The colophon of the Eadwig Gospels

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'Eaduuius surnamed Basan' is one of the small number of late Anglo-Saxon scribes to be known by name, and he is unquestionably the most important. Eadwig – the Old English name represented by the Latin 'Eaduuius' – identified himself in a colophon to the small but exquisite gospelbook, Hanover, Kestner-Museum, WM XXIa, 36 (see pl. V);[1] and his distinctive hand has been recognized in a further three gospelbooks or lectionaries,[2] three psalters,[3] and three or four charters.[4] It is on this corpus of material that our

[1] The manuscript is described in detail in the Appendix, below. T. A. M. Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule* (Oxford, 1971), pl. XXII, reproduces the colophon at approximately actual size, though only includes part of the page. The whole page is shown in colour but reduced in H. Härtel, *Handschriften des Kestner-Museums zu Hannover* (Wiesbaden, 1999), pl. IV. The major decorated pages of the Anglo-Saxon core of the manuscript are reproduced (enlarged) in black and white in T. H. Ohlgren, *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1992), pp. 372–92; references to further colour plates are given below, nn. 76–8. The foundation of our knowledge of Eadwig Basan is Bishop's account in *English Caroline Minuscule*, no. 24, also pp. xv–xvi. For further discussion, see R. W. Pfaff, 'Eadui Basan: Scriptorum Princeps?', *England in the Eleventh Century*, ed. C. Hicks (Stamford, 1992), 267–83; D. N. Dumville, *English Caroline Script and Monastic History: Studies in Benedictinism A.D. 950–1030* (Woodbridge, 1993), pp. 120–38; and W. Noel, *The Harley Psalter* (Cambridge, 1995), esp. pp. 94–6 and 137–40.

[2] Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Plut. XVII, 20 (gospel lectionary); London, British Library, Add. 34890 (the Grimbald Gospels); and York, Minster Library, Add. 1 (the York Gospels – to which Eadwig contributed one page: 23v).

[3] London, British Library, Arundel 155 (originally entirely written by Eadwig, his work here is now often difficult to assess because of the extensive corrections that were made *in rasura* in imitative script of ?xi$^{2/2}$, with further corrections in s. xii); London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A. i (s. viii^{1}; Psalter – to which Eadwig contributed a supplementary quire containing the *Te Deum*, the *Quicumque uult* and other prayers); and London, British Library, Harley 603 (to which Eadwig contributed four quires: fols. 28–49).

[4] 1. London, British Library, Stowe Ch. 38. A single sheet document dated 1018, recording a grant by Cnut to Ælfstan (Lyfing), archbishop of Canterbury (P. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (London, 1968), no. 950; *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art*, ed. J. Backhouse, D. H. Turner and L. Webster (London, 1984), no. 169). 2. A record of Cnut's confirmation of the privileges of Christ Church, Canterbury, granted between 1017 and 1020 which was added to a blank leaf preceding Mark (44v) in the high grade, early-eleventh-century gospelbook, London, British Library, Royal 1. D. IX (Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 985; *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, ed. F. Harmer (Manchester, 1952), no. 26). 3. London, British Library, Stowe Ch. 2. A transcript of the confirmation made at the Council of Clovesho (716) of liberties granted to Kentish houses by King Wihtred (Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 22). 4. Whereas the previous three documents were

knowledge of him rests.[5] The colophon does not, unfortunately, contain much information and it is highly formulaic;[6] it is all the more important, therefore, to interpret its words judiciously. Before we turn to the text, however, it will be helpful to rehearse the salient points of Eadwig's career, in so far as they are known.

Four specimens of Eadwig's work are dated or datable within fairly narrow limits, and collectively these place his *floruit* in the second and early in the third decade of the eleventh century. He wrote a single sheet charter dated 1018, and was responsible for transcribing into a gospelbook a privilege that was issued between 1017 and 1020.[7] In addition, the psalter, London, British Library, Arundel 155 (for whose original text he was entirely responsible) is datable on liturgical grounds to 1012 × 1023;[8] while the York Gospels (to which he contributed the second page of Matthew) was written before *c.* 1020.[9]

Footnote 4 (*cont.*)
unquestionably written by Eadwig, the case of a fourth item that has sometimes been attributed to him is less clear cut. The text in question is a wide-ranging privilege for Christ Church, recording the replacement of clerics by monks and providing a full list of their estates. It was added to a s. ix/x continental gospelbook that had been presented to Christ Church by King Æthelstan (London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. ii: though note that the leaves in question were detatched before 1621 and are now London, British Library, Cotton Claudius A. iii, fols. 2–6). Bearing the date 1006 and associated with King Æthelred, the document is a forgery (Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 914; and see further N. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury* (Leicester, 1984), pp. 257–9). The hand responsible undeniably resembles Eadwig's; however, if the Caroline minuscules and rustic capitals are closely comparable in points of detail, the Old English script is slightly less so, and the overall impression remains sufficiently distinct to give one pause.

