne Gospels was made and probably used with specific reference to the social act of liturgy, we shall look in some detail at three types of liturgical indications in the manuscript. The three types (markings such as crosses in the margin near particular passages, lists of feasts and readings, and graphic emphasis on beginnings and especially significant parts of passages) will be introduced before going on to selected examples. The first example, a carefully drawn marginal cross at the beginning of the Passion in the Gospel of Matthew, will be considered within the context of Holy Week readings in early medieval liturgies, followed by presentation of evidence for reading the Matthean Passion in Insular liturgies. Discussion of notes and crosses in Insular

1 Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, D.II.3, fols. 1–11; BnF, lat. 13246.

2 See my discussion of the concepts of performance in the writings of Cassiodorus, C. Farr, '*Vox Ecclesiae*: Performance and Insular Manuscript Art', *Insular and Anglo-Saxon Art and Thought in the Early Medieval Period*, ed. C. Hourihane (Princeton, 2011), 219–28.

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gospel-books will be augmented by comparisons of decoration and graphic presentation of the text in early medieval gospel and liturgical manuscripts to show the certain liturgical significance of the added cross. That the cross was an early addition to accommodate local custom in celebration of Holy Thursday will be argued in an examination of the two indications for Holy Thursday in the lists of feasts ('quasi-capitularies') that precede the Gospels of Luke and John. This section will present the complex and variant liturgical practices on Holy Thursday to underscore the interaction of universal and local practice.

The next stage of our inquiry will look at two feasts in the Matthean quasi-capitularies to explore further the possibility that this list of feasts had some relationship to the liturgical readings at Lindisfarne. The two feasts and the decoration of the passages to which the quasi-capitularies likely refer will be explored to show that they have relationships to the regional or local context of the Lindisfarne Gospels.

The final section, 'Logos and Ritual' will connect the themes presented in the feasts and their gospel readings to interpretations of the cross pages with their geometric designs as signs of the spiritual perfection of the world that is promised in the gospels. The presence of local themes that have emerged in the explorations of readings in the sections on the marginal cross at the Passion in Matthew (as indicating a Holy Thursday lection) and the two feasts in the Matthean quasi-capitulary will be related to the cross pages' visually abstract signification of universal and eternal perfection. Themes of the readings as revealed in Bede's homilies will show how local concerns could be integrated into the larger structure of the spiritual perfection of salvation. We will conclude that this study of liturgical lections enriches our understanding of how the members of the Lindisfarne community may have seen the carpet pages as signs of their place and status within the earthly and heavenly church.

Ritual Acts, Performative Statements and the Decoration of the Lindisfarne Gospels

How could the decoration in the Lindisfarne Gospels signify or be connected with the salvation that is supposed to be enacted by liturgical ritual? The manuscript presents no narrative depictions of salvation, prayer or performance of the liturgy. Art-historians have understood its evangelist portraits as commentaries on divine inspiration, authority, and the inscription of the Word but without explicit references to the liturgy. The Canon Tables, large initials and carpet pages give no obvious suggestions of liturgical context. Modern scholars, unable to place the manuscript within its specific early medieval contexts of viewing and use, have struggled to understand how the non-figural patterns of interlace and geometric shapes could have semiosis that would connect them with larger meaning, such as salvation. Nevertheless, recent iconological analyses have argued for possible relationships between the geometric shapes prominent in the carpet pages and explications of the numeric sublayers of God's creation that are laid out in Insular exegetical commentaries. Seen from the viewpoint of such arguments, designs such as those in the carpet pages of the Lindisfarne Gospels (ills. I, V, IX, XII and XI) signify divine perfection and refer to the salvation of the earthly world through the Incarnation.[3] The Lindisfarne Gospels would therefore incorporate 'pictures' of the divinely ordered heaven and earth to introduce the four texts that witness the institution of that divine order and its transformation of the spiritual shape of the world. Even if the carpet pages were seldom viewed by communities of believers, the book itself contained the words that reiterated the moment of Christ's promise of salvation, words that were referred to, quoted, and read in public in the liturgy. This interpretation implies that the carpet pages were not simply pages of ornament to introduce the gospels but were signs of the gospels' power to enact salvation.

Before considering evidence for the Lindisfarne Gospels' actual liturgical connections, it is necessary to introduce some helpful theories and ideas from outside traditional art-historical methods. First, the concept of performative speech and actions will help modern audiences to understand how, for the Lindisfarne Gospels' makers and audiences, a gospel-book would have had power to act beyond its pages. It is important to understand that

3 J. O'Reilly, 'Gospel Harmony and the Names of Christ: Insular Images of a Patristic Theme', *The Bible as Book: the Manuscript Tradition*, ed. J.L. Sharpe and K. van Kampen (London, 1998), 73–88, at 82–5; J. O'Reilly, 'Patristic and Insular Traditions of the Evangelists: Exegesis And Iconography', *Le Isole britanniche e Roma in età romanobarbarica*, ed. A.M. Luiselli Fadda and É Ó Carragáin (Rome, 1998), 49–94, at 55–94; J. O'Reilly, 'The Hiberno-Latin Tradition of the Evangelists and the Gospels of Mael Brigte', *Peritia* 9 (1995), 290–30, at 290–6; C. Farr, 'History and Mnemonic in Insular Gospel Book Decoration', *From the Isles of the North: Early Medieval Art in Britain and Ireland*, ed. C. Bourke (Belfast, 1995), 137–45; V.H. Elbern, *Jahres- und Tagungsbericht der Görres-Gesellschaft 1980* (Cologne, 1981), 57–84, at 62–4; O.K. Werckmeister, *Irisch-northumbrische Buchmalerei des 8. Jahrhunderts und monastische Spiritualität* (Berlin, 1967), pp. 147–70.

'performative' does not refer to performance in a dramatic sense, which is descriptive or narrative, but rather to statements or actions that, always performed under special circumstances, in themselves bring into being a state of affairs. The special circumstances of performative acts are conventional, often ritual. Examples would be the words, 'I pronounce you man and wife', spoken in a marriage ceremony, or the Queen's act of dubbing someone with the sword of George VI.[4] The Mass is for believers performative: the statements and actions of the Eucharist, properly performed, transform bread and wine into the body of Christ, and connect those receiving the sacrament to his body.

Two features of performative utterances and acts are especially important in regard to rituals: reiteration and self-reference. Through reiteration, conventions are established and their authority is maintained. Anthropological studies have shown how ritual sets down a society's idea of cosmic order and maintains it through repetition of words and actions, reinforcing while upholding the concept of the order's permanence.[5] Reiteration is one of the ways in which Christian liturgy effects its conceptual ordering of the world. Its role in setting out Christian world order is clear in the order of the liturgical year, with its cycle of feasts and repetition of scriptural readings from year to year. The Christian liturgical year itself represents a symbolic ordering of time based on the life of Christ as told in the gospels. The order of the feasts and the themes of the feasts themselves express levels of time in the Christian structure of history. The readings and special ritual forms of each feast assemble in typological layers Old Testament texts, the Gospels, Acts, and Pauline Epistles, along with homilies or sermons on the readings, so that each feast re-enacts a Christian history in stages of prophecy, the life of Christ, the present earthly church and the heavenly church. In a still larger sense, liturgical forms reiterate the cosmic order under the triune God and a human relationship to that God within a history of fall and redemption. The liturgy in its reiterative cycle is both absolutely essential to, and the prime expression of, Christian time-structure.[6]

Reiteration implies uniformity and invariability, but each liturgical enactment occurs under circumstances differing from all others. So how can ritual be meaningful to the variable concerns of human participants? That crucial interface is accomplished by self-reference in an anthropological sense – that is reference to the community performing the ritual, as well as to individuals, because ritual is a social act that draws upon and affects values and beliefs held by a community and individuals within it.[7] Participants are linked with the universal and eternal form of the ritual by the inclusion of variations that refer to their contemporary situation.[8] Roman Catholic and Orthodox liturgies achieve this by the inclusion of the names of local saints and patrons, by special prayers, by the reading of martyrologies, by sermons, and by the use of vernacular languages. In eighth-century Northumbria, compared with the situation in the later Middle Ages, the variations were greater in both secular and monastic liturgies because scriptural and patristic readings, and some prayers, were regional and local choices. Each community's liturgy in some sense performed self-references to connect itself with the past, present and future of universal salvation. The Lindisfarne Gospels was made at a time when the community of Holy Island was promoting the cult of its leading local holy man, Cuthbert, as a pan-regional saint. Thus the book may have represented a merging of the community's identity with the history of salvation and its liturgical expression. By the early eighth century, uniformity of liturgical performance had already been addressed at Jarrow in the extended visit of John, *archicantor* of St Peter's basilica and abbot of St Martin's (one of the

4 J.L. Austin, *How to Do Things With Words* (Cambridge, MA, 1962), pp. 4–24, 26–52, 109–32; Judith Butler, *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative* (London, 1997); Roy A. Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 107–38; Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (London, 2006), pp. 183–93.

5 Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion*, pp. 23–68, 124–34, 344–70, 371–405; S. Tambiah, *Culture, Thought, and Social Action: an Anthropological Perspective* (Cambridge, MA, 1985), pp. 123–66; C. Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 93–169; for broader social implications of performative speech and the place of reiteration within it, see also Butler, *Excitable Speech*; Butler, *Gender Trouble*, pp. 18–46, 185–203.

6 I.H. Dalmais, 'Time in the Liturgy', *The Church at Prayer, 4: The Liturgy and Time*, ed. A.G. Martimort, I.H. Dalmais, P. Jounel, tr. M.J. O'Connell (London, 1986), 1–7; I. Cochelin, 'When Monks Were the Book: The Bible and Monasticism (6th–11th Centuries)', *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception and Performance in Western Christianity*, ed. S. Boynton and D.J. Reilly (New York, 2011), 61–83, at 69–74; A.W. Ramsey, *Liturgy, Politics, and Salvation: the Catholic League in Paris and the nature of Catholic reform 1540–1630* (Rochester, NY, 1999), p. 3; S. Boynton, *Shaping a monastic identity: liturgy and history at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000–1125* (Ithaca, NY, 2006), pp. 3–5, 64–65.

7 For further discussion of the concept of self-reference as it is understood in the study of ritual see Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion,* pp. 52–8; 69–106.

8 Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion*, pp. 52, 54, 69–106; Bell, *Ritual*, p. 75; K.C. Patton, *Religion of the Gods: Ritual, Paradox, and Reflexivity* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 13–4, 171–8, 241–4.

monasteries which served the basilica's liturgy). Bede says nothing, however, about Benedict Biscop seeking conformity of Jarrow's gospel readings to a papal capitulary.[9] Furthermore, the evidence in the Lindisfarne Gospels suggests that gospel lections on Holy Island were generally not those of the Roman liturgy (as will be seen in the next section). In an early eighth-century Northumbrian context, therefore, self-reference in choice of gospel readings would have been a prominent and powerful way of connecting the community with the liturgy of universal salvation.

Liturgical Indications in the Lindisfarne Gospels

The Lindisfarne Gospels presents definite indications of liturgical readings, yet understanding how they may relate to performance of the liturgy on Holy Island is complicated because cycles of gospel readings had not been standardised in the early eighth century, single-volume assemblages of liturgical texts are rare, and the available evidence survives in multiple incomplete sources. Early medieval gospel lections were nearly always indicated in gospel-books by lists or marginal notations. The Lindisfarne Gospels indicates liturgical connections by two types of lists (*capitula lectionum* and 'quasi-capitularies') and a few marginal markings. Further indication of liturgical context may be seen in graphic emphasis by decoration, colour within letters, and enlarged initials. Each of these has its particular value as evidence as well as its own difficulties.

Capitula Lectionum and Quasi-capitularies

The textual materials prefatory to each gospel include two lists relating to gospel readings or lections for feast days. One gives the *capitula lectionum*, that is chapters or sections for reading, some with indications in red letters of the feast day upon which they should be read.[10] The *capitula lectionum* list is followed by a list of feasts having readings or lections from the gospel that follows. Nearly identical lists of feasts preface each gospel in the Royal Athelstan Gospels,[11] a copy that is textually very close to the Lindisfarne Gospels and was probably made in Northumbria in the early eighth century. Perhaps a little earlier (at the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century), marginal notes indicating lections for the same Neapolitan feasts and for feasts of the Roman liturgy were added in Northumbria to a sixth-century Italian gospel-book, the Burchard Gospels.[12] Such a list is usually called a *capitulary* and ideally would indicate by chapter number or textual incipit the pericope or excerpt to be read for the day, but the lists in Lindisfarne have no such indications, and so have been termed 'quasi-capitularies'.[13] The lists in the Lindisfarne and Royal Athelstan Gospels appear to have no clear practical purpose. Nonetheless, their inclusion of certain feasts such as that of St Januarius, the patron of Naples, strongly suggests that they were copied from a capitulary in a Neapolitan gospel-book. It has been suggested that these non-functional lists resulted from a confusing array of rubrics and marginal notations in the Neapolitan exemplar.[14] So neither the *capitula lectionum* nor the quasi-capitularies on their own represent unquestionable evidence for lections in the liturgy on Holy Island when the Lindisfarne Gospels was made. They may have been included as memorials of liturgical practices that were in some way important to the Lindisfarne community and thus refer to the public performance of the gospels. Moreover, the Lindisfarne Gospels has other liturgical indications relating to passages that were used as lections or were otherwise of significance in the manuscript's eighth-century context,[15] as the following discussion will attempt to show.

Marginal Markings: The Cross beside Matthew 26.2

The folio presenting the beginning of the Passion in Matthew is laid out as any other text page – in double columns using the antique system called *per cola et commata*, that is in sense units and sub phrases articulated line by line, resembling poetic verse. What we know as Chapter 26 was not defined as one chapter until much later, but was divided by various systems into the narrative events: the planning of Jesus' arrest, the woman's anointing of him at Bethany, the Last Supper and so on.[16] Co-existing liturgical traditions differed in which sections of the Passion were read and on which day of Holy Week. On fol. 8ov of

9 Bede, *HE*, IV, 18; Christopher Page, *The Christian West and Its Singers: the First Thousand Years* (New Haven, CN, 2010), pp. 271–4.

10 See BL, Digitised Manuscripts, <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_nero_d_iv_f205v>.

11 BL, [Royal 1 B.vii], fols. 8r-8v, 54v, 78r-78v, 130r.

12 Würzburg, UB, M.p.th.f.68. For details, see U. Lenker, *Die westsächsische Evangelienversion und die Perikopenordnungen im angelsächsischen England* (Munich, 1997), pp. 394–5.

13 Brown, *LG[1]*, pp. 182–3.

14 G. Morin, 'La liturgie de Naples au temps de Saint Grégoire', *RB* 8 (1891), 481–93 and 529–37, at pp. 481–4, 533, 537; Lenker, *Die westsächsische Evangelienversion*, pp. 134–46.

15 Brown, *LG[1]*, pp. 185–93.

16 For early systems of division of Matthew 26, see D. de Bruyne, *Sommmaires, divisions et rubriques de la bible latine* (Namur, 1914), p. 506.

the Lindisfarne Gospels, the original scribe indicated the chapter as beginning where the modern one does (*Et factum est cum consummasset Ihs sermones hos*), with an enlarged and coloured initial contoured with red dots. The small numerals to the left are not a liturgical notation but a Eusebian section note, which gives numbers indexed in the Canon Tables to help the reader find parallel accounts in the other gospels.[17] Slightly below this, a carefully drawn black cross marks Jesus' words, *Scitis quia post biduum pascha fiet et filius hominis tradetur ut crucifigatur* ('You know that Passover will be in two days and the son of man will be handed over to be crucified').[18] The cross was probably added after the manuscript was finished, but not much later: it resembles original marginal crosses in a related early eighth-century manuscript, the Echternach Gospels.[19]

This is usually considered to be the beginning of the reading in the liturgy at Rome for the sixth Sunday in Lent, the same day as Palm Sunday but without a procession with palm leaves and the theme of Christ's entry into Jerusalem, features which originated outside Rome.[20] The reading beginning at *Scitis quia* is documented for Roman papal liturgy from the mid-seventh century, when mass on the Sunday before Easter was celebrated as a stational mass at the Lateran basilica;[21] and by the mid-eighth century, it had been adopted in Frankish liturgies.[22] Yet the situation is immediately complicated by a marginal note and quincunx mark in the Burchard Gospels that clearly indicate the beginning of the Roman papal lection for the sixth Sunday in Lent at *Et factum est* (Mt 26.1), even though that is inconsistent with other manuscripts with Roman lection lists or notes.[23] The marginal cross in the Lindisfarne Gospels, however, has no accompanying note indicating reading on a particular feast day. Marginal crosses at the beginning of the Matthew Passion are not particularly rare in early Latin gospel manuscripts. For example, a small cross was carefully drawn at *Et factum est* in a late sixth-century copy (BL, Harley 1775, fols. 121v–122r) that is thought to have originated in North Italy but was in France by the ninth century; one of the original scribes may have drawn the cross, as extra space was provided by placing the Eusebian section number at the top of the next folio, beside *Scitis*. The Royal Athelstan Gospels, the early eighth-century copy noted above for its close textual relationship to the Lindisfarne Gospels and inclusion of the same liturgical lists, also has a cross at the same point and in this case there was room to put the cross and the Eusebian section numbers together. The lection note in the Burchard Gospels shows that readings following the Roman papal liturgy could start either at *Et factum est* or at *Scitis quia*. Thus this cross does not by itself confirm an imitation of Roman liturgy at Lindisfarne: it suggests no more than the continuing relating of the manuscript to liturgical performance or reading of the gospel.[24] Indeed, the following will demonstrate that (1) surviving evidence fails to show widespread adherence to gospel lections borrowed from or imitating the Roman papal liturgy in Northumbria, even if much was known at Wearmouth-Jarrow of Roman practices, and (2) definite primary evidence exists in the form of lection notes and other indications in Insular gospel manuscripts to show that the Passion in Matthew was a Holy Thursday reading in eighth-century England.

The papal stational lections marked in the margins of the Burchard Gospels and the presence of many of them in the quasi-capitularies of the Lindisfarne and Royal Athelstan Gospels have been used to support arguments that the Roman stational liturgy and its lections exerted a strong influence on Northumbrian liturgical practices. Certainly Bede and others, such as the communities at

17 See further Thomas O'Loughlin, Ch. 5 in this volume.

18 Fol. 80v. See BL, Digitised Manuscripts <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_nero_d_iv_fo80v>.

19 BnF, MS lat. 9389; Brown, *LG*[1], p. 192. Although marginal crosses in gospel-books do not always indicate lection incipits with exacting precision, there can be little doubt that this one marks *Scitis quia* and not *Et factum*.

20 T. Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare Evangeliorum: Texte und Untersuchungen zu seiner ältesten Geschichte* (Munster, 1972), pp. 23 (no. 85; 'pure roman', about 645), 69 (no. 99; 'pure roman', about 740), 110 (no. 95; 'pure roman, about 755'); Lenker, *Die westsächsiche Evangelienversion,* p. 316, #102; on the history of Palm Sunday processional liturgy, H.J. Graef, *Palmenweihe und Palmenprozession in der lateinischen Liturgie* (Kaldenkirchen, 1959); M.B. Bedingfield, *The Dramatic Liturgy of Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 90–5.

21 On the early medieval stational liturgy, see É. Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood: Liturgical Images and the Old English Poems of the* Dream of the Rood *Tradition* (London, 2005), pp. 148–50.

22 Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare Evangeliorum,* pp. 149 (no. 108; 'roman-frankish, about 750'); Lenker, *Die westsächsiche Evangelienversion,* p. 316, paragraph 102; Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood*, pp. 164, 179 note 211.

23 Folio 57v. See Virtuelle Bibliothek Würzburg, http://vb.uni-wuerzburg.de/ub/permalink/mpthf68-114. G. Morin, 'Les notes liturgiques de l'Évangelaire de Burchard', *RB* 10 (1893), 113–26, no. 89 at p. 120, and Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood*, pp. 164, give the correct incipit.

24 Brown, *LG*[1], p. 192, suggested that this cross, apparently because it is not at the same position as the quincunx in the Burchard Gospels (fol. 57v, see above), and one at the *Pater Noster* in Matthew, may have been added later for 'extra-liturgical' reasons.

Canterbury that had strong ties to Wearmouth-Jarrow, had a good knowledge of Roman papal liturgy.[25] Nevertheless, the nature of the surviving manuscript sources for Roman papal lections has sometimes skewed our views. The lection notes in the Burchard Gospels, the quasi-capitularies in the Lindisfarne and Royal Athelstan Gospels, and the capitulary of gospel readings in the early or mid eighth-century Würzburg Roman *Comes* (Würzburg, UB, M.p.th.f.62, fols. 10v–16v), are so impressive and clear in their duplication of the lections for papal stational masses that they have overshadowed eighth-century gospel lection notes in other manuscripts connected with Northumbria. The overlooked manuscripts either clearly and explicitly give 'non-Roman' lections for Holy Thursday or present markings or graphic emphasis at key points in the Matthean Passion text that are consistent with Holy Thursday lections in 'non-Roman', early medieval liturgies in Frankish, North Italian and other western centres – in other words the liturgies that are sometimes put into a group inaccurately called 'Gallican'.

Where and to what extent was the papal stational liturgy emulated or adapted in Northumbria? As already mentioned, the question of whether the lists in the Lindisfarne and Royal Athelstan Gospels represent actual practice at Lindisfarne remains open (this will be examined in more detail below). Furthermore, the lists and the notes in the Burchard Gospels incorporate the papal stational lections into a list containing non-Roman, 'Neapolitan' feasts, and the Lindisfarne and Royal Athelstan quasi-capitularies add feasts that do not appear in Burchard. For these reasons (among others), Lenker has termed the lections indicated in the quasi-capitularies the 'Northumbrian-Neapolitan' lection system and suggests that the lists represent a general, pre-Gregorian liturgy from Italy.[26] Moreover, the Würzburg Roman *Comes*, although in Anglo-Saxon minuscule script, may have been written on the Continent (possibly in Rome itself) as opposed to in England, and the manuscript was in Würzburg by the late eighth century, possibly taken there by Burchard or one of his companions.[27] Decoration on folio 2v suggests a date no earlier than the mid eighth century.[28] An English origin for the *Comes* appears less likely because no evidence survives from the early Anglo-Saxon period of the sources or later versions of this group of readings.[29]

The most definite evidence in the early Anglo-Saxon period for practices modelled on the papal liturgy appears in Bede's account of the visit of John the archicantor of St Peter's to Wearmouth-Jarrow, and in what is known about the recitation of the office in Canterbury at St Augustine's Abbey and Christ Church Cathedral, where the cursus of psalms was that of the Roman office, using the Romanum psalter. Most western monasteries outside Rome used the Gallican psalter.[30] Bede's account and the primary evidence of Canterbury's monastic liturgy, however, do not concern gospel lections in the mass or even those in the monastic liturgy. As pointed out above, eighth-century gospel lections were local or regional choices, even if a community's choice may have been to emulate or adapt the readings of Rome or other centres for certain feasts. The choices were made based on the community's traditional customs, needs and desires.

Reading of the Passion in Matthew in 'non-Roman' Liturgies and the Cross at Mt. 26 in the Lindisfarne Gospels: Addition of a Local Liturgical Preference

In some early medieval liturgies that did not emulate the Roman papal one in choices of gospel readings, the Passion in Matthew 26 was read on Holy (Maundy) Thursday. Totally unambiguous examples can be found in two early liturgical books from Frankish regions. First, the late seventh- or early eighth-century Lectionary of Luxeuil, possibly made in the region of Paris, designates it

25 C. Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c. 650–850* (London, 1995), pp. 132–52; C. Cubitt, 'Unity and Diversity in the Early Anglo-Saxon Liturgy', *Unity and Diversity in the Church*, ed. R.N. Swanson (Oxford, 1996), 45–57; Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood*, pp. 208–79. Both authors point out the lack of homogeneity of liturgical customs in eighth-century England, Ó Carragáin in particular stressing adaptation of Roman liturgical forms to local customs. See also Jesse D. Billett, *The Divine Office in Anglo-Saxon England 597-c.1000* (London, 2014), pp. 114–32, on evidence for the Roman cursus or recitation of psalms in the divine office in Northumbria.

26 Lenker, *Die westsächsiche Evanglienversion*, pp. 136–46. See also C. Cubitt, 'Unity and Diversity', pp. 47–52, 57.

27 H. Thurn, *Die Pergamenthandschriften der ehemaligen Dombibliothek, Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg,* 3.1 (Wiesbaden, 1984), pp. 45–6.

28 The decorated initial's animal ornament has stylistic similarities with decoration in the St Petersburg Gospels. (St Petersburg, Public Library, F. v. I. 8), usually attributed to Northumbria, late eighth century. See (Würzburg Comes) http://vb.uni-wuerzburg.de/ub/mpthf62/pages/mpthf62/4.html, (St Petersburg Gospels) https://vivaldi.nlr.ru/bc000000001/view#page=157, https://vivaldi.nlr.ru/bc000000001/view#page=239.

29 Lenker, *Die westsächsiche Evanglienversion*, pp. 154–5.

30 Billett. *Divine Office*, pp. 78–132.

(beginning at *Scitis quia*, Mt. 26.2) for Holy Thursday.[31] A second manuscript the Bobbio Missal, gives the Matthew Passion as the Holy Thursday lection.[32] Equally clear and undeniable evidence exists that the Passion in Matthew was read on Holy Thursday in eighth-century England, and moreover the decorative articulation of gospel manuscripts from Irish contexts or contexts with an Irish presence strongly suggests the liturgical importance of the Matthew Passion.[33] Definite evidence for its reading on Holy Thursday in eighth-century Northumbria exists in a little-studied gospel-book in Durham (DCL A.II.16: ills. 3.13-14). A tiny note on folio 28r, to the left of Matthew 26.1, presents the Latin designation for Holy Thursday: *de cena d*[*omin*]*i* ('Of the Lord's Supper').[34] Written in an Insular minuscule, the script of the note has been placed by palaeographers in the eighth century, although the manuscript's early medieval location remains unknown.[35] Nevertheless, the Durham gospel-book will provide more evidence for lections in Northumbria as we move further into our exploration of the Lindisfarne Gospels' liturgical use. Another important but little-studied set of lection notes, in the later eighth-century Barberini Gospels, shows that the note in the Durham gospel manuscript is not a lone, eccentric choice of reading for Holy Thursday. In the Barberini Gospels, the note *in cena d*[*omin*]*i* is at Matthew's telling of the Passover meal, the Last Supper, beginning at *Prima autem die azymorum* (Mt. 26.17), a passage often emphasized with an enlarged and coloured initial in Insular gospel-books with Irish origins or associations, such as the Book of Kells.[36] Despite the presence of a colophon giving a proper name ('ora pro uuigbald'), the origins and medieval provenance of the Barberini Gospels are unknown. It has recently been connected with Peterborough but also has been attributed to a Northumbrian centre.[37] The lection notes inscribed in the margins of the Passion in Matthew in these two gospel-books provide firmer evidence of actual practice than Lindisfarne's quasi-capitularies for Holy Thursday readings in eighth-century England, but they have been overlooked in nearly all studies of Anglo-Saxon liturgy. The lection notes of DCL A.II.16 have only one edition, an appendix posthumously edited from Turner's notes, but these are incomplete and have some inaccuracies, as will be seen in the following discussion of the feasts of the Vigil of St Peter and Dedication of a Church.[38] Only Lenker has incorporated the Durham gospel-book's notes into her study of gospel lections, but she relies upon Turner's edition. The lection notes in the Barberini Gospels have never been edited. For this reason, Lenker does not include them. A digital facsimile of the manuscript is now available on the website of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, at last allowing access to the notes for study.[39] Moreover, Bede's powerful telling of the history of the Anglo-Saxon church, easily read as circumventing the presence of local liturgies resembling those described as 'Gallican' (and 'Irish') to produce a narrative of the English people growing in unity with Rome, has also turned attention away from primary evidence for lections such as that given in the Durham and Barberini Gospels toward the more clearly documented papal stational lections and the quasi-capitularies.[40] To point this out is not to argue a dichotomy or conflict of Roman versus

31 BnF, lat. 9247; *Le Lectionnaire de Luxeuil*, ed. P. Salmon, 2 vols., Collectanea biblica latina 7, 9 (Rome 1944–53), I, pp. 87–88; II, pp. 64–75; C.A. Farr, *The Book of Kells: Its Function and Audience* (London, 1997), p. 165.

32 BnF, MS lat. 13246, fol. 97r: *The Bobbio Missal*, ed. E.A. Lowe, HBS 53 (London, 1917), p. 61. See also below, in the section 'Graphic Presentation of Matthew 26 in Insular Gospel-Books …'.

33 See the section 'Graphic Presentation of Matthew 26 in Insular Gospel-Books …', below.

34 Fol. 28r; Lenker, *Die westsächsiche Evanglienversion*, no. 106, pp. 317, 396–7. On A.II.16, see R. Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures of Durham Cathedral* (London, 2010), pp. 38–41; C. Verey, 'Lindisfarne or Rath Maelsigi? The Evidence of the Texts', *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. J. Hawkes and S. Mills (Stroud, 1999), 327–5; M.P. Brown, 'House Style in the Scriptorium, Scribal Reality, and Scholarly Myth', *Anglo-Saxon Styles*, ed. C.E. Karkov and G.H. Brown (Albany, NY, 2003), 131–50, at 139–144.

35 Brown, 'House-Style', p. 142, 'sometime in the eighth century, and probably earlier rather than later'; Lowe, *CLA* II, nos. 123 and 148b, noted unusual features shared with a southern English hand in CCCC 173, fols. 59–83.

36 BAV, Barberini lat. 570, fol. 42v; Farr, *The Book of Kells*, pp. 118–9, 130–1; C.A. Farr, 'Commas and Columba, Power and Patrick: Restating the Archaic in the Book of Kells', *Omnia Disce: Medieval Studies in Memory of Leonard Boyle, O.P.*, ed. A.J. Duggan, J. Greatrex, B. Bolton (Aldershot, 2005), 129–54. For colour image of fol. 42v, see website of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Digitized Manuscripts, http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.lat.570/0102.

37 M.P. Brown, 'The Barberini Gospels: Context and Intertextual Relationships', *Text, Image, Interpretation: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature and its Insular Context in Honour of Éamonn Ó Carragáin* (Turnhout, 2007), 89–116, at 96–100, 115–6; R. Gameson, *The Scribe Speaks? Colophons in Early English Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 2001), no. 7.

38 C.H. Turner, *The Oldest Manuscripts of the Vulgate Gospels, Deciphered and Edited with an Introduction and Appendix* (Oxford, 1931), p. 217.

39 See note 36 above.

40 See C. Cubitt, 'Unity and Diversity', pp. 45–57, on the 'Romanising' aspect of Bede's 'Gregorian origin myth' as well as the legitimation promoted by Benedict Biscop, Wilfrid and others. See also É. Ó Carragáin, 'The Necessary Distance: *Imitatio Romae* and the Ruthwell Cross', *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. J. Hawkes and S. Mills (Stroud, 1999), 191–203, at 198–203; Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood*, pp. 208–79.

Irish liturgy as an eighth-century reality in Anglo-Saxon England – indeed Bede refers to some regional and even Irish practices, as will be seen later – but rather to restore the importance of primary evidence for variant, local gospel lection choices that may not be as accessible, well-organized and frequently referred to as the Würzburg Roman *Comes*, the Burchard Gospels stational notes, and the quasi-capitularies in the Lindisfarne and Royal Athelstan Gospels.

Graphic Presentation of Matthew 26 in Insular Gospel-books and Its Possible Liturgical Significance

Soon after it was finished, the Lindisfarne Gospels was inscribed with a cross in the margin at the beginning of the Passion in Matthew. It shares having a marginal cross in the Matthew Passion with the aforementioned Harley 1775 and Royal Athelstan Gospels, as also with other copies, including some Insular manuscripts, discussed below. In its visual or graphic presentation of the Passion in Matthew, however, the Lindisfarne Gospels differs from many Insular manuscripts. The differences are clearest when it is compared with gospel-books having Irish origins or associations. In the Durham Gospels (A.II.17, Part I, variously dated to the late seventh or early eighth century and made in a context, possibly Northumbrian, with an Irish presence), there is a break in the text of Matthew where Christ and the apostles, having finished the Last Supper and said a hymn, go out to Mount Olivet (Mt. 26.30-31): the initial word of verse 31, *Tunc,* was given elaborate treatment.[41] This break at verses 30 and 31 is emphasised in several gospel manuscripts from Irish contexts, going all the way back to the earliest surviving example, the Codex Usserianus Primus of the early to mid seventh century.[42] A gospel manuscript, probably made in the late eighth century in an Irish foundation on the Continent and now in St Gallen, has the initials of the two verses enlarged and coloured red and yellow. It differs from the Durham Gospels because the line of script is continuous and the two initials are more or less equal. But a cross has been drawn in the left margin opposite *Tunc dicit*, marking it as an important point, perhaps liturgically.[43]

The same text from the Matthew Passion is given as the lection for Holy Thursday in the so-called 'Bobbio Missal', a Merovingian Gallican sacramentary with Irish elements, and a prominent cross in the original hand separates the two verses.[44] An early eighth-century gospel manuscript from northern France also has a marginal cross at this point.[45] The examples strongly suggest that this point was considered significant in churches across northern Italy, Francia, and Ireland during the seventh and eighth centuries. Moreover, the significance could have been connected with the liturgical forms of Holy Thursday, as shown by the marginal lection notes in the Barberini Gospels and DCL A.II.16 that indicate the Passion in Matthew as a reading for 'cena domini' ('Holy Thursday'), by the reading

41 Fol. 38(2)v; P. McGurk, *Latin Gospel Books From AD 400 to AD 800* (Paris, 1961), pp. 117–8; Farr, *The Book of Kells*, pp. 119–31. On the Durham Gospels' Irish features, see Brown, *LG*[1], pp. 260–4, 401–2; Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures*, pp. 32–3; J. O'Reilly, '"Know Who and What He Is": The Context and Inscriptions of the Durham Gospels Crucifixion Image', *Making and Meaning in Insular Art*, ed. R. Moss (Dublin, 2007), 301–16, at p. 303; G. Henderson, *From Durrow to Kells: the Insular Gospel-books 650–800* (London, 1987), pp. 80–8; *The Durham Gospels*, ed. C. Verey *et al.*, EEMF 20 (Copenhagen, 1980); D. Ó Cróinín, 'Pride and Prejudice', *Peritia* 1 (1982), 352–62.

42 TCD, MS 55, fol. 25v, see <http://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/content/36/jpeg/MS55_074_LO.jpg>; Farr, 'Commas and Columba', pp. 135–8; McGurk, *Latin Gospel Books*, pp. 13, 79; T.J. Brown, 'The Oldest Irish Manuscripts and their Late Antique Background', *Irland und Europa,* ed. P. Ní Catháin and M. Richter (Stuttgart, 1984), 311–27, reprinted in *A Palaeographer's View: Selected Writings of Julian Brown*, ed. J. Bately, M. Brown and J. Roberts (London, 1993), pp. 221–41; W. O'Sullivan, 'The Palaeographical Background to the Book of Kells', *The Book of Kells: Proceedings of a Conference at Trinity College Dublin 6–9 September 1992*, ed. F. O'Mahony (Aldershot, 1994), 173–82; P. Ó Neill, 'The Earliest Dry-point Glosses in Codex Usserianus Primus', *A Miracle of Learning: Studies in Manuscripts and Irish Learning, Essays in Honour of William O'Sullivan*, ed. T. Barnard, D. Ó Cróinín and K. Simms (Aldershot, 1998), 1–28; B. Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, trans. D. Ó Cróinín and D. Ganz (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 83–4.

43 St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 51, p. 68. See (http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0051); C. Farr, 'Cosmological and Eschatological Images in the Book of Kells', *Listen, O Isles, unto Me: Studies in Medieval Word and Image in Honour of Jennifer O'Reilly*, ed. E. Mullins and D. Scully (Cork, 2011), 291–301, at p. 298.

44 BnF, MS lat. 13246, fol. 97r: *The Bobbio Missal*, ed. E.A. Lowe, HBS 53 (London, 1917), p. 61; C. Farr, 'Textual Structure, Decoration, and Interpretive Images in the Book of Kells', *The Book of Kells: Proceedings*, ed. O'Mahony, 437–49, at p. 442; R. McKitterick, 'The Scripts of the Bobbio Missal', *Bobbio Missal: Religion and Culture in Merovingian Gaul*, ed. Y. Hen and R. Meens (Cambridge, 2004), 19–52; C.D. Wright and R. Wright, 'Additions to the Bobbio Missal: *De dies malus* and *Joca monachorum* (fols. 6r-8v)', *ibid.*, 79–139; Y. Hen, 'The Liturgy of the Bobbio Missal', *ibid.*, 140–53; R. Meens 'Reforming the Clergy: A Context for the Use of the Bobbio Penitential', *ibid.*, pp. 154–67.

45 BnF, MS lat. 256, fol. 6ov; the cross is 'skeletal', drawn in the right margin with five points: see Farr, 'Textual Structure', pp. 443, 597 (Plate 131).

of the Passion in Matthew on Holy Thursday given in the Lectionary of Luxeuil and the Bobbio Missal, and by the indications in other seventh- through ninth-century marginal notes and capitularies in Latin gospel manuscripts for the reading of this same passage on that day.[46]

The most spectacular and famous of these emphasized divisions is that in the Book of Kells. The division is usually recognized only as the picture on folio 114r that bears the gospel text Matthew 26.30: *et ymno dicto exierunt in montem oliveti*. However, the two verses extend over both sides of folio 114 (the verso bearing the full-page incipit of verse 31, *Tunc dicit illis Ihs*) and beyond, and are skilfully integrated with the imagery. The picture on the recto faces the text of Christ's words at the Last Supper (the institution of the Eucharist) which are so positioned on folio 113v that details of the text coordinate with iconographic elements in the picture.[47] In addition to the liturgical references, this complex sequence of text and image also visually encapsulates statements made in Hiberno-Latin biblical interpretations on the text of the Last Supper in Matthew.[48] This is the turning point of salvation history: Christ's statement of the Eucharist transforms the world, expressed in the static Chi-shape of Christ's body. The picture on folio 114r of the Book of Kells incorporates a profound liturgical reference into the text of the Passion in Matthew. The Lindisfarne Gospels, by contrast, gives no particular emphasis to the two verses, no recognition of the earth-shaking leap between the two sentences.

The Lindisfarne Gospels differs from the Book of Kells, Durham A.II.17, Usserianus Primus and some other Insular gospel-books in its *per cola et commata* system of textual articulation. The manuscripts that emphasise the separation of verses 30 and 31 present the text in a block, with spaces, punctuation and minor decoration (such as touches of colour) to articulate sense units. The Irish tradition of enlarging and decorating initials at significant divisions within the block of text, such as beginnings of chapters and liturgical lections, appears to have its origins in the need to 'disambiguate' sense units and textual divisions within what would otherwise confront the reader as a mass of script with no clear, hierarchical separation of words, sentences and larger textual units.[49] The graphic requirements of the *per cola et commata* system differed from those of block-text: decoration and colour were unnecessary for articulation of the verse units, since these were written out as separate lines. Nonetheless the Lindisfarne Gospels endows its text with a hierarchy of decoration: incipits of chapters, Eusebian sections, canticles such as the Magnificat[50] and other parts of the text stand out with varying degrees of decoration, colour and enlargement. Yet more conspicuous embellishment highlights many of the incipits that are enlarged in other Insular gospel-books, such as the *nomen sacrum* of Mt 1.18 and the initial for *Vespere autem sabbati* at Mt 28.1,[51] even if Mt 26.31 (*Tunc dicit illis Ihs*) has no special treatment.

The style of page layout in these manuscripts, whether in a block of text with graphic articulation by letter size and decoration or in the *per cola et commata* articulation, would have been determined from the outset of the book's making. It would seem that the points emphasised by enlargement of letters and decoration would have been predetermined by tradition – and this is supported by the consistency of passages emphasised by decoration in Insular gospel books – so that extra notations referring to liturgical use or of other significance would not have been necessary. The Lindisfarne Gospels incorporates some of this Insular tradition into its *per cola et commata* presentation, as explained above. But what if a differing liturgical preference arose that required a passage (such as the Passion in Matthew) that was not included in the gospel-book's original capitularies or other indications of liturgical readings? One way of incorporating that need into the liturgical indications in a manuscript that already had a system of liturgical indications (such as lists of feasts) could be a marginal note or cross beside the passage in question. Thus could have arisen the motive for putting a cross at the beginning of the Passion in Matthew

46 For details of the notes and capitularies, see Farr, *The Book of Kells*, 116–31; 164–5; D. de Bruyne, 'Les notes liturgiques du ms 134 de la cathédrale de Trèves', *RB* 33 (1921) 46–52.

47 See the on-line facsimile, TCD, Digitised Images <http://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/home/index.php?DRIS_ID=MS58_113v>.

48 J. O'Reilly, 'The Book of Kells, folio 114: A Mystery Revealed yet Concealed', *The Age of Migrating Ideas: Early Medieval Art in Northern Britain and Ireland: Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Insular Art*, ed. R.M. Spearman and J. Higgitt (Edinburgh, 1993), 106–14; É. Ó Carragáin, '*Traditio Evangeliorum* and *Sustentatio*: The Relevance of Liturgical Ceremonies to the Book of Kells', *The Book of Kells: Proceedings*, ed. O'Mahony, pp. 398–449; C.A. Farr, 'Lection and Interpretation: The Liturgical and Exegetical Background of the Illustrations in the Book of Kells', unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Texas, Austin, 1989, pp. 214–305, 309–19, 341–8; Farr, 'Textual Structure', pp. 440–7; Farr, *Book of Kells*, pp. 116–34;140–3, 152–8; 164–5; Farr, 'Cosmological and Eschatological Images', pp. 297–301, on Hiberno-Latin texts, pp. 299–301; Farr, '*Vox Ecclesiae*', pp. 227–8.

49 M.B. Parkes, 'The Contribution of Insular Scribes of the Seventh and Eighth Centuries to the "Grammar of Legibility"', *Grafia e interpunzione del latino nel medioevo*, ed. A. Maierù (Rome, 1987), pp. 15–31; M.B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect: an Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (London, 1993), pp. 9–40, 65–80.

50 Fol. 141v.

51 Fols. 29r and 88r respectively.

in the Lindisfarne Gospels. The evidence from the Insular gospel manuscripts, the Luxeuil Lectionary and the Bobbio Missal, as well as the use of the passage in other early medieval liturgies, suggests that this cross was added to the Lindisfarne Gospels to indicate a Holy Thursday reading in accordance with a practice that was widespread in the eighth century. Furthermore, this was a local preference. The preference was not to imitate papal liturgy, but it did not necessarily oppose Roman unity.

The Cena Domini Feasts in the Lucan and Johannine Quasi-capitularies: Liturgical Options for Holy Thursday Gospel Readings

Uncovering the undoubtedly multiple motivations that determined the selection of initials for decorative emphasis is impossible due to scarcity of evidence, but feast names in the quasi-capitulary suggest possibilities for liturgical influences on the choice. Julian Brown and, based on his observations, Michelle Brown have explored possible relationships between initials given some degree of emphasis and the quasi-capitularies along with lections indicated in other early Latin gospel manuscripts.[52] The suggestion merits further investigation. What follows looks into the possible relationships of the two Holy Thursday feasts listed in Lindisfarne's quasi-capitularies to the decoration and marginal markings in the text of the Lindisfarne Gospels, liturgical notes in other gospel manuscripts of eighth-century England, and Bede's homilies.

The Lucan quasi-capitulary in the Lindisfarne Gospels has 'Feria . u . mane in cena dni ad missa passio dni ni ihu xpi', and the Johannine one has 'Feria . u . ieiunium de cena dni'.[53] They almost certainly indicate the account of the Last Supper, beginning at Luke 22.1, and that of Christ washing the apostles' feet during the Passover supper, at John 13.1. The initial within the main text for Luke 22.1 is conspicuously enlarged and has minor but eye-catching decoration (its interior is filled with yellow pigment outlined with a decorative black contour).[54] Such a level of emphasis on this initial is not unusual in Insular gospel manuscripts and does not by itself confirm that on Holy Thursday at Lindisfarne a reading began at that point.[55] Yet there is a very small but highly visible triad of red dots in the margin, a few lines above the initial, which might have been added to mark it as a lection by the rubricating hand and therefore at a very early stage in the history of the book. The other passage indicated for Holy Thursday in the quasi-capitulary, starting at John 13.1, begins a chapter, like Luke 22.1. Its initial also has an interior touch of colour with black contour but is equal in size only to those of Eusebian sections in this part of the manuscript.[56]

The multiple indications for Holy Thursday readings in the Lindisfarne Gospels could be symptoms of complex and varying traditions of the feast's liturgy as well as changing practices over time. Customs for Holy Thursday varied so much that Augustine of Hippo used it as an example to answer questions about variant liturgical practices.[57] In some places, he says, the custom on the last Thursday in Lent was to offer the sacrament twice. In such places, some wished to break their fast along with their Lenten abstinence from bathing. For those in the same locale who fasted all day, Mass would be celebrated again, either before or after the evening meal. In other places there was only one Mass on Holy Thursday. Augustine emphasises that all these practices were acceptable. The quasi-capitularies in Lindisfarne and Royal Athelstan specifically indicate readings for two masses, as Augustine describes. Their instruction for the reading from Luke's gospel says 'in the morning' ('mane') of Holy Thursday, while that from John's indicates reading for mass for those who have fasted ('ieiunium') until evening.

The two indications for readings in the Gospels of Luke and John that appear in the quasi-capitularies do not appear as marginal notes in the Burchard Gospels, which has no indications for Holy Thursday.[58] Moreover, their indications of the feast differ from those in the Roman capitularies of the late seventh and first half of the eighth century, which give the station at the Lateran and specify the chrismal mass ('conficitur chrisma').[59] Counted among the several feasts of the quasi-capitularies that are not presented in the notes of the Burchard Gospels, the two indications for Holy Thursday raise the question as to whether they were copied from a fuller exemplar of the Burchard notes or whether instead they might represent local custom on Holy Island. Lenker, pointing out the absence of 'comparative manuscripts of this tradition from

52 *Cod. Lind.*, pp. 38–46; Brown, *LG*[1], pp. 187–92.

53 Fols. 130v b and 208v b.

54 See Digitised Manuscripts, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_nero_d_iv_f193v.

55 McGurk, *Latin Gospel Books*, p. 119.

56 See Digitised Manuscripts, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_nero_d_iv_f241v.

57 Letter to Januarius, *Epistola* 54.5-10: *S. Aureli Augustini Epistolae*, ed. Aloïs Goldbacher, CSEL 34.2 (Vienna, 1898), pp. 158–68; tr. J.G Cunningham, ed. Philip Schaff, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, ser. 1, vol. 1; rev. and ed. Kevin Knight, *New Advent*, <http://www.newadvent.org.fathers/1102054.htm>.

58 See Lenker, *Die westsächsische Evangelienversion*, No. 106, p. 317.

59 Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare evangeliorum*, No. 89, p. 23; p. 49; No. 103, p. 69.

Naples or from the rest of Italy', concludes that the quasi-capitularies reflect 'a general Italian system of the pre-Gregorian period, which merely bore definite Neapolitan tendencies'.[60] However, a search through editions of lections from manuscripts presenting two non-Roman gospel readings for Holy Thursday finds only one example which seems to echo the quasi-capitularies' lections in Luke and John. The lections appear in a capitulary added in an eighth-century Lombardic hand to a blank folio after the Marcan chapter list in a gospel-book from north Italy with an Old Latin Text (Codex Rhedigeranus).[61] It indicates the Passion in Matthew (which parallels that in Luke) and the account of Christ washing the apostles' feet in John.[62] The papal Holy Thursday liturgy has only one reading, John 13.1-15.[63]

Other clues appear in the two eighth-century English manuscripts – the Barberini Gospels and DCL A.II.16 – which have marginal notes indicating the Matthean Passion as Holy Thursday readings. In the Barberini Gospels, the beginning of the Johannine Passion is not graphically emphasised at all, since John 13.1 falls within a Eusebian section and is not a chapter incipit here. A small cross was, however, added in red to the top margin of the folio directly above the incipit, 'Ante diem festum Paschae',[64] and a second, larger cross in red was drawn on the verso between the columns of text presenting the account of the Last Supper. The crosses were probably added by the hand that drew red flourishes and dotted contours on most folios and linear foliate ornament on the evangelist portraits. Like the triad of red dots at Luke 22.1 in the Lindisfarne Gospels, they apparently belong to the early history of the book. Moreover, DCL A.II.16 has a cross at Lk 22.1, with notes for reading aloud beginning at verse 10.[65] Besides these two early additions that probably indicated liturgical readings for Holy Thursday, a few in other manuscripts show continuing liturgical modifications. A cross similar to that in the margin above Jn 13.1 in the Barberini Gospels, but in black ink, was drawn in the Burchard Gospels over the quincunx at Jn 13.1 that originally marked the Roman lection for Tuesday of Holy Week.[66] In Royal Athelstan, a drypoint cross or 'X' survives over the initial at Lk 22.1,[67] and in the Gospel of John detailed punctuation was added to the entire Passion text.[68] Chronological relationships to the original hands in all these examples cannot be determined with any precision and undoubtedly vary, but the additions indicate the flexibility of lection traditions and the popularity of Lk. 22.1 and Jn 13.1 as readings.

