CANONES: THE ART OF HARMONY

THE CANON TABLES OF THE FOUR GOSPELS

*Edited by Alessandro Bausi,
Bruno Reudenbach and Hanna Wimmer*

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DE GRUYTER

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Canones: The Art of Harmony

I

The so-called canon tables of the Christian gospels are a remarkable feature of the early, late antique, and medieval Christian manuscript cultures of both the East and West. They were devised in the scholarly Christian milieu in Caesarea in the first decades of the fourth century CE. By the third century CE the Palestinian harbour town had become a centre of Christian learning and scribal culture, with its importance exemplified by the work of Origen.[1] This stimulating context brought the canon tables into existence early in the fourth century. They are commonly attributed to Eusebius, who had become bishop of Caesarea around 314.

The problem arising from the one and divine truth being conveyed fourfold via four different gospels posed a considerable challenge to the early Church resulting in attempts to harmonize the four gospels.[2] The *Diatessaron* (*c*.170 CE) by Tatian that transformed the four texts into a single, continuous narrative is well known.[3] Eusebius, however, chose to solve the problem of harmony in a different manner. By inventing the canon tables he sought to preserve the integrity of the four different gospel texts and demonstrate their harmony. The tables also functioned as a technical device for structuring, organizing, and navigating the four gospels and uniting them via a single codex. As a result, they also became an instrument of theological and literary scholarship. Eusebius was clearly particularly interested in instruments of indexing and structuring, not only in his canon tables, but also in other works in which he developed the potential of the Codex format more fully.[4] It is not an exaggeration to say that canon tables are a crucial step toward the history of lists, indices, tables of contents and registers that is yet to be written.

Eusebius divided the text of each gospel into more than two, or even three hundred consecutively numbered sections. The sections were marked by numbers that were written down as marginal notes next to the gospel text. Eusebius's second step was to collate the numbers in ten tables he named *canones*. The *canones* are lists containing the section numbers, laid out in grids of four, three, two or just one column. Each column contains the section numbers of one gospel, and each section number in a column corresponds to those in the other columns to its right and left, i.e. with those in the other gospels. This system enabled the user to find parallels between the four gospels and to identify passages of text used by all four of the evangelists, or by just three or two and those found only in one place in one gospel. It is quite likely that the canon tables were architectural in design from the outset, its columns dividing the grid of tables by means of arches and pediments.

When, in the sixth century, Victor of Capua devised an astonishing experiment, combining a variant of Tatian's *Diatessaron* with the Eusebian *apparatus* (see Matthew Crawford's contribution to this volume), it became patently clear that Eusebius's main concern had been the harmony of the gospels. Eusebius himself stated the aim of his invention and the functioning of the canon tables in a letter, dubbed the *Ammonius quidem*, addressed to a scholar named Carpianus. Here he explains how he created his system of *canones* as an alternative to the harmony of Ammonius's gospel.[5] Insisting that Ammonius's assemblage of the four gospels into a single text destroyed their order and style he announces how he has replaced Ammonius's system with the canon tables, and in so doing maintained the precious body or text of the gospels. This, he claims, means he has invented a form of harmony that preserves the integrity of each of the four gospel texts while simultaneously working out a form of synopsis and a tool of text indexing—an art of harmony in itself.

It is fair to assume that the production of gospel books uniting the four gospels into a single codex began on a larger scale in the fourth century. Eusebius himself was instructed by Emperor Constantine in his famous letter of 332 to produce books of the Holy Scriptures for the liturgy in the churches of Constantinople.[6] This perhaps was also the actual date of birth of the canon tables, as Nordenfalk

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1 Grafton/Williams 2008; Hollerich 2013, 630–632.

2 Merkel 1971; Watson 2013.

3 Wünsch 1982, 627–629; Petersen 1994.

4 Grafton/Williams 2008, 133–232; Wallraff 2014.

5 Crawford 2015.

6 Eusebius, *De vita Constantini*, 4.36. Hollerich 2013, 632.

has assumed.[7] At any rate, they became an integral and fixed part of all manuscripts containing the four gospels as the Sacred Scripture of the Christians. Moreover the canon tables represented a certain form of text comprehension and established a form of thinking that was to become decisive for the structuring of image programs in illuminated gospel books (see Beatrice Kitzinger's contribution in this volume). As a purely pictorial form, as a table with arcades, canon tables were also used later for completely different purposes and motifs, without always losing their original meaning (see Susanne Wittekind's contribution in this volume).

Canon tables can be seen as exemplifying a specifically Christian manuscript culture that formed, developed and spread across the East and West between 300 and 800 CE, not least because, as it is often mentioned, they are closely linked to the codex format, the medium preferred by Early Christians.[8] It is the codex that enabled the four gospels to be combined into one material unit, a single book, for the first time. This was of great import as the amount of text that fitted on a scroll was extremely limited by the material conditions of the latter.

The purpose of the tables is to enable the reader to look up individual text passages and compare them by means of the numbering system. Thus they focus precisely on a central property of the codex and the advantage of this new medium.[9] Structuring the text by numbered and marked sections is a means of visually organizing the text and also works as an aid to navigate through the codex. This means the tables refer to the three-dimensionality of the book as an object and update its spatial quality that may be also be accentuated by the architectural form of the tables or their relation to the tradition of the 'prefatory architecture' of ancient books (see Jás Elsner's contribution in this volume).[10] Above all this space is made accessible by the numbering system. This system defines and makes identifiable certain places, i.e. text passages in the book space, and structures the reader's movement in this space as he or she turns the pages back and forth.

It should be added that the visual organization of the canon tables themselves was apparently conceived with the codex format in mind. It was not left to the individual choices of writers and painters but obeyed a fixed scheme in which the guiding principle was the individual codex

page or double-page. Almost always the ten *canones*, very different in scope, appear according to a fixed scheme on seven, eight, ten, twelve or sixteen pages.[11] In doing so Canon tables and their cross-reference system had a strong visual dimension. In his *Letter to Carpianus*, Eusebius himself mentions the figures indicating in the margins that the table in question should be written in red. Moreover, in the tables themselves the order of the sacred text is represented by numbers within the geometric grid, which makes the parallelism of the sections visible. The geometry, the number of ten canons and the numerical order of the text contained in them recall the divine *ordo* and the perfection of the Holy Scripture.[12] And last but not least, the tables are a place of images, of columns, plants and birds, as well as biblical scenes or portraits of the evangelists at times. In some early medieval canon tables, images are connected with the renewed interest in antique scholarship of the time, particularly with concepts of nature (see Stefan Trinks' contribution in this volume).

The remarkable visual quality of the canon tables draws attention to the fact that they are not only a pragmatic instrument of indexing, but also represent symbolically the unity and harmony of the divine word. It can be assumed that in the fourth century, creating a unity of the gospels materially through the new medium of the Codex was a highly welcome and ground-breaking innovation. This apparently created an even greater need to emphasize the harmony of their contents. Eusebius reacted to this with his *canones*. Therefore, the pages with the sequence of canon tables, which open nearly every gospel book can be understood as the visual equivalent of the material unity of the gospels. The tables represent the entire gospel text by numbers, assembled in a uniform architecture and thus visually presenting one unit that spans four parts.

As already mentioned, the often lavishly decorated canon tables and the later so-called *Eusebian apparatus*, that is to say the canon tables, the *Letter to Carpianus* and the marginal section numbers, became a fixed part of gospel books from the very Early Christian period up to the high Middle Ages. This fact is by no means self-evident, particularly when one bears in mind that on the one hand, the precise copying of thousands of numbers and marginal notes required immense effort and on the other, that canon tables are of no importance to the liturgy.[13] This leads to the question of the function and use of gospel books, and answers regarding the Early Christian

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7 Nordenfalk 1938, 50; Crawford 2015, 18.

8 Roberts/Skeat 1983, 38–66; Gamble 1995, 42–81; Hurtado 2006, 43–93; Parker 2008, 13–29; Seeliger 2012 with exhaustive bibliography 564–570; Wallraff 2013, 8–25.

9 Reudenbach 2019, 263.

10 Klauser 1961; Nordenfalk 1982, 30; Reudenbach 2009.

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11 Nordenfalk 1938, 53, 65–72, 148–152, 171–173, 208–211, 228–230, 289–297.

12 Nordenfalk 1982, 29–30; Crawford 2015, 25–26.

13 Nordenfalk 1938, 49; Reudenbach 2019.

period may be different than those regarding the centuries of the Middle Ages (see Jeremiah Coogan's contribution in this volume). Canon tables are not just elements that show the continuity of Christian book culture. No doubt there are examples from the Middle Ages in which the nature of the *Eusebian apparatus* was misunderstood, forgotten or where it had fallen into disuse. It must be emphasized here that the *Eusebian apparatus* did not remain unchanged and homogeneous over many centuries and in different manuscript cultures. The special Syriac version of the apparatus was already accentuated by Nordenfalk.[14] But in the Latin West, variants and even extremely individual forms have also emerged repeatedly (see Lynley Anne Herbert's and Elizabeth Mullins's contributions in this volume) without, of course, changing the basic structure.

Why, then, were canon tables regularly included in liturgical books for many centuries, and why were they often a preferred place for artistic decoration? The answers may lie in the fact that the canon tables were not simply a tool for indexing the gospel texts, but that they also had their own symbolic dimension. The pragmatic function of the Eusebian canon system were apparently often less important and later even meaningless. Rather, their significance depended on what Eusebius himself had already emphasized, on the harmony of the gospels, on the unity of the divine revelation of words, which is visually conveyed in the canon tables and transmitted fourfold in the gospels. Connected with the gospel book from the very beginning, equipped with the authority of the early Christian scholars Eusebius and Jerome, the tables became an integral part of the Holy Scripture and therefore they participated in the sacred aura of the gospel book. Thus, they became indispensable and remained intact, even when their pragmatic function receded or was completely lost.

II

In 1938 the Swedish art historian Carl Nordenfalk published the first comprehensive and systematic study of canon tables (see the contribution of Ewa Balicka-Witakowska in this volume).[15] In his path-breaking book that has remained the basis of all research on canon tables to this day, Nordenfalk collected and made a detailed analysis of the earliest examples of canon tables in Greek, Latin and Syriac gospel books and also took into consideration

samples from other Eastern Christian traditions. As an art historian Nordenfalk was especially interested in what he called 'Rahmenwerk', the framing of the canon tables by columns and arches, ornaments, images and figural motifs such as plants and birds. In addition, however, he also gained fundamental insights into the functioning, the origin and the early history of the transmission of the canon tables and their wide distribution in the East as well as the West.

In 1950 Paul Underwood's systematic survey completed and integrated Nordenfalk's contribution regarding the motif of the Fountain of Life, the architecture of which is closely related to that of the canon tables (see Jacopo Gnisci's contribution in this volume).[16] Since then, many individual contributions have been published, especially on the canon tables of individual gospel books or on regional and, in particular, oriental Christian traditions. Concerning the medieval Western tradition, there have been numerous art-historical studies and monographs on specific gospel books dealing in each case with canon tables, however with their focus largely confined to style analysis and iconography. As a consequence the history of the medieval afterlife of the Eusebian *apparatus*, that is to say a continuation of Nordenfalk's book, whose period focused on the fourth to the seventh centuries, remains to be written.

Aside from a few case studies there has been no comprehensive analysis of the parallels that Eusebius constructs or of the theological intentions he pursues with these parallels. Not only does he note verbal repetitions but reveals correspondences in time, place or meaning.[17] Little or nothing is known about whether or not, in particular manuscript cultures and in more recent theological contexts, the original division of the gospel text into sections and its respective synopsis presented in tables conceived by Eusebius were always adopted unchanged. If they were altered, what was changed and why? It is extremely difficult, if not impossible to answer these questions, for even up to the present day there is still no critical edition of the *apparatus*, a fact Nordenfalk lamented eighty years ago.[18]

For the last decade and a half or so, there has been renewed and increasing interest in the canon tables, not initiated by the history of art in this instance, but rather by other disciplines such as the history of theology or New Testament studies.[19] Last but not least, the re-dating of

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14 Nordenfalk 1938, 223; Wessel 1978, 936–942; Sevrugian 2004, 38–39; see also already Gwilliam 1890 and 2006.

15 Nordenfalk 1938.

16 Underwood 1950; McKenzie/Watson 2016, 121–140.

17 O'Loughlin 2010, 3–4.

18 Nordenfalk 1938, 51.

19 Coogan 2017; Crawford 2015, 2019; O'Loughlin 1999, 2010, 2014, 2017; Wallraff 2013.

two Ethiopian Four Gospels codices to Late Antiquity and the rich and seminal book by Judith McKenzie and Francis Watson on the Garima Gospels provided an impulse to re-ignite the scholarly interest and research on canon tables.[20]

In May 2018, '80 years since Nordenfalk', the *Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures* of the University of Hamburg hosted a conference bringing together art historians with scholars of other disciplines to consider the canon tables once more. The papers of this conference have been collected in this volume. Unfortunately, it was not possible to consider all relevant manuscript cultures at this conference and we most particularly regret the lack of contributions to Syriac and Armenian manuscripts.[21] We are deeply indebted to the authors of this volume for their lively and enormously inspiring discussions at the conference, and for making their contributions available to us so rapidly. We are also very grateful to Cosima Schwarke for her invaluable assistance in editing this volume, as well as her almost infinite patience and good humour, and to Astrid Kajsa Nylander for producing the layout, brilliantly accommodating the art historians' special requests and demands. Last but not least, we would like to thank Darya Yakubovich and Friederike Quander, who had the honourable but arduous task of preparing the index for this volume dedicated to what is arguably one of the great indexing projects in history.

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20 We have to mourn deeply the passing away on 27 May 2019 of Judith McKenzie, whose paper summarising the outcomes of her magnificent publication was presented at the 2018 Hamburg conference by Fotini Spingou.

21 For the Syriac tradition see for example Bernabò 2014 and note 14 above. For the Armenian tradition see Mathews/Sanjian 1991, 166–176; Kouymjian 1996, 1025–1042; Sevrugian 2004; Amirkhanian 2008–2009. To the particularly rich Armenian tradition of commentaries on the canon tables was dedicated the paper presented by Varduhi Kyureghyan at the 2018 Hamburg Conference, that could unfortunately not be included in the present volume.

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Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Carl Nordenfalk

Abstract: The essay is on Carl Nordenfalk, Swedish art historian, medievalist and museologist. The objective is to present his internationally acknowledged professional life and elucidate the circumstances which led him to write his celebrated doctoral dissertation, 'Die spätantiken Kanontafeln'. This pioneering work contributed immensely to scholarship on the history of the medieval book and is still recognised for its long-lasting scholarly value.

In 1938 Carl Nordenfalk published his doctoral thesis on the Eusebian canon tables.[1] This study marked the start of his long and successful academic career and also signalled his life-long interest in illuminated and decorated manuscripts. His dissertation came to be recognised as one of the most valuable contributions to medieval art history. Its impact is still felt today. This work established a solid foundation for scholarly investigation of the gospel books. It also opened up a new area of research which continues to benefit from further explorations. The collection of papers presented in this volume supplies fitting testimony to it.

International scholarship remembers Carl Nordenfalk primarily as an exceptionally competent authority on the art of the medieval book and the author of several comprehensive studies in this field. Less well known, particularly nowadays, is that he was also a museologist of excellent reputation, a prolific writer of scholarly and popular texts on a number of art historical topics and editor of numerous publications.[2] Well prepared by an excellent humanistic education and having developed an intense and multifaceted relationship to the fine arts, Nordenfalk constantly traversed cultural and temporal boundaries and moved easily from Egyptian papyri to modern painting and to any art phenomenon in between.[3]

The contribution here derives much of its data from Nordenfalk's memoirs, up to now only published in Swed-

Fig. 1: Carl Nordenfalk, Stockholm 1966, photo H. Hammerskiöld. With permission of the Stockholm National Museum's archives.

ish.[4] In this book, unpretentiously titled 'Mest om konst' (Mostly about art), Nordenfalk writes about his professional and academic life, his meetings, cooperation and friendship with famous scholars, museum experts, and patrons of the arts. Describing the various settings and environments in which he worked, the author elucidates the different cultural phenomena he had the opportunity to deal with, in conclusion analysing the aims and results of his research. Out of these fascinating narratives, composed throughout with literary skill, admirable objectivity, self-distance, and crisp humour, emerges the image of an ingenious personality and a scholar firmly convinced of the value of knowledge and art.

1 See below 13–16.

2 A complete list of his publications compiled by Gunhild Osterman is to be found in his autobiography (see n. 4) and in his *Festschrift* (see n. 19).
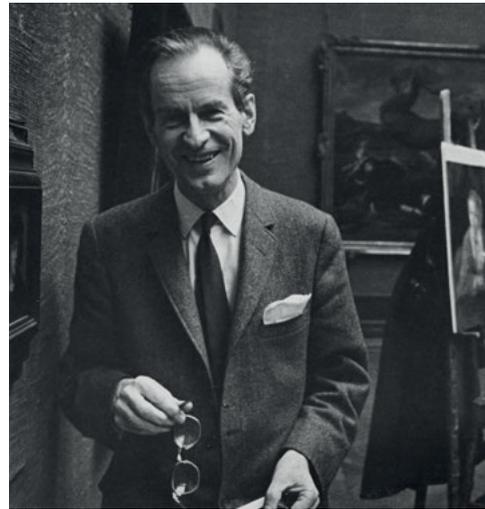
3 See below 4, 16.

4 Published in 1996 by the The Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities (Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien) in the series 'Swedish Learned Men'. Carl Nordenfalk was unable to finish the book before his death. The last chapter focusing on his life in the United States (1970–82) was based on notes by his daughter, Katarina Nordenfalk, and those of Per Bjuström and Allan Ellenius who wrote the introduction. I also consulted the introduction to Carl Nordenfalk's Festschrift (see n. 19) and the note 'In memoriam', *Konsthistorisk tidskrift*, 61/3 (1992), 81–82, both written by Per Bjuström. I met Carl Nordenfalk only once in 1990. Although having been very ill, he agreed to read and evaluate the first draft of my Ph.D. thesis. His positive and appreciative evaluation allowed me to finish and successfully defend my work, despite the difficulties and negative attitudes I was confronted with at my former institute, the department of art history at Uppsala University. The present article is an expression of my admiration for a great scholar and a generous man.

Fig. 2A–B: Letters to Nordenfalk; **A:** from Adolph Goldschmidt, **B:** from Francis Wormald. With permission of the Stockholm National Museum's archives.

1 Brief biography

Carl Nordenfalk was born in Stockholm on December 13th, 1907. In 1926 he first studied history, continuing with art history at the University of Uppsala, Stockholm University and finally at Gothenburg University. As early as 1927, he developed a sustained interest in art history while studying German in Bonn, where he participated in Paul Clemen's seminars, a reputable specialist in Romanesque and Gothic church architecture of the Rhineland.

Upon his return to Sweden, Nordenfalk wrote his master thesis on the Echternach School of book painting,[5] a subject which introduced him to the world of medieval manuscripts. He was to cherish and pursue this research field to the end of his life. The study of medieval manuscripts led him to major European libraries and renowned teachers. In Germany, he studied with Arthur Haseloff in

Kiel, Georg Swarzenski in Frankfurt, Adolph Goldschmidt and Albert Boeckler in Berlin (Fig. 2A). In Berlin, he studied with Wilhelm Koehler, the founder of the Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft and *spiritus movens* behind the comprehensive publication of the corpus of Carolingian illuminated books. During his research travels Nordenfalk became acquainted with an international group of art historians who shared similar interests: Francis Wormald and Hugo Buchthal in London, Otto Pächt in Vienna, and Meyer Schapiro and André Grabar in Paris. Several of these were to become life-long friends and the nucleus of his amazingly large network (Fig. 2B).

In autumn 1935 Nordenfalk joined the staff of the Museum of Art in Gothenburg, where he combined research activities on various subjects concerning illuminated manuscripts with his duties as the museum's assistant director. In 1938, at Gothenburg University, he defended his doctoral dissertation 'Die spätantiken Kanontafeln: kunstgeschichtliche Studien über die eusebianische Evangelien-Konkordanz in den vier ersten Jahrhunderten ihrer Geschichte'[6] for which he was awarded the *venia docendi* (see Fig. 13).

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5 Published in three papers: 'Ein karolingisches Sakramentar aus Echternach und seine Vorläufer', *Acta archaeologica*, 2 (1931), 207–244; 'On the Age of the Earliest Echternach Manuscript', in *Acta archaeologica*, 3 (1932), 57–62; 'Neue Dokumente zur Datierung des Echternacher Evangeliars in Gotha', *Zeitschrift fur Kunstgeschichte*, 1 (1932), 153–157, reprinted in the collection of his papers, *Studies in the History of Book Illumination*, London: The Pindar Press, 1992.

6 His opponent was Arthur Haseloff, professor at the Christian-
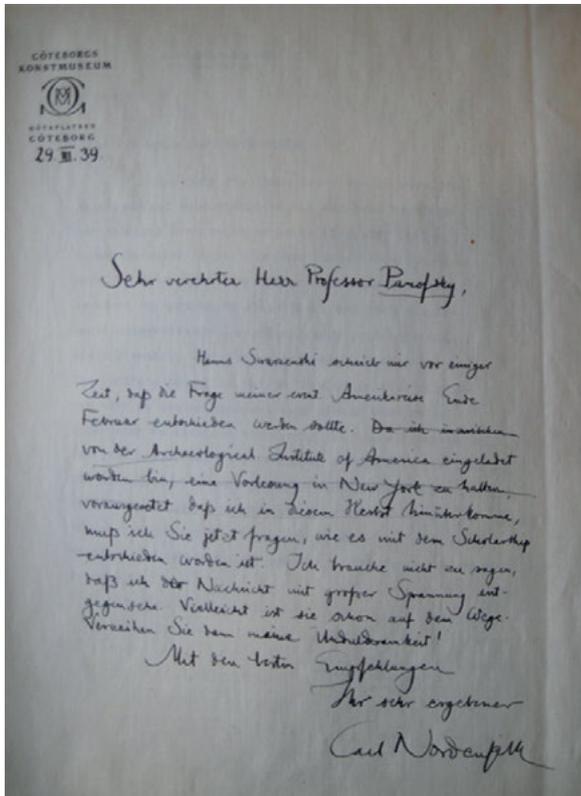
Fig. 3A–B: A: Letter from Nordenfalk to Erwin Panofsky and **B:** letter from Panofsky to Nordenfalk. With permission of the Stockholm National Museum's archives.

Nordenfalk continued his museum career. From 1944 to 1958 he worked in the National Museum of Stockholm as head of the Departme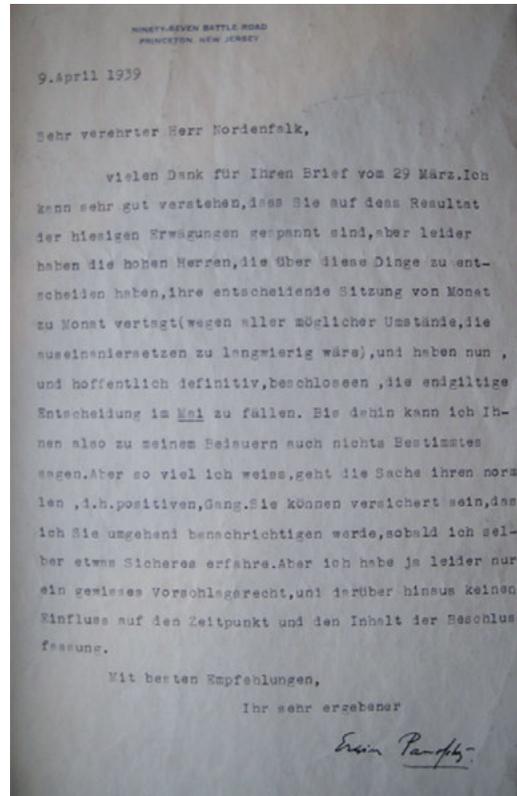nt of Outgoing Activities, where he was responsible for permanent loans, travelling exhibitions and cultural education. His vast scholarly production was connected to the artefacts in the museum[7] and his constant preoccupation with academic problems pertaining to medieval manuscripts. Both research areas developed his growing international reputation. In 1949 Erwin Panofsky invited him to spend a year at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Princeton, New Jersey (Fig. 3).

In 1958 Nordenfalk was appointed the chief curator for the Department of Art and Sculpture in the Stockholm National Museum. Shortly thereafter, he became the museum's director,[8] a position which he held until his retirement in 1968.

At such a time in life most people gradually withdraw from professional life. For Nordenfalk, however, there began a very successful academic career in the United States spanning twelve years. Between 1968–70, he again held a fellowship at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Princeton, researching the production of illuminated books in the British Isles. He was a visiting professor at the University of California, Berkeley (1971–72 and 1977–78) and Mellon professor at the University of Pittsburgh (1971–76), where he held seminars on medieval art and curated exhibitions in the Frick Art Building. In 1972–73 he held the prestigious Kress Professorship at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., and was the Slade Professor at the University of Cambridge. From 1978–82 he was a fellow at the National Humanities Center in North Carolina and lectured at the University of California, Los Angeles and Santa Barbara, with one interim year (1979–80) spent at the Harvard Center for Byzantine Studies at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D.C.[9]

Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel, a specialist in book painting in the Middle Ages and author of *Codex purpureus Rossanensis* (1898) and *Der Psalter Egberts von Trier* (1901).

7 See below 4–8.

8 The position was combined with the professorial chair in art history.

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9 In gratitude for the excellent research opportunities he was provided with in the USA, Nordenfalk donated his large library containing several precious facsimile editions of medieval manuscripts to the Center for Advanced Studies in the Visual Arts at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., and his large slide collection to The Morgan Library & Museum in New York.

Nordenfalk returned to Sweden after a car accident in 1982. He joined the National Museum in Stockholm and continued his scholarly work until his death on June 13th, 1992.[10]

2 Museums and exhibitions

Carl Nordenfalk's museum work stretched over thirty years. The Stockholm National Museum, in particular, owes its international position and partnership in several significant international projects to him. Nordenfalk's far-sighted acquisition policy[11] and personal contacts to important museum directors and art historians, as well as his standing as a prominent scholar and specialist in variegated areas of art history, allowed him to organize several innovative and internationally acknowledged exhibitions. These events excelled for their thoroughgoing planning and research, the latter presented in high-quality informative catalogues. Due to limitations of space it is possible to mention but a few of the most spectacular exhibitions.[12]

During his year at the Gothenburg Museum Nordenfalk was also obliged to teach a course of modern art history at the university. He chose to lecture on Vincent van Gogh and intensified his research into the painter's life and works reading van Gogh's correspondence with his brother Theo and the painters Anton van Rappard and Émile Bernard. The material inspired him to write a monograph on van Gogh, based on the belief that it is impossible to dissociate the painter's artistic production from his dramatic life-story.[13]

While writing this book, Nordenfalk became acquainted with van Gogh's nephew, Vincent Willem van Gogh (Fig. 4). With his support, in 1946, he organised a large exhibition in the Stockholm National Museum, gathering the painter's works which went on to become the core of the van Gogh Museum in Amsterdam. On that occasion a series of seminars was arranged for Swedish art historians, providing them with a unique opportunity to examine the paintings in detail. The studies resulted in a collection of essays published alongside the exhibition catalogue.[14]

It was no accident that the first important exhibition organised by Carl Nordenfalk in the Stockholm National Museum in 1952,[15] entitled 'Golden Books', was devoted to illuminated medieval manuscripts from Swedish and Danish collections (Fig. 5). For the exhibition a catalogue raisonée was written (the first of its kind in Sweden), accompanied by a collection of essays. Both publications were firmly anchored in Carl Nordenfalk's previous studies while drawing on new research material.[16]
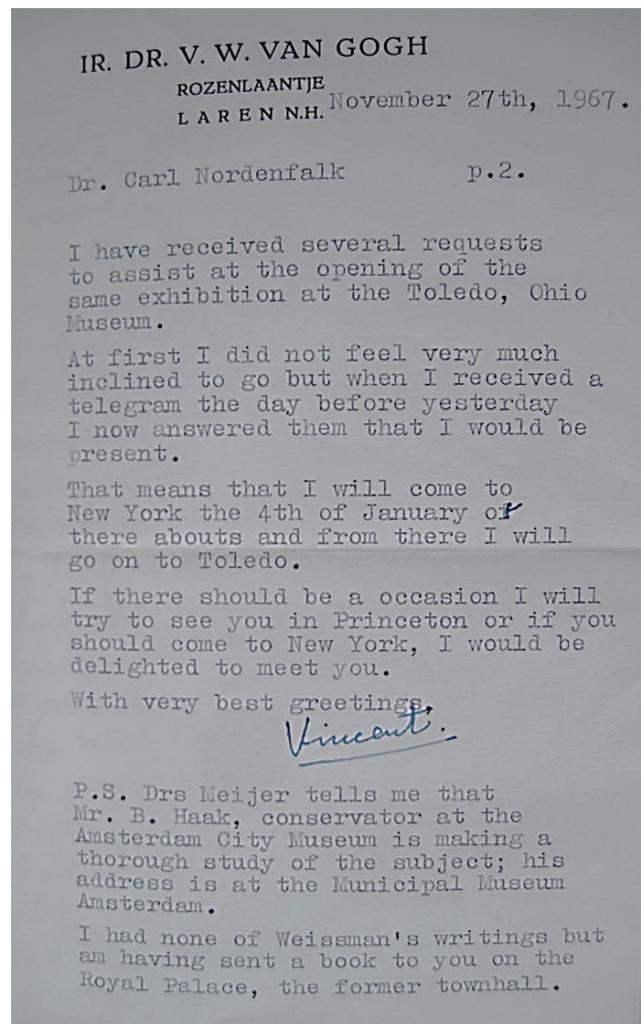
Fig. 4: Letter from Vincent W. van Gogh to Nordenfalk. With permission of the Stockholm National Museum's archives.

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10 In his bibliography 27 publications are listed between the years 1983 and 1992. See also n. 43, 44, 49, 51.

11 Among the most significant ones were the acquisition of Watteau's 'Love Lesson' in 1953 and Goya's so-called 'Allegory of Spain' in 1961.

12 The interested reader will find them listed in Nordenfalk's bibliography, see n. 2, 4, 19.

13 The book published in Swedish, *Vincent van Gogh: en livsväg*, Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt, 1943, saw several editions, the latest in 1992. It was translated into six languages, also into English: *The Life and Work of van Gogh*, London: Ekel, 1953.

14 *Vincent van Gogh. Utställning anordnad till förmån för svenska Hollandshjälpen. Stockholm, Göteborg, Malmö, mars-juni 1946* ed. C. Nordenfalk, F. Holmér, Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1946; 'Swedish van Gogh-Studies', ed. C. Nordenfalk, *Konsthistorisk tidskrift*, 5/3–4 (1946).

15 In co-operation with the Danish manuscript expert Kåre Olsen.

16 C. Nordenfalk, Kåre Olsen, *Gyllene Böcker. Illuminerade medeltida*
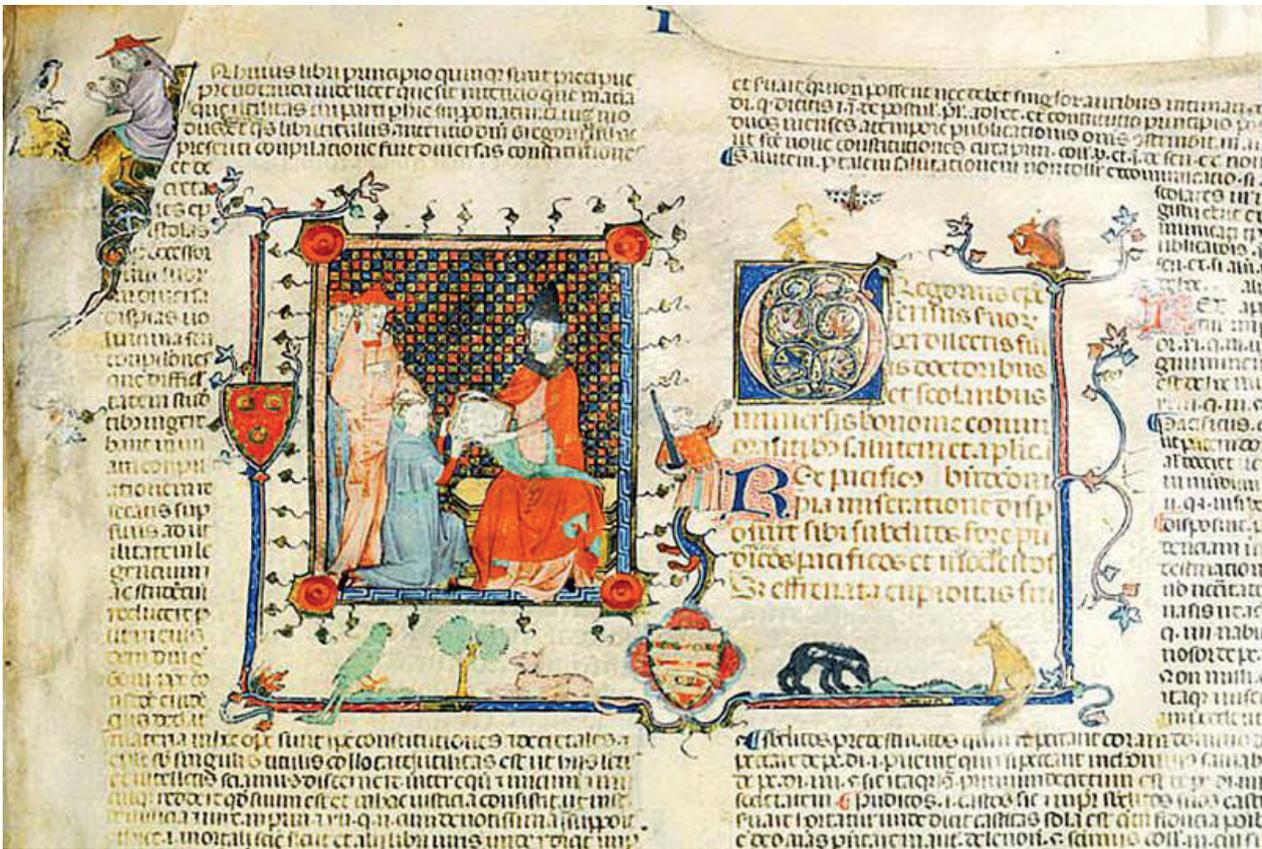
Fig. 5: Gregorius IX, *Liber Decretalium*, fourteenth c.; Frontispiece, fol. 1r, Initial *I(n huius libri)*, Stockholm, National Museum. With permission of the Stockholm National Museum's archives.

The Stockholm National Museum profited enormously from Carl Nordenfalk's interest in medieval books and his professional dealings in it. In the years during which he headed the institution he built up a significant collection of manuscripts. Unlike many art historians he recognized the value and rarity of books produced outside of Europe and purchased Hebrew, Armenian and even Ethiopic manuscripts for the museum (Fig. 6).[17] They were

described in the catalogue prepared for the exhibition celebrating Carl Nordenfalk's 80th birthday. It, too, was given the title 'Golden Books'.[18] The catalogue published for the occasion was followed by a collection of articles written by friends and colleagues.[19]

1956 was the international Rembrandt jubilee year.[20] The National Museum of Stockholm joined in the celebration by organising its own comprehensive exhibition. It borrowed works to enable the presentation of a broad overview of the painter's oeuvre. They ranged from very early paintings to works that remain unfinished after Rembrandt's death. Detailed and timely research preceded the exhibition and resulted in a scholarly catalogue followed

handskrifter i dansk och svensk ägo, maj–september 1952, Stockholm: Carlson Press Boktryckeri, 1952 (also printed in Danish); *Libri aurei*, ed. C. Nordenfalk, T. Kleberg, Uppsala-Stockholm 1952 (Studies published by the Nordisk tidskrift för bok and biblioteksväsen, on the occasion of the exhibition of illuminated manuscripts held in Copenhagen and Stockholm from April to September 1951); see also C. Nordenfalk, '"Livres d'Or". Exposition de manuscrits enluminés à Copenhague et Stockholm en avril–septembre 1952', *Scriptorium*, 5 (1951), 305; C. Nordenfalk, 'Golden Books in Scandinavian Collections. Retrospect of an exhibition', *Konsthistorisk tidskrift*, 22/3–4 (1953), 41–49.

17 This includes the fragments of one of the oldest decorated Ethiopic Gospels (Stockholm, National Museum, B 2034). Unfortunately when the second fragment of this manuscript was auctioned at Sotheby's, Western Manuscripts and Miniatures, London, December 5th, 1994, lot 53, the National Museum's directorate did not purchase

the folios. Instead, they went to a private collector in London and in 2006 to the Metropolitan Museum in New York (acc. no. 2006.100).

18 *Gyllene böcker. Nyförvärv och nyupptäckter* (The Golden Books: New Acquisitions and New Discoveries), Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 13.12.1987–6.3.1988.

19 *Florilegium in honorem Carl Nordenfalk octogenarii contextum*, Nationalmusei skriftserie, NS 9, Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1987, 209–224.

20 It marked his 350th birthday.

Fig. 6A–D: Ethiopic Gospels, fourteenth c., folios in disorder; **A:** 2nd page of Eusebius's *Letter to Carpianus*; **B:** Canons VI–VII, Stockholm, National Museum, MS B 2034; **C:** tholos or 'Fountain of Life' **D:** Crucifixion, New York, the Metropolitan Museum. With permission of the Stockholm National Museum's archives (A–B); courtesy of Sam Fogg (C–D).

Fig. 7: Rembrandt van Rijn, 'The Batavians' Oath of Allegiance' and x-ray photograph of the painting, Stockholm, National Museum. With permission of the Stockholm National Museum's archives.

by a collection of papers.[21] The focal point of the exhibition was the monumental painting 'The Batavians' Oath of Allegiance' in the Stockholm National Museum's permanent collection (Fig. 7). Rembrandt had painted it in 1661–62 for the new town hall in Amsterdam.[22] Preparing the painting for display and further loan to an extensive exhibition in Holland, x-ray examinations were carried out, which became the subject of a short film distributed in Swedish and English versions. This innovative approach to the exhibiting of an art object was watched with great interest by art historians and art conservators in Sweden and abroad. The exhibition was a great public success attended by the members of the Swedish royal family and its closing was marked by a lecture given by the French minister of culture, André Malraux.

The most ambitious exhibition curated by Nordenfalk was dedicated to the renowned Queen Christina of Sweden and took place in Stockholm in 1966. Arranged in cooperation with the Council of Europe Fund, the event involved a large group of local and international committees, consisting of a number of experts and specialists in various aspects of museology. The primary objectives of the exhibition were to elucidate Christina's remarkable, turbulent life through artefacts and to present art objects from her famous collections of antiquities, sculptures, paintings, drawings, handicrafts, armoury, coins and precious manuscripts. An enormous catalogue printed in six languages, containing over fifteen thousand entries and numerous papers, required many years of research and preparation.[23] Several musical and theatre events accompanied the exhibition, reminding the public of Queen Christina's interest in these arts, and shedding more light on the related artefacts on display in the museum.[24] Quite remarkably, for the exhibition's research, Pope Paul VI gave Nordenfalk and his team permission to open Christina's grave at St Peter's in Rome and carry out scientific investigation of her mortal remains. For the occasion a copy of the queen's iron death mask was cast and added to the exhibits (Fig. 8).

Finally, this overview must mention two exhibitions organised by Nordenfalk during his stay in the United States, both with the participation of his students. The first, with the title 'Colour of the Middle Ages: A Survey of Book Illumination based on Colour Facsimiles of Medieval Manuscripts' took place in the Pittsburgh State University Art Gallery.[25] The collection in the exhibition showed the state of the art of modern printing, and how it was able to create duplicates that were barely distinguishable from the original manuscripts. The exhibition also provided a very large survey of the history of medieval book illumination displaying copies alongside originals that had seldom been viewed or certainly never seen together. The didactic success of the exhibition was repeated in 1977, when the collection, extended by several additional high quality examples was shown in the Stockholm National Museum, announced as 'A Book Painter's Pictorial World'.[26]

The second exhibition arranged under Nordenfalk's tenure as the Kress Professor in Washington focused on the collection of fragmentarily preserved manuscript illuminations donated by Lessing J. Rosenwald to the National Gallery of Art. Cataloguing of the material was a laborious and highly sensitive task. In addition to having to identify the manuscripts to which the fragments had originally belonged and attributing these books to appropriate painting schools, the researchers were instructed to select the fragments suspected to be forgeries.[27]

3 Medieval books

Carl Nordenfalk's engagement in curatorial museum work and the breadth of his curatorial production are both impressive and an important area of his professional life. Nevertheless, he always insisted that the art of the medieval book was the research field for which

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21 *Rembrandt. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, 12 januari–15 April 1956*, introduction by C. Nordenfalk; Special issue of *Konsthistorisk tidskrift*, 25/1–2 (1956), ed. C. Nordenfalk, and S. Karling.

22 In 1956 Nordenfalk wrote several popular papers on other works by Rembrandt, but the scholarly study of this painting was only published many years later in Swedish and in an English version: *The Batavians' Oath of Allegiance. Rembrandt's only monumental painting*, Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1983.

23 *Christina, drottning av Sverige: en europeisk kulturpersonlighet (Christina, Queen of Sweden: a personality of European civilisation): Europaradets elfte utstallning: Nationalmuseum, 29 juni–18 oktober*, ed. Per Bjurström (Nationalmusei utställningskatalog, 305), Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1966 608 pages, 96 plates, also printed in English, French, German, Italian and Finnish versions.

24 The subject was treated in a special publication by the collaborator of the exhibition and the editor of the catalogue Per Bjurström, *Feast and Theatre in Queen Christina's Rome*, Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1966.

25 C. Nordenfalk with cooperation of V. Cassidy, K. Haskins, J-A. Sieger, *Colour of the Middle Ages. A Survey of Book Illumination based on Colour Facsimiles of Medieval Manuscripts*, University Art Gallery, Henry Clay Frick Fine Arts Building, Pittsburgh, P.A., March 12–April 18, 1976.

26 *Bokmålarens bildvärld. Handskrifter under 700 år faksimil* (Nationalmusei utställningskatalog, 407), Stockholm 1977.

27 C. Nordenfalk, Carra Ferguson, and David S. Schaff, *Medieval and Renaissance Miniatures from the National Gallery of Art*, ed. Gary Vikan, Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1975.
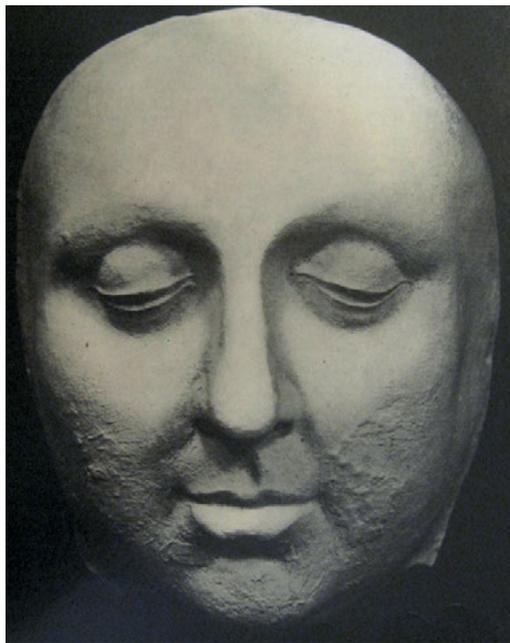
Fig. 8A–C: A: Opening of the exhibition 'Christina, Queen of Sweden': C. Nordenfalk, H.R.H. Princesses Sibylla and Christina, H. Em. Cardinal Eugène Tisserant. **B:** Queen Christina's iron death mask, **C:** its copy. With permission of the Stockholm National Museum's archives.

Fig. 9: *Codex Caesareus, c.*1050, Uppsala, University Library, MS C 93, fol. 3v: Christ in Majesty crowning Henry III and Agnes of Poitou, fol. 4r: Henry III presenting the Gospel Book to St Simon and St Jude

he held the highest priority. His numerous publications on this subject were, and continue to be, of fundamental importance to those who study illuminated manuscripts. They provided not only an aesthetic evaluation of the material, but also insightful analysis and assessment of its historical and theological connotations, including detailed studies of the sources that he had gathered with great care and attention. Most of these works were completed and published after he had stepped down from his directorship of the Stockholm National Museum. The following discusses merely a selection of them.

In the late 1950s Nordenfalk, already ranked as one of the most significant specialists in medieval book illumination, was asked to write a monograph in collaboration with André Grabar. The study was to treat the heretofore neglected subject of early Medieval and Romanesque painting. The two volume work spanned two periods, from the fourth to the eleventh century and the eleventh to the thirteenth century. It dealt separately with the wall-paintings

and manuscript painting of the epochs in question.[28] The books appeared in several languages and formed part of 'The Great Centuries of Painting' series, published by the prominent Swiss publishing house SKIRA. For its separately printed, high quality, colour illustrations matching and complementing the text masterfully, the book was a work of art in its own right. The broad scale with which the authors treated their subject and the highest level of polygraphic art made the books a classic in art history. They are still greatly appreciated and very much in use today.

During his second stay at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Princeton, Nordenfalk divided his time between two main projects. The first was the production of a full-colour facsimile edition of one of the most valuable manuscripts in the Swedish collections, the so-called

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28 *Early Medieval Painting from the Fourth to the Eleventh Century*, New York: Skira, 1957; *Romanesque Painting from the Eleventh to the Thirteenth Century*, New York: Skira, 1958. The books have been translated into French and German.

Fig. 10: Bird-initials, drawings by C. Nordenfalk. With permission of the Stockholm National Museum's archives.

Codex Caesareus (Uppsala University Library, MS C 93).[29] The gospel book, commissioned by German Emperor Henry III and his wife Agnes of Poitou for the minster of Goslar is a masterpiece of Ottonian book painting and the flagship of the renowned scriptorium of St Willibrord at Echternach (Fig. 9). The edition, produced in celebration of the 350th anniversary of the Uppsala University Library, was printed with a companion volume containing an extensive monographic study of the manuscript. In some parts of the book the author could refer to his early publications,[30] but, as he pointed out in the introduction, the research conducted in the more than thirty years that had since passed compelled him to approach the task anew. The result was one of the most detailed publications devoted to the chronology and development of book

illumination in the Echternach School, and the first to be published in English.[31]

For his second Princeton project, Carl Nordenfalk returned to his favourite research area, examining the origins and oldest types of medieval ornamented initials used as decorations and designed in animal shape[32] (Fig. 10). The work was planned as a complement to his doctoral thesis. The materials were selected from the *Codices latini antiquiores* by Elias Avery Lowe, whom Nordenfalk was able to consult in Princeton, and to whom he was to dedicate the book. Ten years later Nordenfalk returned to the subject once more in his commentary to the facsimile edition of the codex *Vergilius Augusteus*.[33]

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29 *Codex Caesareus Upsaliensis. A facsimile edition of an Echternach Gospel-book of the Eleventh Century*, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1971, I (facsimile) and II (monograph).
30 See n. 5 and below 14.

31 Despite the obvious connection of the manuscript to Germany, Nordenfalk wrote the monograph in English aware that by then the language had developed into significant medium and tool for international scholarly discourse.
32 *Die spätantiken Zierbuchstaben,* Stockholm: Egnellska Boktryckeriet, 1970, I (text) and II (plates).
33 *Vergilius Augusteus. Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat. Codex Vaticanus Latinus 3256 der Biblioteca Apostolica Va-*

Nordenfalk's 'American period' is also marked by a more popular, but greatly appreciated book written during his time as professor at Pittsburgh University. The work features an introduction and commentaries to forty-eight high-quality colour plates,[34] presenting masterpieces of insular manuscript illumination, such as the *Book of Durrow*, the *Gospels of St Willibrord*, the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, the *Canterbury Codex Aureus* and the *Book of Kells*, some of which had been the objects of early studies he carried out.[35] The Hiberno-Saxon illumination also became a theme for his academic studies afterward. Of the aspects he explored were questions of the receptivity of classical forms in insular art and the iconography of the figural miniatures in the *Book of Kells*. He also picked up the intriguing topic of the depiction of animals in this manuscript, particularly those of cats and mice [36] (Fig. 11).

Fig. 11: *Book of Kells*, *c.* 800, Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 58, detail of fol. 48r, cat and mouse. From Nordenfalk 1983 (see n. 32), 216, Fig. 3.

However, it was not a book, but one of Nordenfalk's articles which caused real excitement among medieval manuscript specialists and started a long but fruitful scholarly controversy, one which the public could follow in the prestigious art history journal, *The Art Bulletin*. The paper[37] dealt with the sixteenth-century illustrated manuscript containing the gospel harmony composed by Tatian, the *Diatessaron,* written in Persian (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Cod. Orient. 81). Prior to the article's publication, Nordenfalk had discussed the subject with a large group of specialists. He argued that the decorated pages representing the cross-carpet page, the Four Evangelists (identified by the inscriptions in Syriac), the Entry into Jerusalem and the diagram of Paradise with the symbols of the Evangelists (Fig. 12), preserve ornamental and figurative forms that go back to Tatian's original manuscript. This hypothesis was criticised by Nordenfalk's friend Meyer Schapiro who convoked a whole seminar at Columbia University with the aim of scrutinising Nordenfalk's analysis.[38] The discussion of this very exceptional manuscript, which still baffles researchers,[39] continued with the answers and comments by Nordenfalk,[40] remaining faithful to the memorable thought he formulated in one of his earlier publications:

> The hypotheses and judgements based on circumstantial evidence cannot be avoided in any reconstruction of the lost archetype. This drawback, however, is not sufficient reason for giving up the whole matter from the start. On the contrary, the more hidden the game the most thrilling the hunt.[41]

ticana und Codex Latinus Fol. 416 der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1976. The introduction in English was published in the collection of his papers, see n. 5.

34 *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Painting: Book Illumination in the British Isles, 600-800,* New York: George Braziller, 1977. The book was also published in London, Munich and Paris.
35 'Eastern Style Elements in the Book of Lindisfarne', *Acta archeologica*, 13 (1942), 157–169; 'Before the Book of Durrow', *Acta archeologica*, 18 (1947), 141–174, both repr. in 1992, see n. 5.
36 'The Draped Lectern. A motif in Anglo-Saxon Evangelist Portraits', in *Intuition und Kunstwissenschaft. Festschrift für Hans Swarzenski zum 70. Geburtstag am 30. August 1973,* Berlin: Mann Verlag Berlin, 1973, 81–100; 'Corbie and Cassiodorus', in 'A Pattern Page Bearing on the Early History of Bookbinding. Hugo Buchthal on his 65th Birthday', *Pantheon*, 32 (1974), 225–231; 'Another look at the Book of Kells', in Friedrich Piel and Jörg Traeger (eds), *Festschrift Wolfgang Braunfels,* Tübingen: Verlag Ernst Wasmuth, 1977, 275–279; 'Katz und Maus und andere Tiere in the Book of Kells', in *Zum Problem der Deutung frühmittelalterlicher Bildinhalte. Akten des 1. Internationalen Kolloquiums in Marburg a.d. Lahn,* 15. bis 19. Februar 1983, ed. Helmuth Roth, Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1986, 211–219, all articles repr. in 1992, see n. 5.

37 'An Illustrated Diatessaron', *The Art Bulletin*, 50/1 (1968), 119–140.
38 Meyer Schapiro and Seminar, 'The Miniatures of the Florence Diatessaron (Laurentian MS Or. 81): Their Place in Late Medieval Art and Supposed Connection with Early Christian and Insular Art', *The Art Bulletin*, 55 (1973), 494–531.
39 Jacques Guilmain, 'A Note on the "Arabesque" in the Diatessaron, Florence, Bibl. Laur., Orient. 81', *The Art Bulletin*, 55/1 (1973), 38–39; Pier Giorgio Borbone in *Le Vie delle Lettere. La Tipografia Medicea tra Roma e l'Oriente*, ed. Sara Fani et al., Firenze: Mandragora, 2012, no. 19; P.G. Borbone, '"Monsignore Vescovio di Soria" also Known as Moses of Mardin, Scribe and Book Collector', *Khristianskiy Vostok*, 8 (XIV) (2017), 79–114, esp. 95.
40 C. Nordenfalk, 'The Diatessaron Miniatures Once More', *The Art Bulletin*, 55 (1973), 532–546; 'One Hundred and Fifty Years of Varying Views on the Early Insular Gospel Books', in *Proceedings of a Conference at University College Cork,* 31 October–3 November 1985: Ireland and Insular Art A.D. 500–1200, Dublin 1987, 1–6, repr. in 1992, see n. 5.
41 'The Apostolic Canon Tables', 17, see n. 53.

Fig. 12: *Diatessaron*, 1547, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Lauren-ziana, Or. 81, fol. 128v, diagram of Paradise surrounded by the symbols of the Evangelists. With permission of BML.

Fig. 13: Title page of C. Nordenfalk's dissertation.

After his return to Sweden, Nordenfalk embraced the re-search theme he called his life's passion: the Five Senses as imagined in art from the Middle Ages to the modern time. He had begun to work intensively on the subject when he was a fellow at the National Humanities Center in North Carolina but presented it for the first time in 1975 when he lectured at the Sorbonne at the École Pratique des Hautes Études.[42] The material he began to gather and study during his Slade professorship comprised, among others, over two thousand photographs. Regrettably, only a fraction of the collection appeared in his publications.[43]

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42 'Les Cinq Sens dans l'art du Moyen-Age', *Revue de l'art*, 34 (1976), 17–28.

43 *Sevres et les cinq sens*, Stockholm: Nationalmuseum 1984; 'The Five Senses in Flemish Art before 1600', in *Netherlandish Manner-ism. Papers given at a symposium in Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, September 21–22 1984*, Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1985, 135–154; 'The Five Senses in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 48 (1985), 1–22.

4 'Die spätantiken Kanontafeln'

The name of Carl Nordenfalk is prominently associated with a work he wrote at the beginning of his scholarly career: his dissertation on the Eusebian canon tables, i.e. the tabular concordance indicating parallel passages of the four gospels, invented by Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea in the fourth century (Fig. 13). The tables, presented in a decorative architectural setting, are introduced by Eusebi-us's letter to his friend Carpianus in which he explained how to use the tool, and closed by a symbolic composition known as the 'Fountain of Life' (Fig. 6 A–C). The whole set became an integral part of late antique and medieval manuscripts of the New Testament in every Christian lan-guage, but its layout changed, depending on the different cultural regions in which it was produced. Being of limited practical usefulness, the canons owed their long-lasting prosperity to their symbolic and artistic value.

Fig. 14: Gospels, sixth century, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS lat. 3806, fols 1v–2r. With permission of the Stockholm National Museum's archives.

From Nordenfalk's autobiography we learn that the Eusebian Canons had not been the original subject of his dissertation, but the above-mentioned *Codex Caesareus Upsaliensis.* He abandoned the subject in 1933, when Albert Boeckler, in connection with the publication of the *Speyer Gospel Book* (Escorial, Library of the Monastery of San Lorenzo, Cod. Vitrinas 17), announced his work-in-progress on the Echternach painting school. The second choice of topic emerged from the study of two full-page miniatures belonging to the so-called *Registrum Gregorii* (Trier, Stadtbibliothek, cod. 171/1626 and Chantilly, Musée Condé, no. 15654). They were the work of an anonymous painter dubbed the 'Master of Registrum Gregorii', flourishing in Trier in the 970s-980s, considered to be the most important artist of the Ottonian age.[44] However, after an

extensive period of research it became clear that the material linked to him was too vast and too problematic to be treated in a doctoral thesis.

In the Biblioteca Vaticana, Nordenfalk found two folios of a Latin manuscript from the sixth century containing four canon tables (Codex lat. 3806) (Fig. 14). The discovery enabled him to consider the new subject as a material basis for his thesis—an analysis of the arrangements of the tables, moving towards the reconstruction of the Eusebian archetype. Aware that the number of medieval gospels with decorated canons is enormous, Nordenfalk turned his attention to ancient, rare examples. Taking them as a starting point, he completed the comparative material with manuscripts from eastern Christian traditions known for their conservative attitude towards their ancient models.[45] Implementing a novel analysis of the layout of the canon tables, he distin-

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44 The results of this research were published in the paper 'Der Meister des Registrum Gregorii', *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst,* 1/3 (1950), 61–77, in which Nordenfalk gave an innovative analysis of the space treatment by the painter in the frontispiece miniature with the portrait of Otto II and the dedicatory miniature depicting Pope Gregorius the Great. He returned to the subject many years later in the articles: 'The Chronology of the Registrum Master', in *Kunsthistorische Forschungen. Otto Pächt zu seinem 70. Geburtstag,*

Salzburg 1972, 62–76 and 'Archbishop Egbert's "Registrum Gregorii"', in *Studien zur mittelalterlichen Kunst 800-1250. Festschrift für Florentine Mütherich,* edited by Katharina Bierbrauer, Peter K. Klein und Willi Sauerländer, Munich: Prestel, 1985, both repr. in 1992, see n. 5.
45 In addition to Syriac manuscripts, he took into consideration a group of Armenian, Georgian and Ethiopic examples reliant on the Greek models.

Fig. 15: Gospels, Constantinople, twelfth c.; Stockholm National Museum, Ms B 1961, fol. 3r, Canons II–III. With permission of the Stockholm National Museum's archives.

guished several canon series as characteristic of particular groups of manuscripts,[46] their arrangement depending on the varying length and width of the text columns which in themselves would depend on the size of the manuscripts.

Approaching the subject from an art historical point of view, Nordenfalk highlighted the importance of the canons' decoration. He indicated that the idea of framing tabular texts with ornamental strips imitating columns, originally executed by the scribe, developed towards the painterly imitation of architectonic structures composed of a multiplex portico[47] and gradually enriched by a repertory of aniconic and figural embellishments, entrusted only to the painter. Furthermore, even representational motifs such as the busts of the Evangelists, the apostles or prophets, arranged according to the theological typology, became incorporated into the decoration system. The aim of these additions was to increase the prestige of the canons, considered not only to be a practical comparison of the Four Gospels, but also a solemn entrance into the sacred texts clearly alluding to the gates of Heavenly Jerusalem (Fig. 15).

On the whole, Nordenfalk's dissertation provided a pioneering approach to the subject and constituted an ambitious attempt to cover a very large research field which, at that time, was still very much in its infancy. Later accumulation of new data and knowledge led Nordenfalk to reject any offers for the book's reprint.[48] In spite of that, even in its original form, 'Die spätantiken Kanontafeln' has proven to be of lasting value. It remains profitable reading not merely in terms of art history but for anyone studying the medieval gospels.

Lack of time in preparing a new edition of the book did not prevent Nordenfalk conducting further research into the problems concerning the canon tables. He wrote a series of articles which, as he said, were intended to be the *addenda and corrigenda* to his dissertation.[49] In the paper 'The Beginning of the Book Decoration'[50] he

Fig. 16: Alf Rolfsen, portrait of C. Nordenfalk, Gripsholm Castle. With permission of the Stockholm National Museum's archives.

developed the idea of possible prototypes of the concordance's architectonic frames, such as the colonnade, arcade and *tholos*, raising also the problem of the symbolic value imposed on these forms after their adaptation to the embellishment of Holy Scripture. In 'The Eusebian Canon-Tables: Some Textual Problems',[51] he pointed out the lack of serious text-critical analysis of the Greek canons and as a consequence, of a proper classification. A paper on a rare example of the canons executed in a Coptic monastic milieu[52] is a piece of veritable detective work in which the author, upon meticulous analysis of a few, badly preserved papyrus fragments, managed to reconstruct a large part of the concordance. In his paper 'The Apostolic Canon Tables'[53] Nordenfalk discussed, within a wide iconographical context, the origin and dissemination of the canon arches decorated with portraits of the apostles depicted within the medallions. His paper on different textual versions of the Eusebian synopsis, intending to continue the discussion of the original contents of the concordance, remained unfinished.

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46 He distinguished between the Greek, ancient, canon series composed of 7 pages and the creation, later on, of a set of 10 pages, between the standard Latin system comprising 12 pages and a later, alternative set composed of 16 pages. He also described and explained the Syrian system that used 19 pages.

47 Nordenfalk established the useful typology of the architectural framework of the canons being composed of the double and triple arches: 'n', 'm', and 'mn' types.

48 In his memoirs, Nordenfalk indicated that in 1979/80, at Dumbarton Oaks, he made an effort to update the book and publish it in English, but the task was too big and could not be accomplished within the one year fellowship, which, moreover, had been granted for another project.

49 'Canon Tables on Papyrus', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* 36 (1982), 29–38, here 29; repr. in 1922, see n. 5.

50 *Beiträge für Georg Swarzenski zum 11. Januar 1951,* Berlin: Mann,

Chicago: H. Regney, 1951, 9–20, repr. in 1992, see n. 5.

51 *The Journal of Theological Studies,* NS 35/1 (1984), 91–104; repr. in 1992, see n. 5.

52 See n. 49.

53 *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 6:62, 1963, 17–34, repr. 1992, see n. 5.

Matthew R. Crawford

Do the Eusebian Canon Tables Represent the Closure or the Opening of the Biblical Text? Considering the Case of Codex Fuldensis

Abstract: This chapter examines the implications the Eusebian canon tables had for the reading of the text of the gospels. Although Werner H. Kelber has suggested that the canon tables represent a milestone in the closing of the biblical text, I use the work of anthropologist Jack Goody to argue that, on the contrary, they are an information technology that opens up the text of the fourfold gospel to new kinds of analysis. This claim is then illustrated through a close examination of the modified canon tables apparatus Victor of Capua included along with the text of his Latin translation of Tatian's Diatessaron in the sixth-century Codex Fuldensis. Victor's modified version of the Eusebian apparatus made this manuscript the most paratextually complex book that had ever existed in the Latin tradition, allowing the reader to identify the portions of the four gospels Tatian was using for each line of his *unum ex quattuor euangelium*.

In the eighty years since the publication of Nordenfalk's seminal study, most of the scholarship on the Eusebian canon tables has followed his lead in focusing on the artistic aspects of the apparatus, though with some exceptions, most notably the studies of Elizabeth Mullins, Thomas O'Loughlin, Jeremiah Coogan, and the forthcoming edition by Martin Wallraff.[1] Given the significance of the canon tables for art history and, more specifically, for the history of manuscript illustrations, this focus is entirely understandable. However, the emphasis on the artistic aspects of the canon tables tradition risks obscuring the fact that in other areas also it was just as innovative in the fourth century and just as generative for the later tradition. I have in mind here particularly the history of reading and the development of information technology, topics that I explore in depth in a recent monograph.[2] In the present chapter I want to take up an issue that I touch upon in passing several times in the book but deserves further treatment, namely the implications that the Eusebian canon tables had for the actual reading of the text of the gospels. Put simply, how did reading a tetraevangelium equipped with canon tables differ from reading one that lacked the apparatus? What new possibilities were opened up, or, conversely, what modes of inquiry were discouraged or even prohibited that previously had been possible?[3] I will take as my point of departure an article by the New Testament scholar Werner H. Kelber, which represents one of the few comments upon this question, and will then turn to the work of the anthropologist Jack Goody, which provides greater theoretical underpinnings for a modified version of Kelber's position. In brief, Kelber argues that the canon tables are a major milestone in 'the history of the closure of biblical texts' in light of the 'artificiality' they assume with respect to oral performance. Goody's work on the social and cognitive impact of writing supports Kelber's argument about the 'artificiality' of the tables, but also suggests that far from merely closing the biblical text, the canon tables in fact open it up to new types of analysis thanks to the decontextualized mode of reading they encourage. In order to illustrate this claim, in the latter half of the paper I will examine one specific manuscript, the sixth-century Latin Diatessaron in Codex Fuldensis, which Victor of Capua fitted with a modified version of the Eusebian apparatus. The case of Codex Fuldensis highlights the way in which the canon tables encouraged a comparative analysis of texts, and even opened up questions that today would fall under the category of source criticism.

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1 Mullins 2001 and 2014; O'Loughlin 2010; Coogan 2017; O'Loughlin 2017. See also McArthur 1965; Nordenfalk 1984; Grafton/Williams 2006, 194–199.
2 Crawford 2019.

3 Compare the suggestive remarks from Martin Wallraff: 'Kurzum: so schlicht die Tabelle ist—sie setzt das neue Medium des Kodex voraus, und sie nutzt die damit gegebenen Möglichkeiten. Man stelle sich das Hin und Her bei einer Rolle vor, das Vor- und Zurückspulen zwischen Tabelle und Text: ganz unmöglich. Das neue Medium generiert ein neues Leseverhalten: nicht nur kontinuierliches, sondern auch konsultierendes Lesen' (Wallraff 2013, 32). For an analogous inquiry into the way in which ancient paratexts related to the mode of reading ancient texts, see Butler 2014.

1 Kelber's Closure

Kelber's article is titled 'The History of the Closure of Biblical Texts' and in it he takes his cue from a 1992 essay by Walter Ong titled 'Technology Outside Us and Inside Us'.[4] Kelber summarizes Ong's theoretical framework as consisting in the claim that 'Writing and print, as well as electronic devices [...] are technologies that produce something in the sensible world outside us but also affect the way our minds work'.[5] This insight he then applies to the history of biblical texts, providing a grand, sweeping overview that begins with scribal culture in the Ancient Near East and ends with the advent of narrative criticism of biblical stories in the 1960s. Kelber's recounting of this history is unquestionably a narrative of decline and fall, in the tradition of Gibbon's history of Rome or of so many Protestant histories of Christianity's first millennium and a half. He states his thesis as follows: 'In macrohistorical perspectives, a trajectory is observable that runs from scribal multiformity, verbal polyvalency, and oral, memorial sensibilities toward an increasing chirographic control over the material surface of biblical texts, culminating in the autosemantic print authority of the Bible'.[6] The evaluative judgment within this historical recounting is obvious. We begin in the Ancient Near East with an ideal scenario of 'multiformity', 'polyvalency', 'orality', 'anonymity',[7] 'textual mobility',[8] 'textual pluriformity',[9] 'creative traditional[ism]',[10] and 'equiprimordiality',[11] all of which Kelber sums up in the term *mouvance*, denoting, in short, 'a living tradition in a process of persistent regeneration'.[12] On the other hand, the lamentable state in which this story ends is one of 'control', 'authority', and 'stability', first with the creation of a 'canon' of texts and followed eventually by their exact mechanical reproduction enabled by the printing press. Such developments seemingly bring to an end the 'living tradition' by creating a closed textual universe that has no regard for the 'oral biosphere'.[13]

Placed roughly midway in the recounting of this history, the Eusebian canon tables do not fare well in Kelber's telling. First, he recognizes the indebtedness of the Eusebian paratext to Origen's *Hexapla*, and has nothing but scorn for the scholarly tool produced by the industry of Eusebius's predecessor: 'in juxtaposing texts one next to the other, and in inviting comparative reading, Origen constructed a textual universe that constituted a virtual counter-model to the *mouvance* of the performative tradition'.[14] Eusebius's work, however, was even more degenerate than Origen's, relying as it did upon the insight that numbers can symbolically stand in for discrete units of discourse, a technique virtually impossible with oral communication. This, Kelber boldly asserts, represents the 'mathematization of texts'[15]—a phrase that is clearly intended to evoke horror among his readers. Kelber recognizes that the canon tables introduced 'an entirely new approach to reading and understanding the four gospels', by enabling 'comparative thinking across gospel narratives'. This new mode of inquiry, however, came at an unacceptably steep price: the 'numerical logic' gave the 'illusion of a closed system'. Due to its 'artificiality' the system of canon tables 'had no basis in the real life of the gospels nor did they leave any room for social engagement, for participation in the oral-scribal-oral loop, or for compositional involvement in memorial processes'.[16] Kelber's comments on the canon tables are brief but his point is clear enough. He sees them as intrinsically reductive, disconnecting the text of the gospels from oral performance and therefore marking a significant moment in the history of the 'closure' of the biblical text.

The first thing that needs to be said in response to Kelber is that the problem that so exercises him was, in some form, recognized by Eusebius himself. To be sure, Eusebius was not concerned with orality in the way Kelber is, but he did realize that a certain way of presenting the text of the gospels destroyed their organic narrative form, a consequence that he sought to avoid. I refer here to the so-called *Diatessaron-Gospel* of Ammonius of Alexandria, mentioned by Eusebius in his *Letter to Carpianus*. Ammonius had created a gospel synopsis, which Eusebius recognized as a powerful reference tool, though he pointed out that it had the unfortunate consequence of making it impossible to read any of the latter three gospels in their normal sequence.[17] Eusebius, therefore, to put it into Kelber's terms, recognized the 'artificiality' (yet also utility!)

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4 Ong 1992, 115–140.
5 Kelber 2010, 115.
6 Kelber 2010, 116.
7 Kelber 2010, 118.
8 Kelber 2010, 118.
9 Kelber 2010, 120.
10 Kelber 2010, 120.
11 Kelber 2010, 121.
12 Kelber 2010, 118. Kelber borrows the term from the work of Paul Zumthor on medieval French poetry.
13 Kelber 2010, 123.

14 Kelber 2010, 126. For a more sympathetic account of Origen's *Hexapla*, see especially Grafton/Williams 2006, chapter 2.
15 Kelber 2010, 126.
16 Kelber 2010, 126.
17 On the relation of Ammonius and Eusebius, see Crawford 2015, 1–29, which in a revised and expanded version serves as chapter two of Crawford 2019.

of Ammonius's composition, and his creation of a still more 'artificial' numerical coding system was intended to preserve intact the internal narrative structure of the texts.

2 Jack Goody on the cognitive impact of writing

Though Kelber's disparagement of the canon tables is off the mark, there is an element of truth in his argument that can be strengthened by considering the results of anthropological fieldwork. In the latter half of the twentieth century, the British anthropologist Jack Goody spent much of his career studying the impact of literacy upon people's intellectual habits and the social structures they inhabit. One of his consistent arguments, from the beginning to the end of his career, was that writing enables a kind of critical thinking that simply is not possible in a non-literate, purely oral society. I quote here from his 1977 monograph:

> Culture, after all, is a series of communicative acts, and differences in the modes of communication are often as important as differences in the mode of production, for they involve developments in the storing, analysis, and creation of human knowledge, as well as the relationships between the individuals involved. The specific proposition is that writing, and more especially alphabetic literacy, made it possible to scrutinise discourse in a different way by giving oral communication a semi-permanent form; this scrutiny favoured the increase in scope of critical activity, and hence of rationality, scepticism, and logic [...] It increased the potentialities of criticism because writing laid out discourse before one's eyes in a different kind of way [...] the human mind was freed to study static 'text' (rather than be limited by participation in the dynamic 'utterance'), a process that enabled man to stand back from his creation and examine it in a more abstract, generalised, and 'rational' way.[18]

The two key insights that I want to draw from this passage are first, that writing engages the visual rather than simply the aural sense, and as a result invites the kind of analysis that is only possible with the eyes; and, second, that the act of writing represents a 'decontextualisation' of language from the oral utterance.[19] The words on the

page, abstracted from a singular moment of oral speech, are now present in semi-permanent form and so open to examination with the eyes. Elsewhere in his book Goody identifies comparative analysis as one such mode of examination that is much more easily done in writing than in an oral process: 'it is certainly easier to perceive contradictions in writing than it is in speech, partly because one can formalise the statements in a syllogistic manner and partly because writing arrests the flow of oral converse so that one can compare side by side utterances that have been made at different times and at different places'.[20] Furthermore, Goody argues that this process of decontextualization that begins with the transfer of oral speech to written text is intensified in certain specific information devices, namely lists, tables, formulas, and recipes, which are even further from oral discourse. The list, for example, 'relies on discontinuity rather than continuity; [...] it can be read in different directions, both sideways and downwards, up and down, as well as left and right; [...] Most importantly it encourages the ordering of the items, by number, by initial sound, by category, etc. And the existence of boundaries, external and internal, brings greater visibility to categories, at the same time as making them more abstract'.[21]

Though Goody's analysis in this book and others depends largely upon anthropological fieldwork in Africa, his description of the cognitive effect of a 'list' aptly captures some of the most important features of the Eusebian canon tables, features that people like ourselves, who are inundated with tables and lists from primary school onwards, are likely to overlook. First of all, the sectioning within each gospel creates chunks of text that are demarcated according to an artificial rationale (i.e., whether they have parallels amongst the other gospels), which abstracts these units of text from the organic narrative flow of each of the four. Next, each passage is assigned a number, by which it can be symbolically represented and more easily manipulated, a process that removes the user still further from the original text. In a final step of decontextualization, these artificially demarcated and

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18 Goody 1977, 37. See the similar comments made in Goody 2000, chapter 8, 'Technologies of the Intellect: Writing and the Written Word'.

19 Goody 1977, 78: 'We have seen that there are two main functions of writing. One is the storage function, that permits communication over time and space, and provides man with a marking, mnemonic and recording device. Clearly this function could also be carried out by other means of storage such as the tape-recording of messages.

However, the use of aural reproduction would not permit the second function of writing, which shifts language from the aural to the visual domain, and makes possible a different kind of inspection, the re-ordering and refining not only of sentences, but of individual words. Morphemes can be removed from the body of the sentence, the flow of oral discourse, and set aside as isolated units capable not simply of being ordered within a sentence, but of being ordered outside this frame, where they appear in a very different and highly 'abstract' context. I would refer to it as a process of decontextualisation'.

20 Goody 1977, 11–12.

21 Goody 1977, 81. Cf. Goody 2000, 141.

enumerated chunks of text are sorted into ten highly abstract categories which are entirely unrelated to the original contexts from which they come. The artificiality of this process is thrown into sharper relief if we contrast it with another system of sorting that might have gathered together all of Jesus' parables, or perhaps all of his interactions with women, or statements from the disciples, etc. Such categories would still decontextualize these passages from the four narratives, but they are not nearly as abstract as the ten categories that Eusebius has devised, which have no basis in the text of any single gospel but rely instead on the various relations amongst the four.

This might seem to be belaboring the obvious, but, as I hinted at a moment ago, the fundamental shift that the canon tables represent are one of the most difficult things for people like us to grasp, since the tabular form and citation of text by number are so common in our everyday experience. The ingenuity of Eusebius's system becomes more apparent through consideration of the work of two classicists who have recently studied reading culture among Greek- and Latin-speakers in antiquity. Andrew Riggsby's recent monograph on information technology in the Roman world argues that '[e]ven in their most literary moments, Romans preferred imagining texts (at least potentially) as speech acts'.[22] This implicit view of text as speech acts, he hypothesizes, accounts for certain striking features of Roman reading culture. For example, among Latin speakers prior to the fourth century, the presentation of numbers or words in a tabular form is 'vanishingly rare', and paratexts, though not completely unknown, were also rare.[23] A further consequence of the imagining of text as speech is that Roman authors have a strong disposition against citing passages of text by any abstract system of reference, such as a book number or line number, and when they do engage in this kind of cross-reference, they typically summarize the text being referred to anyway. In other words, there 'is a strong Roman norm against [what Riggsby calls] "obligatory cross-reference"', that is, cross-references that require the reader to actually go and look at a second text rather than also summarizing its content.[24] Reviel Netz has made a similar argument about Greek literature, specifically drawing a contrast between Greek mathematical texts and Greek literary texts, proposing that the near absence of images or illustrations from literary works is due to

the similar assumption that written text is simply the encoding of a past moment of oral speech, which serves as the necessary apparatus for reenacting that speech act in a further performance.[25] Seen against this late antique cultural background, Kelber is right that the canon tables represent a significant step away from the ideal of an oral performance towards a more textual way of thinking about language.

Therefore, up to this point, Goody's conclusions about the cognitive impact of writing in contrast with oral discourse support Kelber's claim that the canon tables are marked by a distinct 'artificiality' since the system 'ha[s] no basis in the real life of the gospels'. The extent of this claim, however, depends upon what one imagines the 'real life of the gospels' to be. Kelber's statement implies that the canon tables are a kind of foreign imposition upon the text of the gospels, and, if one views their essence to be oral performance, that would be true.[26] However, by Eusebius's day, the gospels had long existed in written form, and their compilation into a fourfold canon made obvious that these four texts bore some relation to one another, even if that relation remained obscure. In light of their already textualized form, a more positive way of describing the effect that the canon tables had upon the four gospels would be to rephrase Goody's argument by saying that they bring greater visibility to the relational categories that were already implicit in the fourfold canon itself. It was, in other words, a process of making explicit that which was already implicit rather than the intrusion of an alien force.[27] Furthermore, Goody's work suggests that we should see the effect of this process as an opening, rather than a closing of the gospel texts, since decontextualization enables new 'modes of thought'.[28] As a result of their sorting into artificial categories of relation, passages within the fourfold gospel could now be examined in ways previously impossible such as, for example, investigating

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22 Riggsby 2019, 8.

23 Riggsby 2019, 6, 8. On Latin paratexts, see also the collected essays in Jansen 2014.

24 Riggsby 2019, 20–22.

25 Netz 2013, 237–240.

26 Goody likewise acknowledges that putting the oral into written form does bring an end to a certain kind of 'creative development' (Goody 2000, 105).

27 Here I again paraphrase another of Goody's claims, namely that the effect of writing and related information technologies is 'to make the implicit explicit' (Goody 2000, 164).

28 Goody 1977, 81, suggested 'we interpret "modes of thought" in terms of the formal cognitive and linguistic operations which this new technology of the intellect opened up'. Cf. Goody 2000, 144: 'So when I use the phrase "technology of the intellect" about writing, I am thinking mainly not about the primary level of physical instrumentation but about the way that writing affects cognitive or intellectual operations, which I take in a wide sense as relating to the understanding of the world in which we live, especially the general methods we use for this'.

all the content that Matthew shares with Mark and Luke, or that Luke shares with John. This is the sort of comparative analysis that is almost impossible in purely oral discourse, and difficult even with four unmarked texts, but is the primary purpose of the Eusebian apparatus. It is, therefore, precisely the abstract nature of the Eusebian paratext that makes it so powerful as an analytical tool. To illustrate these new possibilities opened up by the canon tables, I turn now to one specific manuscript.

3 Victor of Capua and Codex Fuldensis

Victor of Capua was responsible for perhaps the most original and unexpected use of Eusebius's marginal apparatus in the Latin tradition, one that illustrates how the technology devised by the Caesarean historian contained a potential utility that exceeded the immediate purpose of its inventor. Victor was bishop of Capua approximately a century and a half after Jerome had introduced the canon tables into the Latin manuscript tradition, and it seems that by this point they had become a staple of Latin gospel books, as implied by the brief discussions of them found in Cassiodorus and Isidore, who both wrote in the half-century or so after Victor.[29] Victor holds a unique place in the history of the Latin New Testament as a result of his efforts at producing the manuscript known as Codex Fuldensis, noteworthy today as the oldest complete copy of the Latin New Testament in existence. Victor did not copy the manuscript himself but commissioned its production and added a subscription at the end dated 19 April 546 in which he indicated that he had proofread the entire manuscript, followed by a further subscription added on 12 April 547 marking the completion of a second proofread.[30] Yet the edition of the gospels that Victor included in this copy of the Latin New Testament was, to put it mildly, unusual.[31] In the preface he wrote for the manuscript he explained how he happened to come across 'a single gospel compiled from the four' (*unum ex quattuor euangelium conpositum*), which lacked a title.[32] He there-

fore undertook his own research to discern the possible source of this curious text. Today it is generally agreed that he had somehow stumbled across a Latin copy of Tatian's so-called Diatessaron, and the manuscript that he commissioned is now regarded as one of the most important witnesses to Tatian's composition.[33] The text typically known as the Diatessaron was created sometime in the late second century by Tatian the Assyrian who combined elements from all four canonical gospels into a single, continuous narrative.[34] It later exerted a profound influence upon Syriac-speaking Christianity, though Codex Fuldensis is the earliest trace of it to appear in the Latin tradition.[35]

Despite its anonymity and lack of title, Victor was able to deduce the origins of his exemplar by investigating earlier Christian literature, specifically the writings of Eusebius. In the preface he explained that he discovered two prior persons who were said to have produced such a text. First, he noted that in the *Letter to Carpianus* Eusebius had stated that Ammonius of Alexandria 'joined to the Gospel of Matthew extracts from the remaining three gospels and in this way wove the gospel into a single sequence' (*matthei euangelio reliquorum trium excerpta iunxisse, ac sic in unam seriem euangelium nexsuisse*).[36] Second, Victor pointed out that Eusebius, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, had also said that Tatian did something of this sort, producing an *unum ex quattuor euangelium*.[37] Since Eusebius had said Ammonius gave priority to Matthew in his 'Diatessaron', and since the version he had before him began with the *principia* of Luke,[38] rather than Matthew,

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29 Cassiodorus, *inst*. 1.7.2; Isidore, *etymol*. 6.15.

30 On the dates, see Fischer 1963, 546–548. The dates are given incorrectly in Petersen 1994, 45 n. 33. There are indeed numerous emendations in Victor's hand in the manuscript, including corrections made in the marginal notation for the Eusebian paratext.

31 Another oddity about Codex Fuldensis is that Victor included the apocryphal letter to the Laodiceans amongst the Pauline corpus.

32 The most recent edition of *Codex Fuldensis* is Ranke 1868. I cite here the preface on pp. 1–3. Translations of the preface are my own

and I must thank Michael Hanaghan for his assistance with several passages. I have chosen to follow the punctuation of the text as presented in *Patrologia Latina,* LXVIII, which seems to me to be superior to Ranke's punctuation. A new edition of the text is in preparation by Nick Zola. A digitized version of the manuscript can be accessed here: http://fuldig.hs-fulda.de/viewer/image/PPN325289808/1 (last accessed 13/04/2020).

33 Cf. Petersen 1994, 45–51; Houghton 2016, 56–58.

34 On the title of Tatian's work, see Crawford 2013, 362–385, and for a recent collection of studies exploring various aspects of its composition and reception, see Crawford/Zola 2019.

35 On the influence of Fuldensis on the medieval Latin tradition, see especially Schmid 2005.

36 Victor, *praef*. (Ranke 1868, 1). Victor seems to have misunderstood the nature of Ammonius' text, as noted long ago by Zahn 1881, 31. Ammonius did not make a singular gospel with a continuously running narrative like the text in Codex Fuldensis but instead a gospel synopsis, consisting of parallel passages placed alongside one another, likely in parallel columns.

37 Victor, *praef*. (Ranke 1868, 1). Cf. Eusebius, HE 4.29.6.

38 Victor, *praef*. (Ranke 1868, 2). By *principia* Victor apparently meant the opening portion of Luke's gospel, since Codex Fuldensis begins with Luke 1:1–4 before transitioning to John 1:1–4.

Victor inferred, by a process of elimination, that he had discovered a copy of Tatian's work.

This recognition, however, presented him with a problem. By the time he was writing, Latin authors were well acquainted with Tatian's reputation as a heretic thanks to Rufinus's translation of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*, and Victor realized that some of his readers might find it objectionable to use a text composed by such a disreputable person. He admitted that Tatian partook of the error of the Encratites and of Marcion, and that he even 'is said to have applied the hands of impious emendation—or to use a more accurate phrase, the hands of corruption—to the apostolic sayings' (*sed et dictis apostolicis manus profanae emendationis, uel (ut dicam uerius) corruptionis dicitur intulisse*), referring with the latter phrase to Eusebius's report that Tatian paraphrased the letters of Paul.[39] Victor thus acknowledged the doubly problematic nature of Tatianic authorship of the text before him: not only might Tatian's heretical theology make his literary creation suspect, but the fact that he is also known to have corrupted the letters of Paul raises the possibility that he might have engaged in illicit textual emendation of the gospels as well. Victor, therefore, had both to justify the use of a work written by a heretic, and to reassure his readers that the unified text of the gospels before them did not differ from that found in a standard four-gospel codex. To answer the first obstacle, Victor pointed out that

et hominum perfidorum (christi dei nostri operante potentia) confessione uel opere, saepe triumphat gloria ueritatis. (nam et daemones christum fatebantur; ...); tatianus quoque, licet profanis inplicatus erroribus, non inutile tamen exhibens studiosis exemplum, hoc euangelium (ut mihi uidetur) sollerti conpaginatione disposuit.[40]

the glory of the truth often triumphs either through confession or deeds, even those of faithless people, thanks to the operation of the power of Christ our God. For even the demons used to confess Christ [...] Likewise Tatian, although entangled in impious errors, nevertheless offers a useful example to the studious as he ordered this gospel with what seems to me to be a skillful arrangement.

Hence, Victor reasoned,

uel si iam heresiarces huius editionis auctor exstitit tatianus, uerba domini mei cognoscens, libenter amplector interpretationem.[41]

even if the author of this edition turned out to be the heresiarch Tatian, I recognize the words of my Lord and gladly embrace his exposition.