[5] He may also have contributed a few jottings to the Utrecht Psalter (Utrecht, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, 32, 1r, 92r and 92v); however, given the very limited nature of the work in question and the subsequent popularity of Eadwig's style of writing, it is difficult to be certain. Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule*, p. 24, also attributed to him Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 734/782a (cited as '732/754'). I have not seen this myself as it was 'unlocatable' when I worked in the library in 1996; however, it has since been 'rediscovered' and is discussed and reproduced by R. Rushforth, 'The Prodigal Fragment: Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 734/782a', *ASE* 30 (2001), 137–44, with pls. IX–X.

[6] Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, pp. 120–4, discusses its possible model. Notwithstanding his questioning, I see no reason to doubt that 'Eadwig Basan' was indeed the name of the scribe of our manuscript.

[7] Stowe Ch. 38; Royal 1. D. IX, 44v.

[8] N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), no. 137; E. Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900–1066* (London, 1976), cat. 66; A. G. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 700–1600 in the Department of Manuscripts, The British Library*, 2 vols. (London, 1979) I, no. 447; II, pl. 30. The date range arises from the inclusion of *Passio sancti Aelfheahi archiepiscopi* (who was killed on 19 April 1012) but the absence of the feast of the translation of his body from London to Canterbury, which occurred on 8 June 1023.

[9] Facsimile: *The York Gospels*, ed. N. Barker, Roxburghe Club (London, 1986). The additions made at York can be dated to *c.* 1020 (see *ibid.* p. 83), and certainly before the death of Archbishop Wulfstan in 1023.

Eadwig described himself in his colophon as a monk, and the content of the charters and the affiliations of a couple of his manuscripts[10] indicate that he was a member of the community of Christ Church, Canterbury. Whether all his scribal work was accomplished there is an open – and probably insoluble – question.[11] What is, however, clear (and directly relevant to the issue of the diffusion of his style of writing) is that some of his manuscripts were distributed soon after they were written. The York Gospels was at York by *c.* 1020;[12] the Eadwig Gospels had reached Germany by the second quarter of the eleventh century;[13] a gospel lectionary that is now in Florence seems to have travelled to the Continent before the end of the century;[14] and the Grimbald Gospels appears to have arrived in Winchester by the early twelfth century at the latest.[15]

A striking feature of Eadwig's extant oeuvre is the high status of most of the projects on which he worked. He copied particularly important charters, adding a couple of them to prestigious gospelbooks, and he was himself responsible for, or contributed to, a series of *de luxe* manuscripts. In view of this, it seems likely that he held a high – quite possibly pre-eminent – position in the Christ Church scriptorium in the generation after the Viking sack of Canterbury (1011). The circumstance that two of the manuscripts for which he was solely responsible were decorated by the same artist has encouraged the speculation that he was an illuminator as well as a scribe.[16] Equally, it has been suggested that

[10] The Arundel Psalter commemorates the feast of the dedication of Christ Church, contains prayers to SS Alphege and Dunstan, and includes a reference to the relics of St Dunstan. Harley 603 has an archbishop depicted in the initial to Psalm I, while its artist 'A' is strikingly similar to, and quite possibly identical with, the artist of the Arenberg Gospels (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 869), a probable Christ Church book.

[11] The hypothesis 'that he received his monastic and scribal training elsewhere, coming to Canterbury only in the late 1010s' (Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, p. 124), though attractive in various respects – not least in relation to the traumatization of the community in 1011 – raises as many problems as it solves and finds no specific support in the extant manuscript evidence.

[12] *Teste* the copy of the *Sermo Lupi* which was added to it and corrected by Wulfstan himself: see N. R. Ker, 'The Handwriting of Archbishop Wulfstan', repr. in his *Books, Collectors and Libraries: Studies in the Medieval Heritage*, ed. A. G. Watson (London, 1983), pp. 9–26, at 24–6.

[13] See the Appendix below.

[14] See Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, cat. 69 (p. 88).

[15] *Teste* the addition on 158r–60v of the letter from Fulk of Reims to King Alfred concerning Grimbald of Saint-Bertin (for the text of which see *Councils and Synods with other Documents relating to the English Church*, I: *A.D. 871–1204*, ed. D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C. N. L. Brooke, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1981) I, 6–12). Contrary to received opinion, this addition can hardly be earlier than *c.* 1100. The scribe's work in another context is datable to after 1087 (see T. A. M. Bishop, 'Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts, Part II', *Trans. of the Cambridge Bibliographical Soc.* 2 (1954–8), 185–92, at 191) and his hand would most naturally be assigned to s. xii^{in}; the decorated G (*glorioosissimo*) which includes a man combatting a dragon and a quadruped is in a style of s. xi/xii or later; furthermore, these additional folios are ruled in lead, a rare practice in England before 1100.

[16] Namely Arundel 155 and the Eadwig Gospels: see J. J. G. Alexander and C. M. Kauffmann, *English Illuminated Manuscripts 700–1500* (Brussels, 1973), no. 10, p. 31; *Golden Age*, ed. Backhouse

he was responsible for actually devising as well as for writing a spurious (re)foundation charter for Christ Church;[17] and he has been credited with various editorial activities in relation to some of the other texts he copied.[18] Certainty on such points is, however, elusive; moreover, the case for his identity as an artist has been advanced without consideration of all the facts. It would be unwise to build further on such shaky foundations.