Marginal notes and additions to the above-mentioned eighth-century gospel manuscripts, most of which were written in England, suggest that liturgical readings on Holy Thursday could have been any of the Passion accounts in Matthew, Luke or John, and that passages from two gospels could have been read, one for morning, one for evening. Moreover, Bede begins a homily on John 13.1-17 by interpreting the word *Pascha* beyond its Old Testament significance of the passing over from slavery into the promised land, to be understood as Christ's passing over 'from this world to his Father' and furthermore that 'the faithful, having cast off temporal desires and .... slavery to vice by continual practice of virtues, should pass over to their promised heavenly fatherland'.[69] Initially following Augustine's homily on the same passage, Bede adds an emphasis on the freeing from slavery as a figure of salvation, here enacted by practice of humility and charity, of which Christ gave a sign by washing his disciples' feet.[70] Rising from the table, he 'put aside his outer garments',

60 Lenker, *Die westsächsische Evangelienversion*, p. 143. She also cites A. Chavasse, 'Les plus ancient types du lectionnaire et de l'antiphonaire romains de la messe', *RB* 62 (1952), 1–92, at p. 74 and note 1, who indeed designated it as a Neapolitan system but under the heading 'la veille organisation romaine'.

61 Wroclaw (Breslau), Stadtbibliothek, MS R 169, fols. 92–93v: *CLA* VIII, no. 1073; A.G. Martimort, *Les lectures liturgique et leurs livres* (Turnhout, 1992), pp. 29, 49; Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare evangeliorum*, No. I. 3, p. XXX. Martimort and Klauser place its origin at Aquileia.

62 Respectively 26.17 ff. and 13.4 ff. G. Morin, 'L'Année liturgique à Aquilée antérieurement à l'époque carolingienne d'après le Codex Evangeliorum Rehdigeranus', *RB* 19 (1902) 1–12, at p. 7; see also H.J. Vogels, *Codex Rhedigeranus* (Rome, 1913), pp. xxii–xxv, 95–7.

63 Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare evangeliorum*, No. 89, on p. 23: 'Feria V ad Lateranis conficitur chrisma'.

64 Fol. 144r-v. See BAV digitised manuscripts website, http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.lat.570/0317.

65 Namely 'l' and 'c'.

66 Fol. 158v b. See Universität Würzburg Virtuelle Bibliothek, http://vb.uni-wuerzburg.de/ub/permalink/mpthf68-316.

67 Fol. 122r, See BL Digitised Manuscripts, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=royal_ms_1_b_vii_f122v.

68 Fol. 146r. See BL Digitised Manuscripts, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=royal_ms_1_b_vii_f146v.

69 *Homelia* II.5: *Bedae Homiliae euangelii*, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 122 (Turnhout, 1955), pp. 214–24, at 214–5; L.T. Martin and D. Hurst (trans.), *Bede the Venerable, Homilies on the Gospels*, 2 vols. (Kalamazoo, MI, 1991), II, pp. 43–4. The homily contains no explicit evidence that it was for Holy Thursday; see Hurst, CCSL 122, p. 214.

70 Augustine, *Tractatus in Iohannes* 55.1, ed. R. Willems, *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus CXXIV*, CCSL 36 (Turnhout, 1954), pp. 463–4; translation J. Gibb, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, First Series*, 7

'the bodily members which he had assumed' when he was crucified. The towel of linen, 'woven by the endless labour of twisting', that he put around his body was 'the torment of his passion'. The water, dried from the apostles' feet with the linen towel, was the water and blood he shed onto the ground when dying. With the towel and water, 'the sacramental [mystery] of his passion', he sanctified and strengthened the works of believers. The figure of freeing from slavery by Christ's Incarnation and Passion that Bede adds here also appears in Hiberno-Latin commentaries on the Matthean genealogy of Christ, in which *liber* in its triple meaning 'book', 'offspring' (Christ as Son of God), and 'free' (freeing of souls) is a sign of salvation through the Incarnation and Passion.[71] Bede's homily may incorporate Insular elements, reflecting the use of Jn 13.1 in Northumbria as a liturgical reading, possibly for Holy Thursday. Furthermore, it shares with Hiberno-Latin commentaries on the Matthean account of the Last Supper an interpretation of Christ's words and actions as signs of salvation, the return of the perfection of the Logos to the world.[72] Both passages – in Matthew (with its parallel account in Luke) and John – present Christ's actions and words that become signs used by liturgical ritual, most prominently on Holy Thursday. The signs constitute the performance of salvation and are the performative words and actions of universal salvation.

The choice of gospel(s) to be read on Holy Thursday at Lindisfarne would have been determined by the community and could well have changed from time to time. Thus the reading's significance would have been both universal and local. The significance would have been larger than that of the narratives of the gospel accounts. For the community, a Holy Thursday reading of any of the lections indicated in the Lindisfarne Gospels (the Last Supper according to Matthew, Luke or John) would have meant that Christ was present with them in the agency of his words, which were signs or sacraments of salvation. As Bede explained the washing of the Apostles' feet at the Last Supper, Christ's actions were signs of his sacrifice, bestowed upon the apostles and bringing them into the spiritual perfection enacted by his incarnation. Liturgical reiteration of the sacrifice in the words and actions of gospel readings and Eucharist made permanent and constant the presence of Christ and the spiritual perfection of the world after his incarnation. Determined by their own customs, the choice of reading connected the community by self-reference with the universal perfection of salvation.

Before moving on to considering two possible local or regional lections for feasts presented in the quasi-capitulary of Matthew and their significance as an expression of the community's having a place in universal salvation, a summary of conclusions on the Holy Thursday lections will make clearer the significance of the cross at the Matthean Passion and the listing of Holy Thursday in two of the quasi-capitularies, those for Luke and John. The cross at Matthew 26.2 probably represents the addition of a local choice of lection for Holy Thursday made in response to the preferences and needs of the community. The reading of the Passion in Matthew on Holy Thursday was widespread in early medieval liturgies.[73] As a marginal indication of a reading, it belongs to a type of lection note that could respond to the fluidity possible in lection choices, particularly for the complex liturgy of Holy Thursday. It was added as a marginal indication in response to the community's preferences arising after completion of the quasi-capitularies and the gospel texts with their detailed decorative hierarchies, in part coordinated to the lists of feasts in the quasi-capitularies. The quasi-capitularies and decorative articulation could not be altered, but neither was it necessary to obliterate them. It was acceptable for two sets of indications for Holy Thursday lections to co-exist in one gospel-book. As has been seen, Holy Thursday's liturgy could require two readings, if the community required two masses for the day. It should be noticed that these are not the papal stational readings. Even the feast in the Johannine quasi-capitulary, which probably indicates the same passage beginning at Jn. 13.1 as the papal lection, does not include mention of the Roman stational church, St John Lateran, or the indication for blessing of the chrismal oil. Moreover, Lindisfarne's Johannine *cena dni* feast is paired with the one in the quasi-capitulary for the Gospel of Luke, whereas the papal stational liturgy indicates only the reading from John's Gospel.[74]

(Buffalo, NY, 1888), rev. and ed. K. Knight, New Advent, http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1701055.htm.

71 J. O'Reilly, 'Gospel Harmony', p. 77.

72 See above, note 48.

73 See above, sections 'Reading of the Passion in Matthew in "non-Roman" liturgies …' and 'Graphic Presentation of Matthew 26 in Insular Gospel-Books …', and notes 31–51.

74 See note 63, above.

Readings for the Vigil of the Feast of St Peter and the Dedication of a Church

Having looked into possible readings that the Holy Thursday feasts in the Lucan and Johannine quasi-capitularies may indicate, our investigation of the public dimension of the Lindisfarne Gospels turns to two feasts in the quasi-capitulary for Matthew. As before, we shall explore possible relationships of the two feasts listed in the Matthean quasi-capitulary to the decoration and marginal markings in the text of the Lindisfarne Gospels, to liturgical notes in other gospel manuscripts of eighth-century England, and to Bede's homilies. While a number of the feasts in Lindisfarne's quasi-capitulary present similarities with evidence for gospel lections in manuscripts from eighth-century English contexts, the two selected for exploration here, *in dedicationem* and *in ieiunium sci petri*, are especially interesting when viewed against the background of lections indicated in other manuscripts.[75] Furthermore, they can be explored thematically because Bede composed a homily for each of their likely pericopes. Investigating these themes will suggest that features of the Christian world order were embodied within the textual presentation of the Lindisfarne Gospels.

In ieiunium sci petri (*Vigil of the Feast of St Peter*)

The quasi-capitulary lists in the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Royal Athelstan Gospels present imperfect evidence for actual liturgical readings at Lindisfarne, as was noted above. Some scholars accept that a Northumbrian version of the Neapolitan lection system which they and the notes in the Burchard Gospels preserve was indeed in daily use at Wearmouth-Jarrow, Lindisfarne and other places in eighth-century England.[76] Comparisons of the feasts and the pericopes to which they probably refer with those from other sources show that, while this 'Northumbrian-Neapolitan' lection system was not invariably adhered to, it is consistent with what is known from other evidence in terms of the thematic associations of certain pericopes with general categories of feasts.

The incipit for the reading for the vigil of the feast of St Peter in the quasi-capitulary was almost certainly meant to be Mt. 19.27 (Peter's question to Christ about the reward for those who have left all to follow him) because the note, *in ieiunio scī petri* (identical to the feast name given in the quasi-capitulary) in the upper margin of fol. 47v of the Burchard Gospels has an accompanying quincunx mark to the left of that passage.[77] Related lections are indicated in a ninth- or tenth-century marginal note for the feast of St Peter in the Oxford St Augustine Gospels[78] and in a note in the Barberini Gospels just before Mt. 19.27, probably for the feast of SS. Peter and Paul.[79]

These lections for feasts of St Peter are related thematically to the lection of Mt 19.27 given by a note in the top margin of fol. 20v in DCL A.II.16 (the manuscript with a lection note for Holy Thursday at Mt 26.1, discussed above). The note in the Durham manuscript does not indicate a feast of St Peter but rather a lection *in ordinatione æpiscopi*, 'on the ordination of a bishop'. Usually the note is thought to mark a pericope read during the liturgy of episcopal consecration, but it is at least as likely to mark the lection for the feast of a bishop saint revered at the community to which the gospel manuscript belonged. It is the first of two notes relating to bishops, the other (*in ordin episco*) being at Mt 24.43 (on the faithful servant). The existence of two lections for *ordinatio episcopi* could suggest more than one feast celebrating a bishop saint.[80] Obvious examples of such saintly bishops include Cuthbert for Lindisfarne and Wilfrid for Hexham, but the manuscript gives no clear evidence of belonging to any particular community in the eighth century.[81] The purpose of the first note, at Mt. 19:27, has been clouded even more by Turner's assumption that the pericope to which it refers begins at Mt. 20.1, the parable of the landowner who hires labourers to work in his vineyard, which is the incipit of a chapter in many early gospel-books. In fact the folio presents no definite marking to indicate the beginning of the lection.[82] The first line on the folio with graphic emphasis,

75 Fols. 24r and 24v respectively. BL Digitised Manuscripts, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_nero_d_iv_f024r. Ibid., fo 24v.

76 E.g. Lenker, *Die westsächsische Evangelienversion*, pp. 132–46.

77 See Universität Würzburg, Virtuelle Bibliothek, http://vb.uni-wuerzburg.de/ub/mpthf68/pages/mpthf68/94.html.

78 *in festo scī ptri*: BodL, MS Auct. D.2.14; Lenker, *Die westsächsische Evangelienversion*, ‡64, p. 360.

79 *die xxx mēn iunii post natal aposto*: BAV, Barb. lat. 570, fol. 33v a; see the Biblioteca Apostolica's digitised manuscripts website http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.lat.570/0084.

80 This question will be explored more fully elsewhere, but it is of interest that this pericope is listed in the Roman marginal notes of the Burchard Gospels for the feasts of St Gregory and St Eusebius, and the Oxford St Augustine Gospels, fol. 30v, has at Mt. 24.45 a seventh-century Roman note, '[I]n confesso[rum]', which Lenker, *Die westsächsische Evangelienversion*, p. 376, groups in her 'More Confessors' ('Mehrere Bekenner') category, ‡210, with note 141. See also J. Chapman, *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels* (Oxford, 1908), pp. 193, 197.

81 See Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures*, pp. 40–1.

82 Turner, *The Oldest Manuscripts of the Vulgate Gospels*, p. 217; Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures*, p. 41, accurately describes the note's manuscript context.

however, is verse 27, *Tunc respondens Petrus*, the more likely incipit in view of the readings in Burchard, Lindisfarne, and Barberini for feasts of the prime *episcopus*, St Peter.

The pericope Mt. 19.27-29 is the subject of Bede's homily for the feast of Benedict Biscop, the founder of St Peter's monastery, Wearmouth.[83] The homily provides evidence for the transferral of the lection for feasts of St Peter to that of a founding saint and abbot. Moreover, Bede interprets the theme of the holy man who abandons his biological family and property to follow Christ in relation to Benedict Biscop, the Northumbrian nobleman who left privilege and wealth.[84] At several points in the homily, Bede emphasises ways in which Benedict Biscop brought forms of monastic custom, church services, liturgical performance, visual art, window glazing, and architecture from 'the abodes of the blessed apostles, in order to take up a more perfect manner of living there where the glorious head of the Church who shines forth through the most exalted apostles of Christ', referring to cities in Italy and Gaul associated with apostolic authority, above all Rome.[85] Not only does Bede show Benedict Biscop bringing the Christian culture of apostolic 'cities', but he assimilates his spiritual character and status to the highest rank of the elect – those who have left family and property and who will be rewarded with 'a hundredfold'.[86] That the pericope refers completely to Benedict Biscop and gives him apostolic status, Bede makes clear in his interpretation of Christ's response to Peter, 'you who have followed me in the regeneration when the Son of man sits on the throne of his majesty, you also will sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel (Mt. 19.28)'. The 'twelve thrones' represents a figure for all those who have renounced earthly wealth to follow Christ: not simply the twelve apostles and the twelve tribes, but 'every race of mortal men'. Bede cites the example of St Paul, who was not one of the twelve apostles and yet said 'Are you not aware that we will judge angels? How much the more worldly things?'[87] Thus Benedict Biscop is a 'perfect man' who will sit on one of the thrones of the apostles by 'the Son of man … on the throne of his majesty' at the Last Judgement.[88] Benedict Biscop resembles a Northumbrian St Peter. How appropriate, therefore, that a lection which was apparently the reading associated with feasts of St Peter – and possibly of bishop saints – in eighth-century England was read to celebrate the founder of St Peter's Wearmouth as an apostolic holy man who was to sit enthroned with Christ at the centre of the heavenly temple.

Is there any indication in the Lindisfarne Gospels to suggest that on Holy Island Matthew 19.27 would have been the pericope for the vigil of St Peter, as Lenker believes? Folio 66r presents the text without exceptional emphasis, but the pericope's first line, *Tunc respondens petrus*, has its initial enlarged to the same height as that of the Eusebian sections, even though it begins neither a Eusebian section nor a chapter division.[89] Moreover, the bow formed by the initial T is infilled with yellow pigment.[90] This degree of emphasis is unusual for ordinary verses in this part of the manuscript. A decidedly higher level of colour and decoration is given to the first and third of the three Eusebian section incipits within the pericope (Mt. 19.28, *Ihs autem dixit*, and Mt. 19.29, *Et omnis qui reliquit domum*) than to the second. These two sections[91] articulate the pericope into the two parts that Bede emphasises in his homily: the reward of heavenly apostolic enthronement, and the requirement of leaving *domum vel fratres aut sorores aut patrem aut matrem aut uxorem aut agros propter nomen meum*. Besides these higher level divisions, special articulation highlights the list of family members and property: it is written one item to a line, and all the bowls of the initials of its conjunctions (*vel*, *aut*) have alternating yellow and green infills. (The textually-related Royal Athelstan Gospels presents the pericope with a shadow of Lindisfarne's articulation, the initial T being slightly enlarged but not equal with the Eusebian incipits and the list of family members and property written on fewer lines, all in black, without red initials.[92])

As noted above, it is not now possible to recover the motivations that determined such graphic features, but Lindisfarne's presentation of the pericope may suggest

83 *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow: Bede's Homily i.13 on Benedict Biscop* …, ed. C. Grocock and I.N. Wood (Oxford, 2013), pp. 1–19; *Bedae Homiliae evangelii*, ed. Hurst; Martin and Hurst (trans.), *Bede the Venerable, Homilies on the Gospels,* I, pp. 125–33.

84 *Bede's Homily i.13*, ed. Grocock and Wood, pp. 5–9.

85 *Bede's Homily i.13*, ed. Grocock and Wood, pp. 8, 17–19.

86 The lower class of the elect are those who have kept the commandments and daily given alms to the poor but have not left all things.

87 *Bede's Homily i.13*, ed. Grocock and Wood, pp. 5–7; Martin and Hurst, *Bede the Venerable*, pp. 125–6.

88 *Bede's Homily i.13*, ed, Grocock and Wood, pp. 5–7; Martin and Hurst, *Bede the Venerable*, p. 126.

89 The chapter divisions in Lindisfarne belong to the 'C' family: de Bruyne, *Sommmaires, divisions et rubriques*, p. 504.

90 See BL, Digitised Manuscripts, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_nero_d_iv_f066r.

91 Nos. 196 and 198.

92 Fol. 37r. See BL, Digitised Manuscripts, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=royal_ms_1_b_vii_f037r.

that the scribe was familiar with the emphasis and interpretation placed on the text by Bede's homily, while Bede may in turn have been making use of existing interpretations of the pericope that related it to St Peter or other episcopal saints. In any case, the scribe has also emphasised the disassociation from family and property, consistent with the way that Bede expanded its importance to emphasise the most valuable prize that Benedict Biscop secured for Wearmouth, namely papal privilege and hence security from episcopal or political interference.[93] Tensions between concerns of biological family ties and those of the spiritual family were crucial issues for early medieval monastic communities, as is evident in the Rule of St Benedict, Bede's homily, the widespread choice of this pericope as appropriate for the feast of the bishop of Rome, and the presentation of the text in the Lindisfarne Gospels.[94]

In Dedicationem (Dedication of a Church)

The second feast given in the Lindisfarne Gospels' quasi-capitulary for Matthew is thought to indicate reading the story of the Transfiguration either to commemorate the dedication of a church or for the consecration of a church.[95] Chapman placed the beginning of the reading at Mt. 16.28, where Christ announces that 'the Son of Man is to come in the glory of his Father with his angels' and that 'some of those standing here will not taste death' before he arrives.[96] An account of the Transfiguration follows (Mt. 17.1-13). Determining where the pericope was to begin is difficult because the Burchard Gospels does not have a corresponding note.[97] Indeed this part of the quasi-capitulary appears not to depend very closely on the set of Roman and Neapolitan feasts represented in the Burchard Gospels.

A scribbled asterisk was added at Mt. 16.27 in the Lindisfarne Gospels, but this could have been done at any time during the Middle Ages. The graphic articulation of Mt. 17.1, *Et post dies sex* (where Jesus takes the three apostles to a high mountain-top), may represent a better indication of the story's significance.[98] *Et post dies sex* is not the incipit of an Eusebian section or a chapter division.[99] Nevertheless, its initial is enlarged to a size equal with those of most sections and chapters, and is embellished with colour.[100] The 'p' is slightly enlarged, further enhancing the incipit's visual prominence. The text that follows, on fol. 61r, has only the *per cola et commata* articulation and a few small yellow or green infills, flagging paragraphs and sentences. In the Royal Athelstan Gospels, the initial of Mt. 17.1 is nearly two lines high and in red – an unusual degree of emphasis for a passage that is not a section or chapter beginning.[101]

Thus the incipit for the dedication feast's reading may have been Mt. 17.1.[102] This is interesting because in DCL A.II.16 the Transfiguration is marked as a reading for Lent, and in the Oxford St Augustine Gospels a ninth- or tenth-century note (added long after the manuscript arrived in England) marks it as a lection, perhaps for a Saturday in Lent or for an Ember Saturday (Ember days being sets of three days that make up a sort of mini-Lent four times a year).[103]

An important source for exploring liturgical themes surrounding the pericope is Bede's homily on the text, which begins with Mt. 16.27 (*Filius enim hominis venturus est*) and continues to the end of the account, Mt. 17.9, where Jesus forbids the apostles to speak about his transfiguration. In modern editions the homily is entitled

93 Grocock and Wood (*Bede's Homily i.13*, pp. 96–7) draw attention to Benedict Biscop's powerful aristocratic relatives.

94 H. Mayr-Harting, *The Venerable Bede, the Rule of St Benedict and Social Class*, Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow, 1976).

95 Fol. 24r. See BL, Digitised Manuscripts, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_nero_d_iv_f024r.

96 Chapman, *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels*, p. 54.

97 The folio bearing the text in the Burchard Gospels (fol. 44r) has two notes, a Roman lection for a ferial in septuagesima and a general pericope from the Neapolitan feasts, *cotidiana*, both for Mt. 17.1, but the preceding folio has only a note *in unius martyris* for Mt. 16.24. Lenker suggests that the reading for the missing *In dedicatione* began somewhere between Mt. 16.24 and 28 in Burchard. The two Burchard notes (the ferial in Septuagesima and *cotidiana*) do not correspond to the feasts in the quasi-capitulary in Lindisfarne and the Royal Athelstan Gospels. See Lenker, *Die westsächsische Evangelienversion* §301 with note 152, p. 378.

98 Fol. 60v . See BL, Digitised Manuscripts, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_nero_d_iv_f060v.

99 The divisions in Lindisfarne are those of the C-family: de Bruyne, *Sommmaires, divisions et rubriques*, p. 504.

100 It is surrounded with a contour of red dots, and has its bows infilled with yellow (top) and green (bottom), with a triad of red dots in its lower bow and another in the space before the 'p'.

101 Fol. 33v. See BL, Digitised Manuscripts, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=royal_ms_1_b_vii_f033v.

102 As suggested by Morin, 'La liturgie de Naples', no. 46, p. 487 and note 46.

103 Lenker, *Die westsächsische Evangelienversion*, #73, p. 310, groups the note in the Oxford manuscript with those for 'Saturday – Quatember'; Chapman, *Early History of the Vulgate Gospels*, p. 200, records the note as *sabb . ī . xl*, 'Saturday in Quadragesima', which could mean Lent or an Ember Saturday.

'In Quadragesima' ('In Lent'), although Bede gave no explicit indication of the feast for which it was written.[104]

Bede begins the homily by speaking of 'labours of this life', a theme that could relate to Lent, but he then says that Christ leads the chosen to 'future blessedness which knows no labour'. The theme concerns the gift of a vision of future blessedness to ease the burden on his chosen who endure earthly suffering. The splendid vision of Jesus with Moses and Elijah that was to happen six days later on the mountain-top was to be a preview of 'the Son of Man coming in his kingdom' given to three of the disciples standing before him (Mt. 16.28). The homily's overall subject is the transfiguration of the body, the future reward of those who eagerly 'wish to see God and achieve the glory of the blessed resurrection'.[105] Bede expands the theme of purification of the body to sun-like brightness to embrace an even higher level, the purification of the church. Referring to scriptural mentions of cloth or clothing in Isaiah, Galatians and Mark's account of the Transfiguration, he explains the typological meaning of Christ's snow-white garments as the 'Church of his saints', who will have been purified from iniquity and mortality at the resurrection.[106] In his gospel, Mark refers to the ancient mechanical process of bleaching cloth by beating it in water, the occupation of the fuller, to emphasise the unearthly brightness: no fuller could purify cloth to such whiteness.[107] Bede interprets the earthly fuller in a mystical sense as a spiritual teacher or 'extraordinary purifier of his body'. The heavenly fuller, teacher and bodily purifier is 'the Lord [who] will purify the Church, which is his clothing, from all defilement of flesh and spirit, renewing [her] besides with eternal blessedness and light of flesh and spirit'.[108] Bede assimilates the image of the body in brilliant white clothing as a metaphorical figure of the purified person to the even loftier image of the body of Christ clothed in the purified shining white Church of resurrected saints. This image is taken further still in the next part of the homily, on Peter's inept suggestion that tents be made for Jesus, Moses and Elijah. His comment was ignorant, Bede says, citing Luke's account of the event, because Peter, being a corporeal human, did not realize that tabernacles, like earthly clothing, would not be needed 'in the heavenly way of life'. Bede cites 'the apostle John' who described 'the brightness of the heavenly city', saying 'I saw no temple in it', and Paul's use of the figure 'through a glass darkly' now, but then 'face to face' to emphasise the non-corporeal nature of the vision of God and the heavenly Church.[109] Bede continues to the bright cloud which then appeared, from which the voice of God proclaimed, 'This is my beloved son in whom I am well-pleased'. A divine response to Peter's thought that there was need for shelters, the cloud is a further image of the heavenly tent, a protection that was sent over the Israelites for forty years. Bede asks, 'How much more does he protect with the covering of his wings those who dwell in the tent of the heavenly kingdom forever?'[110] Christ's purpose in allowing three 'fleshly and fragile' disciples to see him transfigured between Moses and Elijah, Bede says, was to reassure them that the Old Testament Law (Moses) and Prophets (Elijah) would be fulfilled, to strengthen their faith so that they would not despair upon seeing his crucifixion, and to reveal how 'his humanity too was to be lifted up by heavenly light through his resurrection'.[111]

The homily presents definite Lenten themes of purification, fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy in the figures of Moses, who fasted for forty days and led the Israelites in their wandering in the desert for forty years, and Elijah, a standard figure signifying Christ's forty-day fast in the desert. All are reassurances after a long period of deprivation and suffering. In patristic exegesis, the biblical instances of forty days or years of wandering and suffering have multivalent significance as Lent and also Christ in his Passion as well as the forty-day fast, the suffering of humans in their temporary corporeal bodies, the body of Christ as the present-day Church in its earthly wandering and persecution, and the final body of the

104 Titles of Bede's homilies in modern editions are often the products of later manuscript and editorial traditions. Hurst in the CCSL edition cites titles found in its manuscripts and early editions and notes that the passage was the Roman lection for Saturday after the first Sunday of Lent: *Bedae Homiliae evangelii*, ed. Hurst, I.24, pp. 170–7; Martin and Hurst, *Bede the Venerable, Homilies*, 1, pp. 234–44. For the Roman lection, see Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare Evangeliorum*, no. 61, p. 20.

105 Martin and Hurst, *Bede the Venerable*, 1, pp. 234–8; *Bedae Homiliae evangelii*, ed. Hurst, I.24, lines 1–61, pp. 170–3.

106 Isaiah 49.18, Galatians 3.37, Mk. 9.2; Martin and Hurst, *Bede the Venerable*, 1, pp. 238–9.

107 Mk 9:2: : 'Et vestimenta eius facta sunt splendentia, et candida nimis velut nix, qualia fullo non potest super terram candida facere'.

108 Martin and Hurst, *Bede the Venerable*, 1, p. 239; *Bedae Homiliae evangelii*, ed. Hurst, I.24, lines 128–39, pp. 173–4.

109 Martin and Hurst, *Bede the Venerable*, 1, pp. 240–1; *Bedae Homiliae evangelii*, ed. Hurst, I.24, lines 166–99, pp. 174–5.

110 Martin and Hurst, *Bede the Venerable*, 1, pp. 241; *Bedae Homiliae evangelii*, ed. Hurst, I.24, lines 203–12, pp. 175–6.

111 Martin and Hurst, *Bede the Venerable*, 1, pp. 242–3; *Bedae Homiliae evangelii*, ed. Hurst, I.24, lines 224–43, p. 176.

heavenly church made up of the 'stones' of believers.[112] Bede undoubtedly was referring to these multiple nuances that Lent would have had for his audiences. He refers to the cloud protecting the people for forty years and then uses the image of God's protecting wings over those who dwell in his tent of protection that appears in the Psalms, notably in the one that is prominent in Lenten liturgy and also appears in the liturgy of church dedication – Psalm 90.[113]

Bede again links Lenten themes with the foundation of a monastery and the dedication of its church in his account in the *Historia ecclesiastica* of Cedd's consecration of his monastery at Lastingham. Like the site of the Transfiguration, the place Cedd chose was high on a hill, but it had been the site of beastly dwelling and had to be cleansed of the stain of crimes so that it could produce good. Cedd accomplished this cleansing by 'prayer and fasting', asking permission to stay on site for the whole of Lent before work building the monastery started. Cedd had acquired this custom, Bede says, when he learned 'the discipline of a Rule', presumably referring to 'the usage of Lindisfarne where he had been brought up'.[114]

The way that Lent and the foundation and dedication of churches are merged in Bede's Transfiguration homily and in his account of Lastingham suggest that these themes may also have been assimilated in liturgy. As noticed earlier, the part of the quasi-capitulary in the Lindisfarne and Royal Athelstan Gospels which includes the feast *In dedicatione* does not correspond to the Roman and Neapolitan notes in the Burchard Gospels. This, taken together with Bede's homily on the pericope to which the feast refers and with the story of Cedd's Lenten fast to purify a monastic site as well as the reading of the Transfiguration story during Lent indicated in another eighth-century Northumbrian manuscript (DCL A.II.16), suggests that the feast was a local or regional addition, perhaps proper to Lindisfarne.

Moreover, Bede's homily explicitly sets out an idea of the spiritual dynamic of human body, Christ's body and the body of the Church. They become purified and transfigured through suffering and resurrection, becoming non-corporeal visions of light. If his homily were delivered on an annual dedication feast, it would set down and maintain this image of the identity and role of the church within the history of the Church and its people.

Logos and Ritual

In what ways could the themes of the feasts and their liturgical lections relate to the visual art of the Lindisfarne Gospels' carpet pages (ills. I, V, XI, XII, XV)? Its early medieval audience's reception of them must have been complex and multi-levelled, resonating with images, words and meanings in their physical, intellectual and spiritual environment. Michelle Brown has explored in detail the multiple visual references suggested by the carpet pages' designs and possible foreign models for the idea of a page of ornament.[115] The pages present the cross in variant forms, and that is their most significant aspect. The cross in its broadest significance expressed Christianity and the ultimate unity of the world to which the gospels and the salvation of baptism were to be given.[116] The main visual sign given to human beings of Christ's Incarnation, it was recognized as a powerful intermediary, its significance the concern of the most learned as well as ordinary believers.[117] The present exposition of these carpet pages within a gospel manuscript will suggest their possible semiosis of the themes presented in the lections for feasts that express unity of the Northumbrian church with the universal one and also the incorporation of local concerns. The primary point to be argued is that, within this liturgical context, they are to be seen as signs of the salvation enacted by the book of which they are a component. As liturgical signs they would be not just symbols but things that enact.[118] The supporting argument cannot be made by cause and effect of, for instance, a text upon a visual iconography. The cross page at Matthew's gospel

112 Augustine, Enarratio in Psalmum XC, ed. E. Dekkers and I. Fraipont, CCSL 39, 2 (Turnhout, 1956); Bede, *De Tabernaculo* 2, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 119A, pp. 42–60; Farr, *The Book of Kells*, pp. 58–75, 88–94.

113 Farr, *The Book of Kells*, pp. 62–72, 88–94; Farr, 'Lection and Interpretation', pp. 164–91.

114 Bede, *HE*, III.23, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 148–9.

115 Brown, *LG[1]*, pp. 305–8, 312–31; *LG[2]*, pp. 109–14, 123–33.

116 Tertullian, *Apologeticus adversus gentes pro christianis*, 16, PL 1.365–6: Christians are 'crucis religiosi'; J. O'Reilly, 'The Image of Orthodoxy, the *Mysterium Christi* and Insular Gospel Books', *L'Irlanda e gli irlandesi nell'alto medioevo*, Stettimane di Studio della Fondazione centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 57 (Spoleto, 2010), 651–705, at 655–61, 664–8, 669–82; Ó Carragáin, 'The Necessary Distance', pp. 201–2; Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood*, pp. 223–303; Brown, *LG[1]*, pp. 321–4.

117 C. Hahn, 'Visio Dei: Changes in Medieval Visuality', *Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance*, ed. Robert S. Nelson (Cambridge, 2000), 169–96, at 178–82.

118 A.G. Martimort, 'Liturgical Signs', *The Church at Prayer: An Introduction to the Liturgy*, 1, *Principles of the Liturgy*, by I.H. Dalmais, P.M. Gy, P. Jounel, and A.G. Martimort, trans M.J. O'Connell (London, 1986), 173–226, at 173–8.



ILLUSTRATION 7.1 *DCL, A.II.17, Part 1 (Durham Gospels), fol. 38(3)v.*

may incorporate the curving forms of cups or chalices (ill. v).[119] Does it then have an iconography of the Eucharist? The cups could refer to the blood of Christ, in his own words in the text of Mt. 26.26-29, a Holy Thursday lection according to the exploration of the marginal cross. In modern semiotic theory, the curved forms may be signs of the Eucharist. In a ritual context, however, the sign of the cross within its four-sided frame would be an enacting sign of the salvation of the world, as will be explained below.

119 C. Karkov, 'The Chalice and Cross in Insular Art', *Age of Migrating Ideas*, ed. Spearman and Higgitt, 237–44, at 242.

Nor can the argument depend upon one-to-one correspondences of word and image. Rather, it will have to rely on analogy between the ideas presented in the gospel – along with exegetical and other primary texts – and the visual qualities (kinds of shapes, colours, patterns, visual rhythms, positive and negative spaces, compositions) presented by the cross pages' designs. Aside from our lack of direct, primary evidence on the intention behind the cross pages, it is their aniconic nature, their designs that rely on visual ambiguity to impart a revelation to the viewer, and their lack of verbal prompts such as *tituli* to direct the viewer's understanding, that place them beyond the reach of traditional art historical iconographic or word and image methodology.[120]

Recent iconological studies, as noted already, have shown that Hiberno-Latin and Northumbrian exegetical commentaries present cosmological numeric interpretations that suggest the geometric designs in Insular gospel manuscripts may have been intended and understood to signify the return of the world to original perfection through the Incarnation.[121] The carpet pages' possible nature as signs of salvation within a ritual context may be understood by modern audiences through the ideas articulated in speech act theory or performative theory, as explained earlier.[122] Key concepts in performative theory, the carpet pages' geometric visual designs, and the patristic and Insular commentaries are that (1) ritual sets down by means of reiteration and self-reference the cosmic structure within which a society believes itself to exist, (2) heaven and earth have a four-part structure which coheres with its source in the divine perfection of the Creator-Logos, and (3) the Incarnation and Christ's sacrifice on the cross restored the world's original perfection at the moment of creation. The cross is of central importance as it is the shape of the frame of the four-part cosmos and the sign of Incarnation, sacrifice and salvation.

These ideas were expressed in a late seventh- or early eighth-century Insular figural image of the Crucifixion that also coincides in its design in certain ways with that of the Lindisfarne Gospels' carpet pages. The Crucifixion image is in the Durham Gospels (DCL A.II.17, Part 1: ill. 7.1) mentioned earlier in discussion of the graphic emphasis on Matthew 26.30-31 seen in gospel-books associated with Irish contexts.

While the Durham Gospels is fragmentary and its precise origin unknown, it has a known historical relationship with the Lindisfarne Gospels because they share a correcting hand.[123] The Durham Gospels probably was in Northumbria not long after its making, if it was not made there. Its Crucifixion picture is at the end of the Gospel of Matthew, on the verso of the account of Christ's final appearance before his ascension. He tells his disciples that all power has been given him in heaven and earth and commands them to go teach and baptize all peoples.[124] He will be continually present, 'I am with you always, to the end of the world'. The page of text is written within an interlaced cruciform frame, the outline of which matches that of the Crucifixion cross on the other side. The Crucifixion picture, in its visual design and inscribed *tituli*, presents a profound theological message concerning Christ's dual nature. He was crucified in his divine and human natures unified in one, to redeem all humankind, uniting heaven and earth with his cosmological cross, visually emphasized by the text's cruciform frame and the coinciding cross depicted on the other side of the folio.[125] The cross spans the whole of the page from the top, in the realm of the angels either side of its top, to the lower edge, the earthly scene of soldiers with the sponge and spear. The unusual shape of the cross, its horizontal beam placed low in the centre of the picture, recalls the cosmological cross structures of four symbols pages and carpet pages. The body of Christ, arms extended from the elbows, conforms to the shape of the cross and unites heaven and earth.[126] It is not a narrative depiction but an image of the incarnate, suffering Christ and his body made present in every celebration of the Eucharist. It is about his salvation of the world, through baptism and the Eucharist, which is to be carried to the ends of the earth by his body of Christians: 'I am with you always, to the end of the world'.

120 E. Pirotte, 'Hidden Order, Order Revealed: New Light on Carpet Pages', *Pattern and Purpose in Insular Art*, ed. M. Redknap, N. Edwards, S. Youngs, A. Lane and J. Knight (Oxford, 2001), 203–7; R.B.K. Stevenson, 'Aspects of Ambiguity in Crosses and Interlace', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 44 (1981), 1–27. See also B. Kitzinger, 'The Liturgical Cross and the Space of the Passion: the Diptych of Angers MS 24', *Envisioning Christ on the Cross: Ireland and the Early Medieval West*, ed. J. Mullins, Jenifer Ní Ghrádaigh and R. Hawtree (Dublin, 2013), 141–59, at 157–9; C.A. Lees, 'Basil Bunting, Briggflatts, Lindisfarne and Anglo-Saxon Interlace', *Anglo-Saxon Culture and the Modern Imagination*, ed. D. Clark and N. Perkins (Cambridge, 2010), 111–27, at 113–9.

121 See above, 'Ritual Acts, Performative Statements …', and note 3.

122 See above, 'Ritual Acts, Performative Statements …', and notes 4–8.

123 Brown, *LG*[1] , p. 49; *The Durham Gospels*, ed. C.D. Verey *et al.*, EEMF 20, (Copenhagen, 1980), pp. 74–6.

124 Fols 38a,b; Mt. 28.16–20.

125 O'Reilly, 'The Image of Orthodoxy', pp. 661–82; O'Reilly, '"Know who and what he is"', pp. 57–58, 80–82; Werckmeister, *Irisch-Northumbrische Buchmalerei*, pp. 70–78.

126 O'Reilly, '"Know Who and What He is"', p. 303.

The Lindisfarne Gospels' carpet pages may be understood to present related significance as images of the cross, the shape of the four-part world ('forma quadrata mundi'), the sign of 'the Creator-Logos who renewed creation and restored fallen humanity by taking on human flesh, stretching out his hands on the cross, and reconciling all things in himself'.[127] Carpet pages appear most often in gospel manuscripts, rarely in copies of other texts. Their association with gospel-books may rest at least in part upon their four-part structure: the Logos in making all things had made the gospel in four aspects, complete and unified by the one spirit.[128] The idea that the *quadrata mundi* coincides with and embodies the divine truth of creation and is as well the framework of the heavens and the shape of the sign of Christ's incarnation *and* the structure of the gospel-book must have been among the reasons for placing images of five versions of the cross in the Lindisfarne Gospels. The cross's association with Incarnation and the return of the world to its original perfect shape in God's image is tied as well with its power as sign of salvation, a thing that enacts the restorative power of the Incarnation and Christ's promise in the form of signs (*sacramenta*) of baptismal waters, bread and wine, body and blood. The presence of aniconic images of the cross in this early eighth-century Northumbrian gospel-book suggests that the images were understood as operating or acting within the Christian ritual context of enacting salvation.

That the Lindisfarne Gospels was updated with a marginal cross to indicate a variant, perhaps locally preferred, reading for Holy Thursday means that it may have been displayed or otherwise used on the day when Christ's words at the Last Supper, giving the *sacramentum* or sign of the Eucharist were read as the gospel lection.[129] The cross pages would have been readily understood in that context as signs of the return of the world to its original perfection in the image of the Creator-Logos. Each page refers by its design and other visual qualities to the jewelled cross that had come to be understood as 'the sign of the Son of Man' that will appear in the heavens at the return of Christ who will judge all, as revealed by Christ in Mt. 24.29-31. As a visual image and liturgical object, the jewelled cross, or *crux gemmata,* had its origins in famous images of the triumphal cross in Rome and Jerusalem, such as those in the fifth-century apse mosaics of Sta. Pudenziana and the Basilica Salvatoris at the Lateran in Rome and the jewelled cross which Emperor Theodosius II erected on the hill of Calvary about 420. The Roman apse mosaics, as well as seventh-century decoration that repeated the image of the heavenly cross, were probably seen by Northumbrians such as Benedict Biscop and Wilfrid. As apse images, the mosaics put the jewelled cross in connection with the liturgy that was performed below at the altar, affirmations of Christ's promise to be always present and also of his return, signed by the heavenly jewelled cross.[130]

The Lindisfarne Gospels in its present state begins with the image of a jewelled cross, fol. 2v (ill. 1).[131] Michelle Brown has pointed out features of the cross that may reference early medieval metalwork processional and reliquary crosses, possible symbolism of the six square 'bosses' as Christ's five wounds plus the 'INRI' titulus, and resemblance to cruciform church plans possibly to reference the church as the Body of Christ. She compares the flanking two upper square panels and lower oblong ones to elements of figural depictions of the Crucifixion: the sun and moon and mourning Virgin and St John or Stephaton and Longinus. The fine chequered interlace pattern of the background and the fretwork of lozenges within the cross remind her above all of exotic textiles in which relics were wrapped. Even the solemn birds crouched in procession around the picture's frame play the role of mourners or suppliants.[132]

Brown's imaginative iconographic interpretations enrich our understanding of the picture as an early medieval image. Besides those iconographic and material connections, its formal qualities create an image of a cross and panels – perhaps textiles or metalwork cloisonné panels – suspended before a backdrop. The deep mauve borders of the flanking panels and green of the cross act visually to bring them forward of the background. Simultaneously the 'background's' chequered pattern pulls it forward where the four cross patterns, each formed by four red

127 O'Reilly, 'Image of Orthodoxy', p. 658.

128 O'Reilly, 'Image of Orthodoxy', pp. 656–8.

129 For the early medieval ritual performed at the reading of the gospel, see Farr, *The Book of Kells*, pp. 154–5; *Ordo Romanus* I, ed. M. Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen âge*, 5 vols. (Louvain, 1931–61), II, p. 77.

130 Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood*, pp. 231–4, provides extensive references on depictions of the jewelled cross in notes 68–76.

131 Four of the five carpet pages are on singletons, thus we cannot assume that their present places in the manuscript are the original ones. See Brown, *LG[1]*, pp. 201–3. The manuscript has been rebound more than once. R. Gameson, *Holy Island to Durham: the Contexts and Meanings of the Lindisfarne Gospels* (London, 2013), pp. 95, 155 (note 69), 156 (note 97), asserts that the book was in a disbound state when Aldred added his Old English gloss, which extends into the gutter of the present binding.

132 Brown, *LG[1]*, pp. 307–8; see also Michael Brennan, Ch. 8 in this volume.

squares around a single yellow one, surround the intersection of the four arms. The cross's contouring band creates a galvanic green and orange-red colour juxtaposition that intensifies the vibrating effect of advancing positive and receding negative shapes, themselves ambiguous in spatial relation to each other. The shimmering backdrop against which this transfigured Crucifixion appears could be seen as a textile or perhaps as the perfect heavenly sky structured with the sign of the Incarnate Logos as it is to appear at the Second Coming. The four-sided frame of birds may further signal that the image depicts a cross appearing in the sky.[133] Whatever the iconographic or material references – themselves of importance – the picture in visual terms shows the sign of the Son of Man and the jewelled cross that during the liturgy reminded the faithful of Christ's presence within the transfigured world, enacted by Christ himself, recorded in Matthew's account of the Last Supper, and re-enacted in each performance of the Mass.

The crosses of the other carpet pages could be understood as versions of the transfigured cross as the sign of the Son of Man that extends as the Incarnation to perfect the whole of the world. The cross at the beginning of Matthew's Gospel is filled with animal interlace and set within a ground of interlaced birds and quadrupeds (ill. v). The quadrupeds within the cross are in fours articulated with alternating orange-red and green to create chiastic patterns that simultaneously transform the negative spaces into cross patterns. Distribution of colours organizes the writhing mass of animal interlace into radiating streams around the cross's centre and in the lower half of the image reiterates strata of χ and cross shapes in orderly rows. Similar to the cross on fol. 2v, it extends the height and breadth of the frame, which also has its four corners and cardinal points emphasized by rectilinear and curvilinear elaborations of its green band, echoing the multiple chiasms and crosses within it. One may be reminded of the universal nature of Christ's command quoted at the ends of the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke, in particular that of Mark: 'Euntes in mundum universum predicate evangelium omni creaturae'.[134] Brown compares the cross to that in the *Dream of the Rood*, where 'the cross itself becomes a living organism'.[135] Pulliam has further interpreted the six unpainted circles, where the vellum shows through at the cross's centre and terminals, as references to the Incarnation.[136] The carpet page brings into the viewer's presence the Incarnate Logos extending order and perfection over the four-part world.

At fol. 94v, the picture at the beginning of Mark's gospel presents a complex elaboration of the universal cross frame, with emphasis on its quadripartite form that extends to all four corners. The main cross form has a circular centre, in a symmetrical design reminding one of the four symbols page in the Trier Gospels where the bust of Christ against a starry sky is presented within a central medallion from which radiate the four arms of a golden cross.[137] In the Trier page, each of the frame's four outer corners supports the face of a cosmic personification. The central disc of the Lindisfarne carpet page is set within a square to which it is joined by four arms. The four arms in turn intersect the square extending at the sides to the outermost frame's edge and at top and lower edge to panels of cloisonné-like lozenges in chiastic arrangement. The square's vertical sides extend to the picture's corners, terminating in squares. This interior framework of central circle and rectilinear extensions presents crosses in many forms. The whole of the interior framework has against a black background fine cord interlace articulated into square sections with colour in yellow and, predominately, blue, which highlights cross shapes around the circular centre. Orange-red picks out a delicate χ-shape within the circular band. At the centre, the disc presents yet more crosses within crosses in its step-pattern decoration – resembling millefiore glass or cloisonné – of vibrating red-orange, yellow and blue equal-armed cross shapes. Brown points out the cross shapes' curving edges which impart an illusionistic three-dimensionality, implying the rounded surface of a boss at the centre of a material *crux gemmata*, the jewelled cross mentioned earlier that was well known as the sign of the Son of Man.[138] The references to the rich variety of metalwork techniques known to Northumbrians appear throughout, notably in the four small squares within the corners of the larger frame that present the whirling patterns of spiral pelta and trumpet in red-orange, green, yellow and rose against a black ground. Pairs of red-orange and blue interlaced quadrupeds fill the four areas between the disc's circular frame and the rectilinear frame into which it is set. The prominence of blue in the design as well as its four-part framework indicates the association of the page's cross

133 Henderson, *Durrow to Kells*, p. 88; B. Kühnel. *The End of Time in the Order of Things: Science and Eschatology in Early Medieval Art* (Regensburg, 2003), pp. 129–30.

134 'Going forth into the whole world, preach the gospel to all creation', Mk. 16.15.

135 Brown, *LG[1]*, pp. 325–7. Edition of the text: *The Vercelli Book*, ed. G.P. Krapp, The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records 2 (New York, 1932), 61–5.

136 H. Pulliam, 'Color', *Medieval Art History Today – Critical Terms, A Special Issue of Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012), 3–14, at 9–10.

137 Trier Domschatz 61 (134), fol. 1v.

138 Brown, *LG[1]*, pp. 327–8.

design with the cosmological cross of the Incarnate Logos-Creator that appears in the heavens.

A symmetrical central figure bearing a design that resembles metalwork decoration is a prominent element in the carpet page before the Gospel of Luke (fol. 138v: ill. XII). The cross is formed of two types of crosses: one equal-armed Greek cross, each arm of which becomes a Tau, probably in reference to the tau sign marked on the foreheads of the saved in Ezekiel 9.4. The square central element is set with four discs of spiral pelta and trumpet, from each of which spin two trumpet spirals. Four of these meet at the centre of the square with four separate trumpets to create, against the black ground, a cross that vibrates with the ambiguous visual relationships of the positive and negative shapes and seems to whirl with life. The whole symmetrical equal-armed cross radiating its four tau-crosses is framed in continuous fine yellow cord interlace, contoured on both sides with a blue band, which creates the illusion that the whole cross image floats before the ground. The ground, however, pushes forward as well owing to its strong orange-red set with blue and yellow lozenges, that are in fact articulated by their colours from the overall chequer pattern which covers the ground. Six rectangular panels, filled with interlaced quadrupeds and bordered in blue or green, emphasize the quadripartite design, one at each corner of the overall picture and one at the top and bottom of its vertical axis. Like the panels of the carpet page at fol. 2v, they strengthen the illusion that the central cross floats before the eyes. Moreover, geometric and curvilinear shapes with bird and animal interlace at outer corners and cardinal points set up overlying compositional lines to create a cross and χ structure to the whole.