In other words, if the words the demons spoke about Christ were nevertheless true, so too Tatian's gospel composition should not be rejected simply on the basis of its author's depraved character.

How might then one overcome the second of Victor's obstacles, the possibility that this *unum ex quattuor euangelium* might contain not only the standard text of the gospels but also, as Victor puts it, Tatian's 'own words' (*eius propria*) interspersed throughout the sacred text?[42] Victor realized that Eusebius, the source of his problematic information about Tatian, also provided him with the solution to this difficulty in the form of his canon tables. The entire second half of his preface to Codex Fuldensis is devoted to a discussion of the paratextual apparatus, akin to Jerome's own *Novum Opus* letter to Pope Damasus that prefaced the Vulgate gospels. Immediately after reviewing the details of Tatian's career and legacy as recounted by Eusebius, Victor then commented:

hoc igitur euangelium, cum absque numeris repperissem, quos ammonius mirabili studio repperit; Eusebius uero caesareae episcopus palestinae, ab eo accipiens exemplum, diligenter excoluit, quibus communiter ab euangelistis dicta uel propria sunt notulis declarata; domino iuuante, studium laboris inpendi, ut memoratos numeros per loca congrua diligenter adfigerem. quodsi dubitatio alicuius uerbi fortasse prouenerit, ex appositis numeris ad plenariam recurrens quilibet euangelii lectionem, an et ibidem ita se sermo habeat de quo ambiguitas prouenerat, incunctanter inueniat, et absque scrupulo studiosi mens secura hoc possit uti uolumine.[43]

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39 Victor, *praef.* (Ranke 1868, 1). On Tatian's editing of the Pauline letters, see Eusebius, *hist. eccl.* 4.29.6, who interpreted it as an attempt to improve the apostle's style. On Tatian's reputation as a heretic, see most recently Koltun-Fromm 2008, 1–30; Trelenberg 2012, 204–219; Crawford 2016, 542–575.

40 Victor, *praef.* (Ranke 1868, 1–2).

41 Victor, *praef.* (Ranke 1868, 2).

42 Victor, *praef.* (Ranke 1868, 2). To the great dismay of scholars of the Diatessaron, Codex Fuldensis has a text-type that is solidly Vulgate, in which the peculiar readings introduced by Tatian into his gospel version have been removed in order to domesticate an otherwise dangerously errant text. We do not know whether this clean-up tactic was accomplished by Victor or was already evident in his exemplar, since he makes no comment on it, but the result was a continuous narrative that retained Tatian's sequence of passages but replaced his original wording for that found in the four separate gospels in Jerome's Vulgate version. This is a process commonly known as 'Vulgatization' in Diatessaronic scholarship. Cf. Petersen 1994, 127–129. For one example of this phenomenon in Codex Fuldensis, see Crawford 2016, 273–274.

43 Victor, *praef.* (Ranke 1868, 2).

So then, since I had found this gospel without the numbers that Ammonius by extraordinary effort invented—actually, Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea of Palestine, took a model from him and carefully refined [it] with little notations indicating what was said by the evangelists in common or distinctly—with the Lord's assistance I applied my love of work to carefully attaching the aforementioned numbers throughout the appropriate places. Now if perhaps doubt about some word should arise, anyone, by returning from the adjacent numbers to the full reading of the gospel, should immediately find out whether the words also read thus at that very place where the ambiguity had arisen and so, without any anxiety the untroubled mind of the studious should be able to make use of this book.

Victor here places himself in a lineage of scholarly attention to the text of the gospels. Ammonius exerted 'extraordinary effort' to create the numbers for the gospels,[44] Eusebius 'carefully' refined Ammonius' invention, and now Victor 'carefully' modified the Ammonian-Eusebian system so that it could be used as a guide to the text of Tatian's *unum ex quattuor euangelium*.

Yet the Eusebian system was designed, as Victor pointed out, to serve as a guide to the distinct and common material across the four *separated* gospels. What utility could it have for a unified gospel like Tatian's? Victor's rather laconic explanation is perhaps at first ambiguous but upon reflection must mean something like the following. If a reader of Codex Fuldensis is troubled with doubt over whether a particular passage might contain Tatian's 'own words' instead of the inspired text, he or she can easily use the attached numbers to return to 'the full reading of the gospel', which must refer to the equivalent passage in a standard four-gospel codex. Through comparison of the two codices, the reader could then assure him or herself that the versions contain the same text, albeit in different forms, and thus continue using Tatian's version without any 'anxiety'. As Victor said at the end of his preface, 'The inquisitive reader by first inspecting the aforementioned numbers, if he wants, may easily verify what he has encountered by reading from the note of the number' (*memoratus numeros prius curiosus lector, si velit, inspiciens, facile, ex nota numeri, reperta comprobet lectione*).[45] The adapted Eusebian system thus equips the reader to 'verify' the text of this *unum ex quattuor euangelium* through a decontextualized comparative analysis. Of course, it would have been possible to undertake this task in the absence of

the Eusebian apparatus, but because the form of Tatian's text was so different from that of the four separated gospels, finding the relevant passage would have been tedious and time consuming. It was this problem of 'findability' that Victor realized the Eusebian canon tables could help address. By incorporating the system into Codex Fuldensis, he provided its readers with a numerical key that would enable them quickly and easily to locate the corresponding textual material in its usual form in another codex. In other words, Victor has realized that the apparatus can be used not only as a cross-referencing tool within a single manuscript—Eusebius's original intention—but also as a cross-referencing device *across separate manuscripts*.[46]

Allow me to illustrate what Victor has in mind with a concrete example. One of the episodes that occurs in all four of the canonical gospels, though with variation in each one, is the story of Joseph of Arimathea who received Jesus' body after the crucifixion and prepared it for burial. Since each of the gospels has distinct details in their respective descriptions of Joseph, Tatian had to work with all four sources, incorporating elements from each into his new, single narrative. In Codex Fuldensis the Joseph episode opens *capitulum* 172 (CLXXII) on fol. 170v, and in the margin next to the start of the paragraph, one reads the following notation:

Mt	CCCXLVIII
	I
Mr	CCXXVII
Lc	CCCXXXII
Io	CCVI

The 'I' on line two indicates that this is a passage from Eusebius's first Canon, while the other numbers are, of course, the section numbers for the parallel passages in each of the gospels: Mt §348, Mk §227, Lk §332, Jn §206.[47] With this information, one could easily turn to each of these passages in the four gospels and compare their version with that in Codex Fuldensis, and thus be assured that Tatian's text is merely a combination of the distinct elements from those four canonical sources, unsullied by any taint of Tatian's heretical emendation.

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[44] Victor's assumption, however, that Ammonius created the numbers found within the canon tables apparatus is misguided. There is no reason to think that he was responsible for the enumeration, which was instead the product of Eusebius's own ingenuity. Cf. Crawford 2019, 86.

[45] Victor, *praef.* (Ranke 1868, 3).

[46] This intended function could only have been realized if Victor could assume that there was available a sufficient number of four-gospel codices equipped with the apparatus, and in this respect he indirectly testifies to the growing prevalence of the system within the Latin manuscript tradition.

[47] Cf. Ranke 1868, 157. Note that Ranke's edition contains a mistake here. He lists Mk §CCXXVIII in the margin, adding in an extra 'I', while the marginal number for Mark in the digitized version of the manuscript is clearly CCXXVII.

If we try to imagine how Victor produced his codex, we will gain a better sense of his achievement. We are so accustomed to operating with texts demarcated into numbered sections, that it is difficult for us to appreciate the difficulty facing someone like Victor who had before him nothing more than a continuous, unmarked text representing an intricate harmonization of four sources, not just at the macro level of pericope but at the micro level of individual phrases and words. He must have begun at the start of his codex with its opening passage, and sought to discern from which of the four gospels the passage derived. Then he went to a codex containing the four separate gospels, which was equipped with Eusebius's apparatus, and found the passage therein, on the basis of mere memory and much searching. Once he had found the relevant passage or passages, he then took the section number or numbers and copied them into the margin of his new manuscript, thereby creating a notation in Codex Fuldensis that pointed the reader to the other codex. For the gospels' passion narratives, this process would have been fairly simple, since these sections present so much common material in largely the same sequence. However, each of the gospels contains distinctive material and even that textual content that is common across multiple gospels often occurs in divergent sequences. As an example of the latter type, consider Jesus' statement that a prophet is without honor in his hometown. Mark includes this saying roughly midway through Jesus' ministry as the conclusion to Jesus' rejection at the synagogue in Nazareth (Mark 6:4); Matthew similarly includes the saying in the episode of Jesus' preaching in Nazareth, but unlike Mark places the scene at the conclusion of a long section of parabolic material (Matt 13:57); Luke relocates the saying much earlier in his gospel, at the very outset of Jesus' public ministry (Luke 4:24); finally John inserted the saying as a parenthetical remark at the conclusion to a lengthy episode that is not found in the other gospels (John 4:44).[48] For passages like these, scattered throughout the gospels, finding and comparing the parallel passages between Tatian's gospel and the four separated gospels would have been a complex and demanding task in the absence of some sort of referencing system. Since Victor already had a copy of the four gospels equipped with Eusebius's apparatus, all that was required of him was to find one of these four passages, and then to use Eusebius's cross-references to track down the others more easily.

Moreover, there are two further ways Victor modified the Eusebian system so that it better suited the peculiar gospel version found in Codex Fuldensis. First, he inserted an even more granular level of comparative analysis than Eusebius had done by highlighting within each Tatianic passage the specific parts that came from various gospels. An example of this occurs further down the page on fol. 170v, where the next set of Eusebian numbers occur in the margin. Here we read[49]

Io	CCVIII
	I
Mt	CCCXLVIII
Mr	CCXXVIII
Lc	CCCXXXIII

The red 'I' in line two denotes that this is again a Canon I passage that occurs in all four gospels, though with some variation. In the text to the right of this marginal notation, where the corresponding section of Tatian's version begins, the scribe has written the abbreviations for all four gospels into the line before the start of the section, telling the reader that what follows comes from all four gospels (*acceperunt ergo corpus ihesu* ...). However, two lines down, once again in the left margin, one reads a small red 'Io', denoting that the next bit of text that follows is distinctive to John's account of Joseph's burial of Jesus (*et ligauerunt eum* ...), and three lines below that again a red 'Io' is in the margin, since this bit of text also is unique to John (*erat autem in loco* ...). Finally, on the penultimate line on the page, after the first word one sees the symbols 'Lc Io' in red, indicating that the text that follows is a detail that occurs in both Luke and John. Eusebius had rightly presented all four of the accounts of Jesus' burial as parallel to one another, but Victor has realized, probably through a close comparison of Tatian's version and the separated gospels, that differences between the passages remain, and he has meticulously incorporated a fine-grained system of analysis that operates within the framework of the Eusebian paratext to indicate to the reader where these differences and commonalities lie.

The second way Victor adapted the Eusebian system was by adding a further level of navigational complexity within the modified version of Eusebius's prefatory tables that he included at the start of his new codex. He kept the numbers for the parallel passages that Eusebius had orig-

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48 This specific passage can be found in *cap.* 79 of Codex Fuldensis (Ranke 1868, 72), adjacent to the marginal notation Mt §142, Mk §51, Lk §21, and Jn §35.

49 Victor seemingly made a mistake here, listing Mt §CCCXLVIII instead of Mt §CCCXLVIIII. The mistake is repeated within the canon tables at the start of the codex (see below), so Victor's system is at least internally consistent even if it diverges from Eusebius's original by duplicating Mt §348 and omitting Mt §349.

inally included in each canon, but added in the *capitula* numbers within which each of the parallel passages occur in Codex Fuldensis. So, for example, within Canon I on fol. 6r, under *capitulo CLXXII* are found the numbers for the passages from the separate gospels that pertain to Joseph of Arimathea:[50]

Mt §CCCXLVIII Mk §CCXXVII   Lk §CCCXXXII Jn §CCVI
Mt §CCCXLVIII Mk §CCXXVIII Lk §CCCXXXIII Jn §CCVIII

By inserting the *capitulum* number for this episode, which is unique to the narrative of Codex Fuldensis, Victor has made it possible for the reader to start from any given passage within an edition of the separate gospels and then to find that passage within Tatian's version. So, if one were reading the Gospel of Matthew in a normal codex, one could note down the section and canon number for the episode about Joseph of Arimathea, find the section number in the Matthew column of Victor's modified canon I, and then turn to the *capitulum* under which it appears to read Tatian's combined version of the scene. This insertion of the *capitula* numbers accounts for one of the peculiarities about the canons in Codex Fuldensis. In Eusebius's original design the parallels within each of the canons are arranged by placing the numerals in the first column in ascending order, based on the Gospel of Matthew in the first seven canons, Luke in canons eight and nine, and each of the respective gospels in canon ten. However, in Codex Fuldensis, the numbers in the first column do not always go in ascending order, but instead often jump around. This variance is due to the fact that Victor has reordered the parallels within each of the canons so that they instead follow the sequence of *capitula* within each canon, with the result that the *capitula* numbers always proceed in ascending order. In this respect he has subordinated Eusebius's referencing system to the sequence of *capitula* unique to Codex Fuldensis, but ensured that the Eusebian paratext is still a functional navigational device across multiple codices. Using Victor's modified Eusebian apparatus, one could go back and forth as desired between Tatian's version and a version of the separate gospels, regardless of which text one began with.

With these additions to Eusebius's original system, Victor managed to create a book more paratextually complex than any that had previously existed in the Latin tradition. No other text known to us had ever been pro-

duced in a form accompanied by a continuously running marginal set of references to another text or texts. This is around the same time that the catena form emerged in the Greek tradition, and there is a certain similarity between the catena format and Victor's codex, in that both exploit marginal space to incorporate paratextual material related to the central text on the page. However, in the catena form, the scribe copies the relevant secondary text directly into the margin, whereas Victor has merely copied the numerical references for those secondary texts. His system therefore is more abstract and requires more effort on the part of the reader who is expected to go and look up the passages in a separate codex. It is, therefore, the sort of 'obligatory cross-reference' that Riggsby argues is exceedingly rare in Latin sources prior to the fourth century. There is a further aspect of the reasoning process implied by Victor's creation that is also remarkably original but easy to miss. In order to adapt the Eusebian system of canon tables to Codex Fuldensis, he had to begin with each passage in the Diatessaron and then identify the *sources* that Tatian used in composing it. This again distinguishes Victor's paratextual apparatus from the catena form, since in the latter the textual material copied into the margin is not a source for the central text on the page but is rather a commentary upon it. In contrast, rather than providing room for a further text derivative of the main text, Victor pushed his readers in the opposite direction by forcing upon them questions about the origin of the main text. In essence what he undertook was a massive exercise in source criticism, and what he produced for posterity was an annotated version of Tatian's *unum ex quattuor euangelium* showing the sources employed at each stage of the narrative. This is once more a form of reasoning about texts that seems obvious to us, but it was stunningly novel in the sixth century. No one, for example, had ever applied this approach to the four canonical gospels themselves,[51] and it would be centuries before anyone would do so. It did not occur to Victor to ask what sources the four evangelists might themselves have used, but he did consider Tatian's use of his sources, and it is only a small step from his undertaking to the source critical analysis of the four gospels, which serves as one of the pillars of modern New Testament scholarship.

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50 Cf. Ranke 1868, 7. Ranke's edition again contains a mistake here. He lists Mk §CCXXVII in the first line though the manuscript clearly reads Mk §CCXXVII.

51 Though some have claimed that Augustine pioneered this approach in his highly influential treatise *De consensu euangelistarum*, see the rebuttal of this notion in de Jonge 1992, 2409–2417.

4 Conclusion

The mode of reading encouraged by the marginal apparatus in Codex Fuldensis represents a marked shift away from the imagined oral performance of the scroll that I discussed earlier, since Victor's marginal apparatus assumes that the reader's interaction with the codex will (at least potentially) be constantly interrupted by his or her perusal of a second codex in order to compare multiple texts side-by-side. To this degree, Codex Fuldensis supports Kelber's argument that the canon tables enforce a certain kind of closure, by distancing the text of the gospels from a (possibly imaginary?) original oral performance out of which they emerged. However, Victor's codex likewise reveals the profound potential that the canon tables had to open up the text of the gospels to new modes of inquiry, encouraging the sort of critical thinking and comparative analysis that Goody argues are key features of written discourse in contrast to the oral. Naturally Eusebius never imagined using his system of canon tables as a cross-referencing system within another text like the Diatessaron, but his paratext was the indispensible tool that made possible Victor's fine-grained analysis of Tatian's gospel. What Eusebius handed on to Victor were two innovations: first a mapping of parallel passages amongst the four gospels; and second a numerical citation system for more easily manipulating and referencing those passages. The first of these Eusebian contributions allowed Victor to compare the separate gospels with Tatian's unified version and thereby to identify the various elements that Tatian had drawn upon,[52] while the second enabled him to provide the readers of Codex Fuldensis with a system for following in his footsteps and performing the same task for themselves. Victor's modified canon tables are, therefore, an example of Goody's claim that 'tools create further tools',[53] since the Capuan bishop exploited the unrecognized potential inherent to Eusebius's invention by applying his information technology to a new problem. The continuity between these two endeavors lies in the assumptions that texts can be referenced by number and should be placed alongside other texts for the purpose of comparative analysis, and in these respects Codex Fuldensis indicates that this mode of reading, which was foreign to the first century CE, was becoming a standard feature of the emerging book culture of the late antique and medieval periods.[54] Moreover, it is an approach to texts that is the forerunner to the scholarly methods that all of us today regularly employ.

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52 My argument here raises another question that to my knowledge has not yet been pursued in the scholarly literature on Codex Fuldensis and the Diatessaron, namely the degree to which the canon tables led Victor to modify his exemplar. Some parallels amongst the gospels are of course obvious while others are more open to debate and assume some interpretation on the part of the reader. Hence, Tatian's Diatessaron and Eusebius's canon tables would certainly not have been a perfect match in terms of how they handled passages from the gospels. For example, Eusebius presented Jesus' anointing by a woman as a passage in Canon I common to all four gospels (Mt 26:6-11; Mk 14:3-7; Lk 7:36-50; Jn 12:2-8 = Mt §276; Mk §158; Lk §74; Jn §98). Tatian, however, seems to have separated the Lukan account from the other three and so made a double anointing of Jesus (see Ephrem, *Comm. Diat.* 10.8-10; 17.11-13). Since Fuldensis goes back to Tatian's Diatessaron one would expect it to have two separate anointings but in fact it records only one (*cap.* 138–139; Ranke 1868, 123–124). If Victor's exemplar in fact had two anointings, he may have been led to combine them under the influence of Eusebius's canon tables. Even though there is no doubt that Codex Fuldensis is a witness to the Diatessaron, it has long been known that it diverges from other witnesses, most notably Ephrem and the Arabic Diatessaron. Perhaps investigation of Victor's use of the canon tables could account for at least some of these discrepancies. I am grateful to Ian Mills for drawing my attention to this example of how Jesus' anointing is handled in Fuldensis in contrast to Ephrem's commentary on Tatian's gospel. He discusses this example in his chapter 'The Wrong Harmony: Against the Diatessaronic Character of the Dura Parchment', in Crawford/Zola 2019.

53 Goody 2000, 137: 'The tools of literates provide their societies with technologies of a cognitive kind, technologies that are themselves tools, for tools create further tools'.

54 For one exploration of how the late antique shifts that are evident in Eusebius's works were carried forward and developed further in the medieval period, see Carruthers 2008, who discusses canon tables on pp. 118–121.

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Jeremiah Coogan

Transmission and Transformation of the Eusebian Gospel Apparatus in Greek Medieval Manuscripts

Abstract: Scholars have often assumed that the Eusebian apparatus was defunct and ignored in the Middle Ages. I argue, however, that Greek manuscripts offer evidence for readers' ongoing use of the Eusebian apparatus. While the transmission of the Eusebian apparatus was subject to error, users maintained the functionality of the Eusebian system. Readers adapted the apparatus in order to make it a better resource for their reading of the gospels. Transformations of the Eusebian system are part of its reception history, illuminating how readers used Eusebius's project. They demonstrate both the continued vitality of the apparatus and medieval readers' vibrant interest in comparative studies of the gospels.

1 Introduction

Writing in 1904, New Testament scholar Adolf Jülicher described Eusebius of Caesarea's (*c.* 260–339 CE) system of gospel canons and sections as 'too complicated to be handed on without corruption', and able to be 'vitiated' by a 'few mistakes'.[1] According to Jülicher, the Eusebian apparatus was already an anachronism well before the second millennium. While it was copied—and more often miscopied—by later scribes, it was neither used nor understood, for 'all interest', Jülicher says, 'in these comparative studies had long died out'. Jülicher brings into focus the question I address in this chapter: Was the Eusebian system of canons and sections useful in the Middle Ages?

Recent scholarship has engaged the late ancient reception of the Eusebian apparatus. In Late Antiquity, the apparatus was extensively translated, appearing in (at least) Latin, Syriac, Gothic, Armenian, Georgian, Caucasian Albanian, and Ethiopic.[2] This reception is illustrated by the Garima Gospels and Codex Fuldensis (546 CE).[3]

Moreover, late ancient readers adapted the Eusebian apparatus. To mention two examples, Eusebius's invention was expanded to include the longer ending of Mark (16:9–20) and was expanded for its inclusion in the Syriac Peshiṭta Gospels.[4] Yet while scholars have observed the ways that the Eusebian apparatus continued to be used and adapted in Late Antiquity, Jülicher's assumptions must still be challenged when it comes to medieval manuscripts. Even eighty years after Carl Nordenfalk's work on the Eusebian canons, Jülicher's perspective often characterizes approaches to the Eusebian apparatus. Others over the past century have described the apparatus as impossibly difficult to transmit and, in any case, as 'primitive', waiting to be 'superseded' by modern columnar synopses of the gospels.[5] Discussions of the Eusebian apparatus emphasize its intricacy in order to justify its ostensibly non-functional manuscript transmission.

Over the past few decades, scholars of early Christianity have developed a renewed appreciation for the intellectual vitality of Byzantium and of the Middle Ages more broadly. In line with these insights, I here challenge the idea that the Eusebian apparatus in medieval manuscripts was defunct and ignored. To make this argument, I focus on Greek manuscripts with the Eusebian apparatus. The preserved evidence is rich in both quantity and variety. As a result, I have been selective, focusing on a handful of

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1 Jülicher 1904, 587–88.

2 On these translations, see Nordenfalk 1938 (for Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Gothic); cf. Nestle 1908; Oliver 1959, 140–43; McArthur 1965, 165.

3 On the Garima Gospels (including the question of date), see Bausi 2011; McKenzie/Watson 2016; on the Ethiopic Eusebian apparatus, see Grébaut 1913; Leroy 1962; Mercier 2000; Bausi 2002; Bausi 2015. On the Eusebian apparatus and Codex Fuldensis, see Crawford in this volume, as well as Nestle 1908; de Bruyne 1927; McGurk 1955; Petersen 1994, 45–50; Houghton 2016, 56–58. Augustine's use of the Eusebian apparatus (see note 20 below) is also a late ancient

phenomenon. One might likewise consider the Hiberno-Latin reception of the Eusebian apparatus as a late ancient phenomenon; see Mullins in this volume and McGurk 1955; McGurk 1993; Howlett 1996, 12–20; O'Loughlin 1999; Howlett 2001; Mullins 2001; Beall 2005; O'Loughlin 2007; O'Loughlin 2009; Howlett 2010; O'Loughlin 2010; Mullins 2014; Crawford 2017; O'Loughlin 2017a; O'Loughlin 2017b; Crawford 2019, 195–227.

4 On the Eusebian apparatus and the longer Markan ending, see (*inter alia*) Burgon 1871, 125–32; Scrivener 1894, 2:337–344; Gregory 1900, 869–72; von Soden 1902, 394–96; McArthur 1965, 250n4; Kelhoffer 2001; Zamagni 2016, 230–32; Knust and Wasserman 2018, 193–95. Many other discussions of the longer ending mention the Eusebian apparatus briefly. On the Eusebian apparatus in the Peshiṭta, see Burgon 1871, 308–12; Hall 1882, 141; Gwilliam 1890; Baumstark 1901; Nestle 1908; Nordenfalk 1938, 221–60; Vaccari 1957; Engelbrecht 1994, 148; Crawford 2019, 156–194.

5 McArthur 1965, 254, 256. Cf. Oliver 1959, 138 ('an inadequate critical tool'). For dismissive claims before Jülicher, see von Soden 1902, 392 and Burgon 1871, 301 (a 'clumsy substitute' for modern reference tools). There are exceptions: Nestle 1908 shares none of Jülicher's pessimism.

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textual phenomena which are paralleled in the transmission of the Eusebian apparatus in other languages.[6]

First, I consider manuscript transmission.[7] As one would expect with any manuscript phenomenon, haphazard copying affects the Eusebian apparatus in medieval manuscripts across languages. Many copies of the Eusebian apparatus are flawed, some spectacularly so. But in other manuscripts, the transmission of the apparatus is surprisingly accurate. The Eusebian apparatus was not 'vitiated', as Jülicher claimed; instead, users maintained the functionality of the Eusebian system.

Second, I demonstrate that medieval readers transformed the Eusebian apparatus for their own ends. Tracing histories of reading is difficult, since, as Roger Chartier argues, reading 'only rarely leaves traces [...] scattered in an infinity of singular acts'.[8] Nonetheless, medieval readers left evidence of their use of the Eusebian apparatus both in appropriation for exegetical compositions and in reconfigurations of the Eusebian system. Modifications of the Eusebian system are part of its reception history, illuminating how readers understood and used Eusebius's project.[9] As a result, I argue, these modifications demonstrate both the continued vitality of the apparatus and medieval readers' vibrant interest in 'comparative studies' of the gospels.[10]

2 Transmission

Numbers are among the most easily corrupted features in any manuscript tradition. *A fortiori*, we would expect a large group of numbers like the Eusebian apparatus to exhibit errors when copied. While we lack an *editio critica maior* for the Eusebian apparatus, it is clear that most sets of canons include at least a handful of mistakes.[11]

Section and canon numbers in the margins are likewise subject to error. They drift up and down in relation to the text and the numbers themselves are sometimes copied incorrectly. But was the apparatus 'too complicated to be handed on without corruption' and thus made irrelevant by a 'few mistakes', as Jülicher claimed?[12] This, I argue, is simply not the case. Despite infelicities of transmission, the Eusebian apparatus continued to be copied, used, and adapted throughout the Middle Ages.

As a case study, I examine Eusebius's canon IX in a number of Greek manuscripts. Canon IX correlates parallel material shared by Luke and John. It is one of the shorter canons, with a mere twenty-one parallels. Yet this canon is complicated on both textual and exegetical levels. While there are twenty-one parallels, this does not mean there are twenty-one passages in each column. Rather, both Luke and John columns duplicate passages in order to create a rich matrix of interconnections between the two gospel narratives. Most notably, in the case of Pilate's declarations of Jesus' innocence three sections in Luke (§§303, 307, 312) are each juxtaposed with three other sections in John (§§182, 186, 190). The result is a total of nine parallels constructed from three passages in each gospel. Of the twenty-one parallels in canon IX, not a single one simply juxtaposes one passage in Luke with one passage in John. In canon IX, the probability of error increases because most numbers occur multiple times in each column.

Some manuscripts present a text of the Eusebian apparatus that is dodgy at best. For a particularly flawed example, consider the thirteenth-century Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS grec 91 (GA 10) (Fig. 1). As is immediately visible at the bottom of canon IX, something has gone wrong. The sets of three identical section numbers seem to have thrown off the scribe. In the Luke column, moreover, the number $\overline{\tau\zeta}$ (§307) is missing twice. In addition, four numbers are inadvertently juxtaposed with three at one point. After all these mistakes, the canon exhibits a 'cascading error' through which all subsequent parallels are misaligned. The result of these nonsense errors is a disaster: three sections at the end of the John column lack any parallels in Luke at all. (In addi-

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6 While visual aspects of the Eusebian apparatus are significant, here I focus on the apparatus as a textual system. Previous studies of the apparatus as a textual system include Nestle 1908; Barber Thiele 1981; Nordenfalk 1984; McGurk 1993; Crawford 2019; they were not the focus of Nordenfalk's 1938 study.

7 See the forthcoming *editio minor* of Martin Wallraff and Patrick Andrist (2021), which focuses on first-millennium evidence.

8 Chartier 1994, 1–2.

9 Here I apply the conceptual framework of *Rezeptionsgeschichte* articulated by Jauss 1970; cf. Evans 2014. My approach builds on Breed 2014, as well as recent discussions in classical reception, especially Hardwick/Stray 2008; Butler 2016; Kraus/Stray 2016; Hunt et al. 2017, 85–148.

10 *Pace* Jülicher 1904, 588.

11 The following arguments about the transmission of the Eusebian apparatus are based on my ongoing research involving extensive manuscript evidence in Greek, Syriac, Latin, and Ethiopic. Statistical

measures of the accuracy with which the Eusebian apparatus was transmitted are not available. Studies of the Eusebian apparatus in individual late ancient manuscripts (Codex Sinaiticus [GA 01]: Jongkind 2007, 109–20; Codex Alexandrinus [GA 02]: Smith 2014, 333–46; GA 022, 023, 042: Hixson 2019) offer preliminary indications. Von Soden (1902, 392) estimates that approximately one quarter of gospel manuscripts with the Eusebian apparatus have the wrong number of sections in at least one gospel.

12 Jülicher 1904, 587.

Fig. 1: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS grec 91, fol. 4v: Canons VIII, IX, X (Matthew), and X (Mark). Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF.
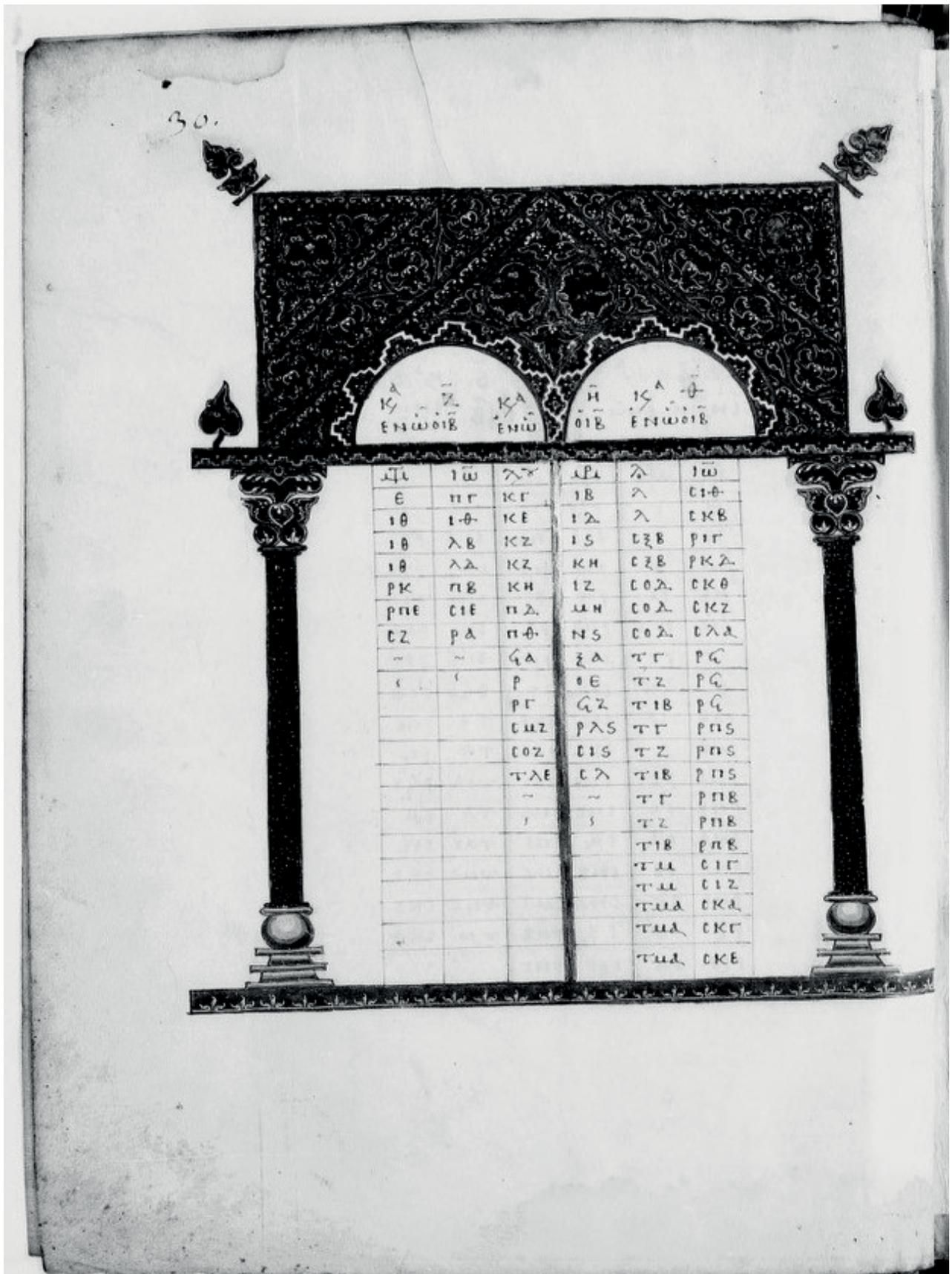
Fig. 2: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS grec 230, p. 30: Canons VII, VIII, and IX. Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF.

tion, there are a number of graphic errors, for example, confusing rho and sigma to create impossible 'numbers'.) It is hard to fathom that the scribe did not notice these glaring problems, but he or she did not correct them.[13] Of the parallels, only three of the twenty-one are arguably coherent. The other canons in this manuscript exhibit similar problems.

Nonetheless, this manuscript is unusual. Indeed, in some manuscripts, all the parallels are intact. Consider the fourteenth-century Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS grec 230 (GA 12) where canon IX is copied flawlessly (Fig. 2).[14] Not only is the manuscript quite legible, but—with one caveat that I will discuss shortly—it transmits the Eusebian apparatus accurately. The apparatus could thus be transmitted with great fidelity even in the late Middle Ages.

Manuscripts of the Eusebian apparatus tend to fit somewhere between these two extremes. Most are problematic occasionally; few are persistently misleading.[15] As an analogy to the Eusebian apparatus in medieval manuscripts, one might think of the modern internet. All users of the internet occasionally encounter bad hyperlinks, but no one would abandon the internet for this reason. Likewise, medieval users of the Eusebian apparatus apparently found that its value outweighed the frustration of occasional bad links. An ordinarily flawed copy of the apparatus is still possible to use.[16]

To put the transmission of the Eusebian apparatus in a different light, we might consider the work of another ancient scholar who created a much-copied and much-used system of tables. Here I refer to Claudius Ptolemy, the second-century CE mathematician and astronomer. As an ancient tool for organizing knowledge, Ptolemy's *Handy Tables* (Πρόχειροι κανόνες) are an important comparandum for the origins and early use of the Eusebian apparatus.[17] The value of comparison is not limited to the

late ancient origins of these two sets of tables, however; it extends to how they were transmitted. Like Eusebius's apparatus, Ptolemy's work consists of tables of numbers, although in Ptolemy's case they contain dates, coordinates, and declinations, rather than numbers representing gospel passages. Both sets of tables were translated into a number of languages in Late Antiquity. Both circulated widely in numerous manuscripts and were sometimes modified for new contexts. As with the Eusebian apparatus, sometimes the copying of the *Handy Tables* went well and sometimes it did not. Both systems are intricate and difficult to copy, Ptolemy's perhaps even more than Eusebius's. Both are onerous to correct. Both are, moreover, impossible to reconstruct perfectly without an exemplar. Eusebius's system contains a number of creative juxtapositions, exegetical decisions that are not immediately obvious. Ptolemy's tables contain historical observational data that cannot be easily extrapolated. The systems are not self-correcting. If Eusebius's system is so complicated as to be useless after copying, then one would expect the same to have been true in the case of Ptolemy's *Handy Tables*. And, as one would expect, Ptolemy's system was often miscopied; no extant manuscript is free from error. Yet this did not vitiate the whole. As Otto Neugebauer has demonstrated in his monumental study of ancient mathematical astronomy, Ptolemy's tables—often changed and adapted—formed the computational basis for geography and astronomical prediction for almost fifteen hundred years.[18] Ptolemy's *Handy Tables* continued to function, despite the infelicities that result from copying.

In a manuscript culture, readers grow accustomed to the reality that hand-copied texts include mistakes. This does not lead to abandoning those texts, however, but to correcting and improving them. As I have demonstrated, the Eusebian apparatus is sometimes transmitted in astonishingly good condition with only insignificant errors. The fact that the apparatus is often well-preserved offers invisible evidence for correcting. One would *expect to* find errors as a result of normal copying—and, indeed, manuscripts like Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS grec 91 (Fig. 1) confirm the need for correction. It is implausible that twelfth- and thirteenth-, and even fourteenth- and fifteenth-century, exemplars would reproduce a working form of a fourth-century paratextual

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13 There are other cases in which there was apparently no effort to present a useable apparatus. The eighth-century CE Latin Lindisfarne Gospels (London, British Library, Cotton MS Nero D.IV; cf. McGurk 1955; Houghton 2016, 279; O'Loughlin 2017b; Watson 2017) and the sixth- or seventh-century CE Greek Golden canon tables (London, British Library, Add. MS 5111/1) are well-known examples.

14 Cf. the twelfth-century Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS grec 64 (GA 15), fol. 7v.

15 Error is not limited to manuscripts, printed editions are sometimes inaccurate (Nestle 1908; Wallraff 2016).

16 The apparatus is expensive and time-consuming to produce. If indeed the apparatus was not used, it seems implausible that its artistic and metaphorical value alone would justify its transmission. I am grateful to Garrick Allen for this point.

17 Like Eusebius, Ptolemy employed tables in a number of works, but here I focus on the *Handy Tables*. On the *Handy Tables* and their

relationship to the Eusebian apparatus, see Nordenfalk 1982, 33; Mansfeld/Runia 1997, 111–116; Crawford 2019, 43–53.

18 On the widespread reception of Ptolemy's *Handy Tables*, see Neugebauer 1975, II, 969–1028. The first installment of a critical edition is now available (Tihon/Mercier 2011). Tihon's comments on the challenges of editing a 'reference work' apply equally to the Eusebian apparatus (Tihon/Mercier 2011, 5).

system unless they were corrected along the way. Explicit evidence for such correction is offered by a certain Theophanes in a short text, preserved in a fourteenth-century gospel manuscript, that describes the process of correcting.[19] Correction indicates that those who transmitted the Eusebian apparatus thought it was worth preserving as a text and not only as a decorative feature.

The dynamic of error and correction changes the Eusebian apparatus. In some cases, instead of collating from an exemplar, correctors revised the Eusebian apparatus based on their own theories of gospel relationships (indeed, this is precisely Theophanes' complaint). In other words, 'corrections' might not always yield the results toward which modern editors aspire. 'Correction' and 'modification' blur with one another. Nonetheless, both preserved a functional *instrumentum* for reading the gospels.

3 Transformation

Modifications of the Eusebian apparatus form a continuum. A reader or scribe might correct a nonsense reading, revise an apparently problematic set of parallels, or modify the structure of the Eusebian system as a whole. Each of these phenomena falls within the editorial remit of someone who transmits the Eusebian apparatus as a system for reading the gospels. The process of correcting ostensibly reverses errors, but often introduces new insights and interpretations into the Eusebian apparatus; no sharp line divides 'correction' from other kinds of change.

In the following pages, I discuss varieties of change as ways to observe the Eusebian apparatus at work. While refinements and modifications took place in Late Antiquity, I focus on changes that appeared between roughly 1000 and 1500 CE. It remains a difficult question when many innovations first occurred, since manuscripts generally afford only a *terminus ante quem*. Some phenomena occurred already in Late Antiquity, while others are attested only much later. A number of representative cases demonstrate what the Eusebian apparatus could do and what readers wanted to do with it. These histories of change illuminate how readers approached the Eusebian apparatus and, through it, the gospels.

Change sometimes occurred through omission. Omission could occur haphazardly as a result of incautious copying. Often, this involved omitting a row or skipping a number. (The discussion of Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS grec 91 above offered examples.) In some cases, artistic arrangement trumped other concerns. For example, in the tenth-century Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS grec 177 (GA 299), canon II (that is, Matthew, Mark, and Luke) was longer than the number of columns allotted—and so the final column of Luke was simply left out in order to preserve the artistic presentation (Fig. 3).

Omissions sometimes went beyond these mishaps, revealing how readers used the Eusebian apparatus to access the gospels. Consider, for example, the twelfth-century Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Suppl. gr. 52 (GA 3). In this manuscript, the canons end at canon IX on fol. 9v; Eusebius's canon X, which lists material unique to each of the four gospels, was not included. This omission is not the result of manuscript damage, however; it was intended in the layout of the manuscript. The nine-canon configuration implies a particular directionality of use. The reader begins from a section number in the gospels, then identifies parallels in the canons. This is one way to use the Eusebian apparatus—and, indeed, is how Eusebius himself describes the system in the *Letter to Carpianus*. Nonetheless, the full Eusebian system could facilitate other modes of access.[20] A user of Eusebius's system who wanted to find the rare uniquely Markan sections, for example, (Eusebius has only nineteen of them) could start with the Markan portion of canon X. Eusebius's system facilitates the reader's access both to specific gospel parallels and to patterns of gospel relationships. In the revised design found in Österreichi-

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19 Athens, National Library of Greece, cod. 92 (GA 1410), fols 7b–8b. The text is discussed by von Soden 1902, 392–393; Crawford 2019, 314–315.

20 Augustine of Hippo (354–430 CE) employed the Eusebian apparatus to prepare his *de consensu evangelistarum*. Augustine engaged almost all of Eusebius's parallels, including a number of creative juxtapositions that originate with Eusebius. More significantly, Augustine was able to access a new kind of information through the apparatus. He stated that: 'Mark follows [Matthew] closely [...] in his narrative he gives nothing in harmony with John apart from the others: by himself separately, he has little to record; in conjunction with Luke, as distinguished from the rest, he has still less; but in harmony with Matthew, he has a very large number of passages [...] where the agreement is either with that evangelist alone, or with him in connection with the rest' (1.2.4 [CSEL 43: 4.12–16], author's translation). Such conclusions about the number of parallel passages in different groupings of gospels would be difficult to reach without a full set of gospel canons to enable such comparisons. In the mid-twentieth century, Angelo Penna argued that Augustine did not use the Eusebian apparatus (1955); in arguing that Augustine did use the apparatus, I concur with recent reassessments by Watson 2013, 17–19; Crawford 2019, 125–155, 297–309.

sche Nationalbibliothek, Suppl. gr. 52, however, one can find uniquely Markan sections only by flipping through the Gospel of Mark and glancing at the marginal canon numbers (ī/X) as one goes. In other words, the Eusebian apparatus in this manuscript has been limited to a particular set of cross-referential reading goals; identifying unique material was (seen as) superfluous.[21] Such an omission reflects a decision of efficiency based on particular expectations for use.

The thirteenth-century Glasgow, MS Hunter 475 (V.7.2) (GA 560) exemplifies a different kind of omission.[22] Sections were marked throughout all four gospels, but the canons were listed only for Matthew. As observed by a reader around the turn of the twentieth century, who penciled their observations into the manuscript itself: 'Matthew has, on the margins, the Ammonian Sections with reference to the Eusebian Canons […] but the running numbers on the margins of the other gospels are simply those of the Ammonian Sections, and have no reference to the Canon'.[23] Perhaps the person inserting rubricated canon numbers simply abandoned the task after finishing Matthew.[24] Since other features are rubricated throughout the gospels, however, it seems more likely that the omission was intended. The omission positions Matthew as the lead gospel for the Eusebian apparatus. One can navigate *from* Matthew *to* parallels in other gospels, but there was apparently no need to move in the other direction. The omission suggests an approach to gospel reading that is structured around Matthew.[25]

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21 Manuscripts that omitted the main canons in favor of miniature reference tables on each page (as occurs in some Greek, Gothic, Latin, and Syriac manuscripts) likewise made it difficult to access overarching patterns of gospel relationship. On these miniature reference tables, see Gregory 1900, 862–863.

22 While most of the manuscript is from the thirteenth century, the first two quires (which include the canons) are from the fourteenth.

23 This note is pencilled on fol. iv, 6. According to the Hunter Library's online catalogue (http://collections.gla.ac.uk/#/details/ecatalogue/296844; last accessed on 13/04/2020), the note might be attributable to Caspar Gregory or F. H. A. Scrivener.

24 Von Soden 1902, 392–393 identified a number of manuscripts that only partially mark the gospel sections. For a list of manuscripts that number the sections but not the canons, see Gregory 1900, 862. This latter phenomenon suggests that for some readers the canon numbers (and thus the cross-referential function of the Eusebian apparatus) were irrelevant; in such cases, the Eusebian sections retain a referential function even though they no longer direct the reader to parallel passages in other gospels.

25 For a similar omission, see the sixth- or seventh-century Syriac manuscript London, British Library, Add. MS 14445, which has no initial canons and included miniature canons only on the pages of Matthew. This has the effect of facilitating navigation *from* Matthew *to* the other three gospels, but not *vice versa*.

Both examples illuminate how the Eusebian apparatus facilitated access to the gospels. Nonetheless, these omissions are underdetermined. They guide the reader by removing possibilities rather than offering new ones. It is thus instructive to consider other readerly interventions in the Eusebian apparatus.

Other changes imply particular practices of reading in more direct ways. Like omitting a canon that is deemed unnecessary, resequencing a canon while keeping the parallels intact suggests certain readerly priorities. As an example, I return to Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS grec 230 (GA 12) (see Fig. 2). As I noted above, the parallels in this manuscript were copied accurately; however, a significant modification reflects readers' priorities. Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS grec 230 arranged John in order rather than Luke. Normally, the Eusebian apparatus (including canon IX) organizes sections in the sequence of the first column in each canon; here in Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS grec 230, however, the second column takes over. Table 1 shows the complicated three-by-three block mentioned above in its resulting new arrangement.

Tab. 1: Complex Juxtapositions in Canon IX.

Luke	John
303	182
307	182
312	182
303	186
307	186
312	186
303	190
307	190
312	190

As with the omissions discussed above, this resequencing implied a particular way of using the apparatus. While such a change may initially seem insignificant, it was not accidental. The revision reflects the directionality of access. Sequencing gospel parallels by John's order rather than Luke's assumes that the reader is working through the Gospel of John and looking up parallels in Luke, rather than the other way around. It thus, moreover, offers evidence for active use of the apparatus.

The Eusebian apparatus facilitates new kinds of textual navigation in other ways, as well—and these sometimes diverge from the original design of the system. The Eusebian sections provided a reference system for lectionary indications. While this was not the original purpose of Eusebius's system of gospel sections and did not
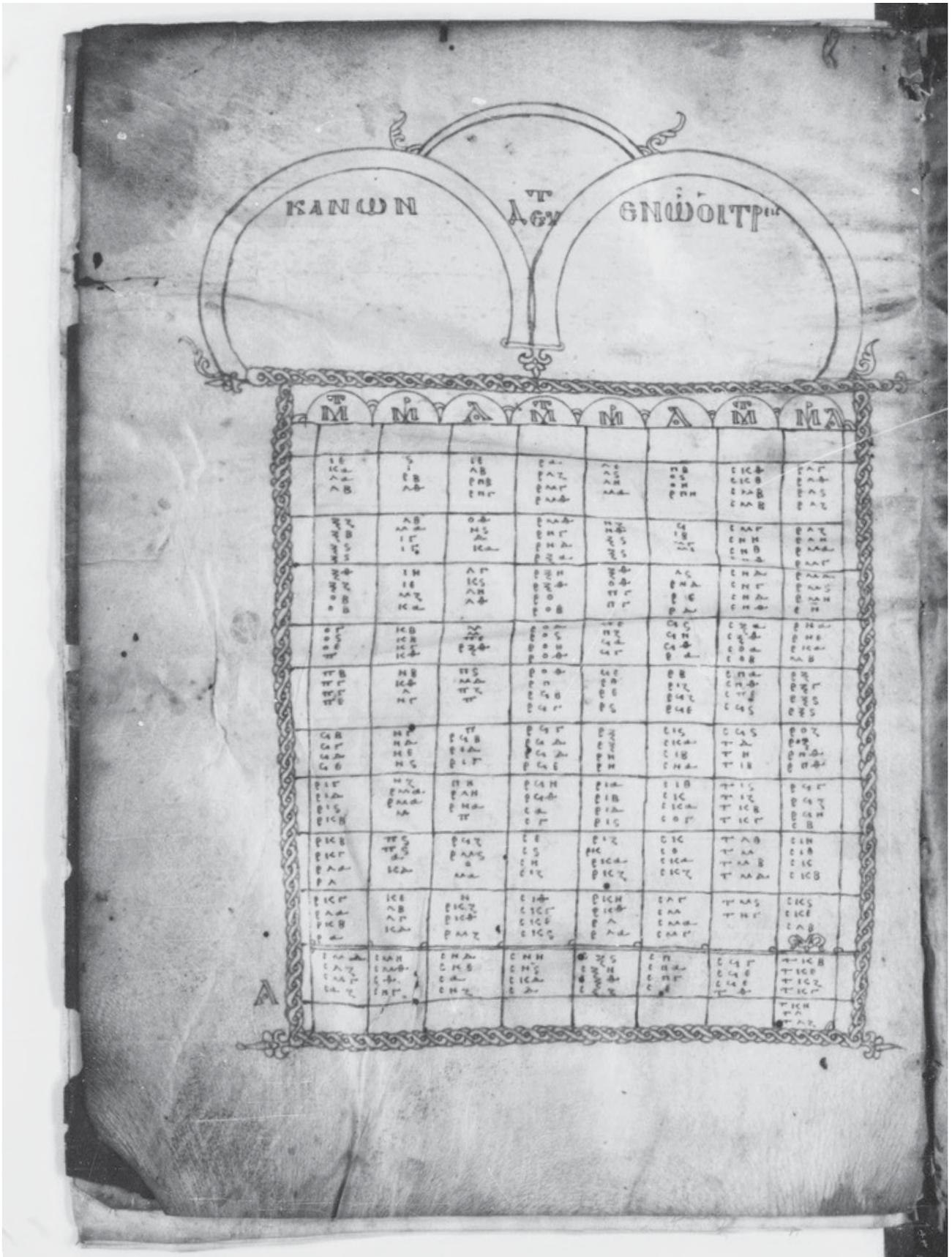
Fig. 3: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS grec 177, fols 2v–3r: Canons II, III, and IV. Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF.
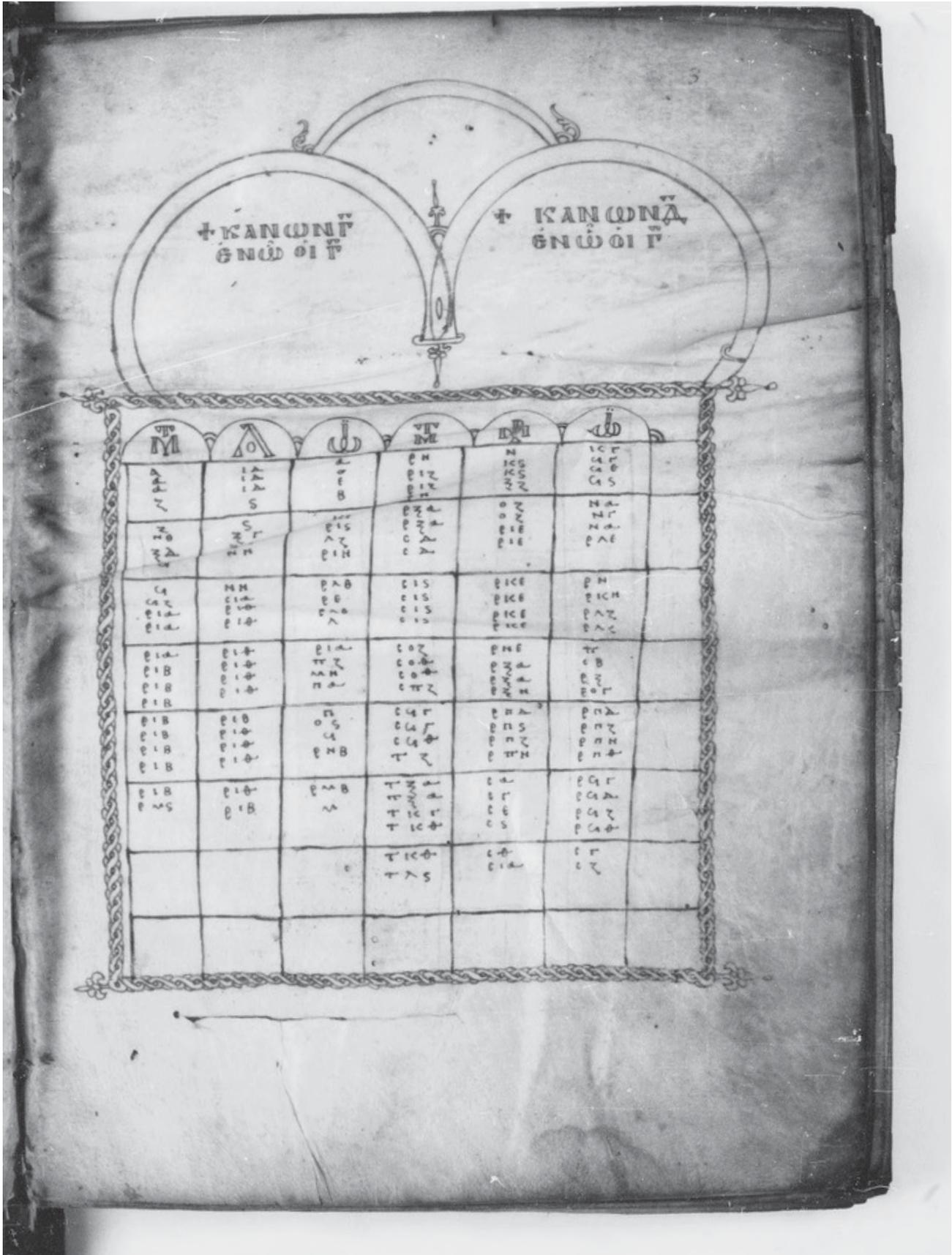
Fig. 4: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS grec 79, fols 4v–5r: Canons I and II. Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF.
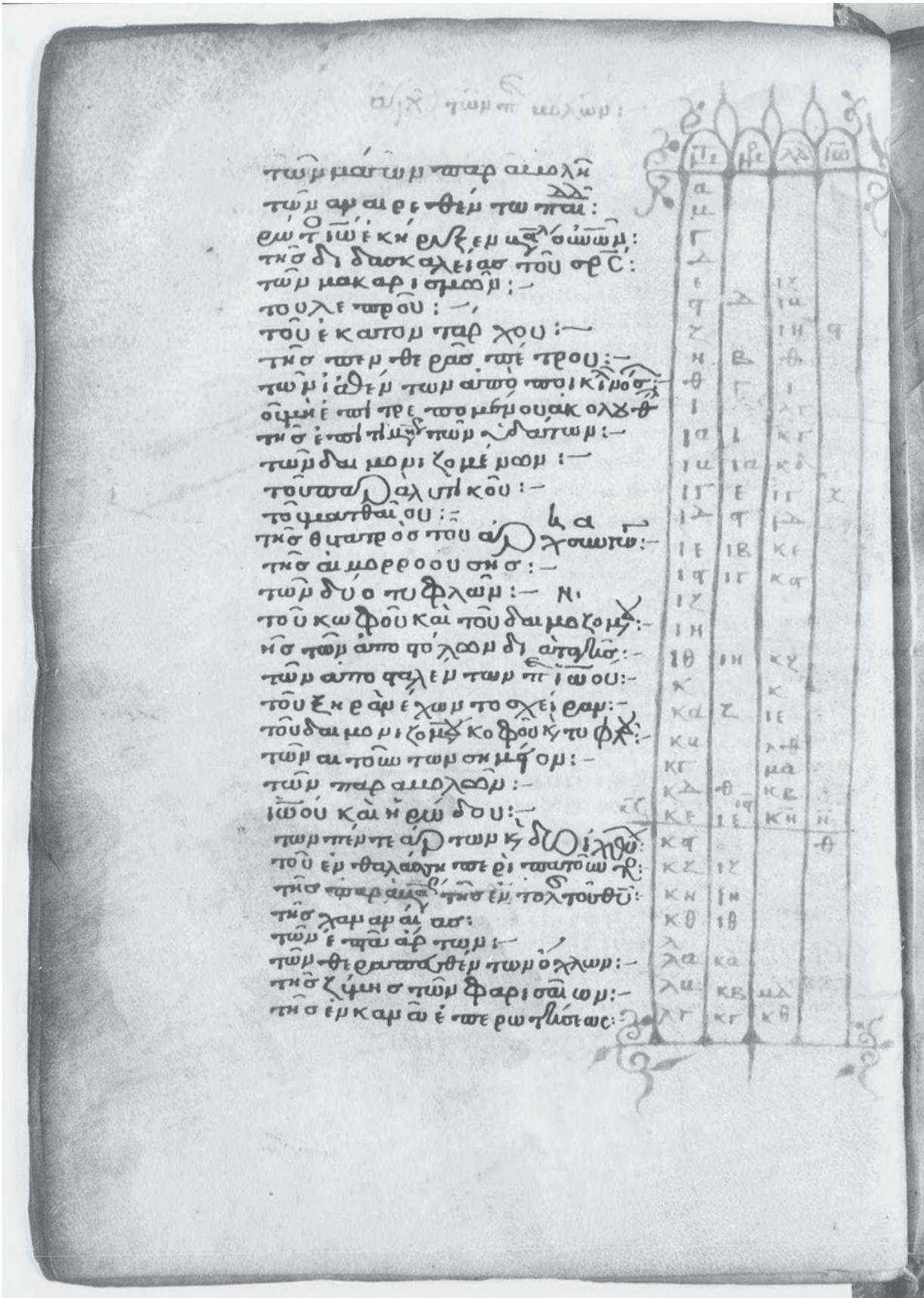
Fig. 5: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS grec 79, fols 7v–8r, Synoptic κεφάλαια. Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF.

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perform any direct cross-referential function, the adaptation is frequently attested in Greek manuscripts.[26]

Furthermore, medieval readers used the Eusebian apparatus to create new paratextual ways of accessing the gospels. In the following paragraphs, I describe a previously understudied example, in which the Eusebian system of parallels is used to align not the Eusebian sections but rather the traditional set of gospel κεφάλαια.[27] To illustrate this phenomenon, I use the thirteenth-century Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS grec 79 (GA 273).[28] The manuscript contains a standard set of Eusebian canons (Fig. 4). But it also includes a less common paratext: A gospel table of contents that coordinates the sixty-eight traditional κεφάλαια for Matthew with corresponding κεφάλαια for similar sections in other gospels[29] (Fig. 5). This, in turn, is followed by a formulaic list that identifies how many Matthew's κεφάλαια 'speak homophonously' (ὁμοφωνοῦσιν) with κεφάλαια in three, two, or one other gospels and how many are unique to Matthew alone (Fig. 6).

The system of parallel κεφάλαια that appears in Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS grec 79 depends on the Eusebian apparatus for both its specific juxtapositions and its tabular logic. It juxtaposes κεφάλαια based on Eusebius's juxtaposition of gospel material. The process used to create the system of parallel κεφάλαια can be reconstructed as follows. The starting point was the list of sixty-eight Matthew κεφάλαια.[30] The Eusebian canons

were then used to correlate the Eusebian section corresponding most closely to the beginning of each individual Matthew κεφάλαιον with the parallel Eusebian sections—if any exist—in Mark, Luke, and John.[31] Finally, the κεφάλαια from Mark, Luke, and John that most closely correspond to these Eusebian sections are included in the final table in parallel to each Matthew κεφάλαιον. As a result, Eusebius's decisions about the juxtaposition (and non-juxtaposition) of gospel material are preserved in the κεφάλαια.

As an example of this process, the thirteenth κεφάλαιον in Matthew ('of the paralytic', τοῦ παραλυτικοῦ) is juxtaposed with Mark's fifth κεφάλαιον, Luke's thirteenth, and John's seventh (fol. 7v).[32] Table 2 shows how Eusebius's juxtapositions of gospel material correspond to this set of juxtaposed κεφάλαια. Each of these four passages relates the healing of a paralytic, although the narrative in John diverges in significant ways from the other three.

Tab. 2: Parallel Healings of a Paralytic.

	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
κεφάλαιον (Greek)	ιγ̄	ε̄	ιγ̄	ζ̄
κεφάλαιον (Arabic)	13	5	13	7
κεφάλαιον (Start Reference)	9:2	2:3	5:25	5:5
Corresponding Eusebian Section (Greek)	ō	κ̄	λζ̄	λη̄
Corresponding Eusebian Section (Arabic)	70	20	37	38
Corresponding Eusebian Section (Start Reference)	9:1	2:1	5:18	5:1

26 For the use of the Eusebian apparatus for lectionary navigation, see Royé 2013; Coogan 2017, 354–55. This use may explain the numerous manuscripts in which Eusebian sections, but not their corresponding canon numbers, are marked.

27 On gospel τίτλοι and κεφάλαια, see Gregory 1900, 859–861; von Soden 1902, 432–435; McArthur 1964; Metzger 1972. On their significance for reading, see Goswell 2009; Edwards 2010; Knust/Wassermann 2019.

28 A similar arrangement appears in a number of other manuscripts.

29 Readers in Late Antiquity adapted the Eusebian apparatus into a table of contents in various ways. In Greek, the fragmentary Epiphanius canons (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art inv. (Egyptian) X.455 [LDAB 1062], fourth to seventh century) preserve a handful of notes, located between the columns of the table, that indicate the content of individual sets of parallels. More magnificently, the sixth-century Latin Codex Brixianus (Brescia, Biblioteca civica Queriniana s.n., Manoscritto Purpureo [VL 10]) provides an incipit for each set of Eusebian parallels. The result is a set of canons that expands to fill some one hundred fifty folios, of which some seventy are still preserved. So-called *initia canones* continue to be an occasional feature in Latin manuscripts with the Eusebian apparatus. Although it exhibits a conceptual similarity with these earlier examples, the system I describe is distinct.

30 As in a number of other modifications of the Eusebian apparatus, here users of the Eusebian apparatus prioritize Matthew. The table includes all sixty-eight κεφάλαια from Matthew and the list follows

Matthew's order; corresponding material from other gospels is included only insofar as it has a parallel in Matthew. Unlike in the ten Eusebian canons, there is no differentiation based on patterns of gospel relationship. The table includes rows in which Matthew is juxtaposed with all three other gospels (corresponding to what Eusebius put into canon I), but it also includes material that is shared with Matthew by only one or two other gospels and material that is uniquely Matthean. There is no place for material found in other gospels but not in Matthew. In its prioritization of Matthew, the system resembles the third-century synopsis designed by Ammonius of Alexandria and discussed by Eusebius in his *Letter to Carpianus* (see Crawford 2015; Coogan 2017).

31 Because the κεφάλαια designate narrative units of various sizes—generally larger than Eusebian sections—while the Eusebian sections divide the gospels based on relationships of similarity with other gospels, the κεφάλαια and the Eusebian apparatus correlate only imperfectly as systems for textual division.

32 In this case, the traditional τίτλοι are the same for all four passages. Given the centrality of Matthew to this cross-referential presentation of κεφάλαια, it is unsurprising that τίτλοι from Matthew are used even when the parallel κεφάλαια are traditionally designated with slightly different τίτλοι.
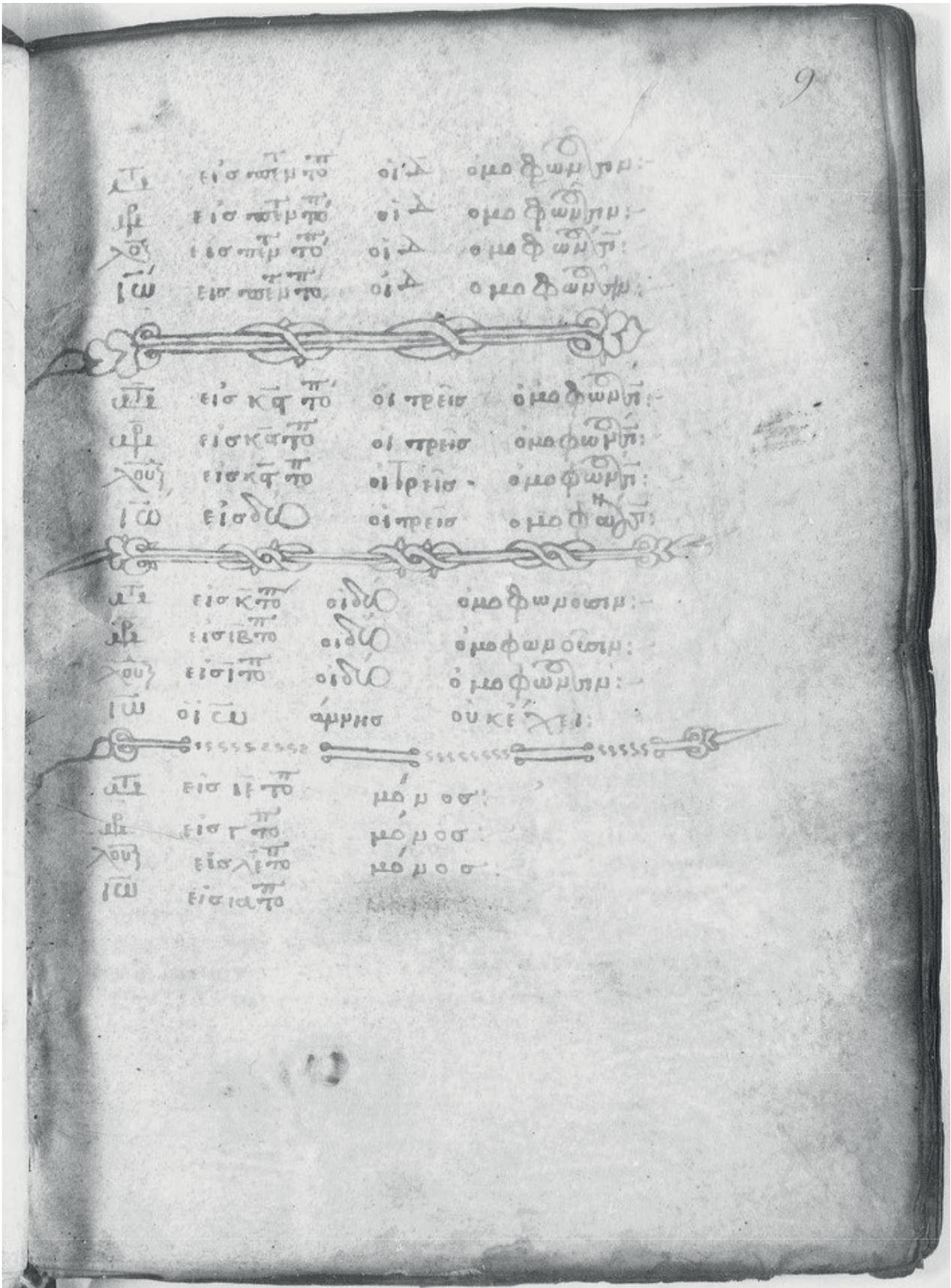
Fig. 6: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS grec 79, fol. 9r. Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF.

The table of contents also uses the Eusebian apparatus to identify κεφάλαια that are unique to Matthew. For example, in the case of the seventeenth τίτλος ('of two blind people', τῶν δύο τυφλῶν), the table identifies no parallel for Matthew's κεφάλαιον (Matthew 9:27–31). There are, of course, other gospel narratives—and κεφάλαια—about the healing of the blind (Mark 10:46–52; Luke 18:35–43; John 9:1–41). Nonetheless, this system of parallel κεφάλαια follows Eusebius, who assigns Matthew 9:27–31 (= §75) to canon X as material without parallel in other gospels and instead juxtaposes the healings in Mark 10 and Luke 18 with the healing of the blind from Matthew 20:29–34.[33] When Eusebius chose not to link gospel passages, they remain non-aligned in this system of parallel κεφάλαια. Even though the Eusebian canons and sections never explicitly appear, the parallel κεφάλαια depend on Eusebian juxtapositions of gospel material.

Furthermore, this system of parallel κεφάλαια reflects the columnar and synoptic logic of the Eusebian apparatus. The result is a gospel table of contents that, like the Eusebian apparatus itself, articulates gospel similarity and difference. This table of contents juxtaposes parallel κεφάλαια in other gospels with Matthew's κεφάλαια and their τίτλοι. Comparative use seems intended, since the numbers for corresponding κεφάλαια in the other gospels are juxtaposed with Matthew's κεφάλαια. This is made explicit by the following list that identifies how many κεφάλαια in each gospel 'speak homophonously' (ὁμοφωνοῦσιν) with κεφάλαια in three, two, or one other gospels (fol. 9r). The language of 'homophony' (ὁμοφωνοῦσιν) echoes Eusebius's description of the gospel apparatus in his *Letter to Carpianus*.[34] In its layout, too, the comparative table of κεφάλαια resembles the iconic arcaded columns used for the Eusebian apparatus in this and many other manuscripts. (Compare fols 4v–5r and fols 7v–8r, shown in Figs 4 and 5 above.) This structure organizes gospel κεφάλαια into parallel columns. The system found in Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS grec 79 and other manuscripts reflects the ongoing generative power of the Eusebian apparatus. While based on the Eusebian canons, this is no longer an arrangement by canon as such (or even by pattern of gospel relationship). Nonetheless, it illustrates how readers used the Eusebian apparatus to access gospel similarity and difference.

4 Conclusion

As they approached the gospels, medieval readers continued to employ Eusebius's paratextual apparatus. In so doing, they left their readerly fingerprints in its manuscript history.[35] By examining the transmission and transformation of the Eusebian apparatus in a number of Greek manuscripts, this study illuminates the *Rezeptionsgeschichte* of the Eusebian apparatus in two significant ways. First, the Eusebian apparatus remained functional. This challenges the claims of Jülicher and the assumptions of much twentieth-century scholarship on the Eusebian apparatus. Second, the apparatus continued to shape the reading of the gospels. This requires revising historical narratives which imply that interest in comparative gospel reading had disappeared in the Middle Ages—even if perhaps these reading practices looked somewhat different than they had for Eusebius in the fourth century.

One of the best ways to observe the Eusebian apparatus in use, I argue, is to watch it change. The apparatus was a tool for reading the gospels. On the whole, the manuscript tradition does not demonstrate a concern to preserve any 'pristine' original form resembling Eusebius's own text (Theophanes notwithstanding). Seldom did readers care about Eusebius's intentions. Changes to the Eusebian apparatus thus did not always return the system to a more Eusebian form; instead, readers adapted it in order to make it a better resource for their reading of the gospels.

Users modified the Eusebian apparatus in a number of ways, including omission, resequencing, and adaptation for new textual navigation. Each intervention centers on the structure of and access to knowledge, reflecting how readers used the Eusebian system. These varied interventions in the apparatus offer an index for the use of the apparatus and for gospel reading more broadly. Reconfigurations of the Eusebian apparatus, Chartier's 'infinity of singular acts', reflect the changing activities and insights of readers—of different periods and in different places—as they encountered the complexities of the fourfold gospel.

Abbreviations

CSEL: Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
GA: Gregory & Aland reference number, see in references Aland et al.
LDAB: Leuven Database of Ancient Books

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33 Eusebius assigns John's account of Jesus' healing of a blind man (John 9:1–41) to canon X as part of a major block of uniquely Johannine material arranged as a single section (§89, John 8:21–10:14).
34 Eusebius states that the Eusebian apparatus will allow readers to know about 'homophonous' passages in the gospels (τὰς ὁμοφώνους τῶν λοιπῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν περικοπάς, *ep. ad Carp.*, ll. 5–6 in Nestle et al. 2012, 89*–90*).

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35 Cf. Kraus 2001. For Kraus, manuscripts are 'Fingerabdrücke einer vergangenen Zeit, die sich im jeweiligen Material, in der spezifischen Schrift bzw. Beschriftung und der Rechtschreibung eines Manuskripts verfestigt haben' (Kraus 2001, 1).

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Elizabeth Mullins

The Eusebian Apparatus in Irish Pocket Gospel Books: Absence, Presence and Addition

Abstract: This paper focuses on the presence of the different elements of Eusebius's system of gospel concordance in a series of pocket gospel books associated with early medieval Ireland. It provides a brief overview of the pocket gospel book series as a whole and discusses the appearance of parts of the Eusebian system in the Book of Armagh and in the MacDurnan gospels. The addition of the Eusebian apparatus to the Book of Mulling is then examined. The paper demonstrates how the way the apparatus was included in Mulling echoes the close attention to the series that is evident in contemporary Hiberno-Latin texts. It highlights how the marginal references to the Eusebian system included in these gospels provide hitherto neglected evidence for their transmission and for the ways that the gospel may have been read in the Irish medieval context.

This paper focuses on evidence of the Eusebian apparatus in a series of gospel books, the so-called pocket gospels, which are closely associated with medieval Ireland. While Carl Nordenfalk, whom this volume honours, commented on aspects of these books, particularly their author portraits, they did not feature in his scholarship on the Eusebian system.[1] The reasons for this are clear. Pocket gospel books are generally distinguished by the absence of prefatory material; the two instances of Eusebian tables which feature in the series, one part of an original book and the second an addition, are without significant decoration. While thus falling outside the ambit of Nordenfalk's scholarship, evidence of the Eusebian apparatus in these books has much to reveal about the ways in which the system was transmitted and used in eighth- and ninth-century Ireland. This paper will initially provide a brief introduction to the pocket gospel book series. It will discuss the

tables and the general preface in the Book of Armagh, the marginal notation in the MacDurnan gospels and the traces of the Eusebian system that remain in the text of many of the other books. The addition of the Eusebian apparatus to the Book of Mulling is then examined. There is discussion of the model which underlies the apparatus in Mulling and consideration of the reasons the Eusebian system was added to this manuscript within a hundred or so years of its original production.

1 The Irish Pocket Gospel Book corpus

The Irish pocket gospel book group forms a relatively distinct set of manuscripts within the larger corpus of Insular gospel books. The existence of the group was highlighted as early as 1956 by Patrick McGurk in a seminal article in *Sacris Erudiri* 8.[2] In this article and subsequent work McGurk identified eight books which directly belong to the pocket gospel book tradition.[3] These are listed in Table 1.

The pocket gospel books are distinguished firstly by their size. The smallest of these books is the Cadmug Gospels, the largest is the Book of Armagh, with the Book of Mulling coming somewhere in the middle. Another distinctive feature of the pocket gospel books is their codicology. Frequently, each gospel is found either on a separate set of quires or on a single large quire. The Book of Mulling provides an example of the former practice, with the original manuscript containing Matthew's gospel on 22 leaves, Mark on 18, Luke on 30 and John on 14. The later additional material is included on a single quire at the opening of the book.[4]

1 Nordenfalk 1977, 126.

2 McGurk 1956; McGurk 1987. For a more recent discussion of the pocket gospel book series, see Meehan 2015.

3 McGurk 1987, 166–167.

4 McGurk 1961, 83; Houghton 2016, 227. A full digital edition of the Book of Mulling is available at https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/home/index.php?folder_id=1648&pidtopage=MS60_001&entry_point=1 (last accessed 13/04/2020).

Tab. 1: The Irish Pocket Gospel Book Corpus.

Manuscript	Name	Date	Size (mm)
Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, D.II.3 (fols 1–11)[5]	Stowe St John	VIII–IX	145 × 114
Dublin, Trinity College Library, 59[6]	Book of Dimma	VIII[2]	175 × 142
Dublin, Trinity College Library, 60[7]	Book of Mulling	VIII[2]–IX	165 × 120
Dublin, Trinity College Library, 60, fols 95–98[8]	Mulling Fragments	VIII[2]–IX	c.155 ×120
Fulda, Landesbibliothek, Bonif. 3[9]	Cadmug Gospels	VIII–IX	125 × 112
London, British Library, Add. 40618[10]	Irish Gospels	VIII–IX	132 × 103
London, Lambeth Palace Library, 1370[11]	MacDurnan Gospels	IX	157 × 110
Dublin, Trinity College Library, 52[12]	Book of Armagh New Testament	c.807	195 × 145

Pocket gospel books, in general, simply contain the gospel texts without any paratextual material. The books present the gospels in the Vulgate order, Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. In common with many Insular gospel books, the type of gospel text contained in these books is mixed. Mulling, the most mixed of all the texts, has been seen to drawn on a Vulgate text, an Irish mixed text and an Old Latin text.[13] Some passages, particularly towards the start of Luke's gospel (Chapters 4–9), have a much higher concentration of Old Latin readings. Research carried out on the Old Latin text of Luke's gospel has seen it as relating, in particular, to the type of Old Latin text found in r1 Usserianus, the earliest surviving gospel book in Irish script, together with a text of the Old Latin b (Veronensis) kind.

Pocket gospel books are illustrated in a recognizably Insular manner. While some of the books are incomplete, each gospel seems to have opened with an enlarged incipit preceded by the standing portrait of the relevant evangelist or evangelist symbol. In Mulling, three of these evangelists and incipit pages survive. A variation on this pattern is evident in two books. In the MacDurnan Gospels, a four symbols page is included before the opening of Matthew's gospel, providing a frontispiece for Matthew 1:1–1:17, while the Matthew evangelist portrait is included subsequently, facing the opening of Matthew 1:18.[14] The gospel book contained in the New Testament Book of Armagh features a four-symbols page before the Gospel of Matthew and an evangelist symbol before or as part of the first page of the Gospels of Mark, Luke and John, with the symbols for the final two gospels incorporating allusions to the other evangelical beasts.[15] All of these illustrative features are present in larger gospel books associated with Ireland at the time, such as the Books of Durrow and Kells, the Echternach Gospels and the Irish Gospel Book, St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 51.[16]

Art historical research on these images, by Jennifer O'Reilly, Bernard Meehan and others, has demonstrated the sophistication of these books' visual exegesis and how they reflect aspects of patristic and Insular textual commentary on the harmony and distinctiveness of the fourfold text.[17] Art-historical appreciation of these books has been supported by contemporary scientific work, which has highlighted, for example in the case of Mulling, the deliberate combination and juxtaposition of opaque and translucent pigments on illuminated pages.[18]

5 CLA II, 267, https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/586 (last accessed 13/04/2020); McGurk 1961,78.
6 CLA II, 275, https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/594 (last accessed 13/04/2020); McGurk 1961, 82–83.
7 CLA II, 276, https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/595 (last accessed 13/04/2020); McGurk 1961, 83.
8 CLA II, 277, https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/596 (last accessed 13/04/2020); McGurk 1961, 84.
9 CLA VIII, 1198, https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/1674 (last accessed 13/04/2020); McGurk 1961, 67–68.
10 CLA II, 179, See https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/494 (last accessed 13/04/2020); McGurk 1961, 32–33.
11 See the catalogue entry at http://archives.lambethpalacelibrary. org.uk/CalmView (last accessed 13/04/2020).
12 CLA II, 270, https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/589 (last accessed 13/04/2020).
13 For this and what follows see Doyle 1973, 177–200; Houghton 2016, 76, 227.

14 Alexander 1978, 86–87. For discussion of the significance of Mt 1,18 in the Insular context see, for example, O'Reilly 1998.
15 Alexander 1978, 76–77. For digital reproduction of the Book of Armagh see https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/home/index.php#folder_id=26&pidtopage=MS52_01&entry_point=1 (last accessed 30/08/2018).
16 Digital edition of the Book of Kells is available at https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/home/index.php?DRIS_ID=MS58_003v (last accessed 13/04/2020); Digital Edition of the Book of Durrow is available at https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/home/index.php?folder_id=1685&pidtopage=MS55_001&entry_point=1#folder_id=1845&pidtopage=MS57_178&entry_point=1 (last accessed 13/04/2020). Digital Edition of the Echternach Gospels is available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b530193948 (last accessed 13/04/2020); digital edition of St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 51 is available at http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/list/one/csg/0051 (last accessed 13/04/2020).
17 O'Reilly 1998a; Meehan 2014.
18 Bioletti/Smith 2017, 123.

While the pocket gospel books reflect some of the illustrations of the Insular tradition, they omit others, such as carpet pages, and, of course, Eusebian canon tables. When canon tables appear in larger Insular gospel books, they have been seen to reinforce themes of evangelical harmony and distinctiveness. This is dramatically exemplified by the Christological symbolism and shape-shifting evangelical beasts decorating many of the tables in the Book of Kells.[19] Similarly, recent research on the Lindisfarne Gospels has demonstrated how the restrained decoration of its canon series is based on a complex numerical and ornamental scheme alluding to the harmony of the Eusebian text.[20] In addition to these examples of arcaded series, larger Insular gospel books also bear witness to a second contemporary tradition of non-architectural tables. This tradition is evident in the final two tables included in the Book of Kells, and in the Durrow and Echternach manuscripts (Figs 1–2). It reappears in the set of tables spread across fifteen pages that are included before the Hiberno-Latin commentary on Matthew in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 940 (Fig. 3).[21] While pocket gospel books generally omit the apparatus, it is this second tradition which is reflected in the two examples of tables which survive in the pocket gospel book series, in the New Testament portion of the Book of Armagh (Fig. 4) and in the Book of Mulling (Fig. 5).

2 The Eusebian apparatus in the Pocket Gospel Book corpus

The unframed tables in the Book of Armagh are the only instance of the inclusion of this part of the apparatus in the original planning of a member of the pocket gospel book group.[22] The gospel sections in Armagh begin with one general preface, *Novum Opus*. This is succeeded by a set of unframed canons that spread across seven pages and chapter lists for each of the four gospels. Each of the gospels is then introduced by an appropriate preface

(*argumentum*) and by a set of Hebrew names. McGurk connected Armagh's prefatory series to that in a number of other gospel books with Irish associations including the Books of Durrow, Kells, and Mulling and the Echternach Gospels. This connection was based on several common features: confining the general prefaces to *Novum Opus*, including unframed canons and the bunching of prefaces normally dispersed before the individual gospels, in the case of Armagh its chapter lists, at the beginning or end of the manuscript. In addition to these features, the type of Hebrew name list and *argumentum* included in Armagh belong textually to a set which shows Irish influence.[23] While the Book of Armagh includes the first two elements of the Eusebian apparatus, it does not feature the third element, the marginal notation, nor are the Eusebian sections consistently marked out within the text. This reflects the reception of the system in some of the larger Insular gospel books such as, for example, the Book of Kells, which probably also had *Novum Opus* and includes a set of tables, but famously features marginal notation only on one double opening in John's Gospel (fols 292v–293r).

The other pocket gospel book that features an element of the Eusebian system as part of its original design is the MacDurnan Gospels, thought to have been written in Armagh in the second half of the ninth century.[24] Although not containing any prefatory material, the entire gospel text is beautifully laid out and consistently gives its Eusebian sections separate paragraphs, though, as McGurk notes, chapters are ignored, and verses only occasionally indicated.[25] The paragraphs corresponding to the Eusebian sections are marked with large initials and are accompanied by the appropriate marginal notation (Fig. 6). The general appearance and occasional framing of this notation by an orange cartouche is reminiscent of that of the Echternach gospels.[26] Although the individual marginal entries in MacDurnan differ from Echternach in the order in which the canon and section numbers are written, further research is needed to explore their respective notation, particularly in the light of the already established link between their gospel texts.[27]

The MacDurnan Gospels include the extended system of marginal notation, an early 'improvement' in the trans-

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19 O'Reilly 1998, 71; Mullins 2001, 188–198; See also Endres 2017; Neuman de Vegvar 2007.

20 Pulliam 2017.

21 Mullins 2014. Digital edition is available at http://digital.onb. ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_5897339&order=1&view= SINGLE (last accessed 13/04/2020).

22 The gospel sections in the Book of Armagh are part of a manuscript containing a New Testament and texts relating to St Patrick. The fact that the gospel sections in this book are on separate quires led McGurk to consider them in the context of the pocket gospel book series. On this see McGurk 1987, 166–167.

23 McGurk 1987, 170–172.

24 See Alexander 1978, 86–87. An earlier date has more recently been proposed by Farr 2011.

25 McGurk 1987, 173.

26 Full digital reproduction of the Echternach Gospels is available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b530193948 (last accessed 13/04/2020).