Eadwig's handwriting thus remains the touchstone of our knowledge of him; fortunately, it repays analysis. Eadwig wrote a distinctive, elegant English Caroline minuscule.[19] Its matrix is rectilinear, but the curving strokes are carefully rounded; ascenders terminate in wedge-like serifs, while minims are finished with prominent side-strokes or mini-serifs at foot and (in particular) head. The overall effect is neat and highly legible. In simple terms, his hand unites the rotundity that characterized the finest Winchester Caroline minuscule of the later tenth and early eleventh century (the so-called 'Style I') with the greater rectilinearity that distinguished much Canterbury writing of the same period ('Style II').[20] The extent to which he achieved this naturally varies. Most of his work in the Arundel 155 Psalter, for example, is the 'classic' spacious rectilinear and rounded script described above; in the Grimbald Gospels, by contrast, his hand is distinctly more angular and laterally compressed, and pertains more closely to the Canterbury work of the previous generation wherein the influence of Square minuscule was more clearly felt. The writing in his eponymous manuscript seems to fall somewhere between these two poles (see pls. VI and VII). This spacious script-type was excellently suited to generously-sized writing, but Eadwig could also maintain his hand well when working on a smaller scale (see pl. VI).[21] Size has nothing to do with the problems that are apparent in the

Footnote 16 (*cont.*)
et al., no. 56. Against this, however, must be set the fact that the Grimbald Gospels, another manuscript written entirely by Eadwig, was decorated by a different artist, as too was the gospel lectionary in Florence. Furthermore, it is striking that the canon tables of the Eadwig Gospels, though drawn and painted in England, were written in Germany. The fact that fourteen out of the eighteen decorated pages in this key manuscript therefore do not reveal close collaboration between this Anglo-Saxon scribe and artist but precisely the reverse, hardly favours the case for their having been one and the same man.

[17] Brooks, *Church of Canterbury*, p. 257. The document in question (now London, British Library, Cotton Claudius A. iii, fols. 2–6) is, however, the least secure of the attributions to Eadwig (see n. 4 above).

[18] Pfaff, 'Eadui Basan', esp. pp. 276–9.

[19] It would be more helpful (and accurate) to term this general script type 'late, standard Anglo-Caroline' rather than 'Type IV' – not least because it was not typologically or chronologically the fourth form of English Caroline Minuscule.

[20] Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule*, pp. xxi–xxiv; cf. Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, pp. 2–6.

[21] Thus in the Grimbald Gospels the capitula lists (8r–9v, 46r–46v, 70r–72v and 113v–114r) were written in a script that is about two thirds the size of that used for the Prefaces and the gospel text; while the script of the *capitulare euangeliorum* (145v–157v) is about half its size.

weakest parts of his oeuvre – his contributions to the Vespasian Psalter and, above all, the Harley 603 Psalter – which have generally (and reasonably) been interpreted as 'late work' on account of the decline in control.[22]

Eadwig's Old English script is also characterized by its regularity. Old English writing was generally untidier than Latin because of the greater number of variant elements – strokes at different heights and angles. Eadwig took steps to normalize the graphic alphabet. Ascenders and descenders (except that of **ð**) were drawn to a standard height, being distinguished from those of Latin script by their horned or split serifs; while the curved back of **d** was bent right over to make the letter the same size as a normal minim. In sum, the distinctive Old English letter-forms were preserved but their overall aesthetic was assimilated to that of Caroline minuscule.[23]

Impulses towards Eadwig's style of writing can be perceived in both Winchester and Christ Church, Canterbury, work of the previous generation – which were not as monolithic as the simplistic characterizations offered above might suggest. On the contrary, both corpora include considerable variety. Certain Winchester hands of the late tenth and early eleventh century were lighter and more rectilinear than the classic 'Style I',[24] while some Christ Church writing was more weighty and rounded than the archetypical 'Style II'.[25] Indeed,

[22] Thus, e.g., Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule*, p. 22; Noel, *Harley Psalter*, pp. 137–8.

[23] The process, which can be clearly appreciated in Stowe Ch. 2 and Royal 1. D. IX, 44v, is less pronounced in Stowe Ch. 38. These tendencies were taken further by other scribes, notably at Worcester and Exeter, in xi^{med} and $^{3/4}$.

[24] E.g. Cambridge, University Library, Kk. 5. 34, and the more elegant London, British Library, Royal 15. C. VII: G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Colections*, 4 vols. (London, 1921) IV, pl. 92. Particularly relevant is the measured, spacious yet quite light script of the main scribe of the benedictional, Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, Y. 7, whose synthesis of rectilinear and rounded forms invites comparison with Eadwig's hand: see *The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, ed. H. A. Wilson, HBS 24 (London, 1903), pls. III and IV. On these very grounds it has been argued that the book must postdate Eadwig (D. N. Dumville, 'On the Dating of Some Late Anglo-Saxon Liturgical Manuscripts', *Trans. of the Cambridge Bibliographical Soc.* 10 (1991), 40–57, at 53). However, the circumstance that it also includes the work of a scribe who is very similar to, and may even be Godeman, the scribe of the Benedictional of St Æthelwold (a volume probably datable to 971 × 984), along with its close artistic connections with that manuscript, rule out a date much after c. 1000. Its main scribe was an important forerunner, rather than an imitator of Eadwig Basan.