A fifth version of the cross as image of the quadripartite world and Incarnate Creator-Logos precedes the Gospel of John (fol. 210v: ill. XV). The advance-recede play of figure and ground is prominent in this page, as well as the emphatic χ and cross structure of the overall design that presents repeated four-part patterns and shapes. At the picture's centre, an equal-armed cross 'explodes' into four tau crosses that radiate from the Greek cross's arms. The five crosses are in the fine yellow cord interlace seen in the crosses on fols. 94v and 138v and have narrow double contour bands in rose and yellow. Further emphasis to the page's quadratic shape is created by four gamma-shaped panels of trumpet spiral and pelta at each corner within the main frame, their spatial position set as equitable with the crosses by identical rose and yellow contours. Four small square panels with the same contour borders, each presenting a gammadion cross in yellow cord interlace, fill in the spaces between the 'beams' of the tau crosses and the gamma-shaped corner panels, visually connecting the exploded cross with the quadrangular frame. Within the four spaces set out by this constellation of panels, four quadratic panels defined with identical rose and yellow borders present on green grounds lozenge-shaped key patterns in yellow, rose and orange. The whole ensemble of crosses and panels appears to float over the ground, but as in the other carpet pages, the ground asserts itself with a complex overall pattern. A multitude of birds cling to each other in a dizzying interlace against a black ground, skilful distribution of colour organizing the potential chaos. The heavenly blue establishes visual rhythms and reiterations within the flock and with the trumpet spiral and pelta of the corner gamma panels as well as the animal heads and key patterns frame at corners and cardinal points of the outermost frame. Green plays a role also, relating the quadrangular panels of key ornament to each other via interlace strands of pairs of birds between the panels, and to the 'jewels' of the animal head and interlace extensions at top and lower edge of the outermost frame.[139]

The five carpet pages represent reiteration of the perfection of the world brought by the Incarnation of the Logos, his sacrifice on the cross and promise of constant presence in the signs of salvation he gave in the gospels, mainly the Eucharist and also baptism. The relationships of these ideas as embodied in the carpet pages to the lections for Holy Thursday have already been mentioned. How could the other two feasts and their lections explored above be understood to relate in a Northumbrian liturgical context to the presentations of the cross in the carpet pages? Above all, the universal and transfigured nature of the cross as sign of the world perfected by Incarnation and sacrifice expresses the larger message of the lections: the salvation of the world. Moreover, the incorporation of visual elements such as animal interlace and spiral pelta and trumpet patterns that are recognizable as belonging to a Northumbrian context suggests the intention to put the local community of believers in the picture of universal salvation.[140] The lection of Mt. 19.2 for the Feast of St Peter was, as has been seen, also the lection at masses commemorating local holy men, Benedict Biscop and a bishop.[141] Bede's homily on Benedict Biscop explicitly assimilates the Benedict Biscop's figure in life and in death

139 On the iconography of the colour green, folio 210v: H. Pulliam, 'Eyes of Light: Colour in the Lindisfarne Gospels', *Newcastle and Northumberland*, ed. J. Ashbee and J.M. Luxford, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 36 (2013), 54–72.

140 On the political and social significance of the Insular art style's presence in this Mediterranean-influenced gospel-book, see Brown, *LG[1]*, 13–83, 395–409.

141 See section above, 'Readings for the Vigil of the Feast of St Peter …'.

to the apostles and St Peter. Thus locally revered founders, bishops and abbots who had left all to follow Christ were ultimately merged in their spiritual status with the prime *episcopus* of the universal church. Those such as Benedict Biscop were to sit at the centre of heaven, beside the throne of Christ, to judge all the world's people. It was through such saints that local communities had powerful links to places within the perfect world imparted through the Incarnation of the Logos and his sacrifice. The carpet pages may, as suggested above, be understood as visual signs that enacted a part in the liturgy which was the continuous presence of the Incarnate Logos. In the carpet pages, the symmetry and centrality of the cross define the quadripartite shape of these enacting cosmological images of the Logos. A believer who had experienced the liturgy of the Vigil of St Peter, heard (or delivered to the community) the lection and a homily presenting themes similar to those in Bede's homily on Benedict Biscop, and who might have seen one of the carpet pages, may have understood it as having at its centre the enthroned Christ with Peter, the apostles and local holy men in the heavens. The panels of interlace, trumpet spirals and pelta – elements of early eighth-century Irish and Northumbrian visual traditions – could also have had a performative role in referencing local identity, as Brown has suggested.[142] The pages may have had the power in association with the performative words of Christ in the gospels and through their visual reiteration and self-reference to the earthly and heavenly presence of the Incarnate Logos to connect a Northumbrian community with the universal body of the church, the body of the Incarnate Logos who remains on earth and in heaven.

Equally, Bede's homily on the Transfiguration, the passage indicated in the quasi-capitularies as a reading to commemorate the dedication of a church, could provide a helpful lens through which to see the non-representational, four-part designs. In their perfect geometric shapes, from which crosses repeatedly emerge and kinetic patterns glow,[143] they evoke the transfigured Church and the transfigured Body. Bede's homily on the Transfiguration expands the meaning of the transfiguration of Christ's body and clothing to a multivalent figure of the resurrected Christ, the faithful who experience salvation, and the body of believers who become the glowing white body of Christ. The annual reading of the transfiguration story to commemorate a church's dedication would present to the community a sign of hope through resurrection after the figurative passion of earthly existence. In patristic and Insular exegesis, the church – as physical building and community of believers – was a multivalent figure of the Body of Christ on earth and in heaven.[144] The early medieval liturgy of church dedication ceremonies expressed this idea in the actions and texts that were part of it.[145] As already pointed out, the probable reading of the Transfiguration passage at Lindisfarne for the feast of a church's dedication, however, places the significance of the feast in connection with Lent, possibly a feature that was or had been local to Cuthbert's community. Thus the reading would place Holy Island and its monks within the universal salvation enacted in the liturgy. To return to the member of the Lindisfarne community imagined above, he or she (more likely the former, although the latter cannot be ruled out) having heard or delivered the reading from Matthew on the Transfiguration and a homily that may have expressed themes similar to those in Bede's sermon, may have understood any of the carpet pages as signs of the transfigured Body, as a sign of hope in their dematerialization of narrative events and physical objects. The crosses with their multiple significances of Crucifixion, sacrifice, salvation, resurrection and perfection of the world through the Incarnation of the Creator-Logos would have been a sign of Christ's presence in the world, in the Eucharist and in the body of the Church, looking forward to the transfiguration of bodies promised in the vision of Christ with Moses and Elijah. In this instance, too, the incorporated panels of Insular visual elements in the pictures could have functioned in a performative way, acting to place the community within the picture of salvation. The community's choice and understanding of the passages read from the gospel acted to place them within salvation history, reiterated and made permanent by ritual. The carpet pages of the Lindisfarne Gospels could be understood as aniconic pictures of this perfect heavenly community, centred upon the eternally living, crucified and enthroned body of Christ.

142 Brown, *LG*[1], 13–83, 395–409.

143 See Michael Brennan, Ch. 8 in this volume.

144 Augustine frequently uses the interpretative figure of 'Head and Body', as does Bede. St Paul refers to the body of believers as the body of Christ, 1 Corinthians 12.12-27, Romans 12.5, Ephesians 3.6, 5.23, Colossians 1.18 and 1.24. See J. O'Reilly, 'Introduction', *Bede: On the Temple*, trans. S. Connolly (Liverpool, 1995) pp. xviii-li; Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, 3.31-32, D.W. Robertson, trans., *Saint Augustine, On Christian Doctrine* (New York, 1958), pp. 106–7; and many examples in Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos* and *Sermones*.

145 For pre-10th century church dedication liturgy, see H. Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 212–20; C. Farr, *Lection and Interpretation*, pp. 164–91.

CHAPTER 8

The Lindisfarne Gospels: The Art of Symmetry and the Symmetry of Art

Michael N. Brennan

Introduction: The Symmetry Tradition

The decorative art of the Lindisfarne Gospels, particularly in respect of its symmetry and asymmetry, offers insights into the intellectual gifts of the artist, and into his understanding of his artistic-scribal commission. If the illuminator of a sacred book was thought to be an agent of God, divinely inspired to edify the faithful with celebratory images, gloriously ornamented capitals and reverential portraits,[1] then Eadfrith simultaneously exemplifies and refines this role.[2] His experiments with interlace, in particular, may lead modern beholders to wonder if his work was not at times rationalist as well as religious.

Symmetry, in places multi-storeyed, is a feature of every decorated page in the Lindisfarne Gospels, but the present account will be restricted to a discussion of the symmetry on three of the five cross-carpet pages and one gospel incipit. Symmetry was an imperative that bore down heavily on Insular artists of the seventh and eighth centuries. In art-historical discussions the term 'symmetry' is very often used to mean only reflection (that is, mirror-symmetry),[3] and in the case of early medieval Western art, reflection is taken to imply classical influence. But another type of symmetry – rotation – is also a feature of Roman art.[4] A knotwork border on a circular mosaic, a procession of animals around the rim of a plate, and circular friezes, all project rotational symmetry.[5] Rotation is a feature of Anglo-Saxon quoit and disc brooches, both of which have Roman prototypes, and it appears in the rectangular head-plates of some Germanic bow brooches. A common motif in the Germanic setting is that of two identical animals biting each other's tails, a motif with only a single symmetry, rotation through 180°.[6] The same symmetry is produced by the continuity of a knotwork border on a rectangular frame, a characteristic of the borders in the Book of Durrow (TCD, 57). Rotation appears early in Insular Christian contexts: the Greek cross, frequently used as the centre-piece of a cross-carpet page, inherits the reflective symmetries of the rectangular page, vertically and horizontally, but also possesses 90°, 180° and 270° rotational symmetry. The slant arm of the polygraph 'INI' on fol. 2r of the gospel-book or New Testament fragment, Durham Cathedral Library, A.II.10, has 180° rotational symmetry, widely repeated in this context in Insular manuscripts of the seventh and eighth

1 See discussion below of the artist's 'divine' inspiration.

2 Richard Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham: the contexts and meanings of the Lindisfarne Gospels* (Durham-London, 2013), Ch. 1, summarises the case for the artist having been Eadfrith, the bishop of Lindisfarne who died in AD 722.

3 See, e.g., E.M. Jope's use of 'symmetry, dissymmetry and asymmetry' in *Early Celtic Art in the British Isles*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2000), I, pp. 200–2. Jope did not see rotation as symmetry on the same level as reflection and, as a result, treats examples of rotational symmetry as (reflective) asymmetries. Cf. Lloyd Laing, *European Influence on Celtic Art* (Dublin, 2010), pp. 25–6 on 'Style IV' asymmetry and 'Style V' symmetry; also Barry Raftery, *Pagan Celtic Ireland: the Enigma of the Irish Iron Age*, (London, 1994), p. 165, on the Loughnashade trumpet. Walter S. Sizer, 'Mathematical Notions in Preliterate Societies', *The Mathematical Intelligencer* 13.4 (1991), p. 57, cites rotation and translation as conscious symmetries of Celtic art; Peter R. Cromwell, 'Celtic knotwork: Mathematical art', *The Mathematical Intelligencer* 15.1 (1993), 36–47, treats of the full range of symmetries in two and three dimensions. Brent. R. Doran, 'Mathematical Sophistication of the Insular Celts: Spirals, Symmetries, and Knots as a Window onto Their World View', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 15 (1995), 258–89, states of Celtic art that 'by the first centuries AD … global rotational symmetry dominates'; he misses, however, the global rotational symmetry of the full page illumination in the Book of Durrow (TCD, fol. 3v; see n. 14 below), referring instead to its 'mix of symmetry and asymmetry'. In Roman art and architecture, 'symmetria' meant harmony in measurement, ideally through modular construction: see M. Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture* (New Haven, 2000), Ch. 2. For modular construction and harmonious geometry in the design of the carpet pages in the Lindisfarne Gospels see Robert D. Stevick, *The Earliest Irish and British Bookarts* (Philadelphia, 1994), Chs. 5, 7, 9, 13.

4 Christine Swenson,'The Symmetry Potentials of the Ornamental Pages of the Lindisfarne Gospels', *Gesta* 17.1 (1978), 9–17 at 12 remarks: 'A Classic design will always have reflection possibilities and may, but need not, possess potential for rotation'.

5 Cf. Niamh Whitfield, 'Formal Conventions in the Depiction of Animals on Celtic Metalwork', *From the Isles of the North: Early Medieval art in Britain and Ireland,* ed. C. Bourke (Belfast, 1994), 89–104 at 92.

6 An attractive, minimal abstraction of this motif occurs on a gold plate fitted to an unidentified gold-and-cloisonne object, K130, in the Staffordshire Hoard. The motif is currently the logo for the hoard: http://www.staffordshirehoard.org.uk (April 2016).

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centuries;[7] and from the time of the Book of Durrow onwards, 90° or 180° rotational symmetry was built into the central crossing of the X in the Chi-rho monogram, and at the intersections of letters such as the LI and LB at the incipit of Matthew's Gospel.

Insular art inherited rotational symmetry from Late Celtic art also. The primary symmetry of the Witham shield is rotational;[8] the Battersea shield design is rotational and reflective;[9] rotation is the *only* symmetry on the Wandsworth shield boss,[10] Broighter torc,[11] and Lough Crew bone-slips,[12] and is the dominant symmetry on the bronze 'scabbard-style' plates from Lisnacrogher and the River Bann.[13] Reflective symmetry also featured, within limited contexts, in late Celtic art (British mirror-backs are the outstanding example), but the influence of rotational symmetry was long-lived. In early Insular manuscript art, rotation made a powerful appearance as the over-arching symmetry in the Book of Durrow: reflection is notably absent from the book, including from the zoomorphic page preceding John's Gospel.[14] The Echternach Gospels, from a period and perhaps a provenance close to the Lindisfarne Gospels, shows a similarly rigid adherence to a rotationally symmetric design in the frames of the evangelist symbol pages.[15]

Symmetry and the Lindisfarne Artist

Where did Eadfrith position himself in relation to the tributaries of artistic symmetry that coalesced around Hiberno-Saxon artists in the late seventh and early eighth centuries? Gloria Swenson carefully documented symmetric aspects of the Lindisfarne Gospels' carpet pages, listing large reflective (her term is 'enantiomorphic') layouts, local reflective symmetries and asymmetries, and rotations.[16] In the present volume, Heather Pulliam documents the many instances of reflective symmetry and asymmetry in the ornamentation of the Canon Tables.[17] The very architecture of the Canon Tables – four or five columns and a semi-circular arcade – is mirror-symmetric. By contrast, the symmetry of the carpet pages is largely rotational. Three of the five carpet pages (fols. 94v, 138v and 210v: ills. IX, XII, XV) have a rotationally-symmetric lay-out, as have the frames of the other two (the Latin cross design of the carpets on fols. 2v and 26v, makes a rotational layout impossible: ills. I, V). The Lindisfarne ornamental incipits, like those in the Book of Kells, are generally of the 'orchestral' type in which panels display a variety of symmetries that together contribute to the celebratory nature of the illumination. In the long conjoined stems of the IN on fols. 95r and 211r, the interlace-types used in the panels are chosen in a palindromic and hence rotationally-symmetric manner, alternating from zoomorphic to knotwork and back to zoomorphic. The zoomorphic stems of the INP in the Durham Gospels (DCL, A.II.17) are mirror-symmetric in pairs, while the curved 'slant arm' is predictably rotational.[18]

To appreciate more deeply Eadfrith's versatility with symmetry it is necessary to look at samples of his work on the cross-carpet pages.

Folio 26v (*Matthew Carpet Page*)

The multi-layering of the symmetries on the carpet page preceding Matthew's Gospel (ill. V) could in theory be deconstructed, and the symmetries classified separately. To take an example, although the motifs in the upper interstices (or 'spandrels') are not connected and therefore could have been mirror-imaged from one side of the upper arm of the cross to the other, they are not. A cursory glance at corresponding birds' heads along the upper edges suggests that the interstices are mirror-imaged; however, the central regions of the two panels are not mirror-images but rather copies of each other, colour reversed. This exemplifies a 'trick' of Eadfrith's whereby one part of a motif participates in mirror symmetry while another part connected to it is involved in simple copying

7 R. Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures of Durham Cathedral* (London, 2010), no. 2.

8 British Museum 1872, 1213.1.

9 British Museum 1857, 0715.1. The deviations from these symmetries are almost imperceptible and balance each other out!

10 British Museum 1858, 1116.2.

11 NMI 1903.232.

12 NMI 1941.1222.

13 Illustrated in Raftery, *Pagan Celtic Ireland*, fig. 103. The other type of symmetry on the scabbards is glide-reflection – first slide, then reflect – a symmetry-type that governs the design of most columns in eight of the sixteen Lindisfarne Canon Tables: fols. 10r (one column), 10v, 11r (ill. III), 11v, 12r (ill. 6.9), 12v, 16v and 17r.

14 The most intriguing rotational design is in the fretwork of the frame on fol. 2r. Rotation determined the designs of all the knotwork borders, of carpet pages 1v, 3v, 85v, most of 125v, all of 192v (the zoomorphic page: ill. 9.4) and 248v; it accounted for the palindromic layout of the knotwork in the incipit initials, and the palindromic colour-scheme of fol. 248r.

15 Paris, BnF, lat. 9389, fols. 18v, 75v, 115v, 176v: J.J.G. Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts 6th–9th Century* (London, 1978), cat. 11.

16 Swenson, 'Symmetry Potentials'.

17 Chapter 6 above.

18 Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures*, no. 4 with ill. on p. 31.

from one place to another.[19] It is a trick that he will take much further in the carpet page for John (210v: ill. XV).

In the spandrels below the arms of the cross, the repetitiveness of the animal forms suggest that a quarter of each motif could be reflected symmetrically onto itself, or onto the quarter-motif beside it, or onto the quarters above or below; or that a squared-off vertical rectangle inside the spandrel could be rotated symmetrically through 180°, or rotated in quarters or halves without changing its appearance. These impressions are not far from the truth, but there is more: each spandrel design looks as if it could be folded symmetrically across onto the design on the other side, or lifted up, carried across and pasted down there, or (if squared off) rotated before it is pasted down, without either side changing its appearance. Tiny details of anatomy, or of colour, or differences in the order of interlace interfere with these would-be symmetries, but even the suggestions of such multiple relationships are evidence of a highly refined conception of design.

An outbreak of non-alternating interlace in the lower middle row of coiled hind-quarters on the left is largely avoided on the right. But while the two middle rows of hind-quarters in the left-hand spandrel are arranged in mirror-symmetric pairs, the hind-quarters of adjacent pairs in the right-hand spandrel present a near leg stepping forward in each left-hand member and a far leg stepping forward in the right-hand member. The rationale for this will be clear when the incipit to Matthew, the page that faces the present one, is examined.

Folio 27r (*Matthew Incipit*)

The first panel below the upper spiral terminal of the capital L on the Matthew incipit page (ill. VI) contains a two-dog motif with a special symmetry property. While the underlying design for the motif is reflective, it is noticeable that the far leg of the red animal is raised to fill the upper left corner, while the near leg of the blue animal is raised to fill the upper right corner. If the animals were solid and if the unseen side of the red animal were coloured blue, and the unseen side of the blue animal coloured red, then when the motif was rotated out of the page around a vertical axis, it would appear not to have changed (ill. 8.1).

It may be inferred from this that the reason why different legs are raised is that the artist is treating the animals as three-dimensional creatures, and inviting the viewer to perceive them in this way.

If we now return to the back legs of the quadrupeds in the lower right-hand spandrel on fol. 26v (ill. V), we see



ILLUSTRATION 8.1 (*a*) *artistic impression of panel on fol. 27r of the Lindisfarne Gospels.* (*b*) *Eadfrith's conception of the other side of* (*a*).

that each adjacent pair can be viewed as symmetric images of each other under rotation *out of the page*. Notice too that the hind-quarters of the four animals in the indents of the cross, (two animals above and two below), are arranged in rotational images across the shaft and *out of the page*.

Fol. 138v (*Luke Carpet Page*)

On the carpet page preceding Luke's Gospel (ill. XII) the animals' heads at the upper edges of the upper vertically-aligned panels seem at first sight to be a translationally symmetric pair, i.e. direct copies from the left-hand panel to the right-hand panel, and vice versa, colour reversed. But in the middle regions of the same panels – and particularly around the negative black crosses – the motif on the left is a mirror-image of the one on the right, colour included. When the lower reaches of the panels are viewed, the mirror-imagery is gone and the animals are translational images of each other again, colour reversed. We have seen an example of such 'symmetry-shifting' before, but nothing as sophisticated as this.

The theoretical basis for the switching of symmetries midway through the upper vertical panels may be explained by reference to the knotwork motif in ill. 8.2. Since the motif is connected and alternating, it is not mirror-symmetric with itself. However, if an extra closed ribbon is thrown across the motif so as to form a loop (ill. 8.3) and the new configuration re-interlaced in an alternating way, the result is mirror-symmetry between the regions inside and outside the loop.[20] For his loop, the Lindisfarne artist used

19 The mathematical term for this is 'translational symmetry'.

20 The added strand does not have to be a loop to have the desired effect: it would work equally well if left open above and below the motif. The theoretical reason why an added ribbon reverses the order of interlace at every crossing inside the loop is omitted. ('Order of interlace' means the arrangement at a crossing whereby one of the two strands that cross is chosen to go 'over'.

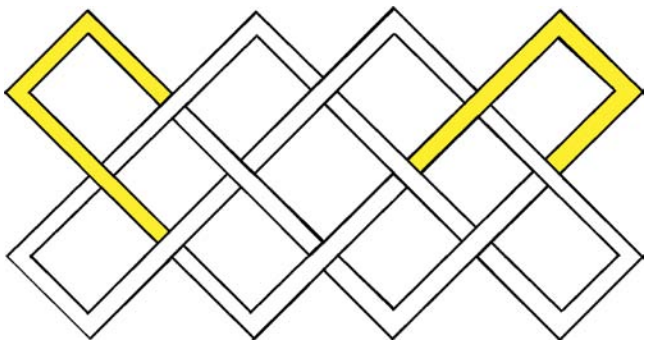


ILLUSTRATION 8.2 *Closed, connected, alternating knotwork is not mirror-symmetric with itself.*

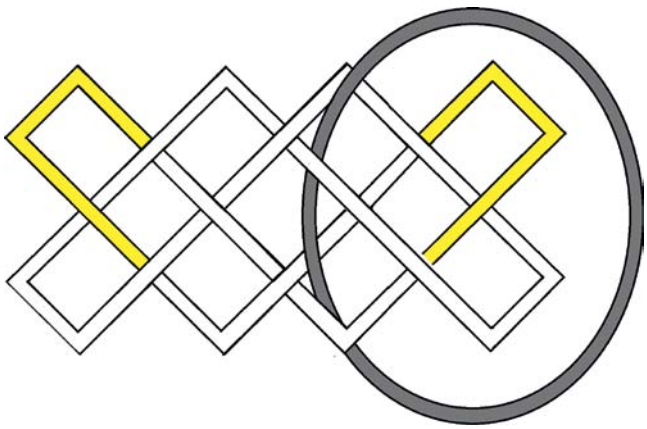


ILLUSTRATION 8.3 *The addition of a ribbon can make alternating knotwork display mirror-symmetry in matching segments.*

a lozenge shape composed of four narrow rear legs which he inserted in the upper right panel (ill. 8.4). These peep out from behind the rear legs nearest to the observer. There are no corresponding narrow legs in the upper left panel. At their claw ends the legs exit to the exterior region where they can be joined in pairs without affecting the order of interlace. At the ends where they should be attached to animals they are left almost imperceptibly loose, suggesting that the artist introduced them as 'add-ons'. The four legs contribute little artistically, their sole purpose being to reverse and reverse again the direction of crossings and hence the type of symmetry as the eye travels down the right-hand panel.

In the lower vertical panels the illusion of the upper panels is reversed. At the upper and lower edges, the artwork is mirror-imaged between the panels, colour included, but in the middle regions the artwork is



ILLUSTRATION 8.4 *The rear legs added by Eadfrith create a closed loop within which the order of interlace is changed, creating mirror-symmetry between panels.*

copied – i.e. translated – from one panel to the other, colour reversed. (In this exercise small artistic variations, such as open/closed jaws and differing hip-spirals, are ignored.) Symmetry-shifting is achieved by making the tails of the four animals in the left-hand panel terminate outside the main motif, while the tails in the right-hand panel terminate inside it. In the left-hand panel the four tails play the role of the four added legs in the upper right panel. It is clear from the construction that the artist had a full understanding of the necessary interlace theory, though in technical (or practical) terms known only to him.

The motifs in the vertical panels are rich in other symmetries. Each is 180° rotationally symmetric *out of the page* both horizontally and vertically. It can be proved that the composition of these two three-dimensional symmetries gives each motif 180° rotational symmetry on the page, a feature that can be checked with the eye.

Folio 210v (*John Carpet Page*)

The carpet page preceding John's Gospel (ill. XV) has a background that attracts much attention because of the seeming disorder and exuberance of the birds that occupy it.[21] The fret-work panels have hitherto generated little comment beyond discussion of the proportions of the grid on which they are drawn.[22] However, the fret-work

In a connected alternating motif, when the order is chosen at any one crossing, there is no choice about the others.) Such a reversal is a sufficient condition for mirror-reflection between corresponding regions inside and outside.

21 There is in fact more symmetry and order in the background motif than meets the eye.

22 R.L.S. Bruce-Mitford 'The Methods of Construction of the Insular Ornament', *Cod. Lind.*, vol. II, pp. 224–5; D. Hull, *Celtic*

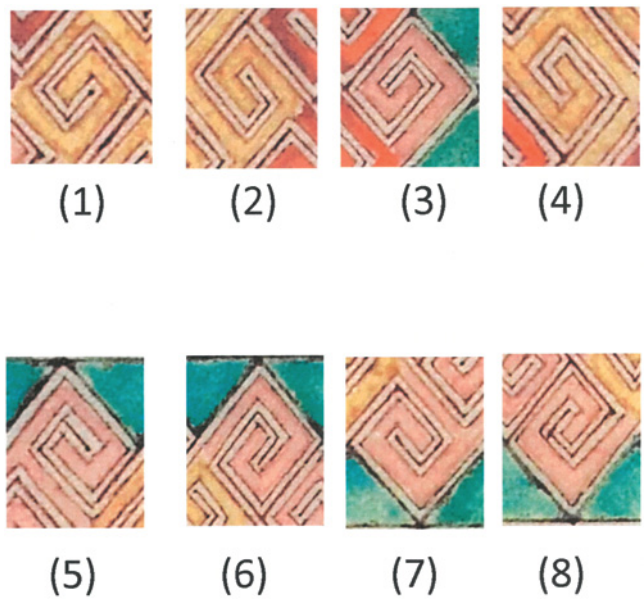


ILLUSTRATION 8.5 *The eight possible rectangular spirals that differ from their neighbours by 90° or by reflection.*

motifs themselves are compositions of rectangular spirals, of which there are eight possible forms (ill. 8.5).

Repeated anticlockwise rotation through 90° will take number 1 into nos. 2, 3, and 4, while repeated clockwise rotation will take no. 5 into nos. 6, 7, and 8. Spirals nos. 1–4 and 5–8 respectively are reflections of each other across a horizontal axis. It follows from these relationships that if any one spiral is chosen, the other seven spirals can be derived from it by rotation, or by reflection and then rotation.[23]

There are close relationships between the panels. Except for spiral no. 4, all the spiral types appear in the upper left panel, probably the first to be designed. The lower right panel is a copy of the upper left panel, and the upper right panel is different from the upper left panel only in the appearance of spiral no. 6, in the top centre position. The artist's plan is to give the impression that there is more asymmetry on the page than there actually is, relying on the viewer to compare fretwork panels initially along their upper edges. He goes on to produce his best stroke, making the motif in the lower left panel the same as that in the upper left panel turned upside down![24] This is all the finer because in the upper left panel there are, apart from the top row, only two distinct rows, either of which can be derived from the other.[25] Thus the four fretwork panels consist almost entirely of the repetition of a single row of three basic spirals – a clever economy.

Discussion

The artist of the Lindisfarne Gospels was a pure mathematician in the making. Given the sophisticated nature of his work with interlace – in particular his technique for interchanging reflection and translation in an interlaced motif – Eadfrith probably developed his skills in mathematical art before he began work on the Gospels. If instead he learned them 'on the job', unlikely though that is, then he was clearly a quick thinker and a naturally inventive mathematician. In either case he would have needed to experiment with ribbons, crossings and symmetries on some trial medium. Judging by his innovations in interlace and fretwork, his forte was in a branch of mathematics known today as combinatorics, and particularly in its sub-topic, 'graph theory'. To be able to identify a seventh- or eighth-century mathematician is rare, but Eadfrith of Lindisfarne may not have been alone. It can be argued that the artist of the Book of Durrow also possessed a mathematical mind, even if the occasions where he was required to show his inventiveness are less demanding than those in the Lindisfarne Gospels. Both artists had traits that are characteristic of the mathematician: rigour and near-perfection in carrying through their programme, and originality in their responses to an ambient symmetry 'imperative'. Originality is not, of course, the preserve of mathematicians, but the lateral thinking that produced novelties in the artists' treatment of symmetry – maximum rotation in Durrow, smooth deformation and three-dimensionality in Lindisfarne – is a characteristic of the mathematical mind. To take a parallel between them: in his design for the frame of fol. 2r, the Durrow artist needed to find a way of knitting together a wall of 'T's and a wall of upturned 'T's; in his plan for fol. 138v (ill. XII), the Lindisfarne artist needed to find a way of knitting together reflective interlace and non-reflective interlace. Each man

and Anglo-Saxon Art, Geometric Aspects (Liverpool, 2003), pp. 71–73; G. Bain *Celtic Art: The Methods of Construction* (London, 1951), p. 79.

23 Painting a reversed spiral could be achieved by first painting a spiral on a piece of vellum, then reversing the vellum, backlighting it and copying.

24 This has the incidental but nice effect of creating a column of no. 4 spirals, the spiral-type missing from the upper two panels. No. 4 appears because a column of no. 2 spirals has been inverted.

25 For example, if the row of three spirals is drawn on a piece of vellum, reversed and backlit, three of the squares in the 'four-row' can be seen. The fourth square is a repetition.

solved his problem elegantly, Eadfrith producing two distinct solutions.

There is however a qualitative difference between the two cases. The solution used on Durrow fol. 2r was unobtrusive: a combination of a long T and a short inverted T, neither easily visible nor challenging to the viewer. Eadfrith's solution, by contrast, was large enough to challenge the reader to observe and explain the difference between two panels at the top of the page, and to rationalise the reverse difference in the vertical panels below. Moreover, fol. 138v is not the only place where visual 'brain-teasers' were left in the Lindisfarne Gospels: the integrated nature of the suite of fretwork panels on fol. 210v can be construed as a puzzle, as can the three-dimensionality of the zoomorphic panels on fols. 26v, 27r, and elsewhere.

To the question of why visual puzzles form part of the Lindisfarne Gospels, there are two possible types of answer, one religious, the other secular – even mundane. According to the religious interpretation, what we see as puzzles may not have been perceived that way by the artist but rather as extensions of his artistic task, realisations of the illuminator's devotional mission. This would explain why the five cross-carpet pages show a steady increase in complexity in what may be called the 'relational symmetry' of the artwork in the four interstices of the cross on each page. The panels (or the interstices on fol. 26v: ill. V) may evoke elements of the iconography of the crucifixion scene, as represented, for example, in the 'Athlone' crucifixion plaque.[26] This plaque, a possible book-cover ornament, shows angels in the upper interstices, and the soldiers Stephaton (with a sponge) and Longinus (with a lance) below. Despite their mirrored poses, the patterns on the angels' cloaks are asymmetric, as are those on the soldiers.

The relationship of the first carpet page in the Lindisfarne Gospels (2v, preceding Jerome's letter *Nouum opus*: ill. I) to this crucifixion iconography is overt. The upper geometric panels, symbolising the angels, are identical and, at the same time, mirror-images of each other; this is true also of the long 'soldier' panels below. No suggestion of a lance in the lower right interstice can be seen; but taking the continuous geometric pattern of small squares on the cross itself to represent the body of Christ, it is noticeable that while the pattern flows in an unbroken manner around the 'bosses' in the four upper extensions, to the right of the bosses in the lower two extensions the artist has split the pattern transversally. The upper split may signify a wound to the body of Christ, the lower one, that to his feet.

On the Matthew carpet page (fol. 26v: ill. V) the symmetry programme is more complicated. The upper interstices/angels are for the most part direct transcriptions of each other, colour reversed, but as already noted, details at certain points create an illusion that the panels are mirror-imaged. The long interstices below the arms appear to be transcriptions of each other also, but significant differences in the structure of some of the symmetries, reinforced by the colouring, suggest a three-dimensional interpretation in the manner of the dog panel on fol. 27r (ill. VI). Among thirty birds' heads in each of the lower interstices, there is only one with an open mouth and extended tongue. Suggestively, it is positioned to the right, in the zone between the upright and the arm of the cross – where the point of Longinus's lance would be.

The third cross-carpet page (fol. 94v, preceding Mark's Gospel: ill. IX) is arguably inserted upside down. Fol. 94 is a singleton,[27] and inverting it would bring up two approximately similar zoomorphic panels into the position of the angels. The difference lies in the way that the animal heads on the left (with the leaf as it is now) face towards the cross, while those on the right face away. Inverting would also mean that the upper left panel would come into the lower right position. This panel contains three instances of a body being pierced – the lappet of each animal is taken through the head of the other animal, and in the upper right corner the lower shank of the red animal is pierced by that animal's own tail – something that would recall the action of Longinus.

The Luke carpet page (138v: ill. XII) is the most complex in terms of symmetries. The counterpointing of the symmetries between the vertical set above and the set below could be understood to emphasise the contrasting nature

26 NMI R.554. It was found in St John's churchyard, Rinnagan near Athlone, and is sometimes dated to the seventh century, but more likely belongs to the eighth. See S. Youngs (ed.) *The Work of Angels*, (London, 1989), no. 133 (entry by M. Ryan). Brown, *LG[1]*, pp. 306–7, noted the correspondence between the plaque and fol. 2v.

27 Brown, *LG[1]*, pp. 201–3. The inversion, if such it be, could have been made at any point between the death of Eadfrith and the current binding of 1852–3. Nor is such an error difficult to make: several carpet pages in the digitised version of the Lindisfarne Gospels were displayed upside-down on the British Library website in 2013, until this was brought to the attention of the BL by the author; that for Luke was reproduced upside-down in J. Backhouse, *The Lindisfarne Gospels* (Oxford, 1981), p. 52 (corrected in subsequent editions); and those for Mark, Luke and John are inverted in D. Barbet-Massin, *L'Enluminure et le sacré. Irlande et Grande-Bretagne vii[e]-viii[e] siècles* (Paris, 2013), pp. 103, 108, 112.

of angels and soldiers. In the evocation of the crucifixion here – and the panel above the cross may be a *titulus*, the one below, a footstool – the inspiration of the artist-mathematician reached its highest endeavour. Given his unpredictable ways with symmetry, it is not surprising that there is no explicit articulation of a piercing on the page. However, employing the type of reverse psychology that characterises the symmetries on 138v, the artist makes the animal mouths in the lower left panel (the 'Stephaton' panel) gape, while in the right-hand panel he leaves all but one mouth closed. It is placed in the upper left position where, as in fol. 26v, it threatens the right inner 'armpit' of the cross – the place for Longinus's lance-point.

On the final carpet page (fol. 210v: ill. XV) the angels and soldiers revert to geometric form. Birds crowd into every passage, affirming life and salvation in the presence of death. The unity of creation under God is arguably expressed through the derivation of angels and humans from a single source, represented here by the motif in the upper left panel (indeed the full suite of four panels could be generated from a single spiral), while the piercing of Christ is referenced by the piercing of a bird's head, again near to the lower right 'armpit' of the central cross. There is complete consistency about the location of the symbols that are hostile to Christ's integrity while he hung on the cross: they are all indicated in the lower right spandrel on the cross-carpet pages.[28]

Eadfrith's use of symmetries, asymmetries and a passion symbol (the lance) to narrate the drama of the crucifixion might thus be seen as a unifying theme in the ornamentation of these cross-carpet pages.[29] While three objections to this hypothesis must be acknowledged – the second cut to the 'body of Christ' on fol. 2v; the meaning, if any, of the piercing in the leftmost blue, coiled hindquarters midway down the lower *left* interstice on fol. 26; and the need for fol. 94v to be inverted – the first two could reflect artistic whim, while the third circumstance is perfectly possible, although unprovable.[30] With these caveats, the use of crucifixion 'tableaux' can be seen as a way in which the artist sought to draw the viewer into the illumination of the carpet pages. The allusive nature of the wounding of Christ through open-jawed animals and a cross-cut pattern can be understood as belonging to a tradition of riddling and puzzling that is widely recognised in early Anglo-Saxon art. In the context of Christian art, this has been interpreted as a way of calling the observer to meditation and rumination,[31] a view reiterated by Carol Farr in the present volume.[32]

The belief that visual riddling is an aid to, rather than a distraction from, the meditative experience may seem to be open to question – or at least qualification – from another possibility: that the Lindisfarne artist created diversions, including those linked here to three-dimensionality in interlaced animals, for their own sake. Their creation might in part have been a way of relieving the element of tedium in labouring to cover large carpet pages with manifold tiny details. The puzzles may have served, too, to mitigate the repetitiveness of the monastic round by providing a form of intellectual stimulation for members of the community, above all Eadfrith's fellow-scribes. Sharing such ingenious visual devices as those discussed above would surely have been an essential part of the project since it is hard to envisage an artist going to pains to produce sophisticated inventions, without some hope that his cleverness (or, as Eadfrith might have conceived it, his ability to pay fitting artistic tribute to the Divine) would be appreciated. Exactly how many individuals would have had the opportunity to study the book at close quarters is another matter.

28 Whether Longinus stood on Christ's right or left side was a matter of debate in the early church: see Dom Louis, 'The Earliest Irish Representations of the Crucifixion', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 50 (1920), 128–39 at 134–5; and P. Harbison, 'The Bronze Crucifixion Plaque said to be from St John's (Rinnagan) near Athlone', *Journal of Irish Archaeology* 2 (1984), 1–17 at 5–6.

29 The exegetical significance of the wounding of the crucified Christ within early medieval salvation theory is outlined by J. O'Reilly, 'Signs of the Cross: medieval religious images and the Interpretation of Scripture', *The History of British Art 600–1600*, ed. T. Ayers (London, 2008), 175–97 at 180–1.

30 It can be argued that the piercing on fol. 26v and the three piercings on fol. 94v were no more than compromises that prevented non-alternating sequences (*over-over* or *under-under*) from appearing in the interlace. The first piercing was gratuitous, since in identical situations directly above and to the right, the artist declined to make a piercing. The three piercings on 94v could have been avoided at the planning stage, a task well within Eadfrith's ability. The piercing on fol. 210v is also unforced and is included for some reason other than a cosmetic one.

31 Richard Bailey, 'Anglo-Saxon Art: some forms, orderings and their meanings', *Form and Order in the Anglo-Saxon World AD 600–1100*, ed. S. Crawford, H. Hamerow and L. Webster, Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History 16 (2009), 18–30, concludes that ambiguous representations of religious themes – the Christ/David figure in the Durham Cassiodorus, DCL B.II.30, for instance – were clearly meaningful to a 'sensitised' audience.

32 See Chapter 7 with her further reflections on the symbolic resonances of the carpet pages.

The Lindisfarne Gospels belongs to the *de luxe* category of gospel-books.[33] Its status ensured that it would be venerated for its holiness and the spiritual blessings that flowed from it.[34] Its creator would be seen to have performed a labour of faith and devotion.[35] As Michelle Brown expressed it: 'It was thought in ecclesiastical circles, that the scribe could become a channel between God and humanity, like the evangelists themselves. Writing and painting sacred texts were absorbing acts of meditation, during which the scribe might glimpse the divine'.[36] Ultán, a highly-regarded Irish scribe working at a cell of Lindisfare, was revered by his contemporaries because he had written and embellished the mystical words of God;[37] Lawrence Nees traced a metamorphosis of the master scribe into a vehicle for the divine.[38]

The subtler work of the Lindisfarne artist could therefore be interpreted in diverging ways: either as a sophisticated part of the Creator's plan, mediated through the artist-scribe, to further the cause of salvation, or as the personal project of an artist of exceptional spatial vision and mathematical acumen who availed himself of his commission to delight himself and his contemporaries with artistic diversions. At one end of this polarity, the artist is showing off the glory of God, at the other, he is just showing off. Yet if context and common sense mandate that Eadfrith saw himself as engaged in the work of God, then the gap between the metaphysical artist and the worldly puzzle-setter might be bridged through further exploration of the potential symbolic meaning in the complex and covert parts of the book. The significance of some of the visual conundrums may simply be hidden from us. But in addition to the religious significance of the symmetry-asymmetry counterpointing in the carpet pages that has been discussed, there is a further reading of that for John (fol. 210v: ill. XV) that should be mentioned. The upper left and lower right panels are identical and thus symmetrical; the other two panels are asymmetric with respect to each other. Symmetry crossed by asymmetry, diagonally or otherwise, is a frequent paradigm in Insular art in the seventh and eighth centuries,[39] and may have had both an exegetical resonance and a devotional dimension. Through its derivation from the human body – the arms outstretched are mirror-symmetric to each other and the head is asymmetric to the trunk and legs – the human form is poignantly reproduced in the architecture of the cross. Crossed axes are also redolent of the Greek 'chi', the symbol for Christ. In viewing symmetry/asymmetry along the axes, and being mindful of doing so, the viewer performs, in effect, the sign of the cross.[40]

More generally if, with Carol Farr, we place the illumination of the carpet pages and incipits in the context of the liturgical use of the book,[41] then the stylistic idiosyncrasies of the artist can be seen as having a higher purpose. The detection and resolution by the reader of visual riddles is then of less importance than the role of the opus as a whole in mediating between the Word of God and the performance of that word in the liturgical cycle.

Conclusion

In the cross-carpet pages of the Lindisfarne Gospels, and in the incipit pages too,[42] the artist inaugurated schemes of symmetry and asymmetry that gave richness and even mystery to his art. Richard Gameson's description of '... symmetrical and kaleidoscopic patterns with further symmetries and inversions being articulated by counterpointing colour' captures the mood of many

33 Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham*, pp. 137–8.

34 Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham*, p. 133.

35 Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham*, p. 141.

36 Brown, *LG*^{2}, p. 38.

37 G. Henderson, *From Durrow to Kells,* (London, 1987), p. 40.

38 L. Nees, *Early Medieval Art* (Oxford, 2002), 167.

39 E.g. appearing three times on the covers of the St Cuthbert Gospel (BL, Add. Ms 89000); on fol. 172v of the Durham Cassiodorus (DCL, B.II.30); on fol. 1r of CCCC 197B; on the John portrait in the St Gallen Gospels (Stiftsbibliothek 51, p. 208), and on the John miniature in the Books of Kells (TCD 58, fol. 291v). It is found in the interlaced mid-side projections on two of Lindisfarne's carpet pages (26v and 210v: ills. V, XV) and in the spiral ornament panels of a third, fol. 94v (ill. IX; A.J. Rosenblitt 'The Lindisfarne Gospels and the Aesthetics of Anglo-Saxon Art', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 13 (2005), 105–17 at 106, draws a parallel with a quartet of coloured interlace panels on Durrow, fol. 125v). Symmetry crossed by asymmetry occurs on some eighth-century metalwork including the Ormside Bowl (Yorkshire Museum, inv. 1990.35), the large Rogart brooch (National Museum of Scotland, FC 2), and on the smaller bridle mount of Irish origin from Sker Point, Monkton, Vale of Glamorgan (National Museum of Wales, acc. No. 99.41: M. Redknap, 'Ring Rattle on Swift Steeds: Equestrian Equipment from Early Medieval Wales', *Early Medieval Art and Archaeology in the Northern World: studies in honour of James Graham-Campbell* (Leiden, 2013), 177–210). The device is not, however, in evidence on eighth-century sculpture from the modern counties of Durham and Northumberland: see R. Cramp, *County Durham and Northumberland*, Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture 1, 2 vols. (London-Oxford, 1984).

40 Noted by Swenson, 'Symmetry Potentials', p. 15, Rosenblitt, 'Aesthetics', p. 106.

41 Chapter 7 above.

42 The incipits have not been discussed to any great extent here.

of the compositions.[43] If the text that Eadfrith copied was the medium through which divine inspiration reached the faithful through the act of reading and hearing the Gospels, the symmetry of his artwork was the medium through which he expressed his faith and his personality. Eadfrith had what would today be considered a gift for mathematics and he seems to have applied it to inventive usages of symmetry to encode Christian iconography into his decorated pages. The paradoxes and puzzles in the artwork leave open the possibility that he went beyond what was strictly necessary for this purpose in order to delight the eye as much as the soul. The three-dimensional interpretation of some of the interlaced motifs suits this reading but, like other innovations in the book, it may yet be found to have had a religious significance. For, in reaching below the surface of the vellum, in reminding his audience of the existence of a world beyond the visible, the illuminator may just have been fulfilling his wider mission, the edification of souls and the celebration of the divine.[44]

43 *From Holy Island to Durham*, p. 35.

44 The author would like to acknowledge the assistance of the editor during the preparation of this chapter, research for which was supported by the British Academy's Neil Ker Memorial Fund.

CHAPTER 9

The Book of Durrow and the Lindisfarne Gospels

Nancy Netzer

In his essay in this volume Richard Gameson provides a picture of the fragmentary knowledge of manuscript production in Northumbria in the seventh and eighth century.[1] A staple of every church, he explains, gospel-books were – and remain despite vast losses – the most plentiful texts. Among those that survive, only a small number may be attributed to either of the two Northumbrian scriptoria with which manuscripts have, so far, been able to be associated, namely Wearmouth-Jarrow and Lindisfarne.[2] The Lindisfarne Gospels[3] is one of them. This reason alone would justify the large number of works assembled around it for comparison in the exhibition mounted in Durham in the summer of 2013. One object that might have benefited from presence in that setting, were it available for loan, is the Book of Durrow,[4] which often stands enshrined with the Book of Kells[5] as a 'treasure' of Trinity College Library in Dublin. Having provided the ground for an older Irish five pound note,[6] the manuscript retains its status as a national symbol of Ireland. For all its fame and notwithstanding agreement among most scholars from a range of disciplines that it is the earliest of the extant fully decorated Insular gospel-books, the Book of Durrow has not been comprehensively studied since Arthur Aston Luce, George Simms, Peter Meyer and Ludwig Bieler collaborated on the commentary volume to its facsimile in 1960.[7] Since then, other scholars like Carol Neumann de Vegvar,[8] Robert Stevick,[9] Dáibhí Ó Cróinín,[10] Uta Roth,[11] George Henderson,[12] Martin Werner,[13] Lloyd Laing,[14] Bernard Meehan,[15] Thomas O'Loughlin[16] and myself[17] have written about the book, but no one has undertaken the kind of exhaustive study, incorporating analysis aided by new technology and revising of the 1960 facsimile commentary, that Michelle Brown did to accompany the second facsimile of the Lindisfarne Gospels in 2003[18] and that Richard Gameson has further refined in his recent publication to accompany the Durham exhibition.[19] The result is that research on the Book of Durrow occupies what might be characterized as an unbalanced state. While relationships of some

1 I extend thanks to the Institute of Medieval and Early Modern Studies, and especially to David Cowling and Richard and Fiona Gameson, for inviting me to participate in this pivotal seminar series examining the Lindisfarne Gospels in an expanded context.

2 On the assigning of manuscripts to scriptoria see also Michelle Brown, '"Excavating" Northumbrian Manuscripts: Reappraising Regionalism in Insular Manuscript Production', *Early Medieval Northumbria: Kingdoms and Communities, AD 450–110*, ed. D. Petts and S. Turner (Turnhout, 2011), 267–82.

3 BL, Cotton Nero D.iv.

4 TCD, 57.

5 TCD, 58.

6 Five pound Series B Irish banknote issued between 1976 and 1982.

7 *Evangeliorum Quattuor Codex Durmachensis*, ed. A.A. Luce, O. Simms, P. Meyer, and L. Bieler, 2 vols. (Olten, 1960).

8 *The Northumbrian Renaissance: A Study in the Transmission of Style* (London and Toronto, 1987).

9 'The Shapes of the Book of Durrow Evangelist Symbols', *Art Bulletin* 68 (1986), 182–94.

10 'Merovingian Politics and Insular Calligraphy: The Historical Background of the Book of Durrow and Related Manuscripts', *Ireland and Insular Art A.D. 500–1200*, ed. M. Ryan (Dublin, 1987), 40–43.