27 McNamara 1990, 102–111. This is the subject of ongoing work by the author.
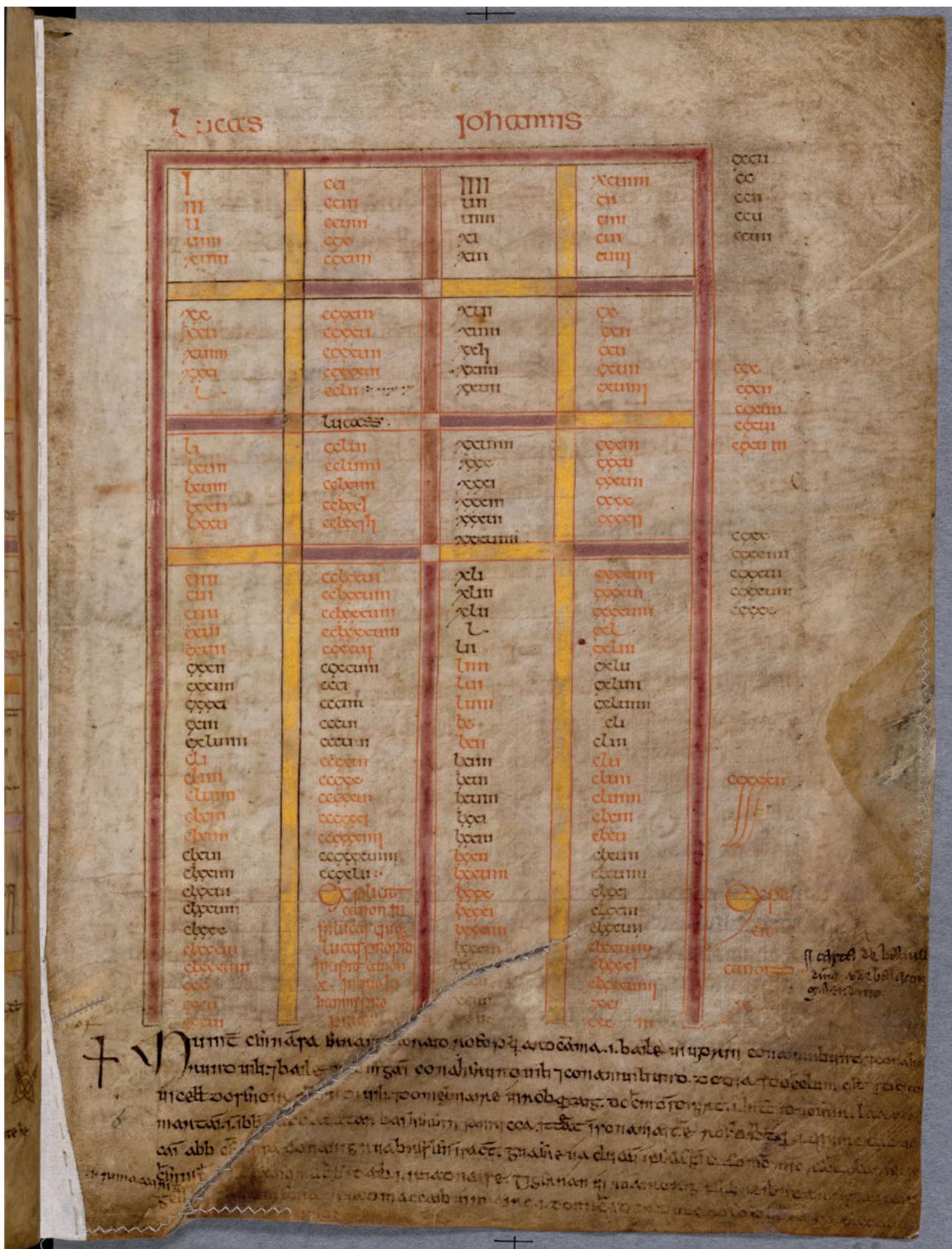
Fig. 1: Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 58, Book of Kells, fol. 6r. Canon X Lk, Canon X Jn. Image reproduced courtesy of The Board of Trinity College Dublin.
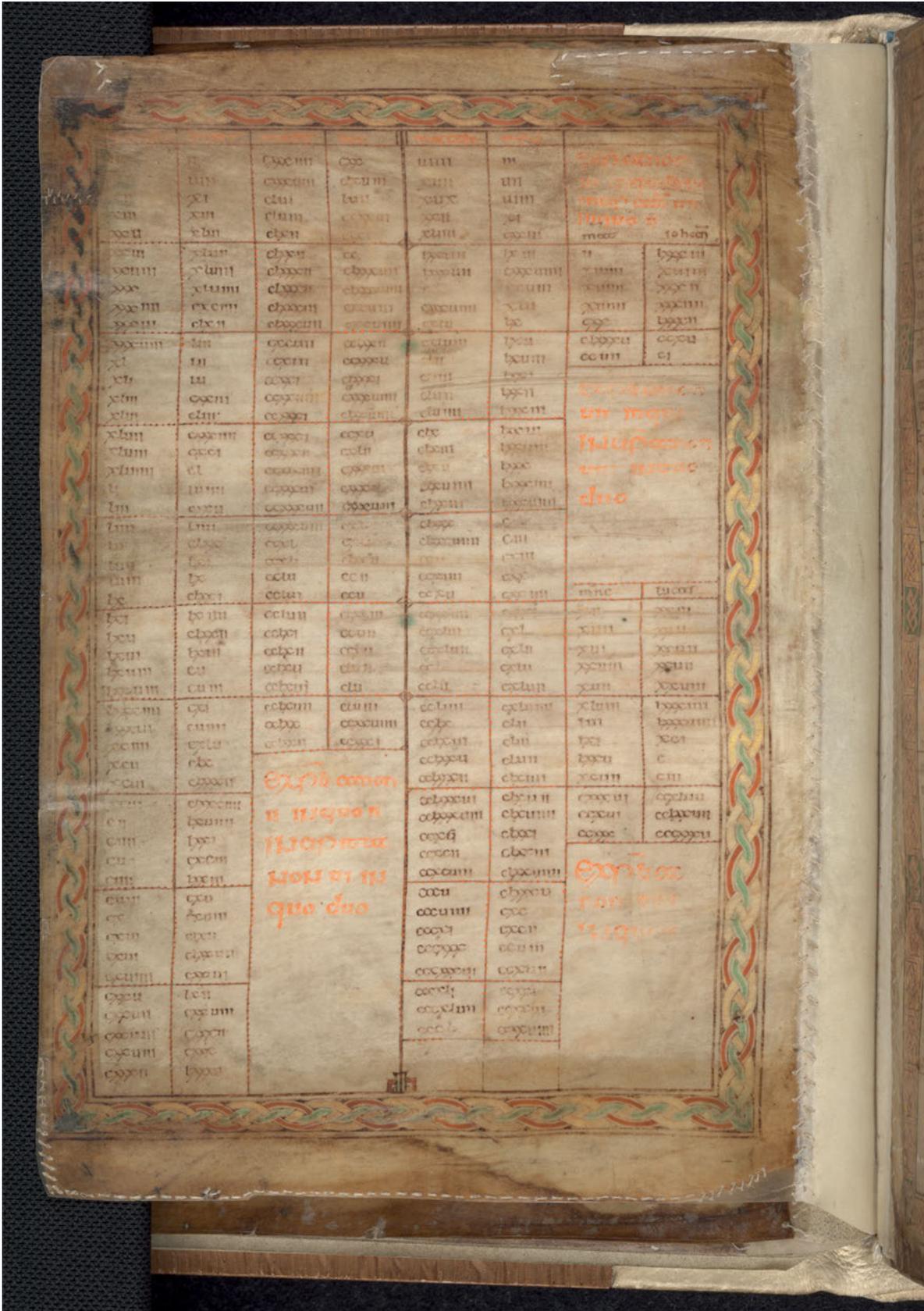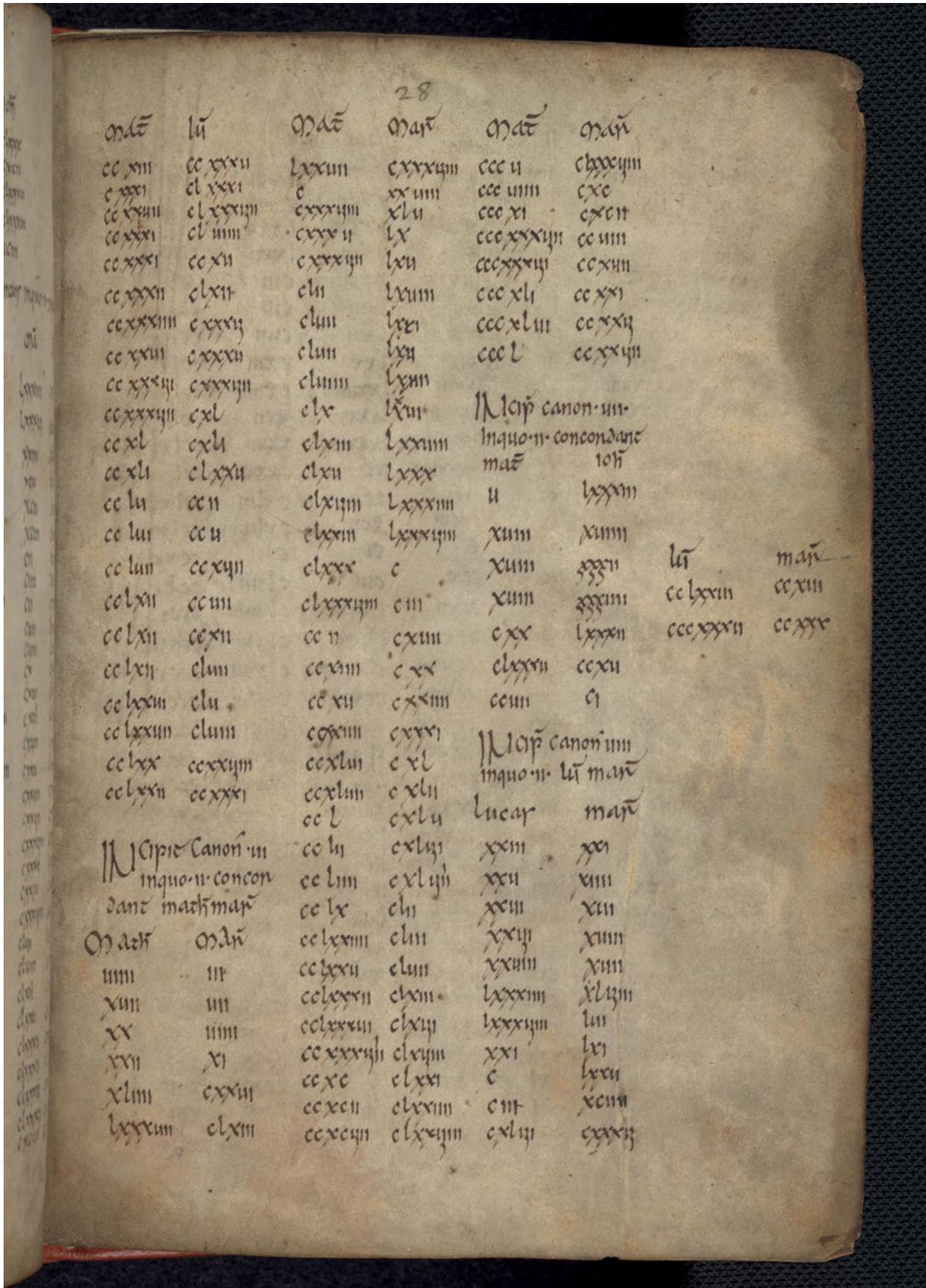
Fig. 2: Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 57, Book of Durrow, fol. 9v. Canons V–VIII. Image reproduced courtesy of The Board of Trinity College Dublin.
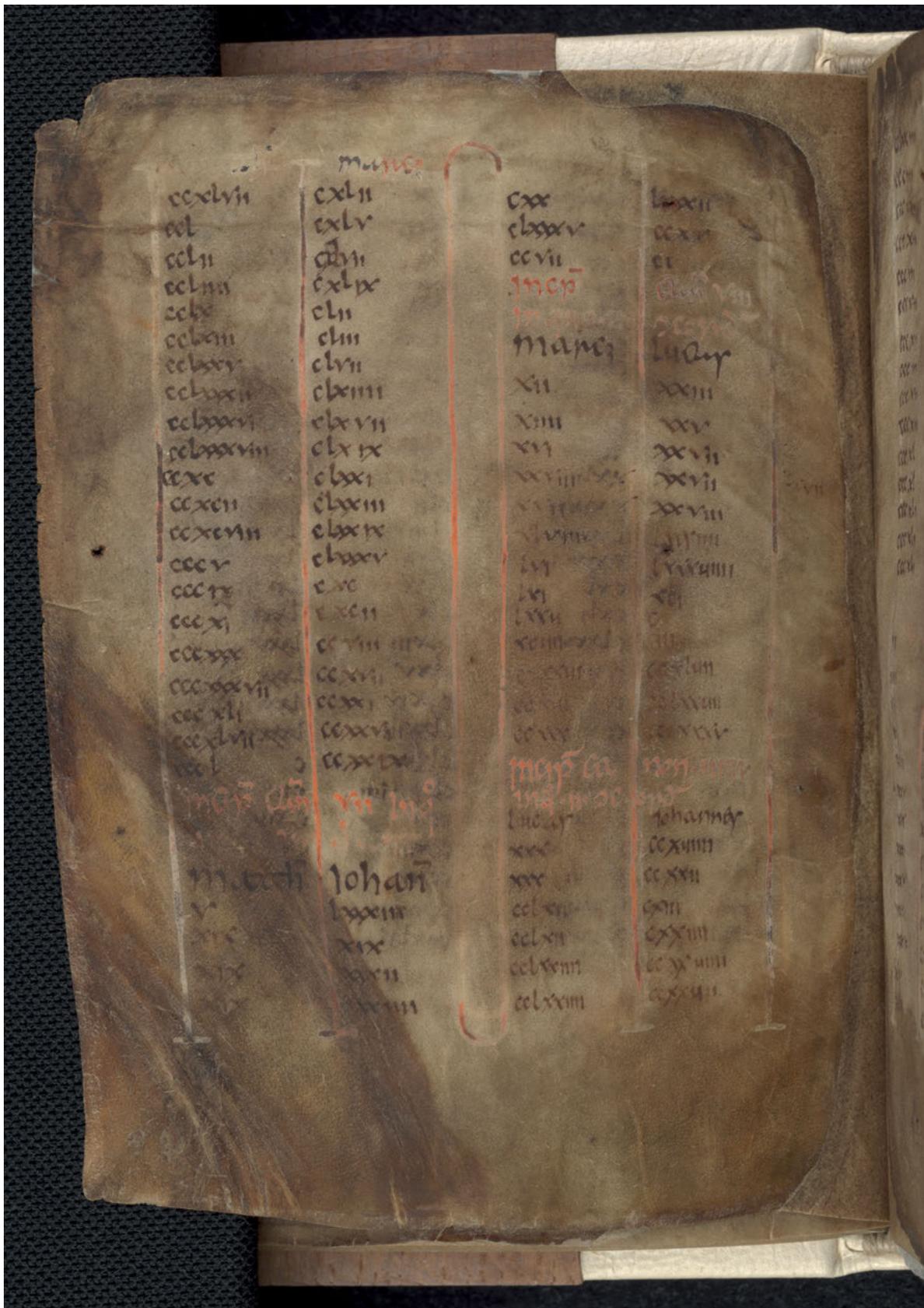
Fig. 3: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 940, fol. 8r. Canon VII, Canon VIII, Canon VIIII. Image reproduced courtesy of Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

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Fig. 4: Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 52, Book of Armagh, fol. 28r. Canons V–VIII. Image reproduced courtesy of The Board of Trinity College Dublin.

Fig. 5: Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 60, Book of Mulling, fol. 10v. Canons V–VIII. Image reproduced courtesy of The Board of Trinity College Dublin.
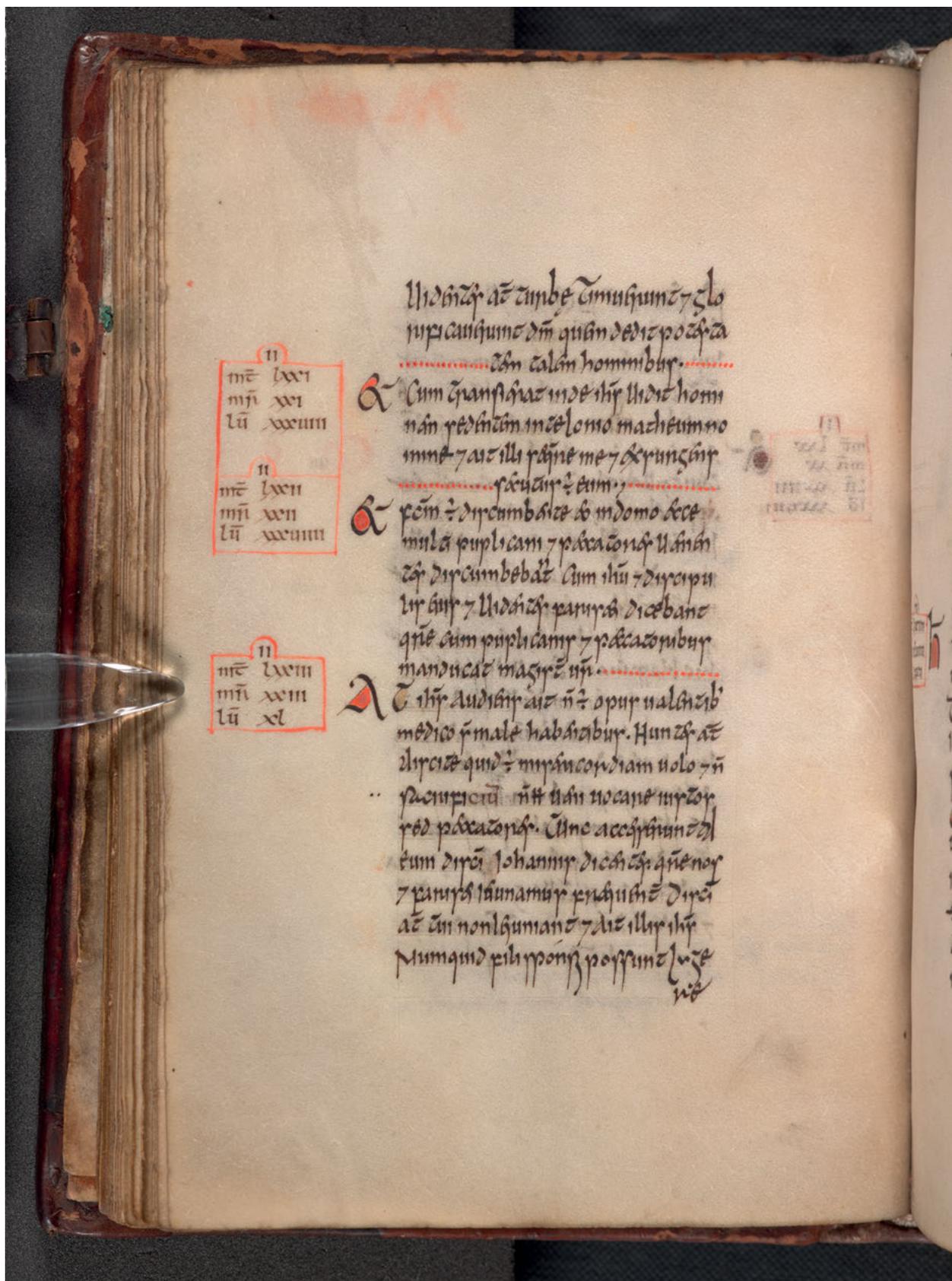
Fig. 6: London, Lambeth Palace Library, 1370, MacDurnan Gospels, fol. 19v. Marginal Entries for Matthew Sections LXXI–LXXIII. Image reproduced courtesy of Lambeth Palace Library.

mission of the Latin version of the Eusebian concordance. This notation, which is common in Insular books featuring the series, contained a reference not just to the number of the section and canon to which a passage belonged, as Eusebius and subsequently Jerome advised, but also a reference or references to the relevant parallel section(s) in the other gospels.[28] Including the parallel section(s) in this way, as Tom O'Loughlin has pointed out, obviated the need for readers of the gospel to go back to the tables included at the start of the book.[29] MacDurnan's complete omission of the tables has taken this process a step further. Does the inclusion of marginal notation as a standalone element in this book indicate a lack of understanding of the apparatus or an in-depth familiarity with the system? While it is difficult to answer this, it is worth noting in this context that another contemporary Irish manuscript, St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 60, also includes marginal notation as a standalone feature. This Gospel of John, which was copied in Ireland around 800, has no prefatory material but fully extended Eusebian marginal references throughout.[30]

A different reflection of the same practice occurs in the Hiberno-Latin commentary on Luke in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 997. The presence of marginal references to the Eusebian sections in this commentary manuscript was first noted by Bernhard Bischoff in his original article 'Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter', but the references were omitted from the subsequent edition of the commentary by Joseph Kelly.[31] Unlike Vienna 940, mentioned above, which includes both *Novum Opus* and a set of canons before a commentary on Matthew that is structured according to Eusebian divisions, this commentary on Luke omits the first two parts of the apparatus but has 79 instances of marginal notation running alongside two-thirds of the text (Fig. 7). This notation accompanies the text in the sense that it directly relates to the passage from Luke's Gospel that is being commented on at the time. The evidence this provides of marginal notation being used independently of the other parts of the system as a tool of exegesis and cross-referencing is also worth considering in the context of MacDurnan.

Apart from Armagh and MacDurnan, in the other six members of the pocket gospel book series the only traces of the Eusebian system that remain are within the gospel text, primarily in the decoration of the first letter of particular Eusebian sections. Most of the books (and this, again, reflects the tradition in the larger books) have a relatively inconsistent approach to this—some section initials are marked but these are not the only passages with enlarged initials.[32] Much of the explanation for this inconsistent pattern lies in the kinds of models used for these manuscripts and the extent to which they reflected Vulgate or Old Latin section divisions. This fact is borne out by the text in the Book of Mulling. Work carried out by Lawlor at the end of the nineteenth century demonstrated how in its original conception, Mulling contained traces of the Eusebian system only in the parts of its gospel which were closest to the Vulgate, as in the gospel of Mark, while the divisions of St Matthew and St Luke had nothing to do with the Eusebian sections, because they feature a stronger Old Latin element, and John presents a mixed pattern.[33]

3 The additions to the book of Mulling

Sometime after its original conception, the Eusebian apparatus was attached to the Book of Mulling as part of a prefatory series. This series contains many of the features of the texts that are included in the Book of Armagh and the other Irish manuscripts mentioned earlier in this paper. Mulling has just one general preface, *Novum Opus*. This is followed by the prefaces (*argumenta*) for the four gospels bunched together as a group. Canon tables in non-architectural frames follow, with plain red vertical lines dividing the tables of numbers (Fig. 5).

Mulling's canon tables are based on a series which was unusually distributed across 15 pages. Mulling includes 14 of these, but is missing the final page for the end of Canon X Jn.[34] Mulling's unusual page distribution is paralleled only in the set of tables in Vienna 940. There are differences between the series in the two manuscripts, however, both in their table text and internal distribution. A collation of the Mulling tables with the Vulgate shows a relatively clean text in the Durrow/Amiatinus tradition.[35]

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28 This extended notation is found for example in the Lindisfarne Gospels, the Book of Durrow and the Codex Amiatinus. On this see O'Loughlin 1999.

29 O'Loughlin 1999, 5–6; O'Loughlin 2010, 17–20.

30 McGurk 1961, 98; Houghton 2016, 78–79. Digital reproduction of St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 60 http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/csg/0060/bindingA/0/Sequence-263 (last accessed 13/04/2020).

31 Bischoff 1954, 263; *Commentarium in Lucam* 1974.

32 See O'Loughlin 2007.

33 Lawlor 1897, 37.

34 See Lawlor 1897, 8–9 for a discussion of the contents of the first quire of the manuscript. In addition to the final page of the canon series, the second half of the *Novum Opus* preface and the first part of the *argumentum* for Matthew are also missing.

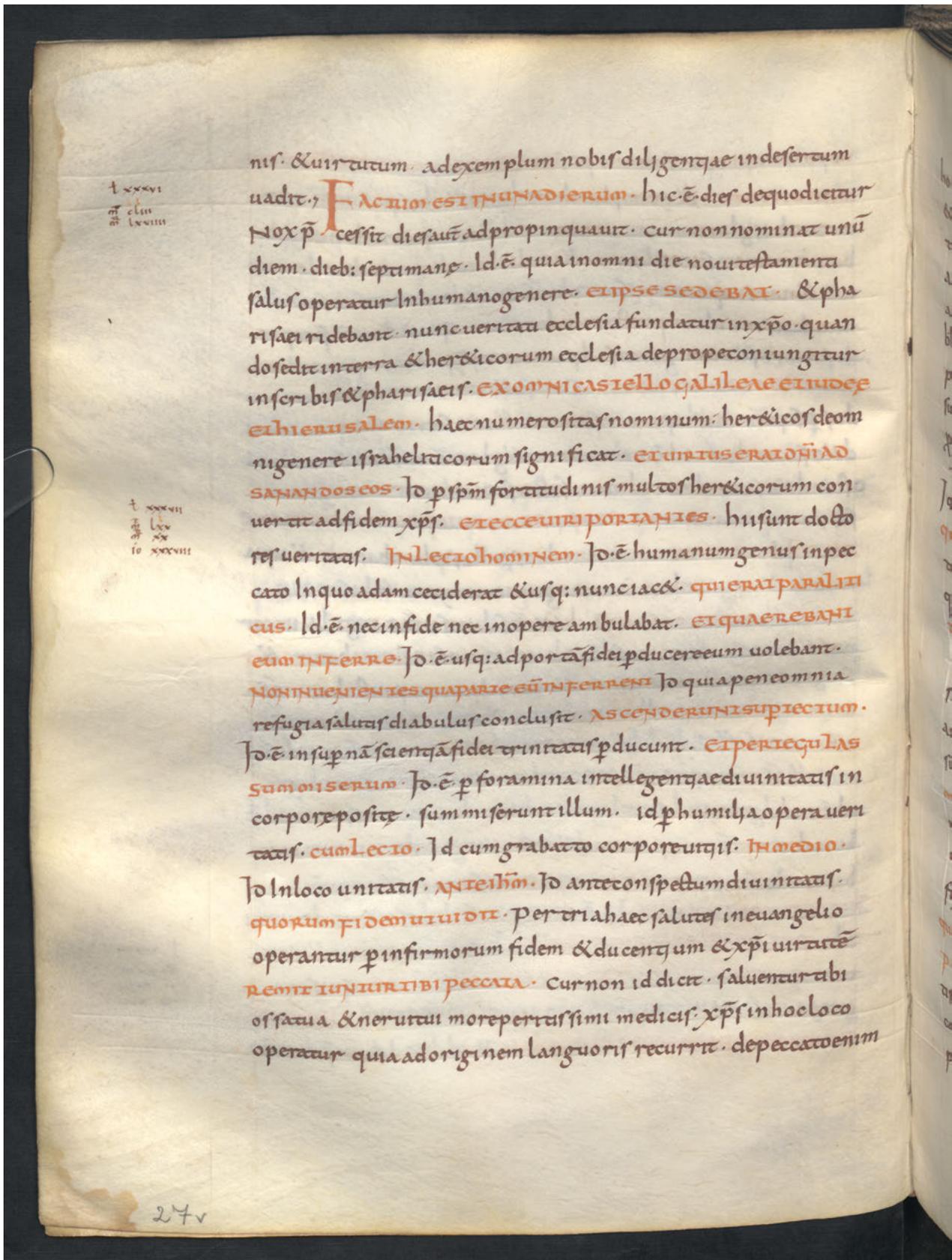**35** The Mulling tables were collated with the edition which appears

nif. &uirtutum adexemplum nobif diligentiae indesertum
uadit. Factuor est inunadierum. hic.e.dief dequodicitur
Nox p̄cessit diesaut adpropinquauit. curnonnominat unū
diem. dieb: septimane. Id.e. quia inomni die nouitestamenti
salus operatur Inhumanogenere. elipse sedebat. &pha
risaei ridebant. nuncueritati ecclesia fundatur inxp̄o. quan
dosedit interra &her&icorum ecclesia depropeconiungitur
inscribif &pharisaeif. Exomni castello galileae etiudee
ethierusalem. haecnumerositas nominum: her&icos deom
nigenere israheliticorum significat. Etuirtus erat dн̄i ad
sanandos eos. Jo p̄ sp̄m fortitudinif multos her&icorum con
uertit adfidem xp̄s. Etecceuiriportantes. hiisunt docto
res ueritatis. Inlectohominem. Jo.e. humanum genus inpec
cato Inquo adam ceciderat &usq: nunc iac&. quierat paraliti
cus. Id.e. necinfide nec inopere ambulabat. Etquaerebant
eum Inferre. Jo.e. usq: adportam fidei p̄ducereeum uolebant.
Noninuenientes quaparte eum ferrent Jo quia peneomnia
refugia salutas diabulus conclusit. Ascenderunt supiectum.
Jo.e. insup̄nam scientiafidei trinitatis p̄ducunt. Etperiegulas
summiserunt Jo.e. p̄ foramina intellegentiae diuinitatis in
corpore positae. summiserunt illum. id p̄humilia opera ueri
tatis. cumlecto Jd cumgrabatto corporeutis. Inmedio
Jo Inloco unitatis. Anteil̄m. Jo anteconspectum diuinitatis.
quorum fidem utuidit. pertria haec salutas ineuangelio
operantur p̄infirmorum fidem &ducentium &xp̄i uirtutem
Remit iuniurtibi peccata. curnon id dicit. saluentur tibi
offatua &neruttui morepertussimi medicis. xp̄s inhocloco
operatur quia adoriginem languorif recurrit. depeccatoenim

Fig. 7: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 997, fol. 27v. Marginal Entries for Luke Sections XXXVI–XXXVII. Image reproduced courtesy of Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

Even if the Mulling series does not appear as clearly laid out as Vienna 940, minimal errors are included, and these are often picked up on. One such correction is evident on the final line of Canon II on fol. 8r, where the parallel for Luke's gospel is corrected from 339 to 338. Similarly, on fol. 9r, Canon IIII, there is a correction from 77 to 67 in the entry for Mark in the fourth parallel.[36]

One major change in the Mulling series is in Canon VIII, where the order of the evangelists in the table is reversed from the standard form of Luke Mark to Mark Luke (Fig. 5). Neglected to this point by scholars, this reversal is also evident in the series in Durrow (fol. 9v) and Kells (fol. 5v) (Fig. 2).[37] Interestingly, it also appears in the canon series in the fragmentary Anglo-Saxon Bible Royal I. E. VI.[38] In this manuscript, unlike in Durrow, it also appears in the listing of the canons in the *Novum Opus* preface (fol. 2v). While the reversal is not discussed in most of the contemporary Hiberno-Latin commentary literature, it is a feature of the way that the table is described in Ailerán's well-known poem on the evangelical canons.[39] The stanza on the eighth table ('In the eighth now a lion's cub/ brings forth the words of God, and a calf/ whose apostolic number is computed together/ with Paul added as a colleague') places the symbol for Mark, the lion, before that of Luke's calf. This is the only instance in Ailerán's poem where the order of the canons is reversed, also in keeping with the gospel books mentioned above. It is interesting to note that while Ailerán's poem appears as a preface in several gospel books with Irish associations, such as the Augsburg Gospels and Poitiers 17, their series do not reflect the order of Canon VIII, as described in the poem and presented in Mulling.[40] It is also worth noting that the reversal of Canon VIII as listed in Ailerán's poem is not a feature of the description of Canon VIII in the other poems on the canons included in De Bruyne's *Préfaces de la Bible Latine*.[41]

In keeping with the level of care which is given in Mulling to creating an accurate canon table text, the marginal notation inserted alongside its gospel text is relatively consistent. Because, as mentioned earlier, the manuscript's main text originally reflected only partially the opening of Eusebian sections by the use of enlarged initials, the scribe who added in the tables also strove to both adapt the punctuation and enlarge the initials at the start of sections when this was absent from the original. McGurk provides a good example of this practice on fol. 18r column 2 line 25 which corresponds to Matthew Section 68 Canon V, where two dots and a comma are additions and the following *Et* has been inked over for emphasis (Fig. 8).[42]

In addition to the level of care with which the gospel text has been made to accommodate the apparatus, the most striking thing about the system in Mulling is the fact that the manuscript's marginal references are simple ones, without the parallel sections in the other gospels. Preliminary comparison of the Mulling notation with that of other contemporary gospel books reveals some interesting results.[43] Of the roughly 200 early Latin gospel books which are extant, around 115 have no notation at all. This is largely to be explained by the fact that Old Latin gospel books generally were without paratextual material. At other times, as with a manuscript like Armagh, the manuscript has parts of the apparatus but no notation. There are over 70 manuscripts among the set examined which contain the extended marginal notation, described above in the context of the MacDurnan Gospels. The oldest example of this notation is that in St Gall 1395, which has been discussed by O'Loughlin in relation to the notation in the Book of Durrow.[44] Another early witness to this extended notation is to be found in Aberdeen, University Library, Papyrus 2a, a papyrus fragment of John's Gospel written in rustic capitals in the fifth century.[45]

in *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, ed. Robertus Weder, Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983.

36 There are slightly larger number of errors in the listing of numbers for Mt X.

37 This reversal in the canon series has not been noted in scholarship I have been able to access to this point. It is the subject of current work by the author.

38 Royal I. E. VI is available as a digital edition at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=royal_ms_1_e_vi_fs001ar (last accessed 13/04/2020).

39 Ailerán's poem has been reprinted many times. The earliest edition is in De Bruyne 1920, 185. See also Howlett 1996, 12–16. For the way the order of the tables is explained by Hiberno-Latin commentators see Mullins 2014, 331–332.

40 McGurk 1961, 64–66, 68–70.

41 See De Bruyne 1920, 186.

42 See McGurk 1987, 173 and plates 3 and 9.

43 The set of early Latin gospel books which forms the comparison point here is based on those listed in Hugh Houghton's *Latin New Testament* and McGurk's *Latin Gospel Books* with reference to *Codices Latini Antiquiores*. It has been difficult to determine absolutely exact figures for the survey because of the limited availability of some of these manuscripts as complete digital editions. While this is the subject of ongoing work by the author, the overall results presented here give a valid impression of the relatively limited transmission of the simple system of notation.

44 O'Loughlin 1999. For St Gall, Stiftsbiliothek, 1395 see CLA VII, 984, https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/157 (last accessed 13/04/2020). A digital edition is available at http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/list/one/csg/1395 (last accessed 13/04/2020).

45 See CLA II, 118, https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/431 (last accessed 13/04/2020); Houghton 2016, 223; McGurk 1961, 24.
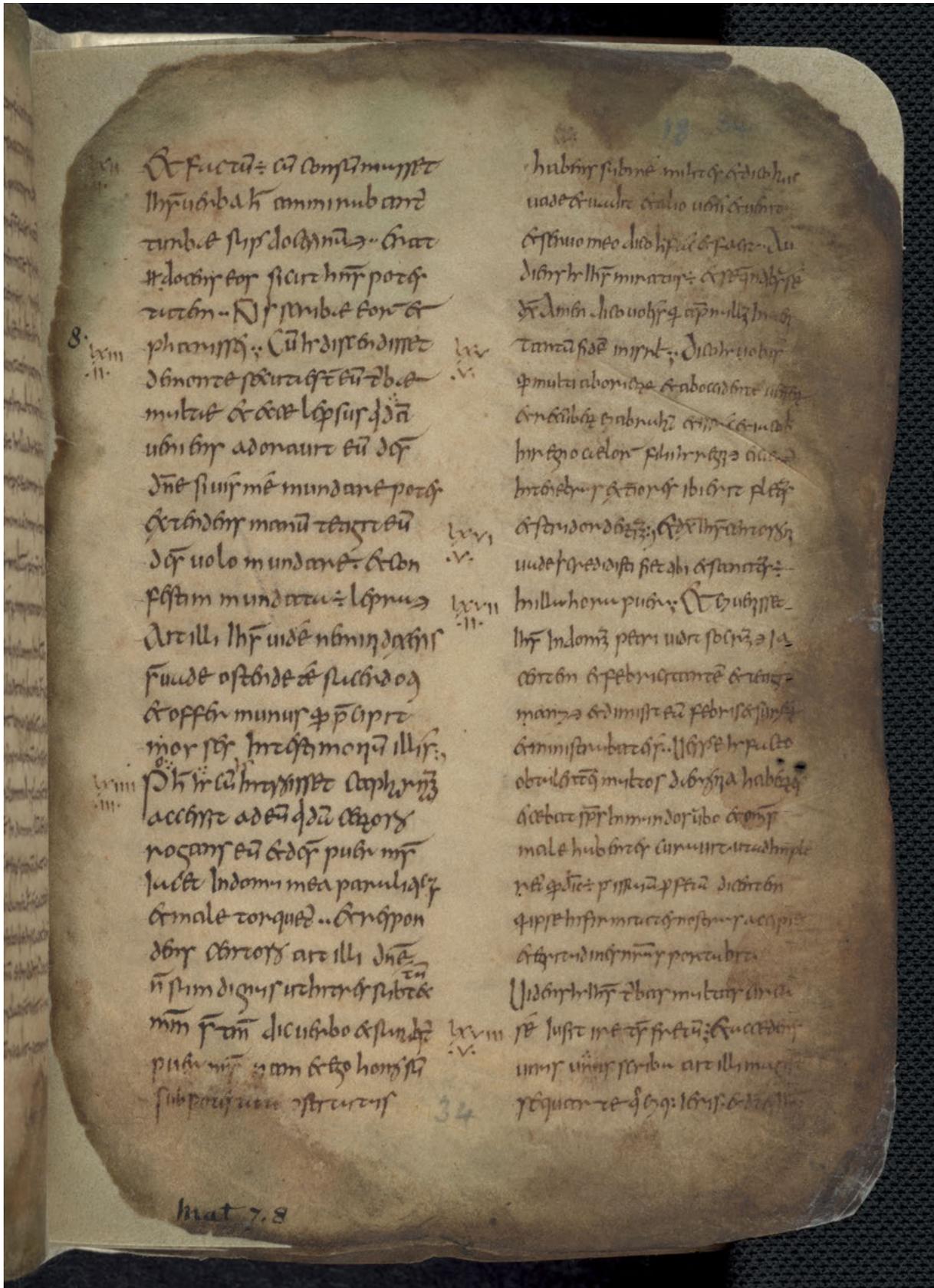
Fig. 8: Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 60, Book of Mulling, fol. 18r. Marginal Entries for Matthew Sections LXIII–LXVIII. Image reproduced courtesy of The Board of Trinity College Dublin.

Tab. 2: Latin Gospel Books with Simple Eusebian Notation.

Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, VI[46]	Codex Veronensis, Gospel Book	V[ex], Italy
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 11553[47]	Codex Sangermanensis primus, Bible	c.810, St Germain-des-Prés
St Petersburg, National Library, F.v. I.8[48]	Leningrad Gospels	VIII[ex], England
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 13169[49]	Codex Sangermanensis secundus, Gospel Book	X, Brittany
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. lat.1587[50]	St Gatien Gospels	c.800, Brittany
Dublin, Trinity College Library, 60[51]	Book of Mulling, Gospel Book	VIII–IX, Ireland
Paris Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 281[52]	Codex Bigotianus, Gospel Book	VIII[ex], Southern England
Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale, 48 (fols I–II) + 66 (fols I–II) + 71 (fols A-B) +Leningrad O.v.I.1.[53]	Gospel Book Fragments	VIII, Northumbria?

Surprisingly, of the 200 manuscripts examined during this research, there are only eight clear examples of the simple version of the notation, either in parts or throughout the manuscript, which have been identified.[54] These manuscripts are listed in Table 2.

These manuscripts witness the reception of the simple form of the Eusebian marginal notation in different ways. There is a spectrum in this, from the notation in the Veronensis, an original late antique manuscript containing an Old Latin gospel text to which the Eusebian system was added by a corrector, to later manuscripts which reflect late antique models. An example of the latter is found in the Codex Bigotianus made in southern England in the eighth century, which reproduces the *cola et commata* layout, script and Eusebian sections of a much earlier Italian Vulgate (Fig. 9). Similarly, the Codex Sangermanensis primus, copied in Saint-Germain-des-Prés in 810, has been seen to rely on a pandect assembled in Rome in the fifth century. Other manuscripts in the group reflect a mishmash of models, Vulgate and Old Latin, some of which had full marginal notation, others the simple version, and others no notation at all. This mishmash of different models is evident in the Leningrad Gospels from southern England and the Codex Sangermanensis secundus, which is thought to have been copied in Brittany in the tenth century.[55] The Avranches fragments present an inconsistent approach: Avranches 71 and 48, which contain a folio from Mark's gospel and some fragments from John respectively, have the initial for the evangelist and section number with no canon reference, although there may be some fading, particularly in the John fragment; Avranches 66, which includes a folio from Luke's gospel, has the initial for the evangelist, section number and canon reference in red on at least three occasions.[56] The St Gatien Gospels, copied in Brittany around the year 800, is perhaps closest to the kind of book that Mulling may have relied on. While it is laid out as a block as opposed to Mulling's columns, it reflects many Insular features and consistently includes the simple apparatus, although it omits the first two elements of the Eusebian system (Fig. 10).[57]

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46 CLA IV, 481, https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/828 (last accessed 13/04/2020); McGurk 1961, 93; Houghton 2016, 212.

47 Houghton 2016, 213–214; full digital edition from microfilm is available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9065958t (last accessed 13/04/2020).

48 CLA 11, 1605, https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/359 (last accessed 13/04/2020); McGurk 1961, 101; Houghton 2016, 215–216; Alexander 1978, 64. See selected digital reproductions at http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/series/volumes/09/bleskina/ (last accessed 13/04/2020).

49 Houghton 2016, 225. Full digital edition available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10500013s/f33.image (last accessed 13/04/2020).

50 CLA V, 684, https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/1073 (last accessed 13/04/2020); McGurk 1961, 64; Houghton, 2016, 225-226. Full digital edition available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8423842n (last accessed 13/04/2020).

51 See note 4.

52 CLA V, 526, https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/883 (last accessed 13/04/2020); McGurk 1961, 59-60; Houghton 2016, 267. Full digital edition available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8492142v (last accessed 13/04/2020).

53 CLA VI, 730, https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/1135; McGurk 1961, 53. Digital reproductions are available at https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=843 (last accessed 13/04/2020).

54 One addition to this set which could be considered is Durham, Cathedral Library, A. II. 10. This fragmentary manuscript includes section numbers for Mark but no reference to the canon to which these sections belong. See CLA II, 147, https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/460 (last accessed 13/04/2020); Houghton 2016, 221.

55 The Leningrad Gospels uses simple notation in Mark, Luke and John's gospel. Matthew's gospel begins with extended notation, but this stops completely after Matthew 16. For discussion see Houghton 2010, 114. The Codex Sangermanensis secundus has no notation in Mark's gospel, simple notation in Matthew and Luke's gospels and extended notation in John.

56 These include the references for Luke Sections 31–37. See the reproduction https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?VUE_ID=327527 (last accessed 13/04/2020).

57 McGurk 1987, 175-176. On its decorative similarities to Insular books see Alexander 1978, 78-79. He sees it as a 'copy of a very sumptuous, probably Irish, Gospel book'.
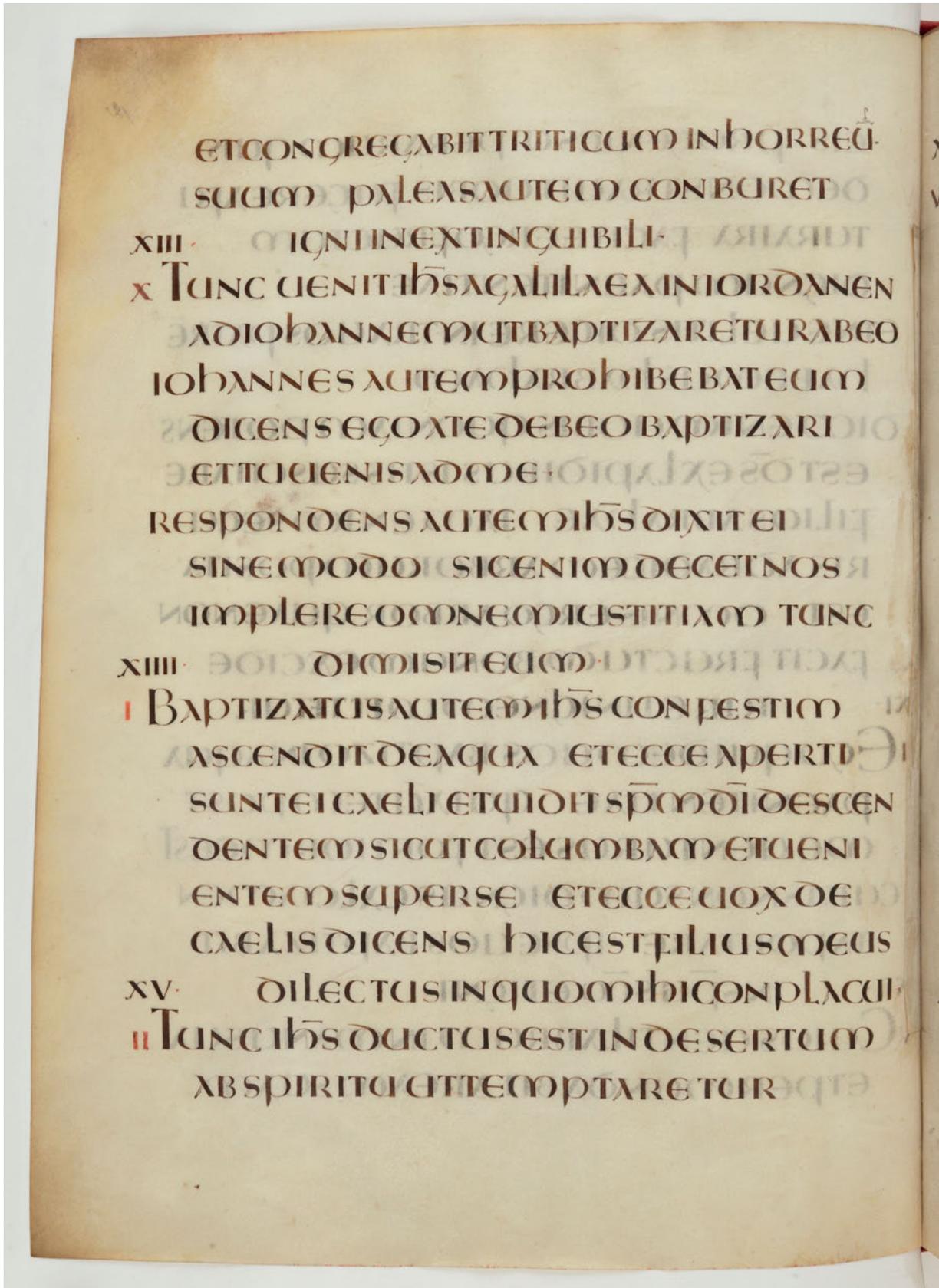
ETCONGREGABITTRITICUM INhORREU
suam PALEASAUTEM CONBURET
XIII IGNI INEXTINGUIBILI
x Tunc uenit ihs agalilaeaxin iordanen
adiohannemutbaptizareturabeo
iohannes autemprohibebateum
dicens egoxte debeo baptizari
ettuuenis adme
respondens autemihs dixit ei
sine modo sicenim decet nos
implere omnemiustitiam tunc
XIIII dimisiteum
I Baptizatus autemihs confestim
ascendit deaqua etecce xperti
suntei caeli etuidit spm di descen
dentem sicutcolumbam etueni
entem superse etecce uox de
caelis dicens hicestfiliusmeus
XV dilectusinquomihiconplacui
II Tunc ihs ductusest indesertum
abspiritu ettemptaretur

Fig. 9: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 281 + latin 298, Codex Bigotianus, fol. 12v. Marginal Entries for Matthew Sections XIII, XIIII, XV. Image reproduced courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.
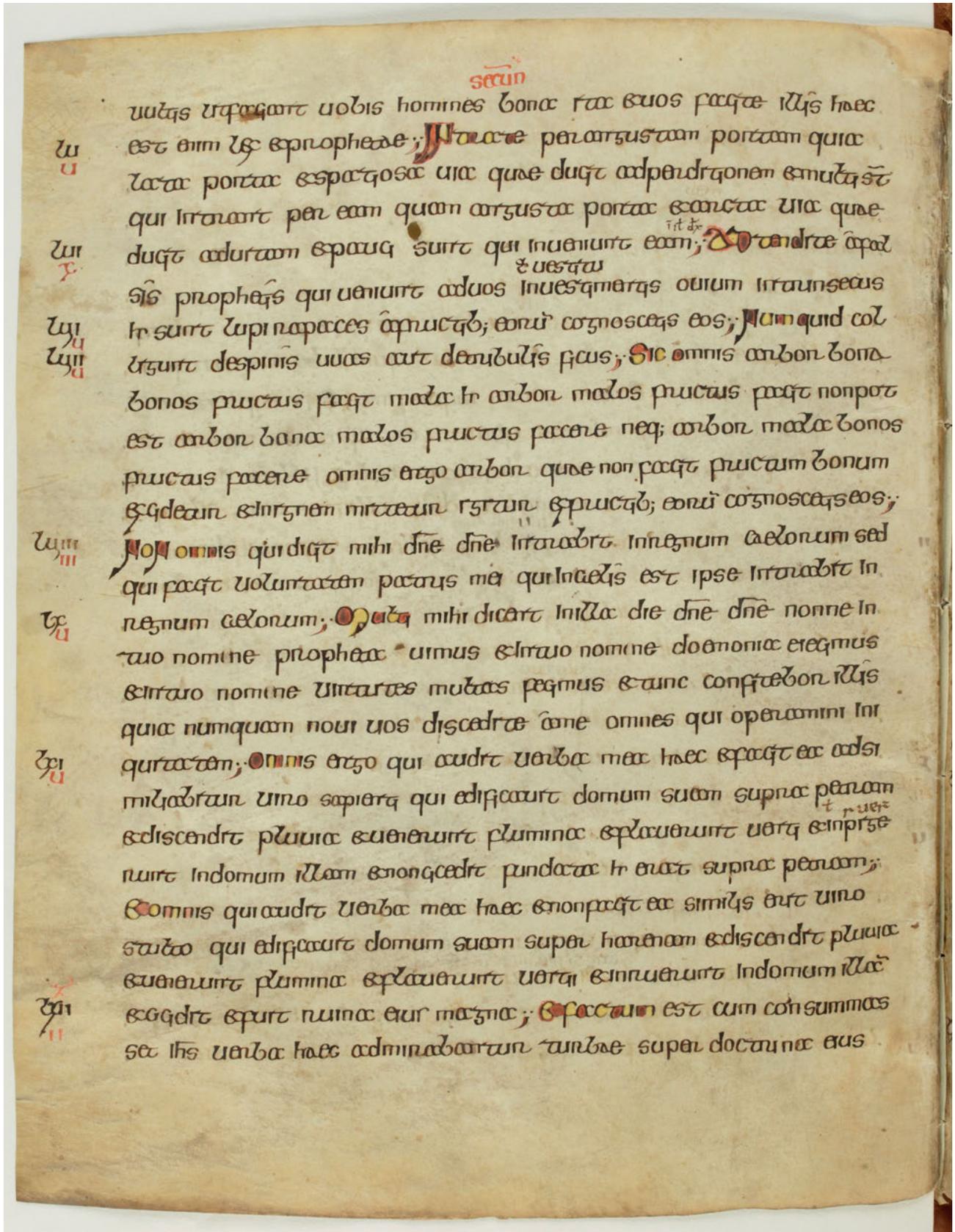
Fig. 10: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 1587, St Gatien Gospels, fol. 7v. Marginal Entries for Matthew Sections LV–LXII. Image reproduced courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

The Insular connections of many of the manuscripts listed here is significant. It supports a point made by Houghton in relation to transmission of the gospel text in the Insular world, where the move from Old Latin to Vulgate was the result of a gradual accretion of readings.[58] It seems likely that the simple notation may have accompanied either a stage in the original Old Latin or, more likely, early Vulgate transmission of the gospels to Ireland and that the notation in Mulling is reflecting this. Indeed, it is worth considering whether the simple notation present in Mulling is another feature of the ancient imported archetype, posited by McGurk, which restricted its general prefaces to *Novum Opus* and non-architectural tables.[59]

Another perspective on the kind of marginal notation used in early medieval Ireland is provided by the discussion of the tables in the Hiberno-Latin commentary material. While these texts generally avoid commenting on the practical use of the system, their faithfulness to the description of the series in Jerome's *Novum Opus* preface and in Isidore's *Etymologiae* means that only the simple, rather than extended, notation is the basis for the commentary.[60] In Vienna 940, also, interestingly, the uncial titles which break up the commentary on Matthew do not provide the parallel references in the other gospels, but note purely that a particular section belongs to a particular canon, something else which suggests the use of the simple system. It is difficult to draw firm conclusions in relation to this, however. As the discussion of MacDurnan demonstrated, extended marginal notation is present in gospel books associated with medieval Ireland at this time. Matthew Crawford has also noted the explicit discussion of the extended notation in Sedulius Scottus' commentaries on the apparatus, although these are generally seen as later in date than the Hiberno-Latin texts referred to by Bischoff, and Sedulius himself acknowledges that the extended notation is not what is advised by Jerome.[61]

Why was the Eusebian apparatus added to the Book of Mulling after it was created? Contemporary evidence for the addition of prefatory material is provided by a manuscript like the Burchard Gospels, which presents a sixth century Italian text with the addition of prefatory material in either a Northumbrian or Continental context in the seventh or eighth centuries.[62] This general point aside and turning specifically to Mulling, it is worth noting

that this prefatory material is not the only addition to the manuscript. Possibly contemporary with the insertion of the prefatory series, was the addition on fols 33v–34r of a service for the visitation of the sick, while on fol. 94v, a liturgical text of 13 prayers in Latin and Irish was inserted.[63] This was followed by a circular drawing which has most recently been interpreted by Dominique Barbet-Massin as the visual representation of a daily prayer sequence.[64] The inclusion of this kind of material in the book points perhaps towards a change in the book's function, which allowed for a more personal and more scholarly use of the manuscript, a development which would have lent itself to the introduction of the apparatus.

The broader monastic context needs also to be considered in the discussion of these additions. Barbet-Massin in her work on the drawing and prayers in Mulling noted the similarity between their content and that of the Fleury prayer-book, a manuscript associated with Alcuin, which shows a strong connection to Irish material. Barbet-Massin attributes this Irish influence to Alcuin's association with the Irish monastic centre at Salzburg, particularly because of his friendship with Arno—abbot there in the late eighth century. The addition of the Eusebian apparatus to the manuscript may reinforce the link between Mulling and Salzburg made by Barbet-Massin in the context of the prayers, for it is to the Salzburg/St Amand circle that many of the Hiberno-Latin manuscripts, such as for example, Vienna 940 are attributed. This manuscript, in an original St Amand binding, includes as noted earlier the only other set of non-architectural canon tables distributed across 15 pages, a discussion of the Eusebian system in its introduction, and continual reference to the apparatus throughout its commentary text. The addition of the tables to Mulling in the ninth century may thus reflect the kind of intense interest in the series, which is evident in Vienna 940 and other Hiberno-Latin manuscripts at this time.

4 Conclusion

Scholarship over the last two decades has created a nuanced picture of the reception of the Eusebian apparatus in the Irish pocket gospel book context. The complete absence of the apparatus and the inconsistency of attention to section initials within many of the gospel texts are

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58 Houghton 2016, 74–77.
59 McGurk 1990, 52–57.
60 For this and what follows see Mullins 2014.
61 Crawford 2017, 80.
62 McGurk 1961, 75–76.

63 Due to the faded quality of the script on fol. 94v scholars to this point have not been able to precisely date this hand or to conclude whether it is the same as that of the other additions. On this see Barbet-Massin 2017, 161.
64 For this and what follows see Barbet-Massin 2017.

evidence of how the system was either not known or was misunderstood at times. The careful addition of the three elements of the Eusebian system to Mulling demonstrates, however, that at other times there was a clear understanding of the apparatus. This understanding is different to that which appears in many of the larger contemporary Insular gospel books, where the numerical tables are used often as a moment for extended visual exegesis, sometimes, as in Kells, to the detriment of the system's practical use. Mulling's use of the apparatus has much more in common with the way the system is treated in contemporary Hiberno-Latin texts. This is reflected in, for example, the care given to inserting correct entries to the apparatus throughout the gospel's text and margins, which parallels the granular attention to the system, evident in a manuscript like Vienna 940. Mulling's use of simple rather than extended marginal notation is in keeping with the sources used for the discussion of the tables in the Hiberno-Latin corpus of manuscripts. It also provides another piece of evidence to support theories about the transmission of the gospel text to early medieval Ireland. Although further research is needed, the reversal of the order of the evangelists in Canon VIII noted here for the first time in Mulling, Durrow and Kells and in Royal I E VI is a new piece of evidence in the history of the transmission and development of the Eusebian system in the Latin West. The extended Eusebian notation included in the MacDurnan gospels adds another layer to the discussion of the system in the pocket gospel book corpus. MacDurnan's approach, which omits the first two elements of the apparatus but includes the extended system of notation, leads to the interesting possibility that this part of the apparatus may have been used as a standalone exegetical tool. This is not something which has been considered in scholarship up to this point and it also requires further investigation, particularly in relation to contemporary Hiberno-Latin exegetical material. While there needs to be further research, it is clear that this notation, both in its simple and extended form, has a role to play in our understanding of the transmission of the gospel text to both Ireland and the Continent in the early medieval era.

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Jacopo Gnisci

An Ethiopian Miniature of the Tempietto in the Metropolitan Museum of Art: Its Relatives and Symbolism

Abstract: This study offers the first comprehensive review of the Tempietto in Ethiopian art. The motif was an indispensable feature in illustrated Ethiopic Gospel books, appearing systematically as an *explicit* to the Eusebian apparatus in manuscripts from the Christian Aksumite to the early Solomonic Period. While the Ethiopic version of Eusebius's *Letter to Carpianus* and the canon tables have attracted considerable scholarly interest, the Ethiopian iconography of the Tempietto has not yet received the attention it deserves. By analysing the iconography of the Tempietto in Ethiopic gospel books this work shows how it is possible to offer a partial reconstruction of the practices of illuminators in Ethiopia in the century following the rise of the Solomonic dynasty, providing important insights into the elusive question of the development of manuscript illumination in Ethiopia.

1 Introduction

As far as the present evidence goes, the Tempietto was an indispensable feature in illustrated Ethiopic gospel books, appearing systematically as an *explicit* to the Eusebian apparatus in manuscripts from the Christian Aksumite to the early Solomonic Period.[1] The Ethiopic version of Eusebius's *Letter to Carpianus*[2] and the canon tables,[3]

typically placed in the intercolumniation of a single decorated arch and distributed over two or three and over eight or seven pages respectively, have attracted considerable scholarly interest. The Ethiopian iconography of the Tempietto, on the other hand, has not yet received the attention it deserves.

Nordenfalk simply notes that the Tempietto appears in Ethiopian gospels, without developing the point further,[4] whereas Underwood's seminal study of the *fons vitae* deals tangentially with the Ethiopian tradition.[5] A preliminary overview of the Ethiopian material offered over 50 years ago by Leroy[6] has been followed by occasional remarks,[7] reviewed below, rather than by systematic research.[8] An exception to this statement is a meticulous study by Bausi which, however, focuses in detail on the textual rather than visual elements.[9] Hence, the need for the review of the evidence presented here.

The focus of this paper is on a remarkable miniature of the Tempietto on the recto of a double-sided leaf from an Ethiopic gospel now kept in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 1).[10] Acquired in 2006,[11] the leaf, which features a representation of the Crucifixion without the Crucified on its verso,[12] offers one of the finest examples of this motif in early Solomonic manuscript illumination. This study seeks to explore its iconographic and stylis-

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1 For the boundaries of this period, see Heldman 1993b.
2 For a general overview of the Letter and the Eusebian Apparatus, see Oliver 1959; Crawford 2015. The text of the *Letter to Carpianus* and other prefatory texts found in Ethiopic gospels were first translated in English by Cowley 1977, but the only critical edition recently published is Bausi 2015. The Ethiopic version of the *Letter to Carpianus* ultimately derives, as do many other features of Ethiopic gospels, from a Greek Text, Zuurmond 1989, I, 19–20; Bausi 1997, 19–21.
3 For a general introduction to the canon tables, see Nordenfalk 1938, 1963, 1982, 1984; Vieillard 1945; Leroy 1957; Klemm 1972; McGurk

1993; D'Aiuto 2005; Amirkhanian 2008. For the Ethiopian version of the canon tables, see Leroy 1962; Zuurmond 1989, I, 20–21; Heldman 2003; Bausi 2004; Lepage/Mercier 2012, 102–107; McKenzie/Watson 2016; Gnisci/Zarzeczny 2017, 131–132; Gnisci 2018, 358–369. The canon tables in the Ethiopian tradition are called 'arches' (አቅማር), the term is a loanword from the Greek καμάρα.
4 Nordenfalk 1938, 105.
5 Underwood 1950.
6 Leroy 1962.
7 Most recently, see the excellent study by Kessler 2016, esp. 29–33.
8 See Heldman 1972, 104–109, 1979a, 107; Leroy 1967, 23–24; Iacobini/Perria 1998, n. 24. More extensive research on the motif on the Tempietto is found in McKenzie/Watson 2016, 121–44, but the focus is on the two Garima Gospels rather than on the later tradition considered here.
9 Bausi 2004, 53–56.
10 Acc. no. 2006.100.
11 Fletcher 2005, 80–81; Evans 2006.
12 The miniature of the Crucifixion is discussed in Balicka-Witakowska 1997, 120–121.

Fig. 1: Leaf from an Ethiopic gospel book, *Tempietto*, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 2006.100, 27.8 × 19 cm. © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
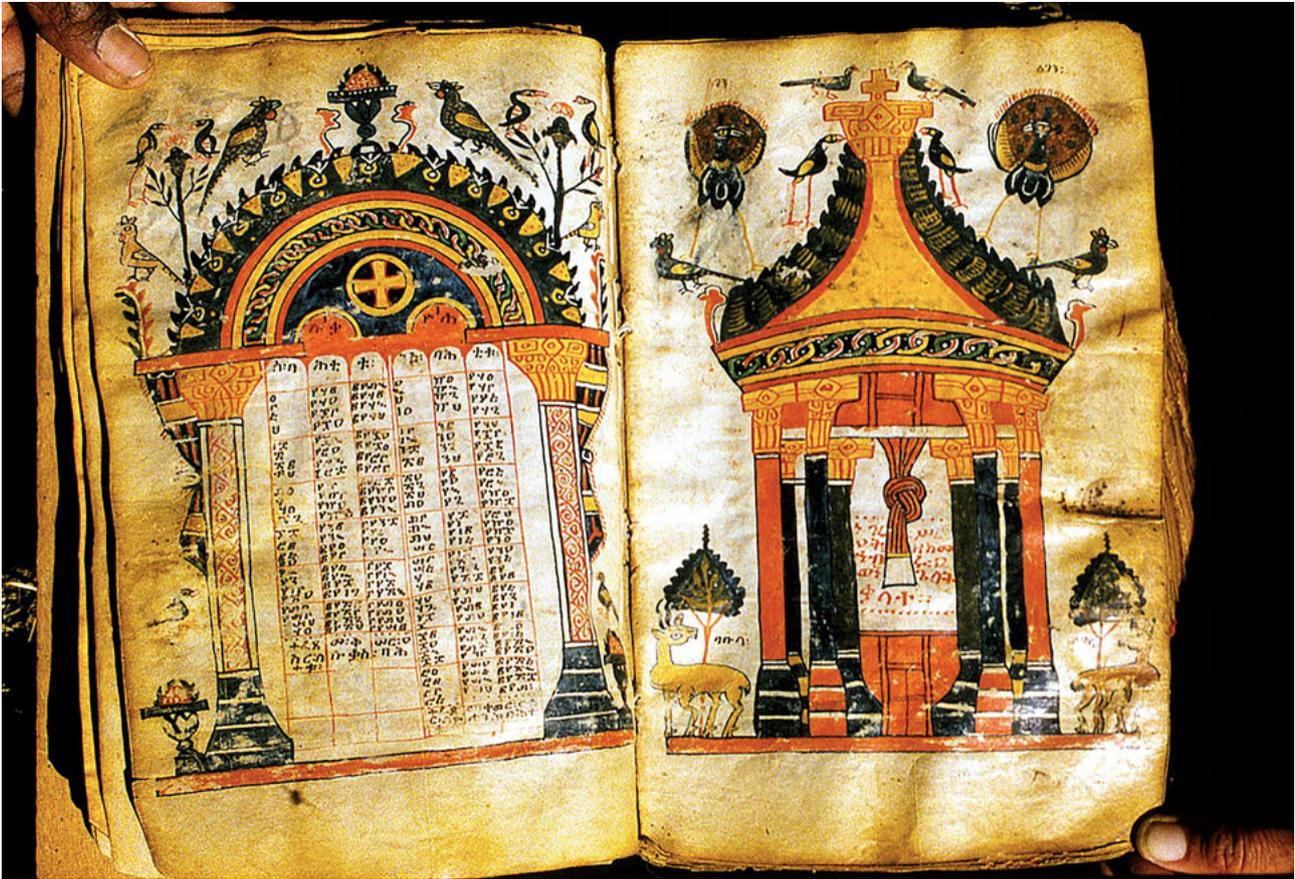
Fig. 2: Gospel book, *Tempietto*, Gärʿalta, Däbrä Mäʿar, fol. 10r, 28.2 × 18.5 cm. © Michael Gervers, courtesy of the DEEDS project.

tic relationship to other roughly coeval witnesses of the subject in illustrated Ethiopic gospel books dating from the late thirteenth to the early fifteenth centuries.

In so doing, it presents, for the first time, a complete survey of the surviving witnesses of this motif. Furthermore, in centering on aspects of artistic interrelation, it shows how it is possible to offer a partial reconstruction of the artistic practices in Ethiopia in the century following the rise of the Solomonic dynasty.[13] Finally, it demonstrates how an analysis of the motif of the Tempietto in the Ethiopian tradition yields important insights into the elusive question of the development of manuscript illumination in Ethiopia, for this is one of the few motifs attested in manuscripts predating the Solomonic Period, as illustrated in Table 1 (to which I refer for the sigla henceforth used).

2 Date

A larger and better-known part of the gospel book to which the Met's leaf originally belonged is now in the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm (= NMB-2034).[14] A study of these fragments shows that the Met's Tempietto miniature originally followed the Eusebian Apparatus and preceded a cycle of three full-page miniatures which began with the representation of the Crucifixion without the Crucified on its verso and continued with the depictions of the Holy Women at the Tomb and the Ascension now in Stockholm. The multiple frontispiece formed by these three miniatures, often referred to as the *short cycle*, is attested in several fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century Ethiopic gospels and has been the object of several studies.[15]

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13 For a general overview of this period, see Taddesse Tamrat 1972; Derat 2003.

14 Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, NMB 2034. The Stockholm fragment, which includes two pages of the *Letter to Carpianus*, two pages of canon tables, and Evangelist portraits, is mentioned in several studies, including Heldman 1979a, 1993b, 131–32; Nordenfalk 1979, 16–21.

15 The seminal studies for the Ethiopian tradition are those by Monneret de Villard 1939; Heldman 1979a; Lepage 1987, 1988, 1990; Fiaccadori 2003. On the motif of the Visit of the Holy Women at the

Several decades before the Met's leaf appeared on the market, Heldman had associated the two miniatures from the Stockholm fragment with the multiple frontispiece of the Gospel of Däbrä Mäʿar (= DMR),[16] which is likewise preceded by the Eusebian apparatus and the Tempietto (Fig. 2), and to a fragment kept in the Institute of Ethiopian Studies (= IES-3475),[17] featuring the Tempietto on its recto and the Crucifixion without the Crucified on its verso. Thus, like the Met leaf, the Tempietto pages in DMR and IES-3475 have a crucifixion on the verso.

Until recently, the dating of these three manuscripts was tentative and based on stylistic, palaeographic, and iconographic considerations, with opinions on the matter varying from one author to another. Lepage initially argued, on stylistic grounds, that the illustrations in DMR belonged to the thirteenth or fourteenth century,[18] but later attributed them to the fourteenth century by dint of a note in the manuscript mentioning Säyfä Arʿad (r. 1344–71).[19] Balicka-Witakowska tentatively dated DMR to *c*.1350,[20] NMB-2034 to the first half of the fourteenth century,[21] and IES-3475 to *c*.1375.[22] Fiaccadori, in turn, attributed NMB-2034 and IES-3475 to the fourteenth century, but dated DMR to 1341/42 in the light of a note mentioning Emperor ʿAmdä Ṣəyon I (r. 1314–44).[23] Finally, Heldman—who had previously suggested that DMR, IES-3475, and NMB-2034 belonged to the first half of the fourteenth century[24]—and Devens, who studied and translated a donation note in DMR (fols 230v–231r), confirmed the manuscript to have been donated to its monastery in 1340/41.[25]

In the light of this new evidence, Heldman argued that the dating of IES-3475, NMB-2034 and the Met's leaf must be reconsidered because these fragments 'appear stylistically to be later in date than the miniatures of the

Gospels of Däbrä Mäʿar'.[26] Such a statement warrants some scrutiny. On the one hand, the short cycle formed by the Crucifixion on the verso of the Met's leaf and the miniatures of the Holy Women at the Tomb and the Ascension in NMB-2034 is indeed very close, in terms of style and iconography, to the frontispiece of DMR. Their iconographic features appear in much the same way in this latter manuscript, even though, as pointed out by several scholars, the illustrations in DMR appear to be more skillfully executed or, as Balicka-Witakowska puts it, 'closer to the presumed archetype'.[27] On the other hand, it does not necessarily follow, as Heldman would have it, that the Met's leaf and NMB-2034 are posterior to DMR because they preserve fewer features of the presumed archetype. In fact, at the present state of our knowledge, it cannot be ruled out that their miniatures are almost coeval with those in DMR or earlier even, though the latter appears less likely. In other words, at present, it is safest to assert that the illustrations in NMB-2034 and on the Met's leaf are from the fourteenth century. However, if one were to narrow this date range on stylistic grounds alone, it may be argued tentatively they originated in the decades around the mid-fourteenth century.[28]

3 Overview

The principal features of the Tempietto miniature on the Metropolitan Museum's folio are typical of early Solomonic representations of this subject. A tholos is placed at the centre of the composition, occupying roughly three quarters of the height of the folio. The building's cornice is decorated with interlace and rests on eight columns with white astragals and narrow shafts in black, crimson red, and green. The columns have T-shaped capitals and barred bell-shaped bases. A knotted curtain dangles from the innermost part of the building. The conical roof, with trefoil-shaped acroteria, has concave sides which—like the lines of the cornice—were probably drawn with a compass.[29] There is a vase-shaped capital topped by a small cross above the roof. There are also several animals, identified by captions and considered in greater detail below, placed around the tholos.

Tomb, see also Ernst 2009; Gnisci 2015a. For the Ascension, see Monneret de Villard 1943; Chojnacki 1976.

16 Heldman 1979a, 1993b, 131, was the first to point out the similarities between DMR and the Stockholm fragment.

17 For a reproduction and discussion of the Tempietto in this manuscript, see Heldman 1993b, 130–131, cat. 55; Balicka-Witakowska 1997, 127. This fragment is iconographically related to BNF-32, but is not stylistically close as suggested by Chojnacki 1983, 34, 490.

18 Lepage 1972, 500.

19 Lepage 1977b, 1977a, 1987.

20 Balicka-Witakowska 1997, 6, 126.

21 Balicka-Witakowska 1997, 125, n. 8.

22 Balicka-Witakowska 1997, 7.

23 Fiaccadori 2003, 200–201.

24 Heldman 1979a, 107–108.

25 Heldman/Devens 2009; Devens is acknowledged as 'responsible for the translation of the colophon and donation note' at the beginning of the study, so the art historical considerations in this study are attributed only to Heldman here.

26 Heldman/Devens 2009, 82.

27 Balicka-Witakowska 1997, 121.

28 The only analysis of the issues that arise in dating early Solomonic miniatures is found in Balicka-Witakowska 1997, 6–9, but the matter requires more detailed treatment than hitherto received.

29 Signs of a compass needle are visible at the centre of the circular tails of the two peacocks placed at each side of the roof.

Fig. 3: Gospel book, *Tempietto*, ʿAdwa, Ǝnda Abba Garima, III, fol. 5v, 33.2 × 25.4 cm. © Michael Gervers, courtesy of the DEEDS project.

Tab. 1: The Tempietto in Ethiopic Gospel Books.

Date	Repository & Identifier	Folio	Abbreviation
Fourth–seventh cent. (?)	ʿAdwa, Ǝnda Abba Garima, III (Fig. 3)[30]	5v	AG-III
Sixth–seventh cent. (?)	ʿAdwa, Ǝnda Abba Garima, I (Fig. 4)[31]	6r	AG-I
Twelfth–thirteenth cent. (?)	Akkälä Guzay, Däbrä Libanos[32] (Fig. 5)	7r	DLB
1280–81	Ḥayq, Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos[33] (Fig. 6)	12r	IMA
1340–41	Gärʿalta, Däbrä Mäʿar (Fig. 2)	10r	DMR
c.1300–1339/40	Addis Ababa, National Library, MS 28[34] (Fig. 7)	14r	KTN
Mid- to late fourteenth cent. (?)	Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W.836[35] (Fig. 8)	6r	WAM-836
Mid- to late fourteenth cent. (?)	New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 2006.100 (Fig. 1)	n/a	
Second half of fourteenth cent. (?)	Addis Ababa, The Institute of Ethiopian Studies, 3475a-b	n/a	IES-3475
Second half of fourteenth cent. (?)	Ṣəraʿ, Däbrä Ṣärabi[36] (Fig. 9)	10r	DSB
1360–61	Säraye, Däbrä Maryam Qwäḥayn[37]	?	DMQ
1362–63 or 1438–39	Amba Dära, Maryam Mägdälawit[38] (Fig. 10)	18r	MMG
c.1344–1412	Lake Ṭana, Kəbran, Kəbran Gäbrəʾel[39]	9r	KGL
Mid-fourteenth to early fifteenth cent. (?)	Gulo Mäḵäda, ʿUra Mäsqäl[40]	6r	UML
Mid-fourteenth to early fifteenth cent. (?)	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, éth. 32[41]	7r	BNF-32
Mid-fourteenth to early fifteenth cent. (?)	Lake Ṭana, Däq, Arsima Sämaʿətat[42]	?	AST
Mid-fourteenth to early fifteenth cent. (?)	Täkwälädäre, Boru Meda Abärra Śällase[43]	8r	BSS
1400–01	New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, M. 828[44]	6r	ZGL
Early fifteenth cent. (?)	Däqqi Dašəm, Qəddus Mikaʾel, (non vidi)[45]	4r	DDM
Early fifteenth cent. (?)	New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 1998.66[46]	16r	MET-1998.66
Early fifteenth cent. (?)	Private Collection[47]	8r	PC-3

30 The dating of AG-I and AG-III is based on C-14 tests and analysis of the style of the miniatures. For a discussion and reproductions of these two manuscripts, see Leroy 1960, 1968; Heldman 1993b, 129–30; Mercier 2000a, 36–45; Zuurmond/Niccum 2012; McKenzie/Watson 2016; Getatchew Haile 2017.

31 Despite a recent rebinding, some pages of AG-I are still not in the correct order, as noted also in McKenzie/Watson 2016. On the restoration of AG-I and AG-III, see Mercier 2009, 107–14. The verso of the Tempietto leaf features an empty canon table with a conch-shell that was probably originally placed before the tholos rather than after it. It is tempting to ask whether this page was intended as an allusion to the pronaos of the aedicule of the Holy Sepulchre, as preserved in the stone model of Narbonne. For reproductions and a more detailed discussion of this latter work, see Ousterhout 1990, fig. 8; Iacobini/Perria 1998, 60; Fiaccadori 2003, 185–186.

32 This gospel book, kept in a homonymous monastery in Eritrea, is currently inaccessible due to the political situation. The manuscript contains codicological units from different periods, for a discussion see Conti Rossini 1901; Bausi 1997, 13–23, fig. 1, 2007b; Derat 2010, 24–34.

33 This manuscript, generally referred to by the name of its owner, Iyäsus Moʾa, is dated on the basis of a colophon on fol. 23v, see Taddesse Tamrat 1970, 90–92; Getatchew Haile/Macomber 1981, 293–301; Zuurmond 1989, II, 55–56; Balicka-Witakowska 1997, 123–24; Bosc-Tiessé 2010; Gnisci 2015c.

34 Opinions on the dating of this manuscript vary, but the presence of historical notices and a portrait of its owner, Krəstos Täsfanä, provide an *ad quem* date of 1339/40, see Ṣādwä 1952; Ricci 1961, 97, pl. 20; Schneider 1970; Lepage 1977b, 336–342, 2002; Zuurmond 1989, II, 62–63; Heldman 1993a, 176–177, cat. 65; Chojnacki 1993; Gnisci/Zarzeczny 2017, n. 98; Balicka-Witakowska 1997, 124–125. For a discus-

sion and reproduction of the Tempietto, see Leroy 1962, 174–176, fig. 2.

35 The dating is based on stylistic and palaeographic considerations. There is no evidence supporting the statement that this gospel 'belongs to a group of manuscripts produced at a monastery in Northern Ethiopia' as argued by Mann 2001, 96. On this manuscript, see also Heldman/Devens 2009, 81; Gnisci 2015a, 568.

36 The dating is tentative and based on stylistic and iconographic evidence. The manuscript has not been the object of systematic research, for some preliminary observations, see Gervers 2013, 56; Gnisci 2015a, 568. For a reproduction and discussion of the Tempietto, see McKenzie/Watson 2016, 140, fig. 127.

37 The folios of this manuscript are in disorder. The dating is based on a colophon, which mentions Emperor Säyfä Arʿad (r. 1344–71), see Bausi 1994, 24–44, who also discusses its content in detail. For a reproduction of the Tempietto and further remarks, see Leroy 1962, 187–190, fig. 12; see also Buxton 1970, 187–188; Balicka-Witakowska 1997, 127–128.

38 The manuscript, discovered by the Oxford University Expedition in 1974, can be dated on the basis of a colophon on fol. 206r, translated in Juel-Jensen/Rowell 1975, 73–83. Depending on whether the years are numbered from the Era of Martyrs or Creation the possible dates are 1362/63 or 1438/39. The former option has more consensus among scholars, see Bausi 1994, n. 39; Balicka-Witakowska 1997, 130–131, with further bibliography. The miniature of the tempietto is unpublished.

39 Opinions on the dating of this manuscript vary in the literature, as it contains a number of notes of historical interest. In particular, there is disagreement whether to accept a note on fols 234v–235r which mentions Emperor Säyfä Arʿad (r. 1344–71) or one on fol. 236v dated to 1412 which mentions Emperor Dawit II (r. 1379/80–1413) as

The above elements appear—though some details were at times distorted by involuntary errors—in most miniatures of the Tempietto in early Solomonic gospels. The remarkable uniformity between these miniatures justifies the detailed description of their features that follows in this study. Even if the utility of 'collations' for art historical purposes has been questioned for other contexts,[48] it is worth pursuing in the case of illuminated Ethiopic gospel books because the similarities and differences between their decoration have not been remarked upon so far and seem to me significant in at least three respects.

Firstly, they reveal that most early Solomonic examples of the Tempietto discussed here derive from common sources.[49] Secondly, they prove beyond question that their makers followed models when decorating gospel books. And thirdly, since they all present some degree of variation, they further our understanding of their makers' attitude towards copying and innovation. In other words, by studying miniatures of the Tempietto in Ethiopic gospel books we can start outlining a theory about the transmission of 'visual knowledge' in early Solomonic Ethiopia.

To this end, Table 1 provides a list of all known examples of the Tempietto in Ethiopic gospel books from the Aksumite period to the early fifteenth century along with relevant bibliographic information. Abbreviations are used to designate the various manuscripts and to make the text more concise.

4 Architectural features

The jagged pattern which covers the roof of the Tempietto in the Metropolitan leaf occurs, in varying degrees of stylization, in all the Ethiopian examples of the Tempietto listed in Table A except BNF-32, DMQ and BSS. Its absence in BNF-32 could be due to a simplification of forms rather than dependence on a different model. The question for DMQ and BSS is more complex and is discussed below. Comparison with the two earlier Ethiopian examples of this subject found in AG-I and DLB (Figs 4–5)[50] indicates that the pattern represents plant growths.

In some Ethiopic gospels from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, such as IMA (Fig. 6), UML and DMR (Fig. 2), the growths are still discernible. In others, especially in the later examples, the vegetation is reduced to a sequence of triangles, as evident in MMG (Fig. 10), AST and ZGL.[51]

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dating evidence for the manuscript. Stylistically, the work seems closer to the turn of the fifteenth century. For an overview, see Leroy/Wright/Jäger 1961, 8–11, pls 7–21; Hammerschmidt 1973, 84–91; Taddesse Tamrat 1974, 506–507; Heldman 1979b; Davies 1987, 288; Uhlig 1988, 223; Heldman 1993a, 178–179, cat. 69; Balicka-Witakowska 1997, 9, 15, 37, 89–90; Bosc-Tiessé 2008, 33–39; Gnisci 2017. For a reproduction of the Tempietto, see Leroy/Wright/Jäger 1961, pl. 7.

40 The property of this church has been moved to the nearby compound of ʿUra Qirqos. The manuscript was recently digitized by the Ethio-SPaRe project (UM-027) and has yet to be the object of a detailed investigation. It contains several notes of historical interest, including one which mentions Emperor Säyfä Arʿad (r. 1344–71) but is written in a hand which appears to belong to a much later period. Stylistically, it is close to works produced between the mid-fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. For some preliminary remarks, see Nosnitsin 2013, 3–8; for a reproduction of the Tempietto, see Henze 2007, fig. 6.

41 The manuscript has been the object of numerous studies. It is sometimes dated on the basis of a donation note by Emperor Säyfä Arʿad (r. 1344–71) on fol. 1v, but there is disagreement on whether this folio is a later addition. Stylistically and paleographically, it appears closer to the fifteenth century. For a more detailed discussion, see Grébaut 1931; Underwood 1950, 104–114 passim, fig. 53; Leroy 1962, 176–179; Heldman 1979a; Lepage 1987; Zuurmond 1989, II, 61–62; Uhlig 1988, 190–194; Iacobini/Perria 1998, n. 24; Gnisci 2015a; Velmans 2017, 72–75.

42 The dating is based on stylistic and iconographic considerations, since the unbound leaves from a gospel have been inserted in a manuscript of the Pauline Epistles. For a discussion and reproduction of the Tempietto, see Leroy 1962, 190, fig. 13. For further remarks on the miniatures, see Leroy/Wright/Jäger 1961, 11–12, pls 23–27; Chojnacki 1976, 165–166; Balicka-Witakowska 1997, 131–132; Gnisci 2015b.

43 The dating is based on stylistic and palaeographic evidence. For an overview of its features, see Getatchew Haile 1993, 298–299; Balicka-Witakowska 1997, 128–129. For its style and iconography, Gnisci 2018, 370–382.

44 The dating is based on a colophon. On this manuscript, see Monneret de Villard 1939; Underwood 1950, 109–111; Skehan 1954; Leroy 1962, 172–182, fig. 6; Heldman 1972; Zuurmond 1989, I, 63–65.

45 The miniature of the Tempietto is mentioned in Balicka-Witakowska 1997, 129.

46 The dating of this manuscript is based on stylistic and palaeographic evidence. For an overview of its features and a reproduction of the Tempietto miniature, see Lepage/Mercier 2012.

47 The miniature is published in Mercier 2000b, 54.

48 For instance, see Lowden 2002, 69.

49 For the study of models in manuscript illustration, see the well-known study by Weitzmann 1947, 182–192; on the limitations of his type of approach and the need to avoid *a priori* assumptions on the practices of illuminators, see Guilmain 1965; Lowden 1992, 35–104, esp. 79–80, 2002, 2007; Dolezal 1996, 1998, but not all these observations apply to illuminated Ethiopic manuscripts. For a recent overview of the philological approach to the study of manuscript illumination, see Bernabò 2017a, with further bibliography.

50 The similarities between the version of the Tempietto found in these two gospels have already been noted by Bausi 1997, n. 12. At the time of the study, the pages of the Gärima Gospels were mixed between the two manuscripts, so the author refers to the miniature as being in AG-III instead of AG-I.