[25] E.g. Bishop's scribe iv ('Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts, Part VII', *Trans. of the Cambridge Bibliographical Soc.* 3 (1963), 413–23, pl. XIV); also Boulogne, Bibliothèque municipale, 189 (several scribes); Cambridge, Trinity College O. 2. 31, scribe iv; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 97 and Bodley 708; and Worcester, Cathedral Library, Q. 5, scribe i. In view of the uncertainty that surrounds its place of origin (as opposed to provenance), the evidence of the Bible, London, British Library, Royal 1. E. VII–VIII, must be deployed with circumspection (one page is reproduced (greatly reduced) in R. Marsden, *The Text of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1995), pl. VII). However, if it does not attest to the use of a more rounded script at Christ Church *c.* 1000, it might reveal the presence of relevant models there soon afterwards.

the hands in Christ Church books imply a scriptorium that accepted variation, was willing to experiment, and was open to outside influences.[26] Archbishop Æthelgar of Canterbury (988–90), who had formerly been the abbot of the reformed New Minster, Winchester, and Archbishop Ælfheah (1006–12), who had previously been bishop of Winchester (984–1006), provide the most obvious examples of the interaction between the two centres around the millennium which is likely to have fostered the cross-fertilization of the two traditions of writing that appears to lie behind Eadwig's script.[27] In brief, if the exact context for the development of Eadwig's hand remains elusive, it is nevertheless clear that his work was not an isolated turning point in the history of English script, but rather an intelligible crystalization of certain pre-existing currents. This also helps to explain why the script types in question were to prove remarkably popular and long-lived, being echoed in much English writing of the mid- and later eleventh century. How much the diffusion of the style owed to Eadwig personally is, indeed, a moot point.

The answer to this question is, to some extent, bound up with how one interprets the development of script, and the patronage of fine book production in eleventh-century England. One recent commentator has stressed the potential importance of the royal writing office for defining scribal style,[28] and has raised the possibility that Eadwig himself may have been a royal scribe at an early stage in his career.[29] Though by no means impossible, it is worth being aware that this is virtually a circular argument. The main reason for associating Eadwig with the royal writing office is the circumstance that his script type seems to have been very influential. However the underlying premise, that the royal writing office was the main centre for determining scribal styles, is itself merely a hypothesis.[30] The fact that Eadwig wrote a single-sheet charter in the name of Cnut (Stowe Charter 38) does not strengthen the case, since the document was recording a

[26] Further on Christ Church writing of this period, see Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, esp. pp. 101–10 (the utility of which is, however, seriously compromised by inadequate illustration). The restricted number and range of surviving Winchester books rule out a corresponding evaluation of the scriptoria there.

[27] Although (as pointed out by Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, p. 131) handwriting at Saint-Bertin around the millennium shares various traits with that of Eadwig and intercourse between Christ Church and Saint-Bertin is well documented, nevertheless since the general matrix of such Saint-Bertin hands is often closer to that of the English 'Style II' than of 'Style I', its putative influence on the formation of Eadwig's script is unlikely to have been decisive.

[28] D. N. Dumville, 'English Square Minuscule Script: the Mid-Century Phase', *ASE* 23 (1994), 133–64, esp. 156–64.

[29] Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, pp. 126–7 and 134–5. He judiciously leaves the question open.

[30] At the other extreme, some still maintain that the very existence of such an office is hypothetical. Be that as it may, as charters are by definition dated, while books are almost invariably not, it is almost inevitable – and not significant – that the earliest datable example of a given script type should appear in the corpus of documents rather than that of manuscripts.

grant to Lyfing, archbishop of Canterbury; while it is significantly weakened by the dearth of comparable hands in royal charters from the first four decades of the eleventh century.[31]

Another writer has propounded the theory that Cnut was a major patron of *de luxe* manuscripts, calling on the services of various illuminators and scribes (including Eadwig) from different centres, and distributing their products to various destinations.[32] This attractive hypothesis also runs into difficulties, notably the lack of conclusive evidence for connecting the relevant books with Cnut (all the more telling given how readily even spurious connections with the great and the good tended to be preserved), and the circumstance that such royal patronage is only one possible explanation for them. In fact, it is misleading to consider the *de luxe* manuscripts in isolation, as an independent phenomenon: rather they should be seen in relation to English book production as a whole, which was fairly vigorous in the first half of the eleventh century – something which the return to comparative stability after a lengthy period of disruption from Viking assaults is likely to have helped. Moreover, when seeking to account for the continuing production during the first half of the century of fine gospelbooks and liturgica in particular, one should remember that there were more than forty active Benedictine houses in the south and south midlands during this period, some of which may not previously have been supplied with 'fashionable' fine volumes; that some such manuscripts may have been destined for non-Benedictine foundations which had important patrons; and that aristocratic possession, which is documented from the mid-eleventh century onwards, could account for others.