11 'Early Insular Manuscripts: Ornament and Archaeology, With Special Reference to the Book of Durrow', *Ireland and Insular Art*, ed. Ryan, 23–29.

12 *From Durrow to Kells, the Insular Gospels-books 650–800* (London, 1987) and *Vision and Image in Early Christian England* (Cambridge, 1999).

13 'The Cross-Carpet Page in the Book of Durrow: The Cult of the True Cross, Adomnan and Iona', *Art Bulletin* 72 (1990), 174–223; 'The Book of Durrow and the Question of Programme', *ASE* 26 (1997), 23–39.

14 'The Provenance of the Book of Durrow', *Scottish Archaeological Review* 9–10 (1995), 115–24.

15 *The Book of Durrow* (Dublin, 1996).

16 'The Eusebian Apparatus in Some Vulgate Gospel Books', *Peritia*, 13 (1999), 1–92.

17 'The Book of Durrow: the Northumbrian Connection', *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. J. Hawkes and S. Mills (Stroud, 1999), 315–26; 'Framing the Book of Durrow: Inside/Outside the Anglo-Saxon World' in *Form and Order in the Anglo-Saxon World, A.D. 600–1100, Anglo Saxon Studies in Archaeology* 16 (Oxford, 2009), 65–78; 'New Finds versus the Beginning of the Narrative on Insular Gospel Books' in *Insular and Anglo-Saxon Art and Thought in the Early Medieval Period*, ed. C. Hourihane (Princeton, 2011), 3–13.

18 *LG*[1].

19 *From Holy Island to Durham: The Contexts and Meanings of The Lindisfarne Gospels* (Durham and London, 2013).

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of its features have been rethought in the process of new research on other manuscripts and new archaeological discoveries, understanding of many aspects still reflects the scholarly mindset of the mid-twentieth century. An example of rethinking would be George and Isabel Henderson's suggestion in a paper on the recently-discovered Staffordshire Hoard that Durrow might have been produced in south-east England, a place to which no early Insular manuscripts previously have been assigned, but where books must have been introduced early in the seventh century to aid Augustine's mission.[20] Such an assignment, however, emphasizes analogues for some decorative motifs at the expense of distancing other of the book's features from their accepted contexts – a danger of any non-holistic treatment of a manuscript.

Until about 1930, it was taken for granted that the Book of Durrow was made at the monastery of Durrow, a place of great learning from which, however, no evidence of manuscript production exists.[21] The monastery was founded by St. Columba possibly as early as 553.[22] On a blank page at the end of the Book of Durrow (fol. 248v) a scribe has penned a legal document ceding lands from another monastery to Durrow abbey. Presumably an effort to associate the transaction with God's word, this addition of the late eleventh or early twelfth century (datable by style of script) delivers an important clue to the book's provenance, showing that it was at that time a possession of Durrow Abbey. The document probably explains why the manuscript was given the name Book of Durrow, seemingly by James Ussher,[23] who refers to it in 1639 as the 'Durrogh' vulgate.[24]

In 1677 the antiquary Roderick O'Flaherty, saw the manuscript in Trinity College Library and wrote a note (now bound at the beginning of the manuscript) describing a silver shrine (*cumdach*) that encased it. The shrine was lost in 1689 when James II entered Ireland and soldiers were garrisoned at Trinity College during the Williamite wars. O'Flaherty records an inscription on the silver shrine invoking 'the prayer and blessing of St. Colum Cille for Flann son of Maolsachnaill, King of Ireland, who had the shrine made'. Flann ruled between 877 and 916, thereby indicating that the Book of Durrow was probably in Ireland, not necessarily at Durrow, by sometime between 877 and 916. By then the codex was considered a relic of St Columba,[25] which may explain why it managed to survive.

The only words in the volume that the scribe pens relating to himself are the two colophons at the end of John's Gospel (fol. 247v). One simply asks 'Pray for me, my brother, the lord be with you' (*Ora pro me frater mi dns tecum sit*). The other which may have provided the scribe's name,[26] alas, has been erased and over-written in a hand (or hands) that suggest(s) the alteration took place shortly after the book was written. The text now claims that the codex was penned by St. Columba,[27] who died in 597 well before traditional understanding of manuscript

20 George and Isabel Henderson, 'The implications of the Staffordshire Hoard for the understanding of the origins and development of the Insular art style as it appears in manuscripts and sculpture', http://finds.org.uk/staffshoardsymposium/papers/georgeandisabelhenderson. The Henderson's unexplored speculation seems to build on Lawrence Nees's theory ('Weaving garnets: Thoughts about two "excessively rare" belt mounts from Sutton Hoo', *Making and Meaning in Insular Art*, ed. R. Moss (Dublin, 2007), 1–17) that decoration in early Insular manuscripts may have influenced metalwork at Sutton Hoo. The idea was picked up by Leslie Webster (*Anglo-Saxon Art: A New History* (London, 2012), p. 78) who, on the basis of comparisons to recently discovered metalwork from Staffordshire and elsewhere, suggests an origin for Durrow in an 'Irish foundation in East Anglia, such as that founded by the monk Fursa in the Roman fort at Burgh Castle in Norfolk'. See also George Henderson's discussion of Durrow's East Anglian connection in *Vision and Image in Early Christian England*, pp. 32–5, where he introduces the possibility of an East Anglian origin.

21 During Columba's life and for centuries after his death, Durrow monastery was a famous school. Bede (*HE*, III.4) refers to Durrow as *Monasterium nobile in Hibernia* ('the noble monastery in Ireland').

22 Bede states that Columba founded Durrow before he came to Britain, but Adomnán in his *Life of Columba*, says that Columba went from Iona to found Durrow at which time he was feted by Alither, abbot of Clonmacnois, nearby. The Annals of Ulster record that Alither became abbot of Clonmacnois in 585, so if Adomnan is correct, the founding of Durrow would be after 585 and before Alither's death in 597. Henderson, *From Durrow to Kells*, pp. 29–30, proposes that Columba may have had land at Durrow before he went to Iona.

23 Ussher collated Durrow's gospel text sometime between about 1621 and 1623, when he was bishop of Meath.

24 William O'Sullivan, 'The Donor of the Book of Kells', *Irish Historical Studies* 11 (1958), 5–7.

25 Meehan, *The Book of Durrow,* pp. 13–6. The Annals of Tigernach mentions two gospel-books that were taken to the monastery of Kells from Donegal along with relics of St. Columba in 1090. If Durrow was one of these two books (for which there is no evidence), it must have gone from the Kells monastery to Durrow sometime between 1090 and the end of the eleventh/beginning of the twelfth century.

26 Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham*, p. 19.

27 For discussions of the colophon see *Codex Durmachensis*, ed. Luce, pp. 17–24; Meehan, *The Book of Durrow*, pp. 26–8; Neumann de Vegvar, *The Northumbrian Renaissance,* p. 83; and David

chronology suggests it could have been written. A pious forgery, the reworked colophon has the advantage of revealing that the volume was probably produced in and for one of the many monasteries in the *paruchia* of St Columba, among which Durrow, Kells, Iona, Melrose, and Lindisfarne are but a few.

The period that the book resided at Durrow – which can be demonstrated only for a brief time in the middle ages – was the principal reason that the manuscript was thought to have been made there. Since then, analysis by a host of scholars of the codex's scripts, texts, layout, construction, and, most importantly, decoration has led to decades of heated debates about whether the evidence points to its having been produced at Durrow in Ireland, Iona in Dál Riata, or Northumbria, or even East Anglia in England. Not surprisingly, support for each of the options has its local constituency. Before delving deeper into the question of the book's origin and how it relates to the Lindisfarne Gospels, it will be helpful to rehearse the basic components of the codex and some of the larger questions surrounding it.

Of more modest size than its deluxe siblings, the Lindisfarne Gospels and Book of Kells, Durrow measures about nine and a half by five and a half inches (245 × 145 mm). Even much less elaborately decorated Insular codices can be somewhat larger, like the Royal Athelstan Gospels,[28] whose text is close to the Lindisfarne Gospels (288 × 220 mm).[29] Durrow's size is more comparable to, although still smaller than, a much less ambitious, yet beautifully executed and planned gospel-book (247 × 177 mm) in Augsburg, produced on the Continent by Insular scribes in the prolific scriptorium at the monastery of Echternach in the first two decades of the eighth century.[30]

Color and thickness vary among Durrow's 248 folios. Many leaves are defective, with large holes around which text has been circumnavigated (e.g. fols. 19, 121, 234). Others (e.g. fols. 4, 22, 234) are patched with scraps to make them usable. These occur especially at the end of the book, signalling, along with the codex's size, that its producers were not flush with high-quality, smooth vellum,[31] as was the scriptorium at Lindisfarne, when it manufactured the Lindisfarne Gospels[32] between about 700 and the death of its scribe, Eadfrith, at an advanced age in 722.[33] While Lindisfarne's pages are supple and of consistent thickness and whiteness,[34] Durrow's are generally thicker and stiffer and range among yellow and beige hues. Such discrepancies suggest that the pool of skins available to the Durrow scribe, wherever he worked, was more limited than on Holy Isle, prohibiting him from indulging in the luxury of discarding those not up to snuff, as Michelle Brown has revealed must have been done at Lindisfarne. In light of Brown's revelations about the careful and innovative preparation of calf-skins for the Lindisfarne Gospels,[35] Durrow's skins, which would profit from analysis with modern technology, appear not to have benefited from the same level of expertise and resources. Whether this implies Durrow is earlier and/or was manufactured far from Lindisfarne remains unclear.

The variation among Durrow's skins, however, bestowed at least one advantage to understanding of the book. In 1953, when the conservator Roger Powell disbound the codex in preparation for the facsimile, he discovered that its bifolia had been cut into single leaves prior to an earlier rebinding. The differences among the skins allowed Powell to match originally conjoint leaves, so that he was at least able to propose a reconstruction of the book's original gatherings.[36] As in most Irish

Howlett, 'The colophon of the Book of Durrow', *Hermathena* 168 (2000), 71–5.

28 BL, Royal 1 B.vii; R. Gameson, 'The Royal 1 B.vii Gospels and English Book Production in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries', *The Early Medieval Bible: its production, decoration and* use, ed. R. Gameson (Cambridge, 1994), 24–52.

29 See Gameson 'Royal 1 B.vii Gospels'; Brown *LG*[1], pp. 167–78, 182–91; *LG*[2], pp. 83–93; and Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham,* pp. 66, 135–7.

30 Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. I.2.2°.2: J.J.G. Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts 6th–9th Century* (London, 1978), no. 24. I have argued that this manuscript was copied from an Irish exemplar in Netzer *Cultural Interplay in the Eighth Century* (Cambridge, 1994), esp. pp. 5–9, 112–20. See also D. Ó'Cróinín 'Rath Maelsigi, Willibrord and the Earliest Echternach Manuscripts', *Peritia* 3 (1984), 17–49; D. Ó'Cróinín, *Evangeliarum Epternachense*, (Munich, 1988); and D. Ó'Cróinín 'Is the Augsburg Gospel Codex a Northumbrian Manuscript?' *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to AD 1200*, ed. G. Bonner, D. Rollason and C. Stancliffe (Woodbridge, 1989), 189–201.

31 R. Powell, 'The Book of Kells, the Book of Durrow', *Scriptorium* 10 (1956), 3–21, esp. pp. 12–5.

32 Brown, *LG*[2], pp. 150–1 and Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham*, p. 26.

33 Gameson (*From Holy Island to Durham*, pp. 17–9, 39) argues for a date between c. 700 and 710 given that Eadfrith would have been very old in the second decade of the eighth century, the dating preferred by Michelle Brown (*LG*[2], p. 155; also Ch. 4 in the present volume).

34 Michelle Brown (*LG*[1], p. 201; *LG*[2], p. 150) suggests that a whitening agent, like chalk, may have been added during production of the vellum.

35 Brown *LG*[1], pp. 200–2; *LG*[2], pp. 150–1.

36 Roger Powell, 'The Book of Kells, The Book of Durrow', pp. 12–21.

manuscripts, the number of folios in each gathering is somewhat irregular. Quires of ten leaves predominated with exceptions at the beginning of each Gospel and near the beginning and end of the book (where there is one gathering of 14 leaves and another of 13). The arrangement of hair and flesh sides seems to be indiscriminate. In the Lindisfarne Gospels, Michelle Brown revealed that, although painstaking scraping and cleaning has rendered the two sides almost indistinguishable, care was taken to make hair face flesh sides on each opening, a practice typical of many Insular books as opposed to Continental ones, where like facing like was preferred.[37]

More significantly, Powell revealed that Durrow incorporates a substantial number of single leaves (at least thirty), especially for full page miniatures and opening initials. In this it is more like the Book of Kells than the Lindisfarne Gospels (though the latter did deploy singletons for three of its carpet pages).[38] In Durrow the phenomenon was probably the result of rationing the best skins for use on the showpieces, i.e. the full page illustrations, but it means that the original placement of several of the carpet pages (like the one now facing the opening of Jerome's preface which begins with the words *Novum Opus*) cannot be determined with certainty.[39] Moreover, it cannot be ascertained if some decorated pages have gone missing.

Inconsistencies extend to the layout of the book, as well. The gospel text is written predominately in a single column of twenty-five lines.[40] That the three folios at the beginning of Matthew were ruled with as few as twenty-two lines suggests a more extravagant plan at the outset. Reality, in the form of recognition of the scarcity of vellum, seems to have set in a few folios later, when three more lines were added to each page. At the end of Matthew and the beginning of Mark there is even a temporary increase to twenty-six lines. Cutbacks really took hold by the end of the project, where the last two folios of the book (246–247) have as many as thirty-two lines. The text here is the Chapter Summaries for John. They are preceded by four folios (242–245) of Luke's Summaries. Both sets of summaries are misplaced – almost as an afterthought – at the end of the book. Moreover, the layout of these pages with extra lines is in two columns, as is the first page of the Chapter Summaries for Matthew on folio 11r which has twenty-seven lines. The layout on the verso continues the text in a single column. Such inconsistencies in format provoke speculation that a different exemplar arranged in two columns might have been used for the summaries, or even, given that the genealogies for Luke on 134 recto and verso are arranged in two columns,[41] that the entire text of the exemplar was laid out that way. I shall return to this idea later. The scribe seems to have forgotten to include the list of Hebrew proper names in Luke's Gospel in the first campaign and was forced to squeeze them onto the blank recto of the Calf symbol (fol. 124r) in much smaller script. Thus Durrow displays inconsistencies in layout and construction to a degree never found in the Lindisfarne Gospels, which was rigorously planned from the outset, with gatherings of eight leaves, akin to the Mediterranean tradition, and text pages of twenty-four lines throughout.[42]

If physical resources were scarcer at the end of the Durrow project, the scribe's artistic ambitions, especially in display lettering and initials seem to have increased as he progressed. The initials for *Liber Generationis* at the beginning of Matthew's Gospel (fol. 22r) and the *XPI autem* on the next folio (23r, ill. 9.1) marking the start of the narrative proper, are relatively modest by deluxe Insular gospel-book standards.

Comparison between Durrow's and Lindisfarne's *Christi autem* initials (ill. VII) reveals that by the time Lindisfarne was written the monogram, celebrating the sacred name of Christ, had been elevated within the hierarchy of

37 Brown *LG*[1], p. 201; *LG*[2], p. 151; Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham*, p. 26.

38 Those for Mt, Lk and Jn (fols. 26, 138 and 210); fols. 7, 18 and 90 are also singletons.

39 Powell, 'The Book of Kells, The Book of Durrow', p. 15 states that the placement of the first three folios in Durrow are unsure and that offsets reveal that at one time, the current folio 1 was adjacent to the Mark symbol page.

40 Folios 83 (with the end of Matthew's Gospel) and 86v through 94v (with the beginning of Mark's text) are ruled with 26 lines. The parchment of folios 83 and 86 with the *Initium* to Mark suggest these leaves may originally have formed a bifolium and were ruled together.

41 On folio 134r the scribe copies the gospel text at the top of the page in single column format and then switches to two columns for the genealogy. On the verso he continues in two columns until he finishes the genealogy a third of the way down the right column. At that point he continues the gospel text in the right column to the bottom of the page. On folio 135r he reintroduces the single column format for the gospel text. A similar alternation between single and double column layout is found in the Matthew and Luke genealogies of the Maeseyck Gospels (fols. 20v–21r, 87v–88r) produced at Echternach between about 710 and 739 and, in this case, probably reflects a two-column layout of its exemplar (which it shared with the Augsburg Gospels written throughout in double column). (Maeseyck, Church of St. Catherine, s.n.: Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts*, no. 23; Netzer, *Cultural Interplay in the Eighth Century*, esp. pp. 7–8, 16, 112–21.)

42 Brown, *LG*[1], pp. 203–4; *LG*[2], p. 151.

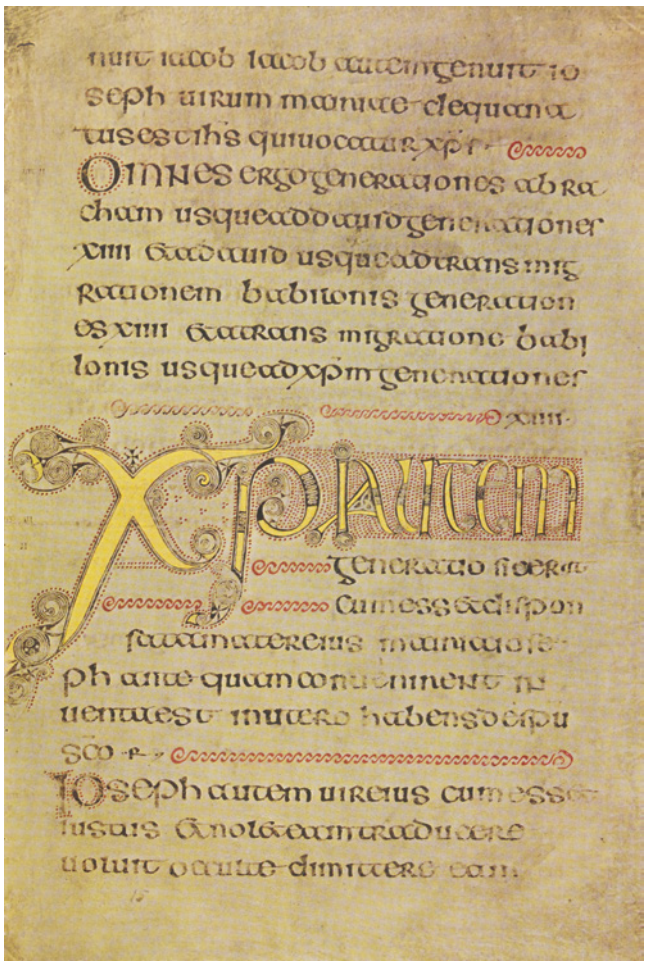


ILLUSTRATION 9.1 *Book of Durrow* (TCD, 57 [*A.4.5*]), *fol. 23r* (*Χρι autem*).

decoration to the status of the beginning of a Gospel. The Lindisfarne incipit faces a blank page, possibly intended for a cross-carpet design, and is announced by a rubric at the top 'Here begins the gospel according to Matthew'. Durrow's *Christi autem* of enlarged letters inserted halfway down the page without a rubric might be viewed as an incipient stage, indeed a precursor to the status bestowed upon this second beginning to Matthew in the Lindisfarne Gospels and other subsequent gospel-books.

Durrow's illuminated letters comprise enlarged, ribbon initials colored in yellow orpiment to approximate gold (unlike the Lindisfarne Gospels, Durrow has no chrysography[43]). The letters are punctuated by panels of interlace or folded band decoration and expertly drawn trumpet and spiral projections from the terminals. A single band of display letters, two lines high and encased in a rectangle of red dots constitutes the *diminuendo*, a feature invented in Irish manuscripts, to link enlarged initials to the script of the text. Bands of red *s* strokes fill empty spaces in the text lines. This decorative device, adopted from Late Antique books, appears in only a few Insular manuscripts, including the earliest extant gospel-book arguably from Ireland, datable to the late sixth or early seventh century, the *Codex Usserianus Primus*,[44] where it takes a different form of alternating red curved strokes and brown dots.

A closer approximation to Durrow's spring-like form, is found in the Durham[45] and Echternach[46] Gospels probably written in the scriptorium at Lindisfarne before the Lindisfarne Gospels in about 700.[47] These two large deluxe volumes, the former of which resides in Durham and is now sadly damaged and fragmentary, were thought by Julian Brown and other scholars to have been written by the same scribe/artist, whom Brown christened the Durham-Echternach calligrapher.[48]

Durrow's *In principio* initial page at the beginning of John (fol. 193r, ill. 9.2) is a far more ambitious undertaking with the first vertical of the *I* and *N* filling the length of the page. Indeed it appears to be indebted to the artist's formula devised earlier in the volume for the less elaborate *Initium* at the beginning of Mark (fol. 86r, ill. 9.3).

The idea of fusing the *I* and the first vertical of the *N,* has a precedent in a fragment of a large, folio-sized

43 Michelle Brown ('From Columba to Cormac: The Contribution of Irish Scribes to the Insular System of Scripts', *L'Irlanda e gli irlandesi nell'alto Medioevo*, Settimane di studio della fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo 57 (Spoleto, 2009), 23–49 at 637) suggests the craft-trade of goldsmiths may have imposed restrictions on who could use gold in Ireland. For an analysis of pigments in the Book of Durrow see L. Burgio, S. Bioletti and B. Meehan, 'Non-destructive *in situ* Analysis of Three Early Medieval Manuscripts from Trinity College Library Dublin (Codex Usserianus Primus, Book of Durrow, Book of Armagh)', *Making Histories, Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference on Insular Art, York 2011*, ed. J. Hawkes (Donington, 2013), 42–49.

44 TCD, 55, fol. 149v: Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts*, no. 1.

45 DCL, A.II.17: Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts*, no. 10; *The Durham Gospels*, ed. C.D. Verey, T.J. Brown and E. Coatsworth, EEMF 20 (Copenhagen, 1980); Richard Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures of Durham Cathedral* (London, 2010), no. 3.

46 BnF, Lat. 9389; Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts*, no. 11.

47 Michelle Brown (*LG*[1], pp. 263–4) has suggested that the Echternach Gospels may have been written before Lindisfarne at the monastery of Echternach on the Continent. That seems highly unlikely given that none of Echternach's texts bears a significant relationship to those shared by the scribes producing gospel-books in the scriptorium at Echternach. For discussion see Netzer, *Cultural Interplay in the Eighth Century*, esp. pp. 16, 26, and 114 and Christopher Verey, 'A Northumbrian Text Family', *The Bible as Book: The Manuscript Tradition*, ed. John Sharpe and Kimberly van Kampen (London, 1998), 105–22.

48 *Cod. Lind.*; *The Durham Gospels*; *LG*[1], pp. 7, 254, 264. Recent scholars tend not to accept the theory of a Durham-Echternach calligrapher; see, for example *LG*[2], pp. 95–100.



ILLUSTRATION 9.2 *Book of Durrow, fol. 193r* (*In Principio*).



ILLUSTRATION 9.3 *Book of Durrow, fol. 86r* (*Initium*).

gospel-book (or New Testament) in Durham, thought to have been written in the middle third of the seventh century (before the Synod of Whitby) in either Northumbria by Irish-trained scribes or in a Columban house in Ireland or Dál Riata.[49] The similarities to the Durrow initials, however, end there. The cascade of trumpets and spirals descending on the upper left and forming the diagonal of the *N*, and the symmetrical trumpet and spiral terminals above and below the second vertical of the *N* have no known precedents and may well be the Durrow artist's invention. Likewise, the tapering of the first two verticals into a *V* at the bottom which spawns an elaborate symmetrical terminal of paired trumpets and spirals may be attributed to his ingenuity. That the *V*-shaped solution appears on the Lindisfarne Gospel's *In principio* incipit (fol. 211r, ill. XVI), an elegantly balanced and framed page for contemplation, suggests the Durrow innovation may be one of the ancestors in the process of refinement that led to this exquisite result,[50] especially as both the earlier Durham (fol. 1r) and the Echternach Gospels (fol. 177r) separate the two verticals and join them with a curve that surrounds cascading trumpets, spirals, and, in Echternach, interlace. The curved shape of the latter terminal design is so unusual that it is hard to believe that two different artists (if indeed they are) could have arrived at it independently. This may be counted as a point in favor of the

49 DCL, A.II.10, fols. 2–6 and 338–338a; C.III.13, fols. 192–5; C.III.20, fols. 1–2. Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts*, no. 5; Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures*, no. 2; Christopher Verey, 'A Collation of the Gospel Texts contained in Durham Cathedral MSS A.II.10, A II 16 and A II 17', unpublished M.A. Thesis (University of Durham, 1969), pp. 137–242; 'Some Observations on the Texts of Durham Cathedral MSS A.II.10 and A.II.17', *Studia Evangelica* 6 (1973), 575–9; 'The Gospel Texts at Lindisfarne at the Time of St. Cuthbert', *St. Cuthbert : His Cult and His Community*, ed. Bonner *et al.*, 145–6; [T.J. Brown], *A Palaeographer's View: The Selected Writings of Julian Brown*, ed. J Bately, M. Brown, and J. Roberts (London, 1993), pp. 190–1, 205–9; 224–5; David Dumville, A *Palaeographer's Review, The Insular System of Scripts in the Early Middle Ages* (Osaka, 1999), pp. 29–31.

50 For discussion of the Lindisfarne *In principio* page see Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham*, pp. 50–2.

Durham-Echternach calligrapher theory, or, at least, in support of the two manuscripts having been made by scribes who worked in the same scriptorium.

Thus, comparisons among Durrow's initials reveal a creative artist working out and improving on his own solutions as he progresses through the book (something altogether less apparent in the Lindisfarne Gospels). By the time he gets to John's incipit, he has expanded the decorated initials and introduces three lines of intermediate and three more lines of smaller display script, that give the impression of bearing down (like a French Press coffee maker) on the text to force it on to the next page. And, of course, visuals from the Lindisfarne Gospels could argue for an inexorable march to squeeze out the script of the text from the incipit page. The first incipit in the Lindisfarne Gospels (fol. 3r, ill. 11) – admittedly for Jerome's preface beginning *Novum Opus* and not for a Gospel – shows one surviving line of normal text at the bottom. By the first Gospel incipit (fol. 27r, ill. VI) the single line of text has vanished and been replaced by a frame to achieve a more balanced and stately image. The smaller display script on Durrow's John incipit incorporates two Greek letters, *deltas* replacing the *d*s in *deus* and *deum*,[51] akin to the *phi* in the word *Filii* in the last line of the display script on Lindisfarne's *Liber Generationis* page (fol. 27r).

It is also possible to postulate development in Durrow's decorative motifs from the beginning of the book to the end. In Mark's initial (fol. 86r, ill. 9.3) the panels of solid color (yellow and orange-red) sit above and below the interlace filling. The solid panels become integral to the interlace in John's *In Principio* (fol. 193r, ill. 9.2). If one accepts the traditional chronology for Insular manuscripts, this is the earliest extant appearance of what is called 'spaced interlace' and may be the Durrow artist's invention. Lindisfarne's Eadfrith (e.g. fol. 5v), and the Durham-Echternach calligrapher (e.g. Durham Gospels, fol. 69r) pick up the idea.

The Durrow artist also expands his decorative repertoire on the page facing the John *In principio* (fol. 192v, ill. 9.4).

This prompts speculation that the Book of Durrow – from all stylistic indications the work of a single scribe-artist – may be, as Michelle Brown has proposed for the Lindisfarne Gospels, an *opus dei* carried out over a considerable period of time. The calligrapher Timothy O'Neill took thirty minutes to copy a page from the Book of Durrow on paper (which, of course, is smoother than vellum). Working six hours a day at this pace, he calculated sixty days to pen the 485 pages of text. Add to that the labor-intensive ornamentation, and it is hard to envision how even under optimal conditions, the book could have been completed in under six months.[52] The stylistic



ILLUSTRATION 9.4 *Book of Durrow, fol. 192v (Carpet Page).*

51 Benjamin Tilghman, ('Writing in Tongues: Mixed Scripts and Style in Insular Art', *Insular and Anglo-Saxon Art and Thought in the Early Middle Ages*, ed, Hourihane, p. 101) reminds: 'The first verses of John were crucial to trinitarian dogma, and Victor Elbern long ago recognized the import of the triangular groupings of circles in the center roundel of the facing carpet page. The *deltas* even more pointedly serve to remind the beholder that these words refer specifically to the triune god, and the use of Greek here might serve to forge a connection with those other instances when the divine is represented through Greek letters, in *nomina sacra* and in the use of the *alpha* and *omega*'.

52 Timothy O'Neill, 'Book-Making in Early Christian Ireland', *Archaeology Ireland*, 3 (1989), 99–100 and 'Columba the Scribe' in *Studies in the Cult of Saint Columba*, ed. Cormac Bourke (1997), p. 76. On the time it might have taken to execute ornament – some (like the interlace on Durrow's Matthew symbol frame) more complex and time-consuming than other examples, even in the same manuscript – see Mark van Stone, 'Ornamental Techniques in Kells and its Kin', *The Book of Kells*, ed. F. O'Mahoney (Dublin 1994), 234–42, esp. 241.

development from the book's beginning to end, however, suggests it may have been a protracted project of several years, bringing its completion date closer to the inception of the Lindisfarne Gospels.

Examination of Durrow's six so-called 'carpet pages', a type of non-figurative ornamental page with embedded crosses, may support such a hypothesis, especially in light of comparisons to recently discovered metalwork. The book's frontispiece (fol. 1v, ill. 9.5) has the first carpet page with a double-armed yellow (approximating gold) cross surrounded by a field of interlace.

It faces a cross of interlace surrounded by symbols of the four evangelists (fol. 2r) whose texts make up the book. The carpet page employs a range of complex interlace patterns, with those in the top and bottom panels of the frame unique among the known Insular repertoire. Six of the eight central golden squares are filled with black and white chequerboard patterns, no doubt reflecting the type of millefiori metalwork that was produced in both Ireland and the Anglo-Saxon world in the seventh and eighth centuries.[53]



ILLUSTRATION 9.5 *Book of Durrow, fol. 1v* (*Carpet Page*).

Comparisons to Pictish sculpture like the cross slab from Rosemarkie,[54] probably the site of an early monastery in north east Scotland (Ross-shire), showing a cross with stepped terminals against an interlace ground, make it clear that sculptures, especially newly discovered works, need to be mined for the information they might shed on Durrow and Insular manuscript production in general. This comparison is especially intriguing because the sculpture's outer border is a diagonal key pattern reminiscent of that used on the Cross Evangelist page (fol. 2r) facing the Carpet Page (fol. 1v, ill. 9.5), thereby suggesting that someone involved in the sculpture's design[55] might have had the opportunity to study, or might have had knowledge through a copy, of this opening in the Book of Durrow. In addition, a small fragment with a stepped cross in low relief,[56] albeit less elaborate than the Rosemarkie sculpture, was discovered in 1997 in excavations undertaken by Martin Carver not far from Rosemarkie on the Tarbat peninsula at the Pictish monastic foundation of Portmahomack, which flourished, as Carver showed, between the late sixth century and about 800.[57] In 565 Columba

53 For examples from the recently discovered Staffordshire hoard (http://www.staffordshirehoard.org.uk) see the millefiori stud no. 545 and sword pyramids nos. 451, 551, and 1166; see also the sword pyramid of unknown provenance in a private collection in Leslie Webster and Janet Backhouse (ed.), *The Making of England* (London, 1991), p. 57, no. 41.

54 George and Isabel Henderson, *The Art of the Picts: Sculpture and Metalwork in Early Medieval Scotland* (New York), 2004, pp. 216–7, fig. 316. Carl Nordenfalk already noted this comparison almost half a century ago in 'An Illustrated Diatessaron', *Art Bulletin*, 50 (1968), 119–40 at p. 124.

55 Isabel Henderson ('The Art-Historical Context of the Hilton of Cadboll Cross-slab', *A Fragmented Masterpiece: Recovering the Biography of the Hilton of Cadboll Pictish Cross-Slab*, ed. H. James, I. Henderson, S. Forester, and S. Jones (Edinburgh, 2008), p. 136) notes that this is the only Pictish cross slab with cruciform stepped terminals, and she says, without further explanation, that 'its format suggests it could have been copied from a precious piece of metalwork in the Rosemarkie treasury'.

56 TR29 (325 × 325 × 72 mm.) was excavated in the church in the western wall of the crypt in 1997. See Carver, *Portmahomack,* p. 216*;* Henderson, *The Art of the Picts,* p. 175, fig. 258.
An online catalogue of Portmahomack sculpture with drawings of the various fragments may be found at http://www.york.ac.uk/archaeology/staff/sites/tarbat/stonecat/sculptureCatalogue.html.

57 Martin Carver, *Portmahomack: Monastery of the Picts* (Edinburgh, 2008); *The Pictish Monastery at Portmahomack*, Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow, 2008); and 'An Iona of the East: The Early-medieval monastery at Portmahomack, Tarbat Ness', *Medieval*

ventured from Iona to the land of the Picts when he may have founded the monastery at Portmahomack on what Carver has described as the nearest equivalent Columba could find to an island like Iona at the far end of the Great Glen.[58] Although fine sculpture had been discovered at Portmahomack in the nineteenth century, for most of the twentieth century the significance of the peninsula as an Insular artistic center lay, with few exceptions,[59] outside discussions of Insular art.

Other significant comparisons may be made between sculptures from Portmahomack and the ornament in the Book of Durrow. Among them is a fragment in high relief from a cross-slab with double spirals and trumpets (ill. 9.6)[60] which approximates in stone those painted in Durrow, for example on the Carpet Page (upper right roundel fol. 3v, ill. 9.7) facing the beginning of the *Novum Opus*.

Another fragment from an upright cross slab shows trumpets and spirals with small triangles in the interstices (ill. 9.8),[61] possibly reflecting a painted model like the Durrow Carpet Page (ill. 9.7) where small triangles fill spaces in the background.

Such triangles are an unusual feature in Insular manuscripts, but a mainstay of the Durrow artist's tool kit, appearing also in his interlace designs, as seen on the top and bottom panels of the lion's frame (fol. 191v, ill. 9.9) and on that surrounding the Man (fol. 21v, ill. 9.10).



ILLUSTRATION 9.6 *Portmahomack, fragment from a cross-slab with trumpets and spirals* (*no. TR 7*).



ILLUSTRATION 9.7 *Book of Durrow, fol. 3v* (*Carpet Page*).

Archaeology, 48 (2004), 1–30. Excavations between 1996 and 2006 revealed several churches beneath the one still standing, cemeteries from the sixth and eighth centuries, and workshops for producing vellum and metalwork, a mill, a barn and an enclosure ditch. More than 225 pieces of sculpture were found. Many are fragments from at least four large cross-slabs, which stood around the church.

58 Carver, '*An Iona of the East*', p. 29.

59 As in the work of Isabel and George Henderson: I. Henderson, *The Picts* (New York, 1967); 'Inverness a Pictish Capital' in *The Hub of the Highlands: The Book of Inverness and District* (Edinburgh, 1975), pp. 91–108; G. Henderson, *From Durrow to Kells*.

60 TR7 (260 × 170 × 25 mm; Carver, *Portmahomack*, pp. 7, 215) was excavated about four yards from the Tarbat churchyard's east gable in the 1880s. Henderson, *The Art of the Picts*, p. 49, fig. 54; J.R. Allen and J. Anderson, *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, III (Edinburgh, 1903), pp. 91–3, no. 7 (reprinted in 2 vols. with an introduction by I. Henderson (Balgivies, 1993), pp. 91–3, fig. 93, no. 7); Hugh Miller, 'Note on Fragments of Two Sculptured Stones of Celtic Workmanship found in the Churchyard of Tarbat, Easter Ross', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 23 (1889), 435–44, fig. 3.

61 TR9 (230 × 180 × 200 mm; Carver, *Portmahomack*, p. 215) was unearthed in the Tarbat churchyard. Allen and Anderson, *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, III p. 93, no. 9. Small fragments with similar spirals are TR18, TR23, and TR32.



ILLUSTRATION 9.8 *Portmahomack, fragment from cross-slab with trumpets, spirals and small triangles (no. TR 9)*

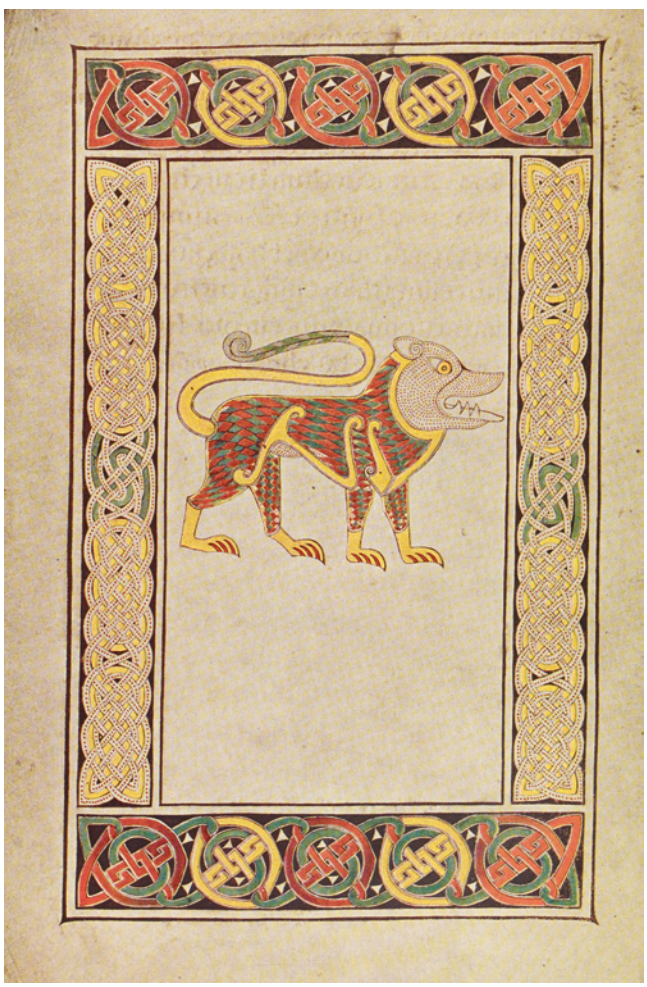


ILLUSTRATION 9.9 *Book of Durrow, fol. 191v (Lion).*

Another fragment shows a triskele,[62] again matching the decorative repertoire of the Book of Durrow (ill. 9.7). Still another fragment shows spaced interlace (ill. 9.11)[63] nearly identical to that found on Durrow's *In principio* initial (ill. 9.2). Finally, a recently discovered panel from Portmahomack depicts a profile lion (ill. 9.12)[64] not unlike the evangelist symbol introducing Luke's Gospel in Durrow (fol. 191v, ill. 9.9).

All these comparisons suggest that the Portmahomack sculptors had knowledge of much of the decorative vocabulary employed in the Book of Durrow and were influenced by it. That is not to say that the type of evangelist



ILLUSTRATION 9.10 *Book of Durrow, fol. 21v (Man).*

62 TR36 (85 × 50 × 30 mm. Carver, *Portmahomack*, p. 216) was found in the Glebe Field in 1998.

63 TR12 (180 × 200 × 50 mm; Carver, *Portmahomack*, pp. 11, 215). The spaced interlace borders a cock and fox.

64 TR35 'calf stone' (380 × 330 × 80 mm; Carver, *Portmahomack*, pp. 59, 101,107–8, 139, 215) was found in 1998 during excavations in Glebe Field. It had been reused to line a medieval drain. Henderson, *The Art of the Picts*, pp. 205–6, fig. 303.



ILLUSTRATION 9.11 *Portmahomack, fragment with spaced interlace (no TR 12).*



ILLUSTRATION 9.12 *Portmahomack, panel with profile lion (no. TR 35).*

symbols in the Book of Durrow do not derive from earlier Pictish prototypes. Despite heated debates, Isabel Henderson's theory[65] that symbols carved on Pictish boulder monuments informed Durrow's lion as well as the eagle in the Cambridge-London Gospels (fol. 1r),[66] and the calf in the Echternach Gospels (fol. 115v) rings true. She points out that stylized curves conveying movement and spatial position on the Durrow lion and Echternach calf exhibit a mix of adaptation, misunderstanding, and elaboration of those incised on Pictish symbol stones like the wolf from Stittenham,[67] not far from Portmahomack.

While the adoption of Pictish animals for evangelist symbols may reveal something about the audience for the Durrow Gospel Book, it also presents the possibility that the codex could have been made in a scriptorium with close connections to Pictish stone carvers, where both painter and sculptor were open to mutual influence. I shall return to a discussion of where such a scriptorium might have been.

In the meantime, Durrow's significant relationship to metalwork bears examination. It has long been noted that the bell-like body of the Man (ill. 9.10) symbolizing the evangelist Matthew, with its shimmering yellow and red checkerboard and inlaid black and white patterns, consciously approximates in paint the splendor of Romano-British, Irish, and Anglo-Saxon metalwork with inlaid red and yellow enamel and millefiori. Good examples are found on the Roman harness buckle from Newstead[68] and

65 I. Henderson, 'Pictish Art and the Book of Kells', *Ireland in early Medieval Europe*, ed. D. Whitelock, R. McKitterick and D.N. Dumville (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 79–82 and Henderson, *The Art of the Picts*, pp. 31–5. For opposing views see R. Stevenson, 'Sculpture in Scotland in the 6th–8th Centuries AD', *Kolloquium über Spätantike und Frühmittelalterliche Skulptur*, ed. V Milojćić, II (1970), 65–75 and 'Further Thoughts on Some Well-known Problems', *The Age of Migrating Ideas*, ed. R. Spearman and J. Higgitt (Edinburgh, 1993), 16–26, esp. pp. 19–20.

66 CCCC, 197B, fols. 1–36 and BL, Cotton Ms Otho C.V: Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts*, no. 12; digital facsimile http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/page_turner.do?ms_no = 197B.

67 Henderson, *The Art of the Picts*, pp. 31–5, fig. 29.

68 National Museum of Scotland, acc. no. X.FRA 846. Found at the Roman Fort of Newstead (occupied between 80 and 211 A.D.) near Melrose in Roxburgshire, Scotland. J.A. Curle, *Roman frontier post and its people: the fort of Newstead* (Glasgow, 1911), pp. 329, 332, Pl. LXXXIX, 25. For discussion of objects from Newstead see also Martin Henig, 'Newstead and the Art of the Roman Frontier', *A Roman Frontier Post and Its People: Newstead*

anthropomorphic mounts from an Irish bucket found in a Viking tomb in Oseberg.[69] Scholars have also recognized that the trumpet-spiral decoration in roundels of the three-, four- and seven-spiral versions on the carpet page now preceding the *Novum opus* (fol. 3v, ill. 9.7) reflects a 'developed form' of a style found on enameled escutcheons on hanging bowls (except those unearthed in the plentiful areas of eastern Kent and East Anglia). In fact some, like the four-spiral versions from Greenwich and Chalton, even contain concave-sided triangles[70] of the type adopted by the Durrow artist, albeit not in his four-spiral roundels.

Much of the discussion of Durrow's relationship to metalwork, however, has centered on its John carpet page (fol. 192v, ill. 9.4). It is the only example in the volume where the artist has incorporated ornament of Germanic origin. The interlaced ribbon beasts find many parallels on Anglo-Saxon metalwork. In fact, after the discovery of the Sutton Hoo hoard in 1939,[71] comparisons drawn between the varieties of beasts, millefiori and cloisonné patterns on the Sutton Hoo metalwork and the ornamental motifs in Durrow[72] prompted some scholars to argue for the gospel-book's origin in Northumbria,[73] even though the hoard was found in East Anglia.

Over the last two decades more Anglo-Saxon metalwork has surfaced. Several examples provide suggestive comparanda for Durrow. For example, a gilt bronze disk found at Akenham near Ipswich in Suffolk shows quadrupeds with double contours, pear-shaped hips, v-shaped bodies and interlaced legs closely related to those in the upper and lower panels of lacertines on Durrow's John carpet page (ill. 9.4). The hole in the disk's center revealing reuse, suggests that its style of animal decoration may have retained its desirability over a long time.[74] The recent, alas uncontextualized, discovery of more than 3500 gold and silver fragments of military gear, in Staffordshire,[75] not far from Lichfield in what was the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Mercia, supplies the most important group of comparisons to be assimilated into an understanding of Durrow. 'Ankle bracelets'[76] on the unusual pair of one-legged beasts biting each other's sinuous bodies on a fitting from the Staffordshire Hoard[77] bear similarity to those on the Staffordshire Cross,[78] the Sutton Hoo buckle and maplewood drinking vessel mounts,[79] the Crundale sword pommel[80] and the Durrow beasts. Double contoured beasts, admittedly of a different 'species' than Durrow's horse-like animals, appear in a line with their long jaws biting the hind quarters of the animal in front on a Seax fitting from the Staffordshire Hoard.[81] The

1911–2011, ed. F. Hunter (Edinburgh, 2012), 153–66, esp. pp. 163–4. Use of millefiori and enamel is characteristic of Roman production in Scotland and Northern Britain.

69 Oslo, University Museum of National Antiquities; Meehan, *The Book of Durrow*, p. 35. See also the standing-figure escutcheons with rectangular bodies decorated in millefiori and enamel on an eighth or early-ninth-century hanging bowl, possibly of Irish manufacture, found in a Viking boat burial at Myklebostad, Norway (Historisk Museum, Bergen, acc. no. C 2978): Rupert Bruce-Mitford, *Late-Celtic Hanging Bowls* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 387–91, no. 152, and Susan Youngs, 'Little Men and the Missing Link: Irish Anthropomorphic Vessel Mounts', *Early Medieval Art and Archaeology in the Northern World, Studies in Honour of James Graham-Campbell*, ed. A. Reynolds and L. Webster (Leiden, 2013), 794–806.

70 For discussion of the development of trumpet-spirals in roundels on hanging bowls see Bruce-Mitford *Late-Celtic Hanging Bowls*, pp. 13–4 and nos. 19 and 24. On the origin of concave-sided triangles in enamelwork from the fifth through seventh century see S. Youngs, 'From Metalwork to Manuscript: Some Observations on the Use of Celtic Art in Insular Manuscripts', *Form and Order in the Anglo-Saxon World*, 45–64 at 48–9.

71 On the basis of the most recent of the 37 Merovingian coins found in the hoard's ceremonial purse, the hoard was dated initially to the mid-seventh century (R.L.S. Bruce-Mitford, 'The Sutton-Hoo Ship Burial: Recent Theories and Some Comments on General Interpretation', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, 25, 1 (1949), 1–78). After 1960 the most recent coins were thought to date to the second two decades of the seventh century. A.W. Stahl and W.H. Oddy ('The Date of the Sutton Hoo Coins' in *Sutton Hoo Fifty Years After*, ed. R. Farrell and C. Neumann de Vegvar (Oxford, Ohio, 1992), 129–47) believe all of the coins may have been minted before 613.

72 R.H. Hodgkin, *A History of the Anglo-Saxons*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1952), pp. 731–4; *Cod. Lind.*, esp. pp. 109–17; George Speake, *Anglo-Saxon Animal Art and Its Germanic Background* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 43–5, 62, 76; Henderson, *From Durrow to Kells*, p. 32.

73 See for example, *Cod. Lind.*, pp. 57, 90, 118, 255–7; Richard Bailey, 'Sutton Hoo and Seventh Century Art', *Sutton Hoo: Fifty Years After*, ed. Farrell and Neumann de Vegvar, 31–41.

74 S.J. Plunkett, 'Some Recent metalwork Discoveries from the Area of the Gipping Valley, and their Local Context', *New Offerings, Ancient Treasures: Studies in Medieval Art for George Henderson*, ed. P. Binski and W. Noel (Stroud, 2001), 69–71, fig. 3C.

75 http://www.staffordshirehoard.org.uk/.

76 For discussion of this motif and its possible origins in Swedish Vendel depictions of animals see Speake, *Anglo-Saxon Animal Art*, pp. 42–3.

77 See Staffordshire Hoard no. 130.

78 Staffordshire Hoard no. 655.

79 British Museum acc. nos. 1939.1010.1 and 1939,1010.122-127.1-12. Speake, *Anglo-Saxon Animal Art,* figs. 1i and 15a.

80 British Museum acc. no. 1894,1103.1; Speake, *Anglo-Saxon Animal Art,* fig. 3h and pl. 14b.

81 The beast procession on Staffordshire Hoard seax fitting no. 567 (see Karen Nielsen, 'Style II and all that: the potential of the

Staffordshire hoard provides numerous examples of animals in gold and garnet and enamel with flexible ribbon bodies that, although interlaced differently, resemble Akenham's and Durrow's.[82]

Significant new finds in the West of Scotland reveal that the style of beast found in Durrow had wide geographic currency. The Irish hillfort royal ceremonial site at Dunadd, south of Iona in Dál Riata has yielded objects that shed light on the temporal and geographic reach of several motifs in Durrow's decoration. A stamped copper alloy foil (*pressblech*) with an intertwined animal biting its leg, a disc with enameled trumpet spirals, interlace on moulds for bird-headed brooches and a Pictish boar carved on the summit rock[83] leave little doubt that Anglo-Saxon beasts, interlace, Pictish-style animals, and Celtic curvilinear ornament were known in Dál Riata by the later seventh century. Moreover, a slate disc found at Dunadd (ill. 9.13)[84] inscribed 'in nomine' ('in the name of') bears an example of Insular half-uncial script akin to Durrow's.