51 A similar conclusion is reached, in discussing a Tempietto found in a fifteenth-century Ethiopic gospel book belonging to the church of Betä Maryam at Lalibäla by Lepage/Mercier 2012b, 286, fig. 10.6.

Fig. 4: Gospel book, *Tempietto*, ʿAdwa, Ǝnda Abba Garima, I, fols 5v–6r, 35.3 × 26.4 cm. © Michael Gervers, courtesy of the DEEDS project.

Fig. 5: Gospel book, *Tempietto*, Akkälä Guzay, Däbrä Libanos, fol. 7r. © Alessandro Bausi.

The patterns that crest the roof of the Met's leaf, IES-3475, KTN and WAM-836 (Figs 1, 7–8) represent an intermediary stage in this shift towards greater abstraction. In KGL and MET-1998.66, where lozenge patterns replace the pointed elements, the stylization process has reached its culmination. Here all memory of the original feature seems lost and we can only reconstruct a convincing sequence of transmission by comparison with the earlier examples.

Elsewhere, I have shown that the artist of KGL was willing to amend, improve, and even mix his models when copying them.[52] He may well have been the first to introduce an elegant sequence of lozenge patterns in his representation of the Tempietto because he was unable to discern the significance of the vegetation above the building, though this cannot be proven beyond doubt. Certainly, miniatures featuring a lozenge pattern rather than plant growths above the roof of the Tempietto circulated and were copied during the fifteenth century, since the pattern is found also in MET-1998.66 and in later examples.[53]

As noted by Underwood, the vegetation above the Tempietto, which evokes the garden of paradise and the life-giving properties of the sepulchre of Christ, appears in illustrated Latin, Armenian, Georgian and Syriac manuscripts, as well as on one of the Monza ampullae.[54] Among the examples discussed by Underwood, the closest parallels to the Metropolitan Tempietto are to be found in an Armenian gospel fragment kept at the Matenadaran[55] and in the Adysh Gospels.[56]

52 Gnisci 2017.

53 Leroy/Wright/Jäger 1961, pl. XXVIII.

54 Underwood 1950, 96.

55 Erevan, Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, MS 9430, fol. 1v. For a discussion and reproductions see Underwood 1950, 89–90, fig. 38; Nersessian 2001, 158, cat. 81. Similarities between this manuscript and the Ethiopian tradition have been observed by Lepage 1987, n. 14. A recent study on the iconography of the Tempietto in the Armenian tradition by Grigoryan 2014 mentions the tempietto in AG-I but mistakenly identifies as 'Gharima II' and attributes to the tenth–eleventh centuries.

56 Adysh Gospels, fol. 5v, for a reproduction, see Underwood 1950, fig. 44. On the manuscript and its dating, see Nordenfalk 1938, 113–116; Blake/Der Nersessian 1942.
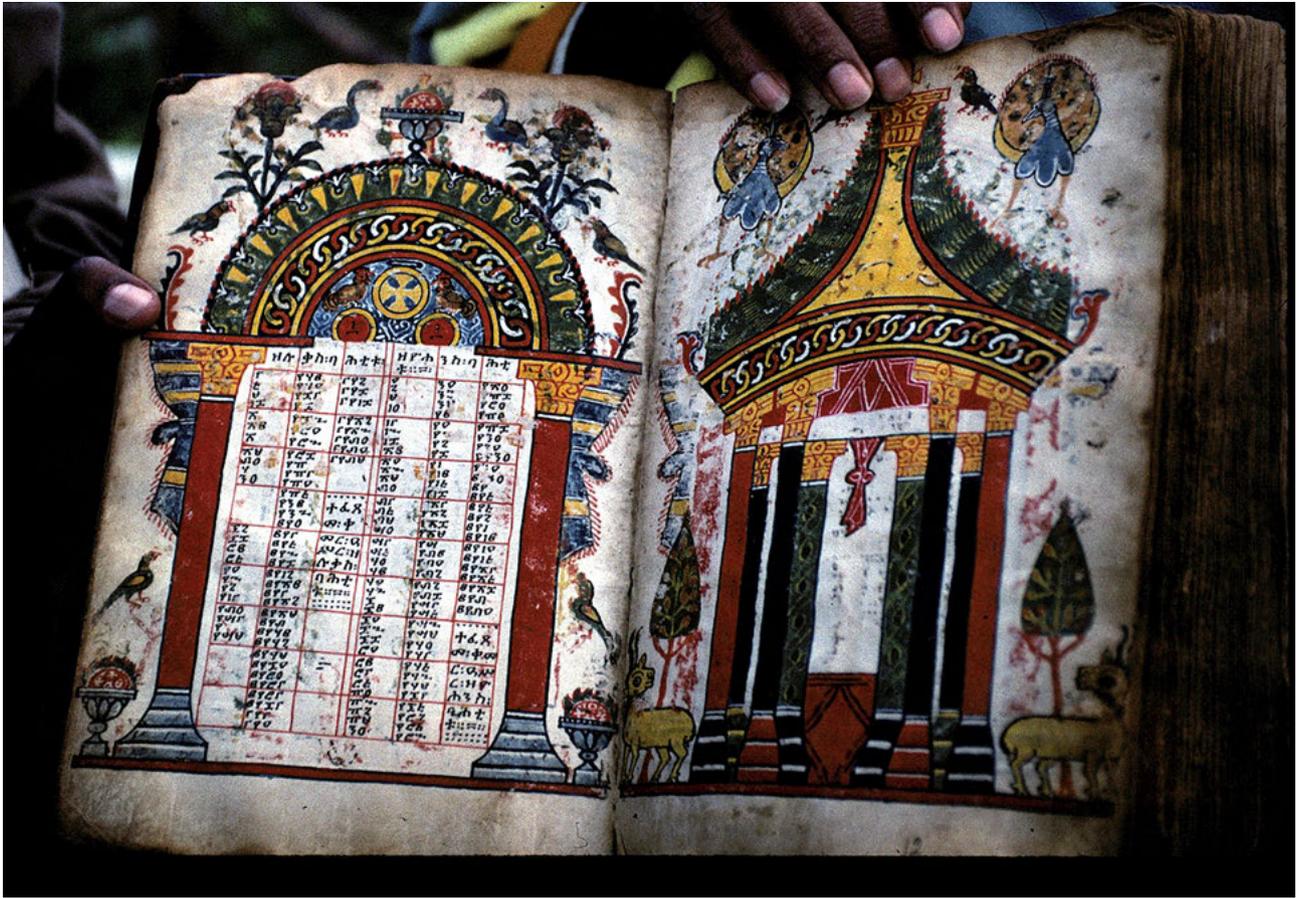
Fig. 6: Four Gospels, *Tempietto*, Ḥayq, Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos, fol. 12r, 27.5 × 17.5 cm. © Michael Gervers, courtesy of the DEEDS project.

As for the Rabbula Gospels, rather than the frontispiece with Eusebius and Ammonius analyzed by Underwood, it is the shrubs that grow above the roofs of the structures framing the miniatures of the Selection of Matthew and the Enthroned Christ with Four Monks that recall the Ethiopian examples of this motif.[57] It is also possible to find a few distant parallels in the Greek tradition, as shown by a Tempietto miniature in a manuscript kept in the Stauronikita Monastery on Mount Athos[58] or by the architectural frame above a standing Christ in one of the ninth-century leaves inserted in Garrett 6.[59]

The curving lines of the cornice of the Tempietto of the Met leaf appear in most other examples (IMA, BNF-32, DMR, KGL, KTN, UML, WAM-836, MET-1998.66). However,

in three cases, in DMQ, DSB and AST, these lines appear to have been straightened out, transforming the cornice in an entablature, a development discussed in more detail below, whereas in three other instances, in ZGL, IES-3475 and BSS, the cornice is replaced by a semi-circle.[60]

In the latter cases, due to these modifications, the sense of depth of the Tempietto in AG-I, still vaguely discernible in some of the early Solomonic miniatures such as DMR and IMA, is lost. This results in bi-dimensional structures that are more akin to the arcaded frames of the Eusebian apparatus. On the one hand, this would seem to suggest greater distance from the model on which the Tempietto on the Met leaf is based, or, at any rate, difficulty with the principles of perspective. On the other, it shows that the artists read and understood the Tempietto as an integral part of the Eusebian system.[61] Such adaptations shed light on the processes of reinvention and

57 Respectively on fol. 1r and fol. 14r. On the Rabbula Gospels and their dating, see Leroy 1964, 139–140, 153; Cecchelli/Furlani/Salmi 1959; and especially Bernabò 2008, 2014, with further bibliography.
58 For a discussion and reproduction of this miniature, on fol. 2r, see Weitzmann 1935, 19–20, fig. 125. This similarity has also been noted by Lepage 1987, 161.
59 Princeton, Princeton University Library, cod. Garrett 6, fol. 10v. On this manuscript, see Vikan 1973, cat. 1 with further bibliography.

60 This also occurs in a reproduction of a Tempietto miniature from a private collection published in Appleyard 1993, 13.
61 This point has a bearing on the presence of extensive errors in the Ethiopian canon tables, as argued also in Gnisci 2018, n. 10.

Fig. 7: Gospel book, *Tempietto*, Addis Ababa, National Library, MS 28, fol. 14r, 29 × 19.5 cm. © Stanislaw Chojnacki, courtesy of the Vatican Library.

Fig. 8: Gospel book, *Tempietto*, Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W.836, fol. 6r, 26.6 × 16.5 cm. © The Walters Art Museum.

reinterpretation which shaped the transmission of visual culture during the early Solomonic period.

In truth, the lack of concern for structural verisimilitude of Ethiopian artists active during the early Solomonic Period is evident in most of the cases listed in Table 1. It is most evident in WAM-836 (Fig. 8), where the superstructure of the Tempietto rests only on the two front columns while the remaining six columns have lost their original function. In this instance, it is significant that the illuminator felt compelled to retain the eight columns of his model even though he was unfamiliar with the type of structure he had to copy and had no interest whatsoever in verisimilitude.

Even when the building preserves traces of pseudo-perspective, it is probably because the artist retained some features of his model with greater accuracy, since Ethiopian art in this period lacks depth. For instance, in the Met leaf, IMA and DMR (Figs 1–2, 6) —which like WAM-836 retain the eight columns of the original model (Fig. 8) —the columns at the back of the tholos are detached from the cornice they should support. This does not occur in MMG (Fig. 10), MET-1998.66, UML and KGL, in which the back four columns are missing. For this latter group of miniatures, the filling of the space between the front four columns attests to the presence of back columns in the prototype from which they derive.[62] These four miniatures, like WAM-836, show us how Ethiopian artists responded to copying details of images they did not fully grasp.[63]

The above hypothesis can be confirmed by looking at KTN, BNF-32 and IES-3475, in which the bases of the columns—six in the two former cases and eight in the latter—are still visible even though the capitals have been omitted.[64] These errors are of significance for understanding the model-copy relationship in early Solomonic Ethiopia. On the one hand, the reiteration of such mistakes suggests that artists used whatever copy they had at their disposal, even ones presenting such flaws, rather than feel bound to find and reproduce what a modern viewer might consider to be the 'best' model. On the other, it shows that they valued reproduction *per se*, even when the results of

this process of imitation produced an image that was far from identical to its model.

Depth is abolished, and the back four columns are absent in DSB (Fig. 9) and AST. In BSS and PC-3 the Tempietto only has two columns, thus appearing to be even more distant from its four- or eight-column prototype. However, in these latter two cases, and possibly also in WAM-836, the placing of the roof on two columns may be only partly due to unintentional errors in the copying of the miniatures. In fact, since it is safe to assume that most early Solomonic Ethiopian illuminators had never seen a tholos, they may have intentionally decided to replicate the features of the arches of the Eusebian apparatus in their rendition of the Tempietto.

Indeed, both the transformation of the cornice into an arch, discussed above, and the reduction from eight or four columns to two, may have been introduced because their makers wanted to represent a structure that made sense to them. To the best of our knowledge, circular plan buildings with a peristyle did not exist in Ethiopia before the sixteenth century. Arches resting on columns or pillars, instead, were often employed in Ethiopian churches for separating the nave from the aisles and the sanctuary.[65] Furthermore, the motif of the arch supported by columns, employed in the framing of the Eusebian apparatus, was often employed in Ethiopian illumination to represent or symbolize the sanctuary.[66] Therefore, the transformation of the tholos into an arch which occurs in Ethiopian miniatures of the Tempietto helped to reinforce rather than weaken the ecclesiastical symbolism of this image.

Since the distortions and transformations described above are more evident in some manuscripts from the end of the fourteenth century, such as MMG, BSS and PC-3, and since they become widespread in gospel books of the fifteenth century, it would seem reasonable to look at the turn of the fifteenth century to understand the causes of this development, were it not for the fact that similar phenomena also occur in the earlier versions of the Tempietto preserved in DLB and AG-I.

Although the Tempietto miniature in DLB is not in a good state of preservation, it appears that the artist represented only the front four columns of the tholos, whereas the back of the cornice, visible in some of the early Solomonic miniatures, has been omitted. Similarly, the earlier version of the Tempietto in AG-I has four columns—though this tholos seems more solid than the one in DLB because of the greater quality of the illumination and because in this instance the back of the cornice has not been omitted.

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62 Leroy 1957, 186, overlooks this development and interprets the lozenge pattern between the columns in KGL as a space filler.

63 Evidently, these phenomena lie at the root of these transformations, but once the transformation occurred in one miniature, it is likely that it was replicated by other artists through processes of copying. However, the exact line of transmission remains to be reconstructed and this will be possible only once all these illuminated gospels have been subjected to a detailed textual, codicological, and iconographic analysis.

64 Heldman 1993b, 131 also suggests that IES-3475 is based on an eight-column archetype.

65 Phillipson 2009; Fritsch/Gervers 2012.

66 Gnisci 2015a, 2015b, 486–487.

Fig. 9: Gospel book, *Tempietto*, Ṣəraʿ, Däbrä Ṣärabi, fol. 10r, 34 × 22 cm. © Michael Gervers, courtesy of the DEEDS project.

Nevertheless, even the Tempietto in AG-I is not devoid of architectural incongruities, the most evident being that the bases of the front columns are covered by the bases of the lateral columns.[67]

Setting aside in the present context the questions of where, by whom, and for whom AG-I was produced, if such question can ever be fully resolved, the above observations allow us to draw some significant conclusions.[68] First, that the Tempietto on the Met's leaf and its closest relatives, DMR and UML, with their eight columns, cannot be based, or at least cannot be entirely based, on AG-I or on DLB. Second, that the disappearance of the back four columns in some early Solomonic manuscripts may not be entirely due to miscopying but could also be related to the influence of different models. And third, in the light of the architectural incongruities visible in AG-I, that the sources of some of the awkward errors visible in most of the early Solomonic miniatures may well date back to the Aksumite period.[69]

Taking a step further, on hypothetical grounds, it is even possible to ask whether the eight-column Tempietto which appears in early Solomonic gospels reached Ethiopia during the Aksumite period, possibly through the same manuscript which transmitted the short cycle, since they appeared together in the manuscript from which the Met's Tempietto derives and in other examples such as DMR and WAM-836.

To answer this question, it is necessary to attempt to determine when the archetype for the eight-column Tempietto appearing in early Solomonic gospel books reached Ethiopia, from whence it came, and what were its original features. This type of iconographic analysis has to be carried out cautiously as this motif was used over a long period of time and different types of phenomena may have shaped its development during its transmission, as already shown above.

In fact, it is necessary to avoid assuming *a priori* that all the features of a late version of a subject necessarily reflect a 'lost' archetype or that Ethiopian artists operated in fixed ways.[70] Lowden, in discussing the transmission of visual knowledge in Byzantine manuscripts, rightly cautions us against thinking of the artist as a 'slave to his model'.[71] This remark also applies to Ethiopic manuscripts, since the evidence discussed here shows that Ethiopian artists operated in different ways when copying an image, which could include unintentionally making errors, intentionally amending errors or details, and drawing from multiple sources.[72]

It must therefore be acknowledged that even careful scrutiny will leave some unresolved issues or open questions. Nevertheless, it is clear that at the turn of the fourteenth century Ethiopian artists valued the Eusebian apparatus and its decorative features or they would not have taken it upon themselves to reproduce features, such as the tholos, with which they were unfamiliar. If we bear this in mind and look at what the various miniatures of the Tempietto have in common as well as what makes them distinct, we may draw at least some reliable conclusions about their origin and transmission.

For instance, the very fact that early Solomonic illuminators had difficulties in rendering and grasping the structure of the eight-columned Tempietto, as is particularly evident in WAM-836 (Fig. 8), makes it highly unlikely they were responsible for the introduction of this detail, which must surely derive from an earlier archetype.[73] For the same reason, the grille which appears in several early Solomonic examples of this subject, but not in AG-I and DLB (Figs 4–5), must have been a feature of the archetype on which the eight-columned tempiettos are based.

The detail of the grille has been associated, with reason, to miniatures of the Tempietto found in other traditions[74] and to the representations of the Tomb of Christ found in Late Antique art.[75] The resemblance between the

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several of its arguments.

71 Lowden 2002, 70.

72 A similar point has been recently made in Gnisci 2017, 91–98.

73 Underwood 1950, 90, argues that the eight-columned structures visible in Latin and Armenian gospels are close enough to justify the assumption of a 'common heritage'. A related observation for the Ethiopian tradition is found in Lepage 1987, 161, who is correct in arguing that the archetype would have been similar to the Tempietto miniatures in such manuscripts as the Second Etchmiadzin Gospels, discussed above, or the Godescalc gospel lectionary in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Nouv. acq. lat. 1203, fol. 3v. For a discussion and reproduction of the Godescalc lectionary, see Underwood 1950, fig. 30; Kessler 2016, 22–39.

74 For example, in the Godescalc gospel lectionary and in the Adysh Gospels.

75 The literature is too extensive to be given in full, see Underwood 1950, 92; Grabar 1958, pls 5, 9, 11–16, 18, 22, 24, 26, 28, 34–39, 45, 47, 55; St. Clair 1979; Wilkinson 1972; Ousterhout 1990; Iacobini/Perria 1998, 59–61.

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67 The paint in this area is badly damaged, but the bases of the lateral columns are still clearly discernible.

68 For McKenzie/Watson 2016, 104, the artist who painted AG-I was an Ethiopian, but the question remains open to debate.

69 McKenzie/Watson 2016, 102, take this as an indication that AG-I is later than AG-III. A recent study has shown that Ethiopian artists could also 'correct' errors or incongruities in their sources, Gnisci 2017, 90.

70 Probably the best-known example of pushing this type of analysis too far is the study of the Florence Diatessaron by Nordenfalk 1968, which was retracted after Schapiro 1973, exposed the weakness of

Fig. 10: Gospel book, *Tempietto*, Amba Dära, Maryam Mägdälawit, fol. 18r, 36.4 × 27 cm. © Michael Gervers, courtesy of the DEEDS project.

Ethiopic version of the Tempietto and works of art from different contexts and periods of time points towards a common derivation from Late Antique examples. Indeed, while it is difficult to be precise about the date of the archetype of the Met's Tempietto, to judge by these and other features discussed below, a fifth or sixth century date is not inconceivable.

Regrettably, due to the lack of earlier examples, it is not always possible to be so confident about the origin of some of the features of the Tempietto in early Solomonic gospel books.[76] This can be illustrated by returning to the argument that the four-columned Tempietto which appears in early Solomonic manuscripts is a deviation from the eight-columned version found in the Met leaf. The visual evidence examined above lends itself to this line of reasoning: the examples of four-columned Tempiettos are stylistically and iconographically related to the eight-columned structures and there are several miniatures, such as the one in BNF-32, in which the bases of the columns are represented even though the columns to which they belonged are not shown.

However, it cannot be entirely ruled out that four-columned versions of the Tempietto, such as those which appear in AG-I (Fig. 4) and DLB (Fig. 5), did not exert some sort of influence on early Solomonic artists. In other words, the appearance of the four-columned Tempietto in illustrated Ethiopic gospels of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries could stem from miscopying, from an intentional conflation of models, or from a combination of these phenomena.[77]

Further evidence showing that early Solomonic illuminators could misunderstand their model or conflate multiple artistic sources is provided by the Tempietto in DMQ.[78] Most witnesses from this period have a tholos like the ones that appear in AG-I and DLB. In contrast, several features of the Tempietto in DMQ, such as its gabled doorway, recall the structure depicted in AG-III (Fig. 3).[79]

The dark areas below and at the sides of the Tempietto in DMQ, for instance, must derive from a model which featured walls and a stepped access like AG-III.

Another feature that DMQ has in common with AG-III is the position of the antelopes. In fact, in both manuscripts, the antelopes are placed below the doorway, rather than at the sides of the building as in most other examples of this subject in early Solomonic manuscripts (Figs 1–2, 6–7, 9).[80] Equally intriguing is the detail of the cross which appears above the doorway of the DMQ Tempietto. Such a detail is absent in AG-III and could instead be related to the cross that is visible in AG-I (Fig. 4) and in several other examples of the Tempietto discussed here (Figs 1–2, 6, 8, 10), thus bolstering the claim that Ethiopian illuminators could draw elements from multiple sources.

The cross standing at the peak of the roof of the tholos in AG-I finds parallels in several non-Ethiopian examples of the Tempietto.[81] It appears also above the Tempietto of the Met leaf and in several other early Solomonic gospel books, such as DMR. More frequently, however, early Solomonic illuminators misunderstood this element and transformed the capital on which the cross stands into the cross itself. This occurs in KGL and BNF-32, and possibly also in BSS and WAM-836 (Fig. 8).

Like the transformation of the cornice into an arch described above, these iconographic developments were probably induced by distinct but related causes. First, the illuminators misunderstood this feature of the tholos since the idea of a building surmounted by a capital was alien to them. The Tempiettos in DSB (Fig. 9) and UML manifest this kind of difficulty. In UML, the capital is still visible, but the small pattée cross that surmounts it has little in common with the cross of AG-I or the Met leaf. Rather, its combination with the horizontal band of the capital anticipates the large cross-shaped element which appears in manuscripts like BNF-32. Thus, the transformation of the capital topped by a small cross into a larger cross may have been partly due to lack of accuracy in the copying process and partly due to the desire of the illuminators to produce an image that made sense to them.

Although remarked upon very little up to this point, the identification of the phenomena of miscopying and

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76 Cf. Underwood 1950, 244.

77 The possibility of a merging of elements in the Ethiopian version of the Tempietto was first discussed, in a preliminary manner, by Underwood 1950, 104–105, and then by Bausi 2004, 53–54. For some remarks on the conflation of different sources in a theme in Ethiopian illumination see Lepage/Mercier 2012b, 131; Gnisci 2017, 91–94, for the merging of themes in one miniature see Leroy 1955, 131–134; Ricci 1959, 106–111; Gnisci 2014, 217; 2018, 380–381.

78 In the panorama of Christian manuscript illumination, the conflation of themes or motifs is not a phenomenon that is unique to Ethiopia, see for instance Raby/Brock 2014, 28; Schapiro 1973, 528; Weitzmann 1947, 162–163.

79 This probably also occurred in AST and BSS, but the evidence is not as conclusive as it is for DMQ. Leroy 1962 is oblivious to this possibility. For Underwood 1950, 110, the conical roof and cornice with

curved sides are 'tell-tale' features of the tholos.

80 As the evidence indicates that DMQ is indebted to AG-III, it is possible that this manuscript, or a relative, also exerted an influence on the iconography of the Tempietto in manuscripts such as BSS and AST.

81 For instance, in the Godescalc Lectionary, in the Etchmiadzin Gospels, and, in a corrupted form, in the Second Etchmiadzin Gospels, discussed above. To this list, one can add the Greek gospels in Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS Gr. I 8, fol. 3r, reproduced in Weitzmann 1935, fig. 92.

Fig. 11: Gospel book, *Eusebian Canons III and IV*, Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W.836, fol. 3v, 26.6 × 16.5 cm. © The Walters Art Museum.

conflation in fourteenth- and fifteenth century illustrated Ethiopic gospel books is hardly surprising when considering that similar phenomena occur in the text of the gospels. In fact, Ethiopic gospels present numerous variant readings stemming largely 'from internal corruption'.[82] As for conflations, as early as the nineteenth century Guidi and Hackspill had noted how Ethiopian scribes tended to conflate rather than substitute new readings with old ones.[83]

Their impressions were confirmed and expanded upon by Zuurmond, who observes that 'the average Ethiopian scribe must have almost permanently mixed the text he was copying with the text he had in mind, or even with the text of another manuscript to which he had immediate access'.[84] It is reasonable to suggest therefore that a certain overlapping of tendencies, between scribal and artistic practices, occurred in those largely monastic contexts, where manuscripts and, more specifically, gospel books were produced and decorated.[85]

Once it is recognized that unintentional copying errors and intentional conflations and transformations occur in Ethiopian illustration of the early Solomonic Period, it becomes necessary to scrutinize all details of the iconography of the Tempietto with considerable caution before suggesting the origins of some of its features.

For instance, it would be negligent not to observe that the triangles appearing around the superstructure of the Tempietto in several miniatures (KTN; AST; MMG; ZGL; PC-3; Figs 7, 10) recall the pattern visible on the synagogue niche depicted on the mosaic from the Beth Alpha synagogue.[86] The triangular pediment in this mosaic also recalls the doorway which gives access to the church-structure depicted in AG-III (Fig. 3), often described as a *unicum* in Christian art.[87] In AG-III access to the sanctuary is granted by a flight of steps. This feature also appears in other early Jewish works, namely in a relief from Beth She'arim and in the mosaic from the Ḥammat Tiberias synagogue.[88] There-

fore, while a gradual process of adaptation and simplification appears to be the most likely source for the triangle patterns visible in some Ethiopian examples of the Tempietto, one cannot completely dismiss the possibility that it derives from a different model.

5 Interlace motif

One of the most distinguishing elements of the Tempietto on the Met leaf is the interlace pattern decorating its cornice. This is a recurring feature in Ethiopic manuscripts of the early Solomonic Period, appearing with minor variants in IMA (Fig. 6), BNF-32, BSS, DMR (Fig. 2), DSB (Fig. 9), UML, WAM-836 (Fig. 8), PC-3 and, in a more altered form, in KTN (Fig. 7), MMG (Fig. 10) and IES-3475. Only KGL and MET-1998.66 have a lozenge pattern instead of the braid motif.[89] Nevertheless, its systematic appearance in the other manuscripts further reinforces the impression that this group of miniatures largely depends on a common source. Significantly, knots of interlace are not visible in two of the manuscripts that seem to be most heavily indebted to different sources, namely in DMQ and AST. At the same time, the decorative patterns on the cornices of AG-I (Fig. 4)[90] and DLB (Fig. 5),[91] although not

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82 Zuurmond 1989, I, 39.

83 Hackspill 1896; Guidi 1888, 37.

84 Zuurmond 1989, I, 39.

85 For an introduction to the manuscript culture of Ethiopia, with further references, see Bausi 2014.

86 For a reproduction and discussion, see Hachlili 1976, fig. 10; Branham 1992, 384–389. The former author argues that the Beth Alpha mosaic represents the ark rather than the niche of the Synagogue, but, considering that this mosaic features elements such as a hanging lamp, acroteria, and a conch, such a suggestion is unconvincing.

87 But probably to be compared with the building with stepped access which represents the House of the Lord in Utrecht, University Library, MS 32, fol. 75v; on which see Benson 1931; Fiaccadori 2003, 187; see also the parallels discussed in Flood 2012, 266–267.

88 For a discussion and reproductions, see Hachlili 1976, Figs 7, 9; Milson 2006, 58, 66–68.

89 This is one of several features that these two miniatures have in common that are absent in other manuscripts, suggesting a closer relation between them. Establishing the precise relationship between the illustrations in Ethiopic gospels is a complex task yet to be carried out, even more so as every illuminator introduced some small variants. For instance, the scene of the Entry in Jerusalem in ZGL (fols 11v–12r) is closely related to that in KGL (fols 15v–16r). Yet, the versions of the Tempietto in these two manuscripts have little in common. Only when these complex relationships have been mapped out will it be possible to provide a more accurate picture of the development of manuscript illumination in Ethiopia during the early Solomonic period. In this respect, the relationship between KGL and MET-1998.66 is particularly interesting. While the Tempietto miniatures in these two manuscripts have a number of elements in common, such as the use of a split-palmette motif to decorate the roof, the artist of MET-1998.66 clearly misrepresents many features of the Tempietto: the bases of the columns are rendered as an abstract chevron pattern and it is impossible to determine whether the two bands of interlace pattern at the outer sides of the Tempietto are to represent the back columns of the building or the trunks of the trees in front of which the antelopes stand in KGL.

90 The similarities between the decorations of AG-I and a number of non-Ethiopic gospel books are discussed in McKenzie/Watson 2016. The peacock tail motif which appears on the cornice of its Tempietto is a motif attested in Byzantine art, on which see Iacobini and Perria 1998, 50, with further bibliography.

91 The meander which decorates the Tempietto in DLB, which recalls the decoration of the outer band in the canon tables of AG-I,

related to the interlace of the Met leaf, show that miniatures of the Tempietto with a decorated cornice circulated during the Aksumite and Zagʷe Periods.

The recurring use of interlace patterns in early Solomonic miniatures of the Tempietto makes it reasonable to ask whether this feature was part of the archetype on which they are based. Thus far, the only remarks on the presence of interlace patterns in the Ethiopian version of the Tempietto are found in an article on the decoration of Ethiopic gospels of the early Solomonic period by Lepage, who suggests that these could be the only 'original' feature introduced by Ethiopian artists.[92] Then, in apparent contradiction to his previous statement, he argues that such ornamental patterns were not created in Ethiopia but were transmitted from 'unknown oriental manuscripts' painted in a style akin to that of the early gospel fragments preserved in the British Library's Add. MS 5111/1.[93] However, as shown below, the comparison is not apt. Lepage points out more convincing affinities with third- to fifth-century mosaics and textiles from Antioch and Palestine, but cites no examples to support this statement. Thus, his comments fail to present an adequate analysis of the evidence.

To unravel the issue of the origin of the interlace patterns appearing in Ethiopian examples of the Tempietto the first point to be made is that almost identical patterns are also found on the arches decorating the preceding Eusebian apparatus (Figs 2, 11). More specifically—to confine the discussion to those witnesses which still preserve a Tempietto at their end[94]—we see it in IMA, DMR, DMQ, NMB-2034, KTN, BNF-32, MMG, UML, DSB and BSS.[95] In some manuscripts the geometric decorations extend beyond the arch. For instance, the chain pattern extends on the lintels in DSB (fols 5r–6r) and on the columns in W-836 (fols 3v–5r; Fig. 11), MMG (fol. 9v) and MET-1998.66 (fols 11r, 12v–13r, 15v).

This observation suggests three main possibilities: a) that an interlace pattern was an integral part of the Eusebian apparatus and Tempietto in the model on which manuscripts such as IMA, BNF-32 and DMR are based;

b) that this feature was originally present only in the canon tables and was introduced later in the iconography of the Tempietto as a result of the process, described above, which led Ethiopian artists to flatten the tholos into a two-dimensional structure and treat it as an additional canon table arch; or c) that this feature was introduced at a later stage in both the canon tables and the Eusebian Apparatus.

Although this question remains open to debate, based on the evidence afforded by Ethiopic manuscripts, the first possibility seems the most likely as the interlace pattern appears in two manuscripts, namely DMR and IMA, that retain features that appear closely related to late antique or early Byzantine painting, such as the pseudo-perspective and the eight columns that have been linked above to the supposed archetype.[96]

What needs to be determined, then, is if the presence of such a feature is compatible with the hypothesis that the archetype of our eight-column tempietto dates to the fifth or sixth centuries, and, to accomplish this, it is necessary to look beyond the evidence afforded by Ethiopic gospels. This issue also has a bearing on our broader understanding of Ethiopian art, since—and this is a point of particular significance that has yet to be examined in detail—the designs appearing on the cornices of the Tempietto appear in the headpieces used to decorate Ethiopic manuscripts (ḥaräg),[97] on engraved crosses tentatively dated to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries,[98] and in wall paintings, as shown by the late twelfth- or early-thirteenth century decorations in the church of Betä Maryam in Lalibäla.[99]

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is widely attested in other Christian traditions and can be compared with the tholos in the second Etchmiadzin Gospels.

92 Lepage 1987, 162.

93 Lepage 1987, n. 26. On this manuscript, see Nordenfalk 1938, 127–146, 1963; Weitzmann 1977, 19, 29, 116, pl. 43; Lowden 2007, 24–26. Elsewhere, Lepage and Mercier 2012, 106, argue that Christian-Arabic art influenced the interlace pattern of the Tempietto, but furnish no evidence in support of this claim.

94 Interlace patterns appear also in a number of fragmentary canon tables which will be discussed in a separate study.

95 In KGL the lozenge pattern which decorates the cornice of the tempietto also appears in the Eusebian apparatus.

96 On the early appearance of geometric patterns in the canon tables, see Frantz 1934, *passim*.

97 Although the two questions are clearly interrelated, the subject of the headpieces in Ethiopic manuscripts will be the object of a separate discussion. In this context, let it suffice to refer to the main studies on the topic, Uhlig 1984, 1989; Perczel 1989; Zanotti-Eman 1992, 1993, and to note that some early Ethiopic manuscripts feature the type of braid of two strands which appears in the canon tables and Tempietto, as in London, British Library, Or. 691. Zanotti-Eman 1998, 149–150, has pointed out that curtains, or curtain rings, appear in some of the ḥaräg which frame the text columns in Ethiopic manuscripts of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. This observation may have a bearing on our understanding of the use and symbolism of frames that surround the text as an arcade, but does not, as she insists, shed light on the question of the appearance of ḥaräg in Ethiopic manuscripts. If anything, it shows that early Solomonic illuminators felt at liberty to adapt and reemploy the decorative and figurative elements borrowed from earlier gospel books in new material contexts.

98 For a discussion and reproduction of the crosses, see Chojnacki 2006, fig. 38; Lepage/Mercier 2012b, figs 2.7, 5.56.

99 On the wall paintings of Betä Maryam, which are dated on stylistic grounds, see Lepage 1999; Semoglou 2009. In passing, it is

Interlace motifs are of course attested in Greek,[100] Copto-Arabic,[101] Armenian[102] and Syriac manuscripts,[103] making it difficult to pinpoint an origin for this kind of pattern. Interlace patterns, often used to frame the same types of plants and animals which populate the Eusebian Apparatus, have also been widely attested in many mosaics of the fifth and sixth centuries found in North Africa and the Middle East.[104]

Yet, if points of contact with these areas are to be expected, it is perhaps more surprising that some of the closest parallels to the Ethiopic tradition are found in Latin gospel books. Indeed, many Latin codices, such as the Maeseyck Gospels[105] and the Harley Golden Gospels,[106] feature polychrome interlaced bands on the arches or columns of their canon tables. The ornamental decorations in these gospels have been associated, with good reason, with manuscripts produced in northern European

or Insular contexts and to the patterns used in local metalworking.[107]

However, similar ornamental patterns can also be seen in manuscripts produced in Italy, as illustrated by an early eight-century gospel in the Vatican Library,[108] and in Italian sculpture of the fourth to the seventh centuries, as shown by the Ciboria from S. Apollinare in Classe in Ravenna and S. Maria in Sovana.[109] Hence, the possibility of indirect connections between the two traditions should be taken into consideration.[110]

While many have commented on the existence of similarities in the decoration of Insular and Ethiopic manuscripts,[111] Werner, in his insightful studies of the Book of Kells and the Book of Durrow, has been one of the few to convincingly demonstrate how these similarities are down to mutual dependence on Coptic sources.[112] The influence of the Church of Alexandria on the development of the Ethiopian Church and its art is too well known to require comment.[113] Equally well-known is the opinion that Coptic art was influential in the development of pre-Carolingian manuscript illumination.[114]

Hence it is not unreasonable to think that the interlace patterns appearing in Ethiopic and Latin canon tables

worth noting that the paintings in some Ethiopian churches exhibits an indebtedness to the decorative motifs of the Eusebian apparatus, as is evident in the paintings in Qorqor Maryam. On this church, see Tribe 1997. A more detailed discussion of the transmission of decorative motifs across different media in early Solomonic art is found in my forthcoming study entitled 'Copying, Imitation, and Intermediality in Illuminated Ethiopic Manuscripts from the Early Solomonic Period'.

100 A small number of Greek manuscripts, such as the ones in the Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 334, and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Theol. gr. 154, feature patterns that are particularly close to the ones found in early Solomonic illuminated manuscripts; for a more detailed discussion, see Frantz 1934, 50–54. See also the decorations of several late antique sarcophagi in Ravenna in Kollwitz/Herdejürgen 1979, pls 69–70, 79, 86.

101 For some examples, see Leroy 1974, pls 2–4, 6, 10,12, 15, 22–23, 31, 38. See also the Nubian fragment in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. or. quart. 1020.

102 A simple interlace pattern appears already in the gospels of Queen Mlk'e, Venice, Abbey of San Lazzaro degli Armeni, Bib., MS 1144/86, fol. 3r. For an overview of the Armenian tradition, see Weitzmann 1933; V. N. Nersessian 1987.

103 For instance, the canon tables in the Rabbula Gospels, see Cecchelli/Furlani/Salmi 1959, fol. 2b; and the ninth-century canon tables reproduced in Bernabò 2017b: 321, fig. 1; but also as bands and decorative elements in later manuscripts, see Raby/Brock 2014, pls 16–18, 35–44. For a more general overview of the tradition, see Leroy 1964.

104 E.g. the examples in Piccirillo 1993; and Dunbabin 1978.

105 Maseyck, Church of St Catherine, Codex A, fols 2r, 3v, 4v, 5v; Codex B, fols 1r–3v, 5r–5v, 6v, see Nordenfalk 1938, 180, n. 1; Netzer 1994, 65–77; Brown 1996, 74, 80, 90. Evidently, a more detailed discussion of all the parallels and differences would take up an entire contribution.

106 London, British Library, Harley MS 2788, fols 8v–9r. On this manuscript, see Goldschmidt 1928, I, 11, pls 35–37; Koehler 1958, II, 56–69, pls 42–66; McGurk 1993, 105–107; Lowden 1988, 100.

107 The literature is too extensive to be given in full here. For an introduction and further bibliography, see Romilly Allen 1904, 162–231; Henderson 1987; Jope 2000.

108 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 5465, fols 5r–10v. On the canon tables in this manuscript, see Wright 1979, with additional references. In the context of a discussion of the canon tables, it is also worth noting that braid motifs decorate the arches and sometimes the columns of the copy of the *Chronography of 354*.

109 Toesca 1965, 271–296, fig. 256. It is beyond the scope of this paper to go into detail in this matter, but it is evident that the presence of such decorative patterns on baldachins is of interest since they share symbolic and iconographic features with the canon tables and Tempietto. For an overview and further remarks, see Klauser 1961; Bogdanovic 2017.

110 On this point, it is worth noting that a lost Greek text on the *History of the Alexandrian Episcopate,* hitherto known chiefly from Latin excerpts from a manuscript in Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. LX (58), has recently been discovered in an Ethiopic manuscript, see Bausi and Camplani 2016. This is one among several Greek texts which have been preserved in Ethiopic and Latin, Bausi 2016. It is also worth noting that a sixth-century Latin gospel in London, British Library, Harley MS 1775, fol. 15r, although lacking the Tempietto and distributing the canon tables over 18 pages, features an empty canon table at its end like AG-I.

111 For instance, Monneret de Villard 1943; Lepage 1977b, 347.

112 Werner 1969, 1972a, 1972b, 1990.

113 Though see the new valuable evidence presented in Bausi 2006, with further bibliography.

114 Mâle 1917, 33; Porter 1931, 18–20, 79; Krautheimer 1942, 6; Sulzberger 1955; Weitzmann 1966; Rosenthal 1967; Veelenturf 2001, with further bibliography.

could descend from early Greco-Egyptian models circulating throughout the Mediterranean world.[115] Among the earliest Greek examples, two of the arches in the incomplete set of canon tables preserved in the Codex Vindobonensis 847 are noteworthy since they present features closely resembling the Ethiopian tradition.[116] There is a lack of early illustrated Coptic gospel books, but when observing a sixth-century Coptic hanging in the Cleveland Museum of Art,[117] a sixth- or seventh-century Coptic stela in the British Museum,[118] or the frames of the middle-register niches in the Red Monastery,[119] one acquires a sense of what kind of patterns decorated the canon tables of illustrated manuscripts produced in late antique Egypt.[120]

6 Animals and trees

The two trees arranged heraldically at each side of the tholos in the Met leaf appear in all early Solomonic examples except AST and WAM-836 (Fig. 8). The fact that the Ethiopic tradition shares this feature with the Armenian, as observed by Underwood, is strongly suggestive of a common ancestry from Late Antique sources.[121] The frontispiece to the canon tables in the sixth-century Greek gospel book fragment preserved in the National Library of Vienna features two flowering trees beneath the wreath-framed cross.[122] Such frontispieces may not prove that trees were linked to the Tempietto in the Greek tradition, but they clearly show that pairs of trees were among the elements associated to the Eusebian apparatus in early Byzantine Greek gospel books.[123] This impression is strengthened by an opening of the canon tables in AG-I (fols 4v–5r), which features the same tree-type that is later found in early Solomonic miniatures of the Tempietto.

Further evidence that the archetype on which the Met's leaf is based belongs to the fifth or sixth centuries is offered by the various animals which populate the miniature.[124] For instance, the two peacocks with outspread tails that are found in the Ethiopian miniatures, recall similar motifs which appear in the Rabbula Gospels,[125] in the hexagonal censer from the Sion treasure,[126] in catacomb paintings,[127] and at Bagawat in Egypt[128] in a number of Late Antique mosaics, including the early fragments in the Duomo of Aquileia, the house of the Peacock in Carthage, or the Basilica of Justinian in Sabratha.[129]

Evidently, the Ethiopian tradition is also related to western and eastern examples in which the two peacocks perched above the Tempietto are represented in profile. In this respect, the peacocks that appear above the tholos in the Soissons Gospels or in a mosaic from the Church of

115 For an overview of the impact of Byzantine art on the West, the classic study is Demus 1970.

116 For a discussion and reproductions, see Zamparo 2018, pls IV, on the columns, and VII, on the left arch.

117 Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art, acc. no. 1982.73. For some additional examples, see Rutschowscaya 1990, 83–85, 87.

118 London, British Museum, coll. no. EA54351. The stela also presents the motif of the cross under the arch that appears in a number of Aksumite coins, but it is set against a conch like that which appears in AG-I.

119 Bolman 2006, 16–17, pls 15–18, for a more general discussion of this church and further bibliography, Bolman 2016.

120 The above also shows that—contrary to what Perczel 1989, 60–61, argues—the Ethiopian tradition of decorating manuscripts with interlace patterns is unquestionably linked to other traditions. It remains to be established if the guilloche patterns drawn in AG-I and AG-III are coeval with the text they delimit.

121 In addition to the examples given by Underwood, one should mention the figure of Christ with a gospel between two cypress trees in the sixth-century Syriac gospels in Diyarbakir, Turkey Meryem Ana Kilisesi, fol. 1r, discussed in Leroy 1957 and Bernabò/Kessel 2016.

122 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 847. See Underwood 1950, 112, fig. 58.

123 More generally, these and other decorative elements found in the Eusebian apparatus circulated quite freely across media. For instance, a sixth-century diptych plaque from the British Museum, coll. no. OA.9999, perhaps produced in Constantinople, features a cross within a wreath bound by *lemnisci* and placed against a scallop under an arch supported by columns, as already noted in Dalton 1909, 9–11.

124 For a detailed analysis of the names of animals appearing in the Eusebian Apparatus and Tempietto, see Bausi 2004. Leroy's initial hypothesis that the term *babula* used to designate the antelopes in the early Solomonic illustrations could point to a Syriac origin for the Ethiopian version of the Eusebian Apparatus, was partially retracted by the author himself, Leroy 1962, 199–200, and then convincingly refuted by Bausi 2004, 59–63.

125 For a reproduction, see Cecchelli/Furlani/Salmi 1959, fol. 2a. In the Tempietto in the Soissons Gospels, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 8850, fol. 6v, the peacocks are depicted in profile, but the type with the outspread tail is attested on fol. 7v. For a discussion of the canon tables in the Soissons Gospels, see Rosenbaum 1955. Surviving examples of the Eusebian Apparatus in various traditions, including the Ethiopic, typically feature peacocks in profile above the first page of the *Letter to Carpianus*, as noted by Lepage 1987, 160; Lepage/Mercier 2012, 104.

126 Washington, Dumbarton Oaks, BZ.1965.1.5; Boyd and Mango 1992, 10, 18.

127 See Bisconti 2011, 224, 232, figs 9, 26.

128 Wilkinson/Hill 1983, 161.

129 For a discussion, reproductions, and further examples, see Dunbabin 1978, 104, 165, 166–69, 189–90, figs 92, 166, 170, 194, 197. It remains to be established if the symbolism the peacocks have in early Christian art, as discussed in Underwood 1950, 88, 114, is also at play in Ethiopian art. It is interesting to note that the caged bird motif, which appears in Sabratha and elsewhere, as illustrated in Grabar 1960, is attested in Early Solomonic Gospels, as discussed by Heldman 1972, 103; Balicka-Witakowska 1991.

Fig. 12: *Tempietto*, Syria, Church of Temanaa. © Sean Leatherbury, courtesy of the Manar al-Athar project.

Temanaa in Syria (Fig. 12),[130] attest to the wide circulation of such motifs in Late Antiquity. Likewise, the two deer in the Soissons Gospels and the antelopes in the Temanaa mosaic must also depend on models similar to those which influenced the Ethiopian tradition. This is true for all the animals which surround the Tempietto in Ethiopic gospels, since they recall motifs frequently employed in different media across the larger Mediterranean realm of Late Antiquity.[131]

Taken singularly, these motifs would provide us simply with a *terminus post quem* for the date of our archetype; for instance, the motif of the peacock with an outspread tail continued to be used in Late Byzantine art, as shown by a Greek manuscript in the Vatican.[132] Together, however, they have a cumulative effect that forcibly points us towards a late antique date for the archetype from which most early Solomonic miniatures of the Tempietto derive. Clearly, due to the loss of evidence, it cannot be

ruled out that the Met's Tempietto, and the miniatures that are related to it, derive from a work displaying late antique iconography that reached Ethiopia after the Aksumite period. Nevertheless, this possibility seems far less likely based on our current understanding of the history of the manuscript tradition of Ethiopia.[133] Moreover, as this study has shown, a Late Antique origin must be proven for every element in the Ethiopian version of the Tempietto, since the possibility of later amendments needs to be always taken into consideration.

7 Symbolism

The last point that needs to be discussed is the symbolism of the Met's leaf. Leroy, Lepage and Bausi have rightly ruled out the presence of allusions to baptism in the Ethiopic version of the Tempietto despite Underwood's suggestions to the contrary,[134] but they have not gone into

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130 Jouéjati 2012, 244–247, fig. 3; I am grateful to my colleagues Sean Leatherbury and Beatrice Leal for drawing my attention to this mosaic.
131 For an overview of the material and an introduction to their symbolism, see Maguire 1987.
132 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 751, fol. 3r.

133 For a recent overview of the matter with additional references, see Bausi 2018.
134 Underwood 1950, 80; Leroy 1968, 85–87; Lepage 1987, 161–162; Bausi 2004, 54, 56. For this reason Bausi has correctly observed

detail about what symbolic associations are at play in this image.[135] In order to discover what significance the Ethiopian illuminators attributed to this image it is necessary to examine some of the captions that accompany it. The most prominent inscription is the one placed inside the tholos which reads 'Arrangement of the Order Concerning how the sayings of the Four Gospels Agree'.[136] The inscription is absent in AG-I, but appears, with small variants, in DLB and in most early Solomonic miniatures except for IMA and DSS. In some later examples, the inscription is further abbreviated to 'Arrangement of the Order'.[137]

The consistent presence of this inscription, which Underwood already recognized as a rough translation from the Greek,[138] shows that the Tempietto functioned as an *explicit* to the *Letter to Carpianus* and as a symbol of the harmony of the Four Gospels. Furthermore, as each of the two trees is identified by a caption as a 'tree of paradise',[139] the miniature alludes to the eternal life which can be obtained through the gospels.[140] Because the Ethiopic term for paradise also means garden, the captions express the dual relation of paradise to heaven above and earth below and function in concert with the birds and animals present in the scene.[141] Thus the miniature displays that rich symbolism characteristic of the liturgy and art of the Ethiopian Church.[142]

Finally, there is evidence to suggest that the ecclesiastic symbolism which Underwood recognized in the Latin representations of the Tempietto is also at play in the Ethiopic version. In the late thirteenth-century church of Gännäta Maryam, the scene of the Presentation to the Temple features a sanctuary that is represented as a domed structure with curtained columns. This building seems to be a reproduction of the arches of the canon tables and is identified by a caption as Jerusalem.[143] An almost identical structure, also representing Jerusalem, is purposely placed next to the sanctuary arch in the scene of the Entry into Jerusalem.[144] This building, like the canon tables and Tempietto, has birds perched at its summit.

The impression that the buildings in Gännäta Maryam were inspired by the decorative features of the Eusebian apparatus is strengthened by a fifteenth-century painted flabellum which also features a representation of the Entry into Jerusalem (Fig. 13). In this example, Jesus advances towards a four-columned tholos that has the same architectural features seen in the illustrated gospels. Significantly, the inscription above the building is the abbreviated caption, 'Arrangement of the Order', that appears in miniatures of the Tempietto.[145]

The ecclesiastical symbolism of the Tempietto in the Ethiopian tradition comes most evidently into play in a miniature of the Annunciation to Zechariah from a fifteenth century Octateuch kept in the church of Gǝšän Maryam.[146] The miniature, known to Leroy through a later copy,[147] is placed just after the canon tables. It shows Zechariah holding a cross and censer while standing in front of a tholos structure.[148] Evidently, also in this context, the tholos is used not just to mark the ending of the Eusebian apparatus, but also as a representation of the sanctuary of the Temple in Jerusalem in which the Annunciation to Zechariah took place.

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that the definition of '*fons vitae*' or fountain of life is best avoided when discussing the Ethiopian tradition, though it has continued to appear sporadically in the literature, see Balicka-Witakowska 1997, 18; Fiaccadori 2003, 200.

135 The most detailed remarks on this point are still those in Heldman 1972, 104–109.

136 ጕባኤ፡ ሥርዐት፡ዘከመ፡ ኅብሩ፡ ፬፡ ወንጌላት፡ ቃተ።፡ The inscription appears in exactly the same form and position in DMR, which confirms the impression that this manuscript is the closest relative of the Tempietto in the Met leaf.

137 ጕባኤ፡ ሥርዐት፡ The latter term should not be translated as 'canons' as some scholars have done, see for instance Heldman 1972, 95; Lepage/Mercier 2012, 104.

138 Underwood 1950, 109.

139 The same caption appears also in KTN, DSB, IES-3475, UML. In Ethiopic, the term (ዕፀ፡) is used to designate the wood of the cross. The term used for paradise (ገነት፡) in miniatures of the Tempietto is also used in John 19:41 to refer to the garden in which the tomb of Jesus is situated.

140 A common prefatory text found in Ethiopic gospels, the *Mäqdämä wängel*, also emphasizes that eternal life is obtained through the word of the four gospels, see Zuurmond 1989, I, 14–16; Cowley 1977, 146–148. The possible relationship between the prefatory texts and the illustrations of Ethiopic gospels has yet to be explored; for the Byzantine tradition, see Galavaris 1979; Nelson 1980; for the Latin, see as examples Walker 1948; Darby 2017.

141 See also Heldman 1972, 106–109; Bausi 2004, 56.

142 Summer 1963, 41–42.

143 On this church and its dating, see Heldman/Getachew Haile 1987. The shape of Jerusalem in these two paintings is close to the architectural frames visible in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, syr. 341, fols 212r and 281v.

144 Heldman 1975.

145 For a reproduction and discussion, see Balicka-Witakowska 2004, 28–29, fig. 27.

146 Opinions on the dating of this manuscripts range from the turn to the middle of the fifteenth century; for an overview of its features, see Heldman 1993a, 177–178, cat. 67.

147 For a discussion and reproduction, see Leroy 1962, 196–197, fig. 18.

148 Already in the Rabbula Gospels, f. 3v, the Annunciation to Zechariah takes place in a sanctuary. However, the closest parallel to the Ethiopian miniature are found in Greek and Latin manuscripts, such as British Library, Harley MS 2788, fol. 109r, in which the Annunciation takes places in front of a rotunda, and Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 1613, fol. 31r.

Fig. 13: Flabellum, *Entry into Jerusalem* (detail), Ǝnda Abbate Wäldä Yoḥannǝs. © Michael Gervers, courtesy of the DEEDS project.

While it is beyond the aims of this paper to explore the complex shades of meaning associated with the Temple of Jerusalem in Ethiopic literature, it is worth recalling that the Ethiopian Church maintains that it possesses the Ark of the Covenant in the Church of Mary of Zion in Aksum and that a replica of the ark is required for a sanctuary to be consecrated.[149] Aksum is the new Jerusalem and consequently depictions of it in Ethiopian painting would have had the capacity to evoke both cities to the mind of the Ethiopian artist who painted these miniatures.[150]

8 Conclusions

To sum up, this study has shown that the Ethiopian miniature of the Tempietto in the Metropolitan Museum of Art is closely related to a number of other versions of this subject found in Ethiopic gospel books of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. A study of these relatives suggests that the majority of miniatures in this group reflect a common model in different degrees and derive from an archetype which featured an eight-columned tholos with a grille.

The difficulty in reconstructing the features and evolution of the archetype has been highlighted, but it has been argued that it could have reached Ethiopia in the general period of the two Garima Gospels. This conclusion resonates with Zuurmond's belief that there could be multiple translations at the root of the Ethiopic version of the gospels.[151] An analysis of the surviving examples of the Tempietto in Ethiopic manuscripts also provides some insight into the working methods of Ethiopian illuminators who, it has been shown, sometimes misunderstood the features of their models and sometimes drew, like Ethiopian scribes, from multiple sources.

Research on the elements present in the Met's leaf can help improve our fragmentary understanding of the evolution of Ethiopian art from the Aksumite to the Solomonic period. It also provides evidence on other features of illuminated Ethiopic manuscripts, such as the much-debated origin of the *ḥaräg*. In the future, the publication of a critical edition of the Ethiopian canon tables may further improve our knowledge of the development of the motif of the Tempietto in illuminated Ethiopic gospels. Indeed, as Nees has put it, illuminated manuscripts 'can only be properly understood when taken as a whole'.[152] Yet, in the case of Ethiopian art, in order to achieve the kind of synthesis advocated by Nees, the single components of each manuscript need to be first analysed individually.[153] Clearly, this is a lengthy task and this study only takes a small, albeit necessary, step in the direction of improving our understanding of the manuscript culture of Ethiopia.[154] Further research is also needed to explain why the Tempietto is attested less frequently and in a more corrupted form, in manuscripts from the mid-fifteenth century onwards and why the motif is no longer employed during the Gondarine period.[155]

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149 For an overview, see Heldman 1992; Grierson 1993. It is also worth noting the homily for the cross by Zärʾa Yaʿəqob in which the whole of Ethiopia is compared to a garden, see Kaplan 2008, 450.
150 Gnisci 2015c, 258–259.

151 Zuurmond 1989, I, 38.
152 Nees 1987, xi; Lowden 1992, 35–39.
153 The importance of cataloguing as a foundation for research on the manuscript culture of Ethiopia has been emphasized by Bausi 2007a.
154 To give a sense of the amount of work that still needs to be carried out it is worth noting that, so far, the only study to adopt the kind of critical method used here for the study of Ethiopian illumination is that of Balicka-Witakowska 1997. Moreover, most of the manuscripts discussed here have yet to be the object of a detailed codicological and textual analysis; these studies are also hindered by the fact that many volumes have not yet been digitized or photographed in full and are kept in hard-to-access monasteries.
155 The Tempietto is also occasionally employed in the decoration of Psalters, see Balicka-Witakowska 1984, 22, fig. 33, pl. 1.

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Jaś Elsner

Beyond Eusebius: Prefatory Images and the Early Book

Abstract: This paper explores the genesis and functions of visually-conceived prefatory matter in the creation of the book in late antiquity. Beyond pragmatic use of prefaces to help guide readers through the new structure of the composite or collected set of texts, which is what a codex constitutes, the chapter examines the multiple interpretive impacts of various kinds of prefatory images as they resonate in the structure and reception of the early book. From the start, prefatory structures for the written codex included visual ornamentation: the kinds of framing needed to help readers find their way through this new kind of artefact intrinsically sought pictorial as well as textual cues.

When you open the book you are reading now, almost unnoticed as you move beyond the tabulated contents to the pages you are interested in, is a whole apparatus. There is, at the opening, the title, the series in which the books sits (if it has one), the author or editors and a range of paraphernalia that includes publisher, place of publication, year of publication (and perhaps years of earlier editions), printer and year of printing, claims of copyright and a series of cataloguing data from Library of Congress control numbers (for books published to be circulated in North America) to ISBN numbers. All this is almost unnoticeable even before the inception of the book itself—blurb, endorsements, contents pages, prefaces, acknowledgements, foreword, introduction. Through the text, in addition to page numbers, there may be running heads and author names for articles in a collection, and at the end of the main matter a series of indices and bibliographies. What I am describing—and of course there are multiple variations and no standard form across all the languages and book cultures of the contemporary world—is the paraphernalia of the book, that which bestows conviction in its readers that it is a trustworthy product, well edited, externally reviewed, responsibly published, ready and able to be handed out to the young, the impressionable, those keen to learn. For centuries these things have been part of the material rhetoric of the book, its claims to validity and its appeal to the confidence of its readers. This apparatus, which is currently still in place even if you read the book online—is both a kind of comfort and a form of authorisation. We take it so much for granted, that we hardly notice it.

In exploring the Eusebian apparatus, created in the early fourth century for the Christian codex, we are doing nothing less than examining the genesis of this paraphernalia for the whole history of the book.[1] Perhaps only at the moment—maybe just the beginning of a process—when we can imagine the death of the book through its transformation into whatever the digital world will create beyond our current experiments with e-books and tablets and online reading, are we at last placed to look at the work of Eusebius, beyond simply taking for granted his extraordinary achievement in creating his apparatus for the manipulation and use of the Gospels. For, despite centuries of ignoring the colossal achievement of what was effectively the invention of the technology for navigating the codex, and worse of despising this achievement on the part of those for whom use of the Eusebian invention is second nature (with the characteristic self-hatred that scholars reserve for earlier versions of themselves!), we have to acknowledge the absolutely monumental contribution that he made—quite beyond the Christian codex per se—to the entirety of book culture and hence academic study in the history of intellectual life that followed him. My claim may seem over the top, but I believe it simply to be no more than the truth.

As others will argue in much greater depth in this volume, Eusebius' achievement in respect of his Canons, was the creation of a threefold model for the textual

1 For the revolution from roll to codex, see Roberts/Skeat 1983; Blanck 1992, 75–101; Cavallo 1997, 85–114; Mazal 1999, 125–151; Cavallo 2010, 9–19; Schipke 2013, 143–152. For the Christian book, see e.g. Halbertal 1997; Gamble 2000; Stanton 2004, 40–49; Grafton/Willams 2006; Klingshirn/Safran 2007; Wallraff 2013a; Stroumsa 2014.

imbrication of the four gospels into a single unit.[2] It consisted of 1) the prefatory *Letter to Carpianus*, which was an explanation of what he had done and also a series of instructions to the reader about how to use the model, 2) the series of tables themselves showing the parallels where two or more gospels described the same event or an event without parallels unique to a single gospel, typically placed within arcaded arches and numbered according to 3) the marginal annotations by verse and table throughout the text of the four gospels, which enabled the comparisons to be made and the tabular parallels to be checked.[3] Effectively, he had provided not only a model of running reference and indexing which remains in force today (much more precise than pagination), but he had also supplied a paratextual and commentarial explanation (actually couched in a brief, simple and helpful form) for how to make best use of what his scholarship had supplied.[4] Narrowly, within Christian studies, we may see this as a brilliant technical and scholarly solution to using the gospels, which ideologically affirmed their unity and implicitly contested other models of claiming that unity (such as Tatian's Syriac Diatessaron, which put the four together into one but failed to preserve their independence or integrity).[5] But more broadly, we may understand the Eusebian apparatus as a proposition for how to structure and use the codex as such, created in the early fourth century at the inception of the most far-reaching transformation of book production before the invention of printing. That proposition, perhaps because Eusebius had the backing of the emperor, perhaps because his technology of reference and comparison was indeed so brilliant a tool, won out across the history of the medieval book as the overweening model for the paratextual manipulation of texts and for their scholarly usage. Indeed, since the printed book effectively preserved the model of the codex in almost every respect except that it could be mass produced on cheap paper instead of expensive parchment, Eusebius represents the most thoughtful intervention in the use of the book as a technology and a gadget,[6] before the radical transformations we face today in the rise of digital media, which will surely culminate in the eclipse of the book in the face of internet models of digital textuality.

That is, Eusebius's model for prefatory materials as a form of index coupled with referential numbering through the text, represents the pattern which the entire history of the codex-book has adopted down to the present day—with numerous adaptations, to be sure. We need to look well beyond Christianity to see Eusebius's interventions not only as contributions to how one might think about Christian texts but much more broadly as paradigms of practical and organisational aids for the kinds of collected volumes that integrated works which once occupied many rolls of papyrus. Thus the question of the unity of the gospels is not only a significant theological one, but a very practical and material one: for the first time, in the vellum codex (whose cost but also longevity was in an entirely different category from the papyrus roll), it was possible to collect the four gospels in one volume (rather than several rolls), indeed to collect the entire Bible, including the Old Testament. That possibility for producing a collected edition of an entire work, such as, the 12 books of the *Aeneid*, the 24 books of the Iliad, or the entire published corpus of an author, such as the *Eclogues, Georgics* and *Aeneid* of Vergil or the six surviving plays of Terence, was open to the entirety of surviving Classical literature as well as to the Christian Scriptures. It was this possibility for complete editions and its rich exploitation in late Antiquity (despite the fact that hardly any examples of original codices are extant)—as well as the persistent copying of manuscripts throughout the Middle Ages in the Christian parts of western Asia and North Africa, in Byzantium and in the West, not to speak of the remarkable culture of translation and copying into the many languages and worlds of the Christian and later Islamic East—that enabled a canon, in the sense that we understand the writings of Antiquity, to be created and preserved.[7]

Key to the Eusebian apparatus is the need for extensive front matter, both the *Letter to Carpianus* (explaining how to use the new format) and the tabulated arcades, which were swiftly susceptible to fine decorative illumination. This is more than a form of prefacing—it is a model of framing the whole codex as artefact (textual *and* pictorial) in which introductory paratexts (such as the letter

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2 Beyond the discussions in this book, key contributions are Grafton/Williams 2006, 194–200; Wallraff 2013a, 25–37; Crawford 2019, (and I am hugely grateful to the author for letting me see this in advance of publication).

3 The classic discussion—dated, perhaps, but fundamental—remains Nordenfalk 1938. See also Wessel 1976–1977; Nordenfalk 1982; Nordenfalk 1984; Sevrugian 2004; Crawford 2019, 96–122.

4 On paratexts, see Genette 1997 with e.g. Jansen 2014 and Crawford 2019, chapter 1, 21–54.

5 On the *Diatessaron* traditions, see Schmid 2013; Crawford 2015.

6 It is significant that Eusebius extended the technology by creating

a second set of tables for the Psalms, a crucial text for the performance of liturgy, apparently also set into arcades, capable of ornamentation: See Wallraff 2013b.

7 For a useful account of canons and canon-formation, see Gorak 2013, 9–44 for the early history in the Greek tradition.

to Carpianus, or that of Jerome to Pope Damasus for his translation of the Bible, or—at the same time but not in the tradition of the Christian book—Ausonius' letter to Paulus which prefaces his *Cento Nuptialis*)[8] plays an increasing role.[9] This interest in framing the artefact extends to the single page and the double page spread, especially in illuminated manuscripts. The Eusebian paratext that frames the gospel pages themselves is a relatively restrained numbering, but the tradition of placing scholia (often written in minuscule against the majuscule of the main text) in relation to a poem or an image on the same page or facing page is rampant by the Carolingian period, and may well emulate models from the earliest fourth century codices. One might cite ninth century codices of the poems of both Optatian Porphyry and Aratus.[10]

In other words, other precious and rare evidence of front matter from the late antique codex must be marshalled to play alongside the Eusebian material in an exploration of how the early codex came into being as an artefactual apparatus, a material product for the transmission of knowledge and education to its readers. Notably the book-technology of numerical tabulation arranged in columns and arcades (not however prefatory) was already available in ancient astronomy, both rolls and early codices.[11] Beyond the pragmatics of the use of prefaces to help guide readers through the new structure of the composite or collected set of texts, which is what a codex constitutes, I will in this paper speculate about the multiple interpre-

tive impacts of various kinds of *prefatory images* as they resonate in the structure and reception of the early book. It matters here, and is intrinsically interesting beyond my own disciplinary preoccupations as an art historian, that from the start prefatory structures for the written codex included visual ornamentation.[12] The kinds of framing needed to help readers find their way through this new kind of artefact intrinsically sought pictorial as well as textual cues. In fact, when we think of the Codex as artefact, we need to think synaesthetically: in addition to the textures of parchment and binding, made to be touched and turned, and to the smells of glue and leather, changing as a book ages, as well as to the visuals (writing, yes, but also pictures and other forms of ornament) we need to add the demand to read aloud—central of course to the book as a performative technology of liturgy.[13]

From the visual point of view, writing itself is as potentially decorative and ornamental as art. In the visual articulation of the earliest codices of the fourth century, much experimentation is clearly to be expected, as a new kind of artefact was created, and traditional models of reading and learning adapted to it. In the ninth century Carolingian version—perhaps a direct copy—possibly of a fourth century codex of the poems of Constantine's *Praefectus Urbi* in 329 and 333, Optatian Porphyry,[14] there is a fascinating use of fine letter forms executed in multicoloured inks to render Optatian's remarkable picture poems, according to a series of models—initial lines or the first letters of each line in a different colour (effectively variations of a rubric form, such as Eusebius proposed for his numerical apparatus), alternate lines in different colours, internal verses in rubric and with frames (sometimes with added floral decoration).[15] But

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8 See Green 1991, 132–134 and Prieto Domínguez 2010, 201–210. For discussion of Ausonius' letter, see e.g. Polara 1990, 247–251, Pollmann 2004, 80–83; McGill 2005, 1–30; Hinds 2014, 188–190; Pelltari 2014, 70–71 and 104–107.

9 For prefaces and prefatory paratexts in late Antiquity, see esp. Pelltari 2014, 45–72; Harrison 2017. For a range of reflections on ancient framing see Platt/Squire 2017.

10 For Optatian e.g.: Codex Palatinus Latinus 1713 (ninth Century), Vatican: http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/bav_pal_lat_1713/000 (last accessed 13/04/2020). Note that here the scholia (in minuscule) sometimes even takes on the figural forms of the (majuscule) poems it discusses and also partakes of the different colours of the ink used for the main poems. For Aratus, e.g.: Harley MS 647 (ninth century), British Library: http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLU MIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=15407 (last accessed 13/04/2020). Note that here the various commentarial texts are incorporated within the illustrations as well as outside them.

11 For papyrus tables, see e.g. Jones 1999a, 113–171, 231–245 and Jones 1999b, 299–340. Interestingly Ptolemy's (second century CE) 'Handy Tables' (computed for the longitude of Alexandria, from the death of Alexander) survive now only in the fourth century CE version of Theon of Alexandria: See Pedersen 2011, 397–400. For Ptolemy's tables, see e.g. Roby 2017, 534–541; Crawford 2019, 43–53 and the great ninth century Vatican Ptolemy, probably a copy of a late antique codex (Vat. Gr. 1291, https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1291) (last accessed 13/04/2020).

12 Good survey discussions of the beginnings of biblical illumination (itself only a subset of the larger issue of the illustration of the codex) include Grabar 1968, 87–94; Kozodoy 1971; Lowden 1999; Kessler 2008. A collection of many of the prime images with some discussion is Sörries 1993.

13 The wildest convergence of columnar architecture, tabulation and liturgy that I have come across, and one that gives pause for thought about ways that tabulation and arcading in the book came to be deeply and subconsciously impressed on the culture of Christian liturgy, is the evidence of tables of liturgical sequences inscribed onto the columns of the Parthenon in Athens during its long life as a church. See Alexopoulos 2015, 164–174.

14 For the argument that Optatian produced 'not an unfolding scroll [...] but [...] a bound codex', see Squire 2017a, 71. On Optatian Porphyry, see Polara 1971; Squire/Wienand 2017; Squire/Whitton 2017; Squire 2017b.

15 The principal early manuscripts are: Codex Bernensis 212 (ninth century), Burgerbibliothek Bern; Codex Berolinensis Phillippicus 1815 (eighth-ninth century), Staatsbibliothek Berlin; Codex Eporediensis LXX (ninth century), Biblioteca Capitolare, Ivrea, Turin; Codex Palatinus

most spectacularly, the late antique codex appears to have harnessed the power of lavish decorative ornamentation as well as pictorial imagery to its prefatory schematics. Frontispieces include architectural vignettes and arcades or arches with titles or with the Eusebian canons, author portraits encapsulating the character of the book's voice (much as the author photograph is still frequently used) and narrative images which are not illustrations of a prior text (by contrast with pictures that run alongside the narrative within a given book) so much as prefatory encapsulations of the totality of a poem or book through the *pars pro toto* model of the abbreviated narrative or thematic summary. These very different artistic strategies have different effects and emphases in how a book is to be received by its reader, and experimentation in this genre is a striking (and highly under-examined) aspect of the creativity of the deluxe codex in its early phase. Such issues would themselves attract *ecphrasis* and verbal exegesis in the later tradition, notably in the seventh century poem on the canon tables by the Irish monk Ailerán,[16] and two Armenian *ecphrases* one attributed to Step'anos Siwnec'i (eighth century)[17] and the other by Nersēs Šnorhali (twelfth century) which discusses the 'flowery sculptures of multicoloured hue' and the many birds that appear in the normative visual elaboration of the Eusebian tables.[18] This move to exegesis of the tables is itself evidence of how the apparatus of Scriptural canonisation would come to be itself perceived as canonical in due course. And the canonicity of the codex is enshrined in monumental art as early as the fifth century where not only do Christ and the saints carry books in so many representations, but the codex comes to be enthroned in its own right as an object of visual veneration.[19]

1 Pictorial openings in the ancient book

I want here, in the spirit of a volume dedicated to the impact of the Eusebian canons, to comment on what might be called prefatory architecture—which is a bigger topic than has been allowed in the literature and one that we find in the West as well as in the East, and also in the early Islamic book. If we take the early Biblical codices, then beyond their commitment to Eusebius' canon tables articulated as architecture (often of spectacularly ornamental kinds), they look to a strong late antique tradition that emphasised the architectural pictorial *frontispiece*. This tradition—alongside author portraits and painted narrative summaries at book openings—probably goes back, before the surviving manuscripts we possess and before the Eusebian Canons, to the roll and to ancient book production.[20] In particular, a frequent way of opening a number of Greco-Roman literary genres in prose—the ancient novel, declamations and some popular philosophical texts—was to present a described picture as the prefatory vignette before the main text. Classic examples include the ecphrastic paintings that open the Greek romances *Daphnis and Chloe* by Longus and the adventures of *Leucippe and Clitophon* by Achilles Tatius,[21] as well as a number of prefaces (or *prolaliae*) by Lucian, notably his *Zeuxis, Herodotus* and *Heracles*.[22] But there is also a significant tradition of described prefatory architecture—for instance, Lucian's *de domo* and his *Hippias or the Bath*,[23] but also elements of the *Tabula* or *Pinax* ascribed to someone called Cebes (esp. *Pinax* 1).[24]

The *ecphrases* of pictures are effectively narrative summaries or entrés into the main text by means of a descriptive paratext—and as such they anticipate the kinds of pictorial summaries we find at the opening of books in a series of late antique or early medieval manuscripts. One might cite, for abbreviated narrative cycles in

Latinus 1713 (ninth century), Vatican City: http://digi.ub.uni-heidel berg.de/diglit/bav_pal_lat_1713/000 (last accessed 13/04/2020); Codex Parisinus 2421 (ninth century), Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris; Codex Vaticanus Reginensis 733 (tenth century), Vatican City; DCL B.iv.9 (tenth century), Durham Cathedral, Durham. Michael Squire tells me there are more.

16 See Netzer 1994, 205–206, with further discussion at 61; MacLean 2003. On the Irish exegetic tradition more broadly, see esp. Mullins 2014.

17 Translated by James Russell in Mathews/Sanjian 1991, 206–207.

18 Translated by James Russell in Mathews/Sanjian 1991, 207–211, with Crawford 2019, 248-284 and the discussion of Varduhi Kyureghyan in this volume.

19 For instance the four codices placed on altars between chairs with jewelled crowns within curved architectural exedrae in the outer circle of the dome of the Orthodox baptistery at Ravenna, see Deichmann 1974, 42; or the case with four codices of the Evangelists in the south lunette of the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, with Deichmann 1974, 77–8.

20 For traditions of portraits combined with *tituli* or captions transmitted in rolls, associated especially with Varro, see Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 35.11 with Small 2003, 131–134 or Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 231–237. For some aspects of Varro's reception in late Antiquity (but eschewing any discussion of portraits painted in books), see Vessey 2014.

21 On the novels, see e.g. Kestner 1973–1974; Bartsch 1989, 109–143; and Morales 2004.

22 On Lucian's *ecphrases*, see e.g. Maffei 1994 and Dubel/Pigeaud 2014. For some discussion: Borg 2004, and Möllendorf 2004.

23 See esp. Thomas 2007, 221–235. On *de domo:* Goldhill 2001, 160–167; Newby 2002; Goeken 2009. On *Hippias*: Cannatà Fera 1998.

24 On Cebes, see now Squire/Grethlein 2014, with earlier bibliography.

pictorial form, the prefatory panel of six pictures framed in red before the third Georgic in the Vatican Vergil (fol. 1r),[25] or the Passion cycle in the St Augustine Gospels which is part of the prefatory matter to Luke (fol. 125r, Fig. 1).[26] For single summary images, there are the pictorial idylls that preface the first, third, fifth and seventh Eclogues (fols 1r, 6r, 11r and 16v, see Fig. 2) and the wonderful double page spread at the start of the third Georgic (fols 44v and 45r) in the Roman Vergil;[27] the fine miniatures at the heads of some books, such as Exodus, Numbers, Job and Proverbs, within the sixth or seventh century Syriac Bible in Paris (Syr. 341, see Fig. 3);[28] the full page miniatures of Biblical events that constitute part of the prefatory matter of the sixth century Rabbula Gospels (fols 13a, 13b, 14a and 14b),[29] and the tenth century Etchmiadzin Gospels (fols 228 and 229),[30] but may be earlier and have been bound in at a later time;[31] let alone the Old and New Testament vignettes that appear as marginal images in the canon tables of Rabbula Gospels (fols 3b–12a), or the New Testament narratives (alongside commentaries from the Prophets) alongside the full page miniatures of the trial of Christ that are part of the opening display of the Rossano Gospels (fols 1r–8v).[32] By contrast, the ecphrases and painted imagery of architecture create a different texture of inception—a kind of portal or threshold that signals the constructed monumentality of the edifice made of sewn parchment into which the reader is being initiated.[33] The *ecphrases* anticipate, as we shall see, the arches that include titles or dedications as well as the Eusebian arcades of the codex tradition. Do any of these descriptive models reflect or play on actual but now lost prefatory pictures at the heads of ancient codices or even rolls?

We have no surviving frontispiece images from a papyrus book—although there are papyrus fragments with all sorts of drawings and paintings,[34] including one striking architectural drawing that was found in Oxyrhynchus.[35] But notably a number of major Carolingian luxury copies of prize late antique codices have impressive illustrated front matter that includes aedicules and arcades framing varieties of synoptic material including lists of texts, just as in the canon tables. In the Vatican Terence (Vat. lat. 3868)[36] an author portrait in a square framed *imago clipeata* (fol. 2r, Fig. 4) is followed by a fine aedicule flanked by coloured columns with torus mouldings and delicately traced flutes, containing shelves holding theatrical masks (fol. 3r, Fig. 5). This is a prefatory image for the play that follows, the *Andria*,[37] but in being placed immediately after the author portrait and in not carrying a label it serves effectively as a second architectural preface for the book as a whole. Uniquely, for a Carolingian miniature, this page is signed (illegibly in reproductions): *MISERERE MEI DS [Deus] SE [cundum magnam miserecordiam tuam, =Ps. 50.1]. ADELRICUS ME FECIT*,[38] again plausibly a claim for its general prefatory significance.

25 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (hereafter BAV), MS Vat. lat. 3225, fol. 1r: see https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3225 (last accessed 13/04/2020) and Wright 1993, 7–9. This is now poorly preserved. For a range of fine seventeenth century copies including several purchased for the dal Pozzo paper museum, see Claridge/Herklotz 2012, 335–351.
26 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Parker Library, MS 286, fol. 125r: see https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/mk707wk3350 (last accessed 13/04/2020) and Wormald 1954, 2–5 (for arrangements of prefatory matter) and 11–16 (for the rectangular miniature).
27 BAV, MS Vat. lat. 3867, fols 3v, 9r, 14v; Wright 2001 and https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3867 (last accessed 13/04/2020).
28 Paris, BnF, MS syr. 341, fols 8r, 25r, 46r and 118r. See Leroy 1964, with discussion of MS syr. 341 at 209–219 and esp. Sörries 1991, 22–26 (Exodus), 27–28 (Numbers), 29–31 (Job) and 33–36 (Proverbs) and Sörries 1993, 90–91, plates 47–48.
29 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 1.56. Cecchelli, Furlani, and Salmi, 1959; Leroy 1964, 139–197; Bernabò 2008c; http://teca.bmlonline.it/ImageViewer/servlet/ImageViewer?idr=TECA0000025956&keyworks=Plut.01.56 (last accessed 13/04/2020).
30 Yerevan, Matenadaran MS 2374 (formerly Etchmiadzin MS 229): Macler 1920.
31 Recent scholarship has argued that the illustrated pages of the Rabbula Gospels were bound into the book at a later date and do not necessarily belong together with the main text (completed in 586). They may be earlier—from the first half of the sixth century and indeed the canon tables and the full-page miniatures may be from different sources and of different dates. See Bernabò 2008a, 16–21 and Bernabò 2014. There are significant problems also with later overpainting of the Rabbula miniatures: see Bernabò 2008a, 5 and Bernabò 2008b, with ad hoc discussion of each folio. Likewise Sirapie der Nersessian argued that the two leaves with four impressive full-page illuminations of narrative themes from the Bible bound in at the end of the Etchmiadzin Gospels (fols 228 and 229) are by a very different hand from those of the preface and may well have originally belonged to an entirely different and perhaps much earlier manuscript, perhaps sixth or seventh century, der Nersessian 1973.

32 Rossano, Cathedral Library. Muñoz 1907 and Cavallo/Gribomont/ Loerke 1987.
33 For the vision of the Psalter as a house of many rooms, each with its own key and with the first Psalm as the door to the whole, see Jerome, *Tractatus in Librum Psalmorum* 1.1, with Pelttari 2014, 45.
34 A good selection of images from illustrated papyri may be found in Gallazzi/Settis (eds) 2006, esp. 45–53, 142–155, 277–281, 114–297 (the last a Christian scene); also Whitehouse 2016; Torallas Tovar/ Worp 2006, 17, inv. 154, pl. xxviii. The major collection of material from Oxyrhynchus remains unpublished.
35 See Whitehouse 2007, 296–306.
36 https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3868 (last accessed 13/04/ 2020), with e.g. Koehler/Mütherich 1971, 74–75, 85–100 and Keefe 2015, no. 46.
37 So Jones/Morey 1931, 32; Koehler/Mütherich 1971, 89–90; Wright 2006, 8.
38 See Jones/Morey 1931, 33; Wright 2006, 8.

That this set of forms belongs to the late antique proto-type of this manuscript is certain:[39] they appear in the same order in the pen-drawn versions of another C9 manuscript, *Parisinus* 7899 (Fig. 6).[40] The aedicule with shelved masks is then a repeated frontispiece motif for different plays within the collection—marking the incipits of *Heauton Timoumenos* (fol. 35r), *Adelphoe* (fol. 50v), *Hecyra* (fol. 65r) and *Phormio* (fol. 77r). Now there is little doubt that these aedicules are prefatory in function and there is the possibility (unprovable of course) that they represent forms which ante-date the fourth century collection of the six plays of Terence into a single codex (the presumed prototype of these ninth century versions) and may have appeared in the papyrus rolls of individual plays. Note that the Terentian aedicules are either arched, as is most common in the canon tables (*Heauton Timoru-menos, Adelphoe* and *Phormio*) or have a triangular pediment (*Andria, Hecyra*)[41]. While most canon tables are arched, some early manuscripts collected by Nordenfalk have Eusebius' canons with triangular pediments,[42] so the forms of the Terentian prefaces have further weight as potential exemplars.

The seventeenth century copy of the lost ninth century copy of the lost lavish manuscript of the Codex Calendar of 354 (MS Barberini lat. 2154)[43] certainly represents the design of an original codex creation of the fourth century. This has an impressive architectural image in its front matter for the *natales caesarum* page with an arcade of two arched openings on a spiral column between two jewelled columns supporting an arched entablature with an imperial bust carrying a globe with a phoenix in the tympanum flanked by winged victories (Fig. 7). The structure is very reminiscent of the architectural form of Eusebian canon tables, in this case with only two intercolumniations filled with written lists.[44] This page is followed by similar framing architectures for the seven planets that represent the days of the week, again with space for written lists, as well as the representations of the months, again within architectural frames (of which only February, March, and then August to December survive) and between the images of days and the months, the two consular portraits of the Augustus Constantius II and the Caesar Gallus within curtained aedicules. The fine pen-drawn author-portrait of a bearded figure with an open scroll in an aedicule with triangular pediment and shell design from the Codex Arcerianus (fol. 67v, Fig. 8), a fifth- or sixth-century version of the Roman *Corpus Agrimensorum*, was painted as frontispiece to the collected florilegia of Agennius Urbicus, of whom the figure may be intended as a portrait. This may itself reflect a fourth-century prototype of the prefatory aedicule and is our earliest combination of the prefatory visual types of architecture and author.[45]

Among early Christian gospels, the prefacing of Eusebius's *Letter to Carpianus* followed by the canon tables is normal from our earliest manuscripts. Among these, the most sensational recent discovery is the group of old Ethiopic (or Ge'ez) gospels belonging to the Monastery of Abba Garima near Aksum in Ethiopia, which were first mentioned in the scholarly literature in 1960,[46] but became news after early carbon dates were reported in 2000.[47] Crucially for our purposes here all three manuscripts have a rich range of illuminated canon tables at the front, with architectural arcades in Garima I, II and III, further images of buildings in Garima I and III, and the addition of portraits of saints in Garima III, all placed at prefatory junctures.

Two of the greatest early Christian gospels—the sixth-century Rossano Gospels, written in Greek, and the Syriac Rabbula Gospels, whose written text is dated by a colophon to 586 (on fol. 291r)—have all their rich illuminated pages bound at the front of the book before the start of the main text as a kind of prefatory pictorial *précis* of the contents. Both manuscripts have been mucked about in their long histories, their images likely having been rear-

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39 For an attempt to construct the prototype, which he dates to about 400 or a touch later in Rome, see Wright 2006, esp. 206–224.

40 See Paris, BNF, MS lat. 7899, fols 2r and v: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84525513 (last accessed 13/04/2020). There are later versions in two further illustrated Terence manuscripts: Basilicanus H.19 in the Vatican (tenth century), fols 9v and 10, and Bodleian Auct. F. 2.13 in Oxford (twelfth century), fols 2v and 3.

41 The prefatory aedicule for Eunuchus appears to have been lost in the exemplar and thus never copied in the ninth-century versions, see Wright 2006, 31, 206.

42 See Nordenfalk 1938, II, taf. 44: Vienna, National Library, cod. 847 (sixth century); taf. 162–3: Aachen gospel book (ninth century); taf. 165: Manchester, Rylands lat. MS 10 (tenth century); taf. 167: Cologne Cathedral, cod. 12 (tenth-eleventh century); taf. 168: Paris, BNF, MS lat. 17968 (ninth century).

43 See esp. Salzman 1990 with Burgess 2012. Usefully available online as http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/index.htm#Chronography_of_354 (last accessed 13/04/2020). On the seventeenth century copies, see Claridge/Herklotz 2012, 43–50, 94–126.