Both hypotheses have, I suggest, coloured recent views of Eadwig's colophon; and here we reach the heart of the present enquiry. The inscription that Eadwig added in lines of blue, green and red ink[33] to the end of John's Gospel in Kestner-Museum, WM XXIa, 36 reads as follows (see pl. V):[34] *Pro scriptore precem ne tempnas fundere pater. / Librum istum monachus scripsit EADUUIUS, cogno / mento BASAN, Sit illi longa salus. Uale seruus / d[e]i, N[omen], et memor esto mei.*[35] The purport of the message is fairly conventional: the scribe seeks intercessions, wants long good-health, and hopes that the reader will remember him. The wish to receive earthly benefits (health in this case)[36] alongside spiritual

[31] As Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, pp. 132–5, readily acknowledges.

[32] T. A. Heslop, 'The Production of *de luxe* Manuscripts and the Patronage of King Cnut and Queen Emma', *ASE* 19 (1989), 151–95.

[33] The four lines are in turn: blue, green, red and blue again.

[34] I have modernized the punctuation.

[35] 'Do not disdain, Father, to pour forth a prayer for the scribe. The monk Eaduuius, with the surname Basan, wrote this book. May long-lasting health be his. Farewell servant of God, N[ame], and be mindful of me.'

[36] Although *salus* could also, of course, mean 'salvation', here – in association with *longa* – 'health' seems the most natural reading.

ones is paralleled in other Anglo-Saxon colophons.[37] Indeed, the phrase *sit illi longa salus* reappears in the cryptic note that the Winchester scribe, Ælsinus, included in the prayerbook of Ælfwine, dean of New Minster, written between 1023 and 1031.[38] The use of the form *N* in the final sentence, on the other hand, is highly unusual in the context of a colophon – a cursory search through broadly contemporary examples[39] has not brought to light another instance – and it is this final phrase that has been the focus of recent attention.

The colophon implies that the book was intended for an ecclesiastic (*pater . . . seruus dei*) who is not, however, specified by name. Although not a volume of supreme opulence, the Eadwig Gospels is none the less a high quality, luxurious product with several unusual features.[40] It is beautifully written, gold being used not only for the section initials but also for the sentence capitals throughout most of the text,[41] and it is handsomely decorated with evangelist portraits and pictorial canon tables. The programme of imagery begins with a remarkable declaration of divine order in creation; while the evangelist portraits, which collectively celebrate the work of writing the word of God, conclude with an equally remarkable depiction of how 'The Word' as witnessed by the gospels crushes heresy. Such a book is unlikely to have been made as a speculative venture: on the contrary, it was probably the product of a specific commission. The very fact that, unusually for an early English volume, it bears a colophon, might be seen to add weight to this conjecture – as, more concretely, does the fact that the manuscript was in Germany at a very early date. Indeed, the circum-

[37] Aldred of Chester-le-Street explained that his work glossing John in the Lindisfarne Gospels was done 'þæte he hæbbe ondfong ðerh godes milsæ on heofnum. seel ond sibb on eorðo forðgeong ond giðyngo uisdom ond snyttro ðerh sancti cuðberhtes earnunga' ('so that through the grace of God, he may gain acceptance into heaven, happiness and peace, and through the merits of St Cuthbert, advancement and honour, wisdom and sagacity on earth': London, British Library, Cotton Nero D. iv, 259r; transcribed, translated and discussed in *Codex Lindisfarnensis*, ed. T. Kendrick, T. J. Brown and R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford *et al.*, 2 vols. (Olten, 1956–60) II, 5–16 and bk 2, pp. 5–11 (whose translation is adopted here). Correspondingly, Ælfric of Bath wanted to 'live in peace in this world and the next . . .' ('Qui scripsit uiuat in pace in hoc mundo et in futuro seculo . . .'): Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 140, 45v (s. xi[1]).

[38] London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvii + xxvi (the colophon appears in xxvii, 13v): *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, ed. B. Günzel, HBS 108 (London, 1993), esp. 70–1; *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester*, ed. S. Keynes, EEMF 26 (Copenhagen, 1996), pl. XVI, with p. 117.

[39] As recorded in *Colophons des manuscrits occidentaux des origines au XVIe siècle*, ed. Les Bénédictines de Bouveret, 6 vols., Spicilegii Friburgensis, Subsidia 2–7 (Fribourg, 1965–82) – which, however, regularly gives only extracts from the texts in question.

[40] See further the Appendix below.

[41] For a colour reproduction of a text page (18r) see R. G. Gameson, 'Books, Culture and the Church in Canterbury around the Millennium', R. Eales and R. Gameson, *Vikings, Monks and the Millennium: Canterbury in about 1000 AD* (Canterbury, 2000), 15–41, pl. 11.

stance that the book left England before its ancilliary matter was completed (this being neatly finished by a near-contemporary German scribe) might suggest that it was a commission with an inflexible deadline. Why, then, was the form *N* (*nomen*) used for the beneficiary in the colophon? Why was the hypothetical patron not addressed by name?