The same type of half-uncial, generally thought to have been practiced in the second half of the seventh century, is found engraved in niello on a gold strip from the Staffordshire Hoard.[85] Thus, recent archaeological finds imply a wide geographical area in which this script was practiced,[86] corroborating evidence derived from the ornament on metalwork.

Where then does this leave an assessment of where the *Book of Durrow* might have been made? Any reconsideration of origin needs to take into account a series of fragments from a gospel-book in Turin (fol. 2v, ill. 9.14) that were damaged by fire in 1904.[87] The fragments come from the monastery at Bobbio, founded in 612 by the Irishman Columbanus. My analysis of their script suggests that this gospel-book was penned by the same scribe that wrote Durrow, as was proposed some years ago, without detailed explanation, by Julian Brown.[88] The few remaining pages of the Turin book comprise part of Jerome's preface, *Novum opus*, which shares two missing words with Durrow's, mistakes found only in these two early Insular gospel-books.[89]

Two and a half pages of Turin's Canon Tables (fols. 2v–3v, ill. 9.14) remain and, like Durrow's – but in contrast

hoard from statistical study of chronology and geographical distributions', http://finds.org.uk/staffshoardsymposium/papers/karenhoilundnielsen) bears resemblance to those carved on a bone fragment from a handle, possibly from a knife, excavated on a site occupied from the seventh to the ninth century at Fishergate York. Yorkshire Museum, York no. 1986.45.4618. Webster and Backhouse (ed.), *The Making of England*, p. 58, no. 43.

82 For example, Staffordshire Hoard nos. 347, 449, 655, 660, 967, 980, and 1167 (see Nielsen 'Style II and all that'). A carved antler plaque found (although probably not made) at the Hamwic Saxon settlement in Southampton (Southampton City Museums no. SOU 31.1573: Webster and Backhouse (ed.), *The Making of England*, p. 58, no. 44) shows two v-shaped, double-contoured beasts intertwined in a manner similar to those on Durrow fol. 192v. Intertwining on the Sutton Hoo drinking vessel mount (see above n. 78) and the Staffordshire cross (no. 655), which are virtually identical in design (see Nielsen 'Style II and all that') most closely resemble the lactertine of v-shaped bodies on the Durrow carpet page. For the Durrow looped lacertines where interlaced animals bite their own hind quarters Speake (*Anglo-Saxon Animal Art,* fig. 14f) long ago identified a close comparison with a die from Icklingham in Suffolk.

83 A. Lane and E. Campbell, *Dunadd: An Early Dalriadic Capital* (Oxford, 2000), esp. pp. 18–23, 114–9, 152–5, 243–7; 'Celtic and Germanic Interaction in Dalriada: the 7th-Century Metalworking Site at Dunadd', *Age of Migrating Ideas*, ed. Spearman and Higgitt, 52–63.

84 National Museums of Scotland, NMS 9P 219. The pebble may have been a devotional object or a scribe's practice piece. Brown, *LG*[1], pp. 254–5.

85 Staffordshire no. 550. See Michelle Brown, 'The Manuscript Context for the Inscription', http://finds.org.uk/staffshoardsymposium/papers/michellebrown and Thomas Klein, 'The Inscribed Gold Strip in the Staffordshire Hoard: The text and script of an early Anglo-Saxon Inscription', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 18 (Oxford, 2013), 62–74.

86 See N. Netzer, 'Framing the Book of Durrow Inside/Outside the Anglo-Saxon world', *Form and Order in the Anglo-Saxon World 600–1100, Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 16 (Oxford, 2009), p. 72 for discussion of the long period and broad area over which the script was practised.

87 Turin, Biblioteca Nationale, F.VI.2, fols. 1–3 (*Novum Opus* text and Canon Tables); F.IV.16 (strips of script later used for binding); F.IV.14 (strips of script later used for binding); G.V.2, fols. 139 and 167–70 (lower script of a palimpsest containing a ninth century Psalter, original gospel text in two columns); and O.IV.20 (the lower script found on some folios of a palimpsest containing Domenico Cavalca's *Esposizione sopra il credo* written on 189 folios in a fifteenth-century hand).

88 For discussion of the salient characteristics of the scribe's letters see Netzer, 'Framing the Book of Durrow', pp. 72–3. Julian Brown ('The Irish Element in the Insular System of Scripts to circa A.D. 850', *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter* 1, ed. H Loewe (Stuttgart, 1982); reprinted in *A Paleographer's View*, ed. Bately *et al.*, 201–20 and 284–7 at 205–6), believed that they 'appear[ed] to be from the same scriptorium, even perhaps by the same hand, as the Book of Durrow'. William O'Sullivan ('The Lindisfarne Scriptorium: for and against', *Peritia* 8 (1994), 80–94 at 84) agreed with Brown that the Turin Gospels fragments were 'written by a man trained in the same scriptorium [as Durrow] … at about the same time' but he cites unspecified 'minor differences' against their having been written by the Durrow scribe.

89 Netzer, 'Framing the Book of Durrow', pp. 73 and 77, n. 71–2.

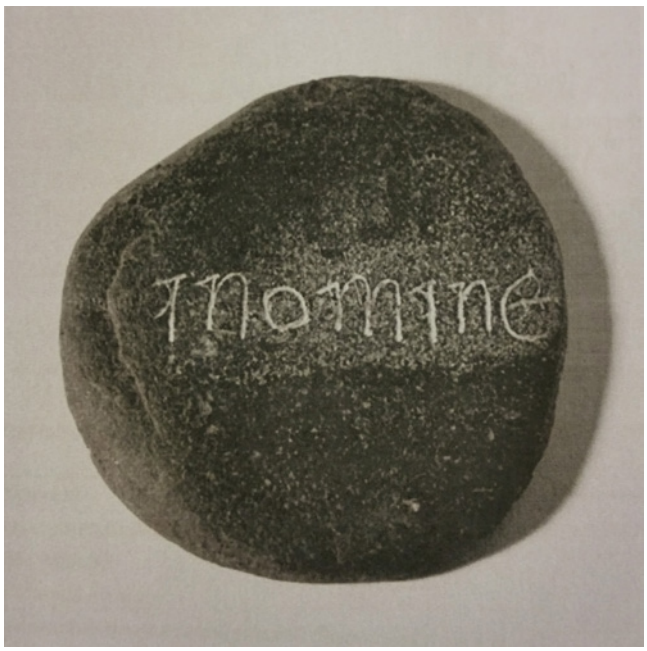


ILLUSTRATION 9.13 *Dunadd, slate disc inscribed 'In Nomine'; National Museums of Scotland,* NMS 9P 219.

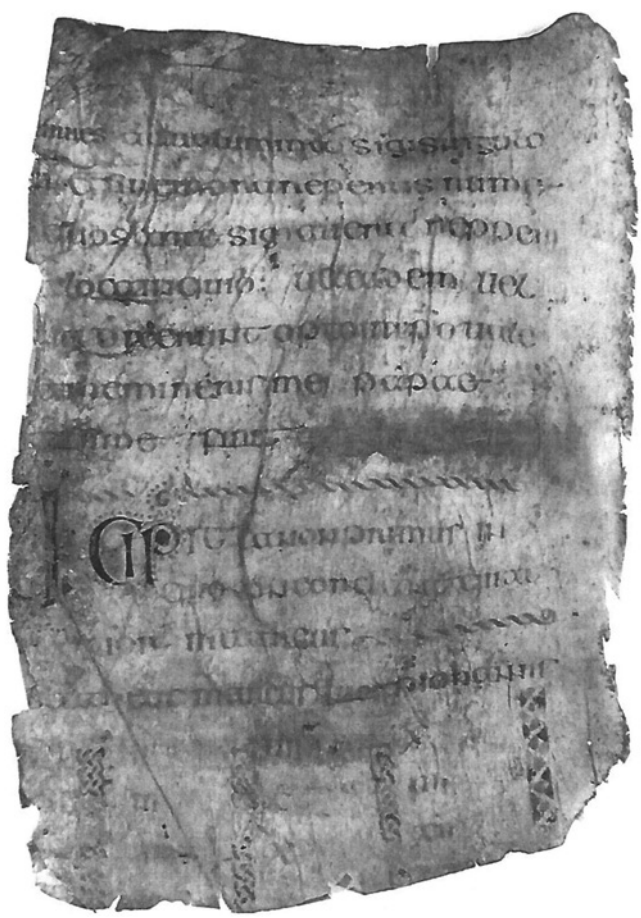


ILLUSTRATION 9.14 *Turin, Biblioteca Nationale, F.VI.2, fol. 2v.*

to those in many other Insular gospel-books including the Lindisfarne Gospels (ill. 111) – are not arranged under arcades (which signify a gateway to the sacred text).[90] Unlike Durrow's Canon Tables which have eight columns of numerals per page, Turin's have only four, and Turin's gospel text, now palimpsested, appears to have been in two columns and written *per cola et commata* like Lindisfarne's.[91] Alas, too little remains of the Turin Gospel text to reveal any sense of its familial character, but its layout does prompt speculation that the occasional double-column layouts in the Book of Durrow replicate the arrangement of the text in a common model.

That Turin's Canon Tables begin in the middle of the page (fol. 2v, ill. 9.14) below the *Novum opus* text, suggests it was a less sumptuous production by the Durrow scribe, possibly, given its provenance at Bobbio, intended for shipment abroad.[92] It should be noted, however, that the size of the Turin folios, originally probably about 11 by 7¾ inches (280 × 196 mm), are somewhat larger than Durrow's.

The Turin volume must have had some very fine decoration, as revealed by what remains of the partly repainted *Q*[93] that the fifteenth-century palimpsester seemingly could not bear to cover.[94] Quality endures, even in the

90 For more on the symbolism of Canon Table decoration see Heather Pulliam, Ch. 6 in the present volume.

91 Each sentence and constituent part thereof begins a new line with its opening letter placed in the left margin. *Turin's* exemplar probably had this feature. See Brown, 'The Irish Element', pp. 205–6, pl. 46a. For discussion of the layout of Lindisfarne's exemplar, see Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham,* p. 47.

92 The Canon Tables in the Echternach Gospels begin mid-page (fol. 2v), revealing the same type of economizing with vellum.

93 Turin, O.IV.20, fol. 158r. Brown, 'The Irish Element', pp. 205–6, pl. 46b.

94 The initial *Q* on fol. 24v of O.IV.20 appears to have some repainting. To the naked eye, the blue pigment of the *Q* looks similar to that found on four damaged folios with full page illustrations of exceptional quality that are said to have been separated for photography from O.IV.20 at the time of the fire. Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts,* no. 61. Blue derived from indigo appears in Irish manuscripts including the Book of Kells and the Books Armagh by the beginning of the ninth century: see Burgio *et al.*, 'Non-Destructive *in situ* analysis', pp. 45–9. The four miniatures, originally two bifolia, one with two carpet pages and the other with an Ascension and Second Coming, seem to be by the same hand. Their style, however, is not similar to the miniatures in Durrow, suggesting that they may either have been from a different manuscript or later additions to the Turin Gospels, perhaps, in the ninth century when the same artists might have repainted initials in the gospel-book. Moreover, the script on the Ascension folio is more decorative and angular than that of the Turin Gospel Fragments and Durrow, which also suggests their later date.

fifteenth century when skins are scarce and have to be recycled!

Surprisingly, the Turin Gospels seems not to share the peculiar arrangement of preliminary texts that Patrick McGurk demonstrated between the Books of Durrow and Kells.[95] Unfortunately, the extant portions of the Turin Canon Tables are not those that contain the numeric peculiarities shared by Kells and Durrow, which led McGurk to conclude that the Kells and Durrow tables reflect the same prototype.[96] Turin's may also stem from this prototype, but it cannot be proven. Nonetheless, all three gospel-books, Durrow, Turin and Kells, are likely to have been the product of the same center. The Columban mother house at Iona, to which Kells has most often been linked, comes to mind as the most likely candidate. The recent finds from Dunadd, revealing that Durrow's ornamental vocabulary was known in Dál Riata in the late seventh century, buttress such an assignment.

A manuscript in Schaffhausen of Adomnán of Iona's, *Life of Columba* (*Vita Columbae*) (ill. 9.15), the founding abbot of the monastery of Iona who died in 597,[97] must also be drawn into this discussion.

Adomnán, abbot of Iona from 679 to 704, supplies most of the information about the foundation in the early period. Named in the colophon, the book's scribe, Dorbbene, is known from the Annals of Ulster as a senior cleric at Iona. The date of his death in 713 serves as the *terminus ante quem* for this manuscript. Adomnán probably wrote the text between 688 and 692 and certainly before 704,[98] the date of his death. Thus, the Schaffhausen book provides an example of a codex produced in the scriptorium at Iona between 688 and 713. The size of its seventy-one folios is 284–90 × 220–225 mm, somewhat larger than Durrow, smaller than the Book of Kells, but close in size to the Turin Gospels. This suggests that Turin being larger than Durrow despite its less elaborate decorative program

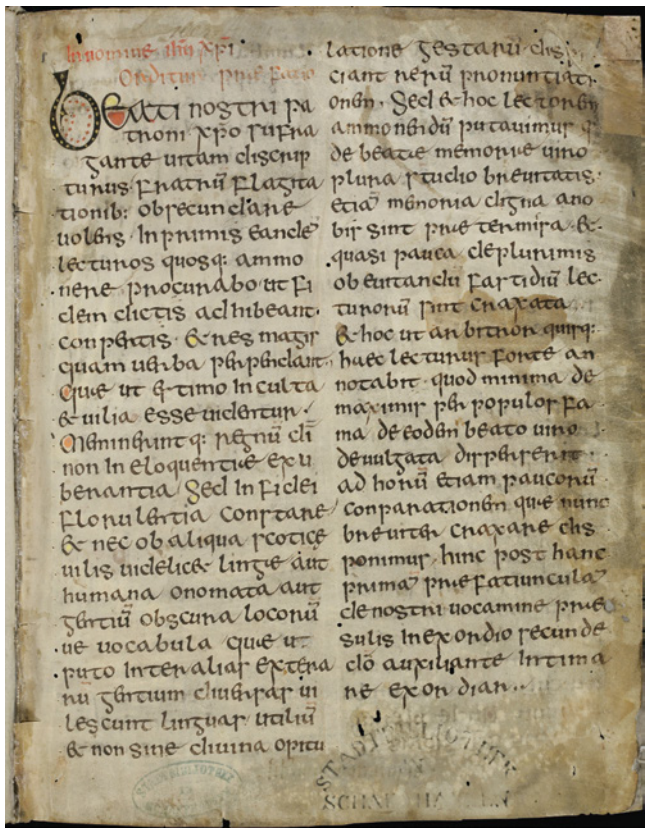


ILLUSTRATION 9.15 *Schaffhausen Adomnan* (*Schaffhausen, Stadtbibliothek, MS Generalia 1*), *fol. 1v.*

could be the result of standardized production of parchment sheets at Iona.

Schaffhausen's text is arranged in two columns. Its skins,[99] although not as patched and blemished as Durrow's, do not display Lindisfarne's pristine quality. Like Durrow, Schaffhausen's arrangement of hair and flesh sides is irregular. With five quires of six bifolia and a final quire of five bifolia, the Schaffhausen codex has a consistent, if unusual and possibly unique arrangement among early medieval manuscripts. Concealing smaller bifolia in the center of the last of the two gatherings suggests, as in Durrow, scarcity and/or rationing of membrane towards the end of the project. Like Durrow, the pages were ruled in drypoint after folding.[100] Most have twenty-eight lines, but three folios at the end of quire four have as many as thirty (pp. 91–6); smaller pages in quire five (pp. 105–12,) and folios at the beginning of quire six (pp. 121–6) are ruled with twenty-seven lines. The two smaller bifolia in

These four illuminations could have been added later, either before or after the manuscript was taken to Bobbio. On the Turin Gospels see also *CLA* IV, no. 446, and M. Ferrari, 'Spigolature Bobbiesi', *Italia Medioevale e Humanistica,* 16 (1973), 9–12.

95 *The Book of Kells, MS 58, Trinity College Dublin*, ed. P. Fox, Commentary volume (Lucerne, 1990), pp. 37–52, 57–8.

96 Fox, *The Book of Kells,* pp. 52–8.

97 *The Schaffhausen Adomnán, Schaffhausen, Stadtbibliothek, MS Generalia 1,* Part 1 Facsimile, ed. Damian Bracken (Cork, 2008); Part II Commentary, ed. Damian Bracken and Eric Graff (Cork, 2014); online facsimile http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/sbs/0001.

98 For the most recent discussion on the 'rough draft' left by Adomnán at his death see M. Stansbury in *The Schaffhausen Adomnán*, Commentary, 70–89, esp. pp. 85–8.

99 E. Graff in *The Schaffhausen Adomnán*, Commentary, p. 33, reproduces close-up photographs which suggest to him the membrane may be goatskin.

100 See E. Graff in *The Schaffhausen Adomnán*, Commentary, pp. 26–34.

the middle of quire six (pp. 127–34) have twenty-six lines. Technical analysis of the Schaffhausen membranes and pigments might disclose more about workshop practices at Iona.

Although the text is written in high-grade minuscule, some of Schaffhausen's rubrics are Half-uncial. The *in nomine* at the top of fol. 1v (ill. 9.15) is in what has been called Phase I Half- uncial[101] not unlike Durrow's (ill. 9.1), Turin's (ill. 9.14) and the Dunadd slate disc's (ill. 9.13). All share, for instance, the *e* as an unusually large letter that often ascends the upper line and whose tongue often extends beyond the curve of the letter. Although not by the same hand, the Schaffhausen manuscript does prove that the type of script found in Durrow and Turin was practiced in the scriptorium at Iona.[102] The script becomes more smooth and consistent in the Echternach and Durham Gospels and reaches its pinnacle in the rounded, and what Richard Gameson has so aptly described as the 'scrupulously regular' and 'self-consciously calligraphic' hand with an aesthetic approximating Continental Uncial[103] of the Lindisfarne Gospels.

One additional recent discovery on the other side of Scotland demands consideration before any conclusions are proposed. Among the finds at Portmahomack that exposed 235 pieces of sculpture and the first known monastic foundation in what were considered heathen Pictish lands, were debris from workshops for producing glass, metal objects and parchment.[104] Remains of a tawing pit, pebbles and pegs probably from a frame for stretching hides and an assortment of other objects for cleaning, cutting and preparing vellum confirm the presence of an extensive *parchmenterie*. Radiocarbon dating indicates it was active between the late seventh century and about 800 when the Vikings burnt the monastery. Martin Carver calls this evidence for 'the smelly end of the business',[105] from which he deduces that the whitened folios fabricated there supplied a scriptorium within the precinct of this Pictish monastery. There a team of scribe/artists would have produced gospel and law books as part of 'starter kits' for new monasteries in north Scotland.[106] Such evidence calls for reflection on whether this northeast outpost of the Pictish world might have produced Durrow and Turin and/or other extant manuscripts. Relationships between Portmahomack sculpture and book illumination extend to other manuscripts like the Book of Kells and the Lindisfarne Gospels.[107] Without the evidence for parchment manufacture in the area that Portmahomack now presents, in 1972 Julian Brown[108] argued that the Book of Kells and Lindisfarne Gospels were closer chronologically and geographically than previously proposed and that Kells might have been made in the mid-eighth century at a monastery in Pictland. Although it is tempting to jump on the bandwagon of this new discovery, my preliminary conclusions would be that neither the Book of Durrow, nor the Turin Gospels, nor the Book of Kells was made at Portmahomack. Rather, I see the other new archaeological evidence which has emerged as adding weight to Iona's claim as the scriptorium which produced all three. The stylistic range of the Portmahomack sculpture suggests that innovations in gospel-book design and decoration from scriptoria at other Columban foundations, specifically from Iona and Lindisfarne, were known and closely followed by both the sculptors and scribe/artists at Portmahomack, and perhaps even by the metalworkers there.

We shall never know how many more gospel-books the Durrow/Turin scribe produced, but one may well have made its way to Portmahomack. Talented as he was, this scribe artist must have undergone considerable training

101 For discussion on the state of the question on Phase I and II Insular half-uncial see Brown, 'From Columba to Cormac', pp. 640–5; *LG*², pp. 95–100; 'Writing in the Insular World', *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, vol. I c. 400–1100*, ed. R. Gameson (Cambridge, 2012), 121–66, esp. pp. 148–55; and 'Fifty Years of Insular Paleography', *Archiv fur Diplomatik* 50 (2004), pp. 280–1 with additional bibliography; and Dumville, *A Palaeographer's Review*.

102 For analysis of the Schaffhausen script see E. Graff in *The Schaffhausen Adomnán*, Commentary, pp. 35–53. Thomas O'Loughlin ('The Library of Iona at the Time of Adomnán', *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain I*, ed. Gameson, 570–9 at p. 577) argues that Adomnán's quotations of biblical passages do not exhibit significant variants that would permit association with a given family of Vulgate text that was available at Iona. An incised stone cross from the early seventh century first recorded in a stone heap at the Abbey of Iona in 1956 (Iona acc. no. Iona022) bears the inscription 'Lapis Echodi' ('the stone of Echoid') on its top edge. While not calligraphic and somewhat irregular, the inscribed letters are Insular Half-uncial forms and the *E* is larger than the others. http://www.ionahistory.org.uk/iona/ionahome/ionaabout/ionadiscoveries.htm?byDate=7th+Century&byStoneType=*.

103 Gameson *From Holy Island to Durham*, p. 48.

104 Carver, *Portmahomack*, pp. 118–35.

105 Carver, *Portmahomack,* p. 126.

106 Carver, *Portmahomack,* p. 135.

107 John Higgitt, 'The Pictish Latin Inscription at Tarbat in Rossshire', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 112 (1982), 300–321; Henderson, *The Art of the Picts*, pp. 216–8.

108 'Northumbria and the Book of Kells', *ASE* 1 (1972), 219–46; see also Michelle Brown, 'Fifty years of Insular Paleography, 1953–2003: An Outline of some Landmarks and Issues', *Archiv für Diplomatik*, ed. W. Koch and T. Kölzer, (2005), pp. 282–3.

and been sufficiently accomplished before he was entrusted to undertake the Book of Durrow. Surely there were, now-lost, illuminated deluxe gospels-books which preceded it. The Turin Gospels may indeed be one of them. One of their artists may have adapted Pictish-style animal forms as Evangelist symbols in an effort to enhance a dialogue with viewers in Dál Riata and Pictland. Although the Durrow/Turin artist may not have had backers with the deepest pockets and access to the best skins, as did his counterpart, Eadfrith, at Lindisfarne, he was clearly exceptionally gifted. His innovations would have attracted attention, would have been copied, and would have been adapted into the repertoire of other artists and craftsmen. Although, the Durrow/Turin artist's innovations, particularly the *IN* initial design, and possibly spaced interlace seem to have made their way to the Lindisfarne scriptorium, none of the known aspects of the production of the Book of Durrow would support manufacture on Holy Isle in light of recent analysis of the production of the Lindisfarne Gospels. On the contrary, this artist's oeuvre, along with the Schaffhausen Adomnán and the Book of Kells, is arguably part of a broader Columban – perhaps specifically Ionan – context that enables us to appreciate how rich and creative was the Insular scribal tradition that informed work on Lindisfarne, while also sharpening our perception of the varying extent to which practitioners there in the late seventh and early eighth century diverged from it.

I tend to agree with George Henderson's statement from 1987, before all of these new discoveries of sculpture and metalwork were made, that '[w]e probably need the presence of a Book of Durrow-like manuscript in Northumbria to account fully for the recollections of Durrow's ornamental layout and emphasis which are apparent in the Lindisfarne Gospels'.[109] Henderson now seems to favor origin for Durrow in East Anglia,[110] because of its relationship to the metalwork from Sutton Hoo. However, if the finds of the last decade reveal anything, it is that the Sutton Hoo style was much more widespread throughout Britain and Scotland in the seventh century than previously assumed. The Durrow/Turin master was a rare talent and a consummate innovator. Like any great artist, he took the best ideas from everywhere, Celtic, Germanic, Pictish and Mediterranean, assimilated them, conflated them, and produced brilliant imagery that had wide-reaching influence. I suspect he practised his trade at Iona. The Irish government seems to have been spot on when they put his work on their five pound note. Given what we know now, he might even merit consideration for a place on the Euro and, dare I say, the British Pound – along with Eadfrith, of course.

109 Henderson, *From Durrow to Kells*, p. 55.

110 'The implications of the Staffordshire Hoard': see note 20 above.

CHAPTER 10

The Texts of the Lindisfarne Gospels

Richard Marsden

Beneath its celebratory splendour, the Lindisfarne Gospels is a text – or rather texts. What we encounter today, after the addition of an Old English translation above the Latin text more than two centuries after the original copying, is a bilingual gospel-book. As such, it is an unusually rich resource for historians of both text and language; but the processes of trying to assess the two texts and to understand the relationship between them are hampered by many anomalies and puzzles. Some of these derive from the instabilities which are inherent in Bible texts (in whatever language) in the medieval period, some are a consequence of the vagaries and accidents of manuscript transmission, and some reflect the complex dynamics of the glossing process itself. While Vulgate historians have been able to establish some clarity in respect of the character of the Latin text, study of the Old English text has until quite recently suffered surprising neglect. The aim of this essay is to give an overview of both the Latin and the Old English texts and to assess their interactions. It exposes some of the flaws in past studies of the Old English gloss and affirms that a greater acknowledgement of its place in the wider Anglo-Saxon glossing tradition, especially that of psalters, may be productive in future research.

The Latin Text[1]

According to a colophon, partly in Old English, added to the manuscript some 250 years after the event, the Latin text of the Lindisfarne Gospels was copied out by Eadfrith, who was bishop of Lindisfarne from c. 698 until his death c. 722. This was presumably done at Lindisfarne itself. As Richard Gameson has shown, the long tradition associating production of the gospel-book with the cult of St Cuthbert has no foundation in evidence, and the earliest reference to its origins, in the above-mentioned colophon, makes no reference to Cuthbert at all.[2] The work is said there to have been dedicated simply to the 'holy ones' (Old English *halgum*, saints or possibly the community itself) of Lindisfarne. Thus the year of St Cuthbert's translation (698) and the launch of his cult are no longer necessary reference points in our conjectures about when Eadfrith copied out the gospels. Although some recent estimates have stretched the likely period of copying towards the end of Eadfrith's life, Gameson's argument that by 710 the bishop would have been too elderly to be able to pursue the task, and that therefore the period of the 690s to c. 710 is more likely, is persuasive.[3] The binding is stated in the colophon to have been effected by Æthilwald, who was bishop of Lindisfarne between 724 and 740.

The text of the Lindisfarne Gospels represents what Christopher Verey has called one of the rare 'fixed points' in a period of constant change and confusion in the textual history of the Latin Bible, which usually leaves scholars struggling to establish clear lines of transmission.[4] We are able to situate the text and contextualise it with some confidence. It is a good Italian text; that is, it derives from an accurate and reliable exemplar brought to England from Italy (still the source of the best Vulgate texts at this

1 My primary source for the gospel-text of the Hieronymian Vulgate is vol. 2 of *Biblia Sacra iuxta uulgatam uersionem*, ed. R. Weber *et al.*, 2 vols., 4th ed. (Stuttgart, 1994), which is based on *Nouum Testamentum Domini nostri Iesu Christi latine secundum editionem sancti Hieronymi*, ed. J. Wordsworth and H.J. White, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1889–1954), I, Quattuor Evangelia (1889–98). For the Latin language, I rely mainly on *A Latin Dictionary*, ed. C.T. Lewis and C. Short (Oxford, 1879), and *A Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, ed. R.E. Latham, D.R. Howlett and R.K. Ashdowne (Oxford, 1975–2013; headwords searchable online at http://logeion.uchicago.edu).

2 *From Holy Island to Durham. The Contexts and Meanings of the Lindisfarne Gospels* (London, 2013), pp. 16–9.

3 Michelle Brown in particular has argued for a far later date, adducing evidence relating to developments in Insular art and script; see *LG*[1], pp. 396–7.

4 C.D. Verey, 'The Gospel Texts at Lindisfarne at the Time of St Cuthbert', *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to AD 1200*, ed. G. Bonner, D. Rollason and C. Stancliffe (Woodbridge and Wolfeboro, NH, 1989), pp. 143–50, at p. 143. Verey gives an excellent overview of the general problems of tracing the history of Vulgate texts (pp. 143–5). For an essential account of the Insular gospel-book, see his 'A collation of the Gospel texts contained in Durham Cathedral mss. A.II.10, A.II.16 and A.II.17, and some provisional conclusions therefrom regarding the type of Vulgate text employed in Northumbria in the 8th century, together with a full description of each ms'. (Durham University thesis, 1969; online at http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/5577/), pp. 10–117.

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time), probably during the last decades of the seventh century. Gospel-books copied in Northumbria at a slightly earlier period differ textually in many details from that of Lindisfarne. An 'Irish-Northumbrian' or 'mixed' text, for instance, is found in the gospel-book preserved piecemeal in DCL, A.II.10 + C.III.13 and 20;[5] it shows many traces of Old Latin textual traditions, which are likely to reflect Irish influence. On the other hand, the 'Durham Gospels' (DCL, A.II.17, fols. 2–102), seems to have close textual links with the so-called 'St Augustine Gospels' in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. D.2.14, a seventh-century Italian manuscript which may have reached England with, or soon after, St Augustine's mission.[6]

The archetype of the gospel text of Lindisfarne probably originated in southern Italy. More specifically, the region of Naples is indicated, for some twenty folios of prefatory matter were copied out from the exemplar, as well as the four gospels themselves, and this includes a calendar of lections which lists two festivals celebrated specifically in Naples. These are the feast and vigil of St Januarius and the dedication of the basilica of St Stephen.[7] The Neapolitan connection has been disputed by Perette Michelli, who uses evidence of there being a church dedicated to St Januarius at Vivarium in Squillace (much further south and east of Naples), site of the monastery of Cassiodorus, to argue that the archetype came from there.[8] At first sight this could seem plausible, for we already know of a significant connection between Vivarium and the Northumbrian twin monastery of Wearmouth-Jarrow. A pandect (i.e., a complete single-volume bible) in the Old Latin textual tradition originating at Vivarium reached Wearmouth-Jarrow in the late seventh century, among the many volumes reported by Bede and others to have been brought from Italy to stock the libraries of the newly founded houses.[9] However, in the absence of any evidence, there is no compelling reason to link the transmission of this pandect with that of other books, and the case for a Neapolitan origin (based on the material in the liturgical calendar) remains solid.[10]

Nevertheless, a Wearmouth-Jarrow connection is crucial in the history of Lindisfarne's gospel text, for this is the same as the text used for the gospels in Wearmouth-Jarrow's most famous product, the Codex Amiatinus. The 1029-leaf volume (now Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurentiana, Amiatino 1) was one of three great Vulgate pandects made at Wearmouth-Jarrow. Nothing of the other two survives except for a few Old Testament fragments from one of them.[11] The gospel texts in Amiatinus and Lindisfarne are very close. No complete statistics are available, but my own sample collations of the two texts – drawing on the variants listed in Wordsworth's and White's critical edition of the gospels and the additional material available in selective collations made by Bonifatius Fischer – suggest a textual correspondence of more than 96%.[12] They concur consistently both in small details and in important readings (i.e., those which we use to identify different textual traditions), including errors. Thus they share *in una nauicula* for *in nauiculum* in Lk 8.22, *in monte* for *in montem* in Jn 6.3 and the omission of *respondens* in Lk 11.7, along with the error *ueniunt*, 'they come', for *ueneunt*, 'they are sold', in both Mt 20.29 and Lk 12.6.[13]

Most of the textual differences between Amiatinus and Lindisfarne are trivial, being often little more than orthographical variation or the result of careless error on the part of one or other of the copyists. Thus in Mk 2.13, in the sentence *et egressus est rursus ad mare*, 'and he went out again to the sea', we find correct *ad mare*, 'to the sea', in Amiatinus but *et mare*, 'and the sea', in Lindisfarne. In Mt 3.11, Lindisfarne has the verb correctly in the future tense in *ipse uos baptizabit*, 'he will baptise you', but Amiatinus has the perfect tense *baptizauit*, 'baptised'. Scribal

5 *CLA* II, no. 147; P. McGurk, *Latin Gospels Books from A.D. 400 to A.D. 800*, Les publications de Scriptorium 5 (Paris, etc, 1961), no. 9, p. 27.

6 *CLA* II, nos. 13 and 32, respectively; McGurk, *Latin Gospels Books*, no. 13, pp. 29–30, and no. 32, pp. 39–40.

7 *Cod. Lind.* II, book 1, pp. 52–7, and Brown, *LG*[1], pp. 182–93.

8 P. Michelli, 'What's in the Cupboard? Ezra and Matthew Reconsidered', *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. J. Hawkes and S. Mills (Stroud, Gloucs., 1999), 345–58, at pp. 355–6, with illustration. See also J.J. O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1979), p. 195.

9 For a summary account, see R. Marsden, *The Text of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 15 (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 79–83.

10 Michelli's argument ('What's in the Cupboard?' *passim*) that the exemplar for Lindisfarne's gospel-text was one of Cassiodorus's *nouem codices*, which she believes had a Vulgate text, not Old Latin as now generally accepted, is not convincing. Cf. Marsden *Text of the Old Testament*, pp. 132–4.

11 On Amiatinus, see Marsden, *Text of the Old Testament*, pp. 108–29; on the fragments, pp. 90–8.

12 My sources are vol. 1 of Wordsworth's and White's *Nouum Testamentum* (see n. 1) and B. Fischer, *Die lateinischen Evangelien bis zum 10. Jahrhundert*, 4 vols., Vetus Latina: Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel 13, 15, 17, 18 (Freiburg, 1988–91). Unlike Wordsworth and White, Fischer aims to include all extant manuscripts but he collates only selected passages for each gospel.

13 The readings cited are rare in other manuscripts, except for *ueniunt*, which is found in a number of Insular gospel-books in the 'Irish-Northumbrian' tradition. This error is discussed below in respect of its treatment by Old English glossators.

confusion between the labial consonants *b* and *u*, frequent in early medieval manuscripts, is discussed below. Overall, Lindisfarne seems to have rather more unique errors of carelessness than Amiatinus.

Occasionally there are more prominent differences between the two texts. Particularly interesting is a passage in Jn 13.10, to which I shall refer again later, where Jerome's Latin has:

> Dicit ei Iesus, qui lotus est non indiget ut lauet, sed est mundus totus.
> 'And Jesus said to him, he that is washed need not wash but is clean wholly'.

Both Lindisfarne and Amiatinus vary from this. Lindisfarne has erroneous *locutus*, 'spoken', for *lotus*, 'washed', which is nonsensical. One would assume this to be a one-off error by this copyist, but it does occur also in another of the Durham manuscripts, DCL, A.II.16, the remains of an eclectic gospel-book which in John shares its text with Amiatinus and Lindisfarne (see below).[14] Erroneous *locutus* has, however, been corrected in Lindisfarne, by the placing of points both under and over the offending extra letters, *cu*, to indicate that they should be ignored. Amiatinus does not have the error but varies by adding, after *qui lotus est non indiget ut lauet*, the phrase *nisi ut pedes lauet*, 'except that he should wash his feet'. A version of this amplification, which gives some clarity to a rather awkward passage, is in many of the Greek manuscripts of the gospels and would eventually become part of the received Latin Vulgate text. Presumably it had not been in Jerome's Greek exemplar, however, or at least he chose not to use it for his translation.[15] The amplification is not in Lindisfarne, and indeed few Insular manuscripts of the gospels have it as an original reading, but it was added to a number of them. These include BodL, Auct. D.2.14 and another imported Italian gospel-book associated with St Augustine, CCCC 286. Both manuscripts were corrected or emended extensively while in England, in the eighth or early ninth centuries. The Corpus manuscript has many emendations which bring its text into line with Amiatinus and (usually) Lindisfarne, and the Oxford manuscript has a few, but in both cases these are as likely to have derived from other imported Italian gospel-books showing Neapolitan influence as from any of Northumbrian origin.[16]

It is plausible to suggest that the addition of the extra words in Amiatinus was made at the instigation of Bede. Nothing concrete is known about his part in the production of the great Wearmouth-Jarrow pandects, but I have argued elsewhere that he must have been closely involved.[17] Certainly he knew the version of Jn 13.10 with the added phrase *nisi ut pedes lauet*, for he used it in a discussion of the passage in question in his homily on John;[18] his source for this was probably Augustine's tractate on the gospel, where the same version is used.[19] My speculation, therefore, is that the Italian archetype on which the gospel texts of both Amiatinus and Lindisfarne were to be based lacked the addition but that Bede decided that it was useful and saw to it that it became part of the gospel text in the three pandects.

Despite this and some other mostly minor differences, however, the gospel texts of Amiatinus and Lindisfarne are to all intents and purposes the same. Textual historians label this shared text 'Italo-Northumbrian' to distinguish it from other Italian texts, from which it exhibits consistent, if mostly small, differences. It is quite likely that the Italian archetype of the Italo-Northumbrian text, originating in the region of Naples, came directly to Wearmouth-Jarrow. During the 670s and 680s, under Abbot Ceolfrith, the double monastery's libraries were being stocked on a regular basis with imports from Italy.[20] However, the archetype could have travelled via Kent, for the abbots Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrith both had connections with the Canterbury of Theodore and Hadrian, recently arrived from Italy; Hadrian had even spent time in Naples.[21] Whatever its route of travel, the impression given is that the text of the new exemplar quickly became

14 The error *locutus* was also in the seventh-century Italian gospel-book, BodL, Auct. D.2.14, noted above, but was corrected after the manuscript reached England.

15 I have not found the phrase used by Jerome in any of the works in which he refers to this gospel.

16 See R. Marsden, 'The Gospels of St Augustine', *St Augustine and the Conversion of England*, ed. R. Gameson (Stroud, 1999), pp. 285–312.

17 '*Manus Bedae*: Bede's Contribution to Ceolfrith's Bibles', *ASE* 27 (1998), 65–85.

18 Bede, *Opera homiletica. Opera rhythmica*, ed. D. Hurst and J. Fraipont, CCSL 122 (Turnhout, 1955), *Homelia* II, 5, pp. 216–7.

19 Augustine, *In Iohannis euangelium tractatus* CXXIV, ed. R. Willems, CCSL 36, 2nd ed. (Turnhout, 1990), *Tractatus* 56, pp. 467–9.

20 Marsden, *Text of the Old Testament*, pp. 79–83, and the account by Verey in *The Durham Gospels Together with Fragments of a Gospel Book in Uncial* (*Durham Cathedral Library, MS. A. II. 17*), ed. C.D. Verey, T.J. Brown and E. Coatsworth, EEMF 20 (Copenhagen, 1980), p. 69.

21 *Cod. Lind.* II, book 1, p. 57, and Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham*, pp. 45–7.

established in Northumbria as the current *textus receptus*, and was therefore chosen consciously for Lindisfarne.

The case for Wearmouth-Jarrow as the main home of the Neapolitan exemplar is supported by the fact that its text-type is found in each of the other extant manuscripts containing gospel texts known to have been copied there.[22] There are four of them (no doubt only a fraction of those produced): 1. The text of John in DCL, A.II.16, fols. 103–134, a gospel-book whose other gospels (fols. 1–101) have textual affiliations with different manuscripts.[23] 2. Nine leaves containing part of Luke in DCL, A.II.17, fols. 103–111, written in an uncial of the type found in sections of Amiatinus (the main part of A.II.17, fols. 2–102, is the Durham Gospels, noted above);[24] these leaves are of particular interest and are discussed further below. 3. The St Cuthbert (formerly Stonyhurst) Gospel of John.[25] 4. A gospel-book fragment in the form of eleven leaves, with prefatory matter and the beginnings of Matthew and John, appended to the Utrecht Psalter.[26]

The exact details of the relationship between Amiatinus and Lindisfarne, with their almost identical Italo-Northumbrian texts, are obscure. Amiatinus was completed at Wearmouth-Jarrow by early 716, when it was taken to Rome. We do not know how long before this it was finished; perhaps not very long, if we accept that it was the finest and therefore probably the last of the pandects to be produced, but we simply do not know how long the overall production period of the three-pandect project was.[27] If the same imported exemplar used at Wearmouth-Jarrow for the gospels in Amiatinus and its sisters was used in the copying of Lindisfarne, our various dating estimates might have to be revised, but in fact it is far more likely that at least one duplicate of the Italian archetype had been made quite soon, and was available to be taken up the coast to Lindisfarne for use as required. The differences between the texts of Amiatinus and Lindisfarne, in both type and number (however few), are sufficient to confirm that a different exemplar was indeed used for the latter. In fact, in this period of intense copying activity in Northumbria, multiple copies are likely to have been produced, supplying other centres too.

If I am right that Bede approved the addition of *nisi ut lauet pedes* in Jn 13.10 in the three Wearmouth-Jarrow pandects, it is reasonable to assume that the words will have been added first to whichever manuscript – the archetype itself or a copy – was to be used for the copying of the gospels for the pandects. We may envisage a preparatory stage during which the exemplar was read through and checked, and during which emendations (and perhaps corrections) were made. Several years may have elapsed between the arrival of the archetype at Wearmouth-Jarrow and the copying of the first pandect, and Bede could have been using it in the meantime. Certainly the copy of it destined (according to our conjecture) for Lindisfarne must have been made earlier, before the addition in Jn 13.10, which is absent from the Lindisfarne text. Further evidence of the use of a second exemplar is the fact, noted above, that Lindisfarne's error in Jn 3.10 (where it has *locutus* for *lotus*, before correction) is shared by DCL, A.II.16 but not by Amiatinus. This indicates that the error had been introduced into a copy (or one of the copies) made from the original exemplar and then used at Wearmouth-Jarrow for further copying before going to Lindisfarne. The error is not, however, in the Cuthbert Gospel of John.[28]

It was first suggested by C.H. Turner that fragments of the exemplar used for Lindisfarne might still be extant, in the form of the nine leaves appended to the Durham Gospels, DCL, A.II.17, as fols. 103–111.[29] We noted these above among the Wearmouth-Jarrow manuscripts sharing the Italo-Northumbrian text. The appended nine leaves are written in Uncial script, making it convenient to designate this section 'A.II.17-Uncial'. The Durham Gospels itself (fols. 2–102) is a de luxe gospel-book written in Half-uncials, perhaps at Lindisfarne but some years before the Lindisfarne Gospels. As noted above, its text is not Italo-Northumbrian but of a distinct type associated with some other well-known gospel manuscripts in Anglo-Saxon England, such as CCCC 286. It was, however, later emended with numerous Italo-Northumbrian readings and the

22 On Northumbria's gospel texts, see especially Verey in *Durham Gospels*, pp. 68–71; also Brown, *LG*[1], Ch. 3, *passim*.

23 McGurk, *Latin Gospel Books*, no. 12, pp. 28–9; *CLA* II, no. 148c.

24 McGurk, *Latin Gospel Books*, nos. 13 and 14, pp. 29–30; *CLA* II, nos. 149 and 150. See Verey, *A Collation*, pp. 119–34 for a discussion of A.II.16 and A.II.17 and other Durham manuscripts; also Verey, 'The Gospel Texts at Lindisfarne', pp. 143–8.

25 BL, Add. MS 89000: *CLA* II, no. 160, and McGurk, *Latin Gospel Books*, no. 37, p. 42.

26 Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 32, fols. 94–104: McGurk, *Latin Gospels Books*, no. 81, p. 77.

27 See Marsden, *Text of the Old Testament*, pp. 98–106, for a discussion of the various practical and chronological issues involved. I make the reasonable assumption that the three pandects shared their biblical texts throughout (a view confirmed for a small part of Old Testament by surviving manuscript evidence).

28 See also n. 14.

29 'Iter Dunelmense: Durham Bible Mss, with the Text of a Leaf Lately in the Possession of Canon Greenwell of Durham, Now in the British Museum', *Journal of Theological Studies* 10 (1909), 529–44, at pp. 538–9.

imposition of the *colon et commata* system of text-division used in both Lindisfarne and Amiatinus.[30]

The nine leaves of A.II.17-Uncial carry the text of Luke Chs. 21–23 and presumably were once part of a complete gospel-book. It has been plausibly argued, on account of close similarities between the script used in these leaves and that found in some prefatory parts of Amiatinus, that it was copied at Wearmouth-Jarrow in the early years of the eighth century.[31] The evidence of its version of Luke – and there is not much – confirms a gospel text very close to that carried by Amiatinus and Lindisfarne. On textual grounds, Christopher Verey believes there is indeed 'sufficient evidence' to support Turner's theory that A.II.17-Uncial is part of Lindisfarne's exemplar.[32] Similarities between the two texts 'far outweigh' small differences, and this is especially the case in respect of textual divisions. Verey finds rather more correspondences between A.II.17-Uncial and Lindisfarne than between A.II.17-Uncial and Amiatinus.[33] Both parts of A.II.17 seem to have been associated with the Cuthbertian community from the tenth century and the gospel-book of which A.II.17-Uncial is a fragment could have been carried away from Lindisfarne in 875 at the same time as the Lindisfarne Gospels and, possibly, the Cuthbert Gospel of John.

To summarise this brief account of the history of Lindisfarne's Latin text, we can tentatively say that a copy of the four gospels – possibly extant residually in A.II.17-Uncial – was made in the 690s or early 700s at Wearmouth-Jarrow from the Neapolitan archetype that was being (or was shortly to be) used there for the copying of the gospels in Amiatinus and the two other pandects. The text must have been recognised and valued in Northumbria as a particularly good and perhaps authoritative one. If additions such as the extra words in John were added to the archetype itself, this occurred only after the copy destined for Lindisfarne had been made from it. This copy was used there by Eadfrith. Even if A.II.17-Uncial is not a remnant of it, there is no reason to doubt that one very like it, and of similar origin, was used.

The importance of the Italo-Northumbrian text, of Neapolitan origin, used in Lindisfarne was probably local and short-lived. Certainly it left no discernible trace in the later gospel-books or complete bibles that survive from England. Occasionally a concentration of readings coinciding with those in Lindisfarne and Amiatinus will be found in manuscripts produced on the Continent (as in a Theodulfian bible produced around 800), but here the path of influence is likely to have been directly from Italy.[34] Northumbria itself in the eighth century was producing gospel-books independent of the Neapolitan tradition, including several whose text may have derived from an archetype imported directly from northern Italy.[35] It is from northern Italian traditions that all the known gospel texts associated with the south of England in the eighth century, above all with Canterbury, seem to derive. Consistency and continuity of textual tradition in any period of Anglo-Saxon England remain elusive, however. In the later period, following the monastic reforms of the second half of the tenth century, manuscripts newly imported from the Continent appear to have supplied the exemplars for a new wave of gospel-book production.[36] These would transmit texts influenced to various extents (and never consistently) by the Vulgate revisions associated with Alcuin and Theodulf.

The Old English Text[37]

The second of Lindisfarne's texts is the Old English gloss which was added interlinearly, perhaps about 970, by Aldred, provost of the community at Chester-le-Street. It provides a continuous translation of the Latin throughout the volume, not only of the four gospels but of their preliminary matter also, including various prefaces and *capitulum* lists.[38] Only one other Old English gospel-book

30 On the gospel-book and its text, see especially Verey, *Durham Gospels*, pp. 71–6, and 'The Gospel Texts at Lindisfarne', p. 150.

31 Verey, 'A Collation', p. 126.

32 'A Collation', pp. 121–2.

33 My own collation persuades me that the closer link may be between A.II.17-Uncial and Amiatinus, but the evidence is slim and such details do not affect the overall theory.

34 For an overview of the gospel-text in the eighth century, see Marsden 'The Gospels of St Augustine', pp. 289–99.

35 C. Verey, 'A Northumbrian Text Family', *The Bible as Book: The Manuscript Tradition*, ed. J.L. Sharpe III and K. Van Kampen (London, 1998), pp. 105–22.

36 Gospel-books of the later period are surveyed in P. McGurk, 'Text', T*he York Gospels: A Facsimile with Introductory Essays*, ed. N.T. Barker (London, 1986), 43–63.

37 My basic resources for Old English are *Dictionary of Old English: A–G,* ed. A. Cameron, *et al.* (Toronto, 2007), and *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus in Electronic Form* (2004 release), both online at www.doe.utoronto.ca; *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, ed. J. Bosworth (Oxford, 1882–98), with *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary: Supplement*, ed. T.N. Toller (1908–21), and *Enlarged Addenda and Corrigenda to the Supplement*, ed. A. Campbell (1972); and *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, ed. J.R. Clark Hall, 4th ed. with suppl. by H.D. Meritt (Cambridge, 1969).