44 Nordenfalk 1938, 117–120 rightly sees this page as ancestral to the Eusebian tables—as well as a number of non-prefatory astronomical tables that probably antedate the Eusebian canons but may first have appeared in arcade form in fourth-century codices, as replicated in the Vatican Ptolemy (Vat. gr. 1291).

45 See Carder 1978, 130–136, 198–201; Butzmann 1970, 28–30, 42–43.

46 Leroy 1960.

47 Mercier 2000. For a review of the history of scholarship see McKenzie/Watson 2016, 31–41. See the appendix to this paper for further discussion.

ranged and several have probably been lost (especially in the Rossano Codex). But it is probable that all the miniatures were placed together as a visual set of frontispieces. Like the Garima gospels, this prefatory material includes the letter from Eusebius to Carpianus, and the Eusebian canon tables with their characteristic architectural arcade layout, in the case of the Rabbula Gospels (Figs 9a and b); it probably did so with the Rossano manuscript, but in this case they are now lost. However, in both these lavish products (and unlike the Garima manuscripts) there was additionally much illustrative material that visualised the narratives of the New Testament in pictorial form as a kind of preface or summary before the text itself. In the Rabbula Gospels these images occupied marginal positions within the pages with the canon tables, as well as several full-page illuminations (which may or may not have been bound in later from a different manuscript altogether). In the Rossano Gospels these scenes were combined with commentarial images of the prophets and with Old Testament extracts foretelling the New Testament narratives of the main picture (which together filled a whole page and not just its margins).

The Garima Gospels avoid all this kind of complex commentarial interplay between word and image, illustration and scriptural text. On the other hand, Garima III—with its portraits of the evangelists as subsidiary frontispiece to each gospel in addition to the main run of prefatory images—is structurally very similar to the Rossano Gospels, which did the same thing, although there only the image of Saint Mark survives (fol. 12r). One might add that the architectural imagery for general preface and a specific author portrait for a given book reverses the late antique pattern of the illustrated Terence manuscripts which have one author portrait for the whole codex and architectural frontispieces in the form of aedicula for each play.

Other kinds of Christian manuscripts also made use of architectural prefacing. Consider the title page miniature of the Ashburnham Pentateuch (fol 2r, Fig. 10), which is probably a sixth century codex made in Italy, or at any rate in the West, and written in Latin.[48] The title page shows an arch over a pair of double columns with bases and capitals, which has a decorative floral design and a large white figure resembling a conch shell in the tympanum; birds appear at either side above the arch. Purple curtains are attached to a rail beneath the tympanum, drawn open to

reveal a square with a red-rimmed blue frame containing the titles of the books of the Pentateuch, written in fine rustic capitals in both Latin and a Latin transliteration of the Hebrew original. It does not show great ingenuity to see the comparison of this formal layout with the canon tables of Garima I, in particular, which have curtains (pink-purple in the case of McKenzie/Watson 2016, plate 40) and the interesting empty frame arch without curtains but with a conch shell in the tympanum (McKenzie/Watson 2016, plate 41, see Fig. 23).

The architectural emphasis is true also of another major early manuscript from the West—the Codex Amiatinus, a complete Bible, which was written and illuminated in the late seventh century at Jarrow and is now in Florence.[49] The dedication page at the very front (fol 1v) is, like the title page of the Ashburnham Pentateuch, an arch containing an inscription (Fig. 11), and there is also a purple leaf with the prologue and contents of the manuscript in a canon table-like arch form. Again, both for the manuscript as a whole and for the New Testament, forms of architectural imagery including arches on columns, canon tables and a temple-like enclosure, alongside an author portrait, constitute the book's visual frontage.

In an entirely different linguistic and even denominational context, the openings of a series of Syriac Biblical manuscripts surviving in fragments from between the sixth and eighth centuries use building forms to summarise chapter headings.[50] So a manuscript in London, BL, Add. MS 14445 (Fig. 12), dated to the sixth or seventh century, offers an architectural exordium in the form of a list of chapter headings presented within a grid beneath a series of arcades, in a pattern followed and elaborated upon by later Syriac manuscripts of the eighth century.[51] Effectively these use the same pattern as the Ashburnham Pentateuch combining a series of prefatory précis in the form of headings or titles with an architectural mode of arrangement and disposition.

Finally, of broadly the same date as this range of parallels but from a different (and at the time radically new) religious tradition, we should note the significance of architectural prefacing in the oldest surviving manuscripts of the Qur'ān. The rediscovery of groups of stunning rare fragments from caches in the mosques of Amr

48 For the manuscript see Paris, BNF, MS Nouv. acq. lat. 2334 with von Gebhardt 1883 and the fine digitised facsimile at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53019392c (last accessed 13/04/2020); also Sörries 1993, 26–33. On this page see Rickert 1986, 32–92 and Verkerk 2004, 125–183.

49 Florence, Laurentian Library, cod. Amiatino 1: See digital facsimile at http://mss.bmlonline.it/s.aspx?Id=AWOS3h2-I1A4r7GxMdaR#/book (last accessed 13/04/2020). There is a large literature. See e.g. Bruce-Mitford 1967; *Corsano 987;* Meyvaert 1996; Nees 1999, 148–176; Chazelle 2003; Gameson 2018, with bibliography.

50 See Leroy 1964, 124–125.

51 Including the manuscripts London, BL, Add. MSS 12134 and 14429 (fol. 3r); also Paris, BNF, MS 97 (fols 92r and 92v).

ibn-el-as (Fusṭāṭ, Cairo, Egypt), Damascus and Ṣanʿāʾ (Yemen) are transforming our understanding of the early Qurʾān and the relation of its texts to illumination.[52] Notably, the Umayyad Qurʾān of Ṣanʿāʾ (itself not very far from Ethiopia across the Red Sea), dated by radiocarbon and chemical testing to between 657 and 730 CE,[53] opened with an architectural circle framed by a double square in the form of an eight pointed star with trees bearing fruit —which may have been intended to evoke a centrifugal architectural plan (like the Dome of the Rock). This page proceeded a double spread of spectacular, beautifully illuminated architectural illustrations with round arches and vegetal motifs that look very much like idealised mosques (including minbar and mihrab), both also with trees (e.g. Fig. 13).[54] Meanwhile, the early Qurʾān known as 'Marcel 13' from Fusṭāṭ, but perhaps made in Syria in the early eighth century, now in the National Library in St Petersburg, as well as a number of other early Qurʾānic manuscripts,[55] uses various forms of decoration but notably columns lying on their sides to mark the beginnings of various suras (or chapters) within the main text (Fig. 14).[56] In all these cases, architectural prefacing through illustration is key both at the inception of the manuscript as a whole (in the case of Ṣanʿāʾ) and at the beginnings of chapters. In the remarkable Ṣanʿāʾ codex this is a clear parallel to, and perhaps even deliberately competitive with, Christian and potentially Jewish illuminated depictions of the temple.[57]

2 Portraits

Two early types of author portraits—the bust (usually in an *imago clipeata*, such as we have already seen for Terence, Fig. 4) and the group portrait for volumes that gather the collective knowledge of several scholarly authors—appear not to have survived long beyond Antiquity. It is possible

that our earliest surviving *imago clipeata* at the inception of a book is the sheet (of different parchment from the rest of the book, which is probably a copy of an archetype of about 450 CE)[58] bound into the ninth century Palatine *Agrimensores*, in the Vatican Library, a florilegium of texts about land surveying (Fig. 15).[59] The sheer oddity of this page is worth stressing. It contains a painted medallion portrait of a youthful, clean-shaven man above a sketched portrait of a balding and bearded man, in very similar postures and dress. Is one a later product emulating the other? There is no reason that they must be contemporary, but neither represents the style of the other group images —which include two pages with nine men in discussion (fols 2r and 3r) plus one of an adjudicator or judge and an emperor (fol. 4r) which are all probably Carolingian, but may be frontispiece group portraits for a multi-author collected volume. The pattern resembles the splay of frontispieces of the Vienna Dioscorides, a manuscript of about 512 painted at the behest of the wealthy Constantinopolitan aristocrat Anicia Juliana, which is also a florilegium of pharmacology by ancient savants.[60] Here two images of seven physicians each (fols 2v and 3v) precede two pages of single author portraits—Dioscorides inspired by the personification of Heuresis (fol. 4v) and Dioscorides writing his text accompanied by a draughtsman and by the personification of Epinoia (fol. 5v, Fig. 16). These themselves precede the book's donor portrait (fol. 6v) and title page (fol. 7v), both in *imagines clipeatae*. The shared prefatory pattern of the Vatican and Vienna manuscripts is intriguing: Numbers of group images and two single author portraits, although in the Vienna Dioscorides the authors follow the groups while they precede them and occupy a single page in the Palatine *Agrimensores*.

Of the Garima manuscripts, only Garima III has author portraits (in addition to architectural forms), also functioning as frontispieces.[61] The first—tentatively identified as 'Eusebius' by McKenzie and Watson—which appears before his *Letter to Carpianus*, is in fact the first miniature surviving from that book (Fig. 17). It follows the

52 For general accounts see George 2010, 74–89; Flood 2012, 265–277.
53 See George 2010, 79.
54 See von Bothmer 1986; von Bothmer 1987a; von Bothmer 1987b, 178–181; Grabar 1992, 155–193; Flood 2001, 63–65.
55 These include Paris, BNF, MSS arabe 324c and 330c and Istanbul, Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, ŞE, 321.
56 See F. Déroche 2004, 244–248; Flood 2012, 270–271; F. Déroche 2014, 89–91.
57 At least one major carpet page from a Jewish manuscript, originally found in Egypt, depicting the temple survives from the tenth century (National Library, St Petersburg Hebrew II B 49). It is not clear where it stood within the original manuscript nor how it might have related to an earlier tradition, but it is tantalising. See Schwartz and Fine 2012, 114 (catalogue no. 76).

58 See Thulin 1911, 5.
59 Pal. Lat. 1564, fol. 1. See Thulin 1911, 46–48; Mütherich 1974; Haffner 1991, 136–138; Palm 1997, 168–173, where a sixth to seventh century date is suggested.
60 Codex Medicus Graecus 1, Austrian National Library: See Mazal 1998–1999.
61 The standard discussion of evangelist portraits is Friend 1927 and 1929. There (at 1927, 24) Friend identifies standing and seated types as the two normative iconographic models. There have been many studies since, notably Wessel 1968–1969 and Loerke 1995. For the Garima portraits see now Mathews 2016, 359–63, 367 (proposing that the standing evangelist portraits and 'Eusebius' depict the liturgical showing of the gospel).

prefatory text of the argument of the four gospels and it is not inconceivable that an earlier title page miniature, perhaps architectural, was placed at the very front.[62] The image of 'Eusebius', like the portraits of Matthew, Luke and John, shows a standing saint holding a gospel book in his left hand (the evangelists' codices are square with crosses on the front, 'Eusebius' holds a more oblong book with zigzag binding, and while they stand on footstools he does not). Each of these figures makes a gesture of blessing with his right hand and all have halos (Fig. 18). Mark, in classical dress but with a bishop's scarf, is seated before a lectern in the shape of a dolphin and blesses with his right hand the book that rests on it (Fig. 19). The seated type of author portrait is the most common—one thinks of the images of Vergil at the openings of *Eclogues* 2, 4 and 6 in the fifth- or sixth-century manuscript known as the Roman Vergil (Fig. 20),[63] of the fifth- or sixth-century seated author portrait within an aedicule at fol. 67v of the codex Arcerianus of the Roman *Corpus agrimensorum* (see Fig. 8),[64] the two images of Dioscorides in the Vienna Dioscorides (fols 4v and 5v, see Fig. 16), the great Luke miniature of the sixth century Augustine Gospels (fol. 129v),[65] the surviving portrait of Ezra in the codex Amiatinus (fol. 5v),[66] and the St Mark illumination of the Rossano Gospels (fol. 121r). The seated and standing types are combined on facing pages of the Rabbula Gospels (fol. 9v and 10r) in the marginal illustrations of canons 7 and 8, where Matthew and John without halos (fol. 9 v) are seated while Mark and Luke with halos are standing with square books that have crosses on their covers (see Figs 9a and 9b).[67] The model of a single miniature at the head of each book of an entire Bible—of which most miniatures are portraits and many are in the standing and blessing posture of standing evangelists of Garima III—is offered by the sixth or early seventh century Syriac Bible in Paris, known as Syr. 341, where most of the New Testament is unfortunately missing. In this iconographic form with scroll rather than book, we find images of James the apostle at the head of his letter, fol. 248r, and the prophets Haggai (181v), Habbakuk (180v, Fig. 21), Michah (179r),

Obadiah (178r) and Joel (175r).[68] This pattern is at least suggestive for the structure of Garima III.

One striking Syriac book of the sixth century, much of it unfortunately lost, is the Syriac manuscript at the Syrian Orthodox Church of Mar Jacob of Sarūg in Diyarbakır, south-eastern Turkey.[69] The prefatory visual material however survives complete.[70] The manuscript has relatively simple canon tables with marginal birds, plants and baskets of fruit in a tradition close to a number of other sixth/seventh-century Syriac manuscripts. Before the canon tables (fols 2v–10v) was the letter of Eusebius in architectural tables topped with four arches (1v-–2r). Before this, as the opening miniature, was a striking image—either of Christ or of John the Evangelist, in a golden halo standing in a roundel with a geometric pattern at its rim, wearing a purple robe, holding a book inscribed with the beginning of St John's gospel, and making a blessing gesture between two cypress trees (fol 1r, Fig. 22). It is natural of course to show Christ in this position at the start of the gospels,[71] and would be weird to show John, when the written work that follows is Matthew—but the text on the illustrated book is the opening of the fourth gospel, and so the option cannot be discounted in the absence of further identifying marks or a cruciform halo. The similarity of position, posture and iconography to the standing saints of Garima III makes one wonder if an exemplar like this had been understood by the Ethiopian artist to be a typical saint's portrait, and thus interpreted as Eusebius. But by contrast with all these various comparisons, the standing portraits of Garima III are framed icons of the saints on plain backgrounds that directly address the viewer. They are a strong affirmation of the cult of images, all the more so for being painted into holy Scripture.

3 Conclusion

I have attempted to show something of the interface of different kinds of prefatory imagery for book collections dating back to pre-Christian Antiquity—the architectural frontispiece, which becomes the Eusebian canon tables

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62 Like those of the Ashburnham Pentateuch and Codex Amiatinus.
63 BAV, MS Vat. Lat. 3867, fols 3v, 9r, 14v with Wright 2001.
64 See Butzmann 1970, 28–30, 42–43.
65 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Parker Library, MS 286, fol. 129v: see Wormald 1954, 2–3, 5–11. One might note in passing that the Christian tradition appears not to have preserved the *imago clipeata* model of author portrait, as for example in the lost late antique manuscript of Terence, copied in the ninth century and now in Vatican City, BAV, Vat. Lat. 3868, fol. 2r with Wright 2006, 6–7.
66 E.g. Corsano 1987, 15–22; Marsden 1996; DeGregorio 2010.
67 E.g. Leroy 1964, 148.

68 Sörries 1991, 41–44, 49–50.
69 MS 339: see Leroy 1957, 119–124; Leroy 1964, 207–208; Bernabò/Kessel 2016.
70 It is not impossible that this material belongs to a different original book from the one in which it is currently bound and was added later. See Bernabò/Kessel 2016, 176 and 183.
71 Cf. Christ in Majesty (admittedly surrounded by the four Evangelists in the page's corners) in the Codex Amiatinus, fol. 796v, at the inception of the Gospels.

in gospel manuscripts as well as forming one model for the title, dedication or contents page; the author portrait, which is the origin for the classic evangelist images; and the pictorial vignette as *précis* for a larger narrative. We may wonder if these prefatory visual strategies seek to reveal different aspects of the written work that follows: the human touch behind the text of any given book—its authorship and speaking voice, in the case of author portraits; a visualisation of the threshold and the concomitant spatial exploration which entering a book constitutes for a reader as she or he traverses the pages, in the case of arches and arcades (which establishes the codex as a kind of edifice or monument); an anticipatory hint of the text's drama (like a trailer in the modern cinema or television series) in the case of narrative vignettes. The architectural image in particular focalises the *artefactual* nature of the book as something *constructed* of parchment or papyrus, carefully treated, rolled or stitched, inscribed and painted on.

In a sense, each kind of prefatory image is a different sort of synopsis of the contents. The authorial portrait—whether of a secular writer, an evangelist, of Eusebius or of Jesus as the *Logos* of the Gospel—sums up the text through a form of personification, itself one of the most ancient tropes of visual and rhetorical representation, but specifically focalised as the personification of the book's creator's authorial voice. The narrative summary as picture both prefigures the literary account that will follow and renders it in a different, visual, medium to be seen in a single glance rather than read diachronically as the pages turn. Its shift of media from the written to the painted is also a shift of temporalities from the reading process to the synoptic glance, both these models operating within a visual regime. The aedicule or arcade, containing titles (as in the Ashburnham Pentateuch and the Syriac manuscripts) or masks representing speaking voices (as in the Terence manuscripts) or a dedication (as in Codex Amiatinus) or a prefatory text (as in the *Letter to Carpianus*) or a range of parallels between the gospels which ultimately serve as a kind of shorthand or summary of their collective content (as in the Eusebian canon tables), sums up the text by literally containing it as formulated as a kind of *précis* in most of these cases through a list. What is certainly the case is that the Eusebian model added a spectacular level of complexity and scholarly depth to the architectural prefatory pattern: Ten tables with 'the particular passages in each Evangelist where they were moved by love for the truth to speak about the same things' (as Eusebius puts it in the *Letter to Carpianus*)[72] and a

preface to this preface in the letter itself. One of the outstanding developments of the early codex is a high level of sophistication in playing through these kinds of synopsis—scholarly list as architecture, pictorial narrative summary and author-portrait—through the frontispieces, and indeed of combining them. This is already apparent in the lost archetype of the illuminated Terence manuscripts, where the author's portrait heads the whole collection but individual *aedicules* containing masks that represent the characters in a given play are used as the visual prefatory introduction for each of the plays. But it reaches high levels of artistry in the early Christian gospel book—not only in the art of illumination but also in the use of images and paratexts to structure a text and help its readership.

The issues are much more complex and subtle than Kurt Weitzmann's literalist and reductive arguments more than half a century ago about the putative move of images on rolls to the illustration of codices,[73] or than the claims for the relationship between manuscript illumination and large-scale painting.[74] They involve a continuous and revolving dialogue of image and text in which (perhaps imagined) paintings are rendered descriptively as *ecphrasis* in the introductions to ancient novels and declamations, texts are focalised as images (whether through narrative summaries or author portraits) in a host of late Classical and early Christian manuscripts, and images themselves come to inspire exegetic descriptions in the medieval Irish and Armenian discourses on the canon tables. The emerging culture of the codex effectively creates through its early development what has been called an 'ecphrastic circle' whereby image is rendered as text and text as image in a continuing intermedial dialogue.[75] The resources created by this process are rich. For example, once author portraits are repeated, a number of different messages may be communicated. The repeated portrait at the heads of the evenly numbered *Eclogues* in the Roman Vergil is a reiteration of authorship that may be a gesture in response to any doubts about authenticity,[76] or an evocation of the supposedly autobiographical nature of these poems from a late antique perspective;[77] the multiple evangelists in a gospel book, looking alike but different, are a powerful claim for four as one and for the unity of the gospel in its diversity; the single Terence at the front of the lost late antique exemplar of the ninth

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72 From the translation in Crawford 2019, appendix 1, p. 295.

73 E.g. Weitzmann 1947; Weitzmann 1959. For critique see e.g. Squire 2009, 122–139 and Squire 2011, 127–139.

74 E.g. Loerke 1961 or Kessler/Weitzmann 1990.

75 For the 'ecphrastic circle' see Squire 2011, 303–370.

76 On the problems of faking Vergil in Antiquity, see Peirano 2012, 74–116, 173–204, 242–253.

77 See Peirano 2012, 17, 61–62, 107–109.

century illustrates Terence manuscripts are a statement of one voice through many plays. The experimentation of layouts—full-page illumination, smaller images aligned against text, marginal images—is itself part of the creativity enabled by the new form. In particular in the extended codex of written texts, even small pictorial insertions to mark breaks between sections—as in the columns between Suras in 'Marcel 13' or the small standing author portraits of the Syriac Bible in Paris (compare Figs 14 and 21)—define these points and these pages as distinctive. In part the flexibility involved derives from the 'ambidextrous' nature of the codex from its inception—laid out right to left for works in Hebrew, Syriac or Arabic, and left to right for works in Greek, Latin, Armenian or Ethiopic, for instance, but reversible when these languages were translated (for instance from Hebrew to Greek or Greek to Syriac). The inclusion of paratexts of all kinds within this paraphernalia was a further prefatory enrichment. By the time this process was mature, probably within the fourth century itself and certainly before the sixth, all the formal elements that have come to characterise the modern book, before the digital age, were already in place.

4 Appendix: Reflections on the Garima Gospels

It is striking how little we know about the Garima Gospels.[78] We have a published report only of the dimensions of Garima I—34 cm by 22 cm;[79] we have no precise measurements of the other two books.[80] No one has tested the parchment to see if it is cow's, goat's or sheep's skin. Carbon-

14 dates were supplied in 2000 for two illuminated pages from Garima III, offering the date range 330–650.[81] This is a conflation of the dates for the two folios—one of them (an evangelist, we are not told which) being 330–540, and the other (the page with the second half of the letter of Eusebius and the first canon table) being 430–650. A second test in 2012 on a different, unspecified, page offered the dates 390–570; at the same time in 2012, a single reading from a page of Garima I gave the dates 530–660.[82] These results (if all are indeed correct) relate to the dating of the vellum; they do not tell us anything about the date of pigment, or of painting, or of writing, or of the production of the book. The current *communis opinio* on dating for the illuminations is converging on the early period (say the sixth or early seventh century) at least for Garima I and III.[83]

But we do not know if they were painted on fresh parchment or on parchment that had been stored, on parchment that had been imported (perhaps along with whatever models the artists used to create the exquisite visual decoration that survives today, or indeed with the front-matter fully painted and ready for writing, as potentially implied by the empty arch folio of Garima I which was prepared for text but never used, Fig. 23)[84] or on vellum that was locally produced, or a mixture of these. The visual parallels of Garima I and III are all with surviving Greek, Georgian and Armenian manuscripts from the ninth century and later (e.g. Fig. 24).[85] This means—if we accept a sixth-seventh century dating for the decoration on relatively fresh parchment—they are the unique earliest surviving exemplars of a style of illumination that must have had some circulation before Byzantine Iconoclasm, of which no other examples have survived, and

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78 First publication: Leroy 1960.

79 On the three different Gospel books included within what are known as the Garima Gospels, I follow McKenzie/Watson 2016, 31–66. See also the review by Bausi 2017. For the size, see Leroy 1960, 132; Leroy 1968, 75; McKenzie/Watson 2016, 43.

80 Discussion is complicated by the fact that the three books were bound into two volumes in a haphazard order, which were incorrectly numbered in 1979 by Macomber 1979, 1–11 in an order that was significantly changed on rebinding in 2006. Digital versions of the Garima I and Garima III (but not Garima II) are available, if one gets an account, through the Hill Monastic Library: http://www.hmml.org/uploads/2/1/6/0/21603598/100190_sju_illuminations_rev5-26.pdf (photographed in 2013, in uncorrected electric light and not entirely restored to the correct order). Direct links are: Garima I, https://www.vhmml.org/readingRoom/view/132896 and Garima III, https://www.vhmml.org/readingRoom/view/132897 (last accessed 13/04/2020). The Hill Monastic Library gives a different measurement from Leroy for Garima I, i.e. 35.3 × 26.4 cm; and it also gives dimensions for Garima III of 33.2 × 25.4 cm. It is not clear how these were established or why the former differs from Leroy.

81 Mercier 2000, 35–45, esp. p. 40; McKenzie/Watson 2016, 40–41.

82 Not scientifically published but reported in the media: See McKenzie/Watson 2016, 40–41.

83 See Heldman 1993, 129–130 ('sixth century date'); Mercier 2000, 45; McKenzie/Watson 2016, 40–41 ('a sixth to seventh century date might in fact be correct'). Earlier views (summarised by Leroy 1960, 132, 143 and Leroy 1968, 78) look towards the ninth to the eleventh century. For a lively account of many issues see Bausi 2011.

84 The arch on the recto of the tholos page is strange—an empty frame designed as if for a canon table but not used as such and indeed not used for anything. Although it resembles the other canon tables of the manuscript in its form and decoration (and especially Canon 7, the last of the tables, which has been reconstructed as its left hand opening, in the decoration of its arch bands, the articulation of columns and capitals and the birds above), the curtains that are drawn open in each of the canon tables of Garima I are absent from this arch, implying that second thoughts may have taken place before the decoration was complete.

85 See McKenzie/Watson 2016, 105–116.

which was then frequently emulated across the east from the ninth century. Or—if we assume the possibility of long storage of parchment—they most likely belong with their post-Iconoclastic parallels. For reasons of expense, scholars are very reluctant to assume long-term storage of large quantities of vellum, but if the pages of Garima II (which is stylistically different and generally dated much later) were carbon-dated and found to be early, then the case for storage would need to be revisited. Note that even if we accept a date of, say, 630 for the making of Garima III (well within the carbon-dated range of the folio with the first canon table) then we would have to accept storage for 90 years and 60 years respectively, beyond their last possible date of production, for the two other pages of that manuscript so far tested. In the face of hard science but the absence of enough of it, conclusions on dating need to remain tentative.

A further issue is the extent to which the parchment may have been reused, its surfaces potentially scraped, as has been suggested for the Rabbula Gospels.[86] This is impossible to determine from the photographs we have —it needs direct autopsy by experts. In the case of the *tholos*, which in the sequence of illuminated pages reconstructed by McKenzie and Watson for Garima I, appears as the last of its miniatures (Fig. 25),[87] it does look as if there were at least second thoughts. One can clearly see, at the background of the roof structure of the *tholos* that the manuscript page was scratched with a number of concentric semicircles to form the upper part of an arch with several bands. These may represent the marking lines that were used to articulate the arch that appears on the recto of this page (Fig. 23);[88] but it is quite possible that this page was itself prepared for an arch and the plan was changed. It is not inconceivable that the smudge above the top of the scratched arch on the right was once a bird of the kind that appears on all the canon tables of Garima I; or is it a stain from when the manuscript was once wet? The writing beneath it and under (?) the bird to the right may likewise be an imprint from something once facing this folio or it may be original to it (see Fig. 26A)... Further, one may wonder about the two baskets or bowls of fruit or purple flowers that appear above the tholos roof to the left and right (Fig. 26A). There are many baskets in the architectural pages of this manuscript (for instance at the

apex of the arch in canon tables 1, 2, 5 and 6 (Fig 26B), and on the left and right at roughly the same position as in the *tholos* image in pages 2 and 3 of the letter of Eusebius, (Fig 26, i.e. Fig 26C). But none have this form, which looks as if it might have been the image of a capital adapted to becoming a fruit basket. Is it the line of what was once a column (overlapped by what is now a rather faded tree) reaching up to what was once the capital on the right, or is this the effect of staining (also visible on the recto of the page) that may have been the result of binding coupled with folds in the vellum? The case for the fruit baskets in fact having once been capitals seems strengthened by what appear to be contour lines of a column not coloured-in, running up towards the basket-capital, on the left-hand side as well as the right (Fig. 25). In any case, even if—in the absence of infrared or x-ray photography—we cannot construct what may have been beneath what we now see, the scoring and the writing are evidence of what may have been two earlier phases if not more.

Further, we may ask why the text of the second page of Eusebius's letter in Garima I is so closely crammed up to the columns on either side (Fig. 27). Was the painting added after the text? And if so, how much later? Likewise, in the canon tables of the same manuscript, the grid pattern was clearly designed before the arch and curtains were painted. On Canon 1, either the curtain was only half drawn or it was swiftly rubbed out (Fig. 28A); in Canon 2 it overlaps the text (Fig. 28B), after Canon 3 an accommodation has been reached with the curtains overlapping the grid but the text being adjusted (Fig. 28C). Again, on a number of pages of Garima III there seem to be ruled or scratched horizontal lines with no relation either to the grid pattern or the decoration or any text: the pages look as if they were prepared for something else beforehand (Fig. 29). Arguably, something similar may be said for the canon tables with canons 6–10 in Garima II, where there seems to be a lot of faded writing in a different colour ink beneath the current black ink (Fig. 30).[89] I am not sure how much further we can get with the current state of this manuscript and the current photographs that we have. Much more, and much more scientific work, would need to be done to ascertain with certainty whether this is in part a palimpsest. But the possibility that the *tholos* is a painting on top of an earlier stage is extremely suggestive for those who might worry that dates for the parchment should not determine dates for the workmanship.

A most important aspect of the Garima manuscripts is the fact that we have three. In no other early case do

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86 Bernabò 2014, 348.

87 McKenzie/Watson 2016, 46–48.

88 Note that the marking lines for the circle on the recto of the last decorated page of the prefatory miniatures of Garima III show through the pigment of the image of St Matthew at the head of his gospel on the verso, see McKenzie/Watson 2016, 52–54.

89 McKenzie/Watson 2016, plates 49–52.

we have so many illuminated manuscripts that are clearly interconnected and yet choose different visual strategies for their presentation. Garima I and II avoid portraiture and Garima III insists on it. On textual grounds it has been argued that neither Garima I nor Garima III were copied from the other, but that are both based on different exemplars probably derived from a common prototype, which is ultimately a translation from Greek made not later than the sixth century.[90] The fine quality of the decorative work in the frames of the portraits in Garima III is sufficiently similar to the ornamentation of the arch bands in the canon tables of the same manuscript, to guarantee that the portraits belong with the rest of its decoration and were not added later. It may be that the inclusion of portraiture has no greater significance than the whim of a patron or a larger amount of money available for Garima III than for Garima I or II. But the presence and absence of images in the Ge'ez manuscripts may be Ethiopian evidence for the argument about aniconism (possibly extending to *iconophobia* and even to destruction) versus forms of image worship in the period before Byzantine Iconoclasm, which began about 730 CE in Constantinople,[91] but clearly had significant influence (at least ideologically and perhaps materially) across the whole of Christendom, including in the Miaphysite context of Armenia. The debates are well attested in the Eastern Mediterranean, in Syria and in Armenia for the sixth and seventh centuries.[92] If the Garima manuscripts were to be ninth century or later, then they may be taking explicit and contradictory positions in relation to the most vibrant debate within the Christian community in the East (a conflict with significant ramifications at the time not only in Constantinople but as far as Damascus and Carolingian Court) or they may reflect manuscript exemplars that did so.[93]

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90 Zuurmond, 2001, 32–33, 36–38.

91 For the outbreak of Iconoclasm and the many problems about it, see Brubaker/Haldon 2011, 79–94.

92 For some general discussion, see Kitzinger 1954; Baynes 1960; Cameron 1979; Barasch 1992; Besançon 2000, 11–146; Bremmer 2008; Elsner 2012 and essays in Campagnolo/Magdalino/Martiniani-Reber/Rey 2015. On Armenia, see der Nersessian 1944–1945; der Nersessian 1946; Alexander 1955; van Esbroeck 2003; Mathews 2008/2009; Rapti 2015. On Hypatius of Ephesus, see e.g. Alexander 1952, 178–181; Grouillard 1961; Lange 1969, 44–60; Thümmel 1992, 103–106 and Gero 1975. On Leontius of Neapolis, see V. Déroche 1986; Lange 1969 621–676; Thümmel 1992, 127–136, 233–236 and V. Déroche 1994.

93 On Byzantine iconoclasm, see Grabar 1957; Barnard 1973; Bryer/Herrin 1977; Brubaker/Haldon 2011. On the East, see Griffith 1997; Louth 2002, 193–222; Auzepy 2007, 209–57; Griffith 2008; and Codoñer 2013. On the West, see Auzepy 2007, 285–316; and Noble 2009.

Fig. 2: The Roman Vergil (BAV, MS Vat. lat. 3867), fol. 6r, late fifth or sixth century, probably made in Italy. Prefatory image to Vergil's Third Eclogue showing Palaemon judging the poetic contest between Menalcas and Damoetas. From Wright 2001, 17.

Figures

Fig. 1: The Augustine Gospels (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Parker Library, MS 286), fol. 125r, sixth century codex, probably made in Italy. Prefatory image before the introduction to Luke's Gospel with 12 labelled scenes illustrating the Passion from the Entry to Jerusalem to the Carrying of the Cross. From Williams 1999, pl. IV.

Fig. 4: The Vatican Terence (BAV, MS Vat. lat. 3868), fol. 2r, ninth century copy (c. 825 AD) of an Italian original of the fifth century. Prefatory image for the whole codex with a portrait of the author in an imago clipeata held by two figures in actors' masks. From Claridge/Herklotz 2012, 36.

Fig. 3: The Syriac Bible in Paris (BnF, MS syr. 341), fol. 8r, sixth or early seventh century, made in Syria. Prefatory image to Exodus showing Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh and his attendants. From Weitzmann 1977, 111.
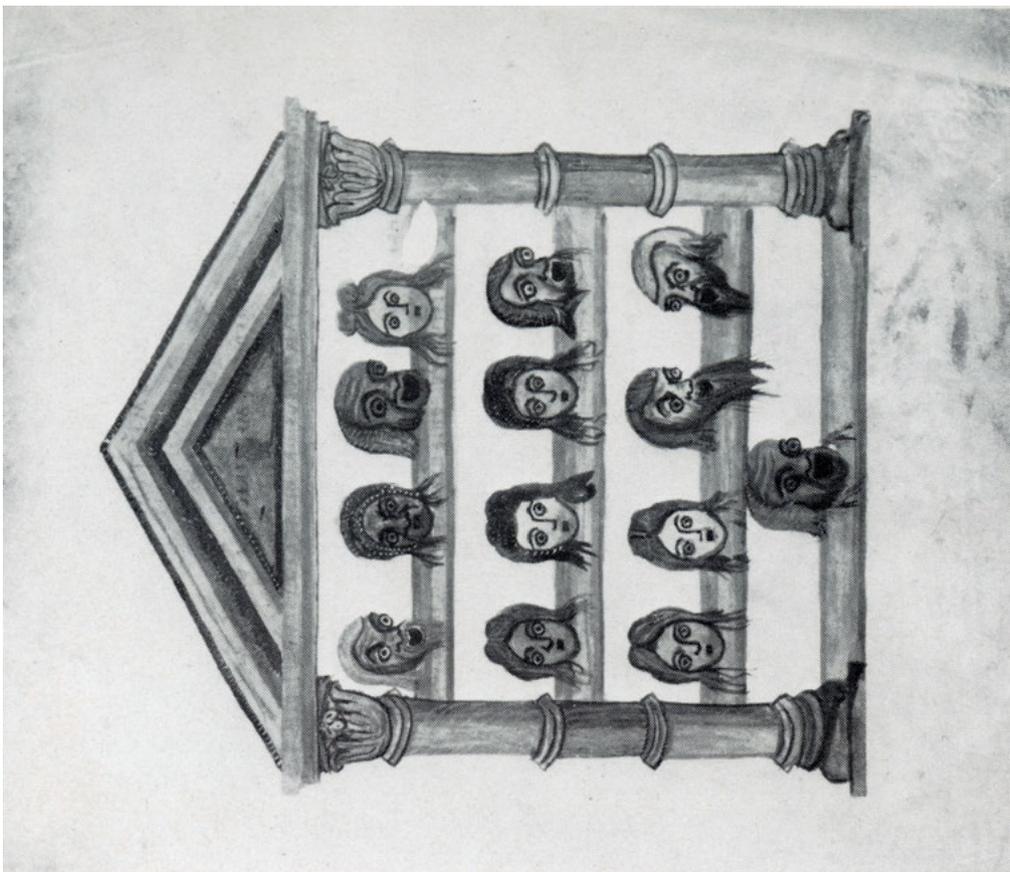
Fig. 5: The Vatican Terence (BAV, MS Vat. lat. 3868), fol. 3r, ninth century copy of an Italian original of the fifth century. Prefatory image for the Andria, the first play in the collection: an aedicule with 13 masks, one for each character in the play (although two of these are unseen in its action). From Weitzmann 1977, 15.

Fig. 6: The Terence Parisinus (BnF, MS lat. 7899), fol. 2 v, ninth century copy of an Italian original of the fifth century. Prefatory image for the Andria with aedicule and masks for the characters. Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF.

Fig. 8: Codex Arcerianus (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 36.23A) fol. 67v, fifth or sixth century, perhaps Italian. Author portrait in an aedicule as the frontispiece to the florilegia of Agennius Urbicus. © Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel.
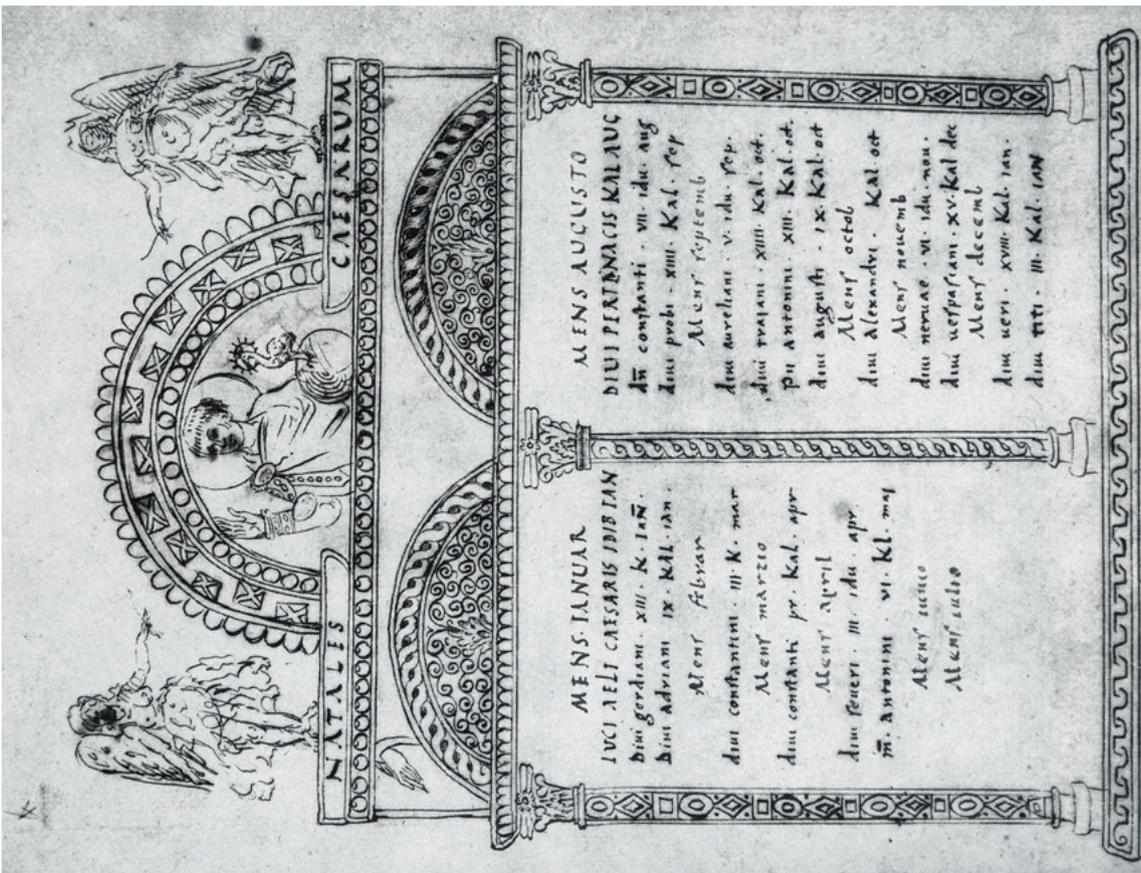
Fig. 7: The Codex Calendar of 354 (BAV, MS Barb. lat. 2154) fol. 7, seventeenth century copy of a ninth century copy of a mid-fourth century original from Rome. The *natales caesarum* page with aedicule. From Salzman 1990, fig. 7.

Fig. 9B: The Rabbula Gospels (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 1.56), fol. 10a, sixth century from Syria. Canon Table 8 with Mark, right, and Luke, left, both holding codices with crosses on their covers, standing in differently articulated aedicules. Source: http://teca. bmlonline.it.

Fig. 9A: The Rabbula Gospels (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 1.56), fol. 9b, sixth century from Syria. Canon Table 7 with marginal portraits of Matthew, right, with open codex and John, left, with scroll seated in arch covered aedicules. Source: http://teca.bml online.it.

Fig. 11: Codex Amiatinus (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiat. 1), fol. 1 v, seventh century, made at Jarrow in England. Prefatory aedicule with arch over single columns containing the dedication. Source: http://teca.bmlonline.it.

Fig. 10: The Ashburnham Pentateuch (Paris, BnF, MS nouv. acq. lat. 2334), fol. 2r, probably sixth century, from Italy. Prefatory aedicule with arch over double columns and drawn back curtains containing a tablet with the titles of the books of the Pentateuch. Source gallica.bnf. fr / BnF.
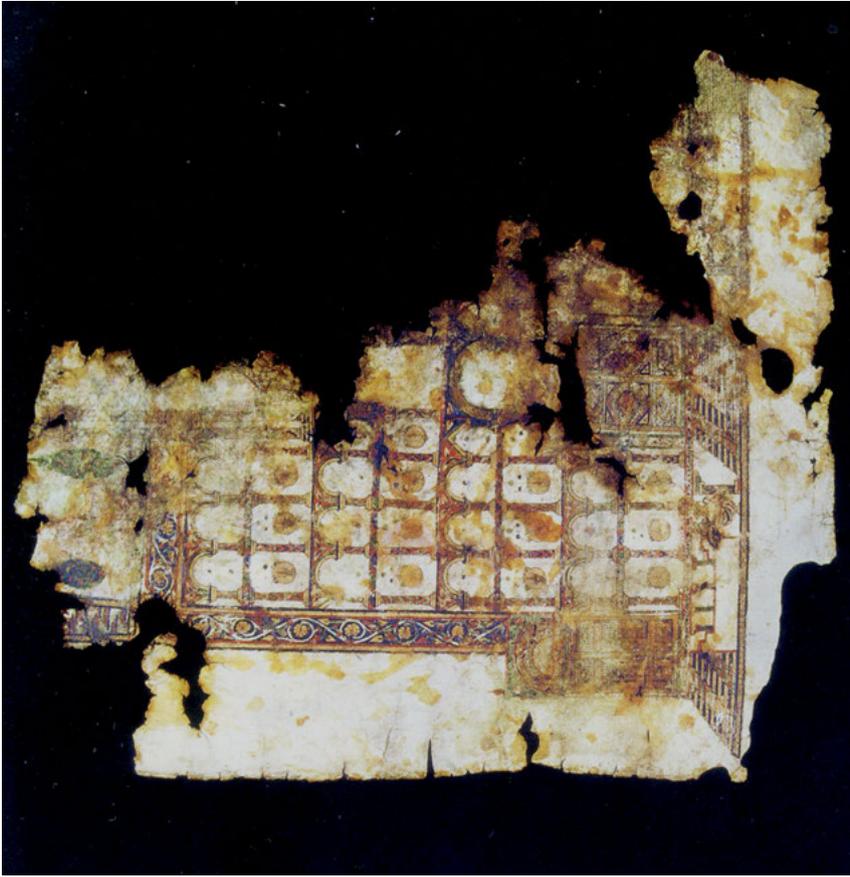
Fig. 13: Umayyad Qurʾān of Ṣanʿāʾ, Yemen, probably early eighth century, perhaps from Syria. The second of three architectural frontispiece images apparently showing a mosque. From Evans/Ratliff 2012, 267.

Fig. 12: BL, Add. MS 14445, *capitula lectionum* sixth or seventh century from Syria. Chapter headings in an architectural frame. From Leroy 1964, pl. 14.2.

Fig. 15: Palatine Agrimensores (BAV, MS Pal. lat. 1564), fol. 1, folio of perhaps the fifth century (painted in Italy?) bound into a manuscript of the 830s from the court scriptorium at Aachen. Title page with author portraits. From Claridge/Herklotz 2012, 41.

Fig. 14: Umayyad Qurʾān from Amr ibn-el-as, Fustāṭ, Cairo, early eighth century, probably from Syria (St Petersburg, National Library, Codex Marcel 13), fol. 3. The transition from Sura 17 to 18 is marked by a gilded green and red striated and spiral column supporting a vase from which emerges a scrolled vine. This is set horizontally across the flow of a text written with affinities to both Hisazi and Kufic script. From Evans/Ratliff 2012, 270.

Fig. 17: Garima Gospels Ms III (AG II–III, fol. 259 v), sixth century or later, probably made in Ethiopia. Standing saint with a codex and blessing gesture from the front matter, before the letter of Eusebius, perhaps a representation of Eusebius. From McKenzie/Watson 2016, plate 2.

Fig. 16: Vienna Dioscorides (Vienna, Austrian National Library, Codex Medicus Graecus 1), fol. 5v, made in Constantinople, about 520 AD. Author portrait from the front matter with Dioscorides writing in a codex to the right, an illustrator painting a mandrake on an easel to the left (reflecting the copious illustration of plants and herbs in the manuscript) and between them the personification of Epinoia, 'the Power of Thought'. From Weitzmann 1977, 64.

Fig. 19: Garima Gospels Ms III (AG II–III, fol. 310 v), sixth century or later, probably made in Ethiopia. Author portrait of St Mark from before his Gospel. From McKenzie/Watson 2016, plate 18.

Fig. 18: Garima Gospels Ms III (AG II–III, fol. 344 v), sixth century or later, probably made in Ethiopia. Author portrait of St Luke from before his Gospel. From McKenzie/Watson 2016, plate 20.

Fig. 21: The Syriac Bible in Paris (BnF, MS syr. 341), fol. 180 v, sixth or early seventh century, made in Syria. Prefatory image to Habbakuk with author portrait in similar posture to the standing evangelists of Garima Gospels MS III and with footstool. Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF.
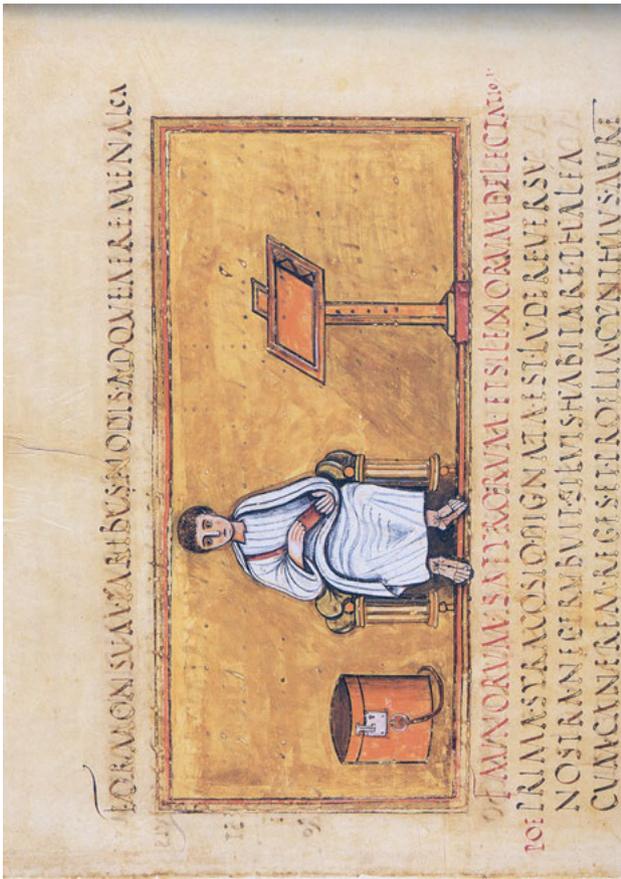
Fig. 20: The Roman Vergil (BAV, MS Vat. lat. 3867), fol. 14 r, late fifth or sixth century, probably made in Italy. Prefatory image to Vergil's Sixth Eclogue with an author portrait of Vergil holding a roll flanked by capsa (a cylindrical container for rolls) and lecturn. Wright 2001, 20.

Fig. 23: Garima Gospels Ms I (AG II–III, fol. 258 r), sixth century or later, probably made in Ethiopia. Empty frame, recto of the Tholos page (Figure 25). From McKenzie/Watson 2016, plate 41.

Fig. 22: Diarbakyr Gospels (Syrian Orthodox Church of Meryem Ana, Hill Museum and Manuscript Library no. diyr 339), fol. 1 r, mid sixth century from Syria. Prefatory miniature of either Christ or St John standing in a blessing posture with codex between two cypress trees in an imago clipeata, with opening of St John's Gospel in Greek. From Bernabò/Kessel 2016, 174.

Fig. 25: Garima Gospels Ms I (AG II–III, fol. 258 v), sixth century or later, probably made in Ethiopia. Tholos miniature (verso of Figure 23). From McKenzie/Watson 2016, plate 42.

Fig. 24: Etchmiadzin Gospels (Yerevan, Matenadaran, MS 2374), fol. 1r, Armenian, text dated by colophon to 989 AD. The first page of Eusebius' Letter. From McKenzie/Watson 2016, 106.

Fig. 27: Garima Gospels Ms I (AG I, fol. 25 r). Letter of Eusebius, p. 2. From McKenzie/Watson 2016, plate 32.

Fig. 26A–C: A: Tholos miniature, detail of baskets with purple flowers from Garima Gospels MS I (AG II–III, fol. 258 v). B: Detail of basket with purple flowers from Canon Table 1, from Garima Gospels MS I (AG I, fol. 11 r). C: Detail of baskets with purple flowers from the Letter of Eusebius p. 3, from Garima Gospels MS I (AG I, fol. 11 v). From McKenzie/Watson 2016, plates 42, 34 and 33.

Fig. 28B: Canon Table 2, from Garima Gospels MS I (AG I, fol. 12 r): The curtain overlaps the gird and the text. From McKenzie/Watson 2016, plate 35.

Fig. 28A: Canon Table 1, from Garima Gospels MS I (AG I, fol. 11 r): The curtain gives way to the gird. From McKenzie/Watson 2016, plate 34.

Fig. 30: Garima Gospels MS II (AG II–III, fol. 130 r) Canon Table with Canons 6 and 7. Faded coloured ink apparently beneath later black ink. From McKenzie/Watson 2016, plate 49.

Fig. 29: Garima Gospels III (AG II–III, fol. 267 r). Detail from Canon Table with Canons 8 and 9: Earlier ruled parallel lines not matching grid pattern or text. From McKenzie/Watson 2016, plate 11.

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Beatrice Kitzinger

Eusebian Reading and Early Medieval Gospel Illumination

Abstract: This paper proposes that patterns of reading fundamental to the Eusebian apparatus also structure aspects of figural illumination in early medieval gospel books. Beginning with in-depth discussion of the St Augustine Gospels (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 286) and extending into several Carolingian and Anglo-Saxon examples, the essay explores the idea that Eusebian principles of textual segmentation, cross-reference, harmony, and diversity define a number of elaborate visual programmes—both within and beyond illuminated canon tables themselves. The resonance between Eusebian attitudes to text and the selected artists' approach to the visual setting of the gospels suggests a complex interplay in the manuscripts' programmes between transmitting the four evangelists' texts and representing the distinct entity of the gospel book itself.

Quite apart from the great exegetes' interest in the four evangelists' individual texts, the identity of the gospels as a plural unity was a subject of vivid importance to writers from Irenaeus to Jerome and Augustine—not to mention Eusebius himself. Patristic scholars repeatedly considered the meaning(s) of diversity and consensus (or consensus in diversity) as they worked to define the scriptural canon. The development of a relatively standardized form for the gospel book evinces no weaker commitment in Late Antique and early medieval communities to arguing for concurrent coherence and individuality in the texts of the four evangelists. This argument proceeded by material and visual- as well as by verbal means. As is by now well established, the selection and subsequent exegesis of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John's accounts *as* the Four Gospels is not to be taken for granted in the story of the early Church; nor is the gospels' ultimate identity as a written text.[1] The very practice of copying the four gospels as a materially integral textual set constitutes a statement on the nature of the gospels in and of itself. The material definition of the gospel genre consists in crafting connective visual tissue for the four gospels that ranges from formulaic *Incipit* statements to a full set of author portraits to additional imagery. It also consists in furnishing connective verbal tissue such as a full set of prologues or Jerome's syncretic preface texts. The physical statement of diverse unity and development of a relatively standard set of accompanying texts to constitute a gospel book should be taken for granted no less than the establishment of the scriptural canon.

By the early Middle Ages, the Eusebian apparatus was indispensable to the gospel genre: it appears in manuscripts of widely varying provenance, on every grade of production. Significantly, the apparatus became an essential component of gospel manuscripts' architecture, regardless of whether the tables as copied in any given instance are in fact useable as Eusebius designed.[2] The fact of including the apparatus in the first place marks a separate function from its actual utility as a concordance. As traditions of exegesis on the tables themselves also attest, the canons play a critical representational role wherever they appear.[3] The Eusebian apparatus embod-

1 On the subject of the gospels' written form, see Larsen 2018. For recent addresses to the subject of gospel canon, see Watson and Parkhouse 2018.
2 See e.g. Netzer 1994b; on the consequent representational function of the apparatus: Reudenbach 2019.
3 On the exegesis of the canons, see esp. Mullins 2001; and O'Loughlin 2017.

ies several arguments about the nature of the gospels.[4] In turn, the canon tables' swift and lasting integration into the material tradition suggests an ongoing affirmation of the power in the tables' arguments to shape the representational qualities of gospel books.

In this paper I synthesize some working observations concerning how a conception of the gospels in the Eusebian tradition was elaborated and enforced by the visual design of illuminated gospel manuscripts in the Latin west. I cannot tell a stepwise narrative of development here, but I begin with a close look at what, by virtue of survival, must count as the beginning of this story—a book whose text, codicology, and visual programme all richly show the conceptual work needed to forge a book form that at once presents and represents the gospels. I then proceed to a more glancing treatment of a network of examples from various cultural contexts in the Carolingian and Anglo-Saxon spheres. These later cases suggest that characterization of the gospels in the Eusebian tradition remained a steady spine in the evolving imagination of the gospel book as a visual genre, even while bookmen and -women exercised creative muscle that varied expression of its themes.

My core premise is as follows. Eusebius pioneered and embodied in his canon tables a method of approach to the four gospels *as texts.* His approach constitutes a mode of reading the gospels that became essential to a mode of representation for the gospel book. There exists a set of visual-material approaches to the gospels shaped by what we might call Eusebian habits—these include segmentation, cross-reference, the crucial idea of unity in diversity, and a basic premise that the gospels exist in a series of balances. They equivocate between four and one, text and story, eyewitness account and scholarly recension. All this harmonizing plays out within a heightened consciousness of the codex medium, and how that medium can best represent the complex entity of the gospels.

The 'habits' listed above define the canon tables themselves; they also demonstrably undergird the global design of many illuminated gospel books. As they unfold in figural illumination, these principles for approaching the gospels may or may not be traceable to a particular interest in the canon tables per se in any specific case. Rather than arguing for the canon tables as a direct model for gospel book designers, I describe instances that betray a deeper intellectual reciprocity. In the following examples, elements of the design suggest that the kind of thinking about the four gospels embodied by the Eusebian canon tables was also important in the choices made by

artists when crafting visual programmes for particular gospel books. The canon tables, often characterized as an entranceway, state a theme of unity in diversity and a set of principles for thinking about the relationships between gospel narrative and the text of gospel books. In the cases I will describe, figural illumination elsewhere in gospel manuscripts sustains both this theme and these principles. In short: by the seventh century at least, ideas continuous with the Eusebian principles for reading the gospels enumerated above—segmentation, cross-reference, unity in diversity—became guiding principles for representing the Latin gospels such that the texts could be read in various ways, or such that they could stand as representative of their genre in liturgical or teaching situations. It follows that the central preoccupation of Latin gospel illumination in the early Middle Ages—which one might assume to be primarily the life of Christ, or his person—is the definition of the gospel book itself. This definition turns on the tenet that the gospel book—like the gospels—is a plural unity. Unlike the gospels themselves, however, the gospel book is as decisively defined by its apparatus as by its scriptural content.[5]

1 The Augustine Gospels and the Eusebian habit

The fragmentary sixth-century manuscript in Cambridge known as the St Augustine Gospels was made by people working hard to define what a Latin gospel book would be.[6] The text combines Old Latin and Vulgate readings, along with pericope markings and abundant corrections, and the manuscript is the earliest known surviving Latin

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4 On the argumentative nature of the tables, see i.a., O'Loughlin 2010; Pulliam 2017.

5 I have been thinking through aspects of this theme in several recent studies based in different traditions of illumination. I will keep brief here the points that appear elsewhere in earlier versions; pending publication of a longer work in progress, I invite the reader to treat the present essay and the following studies as a set: Kitzinger 2017, Kitzinger 2018, and Kitzinger 2020. See also Jaś Elsner's contribution to this volume for the integration of prefatory matter into the gospel genre, and interplay between the structures of prefatory images and texts.

6 The Augustine Gospels is Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 286. CCC 286 has been fully digitized and is available through Parker on the Web: https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/mk707wk3350 (last accessed 13/04/2020). In characterizing the Augustine Gospels as a 'working' book it is worth noting that the parchment throughout is not of high quality, varied in thickness and containing numerous holes, fills, stitches and thin membranes (including, strikingly, in the Arrest vignette on fol. 125r). The text is heavily corrected, and the original setting contains several spatial miscalculations (e.g. fol. 58v).

gospel book to include an extensive figural programme.[7] The intersection of that figural programme with the codicology of the manuscript suggests how much the role of illumination in a gospel book was still a work-in-progress when the manuscript was made: no quire structure containing illumination works in exactly the same way.[8] Broadly speaking, the codicology at once indicates how integral the illuminated pages were to the conception of the complete manuscript, and how fluid the solutions were for fitting the paintings into their quires.

As is readily apparent, the Augustine Gospels is an essential witness to developing thought on how to present the gospels in codex form in the Latin west. The manuscript is likewise one of the most important witnesses to Late Antique ideas about how to think about the gospels as text. Its images are precious and informative, but the Augustine Gospels survives incomplete. Most glaringly in the context of this volume, the manuscript lacks the beginning to Matthew and the general prefatory material, including the Eusebian canon tables that likely stood as the first sustained visual element in the book. Despite the missing tables, I argue that the Eusebian revolution can still be felt in the extant components of the Augustine Gospels' figural programme. Perhaps paradoxically, the lack of canon tables in the manuscript permits recognition of how strongly the book's visual structure nevertheless accords with many of their principles.

The Augustine Gospels contains two painted pages (Figs 1 and 2). Both set the manuscript in conversation with figural forms developed for other media and other scales (a point developed further below).[9] Both also operate according to paradigms fundamental to the Eusebian apparatus. For my argument here, the second image (fol. 129v) is the best place to begin (Fig. 2). This image depicts an enthroned Luke holding an open book, ensconced under an arch where his bull symbol appears in the tympanum. The symbol's Sedulian verse adorns the architrave, and a small tree sprouts on either side of the tympanum. Below, Luke is flanked by two vertical rows of small vignettes, grouped in six discrete pairs subdivided in each box by a wavy line. The two sets are each framed by marbled columns. Care was taken both to align the image with the standard text rulings, and to provide additional light rulings to proportion the components correctly.[10]

This brief sketch already implies that the spirit of the composition is intimately related to the way the architectural frames of early canon tables introduce to the space of the gospel book forms also proper to monumental compositions.[11] A brief glance between the Lucan image and a roughly contemporary example like the Abba Garima Gospels I. reveals how close many formal qualities in the Augustine Gospels' evangelist portrait come to those of an arched canon frame.[12] The correspondence runs deeper, however, into the conceptual structures of the composition—not only in the Lucan image, but also in the repeated approach to the evangelists across the volume. Offsets from pages now missing confirm that Matthew, Mark, and John all originally had portrait frontispieces of the same type as Luke's (see Appendix).[13]

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7 For a summary of figural illumination in the Late Antique biblical corpus: Lowden 1999, at 41–45 for CCC 286. Christopher De Hamel affiliates the Augustine Gospels with Gregory the Great's own Roman scriptorium on the basis of the text and observes that the inclusion of pictures is itself in line with Gregory's defense of images to Serenus of Marseilles (De Hamel 2017, 33–39). On the 'Roman' argument for including images and stressing Gregory's interpretation of specific gospel readings see also Henderson 1999, at 72; and Lewine 1974.

8 See Appendix for a chart and description of the varying structures in the quires of CCC 286 containing illumination. I have included these to supplement the numerical collations published in De Hamel 2017, 38 and Wormald 1954, 17 (noting broken conjunctions): it seems helpful to visualize how contents meet codicology in this case.

9 Convenient printed color reproductions of the two surviving illuminated pages appear, respectively, in: Binski and Panayotova 2005, cat. no. 1; and Breay and Story 2018, cat. no. 8. On the inter-media references, see notes 29 and 37.

10 'Extra' rulings were executed, e.g. for the interior edge of the columns. The tympanum was compass-drawn.

11 The perspectival recession of the evangelist's niche enhances the composition's frequent comparison to sculpture; see note 29. On the architectural qualities of canon tables themselves, see esp. Reudenbach 2009; and Diego 2016 (as cited in Acknowledgments note). The (literal) codification of author portraits as components of authoritative gospel manuscripts is a subject that bears much further consideration in light of Matthew Larsen's recent work on the largely oral perception of the gospel tradition well before the earliest illuminated witnesses to it: Larsen 2018.

12 Good comparisons closer in cultural context appear in two fragmentary sixth-century Roman survivals: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 3806; and British Library, Additional MS 5463 (both digitized: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3806 and http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_5463_fs001r (last accessed 13/04/2020). The visual correspondence is especially close in the marbled pattern of the canon columns in these cases, which echo the Lucan columns and Passion frame in CCC 286. As Francis Wormald observed, framing arches and even evangelist symbols are portable among major junctures in gospel manuscripts: the precise type of Luke's symbol in the Augustine Gospels reappears in the tympanum above the beginning of the Lucan text in the early ninth-century Canterbury 'Royal Bible' (British Library, Royal MS 1 E VI, fol. 43r; see Wormald 1954, 8–9). Susanne Wittekind's essay in this volume similarly treats the fluid application of canon tables' signature forms across genres.

13 De Hamel 2017, 39; Budny 1997, 16 (noting offset to Mark on fol. 75r) and 50; Wormald 1954, 3–4. While Luke's portrait faces the beginning of the gospel text, as Matthew's and Mark's apparently did

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Fig. 1: Passion vignettes, Italy, sixth century. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 286, fol. 125r. Photo: The Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

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Fig. 2: Evangelist Luke. Corpus Christi College, MS 286, fol. 129v. Photo: The Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Tab. 1: Identification of the Lucan scenes, according to the gospel quotes chosen by the Anglo-Saxon captionist.

1-left	**1-right**
a. Zacharias and the Angel (Luke 1:12)	a. Christ and a Lawyer (Luke 10:25)
b. Christ among the Doctors and found by Mary (Luke 2:48)	b. Christ Hailed by a Woman (Luke 11:27)
2-left	**2-right**
a. Christ teaching from a Boat (Luke 5:3)	a. 'Foxes have Holes' (Luke 9:58)
b. Peter at Christ's feet (Luke 5:8)	b. Parable of the Fig Tree (Luke 13:7)
3-left	**3-right**
a. Raising the Son of the Widow of Nain (Luke 7:12)	a. Miracle of the Dropsical Man (Luke 14:2)
b. Calling of Levi (Luke 5:27)	b. Christ and Zacchaeus (Luke 19:2–4)

If the arched frame supports the crux of visual affinity between the Lucan portrait and a canon table, the intercolumnar vignettes carry the weight of conceptual continuity. The glosses added by an Anglo-Saxon captionist in the late seventh or early eighth century, which bear important witness to a reading of the image in conjunction with the gospel text, amplify the correspondence.[14] Primarily gathering episodes drawn exclusively from the Lucan text, the series of scenes approximates a visual version of the Lucan portion of Canon X.[15] Indeed, if one goes by the captionist's marginal *tituli* that fix an identity for the less definitive iconographies, only two of the twelve scenes have an exact parallel in other gospels: the Calling of Levi and the 'Foxes Have Holes' parable.[16] The structure of the scenes runs as outlined in Table 1 (above), grouped according to the 'harder' division of six compartments and

identified according to the line of scripture cited in the Anglo-Saxon caption.

It is clear that the Lucan selections distinguish the evangelist's account relative to the other three, in the same spirit as Canon X. The comparison to the Eusebian apparatus can be pushed somewhat further, though, as the composition of the vignettes in two parallel columns also invites the kind of comparison among them that is facilitated by the concordance tables across accounts. The patristic investigation I have completed by the time of writing does not suggest that these parallels correspond to specific exegetical traditions on Luke's gospel.[17] It is possible nevertheless to suggest some ready categories by which the image's disposition of episodes, as read *c*.700, could create a web of reference internal to Luke. The first horizontal pair of vignettes (1a-left and 1a-right) calls on the theme of prefiguration: the coming of John the Forerunner is coupled with the lawyer Jesus advises to read the Law to know the essential precepts for eternal life. The next pair down (1b-left and 1b-right) features Christ's mother: Mary seeks her son in the Temple, and the woman who

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as well, the traces of John's portrait face the evangelist's prologue.

14 In the following I work primarily with the captionist's interpretation of the scenes as evidence of an early medieval reading of the composition, but it must always be acknowledged that the captions might differ from the original intent of the design. On this point see esp. Lewine 1974.

15 In the Carolingian tradition of canon illumination that sets the evangelist symbols cavorting above the tables in canon-appropriate formation (e.g. the Soissons Gospels, Paris, BnF, MS lat. 8850; or British Library, Harley MS 2788), Luke's symbol appears alone (when possible) in the tympanum above Canon X.

16 All but three of the scriptural sections depicted in the vignettes, as identified by the captionist, are indeed classed by Eusebius in Canon X. The exceptions have parallels only in the Synoptic Gospels. Luke 5:27, the Calling of Levi, appears in Canon II (cf. Mark 2:14 and Matt. 9:9, where Levi and Matthew are conflated, cf. Matt. 10:3). Luke 10:25, the Lawyer's scene according to the Anglo-Saxon title, appears in Canon II (cf. Matt. 19:16–20 and Mark 10:17–20). Only Luke, however, specifically calls the man reminded to heed the Commandments a 'lawyer'. Luke 9:58, 'Foxes Have Holes,' appears in Canon V (cf. Matt. 8:20). However, if Carol Lewine is correct that the Anglo-Saxon captionist misread the Miracle of the Bent Woman (Luke 13:10–17)—championed partly by virtue of the fact that this episode appears only in Luke—then all but at least two of the sections originally belonged to Canon X. As Lewine points out, the Calling of Levi composition might have purely Lucan alternatives as well (Lewine 1974).

17 Ambrose of Milan, for example, devotes at least passing attention to nearly all the selected episodes (even if not at the precise juncture flagged by the Anglo-Saxon commentator), as does Bede, but neither cross-references them among one another. The breadth of cross-referencing quotation across the gospels in works like Ambrose's *Expositio Evangelii Secundum Lucam*, however, reminds one of how much information we have lost in not being able to coordinate the Lucan selections with those of the missing portrait pages for Matthew, Mark, and John. A liturgical rather than an exegetical route seems more promising for pursuing the inter-columnar parallels; see Lewine 1974 for such an approach to the scenes' selection. All the pictured episodes have currency as pericopes: see Beissel 1907. However, Lucan passages marked out for reading in CCC 286 itself do not correspond to the pictured episodes (e.g. Luke 4, which is very heavily marked in the Augustine Gospels, fols 139r–140v, and does not figure in the vignettes at all; similarly Luke 19:46, fol. 189r). Thus, if the selection of scenes did correspond to local liturgical tradition, the connection was not overtly visually reinforced and we should consider how the painting operates as an independent system.

hails him in Luke 11:27 blesses the womb that bore him. The entire row 2 speaks to a ministry theme: 2a and b-left represent two moments in the same longer scene of teaching, which ends with Jesus identifying Peter as the 'fisher of men'. 2a and b-right represent two parables, the raw stuff of Jesus' instruction, particularly in Luke.[18] In the bottom set of boxes, 3a-left and 3a-right pair two types of miracle—a resurrection and a healing—while 3b-left and 3b-right depict the conversion of tax collectors (*publicani*) who both become important witnesses to the gospel events.

Suggesting such correspondence depends on the Anglo-Saxon's added marginal quotations that fix the identity of certain ambiguous compositions and definitively root all the scenes in Luke. Arguably, the commentator recognized the Eusebian-style possibilities in the composition and thought that the vignettes *should* facilitate comparison. Perhaps s/he made selective decisions in order to ensure the desired comparisons, such as choosing the identities of the Lawyer and the Woman for the two generalized scenes of encounter in box 1-right.[19] The seventh–eighth-century reader may at least be said to have read the pairs of scenes him- or herself according to a logic that invites grouping and cross-reference, and labeled the segments accordingly.

Debate exists around certain identifications of the scenes because the sixth-century illuminator left a certain amount of ambiguity in the design from the beginning. If s/he was indeed working for a logic of correspondence across the two columns of images, it is concurrently worth noting that the reading of the Anglo-Saxon commentator (and possibly that of the initial artist) involved a malleability of the grid system. In order to achieve the desired set, in two instances the commentator broke the linear progression of Lucan chapters. To assign fixed Lucan quotations to the ambiguous scenes 3b-left ('Calling of Levi') and 2a-right ('Foxes have Holes'), the Anglo-Saxon returned to Chapter 5 after Chapter 7 (3a-left) and to Chapter 9 after

Chapter 11 (1b-right). The remaining ten scenes run in strict chronological progression, preserving the flow of the Lucan text just as the canon tables do.[20] The commentator's negotiation of chronology—and perhaps even the painter's employment of flexible iconography—relates to the processes of assessment and revision of the sections and their correspondence that Jeremiah Coogan explores in medieval modifications of the Eusebian tables themselves. Whether in number or in image, Eusebian thinking invites rumination on how the identified or depicted story intersects with gospel text. The painter left room to consider possible options; the captionist chose a reading from among them.

Creative chronological progression is also the hallmark of the image on fol. 125r (Fig. 1), a 3 × 4 grid with marbled frame that itemizes the Passion from the Entry to Jerusalem through the Carrying of the Cross. Painted on an unruled but integral leaf, the Passion is visually isolated in the manuscript between the end of Mark and the prologue to Luke, with a blank page to either side.[21] Like the Lucan portrait, the Passion narrative did not originally operate alone in the programme as a whole: traces of another narrative grid appear on fol. 265v.[22] The final image apparently would have faced the end of John's gospel. No evidence of another such narrative grid appears in Mark

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18 Lewine proposed that the logic of all four central scenes was conceived as 'Roman, petrine, and papal' (1974), 504. On the importance of Lucan parables in the Insular world, see Tilghman 2011, 302.

19 On the interpretive selection of comparisons involved in the Eusebian tradition, see Crawford 2015; and the contribution by Jeremiah Coogan to this volume. Budny suggests Minster-in-Thanet (Kent) as the earliest provenance for the manuscript, which affects the possible gender of the commentator. Budny also usefully observes that the titles might 'record a living oral tradition in England about the subjects and the cycle which derived from the Italian source for the book' (Budny 1997, 5–6). Henderson gave considerable weight to the intentional practice of captioning in the Insular world. He noted both the captionist's careful writing and his/her freedom with language in the Passion glossing, and posited that the Lucan identifications were driven by topical concerns (Henderson 1993–94).

20 On the 'itineraries' of Eusebius's system, see Coogan 2017. It is possible that the sixth-century painter made at least one of the chronological shuffles already. The single sheet British Library, Additional MS 37472 belongs to a group of now-scattered twelfth-century leaves painted for the Canterbury Eadwine Psalter (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.17.1). The whole group is profoundly in debt to Late Antique compositions of the precise type as the Augustine Gospels' Passion sequence. The verso side of the London leaf depicts the Foxes parable in a split field. The upper half shows an explicit representation of the parable's subject (foxes in holes) while the lower half shows Christ, a group of disciples, and a questioning man in a configuration related to that of CCC 286. On the twelfth-century group, see Wormald 1954, 12–13; and Budny 1997, 10. Wormald quotes James 1936–37, when positing that the Anglo-Saxon commentator had a complete, alternate version of the same Late Antique cycle to rely on, and that the twelfth-century painter had a similar version on hand to copy. Occam's razor might suggest that the tradition of visually clarifying the subject of the scene at Canterbury could equally well depend on the annotation of the Augustine Gospels itself. Henderson proposed that the 'Calling of Levi' scene might originally have been intended as one among several possible episodes in Luke 9:57–62, an identification that would have kept the slot 3b-left strictly chronological in the sixth century (Henderson 1993–94). Lewine's alternate identification of the 'Foxes' scene as Luke 13:10–17 does not solve the jagged order on the right.

21 In being integral to a regular gathering of eight, the Passion image is an outlier; see Appendix. The other surviving sites of illumination coincide with irregular quiring.

22 Budny 1997, 50.

(although codicologically its inclusion is not impossible); all the relevant quires before Matthew are lost. One can only speculate as to the contents, narrative divisions, and placement of the lost material, but it seems reasonable to posit a full Christological cycle—likely beginning with the Infancy and ending with the Ascension (or even conceivably with Pentecost, as in the Rabbula Gospels).[23]

The conception of the Passion sequence is clearly related to that of the Lucan vignettes in its atomizing selection: episodes from the narrative were chosen, visually composed, and juxtaposed to fill the grid. However, the two pages represent an essential difference: fol. 129v is *in quo Lucas proprie*; fol. 125r is *in quo quattuor*, drawing across all four accounts (and without limitation to episodes recounted by each one of the evangelists, as in Canon I).[24] If the Lucan vignettes offer a representative slice of the gospel as a unique text, the Passion showcases the story that binds the four gospels together. Put differently, if the Lucan image is thoroughly Eusebian in its approach to the gospel, the Passion image evinces an approach to the gospels more like Tatian or Sedulius's, deriving a single story from the four discrete texts.

That said, the Passion image is not devoid of Eusebian-style thinking. Similar to the Anglo-Saxon captions to Luke, several sequencing surprises in the Passion have led scholars to pursue the reasoning that resulted in the appearance of Lazarus in the second row, and the chron-

ologically scrambled place of the Washing of the Feet.[25] Regarding the latter, Mildred Budny remarked that the order of the scenes 'does not necessarily entail reading [... only...] in horizontal rows from top to bottom'. She observed that the configuration of episodes permits two different ways of reading, which correspond to a distinction in gospel texts. Moving from the Last Supper directly to the Agony in the Garden along the horizontal reflects the order of the Synoptic Gospels; moving from the Last Supper to the Washing along the vertical mimics the Gospel of John.[26] By the same token, I would add that the Lazarus scene offers an alternate beginning to the image sequence if one looks to John: moving from Lazarus to the Entry into Jerusalem mirrors the progression from John 11 to John 12 (and appropriately anticipates Christ's own resurrection in the lead-in to the Passion). Following this rationale, the design of the Passion appears driven not only by a harmonizing story; it also includes a consciousness of diverse texts. The design preserves distinction within the gospel versions that together bear witness to sacred history. In this, again, the Passion design might be said to blend the counterpoint of canon tables with the synthesis of a *Diatessaron*.[27] More thoroughly Eusebian in flavor is the notion that one might schematize the gospel story in a way that permits reading in multiple directions, or starting at various junctures.

It is impossible to know whether the Augustine Gospels originally began with a set of canon tables, and what form they took. The planned presence of a set does seem likely: the marginal sections are absent in parts of the manuscript, but generally speaking the bookmakers wove the Eusebian system through the text. Canon tables could have set the stage for dialogue with the later images in the Augustine Gospels in a variety of possible ways. Their simple presence would have proposed an approach to the gospels based on dynamics of selection and definition of the four accounts. Canon tables, of course, accomplish this wherever they appear. In the Augustine Gospels, the evangelist portraits—which all seem to have

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23 Wormald remarked that the choice of scenes before Luke 'seems to imply the necessity of at least two other similar pages, one coming earlier in the MS. and illustrating the birth and early life of Christ, the other coming later and completing the cycle of the Passion' (Wormald 1954, 11–12). Henderson agreed, referring to the Passion grid in the Eusebian language of 'concordance' and comparing the layout to the Quedlinburg Itala (Henderson 1999, 68–69). The imaginable permutations of contents and placement yield rather different roles for pictorial narrative in the manuscript as a whole. We face several equally interesting scenarios for the distribution. Since John's narrative was placed as a finispiece (which may be related to the inclusion of both Johannine prologues), grids before Matthew and after John may have functioned rather like interior covers. Although Budny terms it a 'tailpiece' to Mark, the Passion is well timed before Luke to reinforce the sacrifice-centered exegesis on his symbol, embodied here by the Sedulian verse. In this respect the image is aptly called a 'frontispiece' and, given the importance of the Passion as a unifying theme in the gospels, may have stood alone in this position without a balancing image before Mark. That said, it is by no means impossible that at least three full-page narrative images are missing. A fully balanced cycle may have given Ministry scenes to Mark, if Matthew had the Infancy. What is presently known of the codicology neither precludes nor mandates the presence of a narrative grid before Mark, especially if some painting was executed on missing singletons. In terms of global concept, I do think an original full narrative set likely and argue for it here.
24 Budny catalogues the scriptural references: Budny 1997, 16–36.

25 Wormald obliquely considered a liturgical logic for Lazarus, and explained the Washing of the Feet by way of a model composition that combined the Last Supper and the Washing in two tiers, evinced later in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 293, fol. 11r: Wormald 1954, 12. If a double vertical field for the Last Supper / Washing was a high design priority, that would have left the position occupied by Lazarus as a blank space needing logical occupation by an episode preceding the Entry but still related to the Passion.
26 Budny 1997, 5.
27 Crawford 2015 stresses the importance of Eusebius's maintaining the individuality of all four accounts, and his innovative solution to the Ammonian problem of making one dominant account the basis of the cross-reference.

been designed on the same basic model—would have reiterated the principle in the body of the manuscript with particular force. Moreover, the tables' visual design might well have included forms that spoke directly to those of the Lucan architecture and/or the frame for the Passion. In a precise formal reciprocity remarked to me by Benjamin Diego, if partially or wholly gridded in their organization—a variant evident in the fourth–seventh-century papyrus fragment at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the sixth–seventh-century 'Golden Canon Tables' in London, the canons of the Abba Garima III. Gospels, and surviving later in the Book of Kells—the canon tables would have literally anticipated the form that currently stages the single story tying the evangelists' accounts together across the manuscript (cf. Elsner, Fig. 29).[28] Indeed, in his contribution to the present volume Jaś Elsner advances a broader comparison of the Passion grid form to Late Antique chapter summaries (such as the Vatican Virgil's).

In a related confluence of forms, the marbled framing of the narrative grid becomes notable both for its reference to monumental media, and for its connection to the Lucan portrait. This detail immediately echoes the visual language of the setting for Luke, which reflects that of both architectural canon tables and architectural sculpture itself.[29] It seems that the artist sought a fusion between principles of reading and of monumental representation, defining the book simultaneously as material text and as a venue for images bound both to the gospel stories and to a wider world of Christian art.

In this light, the evocative particulars of the Lucan frontispieces that imply a Eusebian habit of mind become the tip of a proverbial iceberg of integrated design. Most importantly, the Eusebian assertion of diverse unity corresponds not only to the granular composition of the Passion grid, which incorporates all four gospel texts, but also to the physical distribution of a single visual narrative across at least two junctures in the manuscript. The entire programme was built to represent the same essen-tial principle that animates the canons, characterizing the gospel book as four distinct accounts stemming from one source. The *in proprie* compositions, likely originally provided for Matthew, Mark, and John and surviving in Luke, would have worked together with the extended grid narrative to assert the particularity of each gospel within their collective witness to a single essential story.

It is important conceptually as well as visually that the evangelists cannot stand alone. The idea of individual authorship is preserved—even decidedly emphasized—in the portraits and their frames, but in the illumination programme at large it is fundamentally intertwined with the notion of the four gospels as one textual, material entity that testifies to the major events of Jesus' life. The narrative cycle possibly began with the extant Passion, but I would propose that the absence of infancy scenes described only in Luke—particularly the Annunciation to Mary—among the Lucan vignettes selected for fol. 129v virtually guarantees that a missing grid narrative proximate to Matthew or Mark began with the Infancy, aligning the chronological structure of the Christological narrative with the codicological structure of the manuscript.

On this premise, the episodes represented as the work of one particular evangelist (as surviving at Luke) are represented both as crippled without the narrative that pulls across all four (whether originally fully depicted or not), and as continuous with that greater story. The relationship between the Lucan portrait scenes and the Passion grid is a case in point: the last scene in the Lucan frame, Zacchaeus up his sycamore tree, immediately precedes the Entry to Jerusalem (Luke 19:28–44), which leads the Passion sequence on fol. 125r. Indeed, the tree-climber was so closely identified with the Entry that early iconography made Zacchaeus a component of that scene.[30] Even the design of the surviving Passion grid suggests interdependence between this image and other elements of the gospel book. Ending at the Carrying of the Cross, the sequence begs completion by the Crucifixion at least. How this completion was accomplished remains unknown, but at least four possibilities present themselves. Three scenarios involve a larger network of images: an independent, full-page image of the Crucifixion; the narrative after John commencing with the Crucifixion; or a Cross or Crucifixion on the original cover of the book, binding the

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28 The Coptic example at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York), Inv.No. X.455 is digitized, as is British Library, Additional MS 5111/1, the 'Golden Canon Tables' (see note 62): https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/474440 (last accessed 13/04/2020).

29 I thank Elsner for reminding me that the format of the Augustine Luke, with its vignettes flanking a monumental central figure, exists in dialogue specifically with Mithraic altars; see Wormald 1954, 7, quoting Fritz Saxl in turn. Hans Holländer noted the same parallel and additionally invoked triumphal arches in his characterization of the image: Holländer 1969, 24. Henderson added the intercolumnar reliefs pictured on tombs such as that of the Haterii in the Vatican (second century), and compared the dynamic of large portrait and small scenes to that of monumental mosaics such as those of the fifth-century Aquilino Chapel at San Lorenzo, Milan: Henderson 1999, 69.

30 The tree-climber at the Entry, known from fourth-century sarcophagi on, is not always specifically identified as Zacchaeus. I thank Meseret Oldjira for notice that Zacchaeus is not only a frequent and named denizen of Ethiopian Entries to Jerusalem, but one fifteenth-century instance includes a man explicitly labeled Levi in the same image: New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M.828 (the Gospels of Zir Ganela), fol. 12r. On Zacchaeus in CCC 286 see Lewine 1974.

whole gospel together in the unifying event.[31] The fourth option emphasizes a deep interdependence of text and image—that is, no pictured Crucifixion at all.

In other words, the probable global design of the visual programme ensured that the manuscript represented the gospels not only as discrete tellings, but also as a set of texts whose whole is distinct from the sum of its parts, ripe for reading and interpretation. As if to tip a hat to this approach, the words written in the book held on Luke's knee are not his own. *Fuit homo missus a Deo cui nomen erat Iohannes* might commence like the 'second' beginning to Luke, *Fuit in diebus Herodis* (Luke 1:5), but in fact quotes John 1:6.[32] The cross-reference strengthens the invocation of John the Baptist in the Annunciation to Zachariah, while reminding the reader that Luke's treatment of the Forerunner is just one among four. All this is to say that, in creating a visual structure for their gospel book—originally at a time when gospel illumination in any form was by no means a given—the bookmakers and annotators of the Augustine Gospels maintained consistent focus on how illumination could contribute to characterizing the gospels as written, materialized scripture—above and beyond an individual manuscript's role as an agent of textual transmission.

2 Genre definition and the function of illumination

John Lowden began his touchstone survey of scenic imagery in Christian biblical manuscripts up to the early seventh century with the elegant point that the words 'book' and 'books' are, respectively, the first and the last of the gospels.[33] Having canvassed the evidence in the Greek, Syriac, and Latin traditions, maintaining an emphasis on the singularity of each manuscript, Lowden ended the essay with a hypothesis about the early purpose of 'biblical illumination' that is worth quoting in full:

> I propose that the illustrated biblical manuscript was a response to a Christian demand for and love of sacred images that had been developing with increasing momentum through the fourth and fifth centuries. I think public art, in the form of the large and conspicuous cycles of biblical images that began to appear in churches around 400, must have changed attitudes. And I believe biblical manuscript illumination was a fifth- and sixth-century response to those changes.[34]

Lowden's observations inform a trenchant way of thinking about the function of illumination in a programme like the Augustine Gospels', particularly when his opening and closing remarks are taken together. As I have written elsewhere, I advocate that one useful way to define the purpose of manuscript painting—especially in the early medieval period, when so many genres are in development—is as a definition and presentation of the book-type at hand.[35] As Lowden noted, the gospels have their identity as books inscribed as the alpha and omega of their texts. It is the function of all the textual-numerical apparatus scaffolding those texts in their material form—canon tables, marginal sections, prologues, liturgical reading lists, explanatory prefaces—to help define the gospels *as* books, composed and used within the Church. Illumination—figural or not—serves the same end.