A couple of explanations have been offered in recent years. *Nomen* has been regarded as an anonymous address; and it has been argued that Eadwig was working for an intermediate patron and that the book's ultimate recipient was unknown to him.[42] (The possibility that the name of the ultimate recipient was unknown to our scribe need not, it may be noted in passing, imply an intermediate *secular* patron.) An alternative view that has subsequently been put forward is that the book was written for a recipient who was yet to be elected, that is for a bishopric or abbacy which was vacant at the time in question and whose incumbent had not yet been chosen.[43]

There is, however, another possibility – or, since it does not necessarily vitiate the previous suggestions, another dimension to the issue – which deserves to be considered. This is that the form *nomen* was chosen less on account of ignorance of the ultimate recipient's name than because the colophon was not directed to one single figure. Far from being an anonymous form of address, this was, on the contrary, a universal appeal.

Although unknown, or at least extremely rare, in colophons, *N* is a not uncommon form in Anglo-Saxon (and other) service books of the period. It was used in such liturgical volumes to represent an ever-changing name. The reader supplied the correct personal name on each occasion, as appropriate. It appears thus, for instance, in the Leofric Missal, the Rouen Benedictional, and the Lanalet Pontifical. In the first case it is used for the *missa in aecclesia cuiuslibet martyris uel confessoris*;[44] in the second and third it is the standard form in the blessings for specific individuals such as penitents, virgins, clerics, monks and abbots, not to mention kings.[45]

The philosophy of many colophons of the early medieval period – whether invented, adapted, or copied – was to gain spiritual benefits for the scribe.[46] Thus in a striking early example, the scribe of the early-seventh-century Codex Valerianus placed the key part of his subscription (*Ego Valerianus scripsi*) at the

[42] Heslop, '*de luxe* Manuscripts', pp. 175–6.
[43] Pfaff, 'Eadui Basan', pp. 268–9.
[44] *The Leofric Missal*, ed. F. E. Warren (Oxford, 1883), pp. 20–1.
[45] *Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, ed. Wilson, pp. 57, 115, 130–1, 141–2 and 145. *Pontificale Lanaletense*, ed. G. H. Doble, HBS 74 (London, 1937), 43–4, 46–7, 50 and 62. Cf. C. A. Jones, *Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 142, section 68.
[46] See further in general, A. Derolez, 'Pourquoi les copistes signaient-ils leurs manuscrits?', *Scribi e colofoni: le sottoscrizioni di copisti dalle origini all'avento della stampa*, ed. E. Condello and G. De Gregorio (Spoleto, 1995), pp. 37–56, esp. 44–6.

centre of a monumental, decorated cross flanked by alpha and omega.[47] Sometimes an appeal was made directly to the deity or to another member of the company of heaven; at other times the mediation of the human reader was invoked. As well as specifying that he wanted long-lasting good health, Eadwig clearly wished to be remembered in the prayers of his readers. The advantage of using *nomen* in such a context was that it universalized the imprecation.[48] Eadwig's appeal was thereby appropriate for every reader.

There is no shortage of generalized invocations which present a parallel circumstance. Sometimes the injunction is a bald imperative (*Ora pro scriptore*);[49] at other times the reader is addressed in a more personal, albeit still anonymous, way (*tu qui legis; quisque / quisquis / quicunque legis . . . ora pro scriptore*).[50] The implication here, that every reader is addressed, is occasionally made explicit: *Omnes qui legitis*

[47] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 6224: E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, 11 vols. plus Supplement, with 2nd ed. of vol. II (Oxford, 1934–1972) IX, no. 1249; K. Bierbrauer, *Die vorkarolingischen und karolingischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1990) I, no. 3. For a colour facsimile of the page in question (202v), see F. Dressler, *Cimelia Monacensia: Wertvolle Handschriften und frühe Drucke der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München* (Wiesbaden, 1970), p. 87.

[48] The fact that lasting benefits were sought is brought out by many early medieval colophons. It will suffice in the present context to cite three complementary examples.

'Explicit Domino juvante, Beda presbiteri liber de temporibus. quam si quis legerit, obsecro ut recordetur in suis orationibus HARDINI indigni diaconi qui scripsit summo cum labore librum hunc ut Dominus omnipotens cum bonis mansuris retribuet ei huius laboris mercedem. Amen' ('Here, with the Lord's help, ends Bede the priest's book *De temporibus*. I beseech whoever shall have read it that he remember in his prayers Hardinus the unworthy deacon who wrote this book with the greatest labour, so that almighty God may give him the reward of this labour with lasting blessings. Amen.'): Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, I. 49 (s. ix; provenance: Fécamp) (cf. H. Omont, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques de France: Départements*, I: *Rouen* (Paris, 1886), p. 117).

'Huius libri scriptoris fratris Amandi cunctorum / monachorum infimi . memor esto Sancta Rictrudis / eique ueniam scelerum suorum apud terribilem iudicem / impetra ut tecum sine fine mereatur regnare in supera regna' ('Be mindful, St Rictrude, of Brother Amand, the scribe of this book, lowliest of all the monks; grant him pardon for his sins before the dread judge so that he may be worthy to reign with you for ever in the heavenly realms'): Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, 306, 94r (s. xi; Marchiennes) (cf. C. Dehaisnes, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques des Départements*, VI: *Douai* (Paris, 1878), p. 161).