38 For a description of the gloss in its manuscript context, see N.R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957; reissued with supplement, 1990), no. 165, pp. 215–6.

gloss is known, that added in a similar fashion to the Rushworth (or MacRegol) Gospels; the problematic connection between this gloss and the one in Lindisfarne is discussed below.

In Lindisfarne, the Old English words are written in a small script immediately above the Latin, more or less word by word. A short passage from Jn 1.6 will illustrate the technique:[39]

> uæs monn gesendet fro[m] gode ðæm noma uæs ioh[annes]
> Fuit homo missus a Deo cui nomen erat Iohannes
> 'a man was sent from God, whose name was John'

As with all such glosses, the Old English version obviously does not provide a self-sufficient vernacular gospel text, for it follows the word order and syntax of the Latin. The glossator does sometimes make small concessions to native word order and also may add articles before nouns, but the primary intention of such glosses must have been to enhance understanding of the Latin gospel-text for those with English as their mother tongue – a complement to, not a substitute for, the sacred text.[40] Few words are left unglossed, even often repeated ones, the main exception being some proper names. Aldred has emended his gloss in many places, correcting errors or adding alternative vocabulary.[41]

The language of the gloss is the late tenth-century dialect of Aldred's Northumbria, which looks notably different from the West Saxon dialect used in most surviving manuscripts of Old English (and thus in modern readers and grammars).[42] A characteristic contemporary West Saxon version of the above would be 'wæs mann gesended from Gode ðæm nama wæs Iohannes'. The differences between the versions derive mostly from variation in vowel quality and orthography. The Old English gloss of the Latin of Jn 1.6 given above is very literal in just about every respect, grammar as well as word order. Thus the Latin dative relative pronoun *cui* ('to whom') is interpreted precisely in Old English, using the dative masculine demonstrative pronoun *ðæm*. Idiomatic Old English would instead use the genitive case here, *ðæs nama*, 'of-whom (the) name' or 'whose name'.

A glance at any page of the Lindisfarne manuscript will reveal that the gloss is more complex than the description 'word for word' suggests. Very often double glosses are supplied, the glossator giving us two alternative translations for a single Latin word. There are over 3000 examples, along with about one hundred triple glosses.[43] The alternatives are always separated by Latin *uel*, 'or', abbreviated to *ł*, with points placed on either side in

39 All glosses are transcribed from the manuscript, with expansions of abbreviated forms given in square brackets. The digitised manuscript is available online at www.bl.uk/manuscripts; a folio-by-folio collation of the text in a CD-appendix to *LG*[1] enables the location of readings. The glosses are printed line by line over their Latin source text in *The Holy Gospels in Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian, and Old Mercian versions, synoptically arranged, with collations exhibiting all the readings of all the mss.*, ed. W.W. Skeat, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1871–87). Skeat's vol. 1, *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew*, the last to be published, replaced an earlier version edited by C. Hardwick (1858). In their 'Aldrediana X: Manifesta', *Anglia* 78 (1960), 129–68, p. 130, A.S.C. Ross and G.C. Britton report 'as many as twelve hundred errors' in Skeat's edition, mainly resulting from his misunderstanding of Aldred's use of superscript letters. On other defects in the edition, see J. Fernández Cuesta, 'Revisiting the Manuscript of the Lindisfarne Gospels', in *The Old English Gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels. Language, Author and Context*, Buchreihe der Anglia/Anglia Book Series 15, ed. J. Fernández Cuesta and S.M. Pons-Sanz (Berlin and Boston, 2016), 257–85, at pp. 258–9. It remains, however, an invaluable resource.

40 For an overview of glossing practice, see P. Lendinara, *Anglo-Saxon Glosses and Glossaries* (Aldershot, 1999), 1–26; also R. Stanton, *The Culture of Translation in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 34–54.

41 A useful review of some aspects of the method of glossing is A.S.C. Ross, 'Notes on the Method of Glossing Employed in the Lindisfarne Gospels', *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1933), 108–19. See now also Karen Jolly, 'The Process of Glossing and Glossing as Process: Scholarship and Education in Durham, Cathedral Library, MS A.iv.19', in *The Old English Gloss*, ed. Fernández Cuesta and Pons-Sanz, 361–75.

42 The language of the gloss has received more attention over the years than has its relationship with its Latin source text, the major study being A.S.C. Ross, *Studies in the Accidence of the Lindisfarne Gospels* (Leeds, 1937); a summary of this by Ross is in *Cod. Lind.* II, book 2, pp. 37–42. See now also *The Old English Gloss*, ed. Fernández Cuesta and Pons-Sanz, *passim*. For a general survey of the Old English dialects, see T.E. Toon, 'Old English Dialects', *The Cambridge History of the English Language Volume I: The Beginnings to 1066*, ed. R.M. Hogg (Cambridge, 1992), 409–51.

43 The multiple glosses are discussed in A.S.C. Ross and A. Squires, 'The Multiple, Altered and Alternative Glosses of the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels and the Durham Ritual', *Notes and Queries* 27 (1980), 489–95, at pp. 490–2, and in T. Kotake, 'Aldred's Multiple Glosses: Is the Order Significant?' *Textual and Contextual Studies in Medieval English*, ed. M. Ogura, Studies in English Medieval Language and Literature 13 (Frankfurt am Main, 2006), 35–50.

earlier sections of the gloss. Frequently, however, *ł* has been written in apparent anticipation of an alternative word but none has been entered. Often when two (or three) Old English words are given they are synonyms, or near synonyms, each of them acceptable as renderings of the Latin lemma. A typical example is in Jn 19.36, which includes the phrase *os non comminuetis ex eo*, 'you shall not break a bone of him'. The verb *comminuetis* is given two Old English glosses: *ban ne toscaenas .ł. ni gebraecgeð ge*.[44] Both the Old English verbs mean 'break'. The first is from *toscœnan* (prepositional intensifier *to* + *scœnan* 'break') and is in effect a calque on the Latin verb *conminuo* (*con* + *minuo* 'break').[45] The second is from (*ge*) *brecan*, a more widely used word (which gives us our modern verb).

Multiple glossing is applied to basic grammatical words as well. Thus in Jn 19.35, Latin *ille*, 'he', is glossed *he ł se*, showing two possible Old English forms of the masculine pronoun that is required here. In Jn 1.14, *caro factum est*, 'was made flesh', *est* is glossed *uæs ł is*, the first verb rendering the Latin auxiliary *est* idiomatically with the past form (*lichoma geuorden uæs*, 'was made flesh [*lit.* body]'), the second giving the literal translation of it in the present tense. In Jn 3.6, on the other hand, *est* in *quod natum est*, 'that which is born', is glossed *is ł bið*, in this case the first word accurately rendering the Latin verb, the second giving the idiomatic form of 'is', *bið*, used in Old English specifically to express the continuous present (or future). In Mk 14.32, the conjunction *donec* in the sentence *sedete hic donec orem*, 'sit here while I pray', is glossed *oððæt ł ða huil*, 'until or while [*lit.* the while]'. The Latin word indeed has these two possible senses, though obviously the latter is the appropriate one in the context. In Jn 3.8, for *non scis* 'you do not know', the glossator even gives us both uncontracted and contracted forms of the Old English translation: *ne wast ðu ł nastu*.

This analytical style of glossing thus goes far beyond the basic need for interpretation; indeed, we have seen that, as in the case of *donec*, the alternatives given are not necessarily both suitable in the context. The Old English language, as much as the Latin, is being explored. This is in the tradition of glossing which is embedded in Anglo-Saxon learning and whose surviving record usefully enables us to witness some of the interactions between the two languages. Bilingual glossaries, which list translations and synonyms, are especially prominent in this tradition and at least in some cases derive from actual class teaching.[46] The Lindisfarne gloss offers clear parallels also with the widespread practice of glossing the Latin psalter, whose role as (in effect) a Latin classbook for monks has long been recognised.[47] The glossed psalters are discussed further below.

The thoroughness of Aldred's multiple glossing brings to mind also the first proper Latin primer in English, Ælfric's *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice*, written in about 1010 and popularly known today as his 'Grammar'. Ælfric often cites alternative Old English versions of his illustrative Latin words. For example, in a section listing various categories of what he defines rather broadly as 'adverbs', he includes *donec*, which he explains as *oððæt oððe ða hwile*, 'until or the while', almost exactly as Aldred does in Mk 14.32, as we saw above.[48] In his section on Latin verbs of the third conjugation, Ælfric interprets *pasco* thus: *ic fede oððe ic læswige*, 'I feed or I graze',[49] and the same two Old English verbs are used in Lindisfarne in Lk 8.32, where Aldred glosses *pascentium* with *foedendra ł lesuuandra*, 'feeding or grazing', and again in Lk 17.7, where the same word is glossed *foedende ł lesuande*.

The pedagogical dimension of the Lindisfarne gloss encompasses further explanatory material also. In seventy-one places, Aldred writes additional glosses or interpretations, some as long as twenty words, in the margins of the manuscript, or occasionally between the lines. They offer explanations of specific words in the gloss, especially names, and draw on Bede and other patristic writers, including Jerome.[50] Thus in Lk 2.36, Latin *aser*

44 The pronoun *ge*, 'you', is written only after the second verb. The spelling of the negative particle *ne*, 'not', as *ni* before the verb seems to be a case of carelessness. Among about 1200 occurrences of the particle in the gloss, *ni* appears only once more, at Jn 21.25. I rely for glossarial information on A.S. Cook's *A Glossary of the Old Northumbrian Gospels* (*Lindisfarne Gospels or Durham Book*) (Halle, 1894; repr. Hildesheim and New York, 1969) and Part 3 ('Index verborum glossematicus') of *Cod. Lind.* The latter is far from 'user-friendly'; the former remains very useful, though marred by its necessary reliance on Skeat's frequently inaccurate readings (see n. 39).

45 In a limited study of multiple glossing, Kotake has found that a 'literal' translation of the Latin lemma is usually given first; 'Aldred's Multiple Glosses', *passim*.

46 On glossaries, see Lendinara, *Anglo-Saxon Glosses*, pp. 9–17.

47 See M. Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 25 (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 16–17 and n. 36.

48 J. Zupitza, *Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar. Erste Abteilung: Text und Varianten*, Sammlung englischer Denkmäler 1 (Berlin, 1880; repr. 1966), p. 237, line 7.

49 Zupitza, *Ælfrics Grammatik*, p. 165, lines 6–7.

50 The additions are edited and analysed in W.J.P. Boyd, *Aldred's Marginalia: The Explanatory Comments in the Lindisfarne*

(the name 'Aser') is glossed *aseres*, with the added explanation *.i. iacobes sunu*, 'that is, Jacob's son', and in Jn 1.1, *uerbum* is glossed *uord þ*[*æt*] *is godes sunu* ('word, that is, God's son'). While most of the additions are explanatory, six relating to the beatitudes in Mt 5 and 10 have more of a tone of exhortation, and Paul Cavill has shown that in these Aldred has consciously reinforced their authority by using the didactic style of Old English maxims – 'a literary intervention in an essentially practical work'.[51]

In a few cases, the Latin lemmata lend themselves to two or more radically different translations. In Mt 20.8, for example, in the clause *cum sero autem factum esset*, 'when it was evening', *sero* is given a double gloss: *efern ł ic sædi*. The first word, 'evening', correctly recognises adverbial *sero*, 'at a late hour' (from *serus*, 'late'). But the form *sero* in Latin also coincides with the first-person singular of the verb 'sow' in the present tense, and this is what the second gloss gives us: *ic sædi*, 'I sow'. Alan Ross lists this in a study of Aldred's 'errors',[52] but in fact it is hard to believe that a translator who elsewhere shows considerable competence in Latin would believe that *sero* could actually function as a verb here. It seems more likely that he wanted to point out (whether for himself or for others) the convergence of the two different Latin words. The adverb *sero* occurs seven more times in the Vulgate gospels, in Matthew, Mark and John, but the verbal gloss is not repeated; only correct translations for the context are given, with OE *smolt* or *smyltnis*(*se*) (a reference to the 'tranquillity' of the evening period) used as alternatives for, or in addition to, *efern*.[53]

Another case of apparent 'incorrect' glossing in Aldred's gloss identified by Ross occurs in Jn 13.10, in a passage noted above, where the Latin copyist had written *locutus*, 'spoken', for *lotus*, 'washed': *qui locutus est non indiget ut lauet*.[54] As we have seen, the offending extra letters *cu* in *locutus* were marked for deletion, thus correcting to *lotus*, perhaps by Aldred at the time of glossing, though there is no way of proving this. Above *lo*[*cu*]*tus*, Aldred has written *geðuæn is .ł. sprec wæs*, 'is washed or was spoken'. Ross sees this as evidence of Aldred's continuing confusion about the passage, but that is again hard to believe. It seems to me that *locutus* is glossed simply because it is (still) there. I discuss this passage further below.

Errors and Anomalies

The evidence adduced so far seems to show Aldred to be a very competent glossator, accurate in his interpretation of the Latin and alert to the possibilities available in the target language. However, this impression of competence is occasionally undermined by clear errors of translation, a few of them real 'howlers', and not apparently attributable to any corruption of Lindisfarne's Latin text. In the study already referred to,[55] Ross identifies about eighty errors, of very varying degrees of importance, and the following are among his examples.

Many are the kind of grammatical error which probably results not from ignorance but from carelessness, an endemic problem in the making of a word-by-word gloss, when it is all too easy to lose track of the Latin narrative. Thus, in Mt 6.28, in the clause *considerate lilia agri*, 'consider the lilies of the field', *lilia*, the nominative plural of neuter *lilium*, is glossed with OE *ðæt wyrt*, 'the herb', as though *lilia* were the nominative singular of a first-declension noun.[56] Conceivably *ðæt wyrt* is meant generically here, hence singular (the verbs connected with *lilia* are plural in the Latin but the Old English forms could be singular or plural); however, in Lk 12.27, *lilia* is glossed correctly as plural, *ða wyrta*. A more serious error occurs in the glossing of Mt 8.8, *et respondens centurio ait*, 'and, answering, the centurion said'. Apparently taking the *-o* on *centurio* to be the dative singular inflection of a hypothetical second-declension noun, *centurius*, Aldred has glossed with *ðæm aldormenn*, '*to* the centurion'.[57] Yet a few verses earlier, *centurio* has been recognised without problem as a singular; it is glossed there by *ðe centur*, 'the centurion', with the added explanation *þ*[*æt*] *is hundraðes monna hlaferd*, 'that is, the lord of a hundred men'.[58] In Mt

Gospels. Exeter Medieval English Texts and Studies 4 (Exeter, 1977). See also the survey in Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham*, pp. 87–91.

51 'Maxims in Aldred's Marginalia to the Lindisfarne Gospels', *The Old English Gloss*, ed. Fernández Cuesta and Pons-Sanz, 79–101, at p. 79. See also E.G. Stanley, Ch. 12 in this volume.

52 A.S.C. Ross, 'The Errors in the OE Gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels', *Review of English Studies* 8 (1932), 385–9, at p. 390.

53 Mt 27.57 *efern*; Mk 4.35 *efern ł smyltnis*; Mk 6.47 *ef*[*e*]*rn ł smolt*; Mk 13.35 *efrntid*; Mk 15.42 *efrn*; Jn 6.16 *smyltnisse*; and Jn 20.19 *smolt*.

54 'Errors', p. 390. See above, p. 180.

55 'Errors'.

56 *Wyrt* is a general Old English word for a 'plant', but the Latin word itself was borrowed into Old English as *lilie* (pl. *lilian*). This is used in both locations in the *Old English Gospels*, a continuous prose translation made in the second half of the tenth century in Wessex; edited by R.M. Liuzza, *The Old English Version of the Gospels*, 2 vols., EETS 304, 314 (Oxford, 1994–2000).

57 Old English *aldormonn* (West Saxon *ealdormann*), 'leader' or 'chief', is one of several words used to render this Latin word. Others include forms of *centurio* itself: e.g. Mk 15.44, *ðe centurio*.

58 The same definition is given in a gloss in the *capitulum* list which prefaces Matthew in Lindisfarne (cap. xxvi).

8.13, the Latin dative *centurioni* is used and glossed this time appropriately as *ðæm haldormenn*; and in Mk 15.44, *centurio* appears again and is here correctly glossed as a nominative form, *ðe centurio*.[59]

There is a very odd error in Mt 10.31, in the sentence *nolite ergo timere multis passeribus meliores estis uos*, 'do not therefore fear, you are better than many sparrows'. Here *passeribus*, dative plural of *passer*, seems to have been mistaken for *passionibus*, dative plural of *passio*, 'suffering', for it is glossed with Old English dative plural *ðrowungum*, 'sufferings'.[60] Yet sparrows have been mentioned already shortly before, in v. 29, albeit in the nominative plural form, *passeres*, and there glossed correctly with OE *staras ł hronsparuas*.[61] A very similar version of this passage, using *passeres* and *passeribus*, occurs in Lk 12.6–7 also, but in this case, while *passeres* is glossed correctly with OE *stearwas*, the dative plural form *passeribus* is left unglossed, which is unusual.

The passage in Matthew in which this error occurs shows other problems, too, consequent on an error in the Latin. In Mt 10.29, where the text should read *nonne duo passeres asse ueneunt*, 'are not two sparrows sold for a farthing?' Lindisfarne has *ueniunt* (third-person present of *uenio*, 'come') for *ueneunt* (third-person present of *ueneo*, 'be for sale'), as noted above. The gloss renders *ueniunt* literally, with *cymas*, 'come', which is a nonsense translation in the context. In the parallel passage in Lk 12.6, which should read *nonne quinque passeres ueneunt depundio*, 'are not five sparrows sold for two farthings?' again Lindisfarne has *ueniunt* for *ueneunt*, and again the gloss renders the erroneous verb literally, as 'come', this time with the Old English form *cymeð*.

A stumbling block for comprehension of the whole passage could have been the use in the Latin of two monetary terms which occur nowhere else in the Vulgate. In Mt 10.29, *asse* is ablative of *as*, a Roman coin (also known as the *assarius*) worth one tenth of a drachma. In Lk 12.6, *depundio* (spelled thus in some other manuscripts, including Amiatinus, though the more accurate *dipondio*, as well as *dipundio*, is found also) is the ablative of *dipondium*, a Roman coin worth two asses.[62] Aldred glosses *asse* in Mt 10.29, most oddly, with *of anum*, 'from one', but leaves *depundio* in Lk 12.6 unglossed. In one of his marginal comments, however, he writes *.i. duo minuta ł*, 'that is, two mites or' (with nothing following the conjunction). Boyd notes that Aldred might have got this explanation of *depundio* from his reading of Bede's commentary on Luke.[63] This might be so, but it would be odd that Aldred then still left the literal translation of *ueniunt*, for Bede specifically spells out the meaning of the (correct) verb: *ueneunt*, *id est uenduntur* ('*ueneunt*, that is, "they are sold"'), using the more easily recognisable third-conjugation verb, *uendo*, as an alternative. Boyd's view that 'Doubtless it was his massive respect for the text of the Gospel codex that inhibited Aldred from making corrections to any reading which he knew to be wrong' is not persuasive.[64] There are other cases where Aldred seems silently to 'correct' in his gloss the errors that he finds in the Latin text. For example, in Lk 10.42, the Lindisfarne copyist wrote *patrem*, 'father', instead of *partem* 'part'. Aldred gives a single gloss that in effect corrects the Latin, i.e. OE *dæl*, 'part', though the Latin word has not been emended.[65]

The existence of a certain number of errors in the Lindisfarne gloss is not in doubt (whatever the explanations for them), but a reassessment of Ross's work on the topic is badly needed, for some of his judgements are at least questionable, as we have seen already, and some are simply wrong. In Jn 3.8, for instance, he objects to the Old English gloss *se gast*, 'the spirit', on Latin *spiritus* in *spiritus ubi uult spirat et uocem eius audis*, insisting that the word here means 'wind'.[66] In fact, *spiritus* is used five times in Jn 3.5–8 and consistently signifies '(the holy) spirit', translating Greek *πνεῦμα*. The Old English gloss has *gast*, in an appropriate form, in each case. Thus it is logical to repeat

59 The Latin word was clearly in the process of being 'naturalised' in Old English. In Mk 15.44, the gloss to the Rushworth Gospels has *ðe centurion*, which may be the first surviving record of this word in the form we know today. On the treatment of *centurio*, see R. Marsden, 'Rare Words in the *Old English Heptateuch*', *The Limits of Learning. The Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. C. Giliberto and L. Teresi (Leuven, Paris and Walpole, MA, 2013), 175–217, at pp. 201–2.

60 Conceivably, the error *passionibus* for *passeribus* could have been encountered in a Vulgate manuscript, though no such occurrence has been recorded.

61 Initially, Aldred wrote *hrondsparuas*, but the *d* is subpuncted to mark deletion. The compound is unique (*hron*, or *hran*, is a word for 'whale'); simple *spearwa*, in various spellings, is normally used for 'sparrow'. *Stær* survives in modern 'starling'.

62 The form is more commonly *dupondius*. The Greek uses a version of Latin *assarius* in both passages.

63 Boyd, *Aldred's Marginalia*, p. 43 and n. 136, citing *In Lucam* IV (CCSL 120, p. 247). In the *Old English Gospels*, *penig* is used in Mt 10.29 and *helfling* (or *helpenig* in one manuscript) in Lk 12.6, both words describing small coins.

64 *Aldred's Marginalia*, p. 43.

65 The careless copyist also wrote *Mariam* for *Maria* in this passage, which should read: 'Maria optimam partem elegit quae non auferetur ab ea' ('Mary has chosen the best part, which shall not be taken away from her').

66 'Errors', p. 391.

that translation, interpreting the passage in Jn 3.8 as 'The spirit breathes where he will and you hear his voice'. The verb *spiro* can of course mean 'blow', as well as 'breathe', but the Old English gloss on *spirat* is *oeðað* (West Saxon *eðað*, from *eðian*), which signifies 'breathe', never 'blow'. Aldred's choice of words is perfectly in order.[67] In another case, Lk 13.34, Ross identifies the Old English gloss *nest* on Latin *nidum* as an error, presumably because he takes the signification of *nest* in Old English to be exclusively the place where a brood of birds (or other creatures) is raised.[68] However, the extension of the word to signify the brood itself, exactly as with Latin *nidum*, is not unusual. This is confirmed by its use in the continuous translation of Lk 13.34 in the *Old English Gospels*, a work more or less contemporary with the Lindisfarne gloss (though quite independent of it).[69]

In a case of alleged error involving a double gloss, in Mt 7.16, Ross neglects to examine the wider context of the words involved. The passage includes the question *numquid colligunt de spinis uuas?*, 'do they gather grapes from thorns?' The Old English gloss on *de spinis* is *of hryum .ł. of ðornu*[*m*], where *hryum* has been written for *hrygum*, from *hyrcg*, meaning 'back', 'spine' or 'spinal column' (modern English 'ridge'). Thus the gloss reads 'from spines or from thorns'. Ross simply dismisses *hry*[*g*]*um* as an error but its presence is in fact easy to explain. I have noted already the widespread Anglo-Saxon tradition of glossed psalters, of which eleven are extant. *Spina* occurs in the Latin text of Ps 31.4 and in nine of the psalters it is glossed with *hrycg* or, twice, with the compound *hrycgban*, 'backbone'.[70] The two psalters without *hyrcg* have the gloss *ðorn*, 'thorn'. Similarly, King Alfred uses *se hrycg* for *spina* in his independent translation of this penitential psalm.[71] Patrick O'Neill has observed that the interpretation of *spina* as 'back' rather than 'thorn' derives from the commentary on psalms by Cassiodorus.[72] It is associated with the 'Romanum' version of the Latin psalter, the one that was used in England until it was largely replaced in the later tenth century by the 'Gallicanum' version, which had notable variations; this is discussed further below. The point to make is that the familiarity of Aldred (and probably any contemporary glossator) with the psalms, and no doubt with glossed psalters, will have made him aware of the well established alternative interpretation of *spina*. The rendering *hrycg* is thus surely an observation, not an error.

Other Latin Sources

It has long been recognised that Aldred cannot have been creating his gloss in isolation and that some of its anomalies and inconsistencies may be due to the influences of other Latin sources. This might certainly explain regular instances in the Lindisfarne gloss of unexpected mismatches between specific Latin words and their Old English translations. Ross made a particular study of such cases and even printed a list of some fifteen extant manuscripts, including the Rushworth Gospels and several of the Durham manuscripts alluded to above, to which he believed Aldred will have had access at Chester-le-Street or nearby and whose variant Latin texts might have influenced the Old English gloss.[73]

There is a typical example of a mismatch in Jn 16.9, where Christ is telling his disciples about the arrival of the paraclete, that ill-defined being who will enlighten them about sin, justice and judgement. Enlarging first on sin, Christ begins, in the Latin of Lindisfarne, *de peccato quidem quia non credunt in me*, with present-tense verb, as in the Greek original: 'about sin, because they [sc. the Jews] do not believe in me'. However, The Old English gloss here has *gelefdon*, past tense 'believed': 'because they believed not in me'. In the context, the past tense may indeed seem more appropriate, but the present tense creates no difficulty and there is no obvious reason why the glossator

67 Medieval commentators such as Bede interpreted *spiritus* in Jn 3.8 as 'spirit'. In modern times, however, 'wind' has been favoured, as a simile for the spirit, and it may be that Ross was familiar with the King James Version, which has 'The wind bloweth'.

68 'Errors', p. 389.

69 'Hu oft ic wolde þine bearn gegaderian swa swa se fugel deð his nest under his fiðerum'; *Old English Version of the Gospels*, ed. Liuzza, I, p. 132.

70 See *Old English Glossed Psalters: Psalms 1–50*, ed. P. Pulsiano, Toronto Old English series 11 (Toronto, 2001).

71 *King Alfred's Old English Prose Translation of the First Fifty Psalms*, ed. P.P. O'Neill (Cambridge, MA 2001), p. 135. Alfred put the first fifty psalms into Old English, probably in the 880s.

72 *Old English Prose Translation*, p. 225. *Hyrcg* is used also in a ninth-century translation of the *Theodulfi capitula* into Old English, where Ps 31.4 is cited; see *Theodulfi Capitula in England. Die altenglischen Übersetzungen zusammen mit dem lateinischen Text*, ed. H. Sauer, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Englischen Philologie 8 (Munich, 1978), p. 383 and pp. 457–8, n. 10.

73 'The Use of Other Latin Manuscripts by the Glossators of the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels', *Notes and Queries* 28 (1981), 6–11, p. 7. He had already given some examples in 'Errors'. Ross relates many of Aldred's glosses to the form of the Latin in a hypothetical current *textus receptus* of the gospels, though he makes no attempt to explain this.

should not have translated with this tense. However, a Latin variant *crediderunt*, 'believed', has some patristic support and is in various Old Latin-influenced sources and other medieval Vulgate manuscripts, including (among those of Insular provenance) the Book of Kells. Familiarity with such a version might theoretically explain the switch to the past tense in the gloss.

For one group of Old English glosses apparently influenced by variant Latin readings, Ross identifies a specific source, the Rushworth Gospels, on the grounds that this is the only gospel-book known to have carried the variants.[74] The Latin text of the Rushworth Gospels (BodL, Auct. D.2.19) was copied in Ireland around 800.[75] It differs considerably from that of Lindisfarne and has been grouped with the texts of a handful of other gospel-books from the eighth or ninth centuries which follow, to varying degrees, what has been designated an 'Irish-Northumbrian' textual tradition. Other notable representatives are the Book of Armagh (Dublin, Trinity College 52), BL, Egerton 609, the Lichfield Gospels (Lichfield CL 1) and the Book of Kells (Dublin, Trinity College 58).[76]

The first of the readings in Lindisfarne highlighted by Ross is in Mt 13.19, where Latin *rapit*, 'seizes', in the present tense, is glossed in Lindisfarne with a doublet of preterite verbs, *genom ł gelahte*, 'took or seized'. The erroneous Latin variant *rapuit*, perfect tense, occurs uniquely in Rushworth, and Ross offers this as an explanation for the tense of the Old English verbs. He neglects to note, however, that of the three other present-tense Latin verbs immediately preceding *rapit* in Mt 13.19 – *audit*, 'hears', (*non*) *intellegit*, 'understands (not)', and *uenit*, 'comes' – the last two are also glossed in Lindisfarne with preterite Old English verbs: *ne oncneawu ł ne ongæt*, 'recognised not or understood not', and *cuom*, 'came'. Yet Rushworth's Latin has the correct present-tense forms here (and indeed Wordsworth and White record no variant past-tense forms in any of their collated manuscripts).[77] In other words, this may simply be another case where the Lindisfarne gloss arbitrarily (and with little disruption to meaning) switches tenses, in this case to the preterite, in a linked group of three verbs. In the case of the first of the verbs listed above, *audit*, the gloss gives a correct present-tense form, *heres*, however.

Ross's second case is another matter of incorrect tense, in Jn 10.20, where *auditis*, 'you hear', is glossed *gie geherdon*, 'you heard', and again this coincides with an apparently unique Latin variant in Rushworth, past-tense *audistis*. The third case, in Mt 5.42, concerns the clause *uolenti mutuari a te*, 'to someone wanting to borrow from you'. The infinitive form *mutuari* is from *mutuo*, 'borrow', but in Lindisfarne it is glossed *huerfa*, 'change' or 'turn' (West Saxon *hwearfan*), and this, suggests Ross, could have been prompted by erroneous Latin *mutari*, 'change', which is written for *mutuari* uniquely in Rushworth.[78] Finally, in Mk 16.14, *undecim*, 'eleven' (in reference to the disciples among whom Christ appears after his resurrection), is glossed *tuoelfum*, 'twelve', in Lindisfarne. Rushworth is the only gospel-book recorded as having 'twelve' in its Latin text, though not in the form *duodecim* but as the numeral *xii*. Conceivably this was a slip by the Rushworth copyist, for Roman numerals are notoriously prone to erroneous transcription, but he may have copied it from a faulty exemplar.

Ross does not consider the likelihood that the four erroneous Latin variants in Rushworth were not restricted to that manuscript but occurred also every now and then in other witnesses that have not survived. So confident is Ross that he has proved the case for the specific influence of Rushworth's Latin text on Aldred's Lindisfarne gloss that he identifies this source also in six further cases, even though the Latin variants involved are clearly witnessed also in other extant manuscripts. The fact is that, neither individually nor as a group, do the cases highlighted by Ross establish an exclusive link between Rushworth and Lindisfarne in respect of erroneous Latin variants. Only the use of *duodecim* in Mk 16.14 stands out as a real puzzle. To complicate matters further, in two of the four 'exclusive' cases discussed above, Rushworth's own Old English gloss (which is discussed below) translates the Latin

74 'Other Latin Manuscripts', p. 8. The first of the four cases is given also in Ross, 'Errors', p. 395.

75 Its scribe is identified in a colophon as MacRegol, abbot of Birr, who died in 822. See McGurk, *Latin Gospel Books*, no. 33, pp. 40–1, and *CLA* II, no. 231.

76 The origins of, and textual relations within, this group remain unclear; see B. Fischer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der lateinischen Bibeltexte*, Vetus Latina: Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel 12 (Freiburg, 1986), pp. 206–7, 227–30.

77 Rushworth's own Old English gloss (discussed below) has present-tense forms for each of the four Latin verbs, despite the erroneous past-tense form in the fourth.

78 It is curious that the verb *hwearfan* is a possible alternative Old English translation of Latin *auertere*, and that this verb happens to appear just after *mutuari* in Mt 5.42. It is glossed there with the appropriate part of *acierran*, the verb more commonly used to render *auertere*, but we may wonder whether Lindisfarne's erroneous *hwearfa* might be due to the muddled copying of some earlier version of the gloss which did use *hwearfan*. Forms of this verb are used for *auertere* in some psalter glosses also.

words as they ought to have been, not as they had actually been, written by its copyist: in Mt 13.19, *geriseð*, 'seizes', and in Mt 5.42, *on borg nioma*, lit. 'takes on pledge'. In the case of Jn 10.20, however, Rushworth, like Lindisfarne, does gloss with the past tense, *giherdum* [*sic*], 'heard', and again in Mk 16.14 Rushworth glosses the erroneous *xii* accurately, with *twelfu*[*m*].

The whole issue of the use of other sources is clearly far more complicated than Ross implies, and in any case his work on this topic, as with that on errors, is marred by misunderstandings. In Jn 8.55, for instance, Latin *noui*, a past-tense form of *nosco*, has in Lindisfarne the double gloss *conn ł wat*, which gives two present-tense forms of verbs meaning 'know'. Ross suggests that this 'wrong' tense results from the influence of a Latin source using present-tense *scio*, 'I know', in place of *noui*.[79] Variant *scio* is indeed found in some early medieval manuscripts which have texts influenced by Old Latin traditions, including the eighth-century Canterbury Codex Aureus,[80] but such an explanation for the Old English gloss is unnecessary. Ross has overlooked the fact that the perfect tenses of the defective Latin verb *nosco*, with a basic meaning of 'get to know', are commonly used with a present sense: *noui*, 'I have got to know' and thus 'I (now) know'. This Latin idiom is obviously a possible source of confusion for learners of Latin, and it is duly highlighted by Ælfric in his *Excerptiones*. In a section on defective verbs, he notes that some of these have a single form for the present and past tenses, and *noui* is one of his examples: *noui*: *ic cann oððe ic wat*; *noui*: *ic wiste*, '*noui* "I know how to" or "I know"; *noui* "I knew" '.[81] The verb *noui* with present sense occurs also in Mt 26.72, *non noui hominem*, 'I do not know the man', and here the Lindisfarne glossator gives a single Old English equivalent, present-tense *conn*.[82] In Jn 6.42, *nouimus* is correctly glossed with the present tense *wutton* (West Saxon *witon*), '(we) know', but here again Ross seeks unnecessarily for an external source and finds it in a rare Old Latin variant, *noscimus*.[83]

There are other instances of misunderstanding by Ross, and many more cases where I am sceptical, not about the theoretical possibility of external influence, but about the necessity to cite such influence in order to explain peculiarities in the Old English gloss. Ross does himself eliminate many potential cases from consideration, such as those where the glossator persistently uses preterite *cwæð* to gloss present-tense Latin *dicit*. The perfect tense, *dixit*, does often occur as a variant in other gospel manuscripts, but the change of tense in the Old English gloss (which is of little consequence to understanding) is consistent enough to indicate that this is simply a habit of Aldred's, one that is indeed revealed also in his gloss to the 'Durham Ritual' (or 'Durham Collectar', DCL, A.IV.19).[84] Ross further highlights the many instances of change of the past tense of verbs to future tense, or vice versa, of the sort we have noted, where the endings *-auit* (past) and *-abit* (future) have apparently been confused in the Latin text. But such cases cannot be used by themselves as evidence of external influence. Confusion between *b* and consonantal *u* is frequent in medieval Latin writing and is aural in origin, resulting from a change in the pronunciation of *u* from semivowel to fricative. It is evident from the first century A.D. onwards and is endemic among the scribes of Insular manuscripts.[85] Adjustments of tense by a translator should not automatically be attributed to the influence of other Latin texts; he may have been aiming for consistency.

The Rushworth Gloss

We have noted already the importance of the evidence of the Old English gloss added to the Rushworth Gospels in trying to make sense of the Lindisfarne gloss. The two glosses are almost certainly connected in some degree, but the relationship is not a simple or consistent one. The Rushworth gloss, which has been rather neglected by scholars, cannot be precisely dated but appears to be more or less contemporary with that in Lindisfarne, having been added in the second half of the tenth century.[86]

79 'Other Latin Manuscripts', p. 9.

80 Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, A.135. *Scio* is used twice elsewhere in Jn 8.55 in the Vulgate, though there are a few instances of variation with *noui* in these places.

81 Zupitza, *Ælfrics Grammatik*, p. 205.

82 In Mt 7.23, very unusually in the Vulgate, a translation of *noui* with the past tense is required; the verb is used in its extended sense of 'recognise' or 'approve of': *numquam noui uos* ('I have never approved of you'). The Old English glossator here provides a double gloss, with both verbs appropriately in the preterite: *cuðe ł. oncneawu*.

83 'Other Latin Manuscripts', p. 9.

84 'Other Latin Manuscripts', p. 8, and 'The Correspondent of West Saxon *cweðan* in late Northumbrian and Rushworth One', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 81 (1980), 24–33. Ross discusses Aldred's gloss to the Durham Ritual in a number of articles, e.g. 'A Point of Comparison between Aldred's Two Glosses', *Notes and Queries* 25 (1978), 197–9.

85 See Marsden, *Text of Old Testament*, p. 58, and W.S. Allen, *Vox Latina. The Pronunciation of Classical Latin*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1978), p. 41.

86 A complete edition of the Latin and Old English texts has been published: *The Macregol Gospels or The Rushworth Gospels: Edition of the Latin Text with the Old English Interlinear Gloss Transcribed from Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Auctarium D. 2. 19*, ed. K. Tamoto (Amsterdam, 2013). The manuscript is freely accessible at http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/detail/ODLodl~24~24~103588~138022.

Colophons in the manuscript identify two glossators, Farmon and Owun, and their stints can be distinguished easily enough.[87] Owun (usually designated the scribe of 'Rushworth 2') glossed Mk 2.15 – end, Luke, and John, except for 18.1–3; Farmon (the scribe of 'Rushworth 1') did the remainder, thus including all of Matthew. Owun's variety of Old English has been identified as Northumbrian, in its southernmost form, and Farmon's as Mercian.[88] A generally close similarity, and thus possibly a connection, between the Lindisfarne and Rushworth glosses is apparent mainly in the sections of the latter done by Owun; those by Farmon seem to be independent. This may be illustrated by the versions of two passages which we have already discussed above. First, Owun's version of Jn 1.6, with which this section opened, given alongside that of Aldred in Lindisfarne:

> *Vulg.* Fuit homo missus a Deo cui nomen erat Iohannes ('a man was sent from God, whose name was John'):

Lind.	*Rush. 2*
uæs monn gesendet fro[m] gode	wæs mon sended from gode
ðæm noma uæs ioh[annes]	ðæm noma was ioh[annes]

Making allowances for dialectal variation, the two versions seem remarkably close, though it must be admitted that simple sentences such as this offer fairly limited scope for variation in translation. A comparison of the two versions of Mt 20.8, however, reveals clear differences, along with some similarities:

> *Vulg.* cum sero autem factum esset dicit dominus uineae procuratori suo uoca operarios ('when it was evening, the lord of the vineyeard said to his steward, "Call the workmen" '):

Lind.	*Rush. 1*
miððy efern *ł ic sædi* uut[edlice]	þa hit þa efen geworden
geworden were cuoeð hlafard	wæs cwæþ he se hlaford
ðære wingearde giroefæ his	þæs wingeardes to his giroefa
ceig ða wercmenn	cege þæ[m] wyrhtum

There are enough differences in both grammar and vocabulary to suggest the unlikelihood of a direct connection between the versions. The varying word order – *þa efen geworden wæs* in Rushworth, *efern uutedlice geworden were* in Lindisfarne – is explained by variation in the source texts (Rushworth's Latin has *autem serum*, Lindisfarne's *sero autem*), but the choice of Old English adverb (*þa*/*uutedlice*) and auxiliary verb (*wæs*/*were*) is independent, as is the rendering of Latin *operarios* (*wyrhtum*/*wermenn*) and the choice here of accusative or dative case.[89]

In Owun's sections, it is often the sharing of double glosses which shows most strongly a likely connection (though not necessarily a direct one) with Lindisfarne. Thus in Lk 3.5, *omnis uallis*, 'in all the valleys', is glossed *eghuelc pæð ł dene* in Lindisfarne and *eghwelc pæð ł dene* in Rushworth (Old English *pæð* 'track', 'way', modern English 'path'), and in Lk 11.13, *petentibus*, 'to those asking', is glossed *giuendu*[*m*] *ł biddenda* in Lindisfarne and *giowendu*[*m*] *ł biddendu*[*m*] in Rushworth.[90] In general, however, Rushworth uses far fewer of the doublets favoured by Lindisfarne, especially those of grammatical words, so that in Lk 11.5, for instance, Owun glosses *ad illos* simply with *to ðæm* (cf. Lindisfarne's *to him ł ðæm*) and *habebit* simply with *hæfeð* (cf. Lindisfarne's *hæbbe ł hæfeð*). There may be other differences, too, in the ostensibly shared sections, as in Lk 17.7:

> *Vulg.* Quis autem uestrum habens seruum arantem aut pascentem … ('but which of you, having a servant ploughing or grazing (sheep) …'):

Lind.	*Rush. 2*
huel ðon[ne] iuerra hafeð	hwelc ðon[ne] iower hæfeð
esne eriende ł foedende ł	esne eriende ł scip foedende
lesuande	

87 For a description of the gloss and colophons, see Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, no. 292, p. 352.

88 See P. Bibire and A.S.C. Ross, 'The Differences between Lindisfarne and Rushworth Two', *Notes and Queries* 28 (1981), 98–116, p. 99.

89 The adverbial form *serum*, not *sero*, in Rushworth's Latin text obviously precludes any gloss connecting it with the verb *sero* (see above). Old English *efen* is commonly spelled *efern* in both the Rushworth and the Lindisfarne glosses. Lindisfarne here treats *wingeard* as a feminine noun, but later in the same sentence it becomes neuter and elsewhere may be found as masculine; Rushworth seems to treat the noun only as masculine (as in late West Saxon), in cases where gender can be ascertained.

90 Forms of Old English *giwian*, 'ask for', are found extensively in the Lindisfarne, Rushworth and Durham Ritual glosses but nowhere else in the surviving corpus.

Here, Rushworth does not provide a double gloss for *pascentem*, but, unlike Lindisfarne, it does supply the object implied in the Latin, with prepositive *scip*, 'sheep'.[91]

Since the period of Walter Skeat in the nineteenth century the tendency among scholars has been to privilege the Lindisfarne gloss as the elder one and to assume that Owun took his Rushworth gloss directly from it. Ross went on to examine the logistics of what he believed was the necessary 'physical juxtaposition' of the two manuscripts at some period and he decided that the Rushworth Gospels must have been taken to Chester-le-Street for Owun to complete his work.[92] Yet one of the earlier editors of the Lindisfarne gloss, George Waring, had concluded only that the two glosses might derive from a common source,[93] a view that has been endorsed intermittently since by other scholars, such as Neil Ker.[94] This cautious approach informs most current thinking on the formation of the glosses.

In an analysis of Owun's independent Old English glosses and the corrections he makes to the Latin text of Rushworth, which include the supplying of missing words, Tadashi Kotake has demonstrated that the source of these cannot have been Lindisfarne.[95] In fact, Owun seems to have used a source containing Vulgate readings found in neither Lindisfarne (with a text in the Italo-Northumbrian tradition) nor Rushworth (with its mixed Irish text) but in the tradition of Italian gospel-books such as BodL, Auct. D.2.14 (the 'St Augustine Gospels'), noted above. In Lk 10.41, for instance, Owun glosses Latin *circa,* 'about' (which is in both Rushworth and Lindisfarne), with Old English *forðon*, 'therefore', which appears to be influenced by the variant *erga* found in many non-Italo-Northumbrian manuscripts; in Lindisfarne, *ymb*, 'about', is used.[96]

There are further complications. Although an apparent connection between Lindisfarne and Rushworth is mostly confined to the portions of text glossed by Owun, i.e. Rushworth 2, a few close similarities have been noted also in Mk 1–2.15 and Mt 26–8, which are part of Farmon's contribution, Rushworth 1. Ross claimed to have found 'entirely decisive' evidence that the direction of influence is from Aldred to Farmon,[97] but Kotake has re-analysed specific cases and argues persuasively that the influence is in the other direction.[98] The similarities between the glosses relate mostly to lexical preference – for instance, whether Latin *de* or *ex* are rendered by Old English *of* or *from* (as Aldred prefers) or with a partitive genitive construction (as Farmon prefers). Kotake shows that, where the two glossators, against expectations, share a gloss, it is Aldred who has changed his glossing habits, not Farmon.

In an interesting postscript to his analysis, Kotake speculates further about the reasons for the similarities between Aldred's and Farmon's glosses in Mt 26–7. He notes that these chapters constitute a significant textual unit as a Passion narrative (with Mt 28, on the resurrection, possibly included) designed to be read especially on Palm Sunday. No doubt for this reason it circulated independently of the gospel-book, as is demonstrated by two extant Old English homilies, both anonymous, which are in effect translations of the gospel narrative.[99] At least one of these was written in the tenth century, probably before the Benedictine Reform period, and thus in the earlier part of the century. The peculiarities of the gloss of Mt 26–7, suggests Kotake, might be explained by the influence of such a source on both Aldred and Farmon in their glossing of this passage. The two extant homiletic versions noted do not themselves seem to have been used, however.

Another theory about influence on Alfred's gloss, long established though never convincingly argued, involves Bede. On his death-bed in 735, according to a letter written by Cuthbert, one of his pupils, Bede was working to finish 'the gospel of St John, which he was turning into our language, to the great profit of the Church, from the beginning as far as the words, "But what are they among so many?" [*sed haec quid sunt inter tantos*]'.[100] We cannot be

91 It will be noted that both glossators here retain the Latin abbreviation *ł* even when rendering the Latin conjunction *aut*, 'or', though elsewhere Old English *oððe* is sometimes used for *aut*, *an*, etc.

92 'The Use of Other Latin Manuscripts', pp. 7 and 11, and (with Bibire), 'The Differences', p. 114.

93 See *The Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels*, ed. J. Stevenson and G. Waring, 4 vols., SS nos. 28, 39, 43, 48 (Durham, 1854–65), IV, pp. civ–cv.

94 *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, p. 352. An excellent chronological summary of the problem is given by T. Kotake in 'Did Owun Really Copy from the Lindisfarne Gospels? Reconsideration of his Source Manuscript(s)', *The Old English Gloss*, ed. Fernández Cuesta and Pons-Sanz, 377–95, at p. 378, n. 4.

95 'Did Owun Really Copy?'. Kotake refines and develops a study of Owun's use of other manuscripts that was made by Bibire and Ross in 'The Differences'.

96 'Did Owun Really Copy?' p. 388.

97 'Lindisfarne and Rushworth One', *Notes and Queries* 26 (1979), 194–8, p. 195.

98 T. Kotake, 'Lindisfarne and Rushworth One Reconsidered', *Notes and Queries* 257 (2012), 14–9.

99 See 'Lindisfarne and Rushworth One Reconsidered', pp. 17–9 and nn. 32 and 33 for details. The homilies are given the short titles HomS18 and HomS19 in the *Dictionary of Old English*.

100 See 'Epistola de obitu Bedae', *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969),

certain how much of the gospel was completed. The final remark cited, which is not in all extant copies of Cuthbert's letter, suggests that it was only as far as Jn 6.9, that is partway through the account of the miracle of the loaves and fishes.[101] Whether the translation was a continuous Old English version or a word-by-word gloss, we do no know,[102] but efforts have been made to link it with the Lindisfarne gloss on the gospel of John. Elliott and Ross isolate a number of what they term 'linguistic peculiarities' in the gloss, relating to orthography, phonology, morphology and semantics, which set it apart from the glosses on the other three gospels.[103] An example is the use of OE *ymb* to gloss Latin *de* eleven times in John but not at all in the other gospels, where *from* or *of* are preferred. Oddly, even after conceding that there is no firm evidence at all, Elliott and Ross still feel able to conclude that 'the linguistic peculiarities of Aldred's gloss to St. John's Gospel may well be in part due to Bede'. They go further. Because these peculiarities are not apparently confined to one part of the gospel, and if the hypothesis of Bedan influence on the gloss be accepted, 'Bede translated the whole of St John's Gospel'.[104] The flimsiness of these arguments need not prevent us from accepting the probability that Aldred's gloss on John does derive from a pre-existing gloss or continuous translation, whether by Bede (perhaps unlikely) or others.