Lowden's closing insight concerns how figural painting in late antique manuscripts works relative to the larger environment of Christian cult. He proposes that we weigh whether biblical illumination should be understood as a symptom of Christianity's transition, by the early seventh century, from 'a religion of the book' to 'a religion of the image'.[36] Lowden points to a key interlock between the worlds of the monumental and the bookish in defining Christian spaces and objects. In this vein, the visual cues

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31 A full-page Crucifixion image might have been a singleton, or conceivably intended for the verso of fol. 125, which is blank and not ruled for any additional content (unlike fol. 129v, which was both pricked and lightly ruled for two-column text). If a singleton, the possibilities for its placement multiply. Later examples such as the Franco-Saxon Gospels of François II (Paris, BnF, MS lat. 257) or Angers, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 24 evince a tradition of crucifixions placed in an isolated position before Matthew. See Kitzinger 2019, 160–175. A generous spacing of blank pages precisely comparable to that around the Passion cannot have been built around any of the known missing images (see Appendix). I thank Charles Barber for emphasizing the possibility of a cover cross in completing the programme.

32 Budny argues that the inscription is original, partly on the basis of matching inks within the image: Budny 1997, 4. Henderson 1993–94, 247, observes a contrast in planning between this inscription and the vignette captions. It is worth noting that modifications to the illuminated pages are in evidence: e.g. the brown ink trees added in the Betrayal, or the black touch-ups to the columns flanking Luke. The same ink used for writing in Luke's codex was used to define the book's left-hand verticals and tassles, after the first brown ink went down. While it remains difficult to date these phases, we can say at least that the Johannine text belongs to a second round of thinking about how to define the evangelist's image.

33 Lowden 1999, 9.
34 Lowden 1999, 57–58.
35 See note 5, esp. Kitzinger 2018.
36 Lowden 1999, 58.

allying the Augustine Gospels images with architectural sculpture and large-scale painting should be given special weight. They suggest that the book's designers imagined the illuminated gospel manuscript as a portable genre in dialogue with public space.[37] This premise, in turn, suggests that a manuscript like the Augustine Gospels demonstrates how the vectors of 'book' and 'image' are difficult fully to separate in the sphere of Late Antique Christian manuscript painting.[38]

The Augustine Gospels turns this symbiosis between book and image toward a visual definition of the manuscript that is rooted simultaneously in its textual identity and its identity as Christian art. Critically, the textual identity of the gospel book includes the apparatus: a full gospel book testifies as much to scholarly traditions of writing, translation, and reading as it does to the life of Christ. The apparatus directly embodies Church traditions of reading and interpretation. The text of scripture at once presents the biblical past in its contents, and ecclesiastical works of editing and translation in its form. The form and content of the images contain a related duality. An image like the Augustine Gospels Passion is powerful in its co-option of an idiom still (apparently) primarily monumental in the sixth century: continuous visual narrative in a setting that evokes the physical and architectural. But this narrative is shaped by its context no less than a monumental programme would be.[39] Its context—the form of the image and its place within the full visual-physical makeup of the Augustine Gospels—makes the life of Christ testify to the medium of its transmission as much as the individual pictured events. That medium is the gospels in their collated book form, four-in-one according to the Eusebian vision.

When considered in concert with its associates in Lowden's compendium—both other manuscripts and monumental programmes—another self-reflexive aspect of the Augustine Gospels' definition through visual programme becomes striking. That is the lack of reference to texts other than those of the gospels or their own apparatus. On balance, most of the other (earlier, Greek or Syriac) survivors in Lowden's corpus include cross-scriptural reference as part of their 'illustration' of the gospels, whether through the accompanying citation of text from the Hebrew scriptures, held up by figures of the prophets; or through the depiction of other characters, such as Moses and Aaron, alongside New Testament vignettes.[40] Relative to the Eusebian-style web of internal reference represented by the Augustine Gospels, the presence of the Hebrew scripture in these cases attests to another mode of reading altogether: the typological. Even in its relatively small size (245 × 180 mm, supporting the book's famous portability), the Augustine Gospels was designed on a different model: to champion a self-contained representation of the gospels. The manuscript's contents, its makeup, and its mode of presentation all reinforce a conception of the gospel book as an independent entity. That entity is defined according to highly structured systems of reading and understanding.

In sum, as consonant with specifically Eusebian principles as the visual programme of the Augustine Gospels might be, the greater point is that the people who designed that programme shared the Eusebian project in a different sense. They found an innovative answer to an imperative to represent the gospels to a reader-viewer. That answer contains ideas familiar to those interested in Eusebius: principally, the simultaneous unity and diversity of the four gospels; and an approach to gospel content that oscillates between attention to text and attention to narrative, between a valuation of parts and integration of a whole. The Augustine Gospels designers expanded their representation beyond textual inclusion and organization to include the way illumination sits in the body of the manuscript. That is, they approached representation not only

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37 See note 29. With reference to the Passion grid, De Hamel invokes a type of free-standing, subdivided panel painting that no longer survives from the period (De Hamel 2017, 41–42). Henderson and Claus Michael Kauffmann both reference the panel paintings depicting the life of Christ brought by Benedict Biscop from Rome to England in the seventh century for installation on the walls at Wearmouth-Jarrow: Henderson 1999, 73; Kauffmann 2003, 4 n. 16. On the paintings as discrete panels, see Meyvaert 1979. Meyvaert defers the possibility of a ceiling placement for the panels, but in light of the scheme surviving from the twelfth century at Zillis it seems worth not banishing entirely from consideration. Henderson 1999, 68 also invokes *opus sectile*.
38 The nigh-obsessive focus on books in books in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages speaks to this point as well. On the representation of books within books, see the collected studies in Denoël, Poilpré and Shimahara 2018; esp. Denoël 2018.
39 Cf. Tronzo 2001; Lavin 1990. See Poilpré 2013 for attention to the Passion sequence as evocative of historic place and commemorative itinerary.

40 The Rossano Gospels (Rossano, Museo dell'Archivescovado) and the Sinope Gospels (Paris, BnF, MS suppl. gr. 1286) take the first route; the Rabbula Gospels (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 1.56) takes the second. In evoking the way Christological narrative was handled in Late Antique monumental compositions—as far as we know—I am thinking especially of the surviving example of Santa Maria Maggiore and the lost cases of Old St Peter's and San Paolo fuori le Mura. Benedict Biscop's Roman panels also included a typological set. Denoël suggests that the shifting forms of the written word in the Carolingian 'Beast Canon Tables', along with the root of the symbols' own forms in Ezekiel, constitute a play on the relationship between the Old Testament and the New in this context as well: Denoël 2018, 493–496.
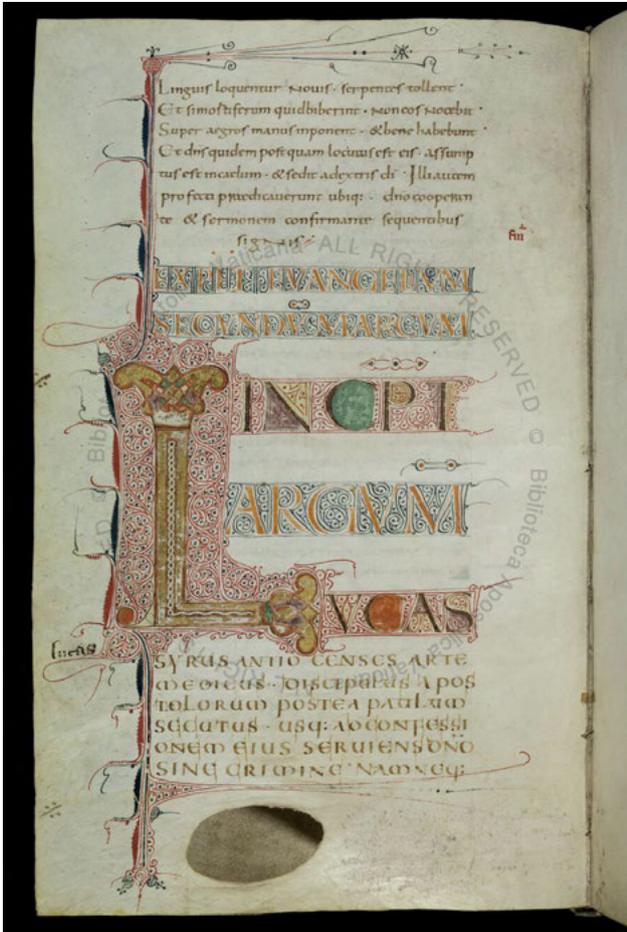
Fig. 3: Initial L (Lucan prologue), Saint-Bertin, ninth century. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. lat. 47, fol. 81v. Photo: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
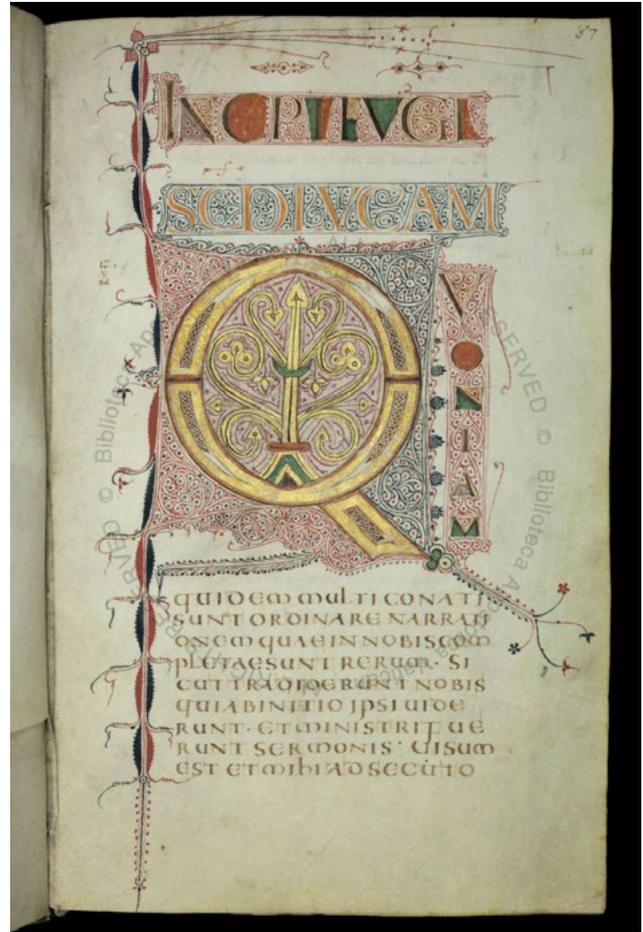
Fig. 4: Initial Q (Gospel of Luke). Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. lat. 47, fol. 87r. Photo: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

as a matter of picture (author portraits and scenic illustrations) but also as a matter of comprehensive composition, crafting a structure for the gospel manuscript that mirrors a way of understanding its genre.

In the specifics of how it combines its formal terms and its genre, the Augustine Gospels is a unicum among surviving early gospel books. In the spirit of that combination, though, it becomes part of a long story if we look to later traditions. I would like to complete this essay with two short sections that indicate how ideas established in the generation of the Augustine Gospels were still active in later traditions of gospel illumination. The first section calls for attention to the way the broader gospel apparatus was integrated into early medieval gospel book programmes, and how this affects the visual definition of the genre. The second section turns the tables to focus on the Eusebian canons themselves, and how their illumination could be made emblematic of the same project to represent the gospels visually-materially.

3 Integrating apparatus

Portraits of the writing evangelists far outnumber the *Maiestas*, the Crucifixion, or other Christological images in surviving early medieval gospel programmes. It is a point perhaps so obvious as often to be overlooked that these portraits have two possible textual analogues in the contents of a full gospel book. One analogue is the authorial voice ascribed to the gospels themselves, most concretely evident at the beginning of Luke. It is in this spirit that Luke's image in the Augustine Gospels is regularly compared to Classical author portraits.[41] The other textual analogue to the portraits appears in the prologues. The short texts introduce the evangelists as authors who wrote in particular places, for particular people.[42] In various

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41 E.g. Henderson 1999, 70; Holländer 1969, 35; Wormald 1954, 7.
42 Joshua O'Driscoll attends to the spectacular visual expression of this tradition in the Sainte-Aure Gospels: O'Driscoll 2019.
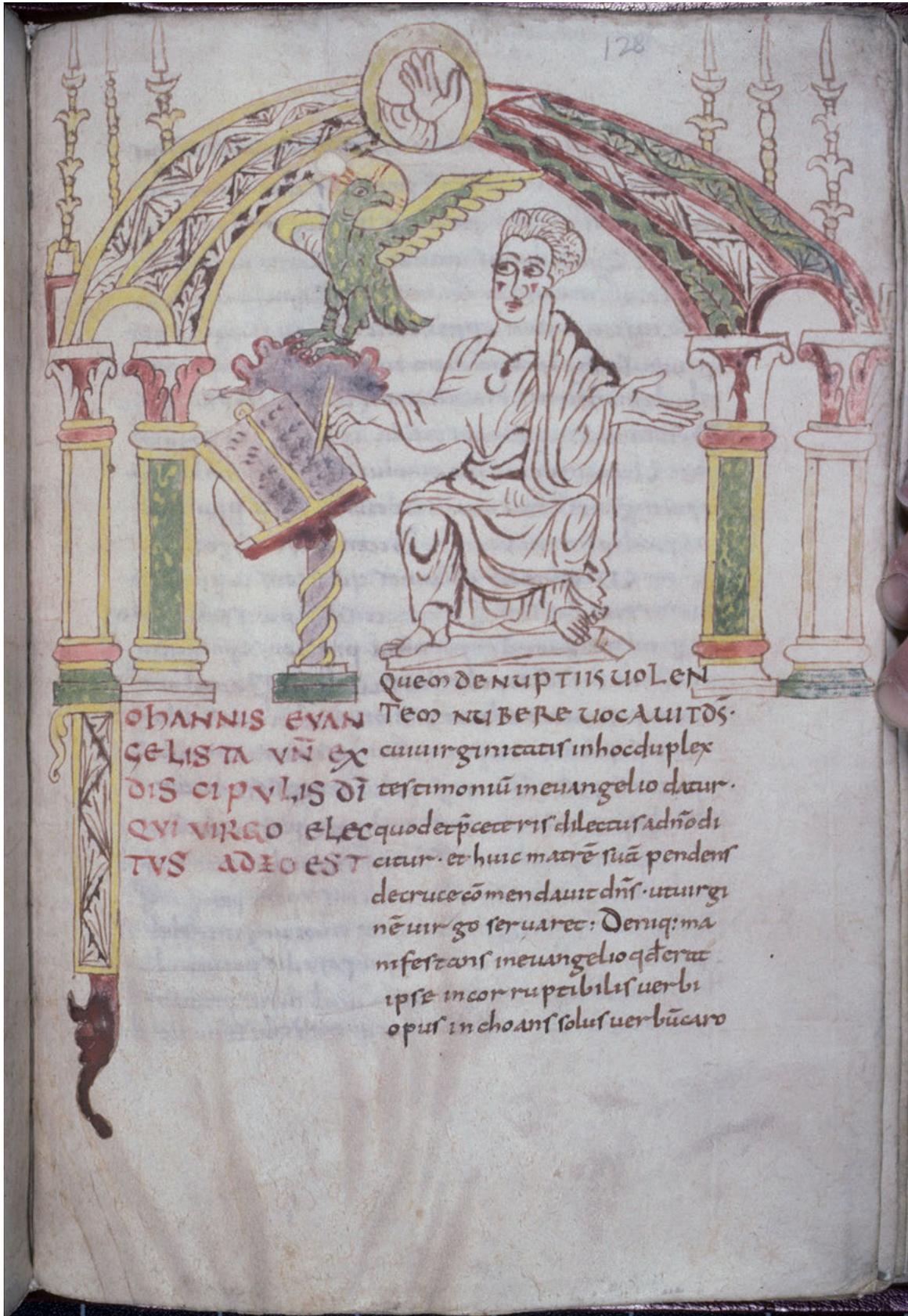
Fig. 5: Evangelist John, Loire Valley/Brittany, late 9th century. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 45-1980, fol. 128r. Photo: James Marrow, by kind permission.

Fig. 6: Evangelist John, Brittany, late ninth/early tenth century. Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 8, fol. 95v. Photo: author, by permission of the Bibliothèque des Annonciades, Boulogne-sur-Mer.

instances, by various means, the prologues became a focus for illumination equal to, or sometimes greater than, the beginnings of the gospels themselves.

A case such as the Saint-Bertin gospel book held in the Vatican as MS Pal. lat. 47 includes no figural illumination but supports the case for the visual importance of the prologues. The initials for the prologue texts hardly pale in comparison to the major initials of the gospel beginnings, whether in size or elaboration (even disregarding the Gothic penwork additions to the pages) (Figs 3 and 4).[43] To be sure, the prologue initials signal major divisions of the manuscript and as such their prominence is nothing more than practical. However, in the absence of evangelist images, the attention drawn to the prologues underscores

the ways in which these texts serve a parallel function to portraits, making the author human and present.[44]

Other dynamics emerge when author portraits are included, whether through placement or image composition. In the Augustine Gospels itself (barring rearrangement at a stage early enough to leave the offsets), John's portrait alone appeared not facing the first page of his gospels but in pendant to his prologue—also the only one of the surviving three to receive a separate incipit statement (fol. 205r). It might have been an accident of planning or a considered decision, but the result amplifies the role of the prologue, heralding the importance of the gospel authors alongside the weight of their texts. Precisely the same coupling of John's portrait with his prologue (in a manuscript that includes both versions of John's prologue, no less) occurs in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 45-1980, a Breton or Loire gospel book of the late ninth or early tenth century (Fig. 5). Here, the artist's inclusion

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43 Mütherich et al. 2009, 314–318. The difference in size between the prologue and gospel initials is 6mm (85mm at fol. 81v and 91mm at fol. 87r). The manuscript is fully digitized: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Pal.lat.47 (last accessed 13/04/2020).

44 On the relationship of evangelist portraits to the act of reading, see Willson 2020.

of the candles also seems to refer to John's status as the author of *Revelation,* indicating the place of the gospels in a textual world that extends beyond the book's borders.[45] At the turn to the tenth century, the Breton artist of Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 8 adopted a related attitude. This artist coupled Matthew, Mark, and John's figures closely to the text of their prologues with clear intentionality, creating a balanced equation and flow between the evangelist figures and the words of their introductions (Luke's portrait is rendered separately in this manuscript, framed in a figure-eight mandorla and facing his prologue across the opening) (Fig. 6).[46] At the opposite end of the production scale, grounding the 'Court School' tradition, the artists of the Lorsch Gospels both oriented the evangelist portraits to the prologues and devoted great extra imaginative energy to the prologue of Matthew, depicting his gallery of Christ's ancestors above the text in a composition unprecedented *c.*800.[47] Similarly, Robert Walker argued that the scenic vignettes complementing the author portraits and contextualizing the beginning of Mark, Luke, and John's texts in the contemporary Soissons Gospels are best understood as episodes spotlighted in the prologues, not as selections with a particular Carolingian logic drawn directly from the gospel texts *per se*.[48] All these examples showcase the prologues as concentrated sites for illumination. Almost regardless of pictorial subject, the choice of the prologues as a prime location for painting communicates their centrality to the project of an elaborate gospel book's programme.

In ninth-century Tours, not only the prologues themselves but even their incipit statements—the apparatus to the apparatus—were occasionally afforded imaginative attention (Fig. 7). I have previously discussed cases that adopt the visual language of a *Maiestas* for the prologue and/or gospel incipits, so will only invoke them here.[49] Easily the most complex of the illuminated Touronian incipits is that for Matthew's gospel text in the Prüm

Gospels (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Theol. lat. fol. 733), which draws on different iconography (Fig. 8). Here, the lines of display capitals are interspersed with delicate scenes in silhouette. Above unfolds a sequence beginning with Joseph and Mary's arrival in Bethlehem, proceeding to the Nativity, and ending the line with the Annunciation to the Shepherds. The Presentation in the Temple appears below. The precise details of this composition are a subject for another discussion; the key point in this context concerns the combination of the narrative's subject and its position in the manuscript.

Like many Carolingian gospel books, the portrait of Matthew in the Prüm Gospels quotes the Sedulian verse on the evangelist that justifies his symbol. Since Matthew's gospel begins with the genealogy of Christ, his symbol is the man or angel, and his account was often associated particularly with the Incarnation.[50] Accordingly, to depict an infancy sequence as the preface to Matthew seems only an appropriate match of subject and context. To stage a narrative sequence at Matthew, moreover, seems also an appropriate match of context and pictorial mode: the Incarnation, after all, is the essential predicate for the story of Jesus, and thus well represented by a vivid narrative image. From a textual point of view, however, the sequence is a mismatch—just as an Infancy sequence early in the Augustine Gospels would have been. The selected episodes do not occur in Matthew's text; in fact, they all appear only in Luke. In this, the Prüm Gospels exemplifies an even more extreme act of cross-gospel synthesis than does the Augustine Gospels' Passion image. The importation of Lucan material to the beginning of Matthew thoroughly divorces text from story in order to do work of representation—both for Matthew in his leading position, and for the gospel book as a whole. Painting serves not the illustration of a text but a characterization of the book at hand.

Flexibility in pairing text and image encapsulates the premise that the gospels and the gospel book (illuminated or not) are distinct entities. The illuminated gospel book, in particular, elaborates on its status as a material vehicle for the gospels that includes apparatus—in which category I would count complex decoration itself. As posited for the Augustine Gospels, gospel apparatus proposes a way of reading. That way of reading might be cross-referential and driven by text, like the canon tables; it might be contextualized in light of authorship, like the prologues; it might be communicative of an interpretive standpoint on the textual collection, like Jerome's *Plures fuisse.*

Speaking of which, a discussion of apparatus visually prominent in gospel programmes would, of course, not

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45 Wormald 1977. A tantalizing echo of another compositional idea in the Augustine Gospels survives in Fitzwilliam 45–1980: this is the only known Frankish gospel book to thread a continuous visual Passion narrative through the four accounts. The form of this narrative (textually integrated single scenes) is distinctly different from that of the Augustine Gospels, but the idea to use the body of the gospel book to tell one story is familiar. I am preparing a separate study of this manuscript; at present, also for fuller discussion of Boulogne 8, see Kitzinger 2018.

46 Further on this case, see Kitzinger 2013, 36–38.

47 Alba Iulia, Biblioteca Batthyáneum, p. 27.

48 Paris, BnF, MS lat. 8850; see Walker 1948 and now Dombrowski 2019 on Jerome's preface. The manuscript is fully digitized: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8452550p (last accessed 13/04/2020).

49 Kitzinger 2017.

50 See, e.g. O'Reilly 1998.

Fig. 7: Prologue to Mark, Tours, 844–51. Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 63, fol. 83r. Photo: Bibliothèque Suzanne Martinet, Laon.
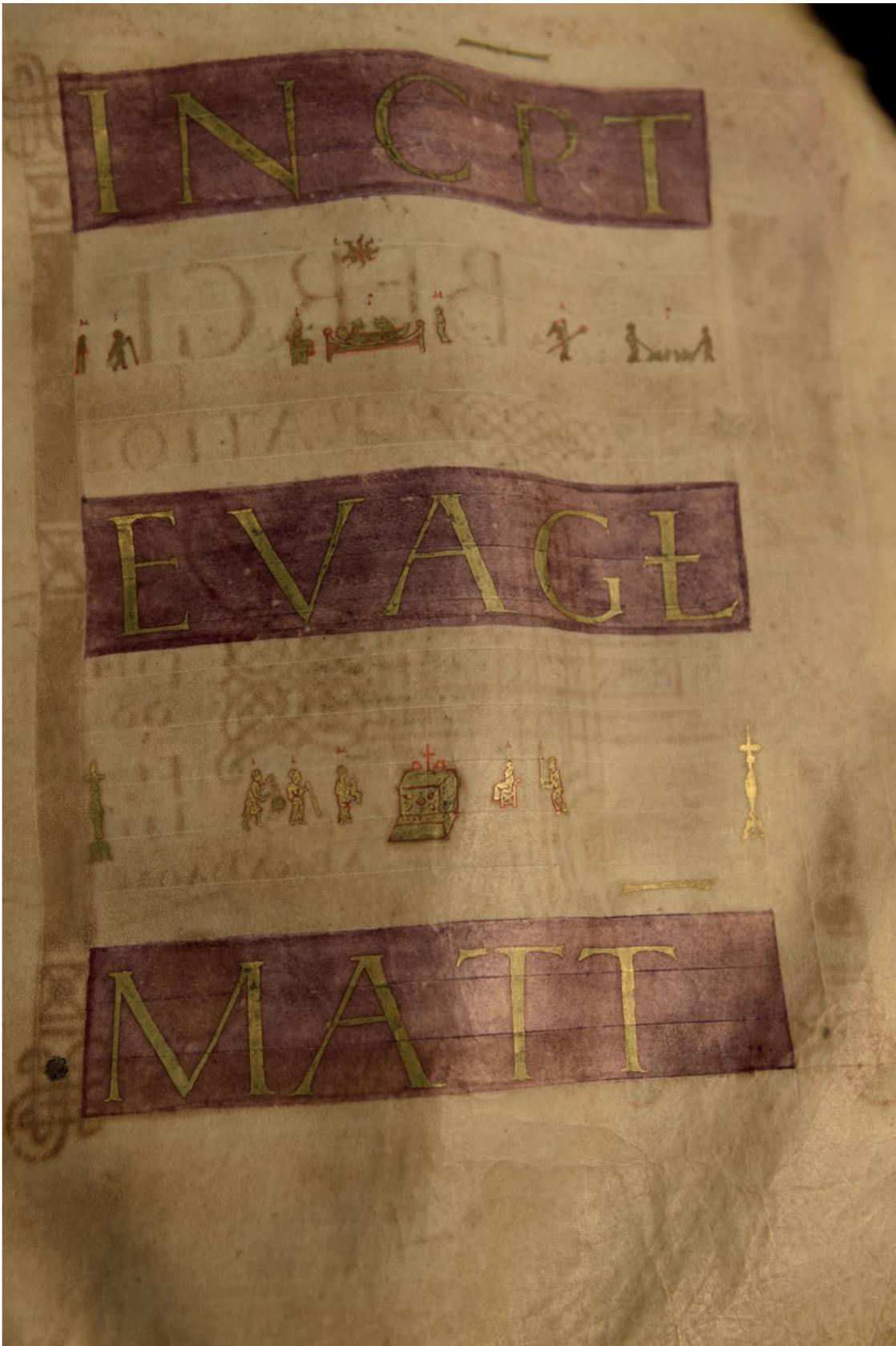
Fig. 8: Incipit to Matthew, Tours, 844–51. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS Theol. lat. fol. 733, fol. 23r. Photo: author, by kind permission of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

be complete without mentioning the *Maiestas domini* and the evangelist symbols themselves. The *Maiestas* is a theologically sophisticated image type that well reflects the blend of human and divine in Christ's person, which one could easily describe as the unifying theme represented in all four gospels. As such, it might seem that the inclusion of a *Maiestas* in a gospel programme has more to do with exegesis than with text itself, more to do with theology than with reading. However, the *Maiestas* is not an image without textual ties, especially in a gospel context. The text most often implicated in the image type's development as part of illuminated book vocabulary is the *Plures fuisse*—which also replicates patristic exegesis on the identification of the four symbols throughout the corpus of medieval gospel manuscripts.[51] That same text is associated with one of the most surprising, imaginative compositions in the Carolingian gospel repertoire: the edifice with the adoration of the Lamb and the symbols of the four evangelists that faces Jerome's preface across the first opening in the Soissons Gospels (fols 1v–2r). All this is to underscore that the patristic apparatus surrounding the gospel texts played as defining a role visually as it does textually when early medieval bookmakers sought to couch scripture in the form of a gospel manuscript. The prominence of the apparatus defines the gospel book as a genre representative not of unmediated scripture, but of the evangelists' accounts conceived as texts within ecclesiastic traditions of scholarly practice.[52]

4 Figuration and the Canon Tables

The gospel apparatus is so much the focus of the Soissons Gospels' visual programme that the canon tables themselves are introduced by their own frontispiece: the prominent Fountain of Life that visually states the principle of the gospels' simultaneous distinction and common source (fol. 6v).[53] The makers of this manuscript (along with other splendid witnesses like the Carolingian Harley Golden Gospels and the Insular Book of Kells) then followed through in spectacular fashion on the idea of representing the Eusebian premise of diverse unity throughout the tables. They implemented the so-called Beast Canon Tables, depicting the evangelist symbols cavorting in the proper configuration for each given canon.[54] As the symbols jointly handle the scrolls that announce the canon numbers, the playful verve of these compositions keeps the idea of inspired authorship at the visual fore along with the idea of commonality across texts.

The opening comprising Canons V–VIII (fols 10v–11r) in Soissons marks a break in the established pattern of the tympana, and it deserves some attention here (Fig. 9). Canon V occupies the verso side, comparing Matthew and Luke. In the tympanum above, instead of the two symbols alone, a standing Christ appears in a starry blue roundel supported by two winged figures, who combine features of standard-issue angels with those of the canon-appropriate evangelists. Canons VI–VIII occupy the recto side, comparing, respectively, Matthew and Mark, Matthew and John, Luke and Mark. The tympanum reprises the Fountain of Life, with all four symbols gathered around it.

Paul Underwood proposed a nuanced reading of these compositions, which are startling both in the established corpus of canon decoration and in the established logic of Soissons' own set. Underwood based his interpretation first on the immediate juxtaposition of images and canon sections, and second on the pair of pages that build the whole opening.[55] He argued that the way to understand the appearance of Christ and the Fountain in this opening was to seek 'the contiguous textual material to which these illustrations of the Canon Tables refer'. Underwood took that textual material to be the top line of Eusebian sections in the tables below. With this logic, Underwood identified the first parallel sections below the Fountain of Life to refer to Baptism (Matt. 3:4–6 and Mark 1:4–7); and those below Christ to refer to Christ Immanuel. He then posited the importance of recognizing a causal connection between the two apposite images: 'an analogy is set up between the significance of the coming of Immanuel and the significance of the baptismal font'.[56]

In his essay as a whole, Underwood was concerned to excavate the centrality of baptism to the idea of gospel

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51 On the *Plures fuisse* and the evangelist symbols, see Denoël 2018, 493–494. Recently on the textual associations of the *Maiestas*: Darby 2017.

52 Ritual practice, of course, is an important component of representation in many gospel books; the inclusion of reading lists at the back of a gospel manuscript often balances that of the canon tables to the front. Functional or not, the *Capitulare evangeliorum* represents the gospels' imbrication in liturgy—just as the canons represent traditions of exegesis and reading. On liturgical representation in the gospel tradition, see, e.g. Farr 1997.

53 Underwood 1950. Variations on an inscription that states the single common source of the four streams appear frequently in the Touronian tradition.

54 Netzer 1994a.

55 Underwood 1950, 69–70.

56 Underwood connects Matthew, Section III also to the Fountain of Life image in the Godescalc Lectionary, by way of that image's inscription (Paris, BnF, MS nouv. acq. lat. 1203, fol. 3v). He further parallels his argument about an equation between the Virgin Birth and Baptism's rebirth in Godescalc's manuscript to the subjects of the Soissons canon opening.

harmony, and his explanation of fols 10v–11r is part of that venture. In our context, the more pressing aspect of his reading is the recognition that the canon tables themselves become the subject of major illumination in the Soissons Gospels, and that their representation plays out on a structural level. Identifying the canons as a subject occurs first in the tables' Fountain frontispiece, but Underwood's reading of fols 10v–11r rests on the subtler premise that the Soissons artists took the sections themselves *and their apposition* as the subject of a visual gloss. In other words, the painters recognized that the way the codex form presents facing tables is ideal for constructing a theologically rich figural equation. In this, the canons become part and parcel of the same discussion begun above concerning the prologues and preface texts. The weight of illumination falls not on the text of the gospels themselves, but on the elements that frame them as part of a gospel book.

As such, the subject of gospel illumination in the Soissons Gospels becomes as much how we read the gospels *in manuscript form* as it is the historical or theological contents of the texts. I will return momentarily to the theme of juxtaposition, but first would like to observe that one need not even focus on Underwood's iconographies of baptism and Incarnation to argue for meaning in the pattern-breaking opening of the Soissons canons. Underwood's idea that the Soissons artists attended to the textual contents corresponding to the topmost sections and translated their focus into an exegetical image has a more pedestrian counterpart: the simple point that the combination of Canons VI–VIII, all concentrated on fol. 11r, represents the last moment in the canon tables when all four evangelists are accounted for (Fig. 9, right). As such, reprising the 'harmony' image in a more explicit form than the initial full-page Fountain would seem justified even within the visual logic of the 'Beast Canon Tables' alone, pressing home the point about unity before the full divergence begins.

That Canons VI–VIII all occur on the same page is itself not inevitable, but evinces considerations of space and distribution.[57] The painter was attentive in other respects to the possibilities opened by the decidedly cramped disposition of the short Canons VII and VIII, which ensures the presence of all the evangelists on the same page and

renders it ripe for reiterating the theme of gospel harmony. On fol. 11r, the painter introduced additional delicate roundels with the evangelist symbols, carefully labeled, on top of the third and fourth painted column shafts from the left.[58] On the one hand, these reiterations of the symbols serve a clear function: the upper two confirm the evangelists compared in Canon VII (Matthew and John); the lower two confirm those compared in Canon VIII (Luke and Mark). On the other hand, I hold it significant that these little symbols display their own rationale relative to the configurations that define most of the tympanum images. Overleaf on fol. 11v, for instance, Canon IX compares Luke and John in the first two columns, while Canon X presents Matthew alone in the second two columns (Fig. 10). In the tympanum, Luke and John relate strictly to one another on the left side. Matthew faces away from them on the right to clarify that Canon X proceeds below him. In other words, the lateral composition of the symbols is keyed precisely to the legibility of the page as a whole, with the evangelists' bodies tuned to their proper columns. To remain consistent with this precedent, in the small additional symbol roundels either John and Mark should face right toward their sections in their current places, or they should be placed in the outermost painted column in order to face left. Either option would better clarify where their sections lie. In view of the fact that no rubric inscriptions state the contents of the two rightmost columns, such clarification would, in fact, be most welcome. However, it seems to me that the artist prioritized the opportunity to render a composition that places the four evangelists primarily in relationship *to one another*, rather than to text or to a different central figure. Such a priority is not set elsewhere in the programme—whether in the *Plures fuisse* image, with the Lamb at its axis, or even in the harmony image directly above the roundels, where the four symbols channel their attention toward the Fountain.

In their tight constellation, with Eusebian sections in the middle, the four additional symbols most closely reprise the tympanum composition at the opening of the canons (fol. 7r). Here, all the evangelist symbols' attention clusters around the open book announcing the title of Canon I—much as all the animals' attention on fol. 6v focuses on the frontispiece Fountain. If the tympana images primarily visualize the idea of permutated, coordinated distinction among the gospels, the *ad hoc* evangelist figures on fol. 11r demonstrate a compositional focus on the unit of four.

The presence of Christ in the Soissons canons similarly taps into some fundamental points regarding how illu-

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[57] The distribution might have been worked out with an eye to completing the canon tables within one quire: Quire 2 ends with the final table on fol. 12v; Matthew's prologue begins the next quire on fol. 13r. Quire 2 (fols 5–12) comprises all the canon tables, preceded by the end of the *Novum opus*, whose continual text began in the first, half-length quire containing the Fountain of Life and the Hieronyman prefaces (fols 1–4). See Koehler 1958, 70. The same visual configuration of Canons V–VIII occurs in the Harley Gospels.

[58] Stefan Trinks discusses these figures in his treatment of 'living' canon tables in this volume.

Fig. 9: Canon Tables V–VIII, Aachen (?), first quarter of the ninth century. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 8850, fols 10v–11r. Photo: Bibliothèque Kationale de France.

Fig. 10: Canon Tables IX–X. BnF, MS lat. 8850, fol. 11v. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.

mination can communicate a role for canon tables within a gospel manuscript. These points concern how Christ himself—the central subject of the gospel and the central presence of the gospel book—appears, relative to the text of scripture.[59] Between full-page images and figural initials, a number of possibilities emerge. I will concentrate on the effect of representing Christ in the context of canon tables, as the Soissons painter did.[60]

Older traditions make a place for Christ's figure in the setting of the canons (an idea taken up by some later painters, such as the Ripoll artists of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 5729, fol. 366r). The Rabbula Gospels presents Christ as part of narrative scenes that border (and sometimes span) the space of the tables. Making the canon tables the theater for gospel scenes ties the person of Christ to the unified gospel, but also creates a play between the notion of text that is couched in the numeric system and the notion of story that is evoked by the images. The Soissons Gospels canon tables operate differently—as do the vast majority of surviving figural canon tables known to me in the early medieval Latin tradition. Here, the figure of Christ is explicitly located outside of the gospel story. This is true textually as well as visually in Underwood's reading. As Immanuel, Christ's appearance sounds a note from Isaiah—a typological feature kin to the decision to include figures like David in the Rabbula tables. Purely visually, the significant features of the composition include the figure's lack of a scenic setting and his juxtaposition with the Fountain of Life across the same opening. Lest the composition be mistaken for an Ascension scene, the two angel-evangelists holding Christ's aureole in Soissons kneel decidedly on the supporting arches of the canons. Like the plaques held by the symbols to announce the canon numbers, this detail also anchors the group as part of the representational field of the tables themselves. As Underwood observed, the figure of Christ works in concert with the scene across the opening. In any form Christ might take, his juxtaposition with the four symbols visualizes the source of their unity. With the symbols gathered specifically around the Fountain of Life, flanked by two curtains, Christ's presence across the gutter comes to function as another kind of gloss, pointing out the substance of the metaphor on the recto.

In the meaningful combination of their iconography and their format, the Soissons Gospels speak again to a point about canon illumination that is both ubiquitous and highly flexible. From the earliest surviving exam-

ples, canon table painters developed a veritable tradition of playing on the way canon tables occupy full openings as they designed figural programmes to stage the tables. Principles of permutation and progression are as elemental to the Eusebian system as is the principle of unity. The varying ways painters harnessed these ideas speak, on one front, to how the canon tables could be integrated into visual statements about the theologies or communities in which the gospel book participates. On another front, the painters' inventive approaches speak directly to their recognition of how essentially Eusebius designed his system to exercise the codex form.[61]

In the sixth–seventh-century 'Golden Canon Tables' held in the British Library (Additional MS 5111/1), a different member of the Church community appears on each of the surviving pages.[62] Most are positioned in a roundel at the fork of two arches; one appears in the middle of the tympanum over Eusebius's *Letter to Carpianus*. Paul is iconographically recognizable; the others are indeterminate (although the bust above the letter seems safely designated as Peter). One cannot address the treatment of openings in this fragmentary case, but one can already cite an attention to variation as the tables progress. The sequence of the tables provides a platform to bring figures other than the evangelists into the fold of simultaneous diversity and unity that the canons represent. The sub-type of illuminated canons that Nordenfalk identified as 'apostolic' takes this theme further.[63] Consistently and visibly, the openings connect a multiplicity of members in the apostolic community to the world of textual scholarship and representational exegesis couched in the canon tables.

The late tenth-century Anglo-Saxon gospel book held in Trinity College, Cambridge (MS B.10.4) offers a good example of the continued development in artists' approach both to the unit of the opening and to the progression through a canon set.[64] Folios 9r–10r contain Canon I, and the decoration of the tympana proceeds according to a strict rhythm of book-matched symmetry, filled with birds, beasts, and foliage. Canon II takes up two openings that operate on similar principles with different denizens (Figs 11 and 12). Folios 10v–11r host two angels flanked by buildings. The two face towards each other across the gutter but they are not identical in attributes or posture (Fig. 11). Folios 11v–12r similarly juxtapose

59 See esp. Palazzo 2010; Ganz 2017; Lentes 2009, 342–45.
60 For further reflection on images imbricated in letters and frames, see Kitzinger 2020.
61 For the apt description of Eusebius as an 'impresario of the codex', see Grafton and Williams 2008.
62 The manuscript is digitized: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_5111/1&index=16 (last accessed 13/04/2020).
63 Nordenfalk 1963.
64 The manuscript is fully digitized: https://mss-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk/viewpage.php?index=6 (last accessed 13/04/2020).
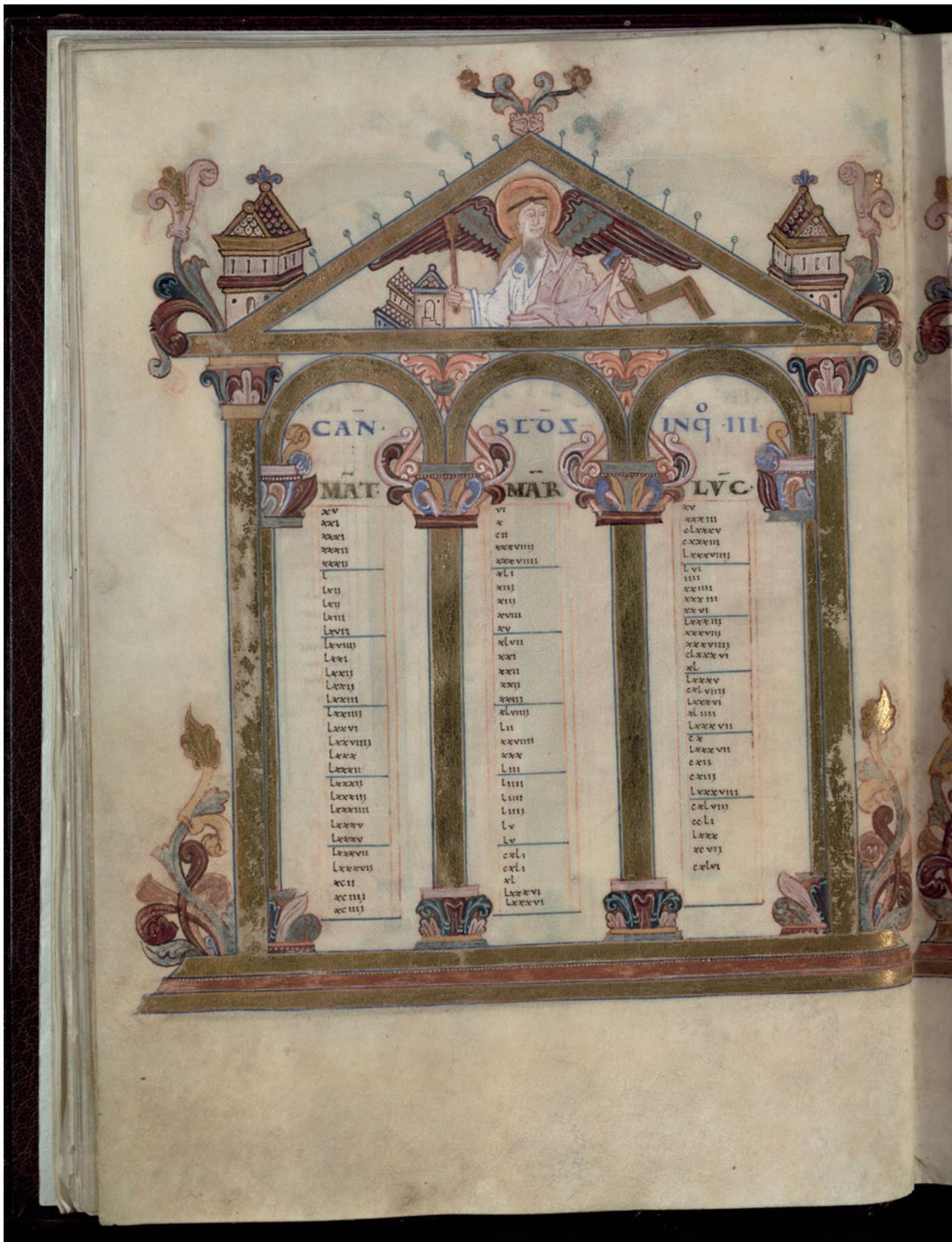
Fig. 11: Canon Table II, Canterbury (?), late tenth century. Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS B.10.4, fols 10v–11r. Photo: Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, by kind permission.
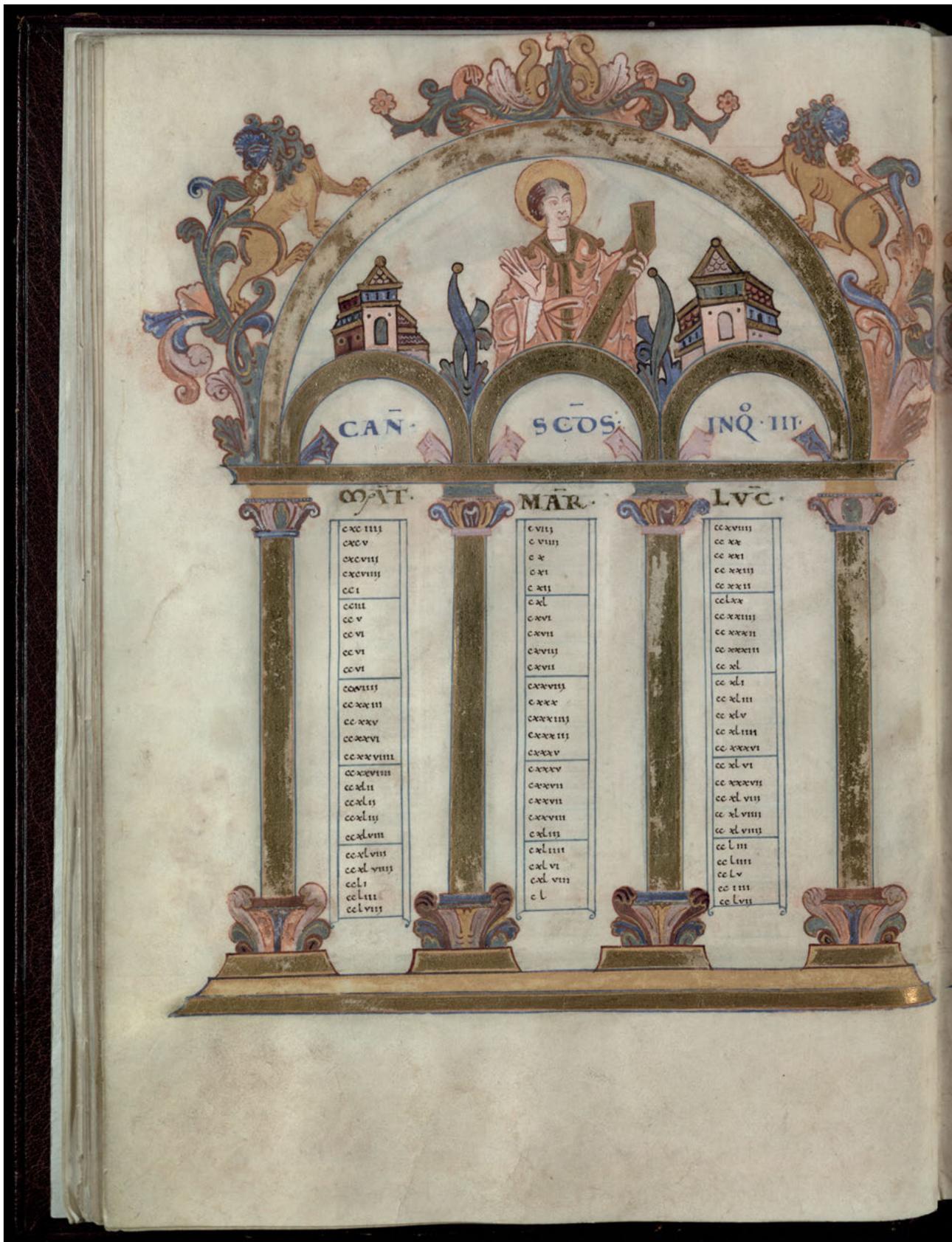
Fig. 12: Canon Table II. Trinity College, MS B.10.4, fols 11v–12r. Photo: Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, by kind permission.
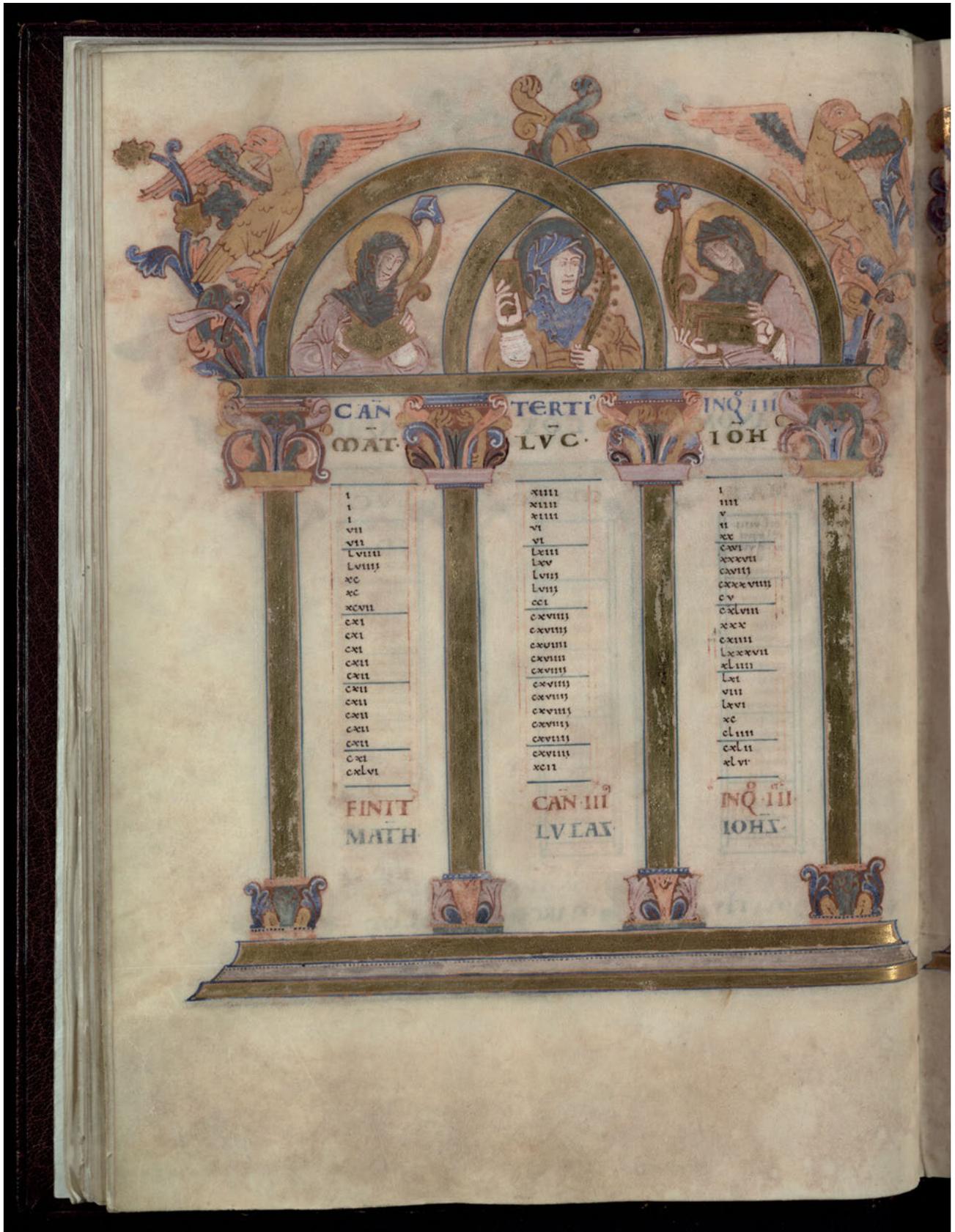
Fig. 13: Canon Tables III–IV. Trinity College, MS B.10.4, fols 12v–13r. Photo: Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, by kind permission.

IAÑ	QVRT⁹	INQ·IIII
MAT	MARC	IOH
xviii	vii	xcvi
cxvii	xxviii	xc·iii
cxvii	xxvi	xcv
cl	Lxvii	Li
clxi	Lxxvii	xxi·ii
cciiii	Lxxxi	Liiii
ccviii	cxv	xci
cc·xvi	cxxv	cxxxv
ccxvi	cxxxv	cl
cclxvii	cxxv	cxxxviii
cclxvi	cxxx	cxxxvii
cclxxvii	cLviii	cxxxiii
cclxxxviii	cLxi	xcviii
cclxxxviiii	cLxi	Lxxii
cclxxxviii	cLxviii	cxxi
ccxxiii	cLxxiii	cLii
cccxvii	cLxxviii	cvii
cccxxviiii	cLxxx	Lxx
ccc·vii	cLxxxviii	ciii
ccc·xxi	cci	cLxiii
cccxxxi	cci	cLxxx
cccxxxi	cciii	cxcii
cccxxxiii	ccvii	cLxxxiii
cccxviii	ccvii	cLxxxv
ccxcviiii	cxi	cLxxvi
cccxxxx		cciii
FINIT	IAÑ·IIII	INQ·IIJ
MATH	MARC	IOHAN

Fig. 14: Canon Table X. Trinity College, MS B.10.4, fols 15v–16r. Photo: Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, by kind permission.

CAN DECI MUS INQUO

IOHAN NES PRO PRIS

iiii	lxiii	cxxv	clxxxvi
vii	lxvi	cxxvii	clxxxix
viiii	lxviii	cxxx	cxci
xi	lxxi	cxxxii	cxciii
xiii	lxxiii	cxxxiiii	ccv
xvi	lxxv	cxxxvi	cc
xviii	lxxviii	cxxxviii	ccii
xxii	lxxx	cxl	ccv
xxiii	lxxxi	cxliii	ccvii
xxvii	lxxxx	cxlv	ccx
xxviiii	lxxxvi	cxlvii	ccxii
xxxi	lxxxix	cxlviii	ccxiiii
xxxiii	xcii	cli	ccxvi
xxxvi	xciiii	cliii	ccxviiii
xxxviiii	xcvii	clv	ccxx
xli	xcviii	clvii	ccxxiiii
xliii	cii	clviiii	ccxxvi
xlv	ciiii	clxii	ccxxviiii
l	cvii	clxv	ccxxx
lii	cviii	clxvii	ccxxxii
liiii	cx	clxviii	ccxxxiiii
lvi	cxii	clxxi	
lviii	cxv	clxxiii	
lxvi	cxvii	clxxvii	
lxii	cxviiii	clxxxiii	

Fig. 15: Christ Enthroned and Incipit to Matthew. Trinity College, MS B.10.4, fols 16v–17r. Photo: Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, by kind permission.

INCIPIT
EVANGELIVM
SECVNDVM
MATHEVM
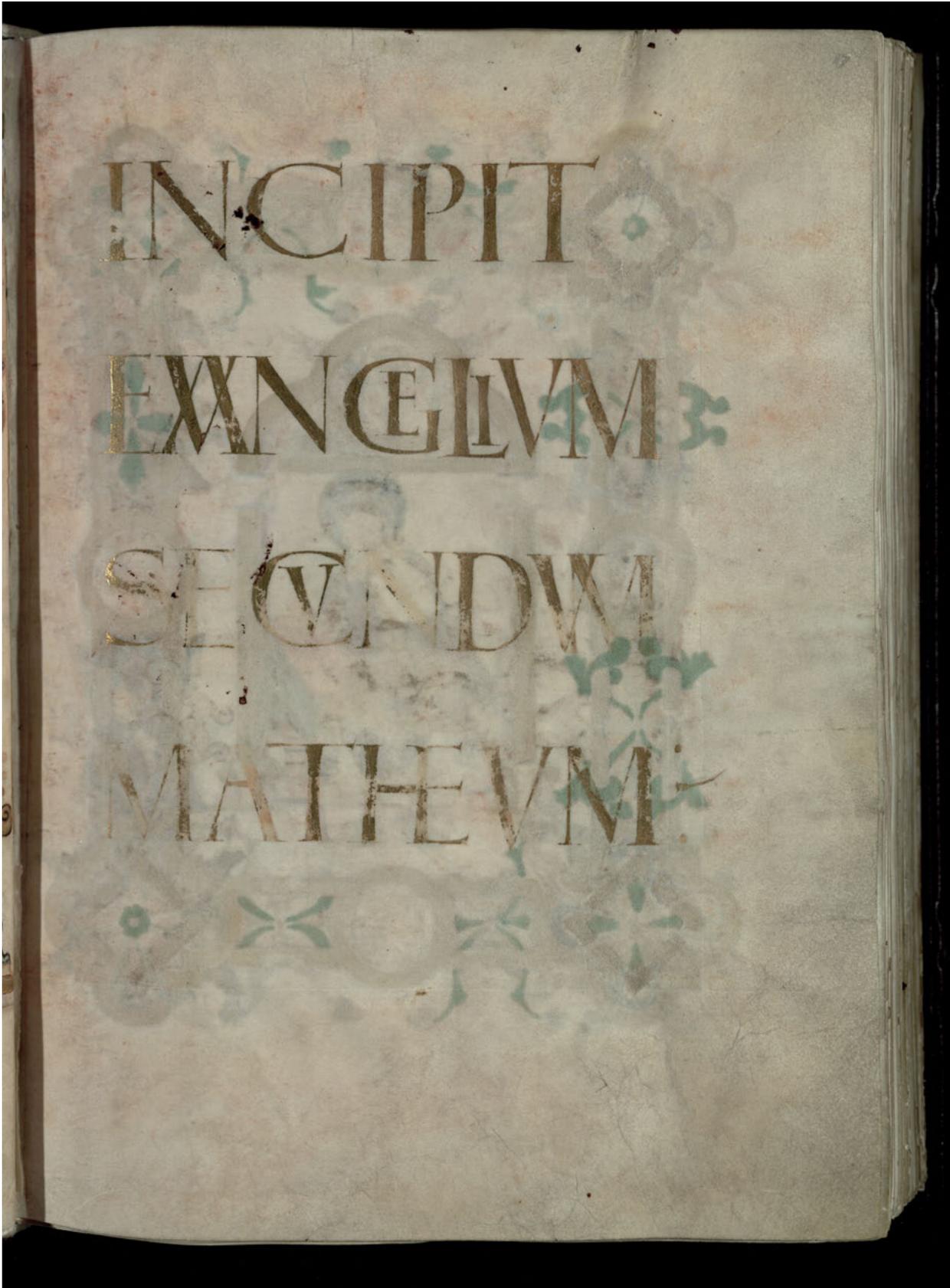
two haloed ecclesiastics, clearly in conversation with each other (Fig. 12). Canons III and IV occupy one opening, in which the variation across the gutter is greater (Fig. 13). On each of folios 12v and 13r the painter capitalized on the three spaces created by two overlapping archways to present a major central figure flanked by two others. On the verso side a female saint with book and martyr's palm looks over toward the right. Two other holy women with books accompany her, facing in toward her figure. On the recto, Christ is rendered in his judging aspect from *Revelation*, attended by two angels and facing outward. Canons V through the beginning of X appear on folios 13v–14r and revert to the ornamental model. The rest of Canon X presents the four symbols, one to an arch across folios 14v–15r and therefore uncoordinated with the contents of the lists below (Fig. 14). The sequence ends on folio 15v with a full-page *Maiestas domini* (Fig. 15).

In the Trinity Gospels' Canon II, the artist adopted a strategy that might be described as midway between the 'Beast Canon Table' and the 'Apostolic Canon Table' types. Two figures appear in conversation, reflecting the idea of balanced relationship and exchange, but they are not the evangelists. Together, they broaden the definition of the community invested in the gospels to include both earthly and heavenly ministers. In Canon III–IV, the opening again becomes the unit of a relationship, but the balance of power shifts between verso and recto sides, introducing a sense of argument and hierarchy to the choice of figures. When the four evangelists finally appear, the guiding principle of their disposition is not, as in Soissons, to key each symbol to the Eusebian sections beneath it. Rather, the four appear as a set that overrides the specifics of the tables underneath. This set exists not just in internal coherence and conversation, but in relation to the *Maiestas* overleaf. The conversational groups of two symbols are united in the center by the poses of Mark and Luke, which symmetrically balance each other like the peacocks of Canon I, even as their heads turn back to engage Matthew and John, who bookend the set. The culminating enthroned Christ (grey-bearded and veiled in a way that recalls the Ancient of Days from Touronian *Revelation* frontispieces) appears himself beneath an elaborate arch. He completes the canon tables by demonstrating the source of their unity. Much like the Immanuel in the Soissons Gospels, both here and in Canon IV, Jesus is represented as the Christ predicted in the gospels and other scriptural sources, not the one described on earth —the Christ not ministering but come again.

In the Trinity Gospels, the sense of sequence and progression first builds, but then scatters. The approach to Christ by human members of the Church up until fol. 13r

seems broken off for two openings before the finale revelation of his full-length figure at the close of the tables.[65] By contrast, the highly complex theological programme identified by Jane Rosenthal in the Anglo-Saxon Arenberg Gospels (*c*.1000) takes to an extreme the idea of fitting a steady and progressive visual argument to the specific form a codex affords the canon tables.[66] In Rosenthal's account, the progressive structure of the tables is harnessed for a temporally contingent argument about the stages of history.[67] Lynley Herbert's discussion of Poitiers, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 17 in this volume indicates an earlier exercise of similar thinking (with a lighter touch). The Soissons Gospels, by contrast again, shows a regular rhythm and decorative logic punctuated by a site-specific change in the visual programme. The commonality in these disparate cases is rooted in the recognition that the form of canon tables, the form of a codex, and the content of illumination can be made to intersect in a way that defines the tables as a preface to scripture. This preface communicates ideas about the definition of that scripture—both in its content and its form as a material text.

5 Conclusion

An oft-noted feature of the evangelist portraits in a subset of the Carolingian 'Court School' manuscripts is that the verses visible in the authors' open books do not simply show the beginnings of their accounts, but rather steer the reader to a specific passage later in the texts. In the Harley Gospels, for instance, Matthew appears in the process of writing not 1:1 but 11:28, *Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis, et onerati estis, et ego reficiam vos* (London, British Library, Harley MS 2788, fol. 13v).[68] Such miniature texts are not just emblematic of the written gospels; they perform work of sectioning and cross-reference that may be defined by a particular logic of selection. When interpreted—as substantively by Lieselotte Saurma-Jeltsch—that logic of selection tends to be keyed to points of Christology prominent in court circles of the early ninth century.[69] This line

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65 I have yet to find the explanation for placing the intercession pair across the opening for Canons III and IV. To speak to the anticipation of Judgment in Matthew, Mark, and Luke (which the portrayal of Christ clearly references), the images would need to accompany Canon II.

66 New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M.869. See Rosenthal 1974; and Rosenthal 2011.

67 Benjamin Tilghman offers a related argument about progression in the early text pages of the Book of Kells: Tilghman 2016.

68 On the phenomenon, see, e.g. Brenk 1994 and Henderson 1994.

69 Saurma-Jeltsch 1997. Saurma-Jeltsch also identifies Jerome's prefatory texts with the whole programme of the Godescalc Lectionary, and

of argument demonstrates the power of the gospel manuscript to represent intellectual positions that are derived from interpretation of its texts. On this model, the book as a whole gains significance in its representation of theology, and demonstrates something about the role of gospel books in specific times and places as indices of people's priorities. I would suggest that an equally key function of these details is the way the painters had to think about the gospel text in order to create them in the first place. The painters treated the gospel text as something that could be excerpted, and those excerpts as something that could be visually shaped: one line or another brought to prominence such that four selections can at once be individually evaluated and create a basis for interpretation of the set in a unified way (as modern scholars do).

It is worth recalling at this point that the painters of the Augustine Gospels worked in a very similar way when they crafted the Passion grid and the Lucan evangelist portrait. The imperatives of gospel illumination were assuredly different in the varied cultural contexts of the sixth century, the ninth century, and the tenth. All the cases I have cited, however, show programmes marked by awareness that the task of materially instantiating the gospels offers the possibility visually to reflect on the resulting fusion among the text of scripture; the reading, writing, and interpretation of scripture; and the physical form of written scripture. This is a constant to take seriously.

The constellation of the elements just listed constitutes the gospel manuscript. The visual definition of that constellation itself emerges as a central concern of gospel illumination in multiple historical contexts. It is in this sense, rather than the simpler self-reflexive depiction of the evangelists as scribes, that the central subject of early medieval gospel illumination is the gospel book itself. The Augustine Gospels contains one of the most fulsome surviving examples of Christological narrative in a gospel context prior to the Ottonian revolutions on this score.[70]

However, the narrative is neither presented nor structured as a simple recapitulation of the story told in gospel text. Like the Prüm Gospels' Nativity sequence, the narrative is based in the redaction and cross-reference of text and context, such that its representation of the gospels is both dependent on and revelatory of the structure of the full book. In this sense, the subject of the images is not only the life of Christ; it is the transmission of that life in a particular medium and genre.

In the first section of this paper, I termed the compositional choices evident in the Augustine Gospels a 'Eusebian habit'. In the sixth century—that is, in the early years of Latin gospel illumination as we know it—the question of what bookmakers' engagement with Eusebius specifically had to do with the development of ideas in gospel book-making is different (and perhaps more pressing) than that same question in later contexts, although the reform movements of the Carolingians and the Anglo-Saxons are surely not irrelevant to the problem.[71] Direct engagement with Eusebius may well be a provable cause and driver of compositional choices throughout gospel manuscripts in certain cases, depending on their historical context. More broadly, though, I propose that the idea of a Eusebian habit remains useful because it helps to excavate the effects of observable compositional choices in many areas of the illuminated gospel tradition. Looking across time at Late Antique and early medieval gospel books and thinking with Eusebius about how to handle text does not, I would say, primarily reveal durable patterns of interpretation for the textual content of gospel books—these are highly context-specific. Instead, thinking with Eusebius reveals patterns by which gospel books were consistently characterized as a type of manuscript in which text, its apparatus, its genre, and its medium all work together—four in one.

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the prologues with the historical vignettes of the Soissons Gospels.
70 For highly relevant discussion of the relationship between figural illumination and canon tables in an Ottonian context, see Winterer 2008.

71 I thank Anne-Orange Poilpré for a memorable discussion on the functions of gospel narrative in reform contexts. She reflects on Carolingian fusions of narrative form, content, and medium in Poilpré 2018. Further on the representation of books connected to Anglo-Saxon reforms, see Adam S. Cohen's contribution to Denoël, Poilpré and Shimahara 2018.

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Appendix

The codicology of quires containing or missing images, CCC 286

Evaluative description

The manuscript was rebound at the British Museum in 1948–49, and the leaves rest in paper guards. Wormald and De Hamel each reckoned twenty-two missing leaves at the beginning of the codex, based on the generally regular quaternions that make up the manuscript, but there are exceptions to the quaternion rule. The larger structure of the Matthean section, which likely included the evangelist's prologue, the canon tables and possibly the general prefaces as well, is completely unknown. However, the surviving material here and at Mark and John already testifies to the fact that no quire structure containing illumination worked in exactly the same way. All the text in the quires surrounding the gospel junctures is continuous, with the exception of the missing leaf noted below in Luke.

The surviving Lucan illumination is fully integral to a quaternion (Quire 18 in the present manuscript). The quire is not complete: the final leaf of text, which should have been conjoint with fol. 124, is missing; a stub appears between fols 130 and 131. Distinct folia house the painted pages: the Passion (fol. 125r, whose verso is blank) was probably originally conjoint with fol. 130, where the beginning of Luke's text occupies the recto and continuous text occupies the verso. The portrait (fol. 129v) is conjoint with the prologue text (fol. 126r/v). The recto of the portrait was ruled for text (the end of the *capitulae*); the prickings show through on the painted side but the ruling was light enough to accommodate the image on one side of the leaf. Some additional rulings were added to guide the draftsperson. Two blank pages (fol. 124v and fol. 125v) frame the unruled Passion. If this is the verifiable pattern of distribution for illumination, it is worth remarking that the surviving evidence for every other site of illumination diverges from it.

The *Liber Generationis* (fol. 3r) begins Quire 3 in the present manuscript (originally Quire 4, according to the medieval quire marks that appear through fol. 91 and peri-

odically afterward). The gospel begins on a recto with the offset of Matthew's portrait page. The fragmentary Quire 2 contains Matthew's *capitula* list from the end of Chapter 12, and ends with a blank leaf (fol. 2v). The portrait must have appeared on the verso of a now-missing leaf (to leave the offset on fol. 3r). The bookmakers may have left a full empty opening after the present fol. 2v, but it is also imaginable that more content appeared on the recto of the leaf presenting the portrait on the verso (the lack of any offset on fol. 2v complicates this possibility), or that several missing pages distributed additional painting.

The quire containing the beginning of Mark (present Quire 12; medieval Quire 13) is the only quinion in the manuscript, occupying fols 75–83. The portrait appeared on the verso of a missing leaf between fol. 77 and fol. 78. Similar alternate scenarios to Matthew present themselves here as well. The blank page on fol. 74v, ending Quire 11, which now houses the tenth-century will of Ealhburg, might have been foreseen for another image in the same spot as the Passion, relative to the texts: between one gospel's explicit and the prologue to the next. Fol. 74r is pricked and lightly ruled; fol. 74v was not ruled separately. The recto of the missing leaf mid-quire could in theory have housed another image, facing the originally blank fol. 77v.

Before John, Quire 28 (fols 203–205) is exceptionally short as a quire of 3, although its textual contents are complete; fols 204–205 are conjoint and the stub of fol. 203 appears after fol. 205v. The generously spaced fol. 205v contains Luke's explicit and, following John's general incipit, the only surviving prologue incipit in the manuscript. As announced, John's prologue appears directly on fol. 206r. The structure suggests that the portrait, whose offset appears on fol. 206r, either could have occupied a singleton or, perhaps more likely, the other half of fol. 203. Similarly, a short Quire 36 completes the text of John with continuous text. The offset of a narrative grid appears on fol. 265v, suggesting that the missing leaf most likely was a singleton, or the recto of a new quire containing extra-scriptural material (such as the *Capitulare evangeliorum*). It is also possible that the narrative grid was displaced at some point, if it was a singleton and moved from Matthew or Mark to the end of John.
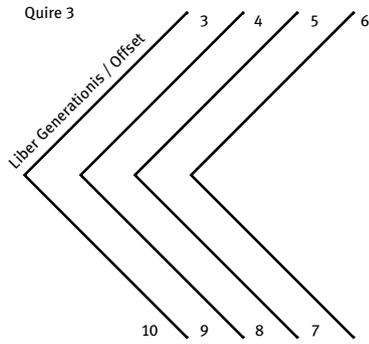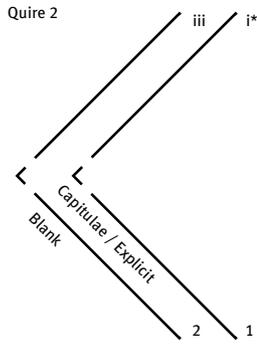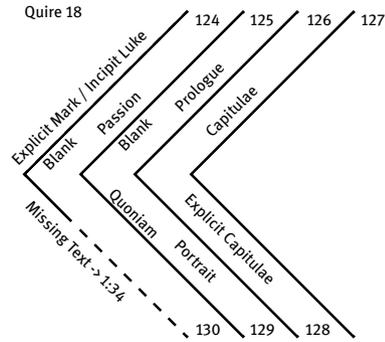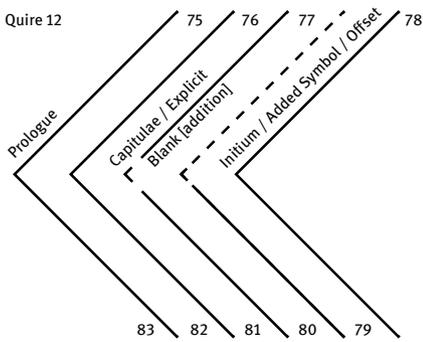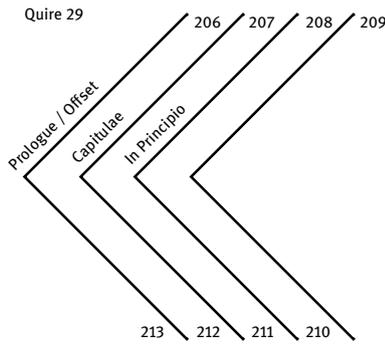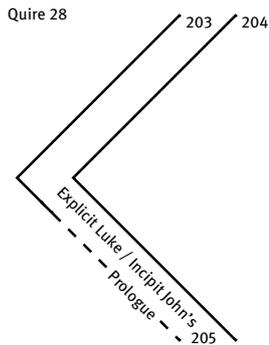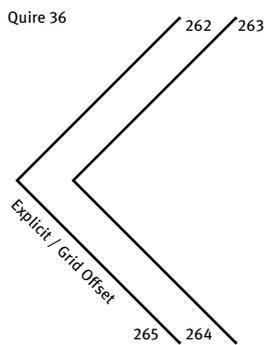
Quire 2

iii   i*

Capitulae / Explicit

Blank

2   1

Matthew

Quire 3

3   4   5   6

Liber Generationis / Offset

10   9   8   7

Quire 12

75   76   77   78

Prologue

Capitulae / Explicit

Blank [addition]

Initium / Added Symbol / Offset

83   82   81   80   79

Mark

Quire 18

124   125   126   127

Explicit Mark / Incipit Luke

Blank

Passion

Blank

Prologue

Capitulae

Missing Text -> 1:34

Quoniam

Portrait

Explicit Capitulae

130   129   128

Luke

Quire 28

203   204

Explicit Luke / Incipit John's

Prologue

205

John

Quire 29

206   207   208   209

Prologue / Offset

Capitulae

In Principio

213   212   211   210

Quire 36

262   263

Explicit / Grid Offset

265   264

Lynley Anne Herbert

A Tale of Two Tables: Echoes of the Past in the Canons of the Sainte-Croix Gospels

Abstract: The Gospels of Sainte-Croix of Poitiers of *c*.800 contains an unusual double set of canon tables. Early *initia* canons, which provide snippets of text along with each number reference, are followed by another complete set of tables within architectural arcades. Written by the hand of a single scribe, there is no question that these two tables were intentionally included together. Why? This essay argues that these antiquated *initia* canons, which are paired with early versions of letters by Eusebius and Jerome, provided a sense of tradition and historical foundation for the Carolingian canons, illumination, and gospel text that followed.

Carl Nordenfalk imagined the regal arches of canon tables as 'a propylaeum through which we approach the sanctum sanctorum of the Holy Writ'.[1] This perspective has lingered in scholarship as a compelling way of conceptualizing what often appears to be a dry chart of numbers, for it transforms them instead into a meaningful and symbolic gateway. In a sense, these charts provide a scaffolding for understanding the word of God through an architecture that is both literal as well as theological. By the Carolingian period, canon tables had become a key and expected component of gospel books, whether intended for active use or else as simply part of the visual apparatus. Yet, as all those who study medieval manuscripts know, just when things start to become predictable, we find something unexpected that throws a wrench into our tidy, linear thinking.

It can be said of many things in life that while having one is good, having two is even better… but it is hard to imagine this logic applying to sets of canon tables. However, in one unusual manuscript, its creator decided to double down on them with remarkable gusto, committing a staggering twenty-one folios, or forty-two pages, to two *different* forms of canon tables. The traditional, expected architectural set is preceded by yet another, one that lacks such visual theatricality, and which provides a wholly different and unconventional approach. As the canons are also accompanied by some unexpected letters and poetry, the overall prefatory material fills nearly four quires. For the reader of *this* book, the elegant procession

through marbled arches envisioned by Nordenfalk just turned into an exhausting marathon.

The manuscript in question is the Sainte-Croix Gospels of Poitiers, which will henceforth be referred to as Poitiers 17.[2] A highly individualized book, it was likely produced *c*.800 at the Corbie scriptorium in northern France.[3] It is a large manuscript, consisting of 213 folios and measuring 31.4 × 22.5 cm even in its cropped condition, making it similar in size to luxury books such as the Book of Kells (33 × 25.5 cm) and the Ada Gospels (36.5 × 24 cm).[4] A wide variety of pigments, including costly gold, silver, and blue, were used in the canon tables, the image, and the incipits of the gospels. There is no question that the manuscript represents a significant investment of time and materials. However, it is full of unusual choices by its creators, resulting in the book being repeatedly dismissed by scholars as bizarre, and labeled a provincial anomaly.[5] This stigma is largely due to its lone miniature, a unique *Maiestas Domini* whose complexity has been mistaken for muddiness and lack of artistic aptitude. Yet, in many ways the unconventional *textual* choices made when designing the book also lend to this aura of idiosyncrasy. Although a few scholars have attempted to make sense of Poitiers 17 over the past few centuries, its quirkiness has made them hesitant to embrace this book within the canon of Carolingian manuscripts.[6] Part of the confusion may in fact be due to the approach of past scholarship, which has often focused on one specific aspect of the manuscript or another. Taken piecemeal, it is easy to see how the various components of the book might feel incoherent and even discordant. It is only when the book is considered as a unified whole, and assumed to have an underlying inten-

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[1] Nordenfalk 1982, 30.

[2] Poitiers, Médiathèque François Mitterrand, MS 17 (65), Réserve précieuse. The manuscript has been catalogued and fully digitized, and is available here: http://www.bm-poitiers.fr/PATRIMOINENUM/doc/SYRACUSE/1029419/livre-d-evangiles-de-l-abbaye-sainte-croix (last accessed 13/04/2020). This manuscript was the focus of my dissertation, which is currently being developed into a book. For the dissertation, see Herbert 2012. See also Herbert 2016, 143–168.
[3] For arguments that it was produced in Corbie, see Palazzo 2006, 67–81, and Herbert 2012, 86–99.
[4] Dublin, Trinity College, MS 58 (A.I.6), and Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 22.
[5] For a historiography of the manuscript, and discussion of the language used to describe it, see Herbert 2012, 1–10.
[6] This fact is slowly being rectified, and Nees 2020 (forthcoming) places it in context with contemporary Frankish manuscripts.

tionality, that a larger programme reveals itself. This essay argues that the reader is intended to discover a progression throughout this manuscript, with its various components building chronologically, textually, and visually toward a climax provided by the image, and the gospels themselves.

The unusual composition of the prefatory materials, especially in terms of having a second set of canon tables, raises some natural and legitimate questions. Were they even original to the book? Could they have been from something else, and were perhaps added to this manuscript later? It is easy to assume that there must be something codicologically amiss—something that would indeed point to two projects having been cobbled together as often happened over time in early manuscripts. However, this is not the case. These texts have been carefully and thoughtfully crafted, and this same level of care and precision in design is evident in all facets of the book's production. The manuscript was composed of perfect quires of eight from beginning to end, and the texts flow from one quire to the next, so there is no question that it was planned out as it exists now.[7] It is also almost entirely the work of a single scribe,[8] who painstakingly copied out the text in a formal and elegant uncial script. There are three other known manuscripts by the same scribe, and from these it is clear that he was adept at writing in the new and more modern Caroline minuscule, so his use of full uncial here is a choice.[9] This script, found in the earliest gospel books, lends *this* book an air of great antiquity, a visual cue to the reader that evokes centuries of tradition, and provides continuity with the past.

The opening texts of the Poitiers manuscript reinforce that aura of antiquity that is visually conveyed through the script. The first of these texts is an undecorated copy of Eusebius's *Letter to Carpianus* (fols 2r–v, Fig. 1).[10] This letter was often included in early gospel books as it carries his explanation of how the canon tables he designed work.[11] However, the appearance of the Eusebius letter in Poitiers 17 is unusual for a number of reasons. For one, by the time this manuscript was produced, Jerome's *Novum Opus* letter[12] had become the more standard gospel preface in the western world, and due to its similar and updated content, often superseded Eusebius; where Eusebius's letter does appear, it usually follows Jerome.[13] In the Poitiers manuscript, Eusebius is given pride of place, and Jerome's letter does not appear until folio 15v. For a western gospel book of *c*.800, this reversal of prominence is highly unusual. Yet it is not only its placement that is remarkable. Pierre Minard pointed out that the version of the Eusebius letter that appears in Poitiers 17 must have been copied from an extremely early and rare version of the text, one that was distinctive for its close adherence to the original Greek.[14] Indeed, Donatien de Bruyne discovered that the version in Poitiers 17 is virtually identical to that quoted by Victor of Capua in his preface to the Codex Fuldensis, created *c*.547 in northern Italy.[15] The Codex Fuldensis is the oldest extant version of a gospel harmony like that believed to have been found in the *Diatessaron*, an early attempt to combine the gospels into a coherent narrative.[16] The similarities between the Eusebius text in Poitiers 17, and the Codex Fuldensis's, led de Bruyne to believe that the version copied in the former had originally accompanied an early *Diatessaron*.[17] Therefore not only is the very presence of the Eusebius letter in Poitiers 17 unusual, both in being included at all in a western manuscript, and in its occupying such a place of honor as the first text, but they also chose an old, outdated version at that. It seems

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7 The collation is as follows: Quire 1: 8, lacking original first 2 folios, with second replaced (fols 1–7); Quires 2–26: 8 (fols 8–206); Quire 27: 8, lacking last folio (fols 207–214).

8 Two scribes are evident: one main scribe was responsible for the majority of the manuscript, while one secondary scribe with a shaky hand copied occasional bifolia (e.g. fols 177v–178r and 181v–182r).

9 The other three manuscripts that have been identified as being by this scribe are Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Patr. 86 (B.V.13), Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepysian 2981 (I), and Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. Lat. F. 26. For the discussion of their grouping through a common scribe, see Lowe 1953, cat. no. 821, and Bischoff 1994, 26.

10 The manuscript lacks its original first two folios, with the text beginning discretely on what would have been the third leaf in the original quire structure. It is possible there was something else preceding this text, as the original first two folios of the book are now lost. However, the manuscript originally ended with two blank folios

(only one is still extant), and judging from the meticulous layout of the folios from beginning to end, and the fact that the Eusebius text opens cleanly on its own page, I believe it is likely the first two folios may have been planned as blank flyleaves as well. As there is no way to know for certain whether or not those folios contained text, I must work on the assumption that the Eusebius letter was indeed the beginning of the manuscript.

11 Nordenfalk 1938, 57–72.

12 For Jerome's preface, see Jerome 1975, 1515–16.

13 McGurk 1961, 64, points out how unusual it is for this to be the opening text. For an excellent discussion of the use of this letter, see Oliver 1959, 138–145, and esp. 140. Since the first two folios of the manuscript no longer survive, it is possible that another text, perhaps Jerome's other letter *Plures fuisse*, could have been inscribed on those two pages. However, there is no indication that text is missing.

14 Minard 1943, 19.

15 Fulda, Landesbibliothek, Bonifatianus 1; De Bruyne 1927, 5–11.

16 For a recent discussion of this text, see Crawford 2016, 253–277. See also Schmid 2003, 176–199, and esp. 177.

17 De Bruyne 1927, 5–11.

PRAEFATIO EUSEBII CAESARIENSIS EPI

EUSEBIUS CARPIHO CARISSIMO FRATRI IN DÑO SALUTE.
AMMONIUS QUIDAM ALEXANDRINUS MULTUM UT ARBITROR
LABORIS AC STUDII INPENDENS UNUM E QUATTUOR NOBIS
ABRELIQUID EUANGELIUM · MATHEI EUANGELIO CONSONAN
TIA CETERORUM EUANGELISTARUM CAPITULA APPONENS.
ITA UT NECESSITATE COGENTE CONTINUERIT ET SEQUACITA
TIS TENOREM ALIORUM TRIUM CORRUMPI QUANTUM AD
TEXTUM LECTIONIS EXPECTAT. UT AUTEM CETERORUM
TOTIUS CORPORIS ATQ· TENORIS SALUO TEXU CIRE POS
SIS EADEM CUIUSQ· EUANGELII LOCA INQUIB· DE EIPSIS SIMI
LIA DIXERUNT UT UERIUS DICAT IR EXPRAEDICIRI STUDI
OSO LABORE OCCA SIONE ACCEPTA ALIO ARGUMENTO CANO
NES DECIM NUMERO TIBI DESTINAUI QUONIAM SUB DITIS Ł·
QUORUM PRIMUS CIRCUM PLURUS ES· NUMERUS INQUIB·
SIMILIA DIXERUNT HI QUATTUOR·
MATTHEUS, MARCUS , LUCAS , IOHANNES.
SECUNDUS INQUIB· HI TRES· MATTHEUS MARCUS LUCAS·
TERTIUS INQUIB· HI TRES MATTHEUS LUCAS IOHANNES
QUARTUS INQUIB· HI TRES MATTHEUS MARCUS IOHANNES
QUINTUS INQUIB· HI DUO MATTHEUS LUCAS·
SEXTUS INQUI HI DUO MATTHEUS MARCUS·
SEPTIMUS INQUI DUO MATTH S IOH
OCTAUUS INQUIB
NONUS INQUIB·
DECIMUS INQUIB· SINGALICORUM
HAEC ES UNDIT
IAM MATTHESTIOR EORUM

Fig. 1: Eusebius's letter. Poitiers 17, fol. 2r. © All images are from Livre d'Evangiles de l'abbaye Sainte-Croix, Médiathèque François-Mitterrand, Poitiers, MS 17 (65). Photogr. by Olivier Neuillé.