'Domnus abbas Regimbertus auctor libri huius et Volkerus et Theodericus scriptores in memoria eterna habeantur. Amen' ('May the Lord Abbot Regimbert, the patron of this book, and Volkerus and Theodericus the scribes be held in eternal memory. Amen'). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 8912 (1051 × 1081; Echternach) (cf. F. Avril and C. Rabel, *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine germanique*, I: *Xe–XIVe siècle* (Paris, 1995), no. 25).

[49] E.g. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4542, 128v (s. ix^{in}).

[50] E.g. Cambrai, Médiathèque, 215, 1r (s. xi^{2}): 'Obsecro quicumque hec legeris ut Fulb[er]ti scriptoris \et peccatoris/ memineris'; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14288, 170v (s. ix): 'Tu qui legis feliciter in domino semper ora pro scriptore ut semper deum habeat adiutorem . . .'; Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Theol. fols. 64, 94v (*c.* 832–42): 'Qui nescit scribere nullum laborem esse putat, tum tres digiti scribunt et totum corpus laborat; quicumque legerit hunc librum ego iuro per deum uerum ut oret pro eum qui hunc librum scripsit, Gundheri.'

hunc codicem orate pro Anselmi . . . [51] As examples from late Anglo-Saxon England we can cite the colophon to the supplementary page that was added in the first half of the tenth century to an eighth-century Irish gospelbook, which states, *Qui legat orat pro scriptore Eadvvardo diacono*;[52] and that to the mid-eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon Psalter in Paris, which declares, *Hoc psalterii carmen / inclyti regis david. / Sacer dei wulfwinus [.i. cognomento cada] / manu sua conscripsit / Quicumque legerit scriptum. / Anime sue expetiat / votum*.[53] Similarly, in the colophonic conclusion to the dedicatory verses honouring Æthelwold of Winchester in his Benedictional, we read: 'Let all who look upon this book pray always that after the term of the flesh I may abide in heaven – Godeman the scribe, as a suppliant, asks this.'[54]

As a final, more general example, it is worth considering the extraordinarily detailed colophon that appears at the beginning of the first part of a large format, two-volume Bible, produced for the premonstratensian canons of Bonne-Espérance (Hainault) between 1132 and 1135.[55] This is a particularly

[51] Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 7809 (s. viii^{ex}): Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores* I, no. 55.

[52] London, British Library, Add. 40618, 66r: 'He who may read this, prays for the scribe, Edward the deacon.' Further on the manuscript, see: J. J. G. Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts 6th to 9th Century* (London, 1978), no. 46; and Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 15 (whose dating of the added artwork should be revised to *c.* 1000 or slightly later). The second column of the page in question (including the colophon) is reproduced in D. N. Dumville, 'English Square Minuscule Script: the Background and earliest Phases', *ASE* 16 (1987), 147–79, pl. III. Cf. London, British Library, Royal 8. B. XI, 145r (Worcester, s. x^2): 'Qui istum librum legat precat pro anima sistan me scripsit amen' ('May whoever should read this book, pray for the soul [of] Sistan [who] wrote me, Amen').

[53] 'This song of the psaltery / by the famous King David / the priest of God, Wulfwine ([superscript addition] who is surnamed Cada) / wrote with his own hand. / Whosoever shall have read what he has written / may he seek out for his soul / a prayer': Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 8824, 186r. Facsimile: *The Paris Psalter*, ed. B. Colgrave, EEMF 8 (Copenhagen 1958). The identity of the scribe is discussed by R. Emms, 'The Scribe of the Paris Psalter', *ASE* 28 (1999), 179–83. Cf. the garbled colophon in Winchester Cathedral 1, 108v (s. x/xi): 'Finit deo gratias ago. Quicunque legerit hunc librum uel scrutauerit ut det benedictionem pro anima æthelelmo [corrected to ædælelmo] qui scripsit hoc. Sit sic hoc hic in aeternum [altered to interim!].' Further on Anglo-Saxon colophons in general, see R. G. Gameson, *The Scribe Speaks? Colophons in Early English Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 2002).

[54] '. . . Omnes cernentes biblum hunc semper rogitent hoc / Post metam carnis ualeam caelis inherere:/ Obnixe hoc rogitat scriptor supplex Godemannus': London, British Library, Add. 49598, 4v + 5r. Facsimile: *The Benedictional of Saint Æthelwold*, ed. G. F. Warner and H. A. Wilson, Roxburghe Club (London, 1910), with transcription on p. 1 and translation (quoted here) at pp. xii–xiii; edition: M. Lapidge, 'The Hermeneutic Style in Tenth-Century Anglo-Latin Literature', *ASE* 4 (1975), 67–111, repr. in his *Anglo-Latin Literature 900–1066* (London, 1993), 105–49, Appendix II.