In connection with identifying different contributions to the gloss in general, an interesting line of enquiry was suggested by Ross, Stanley and Brown in their contribution to the commentary volume that accompanied the first Lindisfarne facsimile. They note the 'extreme variation' in the language of the gloss, above all in verb forms; the plural of the indicative present tense of the verb *lufian*, 'love', for instance, appears in twenty-four different forms (*lufað*, *lufas*, *lufigas*, *lifigeð*, etc.).[105] Yet the palaeographical evidence that a single scribe, Aldred, wrote out the gloss seems to be beyond doubt. This phenomenon of variation, note Ross, Stanley and Brown, 'might furnish clues to any possible English material which Aldred may have used in the compilation of his Gloss'. This idea has never been thoroughly explored, and is certainly fraught with problems (not least a limited amount of suitable comparable material), but other more recent investigations have shown that such linguistic studies may be productive.[106]

Assessment

Our natural tendency to view great iconic biblical volumes such as the Lindisfarne Gospels as monuments of the divine word fixed in time may lead us to overlook the provisional character of their texts.[107] The Latin text of Lindisfarne, it is true, was a careful copy of what, for a short time in the early eighth century, and probably after some tweaking by Bede, may have been regarded among the Northumbrians as a *textus receptus*, a gospel text received as reliable and authoritative. But such periods of stability in textual history have always been short-lived and the Italo-Northumbrian text's distinctive character would soon disappear from the record. As for the Old English text, its inconsistent relationship with its Latin source-text, as we have seen, is striking. Some of its idiosyncrasies may simply result from lapses on the part of the translator (whether Aldred or a predecessor), but in many cases the instability of the Latin text itself seems to provoke interventions. Unfortunately, the process is mostly invisible to us; we see only its results. Ross, who legitimately posits the influence of other Latin readings on the Lindisfarne gloss, fails to take properly into account the likelihood that such influences were mediated – perhaps in several stages – through other glosses or passages of continuous translation and may therefore not be the responsibility of the identified glossator himself or relate directly to Latin texts known to him. It is hard to imagine that Aldred undertook a systematic and painstaking

580–6, at p. 582.

101 On the versions of Cuthbert's letter, and various interpretations of it, see A.S.C. Ross, 'A Connection between Bede and the Anglo-Saxon Gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels?' *Journal of Theological Studies* 20 (1969), 482–94.

102 Ross assumes the latter, and this may be right, but his explanation that 'the time of Bede is surely too early for continuous Anglo-Saxon [sc. Old English] prose' ('A Connection', p. 492) is surely wrong.

103 C.O. Elliott and A.S.C. Ross, 'Aldrediana XXIV: The Linguistic Peculiarities of the Gloss to St John's Gospel', *English Philological Studies* 13 (1972), 49–72. See also A.S.C. Ross, 'Supplementary Note to "A Connection between Bede and the Anglo-Saxon Gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels?" ' *Journal of Theological Studies* 24 (1973), 519–21, and his *Accidence*, Ch. 3.

104 'The Linguistic Peculiarities', p. 72.

105 *Cod. Lind.* II, book 2, p. 22.

106 See, for instance, Marcelle Cole, 'Identifying the Author(s) of the Lindisfarne Gloss: Linguistic Variation as a Diagnostic for Determining Authorship', in *The Old English Gloss*, ed. Fernández Cuesta and Pons-Sanz, 179–88.

107 This approach may account for the fact that in the *Cod. Lind.* commentary volume the Old English gloss is treated purely as a philological resource and there is a total absence of discussion of the relationship between it and its Latin source.

comparison of the Lindisfarne text with other Latin texts simply because, as Ross implies, he was aware of a significant new *textus receptus*.

It may be impossible to discover for sure how Aldred worked. How much of his gloss was his own spontaneous work? On the evidence of instances of 'eye-slip' error, Neil Ker suggests that Aldred composed the gloss separately and then copied it into Lindisfarne,[108] but such a laborious process seems to me to be unlikely, and eye-slip errors could as easily have occurred in copying from pre-existing sources. Was it Aldred himself who first tapped into the variety of sources which it seems lies behind at least parts of the gloss? These could have included pre-existing interlinear glosses on single gospels or part of gospels, homiletic paraphrases or portions of continuous prose translations. If Aldred were basing his gloss on such sources, how many interventions of his own – corrections or additions – did he make? Whatever the practical details, a sense of sustained and confident intellectual endeavour on Aldred's part is unmistakable. The gloss has many dimensions: it is rooted in the traditions of monastic learning, assertive in its mission to educate; it is erudite and linguistically alert, revealing a particular interest in the interactions between Latin and Old English. Like most works rooted in pedagogy, as the gloss seems to be, it is also exploratory and thus perhaps a work in progress.[109] Its errors, whatever their cause, are statistically of little significance.

Aldred's place in the great vernacular glossing tradition of late Anglo-Saxon England – whose monuments are otherwise mostly confined to the southern part of the country, above all Wessex – is clear.[110] I have already compared the Lindisfarne gloss with psalter glosses, which seem to have had a key role in the teaching of Latin in the monasteries, and we have seen how in at least one case an apparently erroneous Lindisfarne translation (*hry*[*g*]*um* for *spinis* in Mt 7.16) may be explained by the familiarity of the glossator with psalm glosses. Certainly the parallels between the glossing of gospel-books and of psalters may be instructive.[111] As I have noted, eleven Latin psalters of Anglo-Saxon origin or provenance (out of twenty-nine extant) are glossed interlinearly in Old English,[112] and the study of them brings familiar problems. One is the instability of their Latin source; as noted above, the Romanum Latin text of the earlier psalters gave way in the late tenth century to the Gallicanum text, but many psalters in the latter tradition remain contaminated by Romanum readings.[113] The Old English glosses themselves are bewildering in their interrelationships but have been classified in two major traditions, the elder originally Mercian in its language, the younger West Saxon,[114] though half the psalters are dependent on both. There are frequent anomalies, too, such as those that result from Romanum glosses being given to a Gallicanum text. Glossed psalters illustrate, too, how errors of translation may become entrenched. In the archetype of the later of the main traditions, for instance, a translator must have confused Latin *feto*, 'bring forth, breed', with *feteo*, 'have a bad smell, stink', so that in Ps 77.70 erroneous Old English *stencende*, 'stinking', appears as the gloss for *fetantes*, 'breeding', in all subsequent versions.[115]

There is of course no suggestion that the glossing of gospel-books was ever carried out on the almost industrial scale of the glossing of the psalter, the book which constituted the devotional hub of monastic life and whose contents had to be learned by heart, in Latin. Yet the character of the Lindisfarne and Rushworth glosses – both their similarities and (more crucially) their differences – seems to show that they, too, were not created in isolation but were part of a wider glossing tradition, albeit perhaps

108 *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, p. 216.

109 Karen Jolly, 'The Process of Glossing', *The Old English Gloss*, ed. Fernández Cuesta and Pons-Sanz, p. 361, describes Aldred's glossing in other manuscripts as 'a bilingual conversation between Latin and Old English as a source of insight and instruction'.

110 See Gameson's remarks in *From Holy Island to Durham*, pp. 106–7.

111 This conclusion is reached also by Philip G. Rusche, in his 'The Glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Benedictine Reform: Was Aldred Trained in the Southumbrian Glossing Tradition?' *The Old English Gloss*, ed. Fernández Cuesta and Pons-Sanz, 61–77.

112 All are glossed throughout, except one, which is partly glossed. For a good overview of the Anglo-Saxon psalters and their glossing, see Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, Ch. 2; also P. Pulsiano, 'Psalters', *The Liturgical Books of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. R.W. Pfaff, Old English Newsletter, Subsidia 23 (Kalamazoo, MI, 1995), 60–85. The first volume of Pulsiano's planned four-volume critical edition of all the psalter glosses was published after his death: see n. 70. For details of individual editions of the psalters, see Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*.

113 Differences are small but frequent. On the Latin psalter versions used in England, see *The Salisbury Psalter edited from Salisbury Cathedral MS. 150*, ed. C. Sisam and K. Sisam, EETS 242 (London, 1959), pp. 47–52; also Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, pp. 21–5.

114 The oldest witnesses to the two traditions are, respectively, the 'Vespasian Psalter' (BL, Cotton Vespasian A. i) and the 'Royal Psalter' (BL, Royal 2 B.V).

115 See Marsden, 'Rare Words', p. 180. *Fetantes* describes the breeding sheep being tended by David.

more random and eclectic than that of the glossed psalters, and probably more localised. We cannot know how many fully glossed gospel-books there were. Lindisfarne and Rushworth themselves were destined to survive because of their special status, but there were several hundred other gospel-books in use in Anglo-Saxon England, everyday volumes which eventually fell out of use and were of no value to later collectors, and it is likely that some at least were glossed or partly glossed.[116] It may be sheer bad luck that not a single corroborative scrap of parchment has survived. Particularly noticeable is the absence of any evidence of gospel-book glossing from tenth-century Wessex.

In many ways, research on the gospel glosses is still in its infancy. Kotake's work has shown the importance of a more informed and thorough analysis of both the Lindisfarne and the Rushworth glosses, and a systematic comparison of them. The apparently obvious and yet quite limited connection between the two glosses has probably been something of a red herring for scholars and might in fact be seen to be of small relevance in the wider history of gospel-book glossing, if we were able to access this. A systematic look at such early homiletic and other material as survives from the earlier tenth century may provide further points of interest that can be related to observed variations in the style or language of the four gospels or sections of them. And always the varying nature of the Latin text of the gospels remains a crucial element in further research. The relationship between the Latin and the Old English texts is a perpetually dynamic one.

116 See R. Marsden, 'Anglo-Saxon Biblical Manuscripts', *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 1, ed. R. Gameson (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 406–35, at pp. 430–5, and R. Gameson, 'The Royal 1 B. vii Gospels and English Book Production in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries', *The Early Medieval Bible: its production, decoration and use*, ed. Gameson (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 24–52, esp. pp. 43–4.

CHAPTER 11

Aldred's Red Gloss

Andrew Beeby, Richard Gameson, Catherine Nicholson and Anthony W. Parker

One of the many intriguing aspects of the Lindisfarne Gospels is an apparently random change in the colour of the ink that was used by Aldred of Chester-le-Street (fl. 970) when he was adding his interlinear Old English gloss to the manuscript some 250 years after it had been made.[1] He wrote in black-brown ink until the second line of the first column on fol. 220v,[2] whereupon he suddenly switched to red, continuing therewith to the end of the book (ill. 11.1).

On the eighty pages in question not only was the gloss done in red but so too were almost every correction to it[3] as also Aldred's marginal comments[4] – strongly suggesting that his marginalia here were added at much the same time as the corresponding gloss. All parts of the extended colophon that Aldred appended to the explicit of John's Gospel were likewise written in red, strengthening the likelihood that this text, even if it was elaborated incrementally, was indeed entered at the conclusion of the project.[5] Correspondingly, the circumstance that various minor supplements Aldred made to his gloss at the beginning of the manuscript were also done in red implies that they, too, were effected during this late phase of work.[6]

In addition to his labours on the Lindisfarne Gospels, Aldred augmented two other older volumes, a copy of Bede's *Commentary on Proverbs* that had been made at Wearmouth-Jarrow in the mid-eighth century,[7] and a collectar (a compilation of collects or prayers) produced somewhere in Wessex around 900.[8] In the former he expanded the biblical lemmata and added Latin glosses between the existing lines of writing;[9] in the latter, he and a number of colleagues amplified the content in various ways, and then he alone supplied an Old English gloss both to the original stratum and to the Chester-le-Street

1 The change was initially understood as reflecting the participation of different scribes (thus, e.g., E.A. Bond and E.M. Thompson (ed.), *Palaeographical Society* 1st series (London, 1873–83), pls. 3–6 and 22), a theory then rightly rejected by E. Maunde Thompson, *Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts in the British Museum, Part II: Latin* (London, 1884), pp. 16–7, whose reassessment was duly reiterated by E.G. Millar, *The Lindisfarne Gospels* (London, 1923), pp. 16–7; neither, however, offered any alternative explanation for the phenomenon. Most subsequent writers, if they have reported the change, have done so without commenting on it (thus, e.g., N.R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), no. 165). The most recent suggestions (Michelle Brown, *LG*[1], pp. 96–7, repeated verbatim *LG*[2], pp. 66–7) are that it 'may simply have resulted from some unpredictable change in Aldred's circumstances, or it may be that he decided to accord John's Gospel the particular distinction that it often seems to have attracted … by glossing it in a higher grade ink'.

2 The black-brown ink varies considerably in tone and is, in fact, at its lightest (almost a red-brown) on 220r-v, immediately before the change to red.

3 All supplements and corrections to the red gloss in John (several instances to be seen on 224v, col. 1, for example) were also done in red, with the sole exception of the small rectifications on 228v, col. 2, lines 3, 4 and 6, which were implemented in black.

4 Printed and their content discussed by W.J.P. Boyd, *Aldred's Marginalia* (Exeter, 1975).

5 Fol. 259r. Key treatments of this much discussed text are *Cod. Lind.*, II, Book 2, pp. 5–11; Brown, *LG*[1], pp. 90–6, 102–4; *LG*[2], pp. 63–4, 66–7; J. Roberts, 'Aldred Signs Off from Glossing the Lindisfarne Gospels', *Scribes and Texts in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. A. Rumble (Cambridge, 2006), 28–43; Jolly, *Community of St Cuthbert*, pp. 41–60; R. Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham: the contexts and meanings of the Lindisfarne Gospels* (London, 2013), pp. 91–5; F.L. Newton, F.L. Newton Jr and C.R.J. Scheirer, 'Domiciling the Evangelists in Anglo-Saxon England: a fresh reading of Aldred's Colophon in the "Lindisfarne Gospels"', *ASE* 41 (2013), 101–39 (to be read in the light of note 21 below and Chapter 3 note 118 above).

6 Additions to the gloss from 3v (column 1, line 4) to 5v (col. 1, l. 8), i.e. for most of *Nouum opus*, comprising: alternatives preceded by 'Ł' (= 'uel') or in several cases just an 'Ł', no alternative being supplied; the names of Matthew, John and Mark, which evidently had not been included in the original gloss, plus occasional corrections to the original gloss (e.g. inserting the omitted letters from 'cae\sa/riensisca' on 4v, col. 1, l. 17). Red was also used on fol. 141v (the sixth page of Luke's Gospel; Ch. 1, vs 46) to add 'Ł miclað' to the original gloss on 'Magnificat', and 'Ł' alone to that on 'exultauit'.

7 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 819: *CLA* II, no. 235; *Cod. Lind.*, pl. 22; E.A. Lowe, *English Uncial* (Oxford, 1960), pl. XXXVIII.

8 Durham Cathedral Library, A.IV.19. Facsimile (though re-ordering the leaves): *The Durham Ritual*, ed. T.J. Brown *et al.*, EEMF 16 (Copenhagen, 1969). Printed in full: *Rituale Ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, ed. U. Lindelöf, SS 140 (1927). Original stratum printed: *The Durham Collectar*, ed. A. Corrêa, HBS 107 (1992).

9 This work has been little discussed. For brief comment see *Cod. Lind.*, Book 2, pp. 32–3 and Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham*, pp. 95–8.

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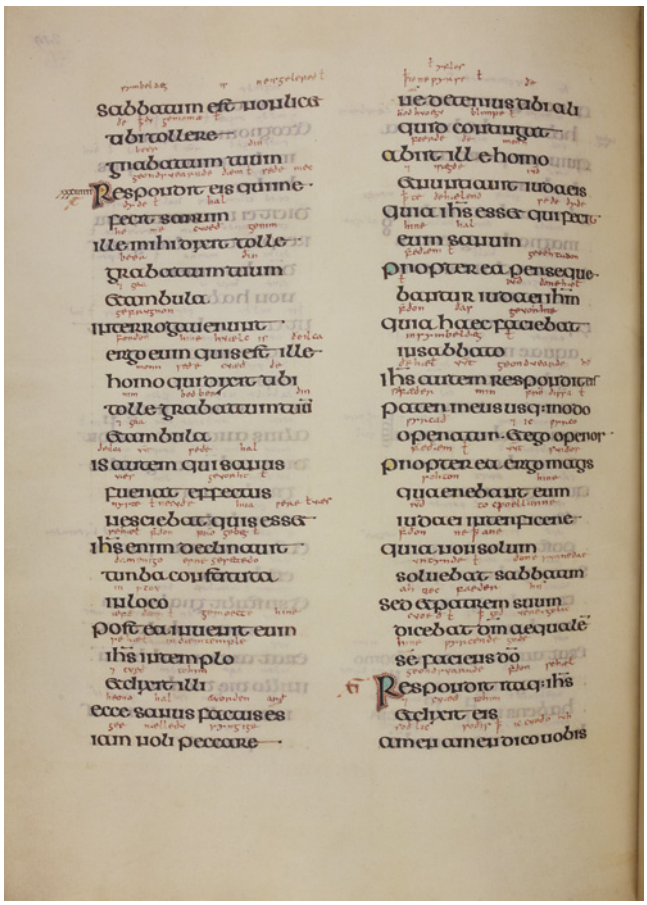


ILLUSTRATION 11.1 *Lindisfarne Gospels, fol. 220v.*

supplements.[10] His additions to the *Commentary on Proverbs* were done entirely in black ink, as were all the textual supplements to the Collectar; however, the gloss in this latter book was effected in red throughout, and red was also used to insert initials that had been omitted. One of Aldred's contributions to the Collectar finishes with a colophon that dates the set of prayers in question to 970, providing a chronological marker for his career as a whole.[11] As he there describes himself as 'provost' whereas in his colophon to the Lindisfarne Gospels he had given his status as 'priest',[12] the relevant work on the Collectar was evidently accomplished after that on the Gospels. It is generally supposed that his interventions in the Bede were done before he made his contribution to the Gospels, though this cannot be proved.

There is no textual reason for the change from black-brown to red ink in the Lindisfarne Gospels (ill. 11.2). It happens within John Chapter 5, verse 10, part-way through the story of Christ healing a lame man on the Sabbath: 'ne is gelefed uel [–nothing supplied-] ðe *þæt ðu geniomae uel* [–] *beer ðin* …' ('… it is not lawful or [– –] for you *that you carry or* [–] *your bed* …').[13] Nor is there any codicological rationale. Indeed, occurring at the second word of the second line on the verso of the fourth leaf of the twenty-eighth quire (a regular quaternion), it could hardly come at a more random place in relation to the structure of the volume.[14] One indisputable result, however, is that henceforth the gloss is distinguished more clearly from the original main text which, of course, is in black – and a particularly rich, dark black at that. The practical advantage of a colour contrast in this respect is more immediately apparent in the Collectar, a smaller and altogether less elegant book than the Lindisfarne Gospels: the addition of a continuous interlinear gloss to its compact pages could easily have made them visually crowded; but thanks to the use of red, this problem is largely avoided, and the interspersed Latin text and Old English gloss can be differentiated at a glance. It would seem reasonable to presume that the adoption of red ink in the Lindisfarne Gospels was for much the same reason – to distinguish the gloss visually, and hence to facilitate reading it in tandem with the main text. Moreover, a precedent for using red alongside black to differentiate juxtaposed information ran through the original stratum of this manuscript itself (as indeed various other gospel-books), for in the marginal apparatus, black had been utilised for the Eusebian section numbers, orange-red for the Canon numbers (ill. 5.1).[15] Yet if Aldred did indeed turn to red here to distinguish his gloss from the original text, it is natural to wonder why he only implemented the strategy when the project was already eighty-five per cent done.

It is not impossible that, notwithstanding the example of the Eusebian apparatus, the idea of using red for the

10 The Chester-le-Street work is conveniently re-edited and discussed in K.L. Jolly, *The Community of St Cuthbert in the Late Tenth Century. The Chester-le-Street Additions to Durham Cathedral Library, A.IV.19* (Columbus, Ohio, 2012). See also J.D. Billett, *The Divine Office in Anglo-Saxon England 597-c. 1100*, HBS Subsidia 7 (London, 2014), pp. 220–51.

11 Fol. 84r. The clearest reproduction of the page is Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham*, ill. 57. The text is printed and discussed: *Cod. Lind.*, Book 2, pp. 25–8; *Durham Ritual*, ed. Brown, pp. 24–5; Jolly, *Community of St Cuthbert*, pp. 60–70; Gameson, *From Holy Island to Durham*, pp. 102–4.

12 See note 5.

13 For further discussion of this passage see E.G. Stanley, Ch. 12 in this volume.

14 For collation formulae see *Cod. Lind.*, p. 61; Brown, *LG*[1], p. 203; *LG*[2], p. 151. Although these are rather less clear than might be hoped, the structure of this particular quire is not in doubt.

15 It is also thus in, e.g., the Durham, Cambridge-London, Royal Athelstan, and Lincoln College Gospels, as also in the Wearmouth-Jarrow Gospel fragments in Durham and Utrecht. Further on the Apparatus see Thomas O'Loughlin, Ch. 5 in this volume.

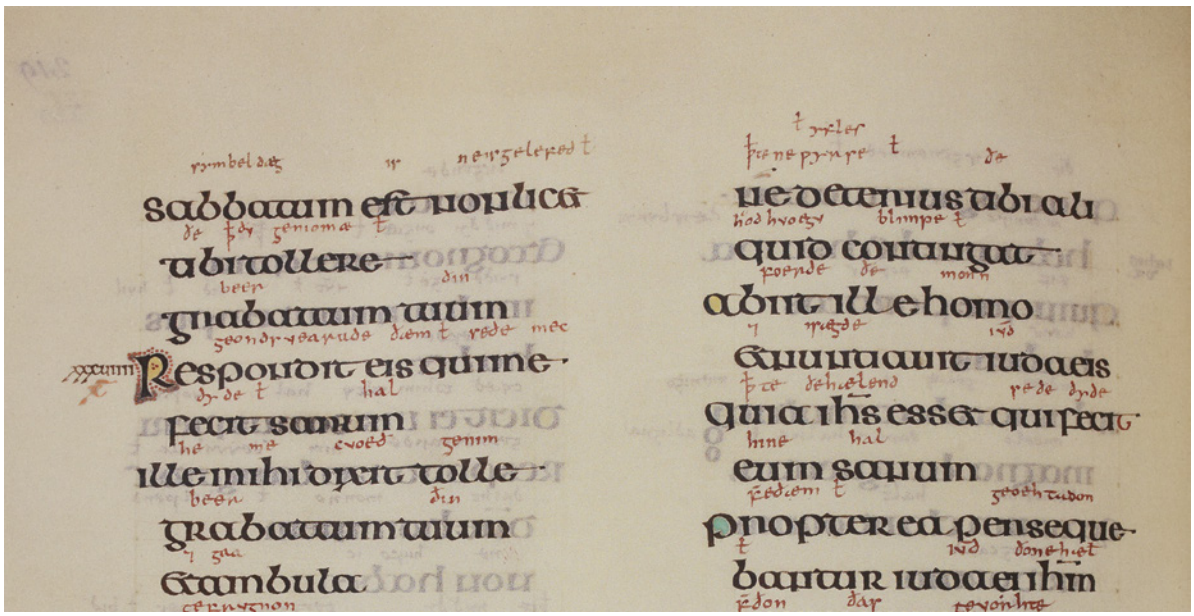


ILLUSTRATION 11.2 *Lindisfarne Gospels, fol. 220v (detail).*

gloss only occurred to Aldred (or someone else at Chester-le-Street) at a late stage in his work on the Lindisfarne Gospels. Unfortunately, although Aldred left two personal statements (a high number for an Anglo-Saxon) about his scribal and literary work and their rationales, neither of them sheds any light on his decision to use red;[16] consequently, such a hypothesis can be neither proved nor disproved. However a further possibility – one, moreover, which complements rather than conflicts with the previous suggestion – can be probed in more detail: namely that it was not until he reached folio 220v that Aldred actually had the means to write in red. Now given how widespread is the use of red in medieval books in general, the suggestion that any scribe could have overlooked the colour, let alone have been without it, might initially be viewed with scepticism. Nevertheless, the prevailing conditions at Chester-le-Street in the tenth century suggest that such may indeed have been the case for Aldred – at least for part of his career.

It is abundantly clear that English book production as a whole was in the doldrums in the second half of the ninth century, as internal decline was exacerbated by Viking invasion and conquest.[17] A modest but well documented revival of literary activities in the circle of Alfred the Great (reigned 871–899) at the end of the ninth century led to a gradual recovery of book-making skills in Wessex during the first half of the tenth century; this gained more general momentum in Southumbria from the middle of that century, fostered by a Benedictine reform movement. However, the situation in the north of the country (not definitively brought back under Anglo-Saxon rule until the mid-tenth century) was altogether different, and the rupture in book-making traditions longer. North of the Humber there is no indication of a literary revival at the end of the ninth century; indeed there is almost no evidence of book production at all during the second half of that century, nor for much of the tenth. As the scribes of the one surviving manuscript that was made for Alfred the Great himself appear to have been learning the craft of book making as they went along,[18] there is every reason to believe that in Northumbria, where the hiatus was far more severe, the task of re-learning the requisite skills would have been even more challenging.

The scribal work that is associable with Chester-le-Street during the tenth century makes it the one and only identifiable writing centre in the north of the country for most of the tenth century.[19] Losses of evidence may conceal a handful of others (notably York), but there can be little doubt that Chester-le-Street was indeed fairly exceptional in this regard, and that its scribes were isolated geographically. A further fact crucial for our

16 See notes 5 and 11 above.

17 See, e.g., H. Gneuss, 'King Alfred and the History of Anglo-Saxon Libraries', *Modes of Interpretation in Old English Literature. Essays in Honor of Stanley B. Greenfield*, ed. P.R. Brown, G.R. Crampton and F.C. Robinson (Toronto, 1986), 29–49.

18 See *The Pastoral Care*, ed. N.R. Ker, EEMF 6 (Copenhagen, 1956), p. 19.

19 For the oeuvre in question see *Durham Ritual*, ed. Brown, pp. 15–7 and 23–36; T.A.M. Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule* (Oxford, 1971), no. 16; I. Fenlon (ed.), *Cambridge Music Manuscripts 900–1700* (Cambridge, 1982), no. 1; Jolly, *Community of St Cuthbert*, Ch. 3; R. Gameson, 'The Cathedral's Oldest Books', *Durham Cathedral: history, fabric and culture*, ed. D. Brown (New Haven and London, 2015), 398–421 and 548–1, esp. 402–5.

enquiry is that their activities invariably took the form, not of creating books *de novo*, but rather of making additions – often in scripts that were outdated by Southumbrian standards – to pre-existing ones. The key point here is that the nature of this work and its restricted quantity do not suggest a scriptorium (in the sense of an organised group of scribes systematically making manuscripts) but rather a series of individuals with literary skills merely doing what was needed to keep a small collection of older volumes 'in service'. Their collective scribal oeuvre was limited both in quantity and quality. But then the community at Chester-le-Street, though heirs to the traditions of Holy Island, was one, not of monks but of secular clergy who, without the monastic obligation to undertake *lectio divina*, had no particular need to copy 'library' books. Aldred stands out as by far the most energetic literary figure among them; nonetheless, his scribal activities, too, were confined to additions and supplements to older volumes.

The highly unusual circumstances of the community at Chester-le-Street – isolated within a kingdom that had been wholly or largely without functioning scriptoria for a century or more, whose book needs were limited, and which had a stock of older volumes that were adequate for most purposes – renders credible the theory that it might not have been making red ink as a matter of course. To manufacture typical 'boc red' (as the word minium was glossed in Old English), lead had to be exposed to acidity under warm conditions (achieved, according to later recipe books, by suspending sheets of the metal over vessels that contained vinegar or urine and burying them in marc or manure to generate warmth); the resultant white 'crust' could be gathered and then roasted with an admixture of rust to produce minium (red lead).[20] Although not particularly complicated, the manufacturing process presupposed know-how, materials, and motivation – each of which is likely to have been in short supply at Chester-le-Street during the tenth century. The hiatus not just in book production but in monastic life as a whole in the north of England during the Viking Age and, in relation to the Community of St Cuthbert in particular, its migrations along with the allied transformation of its nature and personnel, may have interrupted transmission of the relevant knowledge. Whatever infrastructure had assured the supply of lead to, and the processing of it at or for, northern monastic houses in the eighth century will unquestionably have been disrupted during the ninth. Above all, one might legitimately doubt whether the investment of time and resources required for the manufacture of minium would have seemed worthwhile for the minimal scribal activity that was going on at Chester-le-Street prior to the activities of Aldred.

Once Aldred – whose own words may hint that he was a new-comer to Chester-le-Street[21] – had embarked upon a slightly more extensive programme of writing (albeit still in the form of additions to older books), the situation had evolved. The circumstance that the community demonstrably resorted to the simplest available means for manufacturing the red ink that he used is concordant with the hypothesis that earlier traditions had indeed been lost or interrupted.

Scientific examination, undertaken by the present writers and others, confirms that the principal red found in Pre-Viking Age Northumbrian manuscripts (including the Lindisfarne Gospels) was minium; it was used for rubrics, display script and artwork alike.[22] Very occasionally, on individual pages where rich painterly effects were needed, ochre reds – i.e. red earth colours formed by the weathering of iron ores such as hematite – were deployed alongside it. Such was the case in Codex Amiatinus, the one-volume Bible made at Wearmouth-Jarrow before

20 *Mappae Clavicula. A Little Key to the World of Medieval Techniques*, ed. C.S. Smith and J.G. Hawthorne, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society new series 64, Part 4 (Philadelphia, 1974), Ch. vii (p. 27); Theophilus, *De diversis artibus*, I.37, ed. C.R. Dodwell (Edinburgh, 1961), p. 33; E.W. Fitzhugh, 'Red Lead and Minium', *Artists' Pigments: a handbook of their history and characteristics 1*, ed. R.L. Feller (Cambridge, 1986), 109–39.

21 Depending on one's interpretation of the phrases, 'and hine gihamadi mið ðæm ðriim daelu' and 'and aeht ora seolfres mið to inlade' within his colophon to the Lindisfarne Gospels. *Cod. Lind.*, Book 2, p. 8, translates them as, 'And he made a home for himself by means of the three parts' and 'in addition, eight ores of silver for his induction'. Newton, Newton and Scheirer, 'New Reading', by contrast, argue for 'he homed him [John the evangelist] along with the three parts' and suggest (without offering a formal translation) that the second phrase means that Aldred had the pages of the manuscript edged with silver. As 'gihamadi' is a hapax legomenon, certainty in the first case is elusive. However, since St John has not been mentioned in the preceding thirteen lines of text (whereas several other individuals are named), he is unlikely to be the referent of 'hine', and since the suggestion of silver edging is rendered implausible by the total absence of any such trace in the manuscript itself as also of any parallels for such a practice, while an offering of silver need not, as they suggest, implicate Aldred in simony (see Gameson, *Holy Island to Durham*, p. 94), *Cod. Lind.*'s version surely remains preferable.

22 See A. Beeby, A. Duckworth, R.G. Gameson and C.E. Nicholson, 'Pigments of the Earliest Northumbrian Manuscripts', *Scriptorium* 69 (2015), 33–59. We have confirmed the use of minium for rubrics, display script and marginal canon numbers in the Lindisfarne Gospels in a separate campaign.

716.[23] Subsequently in a different kingdom (Mercia in the early ninth century) ochre red was used alongside minium in a couple of prayer-books.[24] Equally, our investigations detected it within the original Southumbrian stratum of the collectar to which Aldred later contributed: while minium was used to embellish the initials, ochre was deployed for the rubrics.[25] In addition, our work demonstrated that the red used throughout Aldred's contributions both to the collectar and to the Lindisfarne Gospels – initials, gloss and main text in the former, continuous gloss from 220v, colophon, and supplements to the gloss in the latter – is red ochre.[26] The nature of his red ink thus contrasts to the norms of seventh- and eighth-century Northumbria. This is potentially significant for understanding his deployment of the colour in general.

The chronological gap between the date of the original stratum of the collectar and that of Aldred's additions to it – approximately sixty years or more, so at least two generations – means that Aldred cannot conceivably have encountered the first scribe in person. Nonetheless, the coincidence of an ochre red being used both in the original part and in Aldred's additions raises the possibility of an exchange of skills – as well as of the collectar itself – with the (unidentified) Southumbrian centre from which the volume was acquired. After all, Aldred's colophon in this very book proves that he did himself travel to Wessex on at least one occasion.[27] Be that as it may, the key points raised by the nature of Aldred's red ink in relation to what we know of his situation at Chester-le-Street are that the raw material, an iron oxide earth, was readily available in the north of England (above all in Cumbria but also in County Durham[28]), that turning it into ink was a much simpler process than manufacturing minium,[29] and that the resulting liquid is likely to have been easier to use than red lead. This earth colour offered a practical solution for a red that was needed for occasional use in limited quantities, only for writing as opposed to decorating, and often in contexts that required the script to be small and compact. It was thus ideally suited to the requirements of a glossator working in the restricted circumstances of Chester-le-Street during the third quarter of the tenth century.

That Aldred did come to appreciate the value of supplying a gloss in a different colour from that used for the main text can hardly be doubted, for when in the collectar he treated texts that he had himself written in red, here – uniquely in this book – he resorted to black ink for his gloss.[30] The intriguing change in colour on fol. 220v of the Lindisfarne Gospels might then reflect the moment that Aldred realised the value of using a contrasting colour for glossing; alternatively, it could reflect the recovery of the ability to manufacture a red ink that was based on a locally available, easy to process source of pigment that had not been exploited in the north in living memory; equally and perhaps more probably, it could have resulted from a combination of both of these factors – one in effect the motivation, the other the means.

Such suggestions, plausible though they may be, must ultimately remain hypotheses, as they are impossible to verify. What is, however, certain is that the identification of an iron oxide earth as the basis of Aldred's red ink adds an important detail to our knowledge of the pigments of PreConquest England. Once further late Anglo-Saxon manuscripts have been analysed scientifically, it will be possible to comment more authoritatively on how widespread was the use of such an ink in the south of the country during the tenth century (work to date suggests that it was comparatively rare). Yet whatever the case for Southumbria, the dearth of Northumbrian books means that Aldred's deployment of it will remain unique for his region and

23 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Amiatino 1: M. Bicchieri, F.P. Romano, L. Pappalardo, L. Cosentino, M. Nardone and A. Sodo, 'Non-Destructive Analysis of the Bibbia Amiatina by XRF, PIXE-α and Raman', *Quinio* 3 (2001), 169–79.

24 CUL, Ll.1.10 (the Book of Cerne) and BL, Harley 7653. Investigation of the former by the present writers identified the following pigments: reds – both red lead (with and without massicot), and iron oxide; yellow – orpiment (sometimes very dilute); green – copper-based; blues – indigo; also indigo and orpiment mixtures; browns – iron oxide; purples – organic, presumably orcein; gold – metallic. On the latter MS see M. Clarke, 'Anglo-Saxon Manuscript Pigments', *Studies in Conservation* 49 (2004), 231–44.

25 Details of the scientific procedures employed for the pigment identification are provided at the end of this study.

26 In the collectar we examined fols. 1v, 14v, 15r, 28v, 30v, 32v, 35v, 37v, 56v, 66r, 77v, 84r and 85r. In the Lindisfarne Gospels we undertook extensive examination of the red gloss on 220v, of the colophon on 259r (including several areas from each separable element within it), and of the red words on 5r and 5v. Although a clear Raman spectrum is difficult to obtain from iron oxide ink, indicative examples were recorded in both books; simultaneously, the complete absence of spectra for red lead or vermilion (which are easy to detect) ruled out the alternatives. Diffuse reflectance spectra further supported the identification of red ochre in the gloss.

27 To Oakley Down in Dorset. See note 11.

28 See A.G. Tindle, *Minerals of Britain and Ireland* (Harpenden, 2008), pp. 268–70 (entry for hematite).

29 Around 1400, Cennino Cennini provided a straightforward description of digging out ochre with a penknife and working it up with clear water: *Cennino Cennini's Il Libro dell'Arte*, ed. L. Broecke, Ch. 45 (pp. 70–2).

30 Fols. 70r-71v/line 5 (five prayers, printed: *Rituale*, ed. Lindelöf, pp. 183–4); also rubrics on 83v (printed: *Rituale*, ed. Lindelöf, pp. 183–4).

period. Also unquestionably distinctive – and for the South no less than the North – was the very practice of glossing in a different colour from that used for the main text. Notwithstanding the many advantages that this straightforward and – especially when using an ochre – economical expedient offered, it was not, with one single exception, adopted anywhere else in late Anglo-Saxon England.[31] If geographical isolation may have fostered the use of the most elementary of red pigments at Chester-le-Street, it doubtless also restricted the influence of the elegantly simple means of aiding a reader's comprehension of glossed texts that Aldred adopted and may even have devised when he was tackling fol. 220v of the Lindisfarne Gospels.

Experimental Details

In Durham, Raman spectra were recorded with a Horiba LabRAM-HR Raman microscope spectrometer equipped with a 'free-space' microscope and x50 LWD lens. The books were placed on a supporting conservation cushion located on a moveable table that permitted easy movement under the microscope in the x, y plane. Focusing was achieved through the movement of the objective lens in the z direction.

In London, spectra were recorded using a mobile Raman spectrometer comprising a HeNe laser, 633 nm, coupled by a fiber optic to a Horiba Superhead equipped with a x40 LWD lens. The Raman spectrum was detected by a fiber coupled Andor Shamrock 163 & idus 416 CCD/spectrograph.

Prior to any work involving either a test specimen or a medieval manuscript, the spectrometer was first calibrated using a standard sample. Thus, after allowing the laser at least fifteen minutes to stabilise, the spectrum of silicon, toluene and cyclohexane or a neon lamp was recorded in order to allow wavenumber calibration to <1 cm^{-1}. The power of the laser at the sample (i.e. after passage through the objective lens) was then measured with a power meter and the beam attenuated using neutral density filters to give a laser power of < 0.4 mW at the sample for both spectrometers. The power densities used in the present campaign were significantly less than those used by other recent workers.[32]

All measurements were undertaken with the room-lighting extinguished, in order to avoid 'false' peaks from the mercury plasma lines in the fluorescent tubes. The acquisition conditions for each point on the page to be investigated were assessed individually to achieve the optimum spectrum. The following are indicative of typical acquisition conditions:

> Durham:- 633 nm laser, 0.3 mW (10% ND filter), spectral range 100–1300 cm^{-1}, –10 × 5- second acquisitions summed;
> London:- 633 nm, 0.35 mW spectral range 90–2240 cm^{-1}, 20 × 1 s acquisitions accumulated.

The raw spectra acquired during the measurements contain artefacts arising from the optical filters used to inject and reject the laser line in the spectrometer. These artefacts have been removed from the spectra: the 'ripple' associated with interference effects in the optical filters was eliminated by ratioing the recorded spectrum with one recorded using a white light source.

Pigments were identified by reference to spectra published in the literature (I.M. Bell, R.J.H. Clark and P.J. Gibbs, *Raman Spectroscopic Library of Natural and Synthetic Pigments*) and by comparison to spectra obtained from commercial samples purchased from L. Cornelissen & Son, London. Of particular relevance to the work here are the bands assigned to red lead (122 vs, 149 m, 223 x, 313 w, 390 w, & 548 vs cm^{-1}) and red ochre (220 s, 286 vs, 402 s, 491 w & 601 m, cm^{-1}).[33]

31 The exception is the 'Winchcombe' Psalter, CUL, Ff.1.23, wherein the Latin and Old English versions were written on alternate lines to exactly the same scale, the former in black ink, the latter in orange-red, while green was used for the rubrics: Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 13; M.J. Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter* (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 268–74 with figs. 16–17 plus colour image on cover. Investigation of the MS by the present writers established that the orange-red text was red lead (with and without massicot) and that the green was copper-based. The other pigment in the book (deployed in decorated initials and miniatures) was orpiment.

32 K.L. Brown and R.J.H. Clark, 'The Lindisfarne Gospels and two other 8th century Anglo-Saxon / Insular manuscripts: pigment identification by Raman Microscopy', *Journal of Raman Spectroscopy* 35 (2004), 4–12, reported using <1 mW laser power; S. Bioletti, R. Leahy, J. Fields, B. Meehan and W. Blau, 'The Examination of the Book of Kells using micro-Raman Spectroscopy', *Journal of Raman Spectroscopy* 40 (2009), 1043–9, reported using 2.225 mW.

33 Work of this nature would be impossible without the support of many individuals and institutions, for all of which we are most grateful: to the Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral and to the authorities at the British Library and Cambridge University Library for permission to undertake the scientific examination of their manuscripts; to Suzanne Paul in Cambridge, to Gabriel Sewell then Lisa di Tommaso in Durham, and to Kathleen Doyle in London for so kindly facilitating our work in their respective institutions; and to Rob and Felicity Shepherd for the invaluable financial support that underwrote these and other campaigns of pigment analysis.

CHAPTER 12

The Lindisfarne Gospels: Aldred's Gloss

For God and St Cuthbert and All the Saints Together Who are in the Island

E.G. Stanley

This chapter is about the interlinear glosses in the Lindisfarne Gospels and especially the slightly more expansive explanations in the margins, all added in the later tenth century by Aldred of Chester-le-Street. He concentrated on the words of the gospels, which his glosses in his Northumbrian dialect render one by one. His work reveals a devout mind, striving to present learnedly the often polysemous richness of the word of God for those whose Latinity was less good than his. The textual examples have been selected, without thought of how they may hang together, to illustrate the wealth of the glossator's intellectual relationship with the Vulgate – material that is not easy for modern readers, and often humbling.

1 Those Who Made the Lindisfarne Gospels

Aldred, the scribe who wrote the glosses in Old Northumbrian, the dialect of Old English that was spoken by the Anglo-Saxons in this part of the Island about a thousand years ago, wrote the colophon at the end of the Gospel of St John. My title quotes from its opening words in translation. To anyone now the glosses may appear the visual ruination of the art of a great work of the visual arts, written by the glossator with various pens first in various shades of brown and from the second word in the second line on fol. 220v in red (ill. 11.2).[1] He was aware of the glory of its art work. How then could he bring himself to spoil it? He was aware of the importance of showing that his language could be close to the sacred wording of the Gospel element by element – for example, when glossing at Matthew 20.28 REDEMTIONEM 'redemption' by the double gloss *eft lesing ł alesenis*;[2] but we cannot be sure if the prefix *a-* of *alesenis* renders the Latin prefix *re-* sufficiently, or whether we are meant to use the *eft-* of *eft-lesing* again and, to make assurance double sure, create with Aldred *eft-alesenis*. It matters: God's word mattered to Aldred.

The following is the colophon (fol. 259r):[3]

> † EADfrið biscop/ᵇ' Lindisfearnensis æcclesiæ: he ðis boc aurat æt fruma, Gode & S*ancte* Cuðberhte & allum ðæm halgum gimænelice ða ðe in eolonde sint. & Eðiluald Lindisfearneolondinga bisc' hit uta giðryde & gibelde sua he uel cuðæ. & Billfrið se oncræ: he gismioðade ða gihrino ðaðe utan on sint, & hit gihrinade mið golde & mið gimmum, æc mið suᵘlfre of'gylded faconleas feh. & Aldred, p'sb'r indignus et misserrim' mið Godes fultu'mæ & S*ancti* Cuðberhtes, hit of'gloesade on Englisc, & hine gihamadi mið ðæm ðriim dælum: Matheus dæl Gode & S*ancte* Cuðberhti, Marc' dæl ðæm bisc', & Lucas dæl ðæm hiorode & æhtᵘ ora seo/ᵘlfres mið to inlade, & Sci Ioh' dæl f' hine seolfne \.ⁱ. ᵖᵉ ʰⁱˢ ˢᵃᵘˡᵉ/ & feouer ora seo/ᵘlfres mið Gode & S*ancti* Cuðberhti, þ*æt*te he hæbbe ondfong ðerh Godes milsæ on heofnum, seel & sibb on eorðo, forðgeong & giðyngo, uisdom & snyttro ðerh S*ancti* Cuðberhtes earnunga. †Eadfrið, Oeðiluald, Billfrið, Aldred, hoc Euange' D'o & Cuðberhto construxer*un*t *ł* ornauerunt.
>
> [†Eadfrith, Bishop of Lindisfarne Church, at first wrote this book for God and for St Cuthbert and for

1 The red begins with *þæt* in John 5.10. On the nature of the red ink and its possible implications see Andrew Beeby, Richard Gameson, Catherine Nicholson and Anthony Parker, Ch. 11 in this volume.

2 The '*ł*' stands for *uel*, the bar being in fact a 'u' or 'v' imposed on the final letter of *uel*.

3 *Cod. Lind.*, 11, ii, text 6, translation 10. My translation does not follow that in the aforementioned facsimile edition exactly, but is heavily indebted to it. The punctuation, word division, and other manuscript details of the text, though important, have been modified to some extent. All quotations are as in *The Four Gospels in Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian and Old Mercian Versions*, ed. W.W. Skeat, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1871–7), though sometimes modified to bring them into better conformity with the manuscript. There is no phonological difference between pointed 'v' and 'u', and I follow Skeat in printing 'u' for both, in spite of N.R. Ker, 'Aldred the Scribe', *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association* 38 (1943), 1–12 at 10 n. 1 (f). It may be of greater palaeographical significance. Turning 'v' into 'u' is like not distinguishing the two forms of 's', long s and round s in medieval and early modern scripts, and in printing up to the nineteenth century as well as even later in arty printing. I retain, as did Skeat, 'w' for wynn, though not phonologically distinct from consonantal 'u'.

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> all the saints together who [? = whose relics] are in the Island. And Æthelwald, Bishop of the Lindisfarne Islanders, pressed it on the outside and covered it over, as he well knew how to. And Billfrith, the anchorite, forged the ornaments which are on the outside and adorned it with gold and with jewels and also with gilded-over silver – (?)sinlessly-obtained property. And Aldred, unworthy priest, the lowest, glossed it between the lines in English with God's help and St Cuthbert's. And by its three parts he established his home: the part of Matthew (and its preliminaries) for God and St Cuthbert, the part of Mark (and its preliminaries) for the Bishop, the part of Luke (and its preliminaries) for the Community plus eight ores of silver for his induction, and the part of St John (and its preliminaries) for himself \that is, for his soul/ plus four ores of silver for God and St Cuthbert, so that he may have admission into heaven; on earth happiness and peace, success and advancement through the merits of St Cuthbert, wisdom and discernment. †Eadfrith, Æthelwald, Billfrith, Aldred made, or, as the case may be, embellished this Gospel Book for God and Cuthbert.]

In the margin of fol. 259r Aldred gives further details about himself, that his father was called Ælfred and that his mother was a good woman, *Alfredi natus Aldredus uocor, bonæ mulieris \.i. til w'/ filius eximius loquor*, 'I am named Aldred son of Alfred, I am called the excellent son of a good woman \that is, of a good woman/'.[4]

2 Aldred of Chester-le-Street, and Away among the West Saxons

Aldred, the glossator, entered the community of St Cuthbert, and when he refers to 'success and advancement' he may be referring to his own advancement, perhaps recent, for he gives his title as *p'fast*, that is, 'provost', when we meet him in the other book glossed by him between the lines, the 'Durham Ritual' as it has been called, or 'The Durham Collectar' as it is now more appropriately called.[5] His community was that of Chester-le-Street, and the Bishop of that ecclesiastical establishment was Ælfsige from 968 to 990. Exact dating of the glosses in the Lindisfarne Gospels and in the Durham Collectar is not possible. Aldred did not use red ink when he began the Gospel glosses, and the Collectar glosses are in red ink. That has given approximate dates of 950–970 for the Gospels and about 970 for the Collectar.[6]

For the Durham Collectar Ælfsige is of importance; in the colophon, in which Aldred describes himself as *p'fast*, he gives details about where he was when he wrote the colophon in the glossed book:

> Besuðan Wudigan Gæte æt Aclee on Westseaxum on Laurentius Mæssan daegi on Wodnes dægi Ælfsige ðæm biscope in his getelde, Aldred se p'fast ðas feower collectæ on fif næht aldne mona ær underne awrat.
>
> [To the south of Woodyate(s) at Oakley, among the West Saxons, on the Feast-Day of St Laurence (10 August), Wednesday, the Provost Aldred wrote for Bishop Ælfsige in his tent these four collects, before Tierce, the moon being five nights old.]

We shall never know why the Provost was with the Bishop when he wrote the colophon.[7] By road it is about 335

4 A.S.C. Ross (*Cod. Lind.*, II, ii, 10, and 'Prolegomena to an Edition of the Old English Gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 42 (1943), 309–21 at 321) gives details about this marginal note, and why it is probably wrong to interpret '*.i. tilw'* explaining *bonæ mulieris* as a personal name (*Tilwinn, supposedly the name of Aldred's mother), rather than as *til w*[*if*] 'good woman'.

5 DCL, A.IV.19. Cf. *The Durham Collectar*, ed. A. Corrêa, HBS 107 (1992), p. 77 n. 2 cont. for *p'fast* and for the dating of the glosses in the two manuscripts. The Latin gospel texts are given as the work of Eadfrith, bishop of Lindisfarne from 698 to 722.

6 Michelle P. Brown, 'Lindisfarne Gospels', *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. M. Lapidge *et al.* (Oxford, 1999), p. 288, gives the date of Aldred's provostship as 970; but that is not a firm date, just the approximate date of the colophon and of the four Latin collects in veneration of St Cuthbert to which he refers. See A. Hamilton Thompson in *Rituale Ecclesiae Dunelmensis. The Durham Collectar*, ed. U. Lindelöf, with an Introduction by A. Hamilton Thompson, SS 140 (1927), pp. xiv-xvii; cf. *Cod. Lind.*, II, ii, 25–6. For the place-names see A.D. Mills, *The Place-Names of Dorset* II, EPNS 52 (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 266 (Oakley), 271–2 (Woodyates). Christopher Hohler appears to date the Collectar as 'about 980' in his important discussion of the St Cuthbert collects, 'The Durham Services in Honour of St. Cuthbert', *The Relics of St Cuthbert*, ed. C.F. Battiscombe (Oxford, 1956), 155–91, at p. 158. Hohler was writing when the date of *c.* 970 had been authoritatively assigned to the colophon and the Cuthbert collects (on evidence, surveyed by Thompson in *Rituale Ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, ed. Lindelöf, p. xvi). See further *Durham Collectar*, ed. Corrêa, pp. 78–9 and footnotes.