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INCIPIT CANON OCTAUUS INQUO HI DUO · LUCAS · MARCUS ·

xxiii·	xii·	Descendit capharnaum ibiq. docebat eos ·
xxu·	xiiii·	Erat insynagoga homo daemoniu habns ·
xxiii·	xxuiii·	Sed et sps inmundi clamabant tuesfi.di·
·	xci·	Et nsinebat ea.oqui quiascieba eu ·
xxuiii·	xuii·	Facta die egressus ihs ibat indesert
lxxuiii·xluiii·		Rogabat illu uir aquo daem oniu exierat ·
lxxuiiii· lii·		Egressi circuiba castella euangelizates ·
xci · lxi·		Reuersi apostoli narrauerunt ei ·
c · lxxii·		Stupeba om inmagnitudinedi·
ciii· xcii·		Uidimus quenda innomine tuo eicie ·
ccxliii·cxxxii·		Qui comedunt domos uiduaru et orf·
cclxxiii·ccxii·		impleta escribtura cuiniquisdepu
cccxxxu·ccxxx·		Et reuerte testes parauerunt aromata ·

CANON NONUS INQUO HI DUO · LUCAS JOHANNES

xxx ccxuiiii·		De apostolorum piscatione ·
· ccxxii·		Ascendit petrus et traxit rete cu cl.iii·
cclxii· cxiii·		Et cu cena fieret intrauit satanas iniuda ·
· cxxiiii·		Et cu intinxisset panem dedit iude·
cclxxiii·ccxxiii·		Petro dicit dns confortat fratres tos·
cclxxiiii·ccxxuiiii·		Petro dicit pasce agnos meos ·
· ccxxxi·		Item petro dicit pasce oues meas ·
ccciii· clxxxii·		Pilatus dic nulla causa inuenio inhoc
ccciiii· clxxxui		quis s dic · obtulistis mihi hunc hom ·
cccxii· cxc·		It pilatus dic · quideni malefecit·
cccxl· ccxiii·		Prima sabbati ostiis clausis uenit ihs·
· ccxiii·		Post dies p octo uenit ihs ianuis cla·
cccxli· ccxxi·		ihs dic afferte depiscib · quos cepistis·
· ccxxiii		dicit dns uenite prandete·
· ccxxu ·		et dabat discipulis suis pane et piscem ·

Fig. 2: *Initia* canons VIII and IX. Poitiers 17, fol. 10r.

therefore that an intentionally antiquated discussion of the agreement of the gospels was chosen.

The next prefatory element, which is possibly the strangest in the manuscript, picks up on this antiquarianism (Fig. 2). This rare set of *initia* canon tables is also of an early vintage, and the snippets of text included are based upon an Italian *Vetus Latina* tradition, being the version that preceded Jerome's Vulgate translation.[18] The sixth-century Codex Brixianus offers the best comparison, although upon closer textual examination, there are many notable differences in phrasing and word choices between it and the Poitiers *initia* canons.[19] There are enough similarities, however, that something like it must have been available to our scribe. Pinning down an exact manuscript in northern France in this period that had this type of *initia* canons and could have served as an exemplar has not yet proven possible. However, the scriptorium at Corbie, where it is likely the Poitiers manuscript was made, had an extensive library with a large number of early manuscripts from many different origins, as has been well-documented by David Ganz.[20] One possibility from the Corbie library is the Codex Corbiensis,[21] which is a fifth-century Italian uncial manuscript of the *Vetus Latina* version of the gospels. It is now missing its first three quires, and therefore may have originally contained prefatory materials such as those in Poitiers 17. At the very least, it is proof of the availability of the *kind* of manuscript needed by the scribe.

In these early versions of the canons, the familiar chart of numbers is accompanied by extracts of the gospel passages being indicated. De Bruyne found their presence in Poitiers 17 extremely puzzling, and argued that the Eusebius letter copied along with them may have originally gone with this version of the canons, with both possibly used as prefaces for a *Vetus Latina* version of the *Diatessaron*.[22] The issue of the *Diatessaron* is far too complicated to explore more fully here, and whether or not that was the source of these texts in Poitiers 17 is debatable.[23] However, the Eusebius letter and the *initia* canons certainly seem to go well together, both in the way they are paired within the manuscript, and in their shared connections with sixth-century Italian works such as the Codex Fuldensis and the Codex Brixianus. In his letter, Eusebius explains that he took the idea of Ammonius (who was believed to have created a *Diatessaron*) and tried to find a way to show the agreement between the Evangelists without ruining the coherence of the separate gospels.[24] The *initia* canons are essentially a blend of the two approaches—retaining some of the text so it is not just a cryptic list of numbers, yet making it a separate chart that does not affect the gospels themselves, which had made the *Diatessaron* problematic.

All of this sounds like a logical and useful idea, however in studying the *initia* canons in Poitiers 17, both the advantages and limitations of this approach start to become apparent. For instance, there is no clear methodology in terms of which phrases were chosen for each line. In each group of numbers, one of the Evangelists necessarily ends up being privileged over the others, seemingly on the basis of whichever brief phrase within the group of texts being compared made the point best. While this approach is logical, it makes the quotations unsystematic. The numbers within these odd canons also do not match those in the following 'regular' canon tables perfectly. Often the lack of agreement between the two sets is simply due to the numbers being in a different order, but at times they are just wrong, or are missing altogether.[25] For instance, in the concordance between Luke and John in canon IX, the regular canons list all of the various comparisons (fol. 24r), however in the *initia* canons there are six fewer agreements between Luke and John (fol. 10r, Fig. 2). Since they were writing out phrases, skipping some that were perhaps redundant was a way of streamlining things to save space and time when writing these out. But they no longer coincide correctly with the other set of canons, and are therefore not as comprehensive and methodical as they theoretically should be. This fact reveals holes in how useful the *initia* canons would be if used in practice with the actual gospel text found later in the book.

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18 Pierre Minard published these canons fully. See Minard 1945–1946, 58–92. He also listed the other known versions of this type of canon: Vendôme, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 0002; Paris, Bibliotheque Mazarine, MS I; Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 138; Trèves, Séminaire, MS 40; Brescia, Biblioteca civica Queriniana, s.n.

19 Brixianus: Brescia, Biblioteca civica Queriniana, s.n..

20 Ganz 1990.

21 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 17225. For a description of this manuscript, see Ganz 1990, 128.

22 De Bruyne 1927, 10–11.

23 A full discussion of the issues involved can be found in Schmid 2003, 176–199.

24 For the Latin transmission of Eusebius, see Wordsworth/White 1911.

25 A good example of where the two canon tables don't match numerically is in canon III, where Matthew 112 and Luke 119 are being compared against various spots in John. The traditional number order for John, which is reflected in the regular canon tables in Poitiers 17 (fol. 21v) is: 87, 44, 61,8, 76, 90, 154, and 142. However, this is completely scrambled in the *initia* canons, which put John's numbers in this order: 90, 44, 61, 76, 87, 142, 8, 154.

Curiously, the specific pieces of text that were chosen to be included at times result in a coherent thought, as if the text phrases were intended to be read together.[26] It is possible that there was some expectation that these would be read through by the book's user, perhaps providing something of a 'cheat sheet' for the priest trying to remember where various ideas were discussed. Although it is certainly possible that these *initia* canons could have provided a helpful shorthand to the gospels for someone taking the time to go through them, Nordenfalk has pointed out that the type found here was too extensive to have been an effective liturgical tool. In his article 'Canon Tables on Papyrus', he discusses a sixth-century papyrus gospel book written in Greek and found in Egypt. This fragmentary manuscript has notes referring to various readings alongside some of the numbers in the canon tables, and he suggests they served as a table of contents for pericopes to be read during divine services.[27] He points out, however, that these were devised differently than those found in Brescia, and therefore also Poitiers, which he asserts would never have been used liturgically in that way.[28] This lack of functionality seems borne out by the further issue that the phrases quoted in the Poitiers *initia* canons are based on the earlier *Vetus Latina* version of the gospels, and therefore have many variants with the Vulgate text within the manuscript itself.

Yet they occupy a large amount of space—there are nearly 650 excerpts of text here, and they are written over thirteen folios, or twenty-five pages, and take up nearly two full gatherings. What is more, they have been carefully corrected, with several missed lines and words squeezed in after completion.[29] All of this would have required quite a bit of extra work by the scribe, and additional parchment, so the investment in time and money was considerable for what was ultimately a redundant text given the regular, and more comprehensive, set of numerical canons directly following them in the manuscript. Why, then, were they so important that it was worth the resources and effort to include them?

While it is certainly possible they were seen as useful, there may be another reason for their inclusion. I would suggest there is a focused effort in this manuscript to establish a lineage; a heritage for all that comes after.[30] Beginning with the early version of Eusebius and moving through the *initia* canons, the reader is then presented with the *Novum Opus* letter by Jerome,[31] the text of which is a common version typical of the eighth and ninth centuries (fols 15v–17r, Fig. 3).[32] It is as if we are moving forward in time: Jerome's work builds on that of Eusebius, and he explains how to use what he clearly discusses as a chart of numbers, which comprise the regular canon tables that follow. Here at last, on fol. 15v, we get the first real decoration in the manuscript: a simple three-line foliate initial B for *Beatissimo* with a small gold cross inscribed within the upper bowl. It is unusual that although the *Novum Opus* letter by Jerome has been included, his other letter traditionally included among gospel prefaces, *Plures fuisse*, has not.[33] The unbroken quire structure reveals that nothing is missing within the book's text, so we can assume this letter was never included.[34] This omission is a bit surprising, as the *Plures fuisse* letter discusses the Evangelist symbols and their connections to the Evangelists which, given the image, would seem to have been an appropriate text to include. However, there seems to be a rhythm to the prefatory texts: Eusebius on the canons, then the *initia* canons, followed by Jerome on the canons, and the numerical canons. As will soon be addressed, the Evangelist symbols receive their own discussion, so perhaps Jerome's *Plures fuisse* letter was simply unnecessary, and even a disruption, in the pattern of the texts that were chosen.

The regular canon tables are spread out over 17 pages, an unusual number that exceeds the more common pattern of twelve or sixteen. They are also not contained within a single quire as was typical, but rather begin in

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26 For instance, in canon VIII on fol. 10r (see Fig. 2), where Luke and Mark are compared, the snippets chosen for Luke 23, 25, and 27 compared against Mark 12, 14, 28, and 16 (respectively) read: 'Descendit capharnaum ibique docebat eos', 'erat in synagoga homo daemonium habens', 'Sed et spiritus inmundi clamabant tu es filius dei', and 'et non sinebat ea loqui quia sciebant eum'. In translation they read approximately: 'He went down into Capharnaum and there he taught them. In the synagogue there was a man who had an unclean devil. But the unclean spirits cried, saying: Thou art the Son of God. And he suffered them not to speak, because they knew him'.

27 Nordenfalk 1982, 37.

28 Nordenfalk 1982, 37.

29 See for example fols 7r and 11v.

30 McGurk 1962, 18–34, and esp. 25, sees two different sets of prefatory materials here, but I argue they were really intended to be taken together as a whole.

31 Jerome 1975, 1115–1116.

32 The text does not appear to have anything unusual about it. I have compared the text in Poitiers 17 directly to that in the earlier Echternach Gospels, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 9389, fols 1r–2v, from the late 7th or early 8th century, the roughly contemporary Essen Gospels, Essen, Münsterschatz, MS 1, fols 14r–16r, as well as two later gospel books, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W.4, fols 20r–21v, and St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 50, fols 7r–10v, both dating from the third quarter of the 9th century, and they are all virtually identical.

33 Jerome 1969.

34 Unless, as stated above in note 13, it was included on the now missing first two folios of the manuscript.
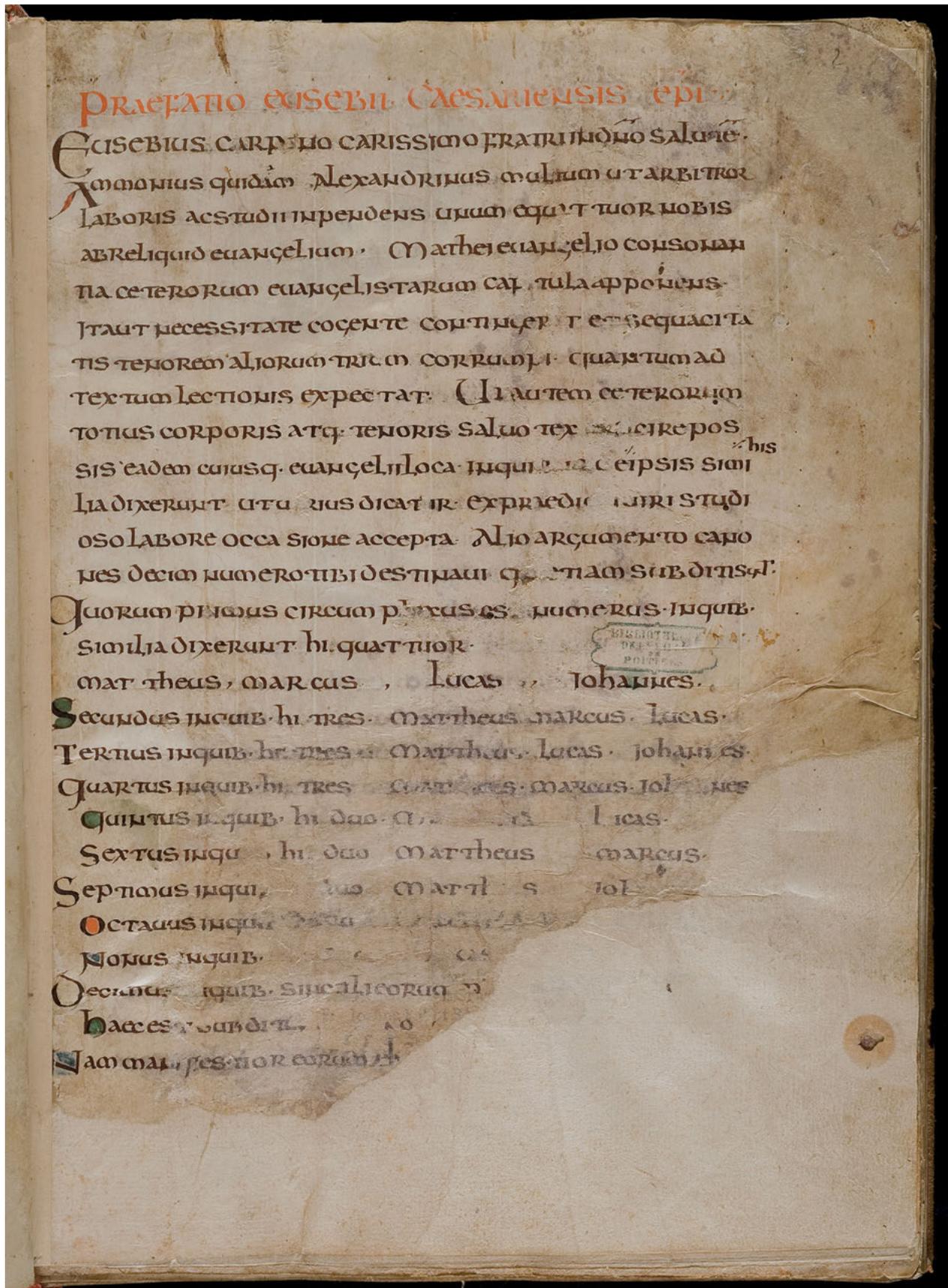
Fig. 3: Jerome's *Novum Opus* letter. Poitiers 17, fol. 15v.
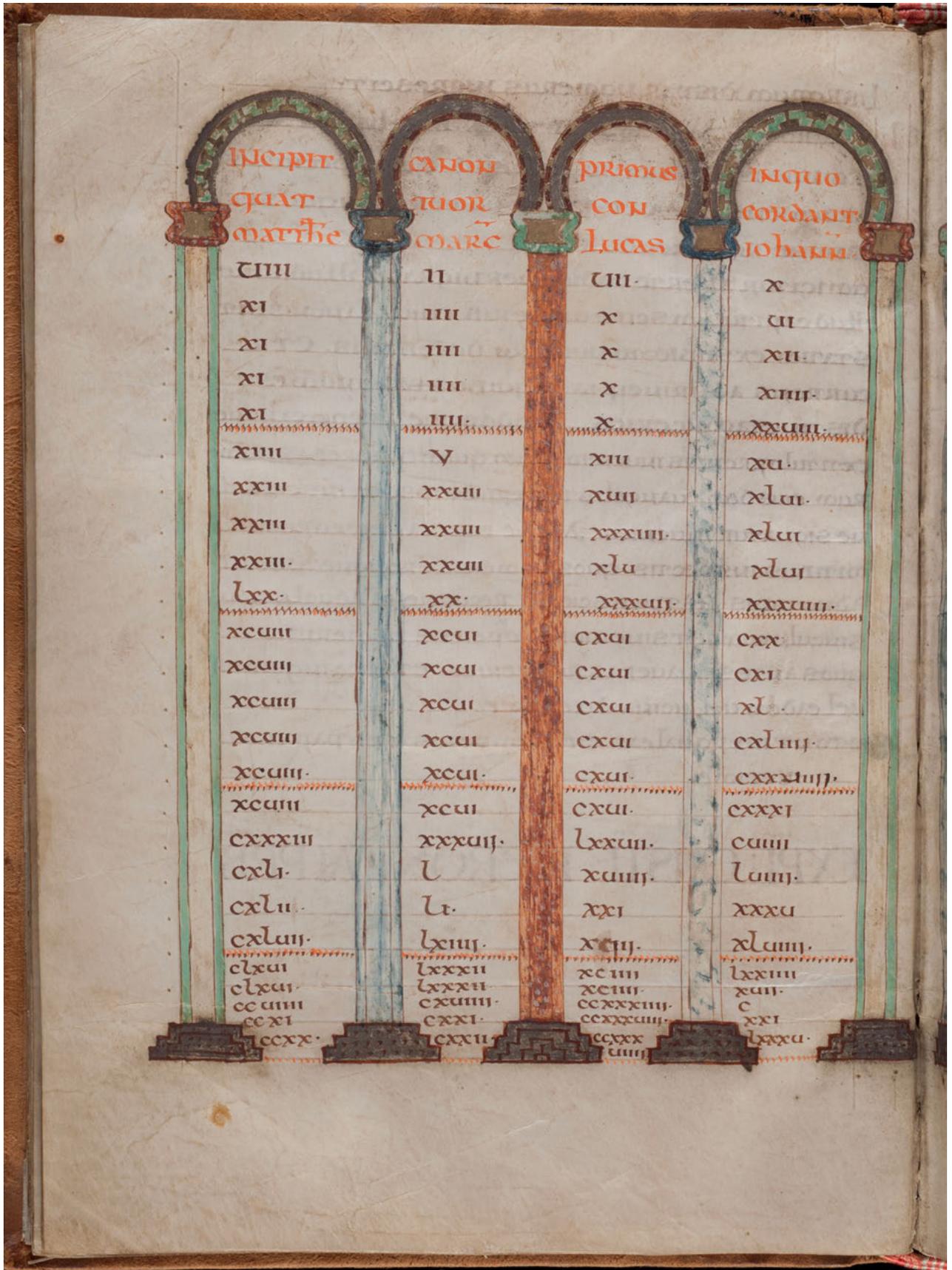
Fig. 4: Arcaded canon I. Poitiers 17, fol. 17v.

one and end in another.[35] As we come upon the columns and arches framing the first canon, painted in an array of colours including gold and silver (Fig. 4), they feel especially vivid due to the almost total lack of colour and ornament over the large amount of text pages up until this point. Having first processed through history, here at last we begin our procession through the arcade, bringing us closer, step by step, to God's truth.

The reader is met with attenuated columns and horseshoe-shaped arches, which lack a larger overall arch and therefore fall into Nordenfalk's classification of the 'm' type.[36] Stylistically, they are not typical of Carolingian canon tables, which are more often of the 'm-n' type, creating the effect of a tympanum above the arcade. A handful of other Frankish canon tables, such as an early ninth-century gospel book from Augsburg now preserved in Brussels, and the somewhat later, so-called Gospels of Queen Theutberga, present the closest comparisons I have found to those in Poitiers 17, and show it to be perhaps on the early edge of a visual trend.[37] In his study on the Gundohinus Gospels, Lawrence Nees suggested this form of column and arch is more eastern in style, and he saw them as suggestive of earlier Syriac manuscripts.[38] Crosses in medallions over the arches found in Poitiers 17 connect with that tradition to some degree as well, as this motif shows up in Syriac canon tables such as in the sixth-century Rabbula Gospels.[39] However, crosses in roundels are ubiquitous, so it is difficult to nail down this motif to a specific place or time. The cross motifs on the so-called 'Desk of St Radegunde', from the Abbey of Sainte-Croix in Poitiers where the manuscript came to be used, actually offer many similarities.[40] Any direct stylistic relationship is unlikely, given the fact that the manuscript is not known to have been in Poitiers before the tenth century, but these roundels attest to similar motifs being used in the Frankish world from at least the sixth century. There is therefore a long visual history of crosses in roundels, in both east and west, and those in the Poitiers manuscript certainly carry the aura of those earlier traditions with them. However, parallels can be found in the Carolingian world as well, such as in a series of crosses that appear within the tympana of the canon tables in the early ninth

century Harley Gospels.[41] The ivory cover of the nearly contemporary Lorsch Gospels also contains a cross in a roundel, which is suspended by angels over an arcade in which Christ tramples evil underfoot.[42] Therefore, while this motif certainly recalls earlier works, it was well integrated into Carolingian art by this time.

An unusual type of filler decoration within the tables, a penwork zig-zag and dot pattern used to separate the canons when they end midway through a page, does seem, however, to more distinctly echo earlier traditions (Fig. 5). The closest parallel I have found to this design is in the cross page of the Codex Usserianus Primus, which has been dated to between the fifth and early seventh century, and thoughts on its origins range from Ireland to the continent.[43] Despite the uncertainty today about its origins, there is no question that this gospel book represents a very early tradition of the *Vetus Latina* text. Nordenfalk believed this kind of penwork, where the design was created without lifting the hand from the page, was used by 'scribes of old' in colophon decoration, and he equated the technique and appearance to early scribal traditions.[44] Perhaps the artist of Poitiers 17 was aware of the use of this type of motif within early gospels, and consciously quoted it for that reason. As demonstrated above, this would be well in keeping with the references to earlier gospel book traditions asserted so boldly through the opening texts of the manuscript. This stylistic choice, along with that of the eastern-style arches and the historically charged crosses in roundels, helps to visually build on the antiquity of the texts that came before, evoking the sense of a return to the foundations of Christianity.

Although this aggregation of elements from different sources is intriguing, it is not what is most remarkable about the canon table ornament in Poitiers 17. Rather, it is the way in which they unfold visually as one moves through them that is striking. Their effect is cumulative, building as they go much like the texts that precede them, and I have thus far found no comparison for this kind of progressive illumination in canon tables. In the first canon, where all four Evangelists agree, the columns and

35 The canons start on fol. 17v, the first folio of quire 3, but end on fol. 25v, the first folio of quire 4.

36 Nordenfalk 1963, 20.

37 Brussels, Bib. des Bollandistes, MS 299, and the Gospels of Queen Theutberga, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 2015.560.

38 Nees 1987, 33–81.

39 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 1.56.

40 Musée Sainte-Croix, Poitiers, inv. #B3954.

41 London, British Library, Harley MS 2788.

42 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

43 Codex Usserianus Primus, Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 55. The Codex Usserianus has been included in major studies, such as Lowe 1935, no. 271, but while all seem to agree on an early date for it, its exact dating and place of origin are still up for debate. A thorough study, and argument for seventh-century Ireland, has been offered in Ó Néill 1998, 1–28. A more controversial argument for a continental origin and earlier, fifth-century date, has also been put forward in Dumville 1999, 38–39.

44 Nordenfalk 1977, 13.

Fig, 5: Arcaded canon II. Poitiers 17, fol. 20v.

Fig. 6: Arcaded canon V. Poitiers 17, fol. 22v.

Fig. 7: Arcaded canon X. Poitiers 17, fol. 25r.

Fig. 8: Arcaded canon X. Poitiers 17, fol. 25v.

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INNOMINE DIUINO   TRINO   ATQUE UNO

QUAM INPRIMA SPECIOSA QUADRICA HOMO LEO
UITULUS ET AQUILA · SEPTUAGINTA UNO ET CAPI
TULO CONLOQUUNTUR PARIA DE DNO · LXXI

INSECUNDO SUBSEQUENTE PROTENUS HOMO LEO LO
QUITUR ET UITULUS QUIBUS INEST ORDINATE POSI
TUS DECEM INSE ATQ NOUEM NUMERUS · XIIII

TUM DEINDE TERTIO INORDINE HOMO PECUS LOQUITUR
CUM UOLUCRE INNUMERO QUO CONSISTUNT ANTIQUAE
ALFABETI HEBREORUM LITTERAE · XXII

QUARTO LOCO FATENTUR INPAGINA UNA HOMO LEO ATQ
AQUILA UNO ORE LOQUENTES CAPITULA UERBIS UM
SENA ATQ UICENA · XXII

QUINTA UICE CONCORDANT INLOQUELA HOMO PRUDENS
ATQ MITIS HOSTIA IHU XPI EMINENTES AGMINA
IUDAS SINE SALUATORE CREDULA · LXXII

ECCE SEXTO PARISONANT CLAMORE NATUS ADAM CU
CLAMOSO LEONE COMPUTATI TRADITIS PROMUNERE
SACERDOTUM OPPIDIS IN HONORE · XLIIII   de dno

EN LOQUUNTUR SEPTIES INSEPTIMA HOMO AUIS CONSONA

IN OCTAUO NUNC LEONIS CATULUS DI UERBA PROFERT
ATQ UITULUS QUORU UERBI CONPROBATUR NUMERUS
AD TECTO PAULO APOSTOLICUS · XIII

NONUS ORDO INQUO DUO PARITER CONLOCUNTUR UITULUS
ET UOLUCER INSPIRATI SENSU SPIRITALITER CONLO
QUUNTUR TERNUM SEPTUPLICITER · XXI

HOMO NEMPE UERBUM PROFERT PROPRIUM
SEXAGINTA ET PER DUO NUMERUM · LXII

Fig. 9: Aileran poem. Poitiers 17, fol. 26r.

arches have variety to their ornament, but have no decoration outside of their architecture (fols 17v–18v, see Fig. 4). This plainer style proceeds into the beginning of the second canon (fol. 19r–v), then the arches begin to sprout vegetation as you move through canons II, III and IV, with fanciful palm fronds and holly leaves growing from the corners (fols 20r–22r, see Fig. 5). At the beginning of canon V, where only two Evangelists agree, the foliate decoration gives way to single crosses over the center of the arches, starting with what appears to be a processional cross composed of gold orbs and red dots (fol. 22v, Fig. 6). Single crosses in roundels continue throughout canons V through IX, with most of the others being some variation of a Maltese cross in gold and silver (fols 23r–24r).[45] Finally, as the Evangelists speak their own minds in canon X with readings unique to each, the lone cross in the middle becomes a golden *Chi-Rho* against a rich turquoise ground, and it is joined by two flanking crosses (fols 24v–25r, Fig. 7). This is true of the tables with Matthew, Mark, and Luke, however John is treated differently. John's table receives a gold Maltese cross inscribed in a silver ring against a plain ground, with red crosses enclosed in gold rings on either side (fol. 25v, Fig. 8). This middle cross is notably larger than all of the others that came before, and is actually slightly tucked behind the top of the arches. While the odd change in the size and format of this last cross seems awkward, it is as if it has been given extra weight, and its difference is striking after the standardsized crosses that led up to it. All of this has further impact when taken with the facing page (fol. 26r, Fig. 9). Directly opposite these crosses is an unusual inscription, one that does not belong to the text written below it.[46] It reads *In nomine divino trino atque uno*. This trinitarian phrase is rare, and I have only found it in a few other places, most notably in the colophon of the so-called Angilberga Psalter, dated 827.[47] In the Poitiers manuscript, this carefully placed phrase about the Trinity aligns strikingly with the series of three crosses on the facing page, and in fact

the word *trino*, which has been separated somewhat from the words around it and centered on the page, is almost literally circled by the ghosting of the silver ring from the central cross it faces. It is hard to imagine that this Trinitarian iconography and text were not intended to be read together across the page.

The text below this inscription is a seventh-century poem about gospel harmony by the Irish writer Aileran. While it is an unusual and unexpected addition,[48] this poem is highly appropriate following the regular canon tables. It explains the agreement of the Evangelists within the canons in terms of a conversation being held between the beasts that represent them, and it is filled with number symbolism based on the divinely perfect number of agreements within each canon.[49] Although the text makes its point eloquently and provides a fitting reflection on the abundance of canon tables that precede it, close inspection reveals that the 'perfect' numbers discussed within the poem do not always match both those in the regular and in the *initia* canons within the Poitiers manuscript. In fact, neither set matches Aileran exactly, so it appears to be more of an idea rather than something the manuscript's creator was set on proving.[50]

This poem does important work within the overall programme, however, for it ties together the canon tables that led up to this point with the image that follows, and in fact sets the stage for the Evangelists, who are represented in their zoo-anthropomorphic forms. Aileran's poem begins:

Quam in prima speciosa quadriga
homo leo uitulus et aquila
septuaginta uno et capitulo
conloquuntur paria de Domino

How in the first [canon] a beautiful four-part team,
a man, a lion, a calf, and an eagle,
through seventy-one chapters,
together speak comparable things about the Lord![51]

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45 The only other Carolingian canon tables I am aware of that have a series of crosses over the canons are in the Harley Gospels (London, British Library, Harley MS 2788), although they are not in roundels.
46 Howlett 1996, 14.
47 Piacenza, Biblioteca Comunale Passerini-Landi, Fondo Comunale, s.n. The colophon reads 'In nomine Divino Trino atque Uno incipit Psalterium Daviticum centum quinquaginta Psalmorum a viro Beatissimo Hieronymo Presbitero correctum atque emendatum distinctum versibus atque sententiis obelis et asteriscis scriptumque a nobis sub anno octingentesimo vigesimo septimo Incarnationis Domini Nostri Jesu Christi Amen'. See Brunati 1838, 93. Alcuin also uses a similar phrase: 'In nomine divino trino incipit sententia prima de operibus sex dierum cum puerorum interrogationibus et responsionibus ejus'. See Alcuin 1851, col. 1099.

48 It survives in thirteen total manuscripts from the early eighth to the eleventh century, and they are Insular, Carolingian, and Italian. See full discussion in Howlett 1996, 11–20, and Netzer 1994, 61, 82, 119, and 205–206.
49 For a translation as well as explanation of the number symbolism, see Howlett 1996, 11–20.
50 *Initia* canons I, V, IX, and John's part of X do not match the Aileran poem; John's part of X in the regular arched canons also does not match Aileran, although the two sets of canons tables agree with each other on this particular part.
51 Here I have transcribed the text as written in Poitiers 17, which shows some variants with other versions in the second two lines. For how it varies from other versions of the text in Latin, as well as the English translation, see Howlett 1996, 12–16.

Fig. 10: Maiestas Domini. Poitiers 17, fol. 31r.

The language used in the poem gives the creatures human qualities as they 'speak', 'clamour', and 'utter'.[52] Thus, when one reaches the image a few folios later, it is perhaps not so surprising to find that the beasts are half human, and gesture to the text of their gospels as if discussing it, with Christ serving as the focal point of their conversation. The image, in many ways, serves as a visualization of the poem, just as the poem gives literary form to the charts of numbers that came before it.

After Aileran's poem comes Matthew's *Argumentum*, chapter list, and Hebrew names (fols 26v–30r). Turning the page at the end of these texts unveils the culmination of all of the prefatory materials, and the introduction to the actual gospels themselves: the image of Christ enthroned with Evangelist symbols (fol. 31r, Fig. 10). The image, the only one in the manuscript, is isolated as its own element—it neither faces the end of Matthew's prefaces nor the opening of his gospel, but rather faces a blank page, and itself has a blank back. These are the only pages left blank within the entire manuscript, and this separation allows the image to apply to all that has come before, as well as what comes after. It also forces the reader to pause, to read and contemplate the inscriptions on the image, rather than taking it as just decoration for the opening words of the gospels. There are no separate Evangelist portraits to introduce the gospels, so this image must speak for them all.

As I have argued elsewhere, the image in Poitiers 17 is a complex and sophisticated tour de force of Carolingian visual exegesis.[53] One of the more remarkable aspects of the miniature is its programme of duality, which builds on the rhythm of doubling found in the canons. Most prominently, the image takes the two aspects of Christ, his humanity and his deity, and fuses them into one, for while at first appearing to represent a straightforward *Maiestas Domini,* it is in fact a double image, simultaneously representing Christ enthroned in heaven and on the cross. The artist employed a rippling cloud above Christ that at first glance merely suggests a heavenly setting. However, an inscription below Christ's feet recalls the Good Thief's words at the Crucifixion, while a dual Latin and Greek inscription overhead, LUX VITA/ZωH ΦωC ('Light' and 'Life' in both languages) forms a *titulus crucis*. These devices guide the viewer to interpret the undulating cloud as the horizontal bar of the cross, and the image is thus transformed. Through pious contemplation, Christ's dual nature is revealed: He is inseparably human and divine.

Christ's duality is reflected in the very throne He sits upon, for its lion-footed base is that of an earthly king, while the throne back is encased in a golden half-mandorla containing a heavenly blue.

The unusual zooanthropomorphic forms of the Evangelist symbols surrounding Christ, who bear both human bodies and animal heads, serve to reinforce the dualities found within Christ's portrayal. But they do much more. Their presence is not passive; they do not simply inhabit the four corners as they often do in *Maiestas* images, but instead gather closely around Christ. The artist has cleverly brought these creatures into our own space, for they are not contained within their roundels, but rather emerge from them, their tunics, books, and wings breaking the plane of their inscribed pearl borders. Matthew's book in fact juts in front of the leg of the throne, even while his roundel passes behind it, giving the sense that he is reaching out toward the viewer. The effect suggests they are meant to be gathered around Christ's throne, rather than understanding Luke and Mark as relegated to a lower plane under Christ's feet. Christ gestures in speech, and as the Evangelists offer Him their books, they also hold them out toward us. By coming into our space, they are including us in the conversation. In holding out their books, they invite the reader to study their texts, they offer their secrets, they reveal the way to salvation. Their books make up the very book we hold, and that book is the key to enlightenment. By putting the Evangelists all together in this one image, rather than the far more common approach of having each one separately introducing his own gospel account, the emphasis has been shifted away from their individual contributions, and instead toward their harmonization. And by blending the human writer with his animal symbol, the image pushes us to think beyond the earthly authors and toward their more cosmic contributions. Gregory the Great, in his Homilies on Ezekiel, relates how each gospel writer's focus offered a key facet of Christ's story that, only when taken together, provide mankind with a complete understanding of Him. Gregory explains that Christ became man at His birth, was the sacrificial ox at His death, rose like a lion at the resurrection, and ascended to the heights like an eagle.[54] This is conveyed not only in the choice of how the Evangelists are depicted, but also in the order in which they are presented. By revealing their crucial roles in Christ's overall story, the image validates the efforts of man to discover the harmonization and the interrelationships between the Evangelists' texts.

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52 Latin: *conloquuntur, clamore*, and *fatentur*. See English and Latin edited in Howlett 1996, 15–16.

53 Herbert 2012, esp. 25–67, and Herbert 2016, 143–168.

54 Gregory the Great 1971, 48.

The multiple iterations of canon tables, and the letters and poetry of earlier theologians who painstakingly attempted to make sense of it all, serve as a testament to man's journey to see God's word clearly. These texts and charts may have been useful, but I would argue they also provided something of a historiography for the book's user, laying out the process through which the divine perfection of the gospels was unveiled. I have argued elsewhere that this manuscript was created under the guidance of Abbot Adalhard of Corbie, cousin of Charlemagne and one of the key theologians at his court.[55] And I have connected this manuscript to Jesse of Amiens, who was head deacon at the court before being elevated to bishop in 799.[56] He and Adalhard worked closely together, and both were key in guiding theological thought within the court, as well as in their own work as spiritual leaders. It was a moment of intense debate regarding how to think about Christ's role in mankind's salvation, and these two men were in the thick of it. Adoptionism, a Spanish 'heresy' that was interpreted at the court as suggesting Christ was only God's adopted son and not fully divine from the beginning, was a major concern, and the dual nature of Christ emphasized in the image seems to respond to that.[57] Related to that concern was the filioque controversy, in which Charlemagne and his church leaders insisted on the Nicene Creed including the idea that the Holy Spirit issued from both the Father and the Son, placing a necessary emphasis on Christ's equal role in the trinity.[58] These concerns regarding Christ's inseparably divine nature, and the equality of the trinity, seem to permeate the imagery in Poitiers 17, and it was the perfect truth of the gospel writers that could combat heretical suggestions to the contrary. Taken together, the amalgamation of texts and illuminations in Poitiers 17 may have provided important study and teaching tools for thought leaders like Adalhard and Jesse at such a critical time. The early texts provided a firm foundation on which the elegant architecture of the canons was built, allowing the reader to process confidently toward the inner *sanctum* of God's truth.

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55 Herbert 2012, 86–95.

56 Herbert 2012, 99–117.

57 For an excellent discussion of all sides of this controversy, and the perspectives of those involved, see Cavadini 1993.

58 On this controversy, see Siecienski 2010. Jesse and Adalhard were intensely involved in this debate, and are named as meeting with Pope Leo together in the document *Ratio de symbolo fidei inter leonem iii papam et missos caroli imperatoris*, in Willjung 1998, 287. See also Gemeinhardt 2002, 160.

Abbreviations

CCSL = Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
MGH = Monumenta Germaniae Historica
PL = Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina, Paris: J.P. Migne

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Stefan Trinks

Saxum vivum and *lapides viventes*: Animated Stone in Medieval Book Illumination

Abstract: A double interaction can be observed between the ancient columns on the marble tomb of St Peter placed in the most important church of Western Christianity in Rome, and their painted counterparts in the canon tables with bodies and faces inscribed. In book illumination, some freedom and fantasy are possible that can hardly be built or sculptured. The example of the animated Italian and Spanish columns shows, however, that the Canones had a stimulating and reciprocal effect on monumental sculpture. The contribution is intended to show that with the stones depicted by artists in the canon tables there are no either antique and pagan or Christian, but only ambivalent hybrid forms. As there were scientific justifications for the inner movement and formative power of stone on the atomic level via Lucretius, Pliny and Isidore, this artificial boundary between knowing antiquity and the allegedly unenlightened dull Middle Ages falls.

1 Heads in Stone look at us

In the following, I investigate a special feature of Carolingian canon tables: the specific vitality of the imitation stone pillars that form the architectural framework (Fig. 1).[1]

I take as my point of departure a statement by Carl Nordenfalk in the 1965 Charlemagne exhibition catalogue. Here the author stated that the canon panels must be thought of as the 'pillar vestibule' of gospel manuscripts, through which one enters the building of the Holy Scriptures.[2] I intend to go further in this article and claim that, from the beginning of the tradition, the pillars of this vestibule were presented as living stones and substitutes for the faithful, just as the Holy Scriptures were thought to be alive as wells of life and as *via vitae*: a way to reach eternal life, and, above all, as incarnate logos.[3]

If one looks at the canon tables of one of the most magnificent Carolingian manuscripts, the Codex Aureus

from the so-called Court School of Charlemagne,[4] written around 810 and then taken to the imperial monastery of Lorsch,[5] one experiences a surprise upon close inspection. On folio 13r, five pillars of coloured marble support four smaller arcade arches on squat columns as well as a large tympanum arch with a deep blue acanthus frieze and one peacock on each side. In the tympanum field, where bare parchment appears in the space between the large arch at the top and the arcade arches below, two hovering angels carry an unlabelled Roman tablet, a *tabula ansata*. The concordance passages of the four gospels are listed in chronological order in the arcades: in the reading direction, Mattheus, Marcus, Lucas, Iohannis. The arcades are subdivided by very slender columns under two red and gold plant capitals on the outside, two slightly broader green leaf capitals inside and a slightly wider and bright blue capital in the middle with three Atlas figures. Alternating in colour, the pillars rise in malachite green on the outside and red-gold in the centre, while in between, pink is introduced as a new colour. In the three pillars on the left side, diagonal stripes run from top to bottom right and are filled with round, oval and amorphous forms.

On the second pillar from the left, just above the centre of the pillar, a dark, shaded oval appears; the book illuminator has drawn two horizontal lines of the same colour in the upper third, an L-shape in the middle and a checkmark in the lower part of the oval in a broad dark pink outline. The four elements in this composition create the impression of a face. In the upper and lower band of the marble, other reduced faces stare out of the column. Although more effectively concealed, more lengthy and focused scrutiny reveals at least three heads emerging from the dark green tone of the two outer pillars. Two heads appear on the left column; on the right pillar an oval, diagonally painted face looks to the left. On a pillar of the canon table of folio 17r (Fig. 2), in blurred profile, a face turned to the left features a jagged, irregular red outline depicting a drooping eyebrow above the left eye. The sharp-cut nose, prominent chin, hair and the entire right half of the face has been contoured in red—the hair and beard, with broader and thinner red parallel lines. Only the forehead is formed by a second, light

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1 See for instance Stiegemann/Wemhoff 1999, 59.

2 See Nordenfalk 1965, 224.

3 Lieselotte Saurma-Jeltsch identifies Jerome's prefatory texts with the whole programme of the Godescalc Lectionary, and the prologues with the historical vignettes of the Soissons Gospels: Saurma-Jeltsch 1997, 635–637.

4 The 'Court School' problem was recently discussed by Kitzinger 2018, 151–154.

5 For a recent discussion see Bierbrauer 2000, 79–81.
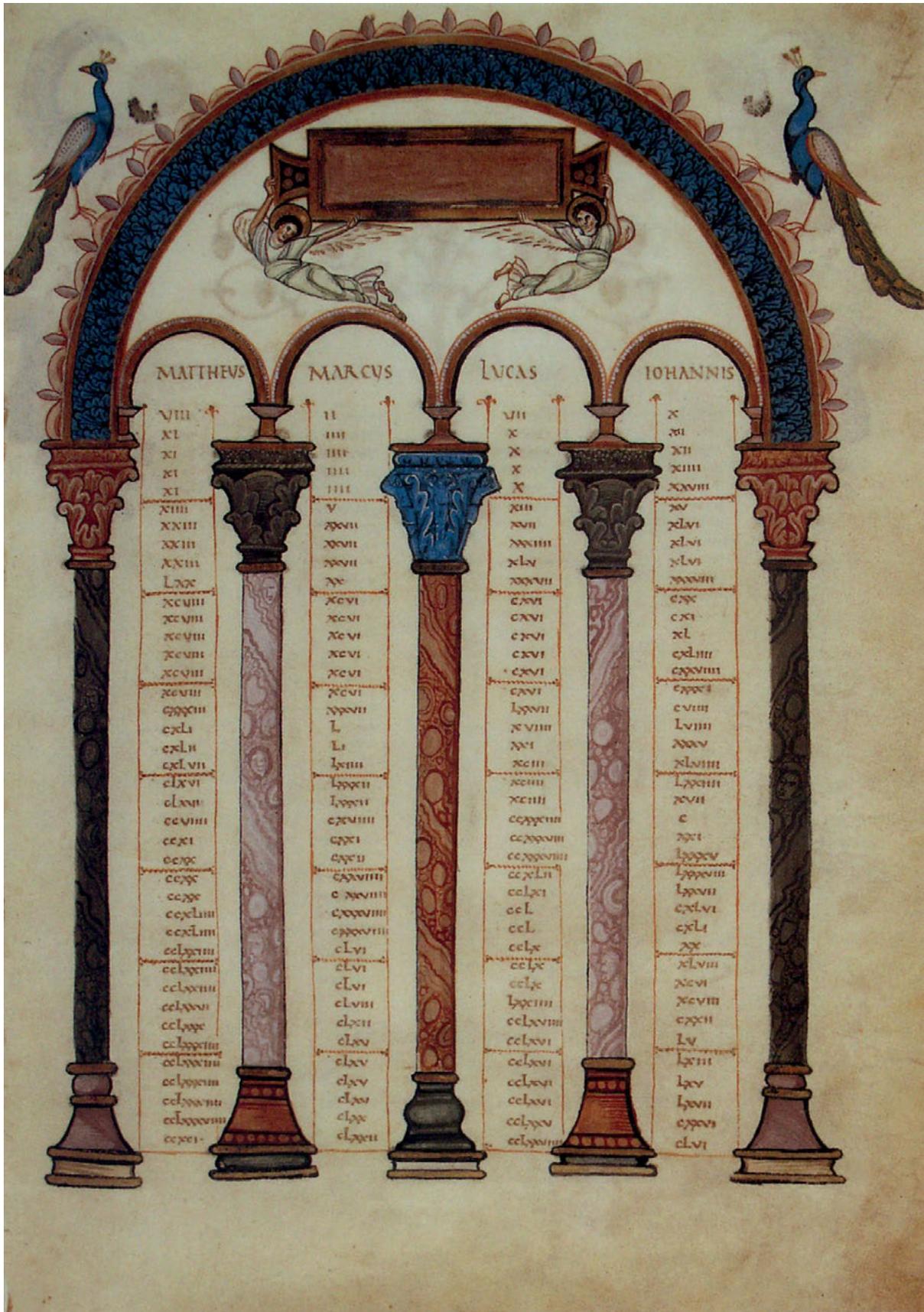
Fig. 1: Lorsch Gospels, *c.*810, Alba Julia, Biblioteca Documentară Batthyáneum, MS R II 1, fol. 13r: Canon I. © Biblioteca Naţională a României.

blue contour, rendering in visually plastic manner that the right front side is bending scup around the corner and giving the head a three-dimensional appearance, as if seen from above, obliquely.

Fig. 2: Lorsch Gospels, fol. 17r. Second pillar from left: 'Modern' face. © Biblioteca Naţională a României.

Confronted with these 1950's-looking heads,[6] one may at first be inclined to think the faces were painted on the pillars at a far later moment than the manuscript's initial production. However, the Lorsch Codex is one of the most well-researched manuscripts and has been deemed free from later changes,[7] furthermore this is also ruled out as the colour of the faces is absolutely identical to the surrounding oval. What further underlines the authenticity of these faces is that had the Lorsch designs not been original, instances in other monastery scriptoria or libraries, would also, by necessity, have required changes added long after their original date of production. The phenomenon is also present in the Gospel of Saint-Médard de Soissons, MS latin 8850 in the Paris Bibliothèque nationale de France, produced before 827 and by different book illuminators than those who painted the Lorsch Codex (Fig. 3).[8]

On one of the canon tables of this gospel on folio 8r, an oval shape emerges in the green column second from the right, almost in the middle of the column.

Unlike the cornucopia-like shape on the top right or the white-bordered and shaded ovals featuring a kind of knothole or branch stump on the lower left, a much richer design of the inner surface becomes noticeable here. The bright, white highlights and shading form a face around the white L-shaped nose. A facial expression has been drawn clearly on the yellow-ground pillar to the right on folio 10r of the same Soissons Gospels .

Of the brownish-red drawing within the head (framed by shoulder-length hair) the right eyebrow is raised and the mouth tilted slightly upwards with lips drawn further apart donates the face a critical expression. The head in the lower part of the same column is given a side parting with only one brushstroke. The situation is different on the left-hand purple and blue column, where a head with a high hairline can be seen. Its eyes are first marked as opened by precisely set white accents. Its diagonally offset arrangement again suggests a dynamic view of a quite sculpturally modelled face.

Perusing further the pages in this manuscript rich in inventions folio 11r continues with another innovation, whose basic structure is based on that of the Lorsch Codex (Fig. 4; for a reproduction of the full page, see. p. 153 in this volume).[9] The arches of the canon table are twice inscribed with Matthew and Mark.[10] Correspondingly, in the arched field within a wide mountainous landscape, only the angel and lion, the symbols of these two evangelists, carry a purple scroll. In front of the *Fons vitae* (the well of life as a symbol of Christ and the gospels' common source)[11] they also carry their gospels in the form of scrolls on folio 13v.[12] As in the foregoing Godescalc lectionary of Charlemagne the fountain of life is designed as a centralized building with roofing on pillars (Fig. 5). Christ, already embodied in the Canon architecture, is once again allegorically conceived as the fountain of life.[13] The fact that the pillars of the concordance can indeed symbolize the evangelists and Christ is further illustrated by the painter by integrating the tetramorph in four medallions directly into the central and right pillars.[14] He replaces the angel of St Matthew on the upper left with the image of a man without a wing and

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6 For a short but profound history of the identification of heads in marble: Flood 2016, 182, 193–194.

7 See Koehler 1958, 70–72.

8 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 8850; see Walker 1948. The manuscript is fully digitized: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8452550p.r=latin%208850%20soissons?rk=21459;2.

9 See Koehler 1958, 70–72.

10 O'Reilly 1998, 49.

11 Underwood 1950, 69.

12 Netzer 1994, 322–325.

13 Underwood 1950, 70.

14 Nordenfalk thought the medaillons inspired by a Greek archetype of the early fourth century, the Mausoleum of Emperor Constantine I next to the Apostles' church of Constantinople: Nordenfalk 1977, 88.
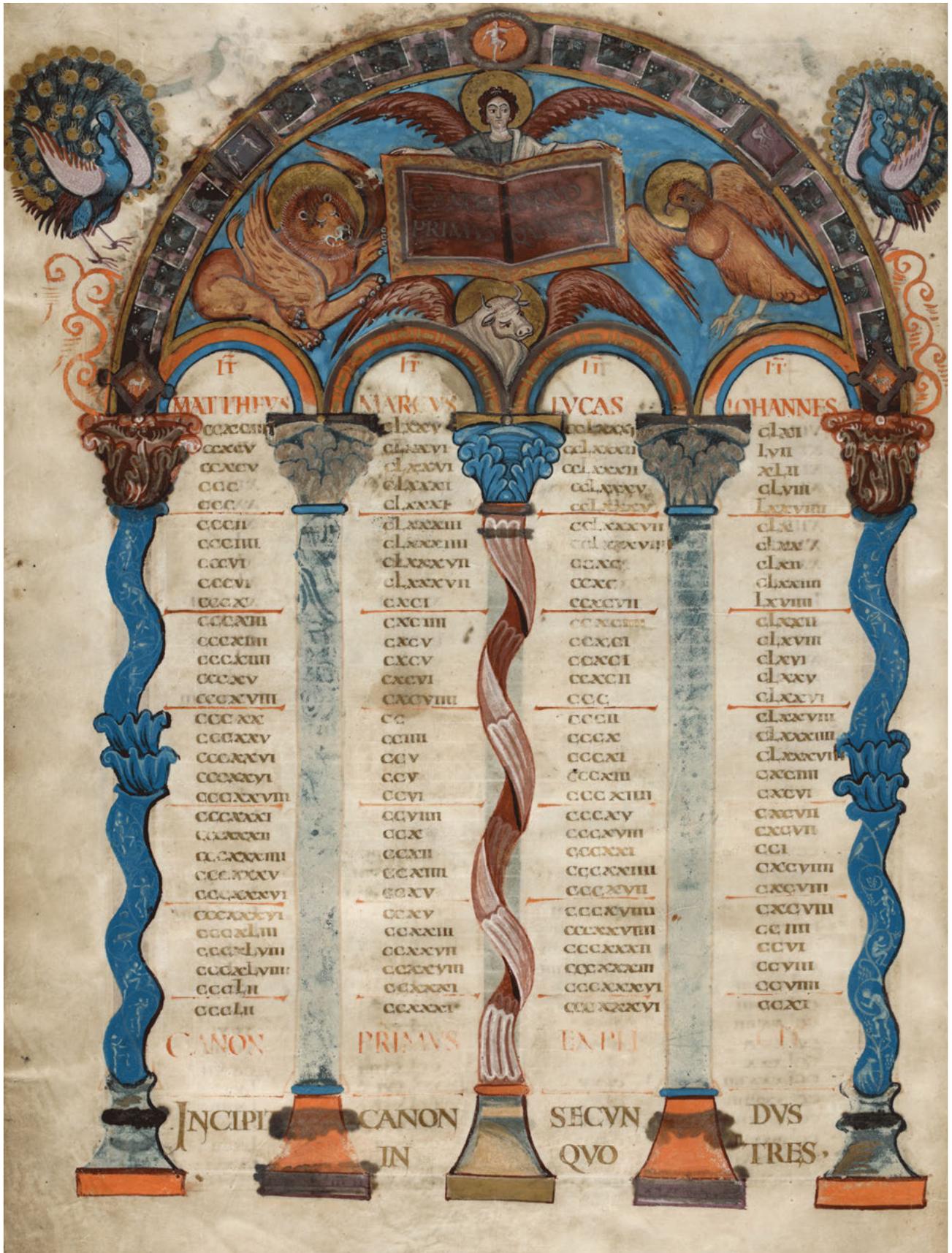
Fig. 3: Gospel of Saint-Médard de Soissons. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 8850, fol. 7v. Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF.

Fig. 4: Soissons Gospels, fol. 11r: Evangelists and *Fons vitae*. Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF.

Fig. 5: Godescalc lectionary, fol. 3v: *Fons vitae*. Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF.

Fig. 6: Abba Garima MS III canon tables, Pictorial Flower Marble in one of the canon tables. © Michael Gervers, courtesy of the DEEDS project.
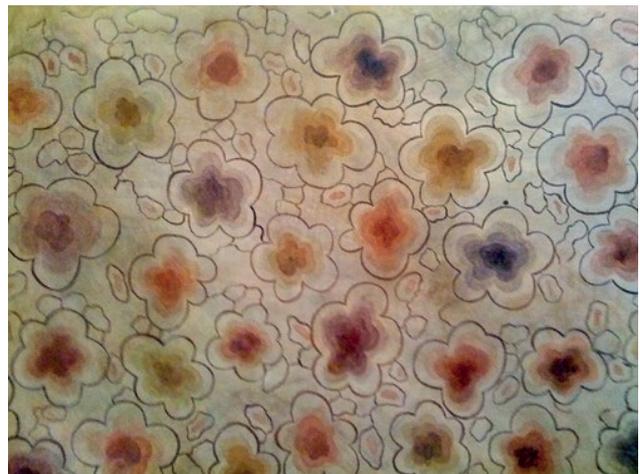
Fig. 7: Roman Villa of St Mary Lullingstone, wall decoration, fifth century: Stone flowers (today London, British Museum). © The Trustees of the British Museum.

approximates the eagle of John in his appearance to the dove of the Holy Spirit. Above all, however, the miniaturist of this page for the first time presents the faces painted in the canon table columns upside down. On the far left, the face is visible upside down in an oval shape just above the middle of the column. At the same height, visually connected by the bright red bar of the register division, another face appears with a depressed forehead and white modelling on the left cheek and right corner of the mouth.

Unlike Andrea Mantegna's cloud configurations over six hundred years later, all these anthropomorphic forms are not characterized by ephemeral matter such as clouds, mud or water, but by the solid material of marble. The impression is therefore not a fleeting, contingent one, which could be swept away in the next moment, but a lasting image in stone. As intentionally designed heads they suffuse the canon charts, dynamizing them.

But what exactly are canon tables and why are the faces there? Eusebius of Caesarea worked out concordance tables in the fourth century as a register of the four gospels. These were set from the beginning in arcade frames spanning columns, as architectural symbols of dignity. They open the door to the 'Word of God' like the *portico* of a temple in two principle ways. Firstly, because the Canon Arcades always open a gospel book. Secondly, because this concordance helped to gain access to the interwoven text corpus of the words testifying to Christ. As Christ as *logos* had become flesh in the Incarnation, the concordance was fundamentally very plastic and physical. Each of the twelve or sixteen canon arches was always designed differently, for the viewer to better memorize the abstract concordance passages as he walks through this magnificently designed Palace of Thought. In the West, Jerome integrated the Eusebian concordance into his Bible translation, and it may be assumed that gospels with canon tables were made in Rome during his lifetime in the fifth century. Canon tables are attested already from Coptic Egypt and Ethiopia, framed by intricately painted marble architectures such as the oldest fully preserved gospel of Abba Garima from the end of the fifth century, with wriggling fish in the tympanum zone, which imitates stone, and stylized red flowers on the columns (Fig. 6; for more marble columns in the manuscript, see p. 71 in this volume).[15] The earliest canon tables are thus from the late period of the Roman Empire and are therefore similar to Roman registers of the time.

Also Roman, and contemporary to Abba Garima, is the painting imitating rose granite and other valuable stone veneers found in sites such as the excavated British villa of St Mary Lullingstone (Fig. 7) from the fifth century, today in the British Museum. The question to be asked here is why late Roman practices were adopted for canon tables in Christian art, framing and supporting the concordance by stones that are to appear as if alive.

I would interpret the pattern as propagating an idea of living stones, *lapides vivi*. The artists turned the heads in profile and almost always to face the next column. Their vivid facial expressions, give the impression that they are peering at each other. They are in no way rigid. Rather, they interact with the other living creatures on the canon table, such as the atlantes of the bright blue stone capital in the centre, the floating angels, the figurative gems often inserted in the canon table arches, and the peacocks and other animals on the roof.

2 The living stones of the Middle Ages as a seamless continuation of antiquity

At a pragmatic and art-technical level, the figurations in Carolingian manuscripts were made of living stone, for since late antiquity most of the colours used for illumination were made from a combination of semiprecious stones and organic binding agents. But during the Middle Ages, the pillars of the canon tables were brought to life *in toto*. The gospel book from the monastery of Flavigny at the end of the eighth century, now preserved in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Autun (MS 4, fol. 8r), demonstrates the point.[16] While the column bases are formed by the four gospel scribes with stylus and palettes and an upward-facing John the Baptist in the middle, the columns are terminated by figurative capitals with the evangelist symbols. In the centre, Christ stands *en face* holding a cross-staff.

Furthermore, the *Vulgate* features 41 passages in which the term 'Columna' is substituted by 'Statua'. As in Vitruvius, carved columns or pillars in the shape of men appear interpreted with a strong anthropomorphic cast. The ancient concept of the *saxum vivum*, 'living stone', articulated by Virgil[17] supports this further because invigorating water springs have their source in stone. S*axum*

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15 For all these forms of living marble from Late Antiquity onwards see now the comprehensive new book by Gamboni, Wolf and Richardson 2020, esp. 18-21.

16 See Dalarun 2005, 225.

17 Virgil in his *Aeneid* twice has the phrase '*vivo saxo*' and defines it 'vivo, i.e. natural, uncut, unquarried; one might easily think of such rock as still living', see Plumpe 1943, 1 and 13.

was therefore considered 'active matter' and part of an animated *Gaia-Terra*. In Pliny's *Naturalis historia*, e.g. book 37.3 describes an agate of King Pyrrhus, in which nymphs appear as images of nature, however classified as random products and whims of nature. Similarly, the Ovidian metamorphoses, with their repeated transformations of nymphs into stone, are essential to the conception of 'living stone'.

The idea of *saxum vivum* is so seamlessly transposed into Christianity in late antiquity that the philologist Joseph Plumpe postulated that Augustine and Paul borrowed it directly from Ovid's stone metaphor.[18] While the writings of the Greek atomists Leucippus and Democritus[19] —*habent sua fata libelli*—have not been handed down in any single copy, Lucretius's *De natura rerum* constitutes the essential source for atomism in the Middle Ages. The text never mentions the word atomos (inseperable), but sees the 'germ' of an independent life force in each tiny basic component of the world described by Lucretius as 'bodily'—including in stone.[20]

The prominence of Lucretius's thinking undermines the long-perpetuated rigid division in scholarship between pagan antiquity, a non-antique Christian Middle Ages, and a unique Renaissance humanism. The discovery of a copy of *De natura rerum* in a Fulda monastery in 1417 by the papal secretary Poggio Bracciolini, who had accompanied the pope to the Council of Constance, is commonly staged as a 'second life' for Lucretius. Only the Renaissance, according to the usual narrative, renewed interest in this natural science—understood even by an arch-humanist such as Marsilio Ficino as heretical and 'secretive'. This hitherto customary chasm between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance concerning the interest in 'unadulterated antiquity' is already dismantled by the fact that Bracciolini's allegedly 'discovered' edition was not the ancient original, but rather a medieval copy. As evidenced by the apparently very good state of preservation, this copy was carefully kept in the monastery over the centuries, and—at least at the time of transcription—saw active use. Thus it may well have been the same monks who read the doctrine of Lucretius about a forming power in stone, copied *De natura rerum,* and also made manuscripts for Charlemagne with faces in the stone.

For further evidence of the Christian interest in Lucretius, the sole author of any narration on the alleged life of the pagan poet is, surprisingly, Jerome in his encyclopaedic *History Chronicle*. Jerome writes: '94 BC: The poet Titus

Lucretius was born. After a love potion plunged him mad, and in the pauses of his madness he had written several books that Cicero later looked through, he killed himself at the age of 44'. Even Stephen Greenblatt in his foreword to the Lucretian retranslation perpetuates the old view that Jerome wanted to discredit the pagan poet here.[21] With 'love potion', 'madness' and 'suicide', the church father intentionally uses words deplorable to a fifth-century Christian. But this conventional reading must be reversed. The very mention in Jerome reveals a basic sympathy for Lucretius, especially as a subordinate clause tells us that his writings were 'reviewed' and thus approved by Cicero, himself highly regarded as an authority on Rhetorica and at times even regarded as a crypto-Christian. As a church father, Jerome could have dismissed the poet with the insanity of incorrigible paganism, instead he speaks of a disease externally induced by 'love potion', simultaneously referring to Lucretius's almost obsessive occupation with bodily pleasure, desires, and emotions, which the fourth book of *De natura rerum* seems to explain and to some extent justify. From the Christian point of view, his illegitimate 'suicide' is, in view of the innocent madness, only the redemption of an artist before the birth of Christ, thus *ante gratiam*.

In the early seventh century, Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, the most widely read encyclopaedia of the Middle Ages and to be found in every major monastery library, featured several quotes of Lucretius. Isidore had no qualms in calling the heretical poet by name (for which Giordano Bruno would be burnt at the stake, not in the supposedly dark Middle Ages, but in the Renaissance a thousand years after Isidore).

Isidore's mediating role between antiquity and the so-called Middle Ages, is considered to be the main source of the 'Animated Stone' for at least three reasons. He quotes direct entire passages from *De natura rerum* word for word. By citing Lucretius in the principal encyclopaedia between the seventh and the seventeenth century, Isidore ensured not just the pagan poet's survival, but his medieval readers' acquaintance with Lucretian thinking. For instance, Isidore furnishes Lucretius's definition of *superstitio*/superstition from the pagan poet's *De natura rerum* 1,62-79:

> 'Lucretius says that *superstitio* refers to the things that are above (*superstare*), i.e. the heavens and the deities in it who are above us humans (but here he is wrong)'.

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18 Plumpe 1943, 9.
19 Plumpe 1943, 7.
20 Greenblatt 2011, 3.

21 Greenblatt 2011, 7.
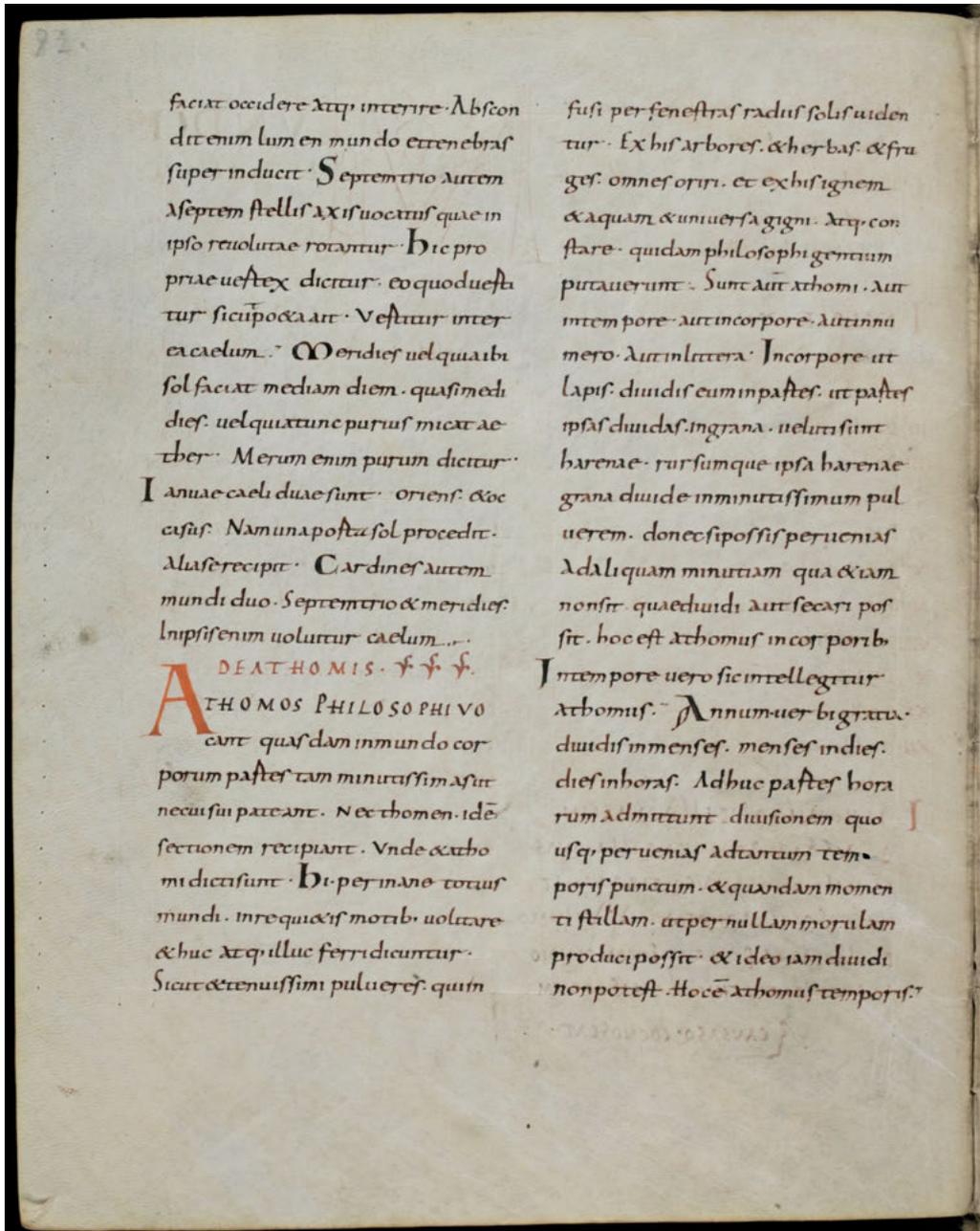
Fig. 8: Isidore of Seville Etymologiae. St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 232, p. 82: *Saxum vivum* in chapter about Atomism.
https://www.e-codices.ch/de/list/one/csg/0232

Like Lucretius, Isidore proceeds from an invigorating force that is not necessarily God: 'In the words and names rests a force that can be grasped by adequate interpretation', or as Arno Borst emphasized, 'a force, which has become effective in history and comprehensible in language'.[22] In addition, the *Etymologiae* ('*veriloquium*', i.e. 'Speech of Truth') was initially called *Origines*,[23] that is the origin of all things. Isidore mentions the '*hyle*' several times—the matter from which everything else emerges.[24] Like the '*Origines*' the *Etymologiae* were also printed in the early modern period and often marketed parallel to Lucretius. But above all, Isidore's twenty-one page descriptions of stones show numerous passages in which stones behave

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22 Borst 1966, 11.

23 For the discussion if the title of the encyclopedia should be

Origines or Etymologiae see Borst 1966, 10–11.

24 For the polysemy of the term *hyle* in Isidore and the Middle Ages see also Weinryb 2013, 124–125.

actively. Included in these descriptions are magnetic stones, the versatile limestone conglomerate '*Cochläcius*' consisting of shells and fossils,[25] sandstones that 'thirstily' store the absorbed water,[26] or gemstones used as seals that 'hold onto' parts of the seal wax, stones that heal or help with births, and especially the anthropomorphic crest of every column, the capital: 'Capitals are so called because they are the heads (*capita*) of the pillars as are the heads on the neck of the body'.[27]

At the same time, Isidore merges the inorganic and organic worlds when, for example, he counts the pearl, the Latin '*Margaritha*', among the stones: 'Because a pearl is a shell of organic flesh around a pebble which hardens later'.[28] Not only does this definition correspond to the Latin synonym for pearl, '*Gemma*', which means 'gemstone' as well as shell and bud; the determining idea of the *Origo* is also consistently maintained. The inherent '*vis*' (power) of the tiny stone conditioned the growth of this 'living stone' from organic matter into 'active matter'. The pearl often forms figurations, rendering it one among Isidore's many 'sculptural' as well as 'living' stones.

Isidore repeatedly mentions images and faces— unmistakably he employs the Latin term '*facies*'—in stones. Interestingly, he almost always uses the word '*nota*' to describe their style, which means character, trait, but also 'drawing'.[29] It is also striking that most of the Carolingian stone faces discussed above are little modelled and rather graphically 'outlined' with a few lines as '*nota*': 'The *Hexeconta* lithograph is speckled with such different *designs* that the colours of sixty gemstones are compressed in its small curve' ('[...] tam diversis *notis*').[30] Or: 'The Veientana is an Italian gemstone from Veji with a black *countenance*'.[31] Or *Etymologiae* 16.7.2: Egyptian Emeralds 'vel salis similes *notas* habent' ('have drawings similar to salt').

The ancient notions of Pliny, Ovid, Vergil, and Lucretius that *lapides viventes* can be independently formative, were preserved in monasteries and pervade the centuries. Isidore in particular amplifies these ideas greatly in his *Etymologiae*, given that this work of his was the most-read encyclopaedia in Carolingian times. Its influence persisted down the centuries to inspire the stone master Albertus Magnus and his successors. *C.*800 the *Vita Caroli Magni*

records that Einhard's inscription in the Aachen Minster, positioned below the cornice in the interior, stated that the building was not made of precious stone, but of '*lapides vivi*', living stones, and 'that is why the work of the Lord is especially beautiful'.[32] The totality of the creations of God accordingly forms the living building blocks, which together with Christ as *corpus mysticum* carry the building of the *Ecclesia* in the form of the Bible with its concordance in the canon tables.[33] Christ becomes the cornerstone of the whole, whose rejection is predicted in Ps 118:22.

Augustine, Isidore of Seville, and many other Christian theologians adopt the concept of a naturalization of the inanimate from antiquity, but only Christianity sees a higher order in these images of nature. Here God becomes man and rises from the dead, water is struck from the stone by Moses; in Christianity the living stones help construct an allegorical building of thought. The ancient pagan nature pictures are overwritten and become even stronger due to the artists, competing for powerful pictures.

3 Dionysian content in Christian contexts

There was never a break in the conviction that there was life in medieval stone. The iconography of antique columns populated with exuberant Dionysian orgies was repeatedly quoted in the so-called Middle Ages.

The gospel codex Harley MS 2788 in the British Library, offers a particularly vivid example of this form of 'living stone' from the first quarter of the ninth century.[34] In the canon table on folio 11v, two inner pillars of blue stone spiral upwards, a vine entwining each of them (Fig. 9). Between the narrow turns of the vine, a myriad of white figures populates the pillar. With their predominantly upraised arms, the crowd seems to surge toward the capitals or, indeed, toward two sunflower-like blossoms at the top of the columns, just as the heliotrope itself always aligns with the light (Fig. 10). At the base of the left-hand column, a naked man bends down appearing to pick something up, but at the same time reaches up into the vine. His pose underscores how all the figures of the two pillars span the windings of the column, delineating its contours. Moreover, that all the figures are to be considered naked becomes clear when the miniaturist does not

25 *Etym*. 19.10.8.

26 *Etym*. 19.10.7.

27 *Etym*. 19.10.24.

28 *Etym*. 16.10.1.

29 For the idea of stone drawings in Isidore's *Late Antiquity* see Mitchell 2012, 21.

30 *Etym*. 16.12.5.

31 *Etym*. 16.11.5.

32 See Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni* 1981.

33 For the Allegory of Christ as Temple of Salomon und *Ecclesia Christi* see Haussherr 1968, 101–103.

34 See Rosenbaum 1955, 2–5.
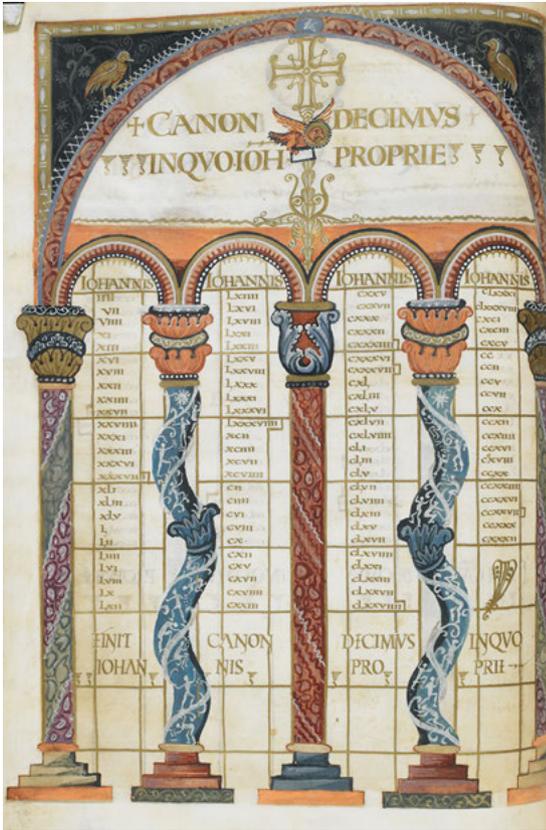
Fig. 9: Harley Gospels. London, British Library, Harley MS 2788, fol. 11v. By permission of the British Library.

Fig. 10: Harley Gospels. London, British Library, Harley MS 2788, fol. 11v: Men picking grapes. By permission of the British Library.

forget the sex between the legs of this balancing man. The grape picker sitting above him supported only by a thin branch of vine imbues these vine climbers with acrobatic lightness. In the edge below the leaf capitals, which divides the column in half, a crouching male figure touches the capital ring with his left, outstretched arm. This cowering figure is mirrored on the column on the other side, where in the penultimate turn above a human is crouched with legs bent and arms gesticulating, while on the left above him a creature stands under seven grapes and reaches for them, as if wishing to juggle them (Fig. 10).

His animal-like head is as pointed as his ears and his furry legs lend him the appearance of a Kynokephalos or satyr.

As with the stone faces, this satyr of the Codex Harley, a hybrid creature both man and beast, is not an isolated case. The gospels of Saint-Médard de Soissons also includes a corresponding example.[35] On folio 7v of this manuscript, which collects all four gospels in its register, the two grape-picker columns occupy the outermost positions.

At the foot of the right-hand spiral column in the already familiar deep blue, a white fox-like animal appears (Fig. 11). It lifts its left front paw against the strong vine, which, unlike the Codex Harley does not wrap around the column, but scrolls along it, interrupted several times. The beast may have been interpreted as the parable of the foxes in the vineyard in the Song of Solomon chapter 2:15,[36] whereby in the Old Testament the vineyard metaphorically stood for the people of Israel according to Isaiah 5ff., and in the New Testament the vine symbolized Christ and the Eucharist. In its eagerness to look up to the vine, however, the creature has far more in common with the ancient Aesopian fable of the fox and the grapes.

On the first loop of the vine stands a naked man with white heightened and modelled gluteus. His upper body bent forward he is holding a thin, barely visible vine branch. Another naked man rocking in the vine is followed by what may be a female figure with chest out-stretched, her right foot lifted and her left hand holding a small receptacle for the grapes. A bird with a pointed beak sits on a volute above her with two magnificent clusters

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35 Mütherich and Gaehde 1976, 40–41.

36 See for instance Henderson 1993-94, 235–238.

Fig. 11: Gospel of Saint-Médard de Soissons. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 8850, fol. 7v: Vintner with basket. Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF.

of grapes, pecking upwards into the vine, while a smaller bird below the adjoining double capital mirrors the action. The nude grape pickers in the vines and the spiral columns populated with birds, satyrs and other animals, recall the most famous preserved vine pillars: those of the *Confessio Petri* of St Peter's basilica in Rome (Fig. 12).

Today, eight of these columns frame the altars of the crossing and the so-called *Colonna Santa* upon which, according to legend, the twelve-year-old Christ leant while disputing with the scribes in the Solomonic temple, making the column a primary relic of Jesus. Its miracle-working properties were considered so potent in that for centuries those considered possessed by the devil were bound to this apotropaic column teeming with the human and animal world. Three more columns survive in the Vatican treasury. All twelve originally surrounded

Fig. 12: *Confessio Petri* of St Peter's basilica in Rome, Longinus Altar, one of the eight Roman columns: Putto picking Grapes. (Photo Archive of the Author).

the *Confessio* of the tomb of St Peter in the choir of Old-St Peter's, the first apostle and vicarius of Christ, who called him '*Petros*', the Greek word for 'rock', on which he wanted to build his church. In Book VI of his illuminated copy of Flavius Josephus's *Jewish antiquities* made around 1470, Jean Fouquet portrayed the Solomonic Temple on folio 293r by referring to the shrine to St Peter he saw in Rome.[37] Thus, the Roman Church was not only figuratively built upon the metaphor of a living rock, a *Petros vivus*, but was actually physically realized by the twelve marble columns symbolizing the apostles, and their vivid spiral forms, framing one of the central pilgrimage destinations of the Christian world. The spiral columns originated from second-century Roman Asia Minor, and the grape pickers in the form of naked putti and satyrs undoubtedly descend from Dionysian mythology, yet it was clearly not a problem for these images to be assimilated at St Peter's grave. The metaphor of the living stones of the church must surely have smoothed the path for the acceptance of such representations.

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37 Cf. Schaefer 1994, fig. 143.

Fig. 13: S. Carlo in Cave, end of eleventh century: Vintner with basket. (Photo Archive of the Author).
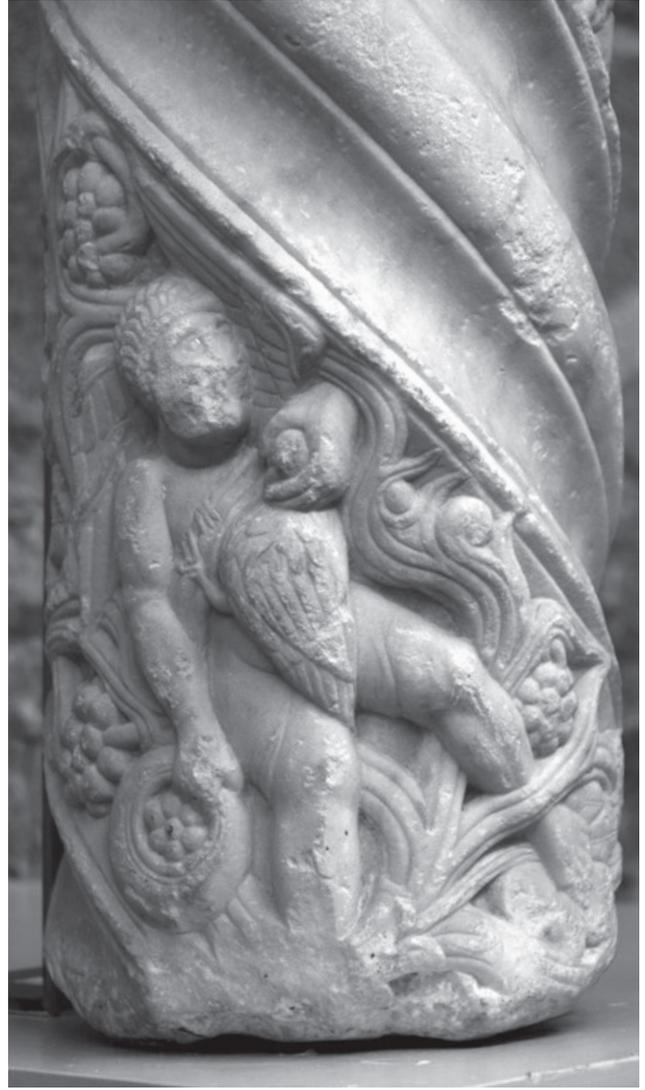
Fig. 14: Santiago de Compostela, end of eleventh century: Vintner with basket. (Photo Archive of the Author).

It is probably no coincidence that the reception of these vine columns in the Carolingian court and palace school was particularly strong, when on Christmas day in 800 Charlemagne, who considered himself to be a patron of the church, was crowned emperor in front of the twelve pillars of St Peter's *Confessio*. A more insistent sign of Charlemagne's renewal of the European empire in the name of an unadulterated antiquity providing a framework for the Scriptures is difficult to conceive.

The story of living stone does not end with Charlemagne however. The first movement in monumental sculpture to survive after antiquity dates from the second half of the eleventh century and renews quotations of the columns of St Peter's (Fig. 13).[38]

As Peter Cornelius Claussen has shown, two white marble columns in the Roman churches of Santissima Trinità dei Monti, and San Carlo in Cave copy many details of the Solomonic vine columns.[39] Featuring naked settlers, grape gleaners and peaceful cohabitation with all animals they may be interpreted as a monumental promise of paradise. This allegory of vine columns foreshadowing paradise holds particularly true in the interpretation of canon tables penned in 1166 by the *Katholikos* Nerses Snorhali, the spiritual head of the Armenian church. His detailed commentary on the iconographic interpretation of canon tables was perhaps executed with reference to a template such as the Etchmiadzin Gospels from the year 989.[40] He

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38 See Bredekamp/Trinks 2017, 29–36.

39 Claussen 2004, 79.
40 Gohar 2014, 11–14.

praises the tables as 'A bath for the sight and hearing of all those who want to rise to God'. Two interpretations are central to Snorhali's account. On the one hand, the tables always open a manuscript. Rich with animals and ornament, 'multisensory' canon table architecture can represent the aforementioned 'bath for the sense of sight and hearing' that is the garden of Paradise. By meditating on the images of the panels as on the sacrificial death of Christ, the patriarch presents the wood of the cross as a return of the Tree of Life. He assigns each canon table an Old Testament interpretation such as Abraham's altar, Moses' tablets, or Solomon's temple, interpreting each and every detail on the pages to completely overwhelm the reader. Emphasizing the intent of the richness of the details is to enlighten the reader on the unfathomable abundance of God, Snorhali also claims that the splendour of the canon tables' artistic design, and their gemstone colours's traversing the entire spectrum of the rainbow is not only permitted, but even required, for adequate and appropriate illustration of God's true glory.

The same applies to the six twisted marble pillars of the former *Paradisus* and the main portal of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela (Fig. 14).

Even today, decontextualized in the museum, the columns create a bucolic-elysian atmosphere. While these columns clearly extend the Roman tradition, it is worth observing that no one to one copy of St Peter's columns as a symbol of a vital *Ecclesia* in living stones survives from the medieval period. The concept is artistically transformed in ever new variations, so that one cannot proceed from a universal interpretation of the trope. Each manuscript and column unfolds its own perspective on the living spiral columns of St Peter's and the ancient idea of vivid stone.

4 Harvesters in Porphyry

Numerous other Carolingian manuscripts have painted heads and adaptations of the St Peter's columns, rich in figures in their stone pillars. The fascination of artists as well as patrons with the embodied metaphor of living stone did not end with the transition of imperial reign from the Carolingians to the Ottonian Saxon emperors and their powerful and artistic bishops. If they had disapproved this 'Dionysian' world of the miniatures, they simply would not have let the incriminating *figurae* be copied.

As a brief example, the gospel of the last Ottonian emperor Henry II, Clm 4454 in the Bavarian State Library
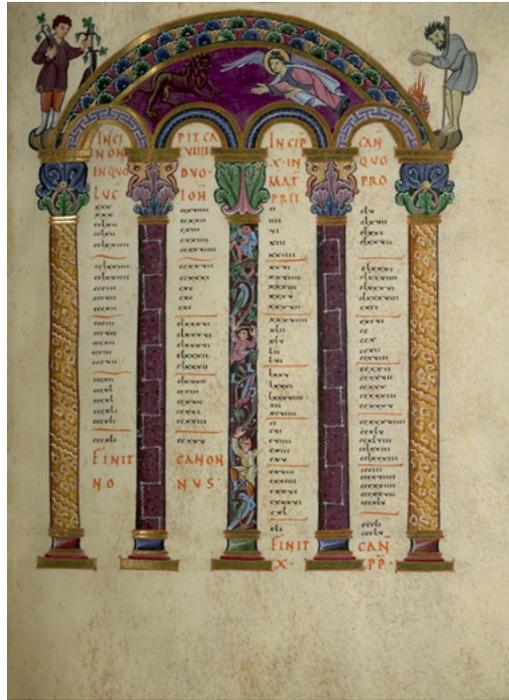
Fig. 15: Gospels of Henry II (*c*.1010). Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4454, fol. 17r.

in Munich, probably originated around 1010 on the island of Reichenau (Fig. 15). All elements of the canon table on fol. 17r are enhanced to the highest degree of splendour: the two outer columns are golden, the inner ones denote dark red porphyry of the highest quality, the imperial stone of the *Porphyrogenitos* emperors. The Byzantine imperial reference is logical, since Emperor Otto's marriage to princess Theophanu maintained great significance for the Ottonians. The noble porphyry pillars, according to their Greek name designating the colour purple (*pyrpyr*), were also painted from the finest purple pigment. Furthermore, a white geometric meander adorns the porphyry columns. The four arches connecting the columns are surmounted by an arc of the same colour filled with two rows of colourful palmettes, which span a tympanum field also encrusted with porphyry. Set within the tympanum are the two Zodiac signs, *Leo* and *Virgo*. On both sides boulders grow seamlessly out of the architecture; standing upon them are personifications of autumn and winter.

The central column of the canon table is also porphyry-ground, but in it three colourfully dressed men romp within a lush green vine. Above a grape-picking bird at the foot of the column, an archer aims at a red-blue bird above him. In the middle, a climber reaches for the tail of a blue-green bird, while at the top a man crouches and picks grapes for his basket.

A comparison of the two canon tables of the Carolingian Codex Harley, and the Henry Gospels, shows a completely different understanding of the same root idea, revealing the gap between Carolingian *Renovatio* and Ottonian *Transformatio* of antiquity. Respectably dressed, the men go about their work; nothing evokes Dionysian debauchery on this pillar. The above two men in this presumed *interpretatio christiana* appear more like winemakers, emphasised particularly by the vintner's basket at the feet of the grape picker directly below the capital.

Combined with the seasonal personification of autumn on the arch on the upper left, holding and harvesting the vine, the medieval observer may have recalled Christ's parable of the workers in the vineyard of the Lord. As the central column seems to be almost bursting with pickers, whose arms bend sharply to fit the pillar contour, it looks like a cylinder of glass filled with the bodies of a Dionysian *thiasos*. Here are seen the beginnings of the Romanesque beast pillars,[41] which developed in the twelfth century as *trumeaux*, especially in France. In sites such as Ste. Marie de Souillac or Moissac, the inhabited trumeau and portal evoke a kind of monumental canon table,[42] usually with Christ and the evangelists' symbols in the tympanum centre, making the worshippers 'tables of flesh'[43] (Paul: 'You show that you are Christ's letter, delivered by us, not written with ink but with the Spirit of the living God, not on tablets of stone but on tablets that are hearts of flesh').[44] This also shows that the Ottonian transformation of antiquity by no means constitutes incompetence, relative to the Carolingian forms, but communicates a value in itself. The artistic freedom on the Reichenau produced a new pictorial form. This innovation, within a relative stability of the overall form of medieval gospel manuscripts, corresponds to the artistic principle of *variatio delectat*, the antique idea of artistic originality, emphasized in the teaching of ancient rhetoric. In any case, the Ottonian columns with climbers are the best proof that this is indeed a reception of the Solomonic columns in Jerusalem or in Old-St Peter in Rome,

as the very practice of variation is itself a representation of the Antique, even if this implies that the visual forms distance themselves further from an antique model.[45]

5 Conclusion

A twofold interaction exists between the ancient marble altar columns erected in the main church of Western Christendom and their painted counterparts in the canon panels with bodies and faces. In book illumination, formal freedom is possible beyond the physical limitations of the sculpted or built.[46] The example of the lively Italian and Spanish columns, however, shows that a stimulating and reciprocal effect accrued to the imagination of monumental form. The Carolingians worked with a theologically unassailable legitimacy that a strong church must consist of *lapides vivi*, as well as the conviction, persistent since antiquity, that as God's creation something living can slumber in stone. To approach these ideas, the Carolingian book painters were given *carte blanche*. Within the relatively firmly established form of the architectonic canon tables, they exercised a welcome opportunity to explore artistically freer forms of permanent change; inventive formal variety was prized as a strategy to please and fascinate the observer. In closing, I would like to compare a specific detail in one illumination and two marble columns: the female picker with grape basket. She appears in the Soissons Gospels, as discussed above, but also at San Carlo in Cave, and on the former *Paradisus* marble column of Santiago de Compostela. An essential artist's concern in all these disparate cases may well have been the Roman rhetorical principle of *delectare et movere*, that is, enhancing the observer's attention and *memoria* by the joyful search for many details that might be discovered. The vivacity of the columns staged this process in a subtle way. The age-old 'Dionysian' iconography of 'living stone' was an essential driving force for Christian iconography as a whole, outmanoeuvring every prejudice of a dark and exclusively theologically regimented Middle Ages with a formal grace that is downright antique.

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41 See now Keil 2018.

42 Especially in Moissac the tabular form of the portal—evoking a letter—embodies the point about fitting living bodies into the framework established by the sculpture. See Droste 1996, 226.

43 That illuminated canon tables really were thought of as tables of flesh can clearly be seen in insular manuscripts like the Cutbercht Gospels of *c*.784 (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1224, fol. 18r), where even the arcades of the tables do not end in the architecture but in protruding animals' heads, and the text columns as the evangelists' bodies often end in their busts: Mütherich (1989), 10 and 18, fig. 6.

44 2 Corinthians 3:3.

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45 I am indebted to Beatrice Kitzinger for this important reminder.

46 For these questions see Fuchs 2006, 42–45.

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Susanne Wittekind

Shifting Frames: The Mutable Iconography of Canon Tables

Abstract: In the early Middle Ages canon tables became a visual characteristic and leitmotif of gospel books. When their specific arcade structure was employed in other manuscript contexts in the ninth and tenth centuries, it accordingly referred to the gospels. The framing motif expressed unity in diversity, standing for the testimony and story of the gospels alongside the historical truth of Jesus and the salvation promised to the faithful. The Pfäfers *Liber Viventium*, the Folchard Psalter and the Aethelwold Benedictional all embody this direct reference to gospel books. With the turn to lectionaries and missals in the twelfth century, gospel books fell out of fashion and liturgical practice. Some of the few surviving examples also forego the canon tables. Meanwhile, the arcade frames of canon tables reappear, transferred to calendars. Here, they visualize the unity of liturgical time in its relation to core events in the life of Christ, salvation history and the church. The Stammheim Missal, the Claricia Psalter and the Landgrave Psalter demonstrate this shift. The paper thus argues that canon table structure—always visually pleasing—moved from a specific function and meaning in the early medieval period to serve as a more versatile but always semantically loaded vessel in high medieval contexts.

1 Canon tables: Ornament and vessels of meaning

Arches and aediculae are architectural expressions of honour and dignity common in antiquity in the depiction of rulers, officials, or authors.[1] On sarcophagi, they serve to structure and embellish the depicted mythological narrative.[2] As quasi-architectural ornament and décor, they are in themselves symbolic vessels of meaning without carrying any necessary iconographic connotation. As early as 1958, Günter Bandmann had called for art history to engage with ornament and to establish an iconology of

ornaments that explores their semantic connotation and the life of motifs through time.[3]

As architectural signifiers of dignity, arcades and aediculae were used to give the Eusebian canon tables a suitably dignified visual presence from a very early date, if not indeed from the very inception of the concept.[4] Arcades serve as a frame for the synoptic, often matrix-like tables. As early as the sixth century, they were also used to structure the canon tables themselves: On each page, the internal sequence of arches is surmounted and framed by another arch superimposed on the structure. With the ten canons of the lesser sequence arranged on twelve pages or the twelve canons of Nordenfalk's greater sequence arranged on sixteen pages,[5] page after page of these arcades form an immediate visual cue and leitmotif of gospel books up to the high Middle Ages, often indeed as their only true ornament. This remained true even as the canon tables lost their functional purpose as a finder tool for synoptic parallels, either when the section numbering and canons were lost from the margins of the actual gospels or when scribal errors confused the textual links.[6] Several factors led to this close and lasting connection between the gospel texts and the Eusebian canon tables, not least the force of St Jerome's support expressed in his explication of the Eusebian canons' structure and concept in his letter to Pope Damasus (†384). Appended to his prefaces to the gospels, this letter gained ubiquitous presence in Western gospels. Another prominent reason lies in the symbolic value of the tables: The formal presentation of the gospel texts by means of abstract numbers, arranged in tables and sorted by sections was visual evidence of theological scholarly rigour in the use of the gospels. With the final,

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[1] On the semantics of Roman architectural ornament cf. von Hesberg 2005, 32–62; Delbrück 1929, 11. On authors' portraits, cf. Jaś Elsner in this volume.

[2] See the great sarcophagus with its mythological scenes of the underworld dating from the time of Antoninus Pius (138–161) kept in Velletri, Museo civico—cf. Kraus 1967, no. 215; von Euw 1989, 146–147.

[3] Cf. Bandmann 1958–1959, here 237 and 244 on the top-down transmission of ornament and the role of ornament as a vehicle of order and hierarchy. The ability of ornaments to structure images beyond their narrative formation is discussed in Spies/Beyer 2012, 13–23.

[4] Nordenfalk 1938, 78, 82, 132 remains the fundamental reference; on the pre-medieval origin of the motif as evidenced by the antique entablature style cf. 195–199, 204–207.

[5] Nordenfalk 1938, 216–218.

[6] Reudenbach 2015, 345–357, here 356; also cf. Jochen H. Vennebusch, Materialisieren — Erschließen — Deuten. Anlagekonepte, liturgische Lesenutzung und visualisierte Hermeneutik mittelalterlicher Evangelienbücher am Beispiel Reichenauer Codices, doctoral thesis Universität Hamburg 2019.

complete quality of the canon tables, the four canonical gospels were given a defined structure, defined also in separation from other, 'apocryphal' texts. The synoptic nature of the tables draws the eye to the coherence and harmony of the superficially disparate stories, and the quite literally overarching arcade above the section tables reemphasizes their unity in diversity.[7] The visual motif of the sequence of staggered arches suggests the (divine) order in the gospel's salvation history.

When this particular type of the arcade sequence is employed for other texts and other types of works, the semantic weight the canon table form carries from its inclusion in the gospels will, this paper argues, remain present. The meaning contained in their form is injected into or superimposed onto the new context. In 2009, Bruno Reudenbach suggested that the canon table motif deliberately used an architectural language with its characteristic forms (bases, columns, capitals) 'to express the gospels as a space of a unique kind':[8] The prologue *Ammonius quidem* (i.e. Eusebius's *Letter to Carpianus*) speaks of a literal passing-through of the *ordo librorum*. The arcades and colonnades of the canon tables remind Reudenbach of the rhythm of real arcades and colonnades in late Roman basilicas. Their order and regularity, at the same time, suggests the spiritual ordered space of the hereafter, the heavenly Jerusalem. One can see another level of meaning alongside this spatial dimension: time. As will be discussed, the canon table structure becomes a signifier of the age of grace, that is, of salvation history beginning with the gospel narratives that is given an architectural framing in them. This removes and visually delimits this history from secular, linear history, but also offers an opportunity to embed current (liturgical) actions in the here and now into that symbolic salvation history.[9]

This paper will explore the visual decorative structure of the canon tables as a pattern and model that becomes a distinguishing feature of a specific manuscript type, namely gospel books.[10] Beyond the practical use of the canon tables, their architectural visuals and their décor

become the medium for visually linking and semantically loading different elements and contents in a manuscript. Its first part will analyse the links and references created between the canon tables and the Evangelist portraits contained in a selection of gospel books.[11] The case of a combination of gospel lectionary and confraternity book in the *Liber Viventium* of Pfäfers leads to other classes of manuscripts that use the characteristic structure of double-page arcade sequences to present and highlight other contents: the names of confraternal brothers in the case of Pfäfers, the litany of the saints in the Folchart Psalter, the choirs of saints in the Aethelwold Benedictional, the hymns in the Stammheim Missal, calendars in illuminated psalters, or the community of saints and believers in the Corvey *Liber Vitae*. Since Antiquity, arcades had served to highlight and dignify certain texts or depictions of individuals in manuscripts. One still has to ask which other meaning is given to texts and images when they are placed in the sequences of arches normally reserved for canon tables and which roles the contents highlighted in this manner have in each manuscript.

2 Recurrence of the canon table motif in gospel books

Going by several early, particularly Armenian gospel manuscripts that present the Eusebius prologue as well as the canon tables under arcades, Nordenfalk suggested that the 'decorative union of prologue and canon tables' goes back to a Eusebian archetype.[12] The iconography creates a direct link between the canon tables and their explanation and simultaneously sets them apart from the following gospel texts and prefaces and—where included—the rectangular Evangelist portraits.[13]

Early medieval Latin gospel books often include an iconographic link between the canon tables and the Evangelist portraits or the incipits of the gospels, e.g. in a northern French gospel book of the third quarter of the ninth century kept in Cologne (Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, Cod. 14)[14] (Fig. 1), in which the

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7 Cf. Nordenfalk 1938, 49.

8 Reudenbach 2009, 63; he interprets the recurrence of the canon table arcades in the miniatures of the Aachen Gospels as an expansion of the manuscript's architectural language that turns the gospel texts into a textual space (ibid. 65).

9 Nordenfalk 1938, 117–121 asks whether Eusebius could have taken the form of tables separated by columns from chronographic compilations or epigraphic lists (*itineraria*).

10 On the semantics of geometric motifs cf. Kühnel 2003, Kitzinger 2017. Gormans 1999, here 65–67 and 86 on the mnemotechnical function and synoptic momentum of medieval pictorial structures, 71–72 on their role in making the invisible, the *ordo mundi*, imaginable, 117–118 on their multiple readings.

11 On the role of ornament as internal visual reference in manuscripts cf. Wittekind 2015.

12 Nordenfalk 1938, 94–96.

13 E.g. in the Ethiopian Garima Gospels, cf. Jaś Elsner in this volume.

14 On this manuscript cf. Plotzek 1998, 332–342 Nr. 74, f. 67v–68r on Mark, fol. 104v–105r on Luke, fol. 160v–161r on John (a leaf with the Crucifixion and the Evangelist portrait was lost from the Gospel of Matthew); https://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:hbz:kn28-3-32 (last accessed 06/11/2018)

Evangelist portraits and the incipit pages facing them each form double pages with similar arcades. Another visual link is created by the Evangelists' symbols not only appearing in the *clipeus* above each portrait, but also in the capitals of the arcade columns. The similar double-page arcade sequences emphasize not only the equal weighting of each gospel, but also the link with the initial canon tables, reproducing its double arcade structure throughout the entire manuscript (Fig. 2).

A similar approach is used in the gospel book of St. Maria ad Gradus (Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, Cod. 1001a), in which the Evangelist portraits are linked with the canon tables, whose arches are surmounted by a separate gable.[15] In this case, the Evangelists are depicted enthroned in *aediculus*, flanked by a perspective drawing of the building on one side and a separate tower on the other to fill the space in such a way that each Evangelist sits in a sequence of high arches or rectangular openings. (Fig. 3) The central aediculae in which the Evangelists are enthroned becomes the visual centre, around which the other architectural elements, more irregular in shape and size, are arranged. The variety of these flanking architectures seems to signify the diversity in unity of the gospels, whereas the central, framed Evangelist portrait with its aedicule and gold ground becomes symbolic of the divine order behind all this variety. Visually most closely related to the geometric motif of the canon tables is the depiction of Saint Jerome following immediately after the arcade with Canon X (fols 7v–8r) (Fig. 4). Jerome is enthroned underneath the familiar double arches, in turn surmounted by a gable. This is flanked by two symmetrical wings of the building, opening up in high arches filled in green. Combined with the central double arches, this creates a rhythmic quadruple arcade that is mirrored in the four arches of Canon X. Jerome is given this place of honour as the interpreter of the divine law (as stated plainly in the gold inscription: *interpres divine legis*). The authors' images in this manuscript translate the regular two-dimensional arcade structure of the canon tables into a quasi-real built space, a realistic and irregular architecture. Jerome, whose prologues and letters explain the use of the canon tables and emphasize how the gospels tell the same truth in different ways, becomes the medium for drawing attention to the essential structure of the texts and their salvatory meaning. In the abstract structure of the concordance, the canon tables represent the gospels in their essence.[16]

A different solution was found in the *Liber Viventium* of the Benedictine Abbey of Pfäfers:[17] Dated 820 to 830, the manuscript does not include the full gospels, but rather a selection of 72 lessons for high feasts, beginning with Christmas and Epiphany, followed by Lent, Easter and the Sundays until Holy Thursday, and ending with Pentecost and the readings for the following Sundays and special lessons for the Commune Sanctorum (dedication masses, votive and requiem masses). Unlike other gospel lectionaries, the texts do not follow the usual liturgical year, but are instead sorted by gospel. To von Euw, this unusual order of the *Liber Viventium* represents the 'attempt to create a liturgical tool retaining the type of a full gospel while attaining the properties of an lectionary'[18]. While other gospel books contain leaves with the double arches preceding the gospel texts, this manuscript has them following each gospel. As is common in the canon tables, each double page uses the same colour scheme and ornamentation for the arches; only the very first arch of the sequence matches the Evangelist portrait that preceded the gospel selection in colour and pattern (Figs 5, 6). This creates a visual bridge between the Evangelist (and his gospel) and the arcades, not unlike the approach used in the aforementioned northern French gospel book (Fig. 1). However, the arcades in the *Liber Viventium* do not list numbered canon sections, but rather the names of confraternal brothers, sorted by convents and ruling families.[19]

In the early Middle Ages, the living and the dead who were to be commemorated in the mass were often recorded on the insides of typically rectangular ivory diptychs.[20] The oldest memorial books record the names in a similar manner in single file.[21] However, the confraternity book of

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15 On the manuscript cf. Plotzek 1998, 369–382 Nr. 78; Beuckers 2018. https://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:hbz:kn28-3-2371 (last accessed 06/11/2019).

16 On the abstract understanding required for the canon tables cf. Crawford in this volume.

17 For the manuscript cf. von Euw 1989; Jurot/Gamper 2002, 81–83; Kiening 2008, 290–291. Digital scan at http://www.e-codices.unifr. ch/en/searchresult/list/one/ssg/fab0001 (last accessed 02/10/2018). The gospels follow each Evangelist portrait, Matthew on pp 5–20, Mark pp 53–64, Luke pp 95–110, and John pp 145–164 (cf. von Euw 1989, 14–18, and list of the readings 28–33). Von Euw notes that these always include the beginning and the end of each gospel (23).

18 Von Euw 1989, 24.

19 As Greek and Roman numbers are expressed with letters and therefore appear as a type of text, this replacement of numbers with names was more obvious than the modern reader assumes.

20 Von Euw 1989, 211f; Volbach 1955, 50–60; http://www.rdklabor. de/wiki/Diptychon_(Elfenbein) (last accessed 02/10/2018).

21 E.g. in the *Liber Vitae* of Durham Cathedral (London, British Library, Cotton Domitian MS A. VII, eighth century), the confraternity book of St Peter's in Salzburg of 784 (Salzburg, Erzabtei St. Peter,

Fig. 1: Gospel book, Northern France, *c.*850. Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, Cod. 14, fols 104v-105r: Evangelist Luke and Incipit to Luke. © Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek.
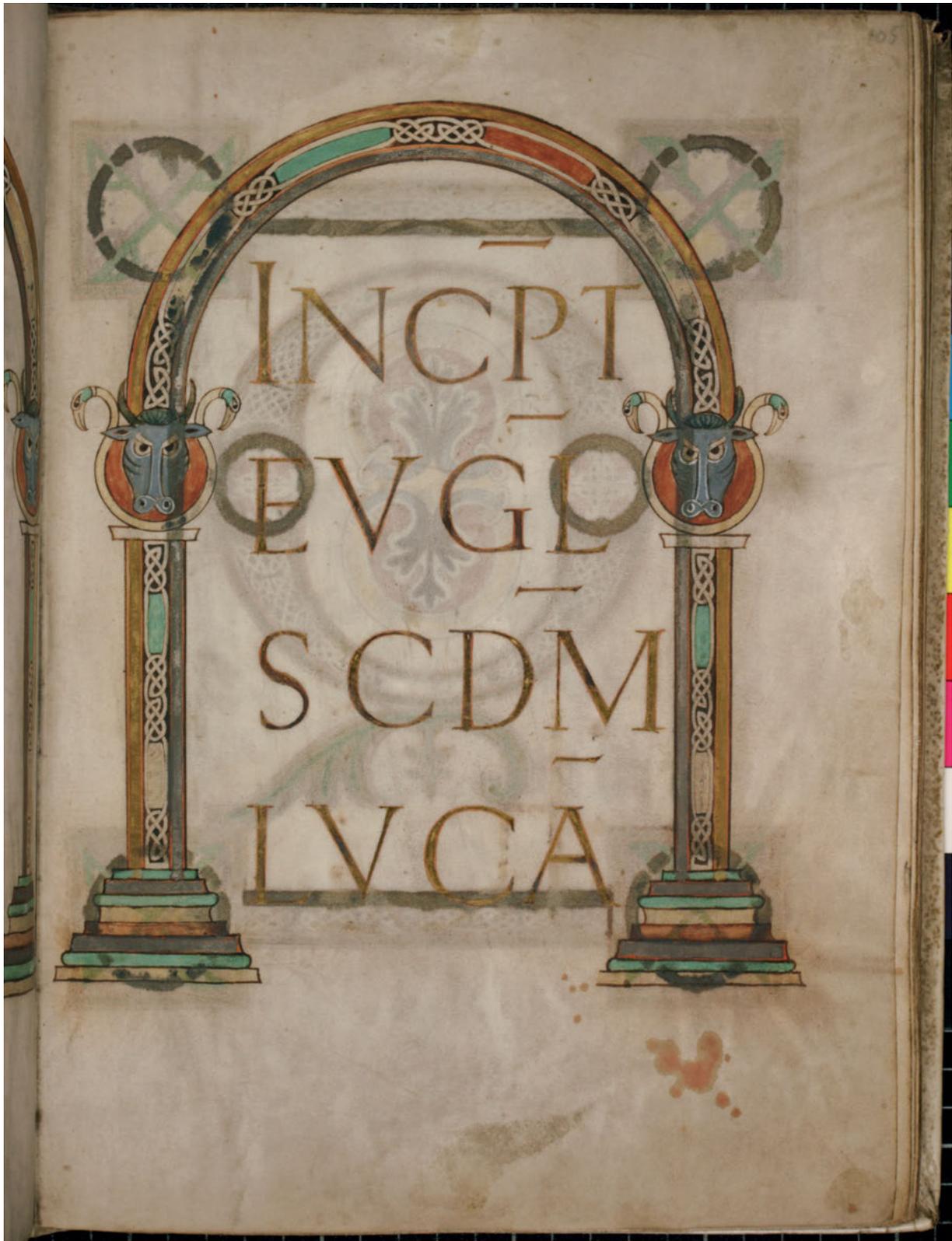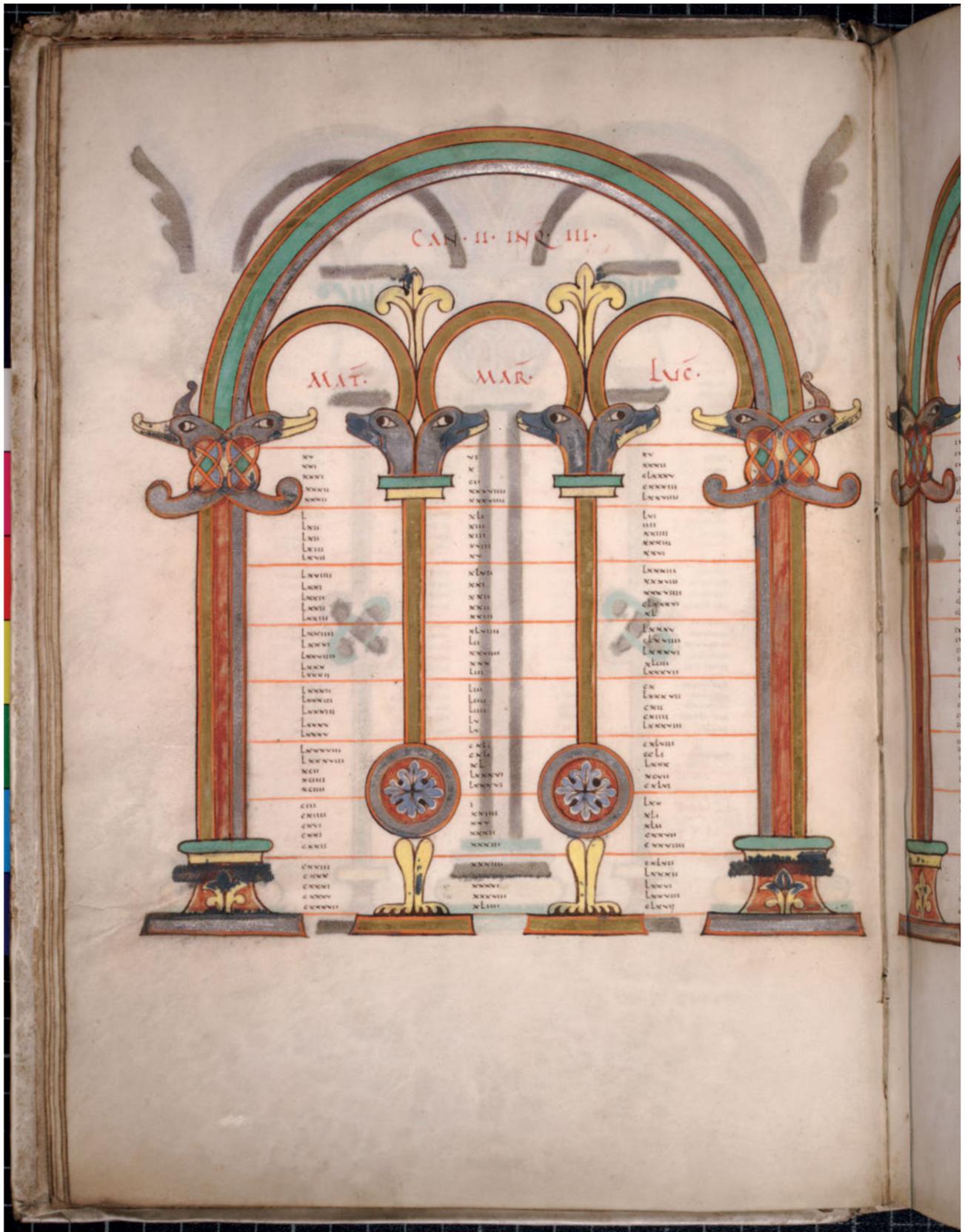
Fig. 2: Gospel book, Northern France, *c.*850. Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, Cod. 14, fols 10v-11r: Canon III.
© Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek.
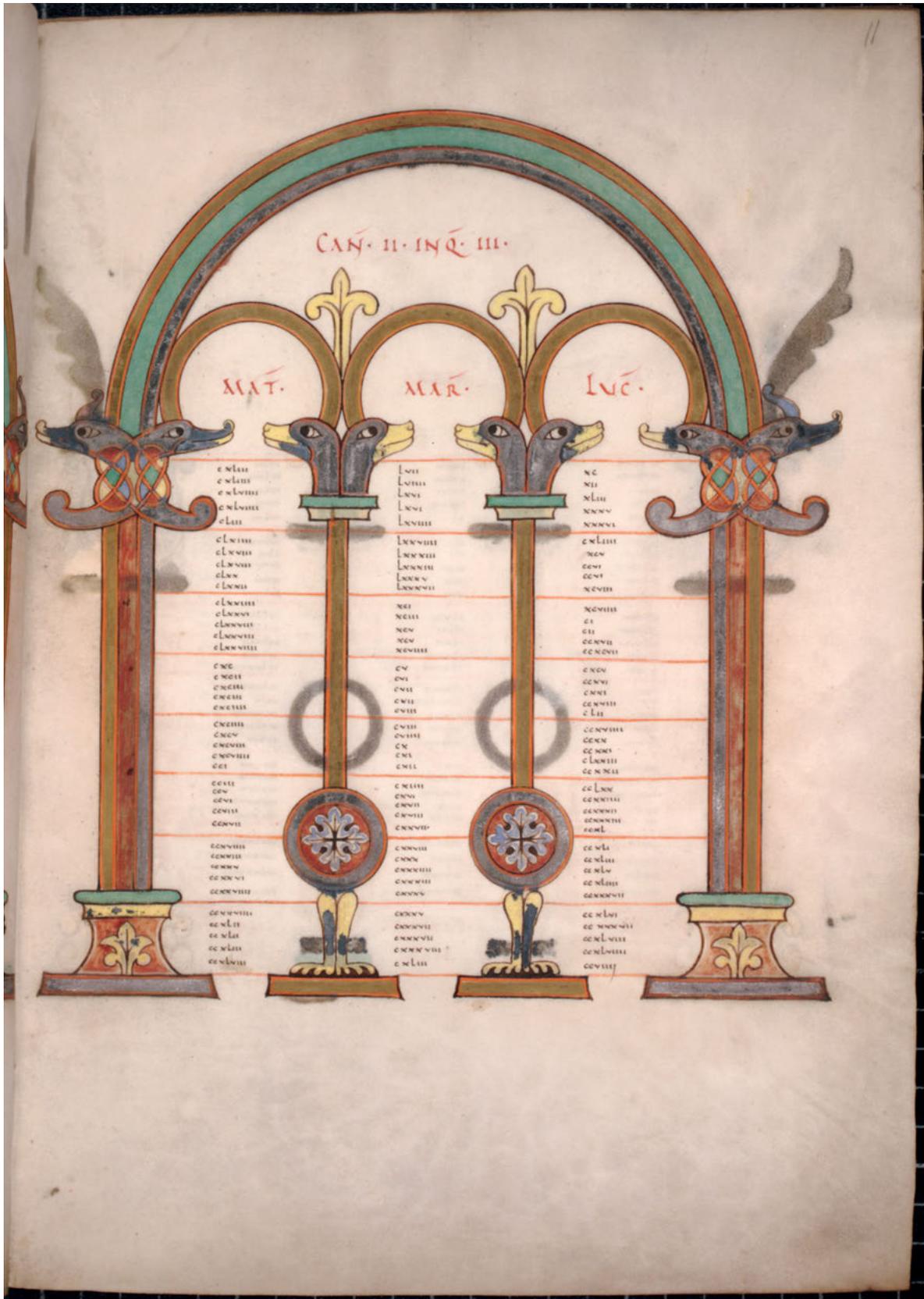
Fig. 3: Gospels from St Mary ad Gradus, Cologne *c*.1030. Cologne. Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, Cod.1001a, fols 21v-22r: Evangelist Matthew and Incipit to Matthew. © Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek.

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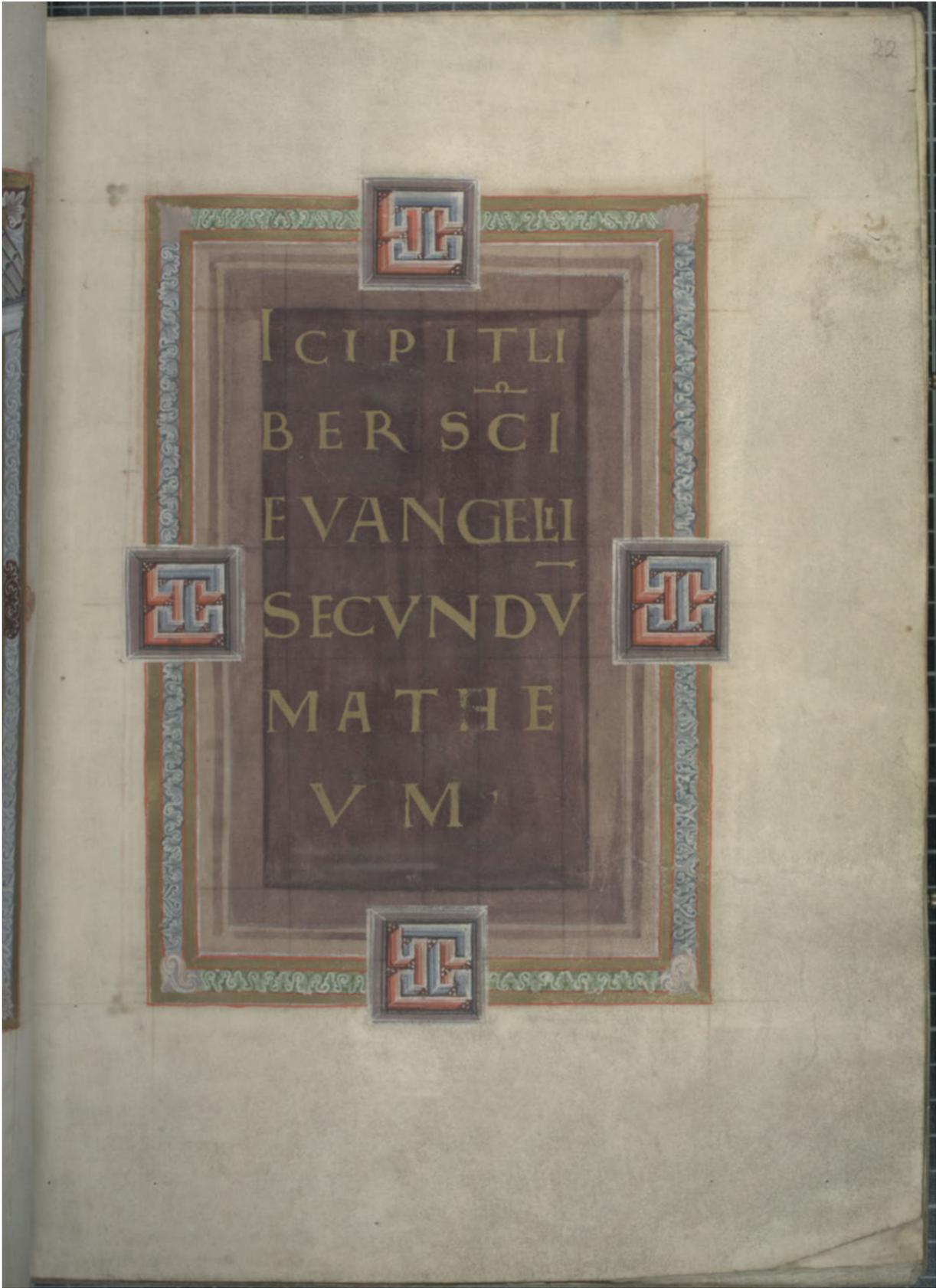
Fig. 4: Gospels from St Mary ad Gradus, Cologne *c.*1030. Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, Cod. 1001a, fols 7v-8r: Canon X and Hieronymus. © Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek.

Fig. 5: *Liber Viventium* Fabariensis, Pfäfers 820–830 and later additions. St Gall, Stiftsarchiv, Cod. Fabr. 1, pp. 4-5, Evangelist Matthew and Incipit of Matthew. https://www.e-codices.ch/de/list/one/ssg/fab0001

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ET SALVATORIS
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ac Isaac au genuit
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au genuit esrom
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Obed au genuit iesse
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rex genuit seelomo
nem ex ee que fuit
urie Salomon au
genuit roboam
Roboam au genuit
abiam Abiee au ge
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genuit iosaphat
Ioseephat au genuit
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genuit ozieem Ozi
as au genuit ioatha
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Fig. 6: *Liber Viventium* Fabariensis, Pfäfers 820–830 and later additions. St Gall, Stiftsarchiv, Cod. Fabr. 1, pp. 22–23: List of monks from Reichenau abbey. https://www.e-codices.ch/de/list/one/ssg/fab0001

Mano	diuc		Theoting	diuc
Eburhart	diuc		Pepo	subd
Yuoluolt	subd		Theopr̄	mōn
Adabrant	subd		Theothere	diuc
Ingibr̄	diac		Dagobr̄	diu

Ocpreht	sub		Perehtā	sub
Riccoz	sub		Lantbr̄	sub
Liutpr̄	sub		Heribr̄	prb
Sigiroh	prb		Truago	prb
Leifi	mōn		Vuigerat	sub
Liutpr̄	sub		Hato	prb
Ruadachar	prb		Hato	mon
Erchanbolt	prb		Thingine	prb
Vualdger	mōn		Heribr̄	mon
Heriuuns	mōn		Druam	mōn
Horibreht Liuthart	prb mōn		Reginbolt	sub
Reginfrid	sub		Fridemunt	mon
Alberich	mōn		Erpholt	sub
Hilthibolt	diuc		Bero	ptr
gaudentia			Sigirathzhi&cher·	
Vincentius			Hildiburgh Hettinḡ	
Verendarius·	DIA·		Puuo kerhaft·diac	
Siluanus·	DIA·		Regindruht	
Ursacius·	DIA·		Luto·DIAC·Adal pr	
			cotesscale m̄·	

St Gall created around 813/814 (St Gall, Stiftsarchiv, C 3 B 55) already began to use columns in a sequence of multi-coloured, double horseshoe arches,[22] a form immediately reminiscent of early canon tables. This is not unlike the memorial entries in Pfäfers,[23] but the *Liber Viventium* did not use the double arches simply as honorific ornament. Instead, it injected entire arcade sequences between the four (partial) gospels, which creates an alternating structure of arcades and texts, interweaving them with the gospel. From the outset, several of the arcades were assigned the names of e.g. Carolingian rulers and the bishops of Chur (pp. 24–25), in whose diocese Pfäfers was located.[24] Other arcades were used only later to record the names of the abbots and members of confraternal convents or the names of benefactors of Pfäfers. From the late ninth century, lists of relics and treasures were added; in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the arches became home to statutes, vows, or deeds and charters.

Their entry into the gospel book that embodies Christ logos[25] allows the living and the dead to be in the immediate presence of Christ. Similarly, the listing of treasures and dominia of the monastery places them under his patronage. The gospel texts read during mass (as evidenced by the revisions entered around 840) recall the works of Christ on Earth and mark the beginning of the age *sub gratia* that continues to the present. As the names

of the living and the dead are recorded in the place of the Canon sections in the usual arcade motif, they are iconographically made part of salvation history. The architectural motif of the canon tables, originally emphasizing the unity of the four canonical gospels, is given new meanings in this transition: the believers listed in the tables partake in the salvation made possible by Christ. At the same time, the unifying nature of the arrangement under arches reemphasizes the spiritual unity and community of those commemorated in Christ. Giving new lease to the architectural nature of the motif, the arcades and the names sheltered underneath them form the church of Christ.

These examples show the different ways in which the arcade motif transitioned from the abstract depiction of the gospel synopsis to other manuscript contexts and purposes. With this iconographic transition and link, new connections are formed, Evangelist portraits are connected with the canon tables or, as in the case of Pfäfers, the living and the dead joined in Christ and in a community of diverse origin. The arcade structure of the canon tables was particularly useful for this purpose, as its iconography had long held a specific semantic load through its early and regular connection with the gospel book. Arcade sequences could be used to create a visual link between different (textual) elements in a manuscript. One can therefore argue that an ornament specific to a text, as is the case for canon tables in gospel books, has its textual context ingrained. This context is always recalled by the reader, whether intentionally or not. Whether this holds true needs to be tested with other manuscripts that, like the Pfäfers *Liber Viventium*, use the characteristic sequences of double-page arcades, but for other texts or even other genres.

3 Canon table arcades outside of gospel books

3.1 Early Middle Ages

Sequences of arches as a means for organizing lists and tables were used even in contexts outside of gospel books. This applies in particular to lists of names—deceased or otherwise included in *memoria* (as at Pfäfers)—but also for litanies, calendars, or glossaries.[26] This paper will focus specifically on manuscripts that have the typical dichotomy of arcade-framed and unframed parts. They include the

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Archiv, Hs. A 1), the Reichenau confraternity book of around 824 (Zurich, Central Library, Rh. Hist. 27), and the *memoriale* of Brescia of around 854 (Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana, Cod. G VI.7)—a list of Carolingian memorial books is provided in von Euw 1989, 207f.

22 Nordenfalk 1938, 82 sees the Eusebian archetype in the horseshoe arch typical of Syriac gospels. Individual cases of horseshoe arches are found introducing patristic texts in Merovingian manuscripts at Corbie and Luxeuil, as noted by von Euw 1989, 141–144; cf. the Augustinian sermons at Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Cod. Guelf. 99 Weiss., http://diglib.hab.de/mss/99-weiss/start.htm?image=00012 (last accessed 13/04/2020), or Jerome's Ezekiel commentary in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 11627, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8423829s/f12.item (last accessed 13/04/2020); on the latter cf. Babette Tewes 2011, 49, 70–71.

23 On the St Gall manuscript, cf. von Euw 1989, 215: double horseshoe arcades with integrated columns in the older part (C 3), columns with entablature in the newer part added around 890 (B 55). A similarly structuring and honorific use of arcades was already made in a canonical compendium of the late sixth century (Cologne, Dom Hs. 212) to frame a two-page list of popes at the end of the manuscript (fols 168v–169r). cf. von Euw 1989, 213; Plotzek 1998, 105–110; Ziemann 2014; Digital scan at https://digital.dombibliothek-koeln.de/hs/content/zoom/184597urn:nbn:de:hbz:kn28-3-937 (last accessed 31/10/2019).

24 Cf. the overview in von Euw 1989, 13–18 and 198.

25 Von Euw 1989, 212–213 suggests that the names recorded and commended unto God are likened to the names of the saved in the Book of Life (Ps 68:28f.; Apk 3:5). Gussone 1995; Lentes 2006; Heinzer 2009.

26 Cf. Jakobi-Mirwald 1998, 100.

Folchart Psalter at St Gall (Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 23), created there between 872 and 883.[27] The manuscript includes the psalter proper as well as *Cantica* (pp 337–359), the *Credo,* and the *Pater noster* (pp 359–365) and an opening litany of the saints, framed by arches (pp 7–14). This selection suggests that the Psalter was created and used not only for the liturgical hours, but for full mass liturgy. The litany was prayed during processions, baptism, and ordination to the higher orders[28] (Fig. 7). Written in gold and silver ink on purple ground, the initial *Kyrie* is followed by an invocation of God and the angels, then continuing through the choirs of saints to end with a plea for protection against enemies, sudden death etc. (p. 12), before concluding the litany with the *Agnus Dei* and *Kyrie* (p. 14). The columns and arches of the arcade sequence are richly ornate and floriated, with (floral) acroteria shooting from the imposts. As such, these double arcades resemble contemporary canon tables, as they also do in the iconography of the contained images.[29] The tympana, filled in green, include a sequence of twelve saints or apostles with crosses, codices, or scrolls in hand, interrupted by two Old Testament scenes: David as the Psalmist accompanied by scribes and other composers as the archetype of secular poetry and music (p. 9) and David's translation of the Arc of the Covenant as the precedent for contemporary processions (and as reference to the litany's practical use in the context of such processions) (p. 12).

The uniform framing of the saints called upon in the litany and depicted here in half-length portraits brings these saints into communion with Christ, the merciful judge addressed at the start and the end of the litany. The golden arches call to mind the New Jerusalem,[30] the vines and floral acroteria suggest Paradise, offering hope and the promise of salvation to the faithful reader.

The collection of saints underneath a sequence of arches at the start of the Folchart Psalters resembles that of the Aethelwold Benedictional, Winchester 971–984

(London, British Library, Add. MS 49598, fols 1r–4r)[31] (Fig. 8). The main body of this manuscript is again preceded by double pages of architectural imagery under arched or gabled roofs. They shelter representatives of the saints included in the litany of the Folchart Psalter—*confessores, virgines,* and *apostoli*[32]—to form what Deshman calls a visual litany of the saints. The harmony of the double-page images, in a sequence of gables and arches, is even more reminiscent of canon tables here than in the Folchart Psalter. The central pillars of the architectural structures are here replaced by images of saints, and more saints fill the intercolumnar spaces.[33] The following benedictions are ordered according to the cycle of the liturgical year; the communion of saints thus precedes the cyclical time of the liturgy. A similar link of saintly choirs with the liturgical year can be found at the opening of the early tenth-century Galba Psalter (London, British Library, Cotton MS Galba A.xviii), in which miniatures of saints in adoration frame a metric calendar.[34] The circular time of the liturgical year and the actual earthly liturgy are thereby connected to or, indeed, embraced by the eschatological time of God and his saints. As the visual all-saints narrative of the Aethelwold Benedictional deliberately picks up the structure of the canon tables, it adds another dimension of time to the circular time of liturgy: the historical biblical time of the gospel narrative. By including the Virgins and Confessors, the salvation story of the gospels is extended into the age of the church, making it only logical that representations of saints like the first martyr Stephen (fol. 17v) and Swithun (fol. 97v) also appear underneath the arches at the opening of their feasts (Fig. 9). This emphasizes their belonging to the saintly choirs that open the codex. Conversely, as not only saints, but also selected scenes from

27 Von Euw 2008, 394–395, no. 97. According to the entry on pp 26/27, the Psalter was created at the behest of Abbot Hartmut (872–883) by Folchart, of whom documents tell us that he rose from subdeacon to deacon at St Gall and presumably died in 903; http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0023 (last accessed 13/04/2020).

28 Fischer 1961, 1075–1077. For England, cf. Lapidge 1991.

29 Corner acroteria, floral décor and birds belong to the archetype of canon tables suggested by Nordenfalk 1938, 85–86. Cf. Gnisci in this volume on their allusion to Paradise. The *Liber Viventium* only replaces the acroteria with a single dedication scene on p. 12. On the Apostles as motifs for canon tables, cf. Nordenfalk 1963, e.g. in the Trier Gospels, Trier/Echternach um 730 (Trier, Trierer Domschatz, MS 61), http://www.hss-census-rlp.ub.uni-mainz.de/trier-ds-nr-61 (Christoph Winterer) (last accessed 28/11/2018).

30 Cf. Neuman des Vegvar 1997.

31 Deshman 1995, 146–157. Deshman points to the link between the opening choirs of saints with the saints' feasts in the benedictional and the simultaneous reference to the great litany which is part of the church dedication liturgy (*dedicatio*) that concludes the manuscript; Deshman suggests the Galba Psalter (London, BL Cotton Galba A.xviii) of the early ninth century and the saints' miniatures added later (fols 2v, 21r) to the opening calendar as the model or stimulus for the Aethelwold Benedictional. The dedicatory poem (fols 4v–5r) names Bishop Aethelwold of Winchester as sponsor, who ordered 'many arches' (*circos multos*) to be included in it; cf. Lowden 2003, 29f.

32 Deshmann 1995, 259 assumes from the binding and a comparison with similar saints' choirs that the first leaves with images of Christ, possibly the prophets and patriarchs, martyrs, and one more page of confessor saints are missing.

33 Cf. Reudenbach 1984.

34 Deshman 1997; the calendar is decorated with images of the zodiac in medallions, KL initials, and individual figures (fol.13v), more miniatures were added for Psalm 1 (birth of Christ), Ps 51 (lost), and Ps 101 (Ascension); http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_galba_a_xviii (last accessed 28/10/2018).
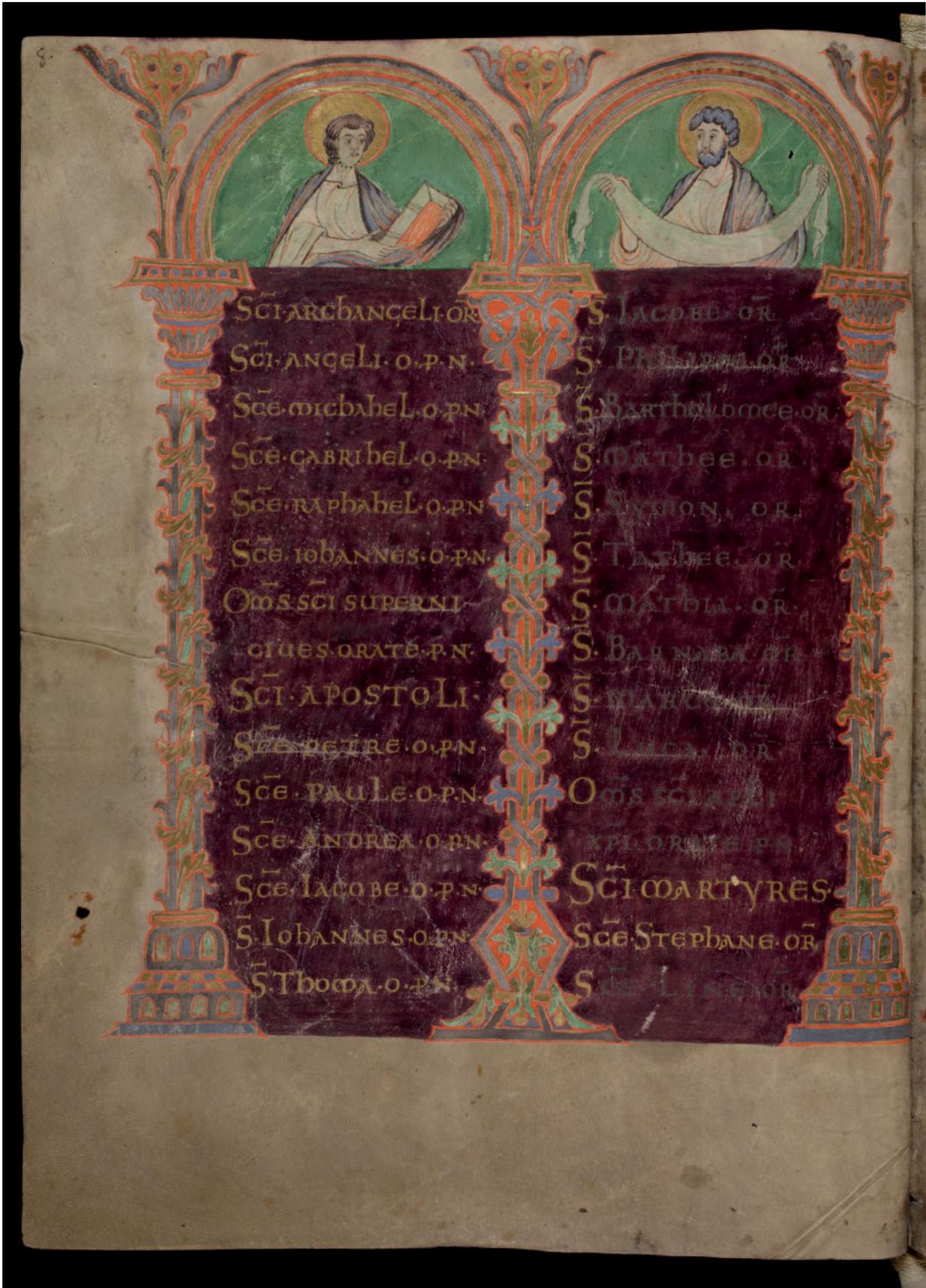
Fig. 7: Folchard Psalter, St Gall 872-883. St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 23, pp. 8–9: Litany. https://www.e-codices.ch/de/list/one/csg/0023

S. CLETE · OR·	SCI CFESS ·
S. CLEMENS · OR·	S. SILWESTER · OR·
S. XIXTE · OR·	S. GREGORI · OR·
S. CORNELI · OR·	S. LEO · OR·
S. CYPRIANE · OR·	S. HILARI · OR·
S. ALEXANDER · OR·	S. MARTINE · OR·
S. LAURENTI · OR·	S. AMBROSI · OR·
S. CYRIACE · OR·	S. AUGUSTINE · OR·
S. MAURICI · OR·	S. GERMANE · OR·
S. DESIDERI · OR·	S. REMEDI · OR·
S. LANTPERTE · OR·	S. ATHANASI · OR·
S. LEUDEGARI · OR·	S. ... · OR·
S. BONEFACI · OR·	S. MAXIMINE · OR·
OMS SCI MART	OMS CFESSORE
XPI OR PNOB ·	XPI OR PNOB

Fig. 8: Aethelwold Benedictional, Winchester 971–984. London, British Library, Add. MS 49598, fols 2v–3r: Apostles. From Deshman 1995.

the gospel narrative are shown in the arches for the feasts of Jesus Christ, e.g. the returning Christ for Advent (fol. 9v), the shared framing binds together the biblical narrative, the historical age of the church, and the eschatological narrative of the final days.[35]

35 Superficially related to the Aethelwold Benedictional is the Rituale of the Benedictine Abbey of Weingarten (*Liber Litaniarum et Benedictionum*, Stuttgart, Wurttembergische Landesbibliothek, HB I 240, here fols 55r–156), created under Abbot Meingoz (1180–1200). In this manuscript, however, the entire text is presented under an unbroken sequence of arches. As in the Aethelwold Benedictional, it starts with litanies (fol. 55r–61r), followed by ordination rites for the liturgical year: Candlemas to Purificatio Mariae, Ash Wednesday to the blessing of palms (fol. 70v), the Easter consecration of candles (fol. 76r), baptism and confirmation (fols 88v, 89v–90v). This is followed by several benedictions for lifestock, land, and buildings, then a consecration of paraments and altar vessels (fols 125r–127r), the monastic vows (fols 141r–144v), prayers for the sick and the deceased with litany (fol. 156r), and a final list of abbots of Weingarten ending with Meingoz. It lacks the typical double structure of the ornate canon tables and pure text pages of evangeliaries that we find repeated in the Folchart Psalter and Aethelwold Benedictional in new forms. The Weingarten manuscript instead uses the arcades rather as a means of

The model provided by the canon tables is taken up and translated into new contexts in the Aethelwold Benedictional and the Folchart Psalter, where they remain an expression of unity in diversity, albeit now for the diverse communion of saints. At the same time, the structure retains an echo of its origins, representing the testimony and story of the gospels, for the historical truth of Jesus and his church, for the new covenant beginning with Christ, and for the salvation promised to the faithful —brought to life in the miniatures accompanying the feast days.

enhancing the status of the collection of texts and to give a sense of order and completeness to it. On the manuscript cf. Autenrieth/Fiala 1970, on the rituale (fols 55r–158v) 166f. It was later bound with records of Abbot Berthold (1200–1232); cf. http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/sammlungen/sammlungsliste/werksansicht/?no_cache=1&tx_dlf%5Bid%5D=1615&tx_dlf%5Bpage%5D=1&cHash=739cd0ccda72972a7957a69b3cab4f9 (last accessed 28/10/2018).

Fig. 9: Aethelwold Benedictional, Winchester 971–984. London, British Library, Add. MS 49598, fols 97v–98r: St Swithun. From Deshman 1995.

3.2 High Middle Ages

Since the latter half of the twelfth century, the arcade motif has been taken up as a means for structuring calendars in several manuscripts.[36] This can be considered an obvious use, as such calendars often depicted the days of each month on a single page, arranged in several columns for the days of the week (letters a to g), the days of the months in the Julian calendar (using the calends, nones, and ides pattern), and the regular feast days, marked by the names and titles of the relevant saints.[37] This creates a table-like matrix for each month, repeated twelve times with variations, that inherently resembles the structure of the canon tables.[38] However, one has to ask about the semantics at work in this transition of a motif so far reserved primarily for the canon tables to a completely new purpose. Does the original meaning as known from the gospel books follow the motif into new contexts? Is it modified or given a new accent?

The Stammheim Missal (Los Angeles, Getty Collection, MS 64), created around 1170-80 for the abbey of St Michael in Hildesheim founded by Bishop Bernward, begins with a twelve-page calendar (fols 3v–9r) (Fig. 10).[39]

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36 Von Euw 1989, 210 suggests the origin of the lists-under-arches format (in the *Liber Viventium* of Pfäfers) to be Roman calendars, specifically the copies of the Roman calendar of 354 (Vatican City, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Barb. Lat. 2154); cf. Elsner in this volume. As the surviving early medieval calendars do not use this arcade format, but were decorated with zodiacal images, the monthly works, or saints as in the mentioned Galba Psalter (London, BL, Cotton Galba A.xviii), the reintroduction of arcades to structure calendars in the mid-twelfth century does not seem to go back to an antique tradition; cf. Blume 2009, 521–535, here 527f. On illuminated calendars cf. Wittekind 2013.

37 On the structure of calendar pages cf. Winterer 2009, 422–429.

38 Von dem Knesebeck 2001, 114 assumes that in the Elisabeth Psalter in Cividale del Friuli (early thirteenth century), the ornamental calendars and their feast day images have symbolic meaning, not unlike canon tables, and that they reflect the promise of salvation in lay psalters.

39 The manuscript is named after its location in the nineteenth century, when it was in the property of the Barons of Fürstenberg;

Fig. 10: Stammheim Missal, Hildesheim *c.*1170–1180, Los Angeles, Getty Collection, MS 64, fols 7v–8r: Calendar September–October. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.

TERCIAS · QVEHOS · TANQVAM · MORS · EST · ALIENVS ·

OCT HT DIES XXXI LVNA XXIX

xviii	A		KL	OCT. Remigii epi·
vii	B	vi	N	Leodegarii epi· ꝫ oꝭ·
xvi	C	v	N	Duor̄ Euualdoꝛ
iiii	D	iiii	N	
	E	iii	N	Dei multi oꝭ·
x·	F	ii	N	
	G	Ho	N	Marti pꝑ· ꝫ oꝭ· Marcelli ꝫ Apulei·
xviii	A	viii	ID	
vii	B	vii	ID	Dionisii ꝫ soc̄ ei·
	C	vi	ID	Gereonis ꝫ soc̄ ei·
xv·	D	v	ID	Iusti Artemii oꝭ·
iiii	E	iiii	ID	
	F	iii	ID	
xii	G	ii	ID	kalixti pꝑ· ꝫ oꝭ·
i	A	ID	vs	Scōr̄ Mauroꝛ·
	B	xvii	K	Hoꝭ· Galli abbis·
ix	C	xvi	K	
	D	xv·	K	Luce evv̄·
xvii	E	xiiii	K	Ianuarii epi·
vi·	F	xiii	K	
	G	xii	K	xi· miliū uirginū
xiiii	A	xi	K	Seueri epi·
iii·	B	x	K	Seueri
	C	viii	K	
xi	D	viii	K	Crispini· Crispiniani· oꝭ·
xix	F	vii	K	Amandi epi·
	F	vi	K	VIGILIA·
viii	G	v	K	SYMONIS · ꝫ IVDE · APLOꝛ·
	A	iiii	K	
xvi	B	iii	K	Narcissi epi·
v·	C	ii	K	Quintini oꝭ· VIGILIA·

aequat· et· october· seqventis·

deoporge· librao·

HEBRAICE THESERI · GRECE · PEVCERETHICOS Eꝫ YPTIACE · PAOФHI·

Each month is framed by an arch; the two months on each double page use the same design—January/February have leaves springing from the imposts, March/April have cupolaed buildings, September/October crenelated towers. These uniform double pages are immediately reminiscent of the canon table type. The opening calendar includes a chronological overview over the regular feasts during the church year, providing an abstract, graphical frame to help organize the following hymns and prayers for those feast days. In a sense, it serves the same abstractly orientating function as the canon tables did for the gospels, even though it does not suggest the unity and order in the diverse and varied narrative of salvation history, but for the abstract and circular time kept in liturgy. Still, this liturgical time relates to salvation history in its reference to the core events in the life of Christ and, with the saints' feast days, in the life and times of the church.

The miniatures following the Stammheim Missal calendar also relate to the complex chronological structures of salvation history: They depict the six active days of the creation narrative to signify the start of history; they show wisdom personified and the Annunciation to stress the unity of the creator and the incarnate logos; and they refer in inscriptions to the house of the church and the heavenly city (fols 10v–11v). These miniatures are followed by the gradual with the set hymns of the *Proprium de Tempore* and the *Sanctorale* (i.e. the *Introitus, Graduale, Tractus, Offertorium,* and *Communio*) for the feast days of the Christmas and Easter cycles to Pentecost.[40] These are presented in a single column text with neumes, with each feast introduced by large floral initials. Only the hymns of special solemnity, the *Kyrie, Gloria*, and *Sanctus* are given in two columns, placed underneath colourful double arches and thus set apart as a group (fols 6 0v–74v) (Fig. 11). As with the opening calendar, these sets are crowned with similar motifs to become the familiar linked double arcades. This striking arcade framing gives the specific and different songs for the feasts an eye-catching place in the manuscript, both attributing special emphasis to the musical genre as an artistic feat and again underlining the inner unity and order in the variety of songs and tunes.[41] At the same time, the framing of both the calendar and the feast-day hymns creates an iconographic link with the liturgical year. The arcade motif repeats the cyclical

structure of the calendar, which is also the basis for the sequences of the *Proprium* and *Sanctorale*.[42] The arcades signify the ordered and cyclical time of the (liturgical) year, while keeping alive the gospel narrative that underlies the liturgical cycle. The age of the church is represented from its beginning to the living present.

As the twelfth century closes, the calendars opening many richly illuminated psalters are often presented as a dozen pages with the familiar double-arcade structure. The Claricia Psalter (Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W. 26) made in Augsburg around 1200 has these double arcades (fols 1v–7r) forming a particularly distinct iconographic unity, as the months are accompanied by the Zodiac in the arches (Fig. 12).[43] The left arcade lists the days of the month, marked by letters and numbers; the right arcade contains the corresponding fixed feast days and saints' names. An introductory verse refers to the most important salvatory event of each month: the Baptism, Purification of the Virgin, Annunciation, Easter, Exaltation of the Cross etc. The Zodiac included in the iconography recalls the divine cosmological order and the cyclical nature of time. All of this is embedded in the familiar motif of the canon tables, whose (ornamental) iconographic reference to the gospel stories again reinforces the purpose of the introductory verses: Each month relates to a part of gospel history. The arcade motif becomes representative for the gospels, the Age of Grace, the foundation of the church, and the theological message contained, according to medieval exegesis, in the Psalter—the key prayer book of medieval clergy and laity alike.[44]

The Landgrave Psalter of 1210–13 (Stuttgart, WLB, HB II 24) also opens with the double arcade sequence of the calendar (fols 1v–7r) (Fig. 13).[45] The left-hand arch covers

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Teviotdale 2001; Teviotdale 2003, 79–91. http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/104673/unknown-maker-stammheim-missal-german-probably-1170s/ (last accessed 25/11/2018).

40 On the contents of the manuscript, cf. Teviotdale 2003, 90 Appendix 1.

41 Cf. Wittekind 2011.

42 Praefationes (fols 83–85) and a double-page image of the Maiestas Domini and Crucifixion (fol. 85v–86r) start the Canon Missae, followed by priestly orations for the liturgical year.

43 I need to thank Dr Lynley Herbert of Baltimore for the mention of the Claricia Psalter. Its double arcades with framing arch have a slight horseshoe shape, the vase-shaped bases are placed on smaller pedestals—the overall effect is one of Syriac canon tables. This is a marked break from the following psalter and its framed miniatures: The opening five full miniatures showing the Annunciation, the birth and baptism of Christ, Mary and the princes of the Apostles; pen-drawn miniatures (Ulrich and Afra, Nicolas, Archangel Michael, and the Madonna and Child) highlight individual sections. On the manuscript cf. Graf 2002, 60f; Mariaux 2013; cf. https://art.thewalters.org/detail/26205 (last accessed 23/11/2018).

44 Auf der Maur 1999, 695f; Häussling 1999, 696–698, Psalterium ibid. 703f.

45 The form of the calendar's twelve double arcades is unusual, as they rise to meet the marbled middle pillar; their contours are highlighted in red ink. Kroos 1992, on the calendar 92-97, on the litany 125-132, on the following depiction of Paradise (f. 176v) 132-135; Heinzer 2018. Digital

the calendar table with the regular feast days of the year, set against the gold ground. The feasts of the Twelve Apostles are highlighted in red. The right-hand arch depicts the Apostle commemorated in each month, with a halo, holding a banderole or book, sometimes facing the reader, sometimes in semi-profile. The coloured beam above each saint names the Apostle, and the tympanum is occupied by a figure engaged in that month's typical works. This combination of the cosmological organization of the year in twelve months and the symbolic number of twelve Apostles emphasizes how creation and salvation are interwoven.[46] The labours of the month in the tympana remind the reader of the (working) Christian life, linked directly by their placement and the shared gold ground with the Apostles as religious teachers. The Apostles step out from their arches as though from gates: following the exegesis of Psalm 86:1, they are not just the foundations of the New Jerusalem, but also its gates and the gates of churches on Earth.[47] The movement in the images, the halos cutting across the beams and the scenes in the tympana, their garbs folding over the arcades' pillars (fols 2r, 6r), and their feet stepping over the front edge of the images seem to make the Apostles come out of the confined space of the image. By artistic means, the role of the Apostles as the preachers of the gospels comes to life, opening the gates to the heavenly Jerusalem that is evoked by the arcade sequence.

The Landgrave Psalter again picks up the arcade motif that opened the manuscript in a modified form in the final litany following the psalter proper and the cantica. This (minor) litany, part of the vesper liturgy, calls on God and his saints for intercession; unlike the calendar's chronological listing of the saints according to their feast days, the litany uses a hierarchical grouping: Christus Salvator and Mary are followed by the Archangels, John the Baptist, and the Patriarchs and Prophets, the Apostles and Evangelists, in turn followed by the martyrs, the confessors, and blessed virgins. The usual double arcades are placed on gold backgrounds, above which some architectural elements like arches, towers, and cupolas rise. As in the calendar, the actual text for the litany is presented in the spaces between the columns, crowned by half-length figures: the first three pages show the interceding saints to match the text, that is, the Virgin and John the Baptist (fol. 173r), followed by military saints named in the litany, SS. Maurice, George, and Sebastian (fol. 173v), and two virgin martyrs (fol. 174r). As in the Folchart Psalter, the arcades serve to highlight the litany and draw the eye to a selection of the saints being called upon. At the same time, the motif creates a link between the chronological and cyclical sequence of saints' days in the calendar and their hierarchical order in the litany. In the Galba Psalter, this was accomplished merely by framing the calendar with miniatures of the saintly choirs in adoration. The Landgrave Psalter opens the litany with a miniature (fol. 172v) depicting the Throne of Mercy. Fig. 14, framed by a mandorla and the four Evangelists to recall the Maiestas Domini miniatures that frequently preceded canon tables in earlier gospel books. While these had focused on motifs of the Pantokrator, the Landgrave Psalter's depiction of the crucified Christ and the dove of the Holy Spirit places its emphasis on the sacrificial death of Christ and the salvatory role of the Holy Spirit. The text of the litany moves in the same direction, as its second part recalls the birth, baptism, death, and resurrection of Christ and the coming of the Spirit as a work of mercy, before concluding with the call for justification and mercy in the final days (fol. 174v). Above these final prayers, the images of the saints give way to depictions of the Psalter's patrons, Landgravine Sophia (r. 1196–1238) and Landgrave Hermann I of Thuringia (r. 1190–1217) (fol. 174v), shown in supplication to two archbishops holding a clypeus with the Lamb. This again matches the text's prayer to Christ, the *Agnus Dei*, and the *Kyrie*'s call for mercy (fol. 175r). The final prayer for Landgrave Hermann is crowned by royal relations of the ruling couple (fols 175v–176r) who are thus at least visually included in the prayer.[48] As in the Folchart Psalter and the Aethelwold Benedictional, the sequence of arcades forms a community of the figures shielded by the arches; the apostles and saints of the former are here replaced by saints, clergy, and lay persons as the *ecclesia* and *Corpus Christi* (Eph 3,15–16) embodied in this visual architecture.

scan at: http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/sammlungen/sammlungsliste/werksansicht/?no_cache=1&tx_dlf%5Bid%5D=2905&tx_dlf%5Bpage%5D=16&tx_dlf%5Bdouble%5D=0&cHash=1d8dc66049d5b58ef54cbe641b6f7179 (last accessed 24/11/2018); description and sources at http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/dokumente/html/obj31901448 (last accessed 24/11/2018).

46 Meyer/Suntrup 1987, 620–645; the foundational work on the meaning of the number twelve is Hrabanus, *De Universo*, Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CI, 73.

47 Congar 1980, 781–786; see Augustine on Psalm 86:1–2 *Fundamenta eius in montibus sanctis diligit Dominus portas Sion super omnia tabernacula Iacob; gloriosa dicta sunt de te civitas Dei*; Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, XXXVII, here 1110–1106: Christus refers to himself (John 10:9) as the gate (*ianua*) through which the faithful will enter heaven; he embodies the twelve gates of the heavenly city in which the twelve Apostles will sit in judgment with him.

48 Named in the tituli as *regina* (Gertrud, r.1203–1213) and *rex vngarie* (Andrew II., r. 1205–1235) and *regina* (Constance, r. 1198–1230, +1240) and *rex boemie* (Otakar I., r.1198–1230).

Fig. 11: Stammheim Missal, Hildesheim *c.*1170–1180. Los Angeles, Getty Collection, MS 64, fols 60v–61r: Sequentiary. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. © Württembergische Landesbibliothek.

Fig. 12: Claricia-Psalter, Augsburg *c.*1200, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.26, fols 1v-2r: Calendar January–February © The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.

KL

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februe. purgatio
uirginis alme.

feb d xxviii lxx

	b		feb
xi.	c	iiii.	Brigide uirg
	f	iiii.	Purificatio s. Marie.
xix.	6	ii	Blasii epi.
uii.	a	Non.	
xvi.	b	viii.	Agathe uirg
v.	c	vii.	
	d	vi.	
xiii.	e	v.	
ii.	f	iiii.	Scolastice uirg
	6	iiii.	
x.	a	ii.	
	b	IDVS.	
xviii.	c	xvi	S. valentini mr. ó Gens r.
vii.	d	xv.	
	e	xiiii.	Iuliane uirg
xv.	f	xiii.	
iiii.	6	xii.	
	a	xi.	
xii.	b	x.	
i.	c	viiii.	
	d	viii.	Cathedra s. Petri
ix.	f	vii.	
	f	vi.	Mathie apli.
xvii.	6	v.	
vi.	d	iiii.	
	b	iiii.	
xiiii.	c	ii.	Gb feb iiii e p
ciii iuem.

Fig. 13: Landgrafen-Psalter, Saxonia 1210–13. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB II 24, fols 1v–2r: Calendar January–February. © Württembergische Landesbibliothek.

Fig. 14: Landgrafen-Psalter, Saxonia 1210–13. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB II 24, fols 172v–173r: Trinity–Litany.
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Kyrielei
son.
Xpe.
Xpe audi nos.
Saluator mun
di adiuua nos.
Sca Maria
Sce Michael
Sce Gabriel
Sce Raphael
Oms sci angeli
& archangeli. or
Sce Johannes b. or
Oms sci patar

che & pphete or
Sce Petre or
Sce Paule or
Sce Andrea or
Sce Johannes or
Sce Jacobe or
Sce Philippe or
Sce Bartolomee or
Sce Mathee or
Sce Thoma or
Sce Jacobe or
Sce Symon or
Sce Tathee or
Sce Mathia or

Fig. 15: *Liber Vitae* from Corvey, Corvey/Helmarshausen 1151–1160 and later additions. Münster, Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen, Abteilung Westfalen, Msc. I 133, pp. 11–12: Dedication image with list of monks from Corvey. From Schmid 1989.

12

SANCTVS VIRTVS MARTYR

NO   MINA

Dif memorie.
WIBOLDVS . ABB.   thetmar? lothuic?

Heinricuf. Thiedericuf.   Athelbert? Sasso.
ATHELBERT? ppofit?   Athelberuf. henricuf.
Eluinguf? Occhfrnthuf.   Burcharduf. Marquard?
Ranmmiguf. yfico. Wiż   bertholfuf. Antoniuf. here
Zelinuf. Thegenharduf.   mannuf. Nycolauf. Godef
Bruno. Conraduf. Reinhe   calcuf. Iohannef. Widikin
ruf. Godefcalcuf. Conrad?   duf. Gozuinnuf. Heinricuf.
Marewarduf   henricuf. Sigefridus. Go
Abraham. Ryco. Lamber   defcalcuf. Marquard?
tuf. Meinharduf. Othelri   Fritericuf. Iordan.
cuf. Reinmaruf. Thiederi   Conradvs. Ludold? Iohs.
cuf. Cono. Fritericuf.   Reinhardus. Rothulf?
Rothulfuf. Vnarg. Wern   Heinric? Gunther? Con
heruf. athelbertuf. Eil   radus. Heinricus.
harduf. Bertholduf.   Harricuf.
Reinberuf. Willelm?

Fig. 16: *Liber Vitae* from Corvey, Corvey/Helmarshausen 1151–1160 and later additions. Münster, Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen, Abteilung Westfalen, Msc. I 133, pp. 93-94: Benefactors of Corvey. From Schmid 1989.

Hathvwif.
Rimbike.
Ssed Stale.
Albehtessen. He-
genhusen. Fole-
hart. Lottvij.
Rieclint Itte-
re castruoj.
Item ludewicus
Impr ecclesiam
Eresburch & mep-
piam cu ecclesiis
subiectis
Lodewicus scds
Abbatiam in Ons-
beke cu singulis
basilicis ad ipam
spectantibj; ac
decimis
Idem tradidit
hereditatem in
westerwolt cu
ecclesiis inibi
existentibus in
ppetatem huis
ecclesie corbeien
Item Asschen
dorp cu eccis
s' subiectis

Has decimas tenet
ecclesia nra.
Decima de curia
luuthardessen
Decima de curia
beueruggen
Decima de curia
disburch
Decima de curia
ojulenhusen
Decima de curia
Buxelesthorp
Decima de curia
Giumunde
Decima de curia
Bodrike
Decimam de curia
ojunichusen
Decima de curia
Belderinchusen
Decima de curia
Wuluelage
Decima de curia
hunburstelde
Decima de curia
folemaresheim
Decima de curia
luuthmareshei

Decima de curia
luutheressen
Decima de curia
mersch
Decima de curia
Erelen
Decima de curia
Brumelincthorp
Decima de curia
Leciaci
Decima de curia
kastinaci
Decima de cur
hottepe
Decima de Hurlon
Decima d' keflike
Decima de Hen
Decima de curia
Croppenstede
Decima de cur
Hementhorp
Decima de cur
Holthusen
Decima de curus
Groniggo
In fresia qnda
possessione quo
cat' merthen

Item in eodem
loco Ecclesiam
de linguerd In
sula hogianam
et piscationem
hocwar
Magincillis comi-
tissa iiii manses in
dalenhusen Tofuq
monte hiddenbach
cu villa & oni iure
pdiu & sui i Culm
gen
Amemigk Comes
tradidit maioze pte
ville & agroz in ad
lixen co i hestern
Meynhard tradi-
dit unu mansum
in helm werdeshusen
& duas hopas in
firnierdinghusen
Hezoldus Comes
tradidit kathwm
hel ipe drendelbze
ch

The communal element of the arcade sequence iconography is particularly pronounced in the *Liber Vitae* of Corvey (Münster, Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen, Abteilung Westfalen, Msc. I 133). The manuscript was begun in the time of Abbot Wibald (1146–1158), specifically 1151/55, but only completed under provost Adalbert (1147–1176).[49] The first quire contains the story of the abbey's foundation, leading into a chronological list of the abbots and monks of Corvey (pp. 1–6).[50] This is followed by a framed dedication image: The patron saint of Corvey, Saint Stephen, is depicted on gold ground, placed between Abbots Warin of Corvey (831–856) and Hilduin of St Denis (†855), who translated the Saint Vitus relics to Corvey. (Fig. 15) All are flanked by columns sustaining a band of towers and buildings that lifts the entire scene into the heavens of New Jerusalem. Separated by another band, the lower part of the image shows Provost Adalbert as donor of the manuscript kneeling in prayer before an open arch with a suspended lamp (p. 11).[51] Facing this miniature, a double arch table lists the names of the Corvey community to open a sequence of no fewer than 76 double arches (pp. 12–92). The confraternal Benedictine houses commemorated in each are represented by a medallion of their patrons in the tympana and named by an inscription in the topmost arch. In the case of Corvey, the second patron saint, Vitus, figures here; the relics of both saints are recorded in the list of benefactors of the abbey and their donations (pp. 93–94) (Fig. 16). This list uses a quadruple arcade, continuing the double arcade motif of the previous part in a simplified form, and includes all secular and religious benefactors in the memoria of the community. The sequence of generally similar, but always slightly varying double arches surmounted by another arch in the Corvey *Liber Vitae* directly recalls Carolingian canon tables, replacing the usual Evangelist or Apostle portraits with patron saints, the canon table number with a title of *nomina fratrum nostrorum* or *sororum nostrarum*, and the specific sections with the names of the convent's members. Taken together, the long arcade sequence becomes a glorious architectural space populated by saints, a visual invoca-

tion of heavenly Jerusalem that the listed names hoped, with the intercession of their saints, to enter at the end of days. The entire sequence ends with another miniature of Christ in Majesty (p. 97) that leads over into the final part of the manuscript, the pontifical.[52] The Corvey *Liber Vitae* underlines the communion of saints that are depicted in the arcade sequence, not unlike the Folchart Psalter, the Aethelwold Benedictional, or the Landgrave Psalter. While the latter had the reader of the litany invoking the saints for their protection, the Corvey manuscript places the names of the confraternal community under the protection of their patron saints by naming them in the spaces under the arches.

4 Conclusion

The gospel books of the early Middle Ages were often sumptuously ornate, as they were deemed to embody Christ logos. Canon tables were a regular feature and became a visual characteristic and leitmotif of this type of manuscript, irrespective of their actual usability. This made them a natural object for artistic attention, leading to a multitude of visual variations that also included a combination of canon tables with the similarly common motif of Evangelists' portraits. Whenever the arcade structure introduced by the canon tables was employed in other manuscript contexts, as was done in the examples of the Pfäfers *Liber Viventium*, the Folchart Psalter, and the Aethelwold Benedictional discussed here, it always served as reference to the gospels in this period. It imbued the texts or images with a new layer of meaning and gave the manuscript itself a greater dignity. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, the great display gospel books often included pictorial lives of Christ as Christological illustrations. Canon tables were very occasionally reinterpreted and given new meanings, as in the Soissons Gospels (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de

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49 The final arcades on pp. 90–92 are only outlined in red ink, the name of the patron inscribed in the medallion's frame, but not filled in; cf. the facsimile (Schmid 1983). On Wibald cf. Jakobi 1979; Wittekind 2004.

50 Codicological reasons lead Rück 1989 to suggest an original and conceptual order of the pontifical (quires 8–25), the chronicle and matricle (quire 1), and the *Liber Vitae* (quires 2–7).

51 Kroos 1989, 151 understands the striking gold sash of the abbots and the lamp as a reference to Luke 12:35 *Sint lumbi vestri praecincti, et lucernae ardentes in manibus vestris*, which was part of the formulary for confessors' feasts; cf. Wittekind 2004, 259–263.

52 The pontifical begins with a framed miniature (p. 97) depicting the sainted bishops Servatius and Nicolas underneath Christ blessing in the heavens; the book reads *Ego sum vitis vos palmites* (John 15:5). As Abbot Wibald translated Servatius's relics to Corvey in 1147 and the quote is part of the lesson for his feast, Kroos 1989, 152 sees this miniature as referring to Wibald. Rück 1989, 141 suggests that the pontifical vestments given to Abbot Wibald in 1154 gave the occasion for producing the *Liber Vitae*, even though this promotion given ad personam by the Pope did not imply license for ordinations, reserved to bishops proper; the Wibald's sacramentary (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 2034-35) also includes parts of the episcopal ordo (fols 110r–149v); cf. Wittekind 2004, 354, 361.

France, lat. 8850), spinning the salvation history narrative further through the age of the church to the final days.[53]

The twelfth century saw a general drop in the number of ornate gospel books being produced, the Brunswick Gospels of Henry the Lion (Helmarshausen 1188, Munich, BSB, Clm 30055/ Wolfenbüttel HAB, Cod. Guelf. 105 Noviss. 2°) being a famous exception, in which key themes of the gospels are presented by figures and banners in the tympana or frames of the canon tables (fols 10v–18v).[54] Usually, the canon tables lose their prominence, as the Evangelist portraits and other illuminated miniatures become the artistic focal points at the beginning of the manuscripts.[55] Some manuscripts of the thirteenth century indeed forego the canon tables completely, as in the Goslar gospel book of around 1240 (Goslar, Stadtarchiv Hs. B 4387) or university bibles.[56] Liturgical practice had turned more towards dedicated lectionaries that included only the required gospel readings in the order of the liturgical year or, since the mid-twelfth century, to full missals that included all texts required for the liturgy. As entries from treasuries, oaths or deeds show, the use and value of gospel books shifted from the liturgical space to legal and administrative space or institutional memoria.[57]

It is in light of this shifting use and meaning of the gospel books in the twelfth century that one needs to revisit the canon tables in the Stammheim Missal, the great ornate psalters, or the Corvey *Liber Vitae*. It might indeed be the very fact that gospel books fell out of use in liturgy and the lessons that led to the motif of the canon tables becoming more accessible for other purposes. The arcade frames of the canon tables became signifiers for the gospels and their story of Christ's life and teaching. With the lighter semantic burden of such a less specific meaning, the motif could move into other contexts: Into calendars structuring the life of Christ or the saints in cyclical format or to hymns and prayers. The repeat use of the motif at different places in a manuscript served as a bracket for different texts and iconographies, creating new references and encouraging the introduction of new meanings. The canon tables often served as a visual cue for the idea of harmony in diversity and for the communion of the saints, the living, and the dead in Christ. In the end, the architecture of the canon tables shifted from a specific function and meaning to become a more versatile, visually pleasing, but always semantically loaded vessel.

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53 Cf. Kitzinger on the tenth-century Anglo-Saxon gospel books kept in Cambridge (Trinity College, MS B.10.4) in this volume. The tympana of the canon tables in the Arenberg Gospels (New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, M. 869, *c.*1000) depict the adoration of Christ as the Son of Man, the *Agnus Dei*, and the Saviour vanquishing death and the devil, cf. Rosenthal 2011; http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/thumbs/159161 (last accessed 25/11/2018). The Jumièges Gospels of the early twelfth century (London, BL, Add. MS 17739) discussed in Kitzinger's contribution populates the arcades with angels and includes images to relate the incarnation of Christ, the age of the church, and the final days to each other.
54 On the rich iconography of canon tables and the addition of banderoles cf. Klemm 1988, 17, 23–26; http://diglib.hab.de/?db=mss&list=ms&id=105-noviss-2f&image=015v (last accessed 25/11/2018).
55 The ten-part canon tables in the gospel book of St Vitus in Mönchengladbach, Cologne *c.*1140 (Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum, Kg 54:211/ AE 680) are executed in simple pen drawing, in stark contrast to the fully illuminated and gilded Maiestas (fol. 24r) or the gold and silver leaf in the Jerome and Evangelists miniatures; Märker 2001, 50–63. Cf. the St Denis Bible of 1146 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 116 vol. 2), whose canon tables fols 101r–102v are also pen drawings, while illuminated, partially historiated initials open each gospel (fols 103v, 116v, 124v, 138r): cf. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10543770v (last accessed 13/04/2020) (last accessed 25/11/2018).
56 Cf. Kroos and Steenbock 1991, 3–4. On the richly illuminated Cologne university bible, late thirteenth century (Cologne, Dom Hs. 2), cf. Plotzek 1998, 168–178 Nr. 26.
57 Von Euw 1989, 11–18; von Euw 1993, 15–36; Bihrer 2016; Wittekind 2017, 176–200; Groten 2019.

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Eleventh-century sculpture on the Spanish Way of St James was the subject of his doctoral thesis, and agitated fabric in illuminated books of the Middle Ages, emanating from the two pieces of cloth floating over Christ's tomb for his habilitation. A book on the concept of living stone from late antiquity to the present day with emphasis on the canon tables is currently in preparation.

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