7 Cf. *Durham Collectar*, ed. Corrêa, pp. 120–1. There may have been some connection between Wessex, the kings of the West-Saxons, and the Community of St Cuthbert at various times in the tenth

miles or 540 km from Chester-le-Street to Oakley just south of Woodyates in what is now Dorset. What we do know is that St Cuthbert was ever in the mind of Aldred, though far from home, far from those who spoke his Northumbrian dialect of English, not the southern speech of Wessex. He had the Collectar with him, and also a book, now unknown, from which he copied the St Cuthbert collects, unless he put them together himself. It seems that Aldred was highly regarded by the Bishop, presumably for his learning, perhaps also for his devotion to the cult of St Cuthbert and the community that had moved (probably not directly) from Lindisfarne to Chester-le-Street carrying with them the relics of the saint and the Lindisfarne Gospels.

3 Aldred Close to the Gospel According to St John

Aldred's interlinear glossing of the Lindisfarne Gospels is at the centre of this paper, and his glossing of the Durham Collectar is directly relevant to that subject, ever since Neil Ker affirmed Humfrey Wanley's view, considering the script in detail, that the Aldred who named himself in the Gospels and the Aldred who named himself in the Collectar are one person: 'These considerations and the coincidence in name make it safe, I think, to identify Aldred the son of Alfred with Aldred the provost and to attribute to him the gloss to the Ritual as well as the gloss to the Gospels'.[8]

It has often been said that the very idea of the English nation, or in more Anglo-Saxon terminology the nation of the English, *gens Anglorum*, goes back to Bede, who saw that unity as of a nation under Christ. Important in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* of that *gens*, is St Hild of Whitby (d. 680), because under her the Northumbrians officially aligned their Christianity with that of Rome as opposed to Iona, though Iona had been central to its implantation.[9] In the Middle Ages that would not have been just a minor detail of mere Church politics, but the essential direction of the road to salvation. *Volens autem latius demonstrare diuina dispensatio, quanta in gloria uir Domini Cudberct post mortem uiueret*, 'But the divine providence wished to show still further in what glory Saint Cuthbert lived after his death', says Bede seven chapters after he had recorded the death of St Hild.[10] The editors of the Latin, the scholars who studied the artwork of the Lindisfarne Gospels for the first facsimile of the manuscript, T. Julian Brown and Rupert L.S. Bruce-Mitford, suggest that the saint's glory lies in the association of the carrying of his relics with the Gospels.[11] The four collects copied by Aldred into the Durham Collectar celebrate liturgically the feast-day of the saint. The colophon in the Gospels associates Eadfrith, bishop of Lindisfarne Church, with the magnificently written Latin, Æthelwald, the bishop of the Lindisfarne islanders, with the beautiful covering of the book, and the anchorite Billfrith with the richly jewelled gold and silver ornaments of the book.

The fourth part, St John, is associated with Aldred himself. On the great feast-days the monks would have seen that book lying on the altar, taken from the table of the Lord when the Gospel for the day was read from it. The art of the book, the writing and ornamentation inside and the rich covers in which it was bound, these were great works of devotion to God, but the words in the language of Northumbria as written by Aldred, are for the community of St Cuthbert, for their understanding in English. Most of the community, of course, would not normally have had access to the book itself. (Farman and Owun, who wrote the interlinear glosses in the Macregol or Rushworth Gospels, must have had access to the Lindisfarne Gospels, because some of their glosses appear to be indebted to Aldred's.[12])

Aldred claimed association with St John's Gospel. His glosses to that gospel show a slightly freer handling of the word-for-word translation than in the three preceding gospels. Some Anglo-Saxonists have toyed with the idea that Aldred used, for his glossing of John, Bede's rendering into English of that Gospel. That rendering is no longer extant. It is referred to in the Deacon Cuthbert's letter describing Bede's death, as being translated into English

century. Nothing now known is sufficient to establish a reason why the colophon and the three collects for St Cuthbert should have been written so far away from Chester-le-Street.

8 Ker, 'Aldred the Scribe', p. 12; H. Wanley, *Librorum Veterum Septentrionalium Catalogus* (vol. II of G. Hickes, *Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Thesaurus* (Oxford, 1705)), p. 298.

9 On the complexities of the process see Stancliffe in this volume.

10 *HE* IV.30, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 442–3.

11 *Cod. Lind.* II, pp. 11–6.

12 BodL, Auct. D.II.19. The view has been advanced that Aldred and Farman and perhaps even Aldred and Owun have a common source for their glossing, cf. T. Kotake, 'Lindisfarne and Rushworth One Reconsidered', *Notes and Queries* 257 (2012), 14–9, and R. Stanton, *The Culture of Translation in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 52. It is impossible to prove or disprove that view, though errors and odd placing of glosses in the Rushworth Gospels look like mistakes that have arisen because of lay-out problems and oddities in Aldred's glossing, making the view unlikely that the Rushworth glossators and Aldred derive their glosses from a common source.

by Bede when he was dying.[13] There is no evidence for the view that Aldred used it, just sentiment.

Sentiment should play no part in the study of Aldred's interlinear glosses unless it is understood as respect for the intellectual quality of his work, combined with humility because, as we read him over a thousand years later, we are conscious of our insufficient knowledge of his dialect, Bede's vernacular. We must take care not to speak lightly of linguistic error in his words or his syntax. When his understanding is unexpected, that is perhaps because it is based on the presumption that the gospellers, each writing a part of the word of God (as translated into the Vulgate), have secreted into it a divinely inspired polysemia.

I like to think – but have only oblique evidence for the thought – that Aldred had a special affinity with John's Gospel because of the thirteen words that begin it, the first eleven of which are inscribed gloriously on the opening pages (fol. 211r to 211v: ill. XVI): IN PRINCIPIO ERAT UERBUM ET UERBUM ERAT APUD D*EU*M ET D*EU*S ERAT UERBUM. This he glossed word for word in very small writing. The explication he added is of the greatest significance: *in fruma uæs uord & uord þæt is godes sunu uæs mið god feder god uæs uord*, 'In the beginning was the word and the word – that is the Son of God – was with God the Father: God was the Word'. The meaning of the 'word' as 'that is the Son of God' and again 'God was the word' goes back to the commentaries, and resides in the polysemy of Greek λογος. For a man whose character is defined by his word-for-word, often morpheme-by-morpheme glossing, there was surely a palpable attractiveness in this verse: it embraces all creation, all discourse divine and human – thus embracing the Gospels, the writings of St John, Jerome and other Fathers, and lowest of all, of Aldred the priest.

4 The Meaning of Words, and Alternative Meaning

The way Aldred annotated the words is meaningful: he adds that, at its second use, *uerbum* is God the Son. At its first use he had understood the word to be present in the beginning, *in principio*, the weighty opening words of Genesis; *deus* is God the Father Aldred says, and John says that God was the word. Aldred does not always make the text easier by annotation. Sometimes he gives a variant introduced by *uel* (written *ł*) 'or'. Some of his alternative readings are phonological, some are syntactical; thus in the next two verses he tells the reader that *nihil* may be rendered by *noht ł næniht* without change of meaning, *in ipso* may be either 'in him' or 'in that one', *in him ł in ðæm.*

5 Aldred's Further Explications are Written in the Margin

Whereas Aldred, when glossing interlinearly, is usually brutally literal, he allows himself a little more scope in his marginal annotations. As Boyd says, 'in some seventy explanatory notes, made usually in the margins of the text, and occasionally interlineally, Aldred is able to expand on his interpretations to some extent'.[14]

After the magnificent opening of the book (fol. 27r: ill. VI) and before the superb *chi-rho* page of Matthew 1.18 (fol. 29r: ill. VII), the intervening verses of the first chapter of the Gospel are less dramatic, just the record of the genealogy of Joseph, and therefore of Jesus Christ. Aldred expands what is now verse 6.[15] His marginal note on Uriah appears in the verse which in the King James Bible reads, 'And Iesse begate Dauid the King, & Dauid the King begat Solomon of her that had bin the wife of Vrias'.[16] In Old English the gloss on *URIÆ* 'of Uriah' is *uᵘries wif*. Aldred's marginal annotation (fol. 27v) explaining 'of Uriah' is: *ðæs cempa. hine geheht dauid ofslaa fᵒʳe hire ðingu*m. *bersabe wæs hire noma. ðy wæs salomones moder ðæs cyniges*, 'of that warrior. David ordered him to be slain for her sake. Bathsheba was the name of her who was the mother of King Solomon'. The annotation here is not anagogical; it does not relate the historical circumstance of Uriah's death to any conceivable higher level of exegesis. Far from it: the syntax of genitive *Uriæ* was clearly explained by *Uᵘries wif*, and the annotation is encyclopaedic and etymological giving her name Bersabe, for whose sake – almost a euphemism – David orders Uriah to be slain.[17]

13 Printed: *HE*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 580–7 at 580–1.

14 W.J.P. Boyd, *Aldred's Marginalia* (Exeter, 1975), p. 5.

15 Manuscript layout, *per cola et commata*, made it easy to see where a larger sense unit ended, and such a sense unit often corresponds to a verse of the Bible. That goes back, it is thought, to Jerome himself for the Vulgate. The numbering of biblical verses, however, goes back no further than 1551, in Robert Estienne's fourth edition of the New Testament (*Nouum Iesu Christi D.N. Testamentum* (Geneva: Robertus Stephanus, 1551)). See B. Hall, 'Biblical Scholarship: editions and commentaries', *The Cambridge History of the Bible III: The West from the Reformation to the Present Day*, ed. S.L. Greenslade (Cambridge, 1963), 38–93, at p. 62.

16 *The Holy Bible, an exact reprint ... of the Authorized Version ... 1611*, introd. A.W. Pollard (London, 1911).

17 Cf. Boyd, *Aldred's Marginalia*, p. 6.

In the unique lay-out of the Lindisfarne Gospels there is a new title preceding Matthew 1.18 (the *chi-rho* page: ill. VII) announcing again: INCIPIT EVANGELIUM SECVNDVM MATTHEVM.[18] Before Aldred gets any further he explains in a marginal annotation: *uute^{o}dlice*[19] *suæ wæs cristes cneureso* 'verily, such was Christ's generation'.[20] Verse 18 relates the Immaculate Conception, and Aldred first of all by alternative glossing explains that *generatio* means in English *cynnreccenise* perhaps 'lineage' and *cneures^{u}u* 'generation',[21] and on the same page he has four near-synonymous past participles to render DESPONSATA (feminine singular) 'wedded' of Mary to Joseph: *biwoedded ł beboden ł befeastnad ł betaht*, perhaps 'betrothed or entrusted (to the care of Joseph) or troth-plighted or pledged'. Commenting on the final word, the *Dictionary of Old English* [*DOE*] suggests, 'the last of a sequence of glosses which combine to mean "to commit in marriage, betroth"'.[22] I am not sure if it is not rather that each of these four past participles enshrines an aspect of betrothal, and of the handing over of Mary to Joseph, and the mutual plighting or pledging. In the margin there is a further explanation spelling out what DESPONSATA implies in the unique case of Mary and Joseph: *to gemanne nalles to habban f*or *wif*, 'to take care of, not at all to possess as a woman'. In other words, Joseph's cherishment of Mary is not that of a sexual relationship. There is a further significant marginal elucidation of what that relationship means.[23] Mary and the Holy Ghost CONUENIRENT 'had come together carnally', rendered *gegeadradon ł gecuomun*. *DOE*, s.v. *gegadrian*, 1.b.i., gives this sense: 'of a man and of woman: to join in a sexual union or marriage'. I think 'or marriage' is not the same, and may just be *DOE*'s polite euphemism, cleaning up the sexually explicit Gospel.[24] Aldred's elucidation is an encyclopaedic reference to Abiathar, who has not been mentioned here, but is referred to at Mark 2.26 (fol. 99r, column 2, line 1, seventy pages later). Aldred assumes in his readers a learned understanding of the gospels; his elucidation was for me an obfuscation till I had looked up what the reference to Abiathar might mean, and I am still not sure if I understand the reference.[25] Abiathar is to be understood as a strict enforcer of the Divine Law in the days of David, a high priest who, as interpreted by Mark, was taught by David to relax his severity,[26] because, in the words of the King James Bible (Mark 2.27), 'The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath'. Aldred writes in relation to Matthew 1.18 (in the margin of fol. 29r): *Abiathar ðe aldormon wæs in ðæm tid in Hierusalem forebiscob. He bebeod Maria Iosephe to gemenne & to begeonganne mið claennisse*, 'The Pontifex Abiathar was at that time high bishop in Jerusalem. He committed Mary to Joseph to take care of and to attend to chastely'. There is in this obscure clarification a merging of two distinct times, the age of David and Abiathar, and the much later age of Mary and Joseph, and of the gospellers who were their contemporaries. The word *forebiscob* comes only here, with a punctus before and after it, presumably to indicate an unusual use, much as we might use inverted commas. Aldred is, it seems, trying to make a high priest's office reconcilable with that of a bishop, adding *fore-* without actually equating the highest rank in King David's Jerusalem with an archbishop in Aldred's day. My use of 'high bishop' tries to replicate Aldred's reluctance to use the title 'archbishop' for an Israelite priest.

6 What Might *bebbisca* Mean?[27]

Some of Aldred's glosses and annotations are difficult, and for anyone a thousand years and more later to attempt an explanation one or more steps of reasoning have to be supplied – steps that are not even hinted at directly or symbolically by Aldred. Subtle explications

18 See *Nouum Testamentum Domini Notri Iesu Christi Latine*, ed. J. Wordsworth, H.J. White, H.F.D. Sparks and A.W. Adams, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1889–1954): I, 44; their commentary on verse 17 shows Lindisfarne to be unique in having this incipit.

19 Such complications as the superscript '^{o}' above 'e' are perhaps best explained as indicating an alternative spelling: read the word as either *uutedlice* or *uutodlice*, whichever you prefer.

20 Cf. Boyd, *Aldred's Marginalia*, pp. 6–10.

21 Aldred had used the same two words (spelt slightly differently) to render the words GENELOGIA *cynnreccenisse* and GENERATIONIS *cneurise* of Matthew 1.1 (the great incipit page, fol. 27r).

22 A. Cameron, A.C. Amos and A. diPaolo Healey (ed.), *Dictionary of Old English* (Toronto, 1986-), s.v. *betæcen*, 2.d.

23 I ignore a minor double gloss for SIC, rendered *suæ ł ðus*, a word or two before Matthew embarks on the Immaculate Conception.

24 It is well to remember that *coitus* meant 'a coming together' before the current sense of *coition* (or *coitus* later in English), 'sexual intercourse', was established as the sense of the word, around 1600.

25 Though Boyd, *Aldred's Marginalia*, p. 9, is some slight help.

26 See I Samuel 22.20-23.9, the role played by Abiathar in the relationship of Saul and David. It appears that the high priest's vestment, the *ephod*, is of importance in that role.

27 A version of part of this section was published, in connection with Aldred's four St Cuthbert collects in the Durham Collectar, as 'Aldred among the West Saxons: Bamburgh, and What *bebbisca* Might Mean', *Aspects of Anglo-Saxon and Medieval England*, ed. M. Ogura (Frankfurt, 2014), 9–24.

are not likely to convince, even when an explicator might be tempted to claim that there can be no doubt. This section deals with a vernacular obscurity, the adjective *bebbisc*, used by Aldred as if it should help his readers to understand *Nazarenus*. Like that Latin adjective, his word is, I suggest, onomastic. The pivotal figure in this explanation is Bebba, queen of Bernicia, whose name is preserved in the name of the Northumbrians' holy city of Bamburgh. Aldred's use is arguably venerative of a saintly queen.

The place-name Nazareth, and the adjective *Nazarenus* derived from it, occur more than twenty times in the gospels.[28] Occasionally Aldred leaves them unglossed, occasionally he explains them a little (e.g., Mark 1.9 *nazareth ðær byrig*, 'from Nazareth the city'); most often his are not very exciting glosses for either word, manifesting minor differences in spelling. Once, however, at Luke 18.37, he adds an obscure marginal explanation to a straightforward gloss. The context, the healing of a blind man (Luke 18.35-43), is in no way obscure – to which at verse 37 Aldred adds his explanation: NAZARENUS *nazarenisca ł* [in the margin:] *ðe bebbisca .i. allsua monn cuoeðas* 'the *Bebbish i.e. as one says'.[29] The synoptic Gospels relate the matter: Matthew 20.29-34, and Mark 10.46-52, which at verse 46 gives the name of the blind man with that of his father, FILIUS TIMAEI BARTIMAEUS, *sunu timæies* (BARTIMAEUS unglossed). Mark's naming of the blind man seems quite irrelevant for an understanding of the marginal explanation at Luke 18.37, and the full context in Luke suggests no help either with Aldred's obscure *bebbisca*.[30] The dictionaries do not do well with the adjective. *DOE* prints the headword with a question mark, *?bebbisc*, and suggests that the word is perhaps a 'miscopying of *hehbisc*' (for *hehbiscop* 'pontifex, pontiff'), adducing a use of PONTIFICEM MAGNUM glossed by Aldred in the Durham Collectar *hehbisc' micil*.[31] How Aldred came to miscopy what he had not yet written is not explained in *DOE*, and no examples are provided to illustrate where else he miscopied biblical texts. Cook gives the word *bebbisc*, parses it, but offers no meaning.[32] Toller quotes the text accurately, and attempts no explanation.[33] Other dictionaries have nothing. Adjectives formed like *bebbisc* by adding *-isc* (often with a preceding geminate consonant) are recorded in Old English: common *mennisc* 'human'; rare *gimmisc* cf. *gim*(*m*) 'jewel', *gullisc* perhaps connected with *gold*, *gylden*.[34]

By the time Aldred was glossing the Lindisfarne Gospels, the book with the relics of St Cuthbert were further south than Lindisfarne, at Chester-le-Street. Lindisfarne, called Holy Island, at least since *c.* 1125,[35] and the Farne Islands too must have been at all times in the pious memory of the members of this community. St Aidan (d. 651), first bishop of Lindisfarne, had been called from the Farne Islands to Lindisfarne; St Cuthbert was

28 Matthew 2.23, 4.13, 21.11, 26.71; Mark 1.9, 24, 10.47, 14.67, 16.6; Luke 1.26, 2.4, 39, 51, 4.16, 4.34, 18.37, 24.19; John 1.45, 46, 18.5, 7, 19.19. Aldred leaves it unglossed at Matthew 2.23, 21.11; Luke 1.26. It is glossed at Matthew 4.13 CIUITATE NAZARETH *ceastra natzareðes* (gen. sg. masc.), 26.71 NAZARENO *nazarenesco*; Mark 1.9 A NAZARETH *fr*om *Nazareth ðær byrig* 'from Nazareth the city' (*ðær byrig* in the margin), 1.24 NAZARENE (vocative) *ðe nazarene*, 10.47 NAZARENUS *nazaresca*, 14.67 NAZARENO *ðæm nazarenesco*, 16.6 NAZARENUM *nazarenasca*; Luke 2.4 NAZARETH *nazareth*, 2.39 NAZARETH *nazar'*, 2.51 NAZARETH *to naza'*, 4.16 NAZARETH *to naza'*, 4.34 NAZARENAE *nazarenesca*, 18.37 NAZARENUS *nazarenisca l'* [in the margin:] *ðe bebbisca .i. allsua monn cuoeðas*, 24.19 DE IH'U NAZARENO *fr*om *ł of ðæm nazarenisco hælend*; John 1.45 A NAZARETH *fr*om *ðær byrig*, 1.46 A NAZARETH *of nazareth*, 18.5 NAZARENUM *natzarenisca*, 18.7 IH'M NAZARENUM *hæl' ðone nazarenesca*, 19.19 NAZARENUS *ðe natzarenisca*.

29 *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum libri XX*, ed. W.M. Lindsay, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1911), VII. xiv 2, VIII. v 9, X. 190, s.v. *Nazaraeus*, has the word and shows (at VII. xiv 2) that it was used opprobriously by Jews of Christians.

30 *The New Testament ... Translated Faithfully into English out of the authentical Latin ... in the English College of Rhemes* (Rhemes 1582), p. 192; Luke 18.35-43:

> 35 And it came to passe, when he [Jesus] drew nigh to Iericho, a certaine blinde man sate by the way, begging. 36 And when he heard the multitude passing by, he asked what this should be. 37 And they told him that IESVS of Nazareth passed by. 38 And he cried saying, IESVS Sonne of Dauid, haue mercie vpon me. 39 And they that went before, rebuked him, that he should hold his peace. But he cried much more, Sonne of Dauid haue mercie vpon me. 40 And IESVS standing, commaunded him to be brought vnto him. And when he was come neere, he asked him, 41 saying, What wilt thou that I doe to thee? but he said, Lord, that I may see. 42 And IESVS said to him, Do thou see, thy faith hath made thee whole. 43 And forthwith he saw, and folowed him magnifying God. And al the people as they saw it, gaue praise to God.

The King James Bible is not significantly different for these verses.

31 *Rituale Ecclesiae* Dunelmensis, ed. Lindelöf, p. 91, line 1; cf. *Durham Collectar*, ed. Corrêa, p. 208, no. 556; Hebrews 4.14.

32 A.S. Cook (ed.), *A Glossary of the Old Northumbrian Gospels* (Halle, 1894), p. 16.

33 T.N. Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary ... Supplement* (Oxford, 1908–21), p. 66.

34 Cf. *OED* s.v. *-ish* suffix[1].

35 See A. Mawer, *The Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham* (Cambridge, 1920), p. 116, citing William Greenwell (ed.), *Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis*, SS 58 (1871).

also called to Lindisfarne from the Farne Islands, to which he returned to die.[36] On the mainland is Bamburgh, the second element of which is *burh* 'stronghold; township, village, town', the first element the hypocoristic form of a name, Bebba, also Bæbba, the name of the queen of Bernicia, Æthelfrith's queen, an important figure in the history of the Northumbrian kingdoms. The history of these northern lands is the story of royal saints, with King Oswald, son of Æthelfrith by Ælcha (his second wife), also significant for Bamburgh.[37] I believe that *bebbisc* is the adjective derived from Bebba, and with her holy connections, mentioned several times by Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History*, it is likely that something venerative is involved. It is not impossible to construct a hypothetical scene – by imaginative speculation, a highly questionable activity for an academic to engage in – an explanation therefore why a devout glossator might equate *bebbisc* with Nazarene. Matthew 2.22-3, the first occurrence of the word 'Nazarene' in the four Gospels (in the order of the Vulgate), may explain it sufficiently, Joseph's dream, in the Rhemes New Testament:[38]

> But hearing that Archelaus reigned in Iewrie for Herod his father, he feared to goe thither: and being warned in sleepe retyred into the quarters of Galilee. And coming he dwelt in a citie called Nazareth: that it might be fulfilled which was sayd by the Prophetes: That he [Jesus] shal be called a Nazarite.

To cut a long and twisted explanation short: I think *nazarenisca ł ðe bebbisca .i. allsua monn cuoeðas* means, 'the Nazarene, or as one says, named after the nearby holy city, in our case *Bebbisc*, after Bamburgh' – i.e. in Palestine they called Jesus 'the Nazarene' after their holy city much as we might have called him 'the man from Bamburgh' after our holy city here in Northumbria.

7 The Beatitudes in Matthew Explained Further in the Margin

The Beatitudes received from Aldred a more extensive commentary than he devoted to other groups of divine statements; and they are to be considered as forming a unit even though, as he goes to each difficulty one by one, his commentary does not form a unity. They show Aldred's profound wish to get their difficult sense right.

The King James Bible has at Matthew 5.3, the First Beatitude, 'Blessed *are* the poore in spirit', *are* in italics because that verb has nothing to correspond to it in the Greek; and the Latin of the Lindisfarne Gospels has no such verb either, BEATI PAUPERES SP*IRITU*. Aldred, like the translators of the King James Bible, felt that English syntax requires the verb 'to be', and he adds (above the line of glossing) the present indicative plural *biðon*; its predicate is *eadge* 'blessed' (fol. 34r, column 2, line 1). The sense of *pauperes* is difficult; 'poor', but does that mean 'needy' here? It matters: these are Christ's first words in his Sermon on the Mount. At Luke 6.20 the Vulgate Sermon and therefore the Lindisfarne Gospels have nothing corresponding to *spiritu*, and Aldred had no need to struggle with the meaning as he does in the margin of Matthew 5.3 (fol. 34r, column 2), where he gives an alternative: *eadge biðon ða ðaerf*end*e þæt is unspoedge menn ł unsynnige f*or*ðon hia agan godes* [gast],[39] 'blessed are the needy, that is, unprosperous or innocent people, for they have God's [*spirit*]'.

The meaning of 'poor' and of how the spirit affects the poor, these are the problems Aldred has to face. Does 'poore in spirit' mean in the first place 'needy, indigent'? How does the Spirit come into it? In Modern English we can fudge the solution by using the adverb, 'spiritually poor'. Aldred was troubled, and he used *of gaste*, which could be rendered 'spiritually', but the alternative *fro*m

36 *Two Lives of St Cuthbert*, ed. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 96–7, 214–5, 292–3, 313, 325–6, 337. Bamburgh was the first great repository of the relics of saints, found incorrupt when their tombs were opened, an incorruption thought a monkish imposture by the Anglican J. Raine (*Saint Cuthbert: with an Account of the State in which his Remains were found upon the Opening of his Tomb in Durham Cathedral, in the Year* MDCCCVII (Durham, 1828), p. 75 and *passim*), an insulting view hotly controverted by the Roman Catholic John Lingard (*Remarks on the 'Saint Cuthbert' of the Rev. James Raine* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1828), *passim*).

37 For the place-name evidence see Mawer, *Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham*, pp. 10, 244 (Bebba), 224 (*burh*). For the historical record see Nennius in *English Historical Documents I c. 500–1042*, ed. D. Whitelock, 2nd ed. (London, 1979), p. 262; *HE* ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 218–9 n. 4, 231 and n., 252 and n. 1, 262 and n. 1; J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People. A Historical Commentary* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 97, 105–6, 109–10; *Relics*, ed. Battiscombe, pp. 36 n. 1, 116–7, 121, 135. Oswald's incorrupt hands were at Bamburgh according to the Peterborough Chronicle entry for 641 (*MS E*, ed. S. Irvine, The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 7 (Cambridge, 2004), p. 25).

38 *The New Testament ... Translated Faithfully*, p. 6.

39 Above PAUPERES the gloss *ðærfendo* has been corrected to *ðorfendo*; *of gaste* has above it *ł fro*m. In the marginal explanation [*gast*] is cut off by the binders, and the reading *godes gast* is not certain (cf. for all the Beatitudes Boyd, *Aldred's Marginalia*, pp. 10–4).

gaste seems to mean rather 'transmitted by the Spirit'. The Beatitudes at first sight refer to this world: poverty in the First Beatitude; mourners in the Second Beatitude; in the Third Beatitude the meek, in Old English *ða milde* 'the mild' or perhaps 'the merciful'; and the merciful come in again clearly in the Fifth Beatitude. The Fourth Beatitude is on those that 'doe hunger and thirst'; yet what they feel hunger and thirst for is *iustitia*, 'righteousness, justice'; the pure in heart come next; followed by the peacemakers, and in two Beatitudes those who are persecuted, reviled, and falsely accused. The dictionaries of Old English, none of them more recent than the late nineteenth to early twentieth century, give for *unsp*(*o*)*edig* nothing other than (I quote Bosworth-Toller[40]), 'without means, poor, indigent', and for a single poetic use 'barren, poor, unproductive', not relevant here. The alternative for *unspoedge menn* given by Aldred is *unsynnige*; but surely 'unprosperous people, the poor' are not necessarily 'those without sin', however prosperity is understood. The dictionaries do a little better for *sp*(*o*)*edig* (again from Bosworth-Toller), 'having good speed, prosperous; having means, wealthy, opulent, rich in material wealth; rich in, abounding in, abundant, copious; powerful'. What is missing, except in so far as it may be present in the adjective 'prosperous', is the sense that prosperity relevant to the First Beatitude is divinely ordained; it is at once *of ł fro*m *gaste* 'of the Spirit and from the Spirit', where 'Spirit', SP'U, refers to the Holy Ghost. I take it that Aldred in his marginal explication is suggesting that true prosperity is not of this world, and people of that true wealth share in the Holy Ghost.

For the Second Beatitude in the Vulgate (Matthew 5.4), the Rhemes Version (1582) has, 'Blessed are the meeke: for they shal possesse the land'. This corresponds to the King James Bible (1611), Matthew 5.5: 'Blessed are the meeke: for they shall inherit the earth'. The Vulgate has *mites*, the plural of *mitis*, which in Lewis and Short is rendered 'mild, mellow, mature, ripe; *of the soil,* mellow, light, kindly, fruitful; *of a river,* calm, gentle, placid'.[41] Aldred's *ða milde* 'the mild' (plural) is straightforward.[42] The gloss for Christ's explanation, *quoniam ipsi pos*(*s*)*idebunt*[43] *terram*, namely *forðon ða agnegað eorðo* 'for those own the earth', is straightforward too, remembering always that future is not available in Old English tense forms, so that 'those own' means also 'those will own'. The marginal annotation, however, is not straightforward, *forðon ða milde gbyes hli\f/giendr*a *eorðo*, 'for those mild ones (will) inhabit the earth of the living'. I think Aldred is here dealing with a possible legal complication in this world. If 'those mild ones will inhabit the earth of the living', what about the property rights of 'the living'? Are they simply expropriated? Christ's promise so understood requires in justice a transfer in the right of ownership of property from 'the living' to 'those mild ones'. Anglo-Saxon England had in the tenth century a well-developed legal system of property rights. Aldred in his explication of the Second Beatitude has not fully solved the legal problem involved. Or, more probably, I have not understood him.

Aldred has no marginal explication of the (Vulgate's) Third Beatitude.

The Fourth Beatitude reads in the King James Bible (Matthew 5.6): 'Blessed are they which doe hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled'. Aldred in his interlinear gloss has the minor complication that for SATURABUNTUR he gives *gefylled biðon ł geriorded* 'will be filled or refreshed with food'. He needs that for his marginal explanation. In it he reverses the order of hunger and thirst, and his explanation makes clear the syntax of inflected singular *soðfæstnisse* (glossing accusative IUSTITIAM), *æfter soðfæstnisse* 'hunger and thirst for righteousness', and adds a higher level of exegesis: *forðon ða gefylled biðon in ece lif* 'because those will be filled in eternal life'.

Aldred has no marginal explanation of the Fifth Beatitude.

The Sixth Beatitude is clarified interlinearly, and in the margin heightened exegetically. The King James Bible (Matthew 5.8) reads: 'Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God'. Aldred finds the ablative CORDE of *cor* 'heart' not explicit enough in its relationship to MUNDO dative or ablative of *mundus* 'clean', and he glosses it *of ł from hearte* with some such distinction as, cumbrously rendered, 'clean as regards the heart, or, clean as a consequence of the quality of the heart'. He adds this marginal explanation: *eadge biðon ða clæne hearte bute esuice & eghuoelcum facne forðon hia geceas god in ecnisse* 'blessed are pure hearts without guile and (without) any deceit because God has chosen them in eternity'.

In the Seventh Beatitude Aldred twice introduces synonyms, and we do not know Old English well enough to be sure what shades of meaning may be involved. The

40 Joseph Boswell and T. Northcote Toller (ed.), *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford, 1882–1898), and *Supplement* by Toller (1908–21).

41 C.T. Lewis and C. Short (ed.), *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1879), s.v.

42 The parallel in Psalm 36.1 (Vulgate) has *mansueti*, not *mites*; *meek* is a Scandinavian loanword, not recorded in English before about 1200.

43 Of the 29 Gospel manuscripts collated in *Nouum Testamentum*, ed. Wordsworth and White, I, p. 54, only the Lindisfarne Matthew Gospel has *posidebunt* for *possidebunt*.

Vulgate's plural PACIFICI (Matthew 5.9) is rendered 'peacemakers', a calque on the Latin; earlier 'pesible [= peaceable] men' (Wyclif, both versions), 'maynteyners of peace' (Tyndale), then consistently 'peacemakers'.[44] There are subtle semantic differences between these words and phrases. There may be subtle differences between the two words given by Aldred, plural *si\b/sume* 'peaceable', and in the margin (fol. 34r, column 2) *ł friðgeorne*, a word that occurs only in Aldred's use here: perhaps he coined it, and written (as compounds always are written in Old English) as two words, perhaps 'eager for peace'. For UOCABUNTUR 'they will be called' Aldred gives the alternatives *geceigd biðon ł genemned* 'they will be called or named'. The marginal annotation attached to *friðgeorne* is interesting: *eadge biðon ða friðgeorne ða ðe hea buta eghwoelcum flita & toge behalda*[*s*] *ða sint godes sun*[*a*] *genemned*[45] 'blessed are the peace-seekers, who keep themselves[46] without any contention and violence,[47] they are called the sons of God'. Again Aldred introduces a higher level of exegesis.

Aldred introduces no explanatory wording for the Eighth Beatitude, Matthew 5.10 (fol. 34v, column 1).

It is easy to see that the Beatitudes are of importance in Christian teaching and of importance, therefore, to Aldred. A higher level of exegesis is appropriate for a scholarly reading of the Bible: *pauperes spiritu* ('the poor in spirit') of the First Beatitude; what fills *ða ðe ðyrstas & hyncgras æfter soðfæstnisse* ('those who thirst and hunger for righteousness') shall be revealed *in ece lif* ('in eternal life'). But how exactly are we to understand the ablative *corde*? It matters: *of ł from hearte*. The unity of Aldred's glossing and exegesis of the Beatitudes rests on the analytical fineness of his understanding.

8 The Ambiguity of MALUM at Luke 6.22

Aldred offers no significant alternative gloss to the Beatitudes in Luke, till he gets to MALUM in the last Beatitude (Luke 6.22), an accusative which at Matthew 5.11 he had glossed as *yfel* 'evil' without alternative. With short 'a' accusative *malum* means 'evil', with long 'ā' the word means some fruit, normally 'apple', and also a fruit-tree, 'apple-tree'; the two words are, of course, not distinguished by any diacritic in the Latin of the Gospel. At Luke 6.22 Aldred (fol. 154r, column 2, line 5) has the alternative gloss *yfel ł apoltre*. This Beatitude in Luke requires some elucidation of 'separate' in the King James Bible, and so the Rhemes version, which renders the Vulgate and not the Greek, is preferable:[48] 'Blessed shal you be when men shal hate you, and when they shal separate you, and vpbraide you, and abandon your name as euil, for the sonne of mans sake'. The Vulgate SEPARAUERINT is glossed by Aldred *to sceadon ł sceadas*, where *sceadas* requires the prefix *to* to be repeated, *to-sceadas*. The second verb form is present, and the first verb form is preterite plural, rendering the Latin future perfect, which we, in our more complex tense system, render by what serves as a future perfect, so that Aldred's gloss is 'will have separated or separate'. The phrase 'and abandon your name as euil' is easy enough; the Latin is ET EIECERINT NOMEN UESTRU*M* TAM QUAM MALUM. This is rendered in Aldred's word-for-word gloss *& auorpað noma iuer suelce yfel ł apoltre*, 'and cast out your name as if evil or apple-tree'. Read it as you will: does it make sense? Why did Aldred not think of this alternative gloss for *malum* for the same Beatitude in Matthew? He should have known the parallel since it is registered in the fifth canon table of the two Gospels, Matthew and Luke, in the preliminaries of the manuscript. If one works long enough on an author, one begins to think that where the author does not make sense he, Aldred in this case, must have meant something: evil here refers to the tree of knowledge of good and evil (Genesis 2.9, 17). But evil simply does not mean apple-tree, and it matters whether the length of the *a* in *malum* is long or short. Biblical meaning, however, is often veiled, and to grasp the complexity of the Sermon on the Mount every conceivable sense deserves to be mentioned with humility by a wise glossator.

44 William Tyndale (trans.), *The New Testament 1526*, ed. W.R. Cooper, Preface by D. Daniell (London, 2000), p. 10; *The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments … by John Wycliffe and his Followers*, ed. J. Forshall and F. Madden, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1850), IV, p. 10; *The English Hexapla exhibiting the six important English translations of the New Testament Scriptures* (London: Simon Bagster 1841): no pagination and unsigned, with Tyndale 1834 as the first use of 'peacemakers'.

45 The last letters of *behaldas* and *suna* have been cut off by the binders.

46 The wording is slightly obscure, with *behaldan hea* reflexive, probably 'keep themselves'.

47 The noun *tog* occurs only here. With the prefix *for-* (and suffixes) it and related verbs occur for 'cramp, colic' in medical texts. It is related to *teon* (past participle *togen*) 'pull, drag'. In his etymological discussion, W. Wissmann, *Nomina Postverbalia in den altergermanischen Sprachen* (Göttingen, 1932), p. 57, renders *tog* in Aldred's marginal annotation of Matthew 5:9 as *Bemühung* '(strenuous) endeavour', but that sense does not go well with *flit* 'contention' contrasted with peaceableness. A.S. Cook (ed.), *A Glossary of the Old Northumbrian Gospels* (Halle, 1894), p. 187, renders the word by 'strife'.

48 *The New Testament … Translated Faithfully,* p. 152.

It could be said perversely or paradoxically that every one of Aldred's clarifications is an obfuscation for the modern reader. I have given some of my favourite examples – 'evil or appletree', 'Bebbish as one says', and the implications of the Beatitudes being explained by Aldred till obscurity had been imposed on them.

9 Open Alternatives, Nothing after *uel*

Often an explanation is needed of why Aldred inserts some word or gives an alternative Old English gloss for a familiar Latin word, *sabbatum*, for example. John 5.9-10, the very place where he changed from brown ink to red, provides what looks like problematic glossing involving this word. The Vulgate reads (John 5.9-10):[49]

9 et statim sanus factum est homo
et sustulit grabattum suum et ambulabat
erat autem sabbatum in illo die
10 dicebant ergo[50] iudaei illi qui sanatus fuerat
sabbatum est non licet tibi tollere grabattum tuum

Rendered in the Rhemes New Testament:[51]

9 And forthwith he was made whole: and he tooke vp
his bed, and walked. And it was the Sabboth that day.
10 The Iewes therfore said to him that was healed, It
is the Sabboth, thou maist not take vp thy bed.

Aldred glosses the text:

9 & recone ł hal awarð ł geuorden uæs ðe monn
& genom ł underhof beer his & geade ł geongende
uæs
uæs uut' iude' sunnedaeg in ðæm dæge
10 cuoedon iud' ðæm seðe gehæled uæs
symbel dæg is ne is gelefed ł ðe þæt ðu geniomæ
beer ðin

Throughout his work Aldred often has *ł* without an alternative gloss. It is not clear what such open alternatives mean. Here *recone ł* glosses STATIM, and *is gelefed ł* glosses LICET. Perhaps it means that if the reader does not like *recone*, one or other of several glosses used elsewhere by Aldred may be substituted, *sona* or *æc sona*, or *hrað*e. For *is gelefed* no alternative is obvious, and Aldred has the same open alternative at John 18.31 also for LICET. My guess is that he thinks that *is alefed* would be an obvious alternative; he has used that at Mark 2.24, 3.4, and Luke 6.9. His glossing might be thought a do-it-yourself gloss, if that is what he means the reader to do. Put less negatively, Aldred may have thought very often that the user of his gloss is learned enough to supply an alternative. If he were not learned he would not have been given access to this important treasure of the community, of which the gloss, though a significant part of the Word, is not the most striking part within what Aldred would have thought of as the celebration of St Cuthbert in the house of St Cuthbert, and what we might think of as the high art of Northumbria.

It is not so easy to give a reason for Aldred's rendering at John 5.9 AUTEM by *uut' iude'*. The spacing of the gloss in the manuscript, fol. 220r, column 2, line 21, is not quite clear: *iude'* might go with *uut'* and act as a gloss of AUTEM, as Skeat prints it (he has *iud* followed by an accusing '(*sic*)').[52] But it must surely go rather with *sunnedaeg* – the Sabbath is the Sunday for the Jews. The West-Saxon Gospels have *reste-dæg* in both verse 9 and 10;[53] Aldred has *symbel dæg* 'feast-day' in verse 10. He had correctly analysed the problem at Matthew 12.8, where he glossed SABBATI: *to sunna dæ ł to seternes dæg* and in the margin explained *þæt wæs ðæra iudea sunna dæg* 'that was the Sunday of the Jews'. Clearly *iude'* stands for genitive rather than dative plural, *iudea* not *iudeum* – the mark of abbreviation has the shape used for any letter or letters left off.[54] (If there is any doubt or difficulty, it is better to go to the facsimile and check, or best to go and look at the manuscript itself, if the authorities will let one.) Aldred must have been learned, and at the same time he was humble enough to assume that those who consult his gloss would understand his puzzling open alternatives and strange explications, *bebbisc* and 'evil or appletree', and why Sunday does well for the Sabbath in some contexts. He thought about the meaning and grammar of words, and whether in some contexts a further explanation might be required.

At the beginning of this paper I referred to Matthew 20.28 REDEMTIONEM 'redemption' glossed *eft lesing ł alesenis*, and pointed out that we cannot be sure if Aldred meant the *eft-* of *eftlesing* to be re-applied to create

49 *Nouum Testamentum*, ed. Wordsworth and White, I, pp. 534–5; cf. Lindisfarne fol. 220r, column 2, line 17–220v, column 2, line 3.

50 Lindisfarne omits *ergo*, and the layout *per cola et commata* is not identical with the layout in Wordsworth and White.

51 *The New Testament … Translated Faithfully*, p. 229.

52 *The Holy Gospels in Anglo-Saxon* …, ed. Skeat, IV, p. 46.

53 Conveniently facing the Northumbrian Gospels in *The Holy Gospels in Anglo-Saxon* …, ed. Skeat, IV, p. 47.

54 See *Cod. Lind.*, II, ii, 17–18, where details are given of Aldred's marks of abbreviation.

eft-alesenis. The former is used three times by Aldred, and not by anyone else; *eft-alesenis* (if that is the correct interpretation)[55] occurs only here. Such details mattered to Aldred; in understanding the Bible they matter to all devout interpreters, whether glossators, translators, or exegetes.

10 *Bethlem … unðærfe ðing* (Matthew 2.6)

I finish with what may remind carol singers of Phillips Brooks's 'O little town of Bethlehem'. In the Lindisfarne Gospels no scribal complexity arises in Matthew 2.6. Aldred does not gloss the first of the two occurrences in this verse of IUDA, nor ISRAHEL at the end of the verse: ET TU BETHLEEM TERRA IUDA NEQUAQUAM MINIMA ES IN PRINCIPIBUS IUDA EX TE ENIM EXIET DUX QUI REGET POPULUM MEUM ISRAHEL. The Rhemes New Testament renders the verse, which quotes Micah's prophecy (5.2)[56] that out of Bethlehem a leader shall go forth, interpreted as the birthplace of Jesus: 'And thou Bethlehem the land of Iuda, art not the least among the Princes of Iuda: for out of thee shal come forth the Capitaine that shal rule my people Israel'. Aldred renders the Latin: *& ðu bethlem eorðu* [*IUDA*] *unðærfe ðing lyttel arð in aldormonnum iudæs from ðe forðon ofcymes aldormon ł latua ðe ricses folc minum* [*ISRAHEL*]; 'And thou Bethlehem the land of Judah far from unprosperous little thing among the chiefs of Judah, because from thee goes forth the chief or leader who rules my people Israel'.

The interesting word is *unðærfe*, which I have translated as 'far from unprosperous', *ðærfe* means 'needy, unprosperous' so that with the negative prefix it means 'un-unprosperous'. Aldred is implying that you might think that NEQUAQUAM, 'the little thing' in his translation of Micah (Vulgate Micha 5.2) 'Bethlehem Ephrata paruulus'[57] is more than the words might mean, unless you know that it is the birthplace of Jesus.

Aldred is not alone in making much of the antithesis of the little place, as it were, rented out to Mary and Joseph with insufficient accommodation. T.S. Eliot paid tribute to Lancelot Andrewes, whose clarity and precision in textual matters encourages limited comparison with Aldred.[58] Neither strives for superficial smoothness of utterance. The sense is too important to Lancelot Andrewes, and Aldred follows word for word the sacred Latin text whose *ordo verborum* cannot be accommodated in idiomatic Old English. *Bethlehem Ephrata* matters to Andrewes in a sermon on Micah 5.2, 'A Sermon Preached before the Kings Maiesty, at *White-hall*, on *Moonday* the XXV. of *December, A.D.* MDCXV, *being* CHRIST-MASSE Day':[59]

> And, because there were two *Bethlehems*, One in the *Tribe* of *Zebulon*, (*Ios*. 19.13.) Another, in the *Tribe of Juda*: He saith, it was *Bethlehem Ephrata*, which is that in the Tribe of *Juda*, as *Saint Matthew* (rather giving the sense, then standing on the words) cites it. There can be no errour: *Rachels Sepulcher* was there by: *Rachel was buried, by Ephrata: Ephrata*, *the same is Bethlehem*, (*Moses* tells us, more then a thousand years before, *Gen*., 48.7.) … We haue the *Place*: Now, what manner place is it? *Et tu Bethlehem parvula: Parvula*, This *little*, doth a little trouble us: Why, it is a sorrie poor village, scarce worth an *Apostrophe*;[60] Specially, to turne from *Ierusalem*, to turne to it. And, as little likelihood, that so great a State as the *Guide of the whole world* should come creeping out of such a corner: *Locus & locatum* (ever) are equall.[61] That *Birth* is (sure) too big for this place.

Aldred, by using *unðærfe ðing*, that is, a thing which, now that you know about it, turns out to be not as poor as you will have thought, and Lancelot Andrewes, by calling it 'a sorry poor village' and yet the birthplace of Jesus, draw attention to that incongruity: here took place the greatest event in the history of our salvation, the wonder of it and the glory.

With Lancelot Andrewes as our guide it is easy to recognize the central importance of Bethlehem in our *Heilsgeschichte*. To recognize such moments in the glosses

55 Without *eft-* the word is common, in West Saxon usually spelt *alysnes* and variants.

56 *The New Testament … Translated Faithfully*, p. 5. The King James Bible of 1611 prints the relevant words in Micah 'thou *Beth-leem Ephrata, *though* thou bee little among the thousands of Iudah'. The asterisk directs the reader to the marginal references: 'Matth. 2.6. Ioh. 7.42'.

57 *Biblia Sacra iuxta Latinam Vulgatam Versionem*, 18 vols. (Rome, 1926–95), XVII, p. 180.

58 T.S. Eliot, *For Lancelot Andrewes: Essays on Style and Order* (London, 1928).

59 Lancelot Andrewes, *XCVI Sermons* (London, 1629), 83–95 at 85–6. Andrewes gives the name as Mica, not as Micah in the Geneva Version (and so also in the recently published King James Bible); he, of course, does not use the form Micha of the Vulgate.

60 Referring to the apostrophe at Micah 5.2, '*And thou* Bethlehem Ephrata', and so also Matthew 2.6.

61 'A place and a thing hired out', if I understand it correctly, the place Bethlehem at that point hired out for so great an event as the birth of Jesus.

of Aldred requires more effort of imagination. Lancelot Andrewes is persuasive. My reading of Aldred's *unðærfe ðing* is unlikely to commend itself to the lexicographers of Old English. Let it at least be seen as an attempt to show that Aldred by glossing interlinearly strove to transmit to his Northumbrian readers in their own language the inner meaning of the opulent art manifest in the book we call the Lindisfarne Gospels.

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Understanding the gospel text had by the time of Aldred a long exegetical history. Unless narrowly confined to Old English dialectology, anyone who considers Aldred's interlinear glossing and his further comments in the margin, where there is a little more space, will recognize in him someone trying to make available to his readers in his and their Northumbrian language what the Vulgate gospels mean. One develops a sentimental affinity to him. Sentiment is a danger in academic study. A worse danger in scholarship is imagination. Samuel Richardson's words in his third and, I think, greatest novel are a warning:[62] 'imagination and judgment seldom go together'. Sentiment flourishes when evidence is rare. Imagination on the loose is abandonment of judgement. And yet without sentiment, it is unlikely that one can get near enough to Aldred to understand him in his most unexpected glosses; without imagination, it is impossible to rise with him, when he at his highest strives devoutly to explain the words of the gospels. It is easy to see that his glossation is more than raw material for the study of Old English dialectology; it requires some sentiment, some imagination even, to see that his glossing is the work of an intellectual divine.

62 [Samuel Richardson,] *The History of Sir Charles Grandison* (London: for S. Richardson, 1753–4), III, 219, Letter 22. This wise comment is about the imagination of poets, not of scholars.

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