[55] Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, II.2424: F. Masai and M. Witteck, *Manuscrits datés conservés en Belgique*, I: *819–1400* (Brussels, 1968), no. 3, with pls. 8–13; T. Glorieux-De Gand, *Formules de copiste* (Brussels, 1991), no. 2. Further on the manuscript, see C. Gaspar and F. Lyna, *Les Principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Brussels, 1984) I, no. 22; II, pl. XV.

interesting case because the book was written by a member of the community for local use. Nevertheless, although the scribe knew the immediate users personally, and specified in great detail what he wanted them to do for him, the form of invocation was studiedly universal – clearly he did not want to restrict the benefits he could derive from the work to the present generation. The text begins, *Placeat tibi queso gloriosa uirgo Maria oblatio laboris mei. quem pro honore tui nominis. et utilitate fratrum in ecclesia de bona spe tibi seruientium. in scribendo hanc hystoriam sustinere uolui*.[56] After a lengthy description of the task and its chronology, the scribe finally turns to specifying the reward he hopes to obtain from his labours:

> Yet so that I myself may not be without fruit, I wish you brothers to know that I, brother Henry, a humble son of the church of *Bona Spes* wrote these volumes by hand and pen [hence] through the prayers of the brothers I may obtain a long life and copious thanks for writing. What, therefore, I wish to convey to you is this: that whichever of you brothers shall read [these volumes] may you preserve my memory for the sake of God, praying to him whom you wish to serve (Jesus Christ our Lord) that he may see fit to inscribe me, your scribe, in the Book of Life. But if you are not very often free to pray for me, this at least I beseech and, through the Lord God, plead: that you recall the anniversary day of my death; and while I live that you add to the remedy of your prayers for me the suffrages of masses at least once during the year. And since you owe this through the demands of charity to all brothers, I beseech you to be even more attentive to me – first because, wretch that I am, I am more in need than the rest; secondly because I have laboured extensively for you. I beseech whoever shall read this to say, 'May his soul rest in peace.'[57]

Students of late Anglo-Saxon manuscripts have become increasingly aware of the degree of 'commercialization' that book production entailed. Some religious houses supplied others, books were produced to demand, and there could be financial incentives. In the late tenth century a Worcester scribe was rewarded for his work by a grant of land;[58] in the early eleventh century a

[56] 'May the offering of my labour be pleasing to you, I beseech you, glorious Virgin Mary. For the honour of your name and for the use of the brothers in the church who serve you at Bona Spes, I wished to accomplish this history in writing.'

[57] 'Ut uero et ipse sine fructu non sim. scire uos uolo fratres quod ego frater heinricus ecclesie in bona spe. humilis filius. hec uolumina manu et calamo scripsi. impetrato quidem mihi per orationes fratrum. tam spatio uiuendi quam gratia scribendi. Quod iccirco uobis innotescere uolui. ut quicumque in eis legeritis fratres. memoriam mei causa dei habeatis. orantes eum cui seruire uultis iesum christum dominum nostrum. ut me uestrum librarium asscribere dignetur in libro uiuentium. Quod si frequentius pro me orare non uacatis. hoc saltem deprecor. et per dominum deum obtestor. ut obitus mei diem anniuersarium recolatis. mihique et ad orationum uestrarum medelam suspiranti. saltem semel in anno missarum suffragia conferatis. Quod cum omnibus fratribus caritate exigente debeatis. michi tamen propensius queso impendatis. cum quia pre ceteris miser indigeo. tum quia pro uobis aliquantulum laboravi. Dic queso quicumque hoc legeris. anima eius requiescat in pace.'

[58] London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. xiii, fols. 66–7: *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. A. J.

scribe received a pound from the will of Ælfwold, bishop of Crediton († 1011 × 1015);[59] and by the end of the century we have documentary evidence for professional scribes being employed in monastic houses thanks to lay sponsorship.[60] Royalty and nobility can be documented as owning and donating books in the eleventh century, and by implication, therefore, as commissioning them.[61] Presumptively, such volumes were paid for, and we have a documentary allusion to the fact that monastic scribes might expect to make money from writing books.[62]

The fact that the Eadwig Gospels was in Germany at a very early date suggests that it was written specifically for export, and its colophon can be made to fit into the picture we have just outlined. Yet this is not the only, nor even the most natural interpretation of the subscription. The words themselves indicate that Eadwig's concern was to derive good health and spiritual reward from his handiwork through the prayers of others – which he envisaged as continuing for ever. Books were undoubtedly commissioned and distributed, and probably paid for, in eleventh-century England (as elsewhere in Europe). But as we grow increasingly aware of the possible financial implications of such processes, let us not forget the spiritual dimensions. The 'commodity' in question was a religious one – the writings that were copied were spiritual ones, and the best-known examples were gospelbooks, volumes of supreme sacrality, symbols of Christ himself. Eadwig's colophon would appear to be evidence that a master scribe of Christ Church, Canterbury, whose work was highly regarded, widely disseminated, and seemingly very influential, still hoped to get good health and lasting spiritual benefit, not just financial reward, from his labours.

Robertson, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1956), no. 61; with the gloss of *Hemingi Chartularium Ecclesiae Wigornensis*, ed. T. Hearne (Oxford, 1723), p. 265.

[59] *English Historical Documents c. 500–1042*, ed. D. Whitelock, Eng. Hist. Documents 1, 2nd ed. (London, 1979), no. 122.

[60] Matthew Paris, *Gesta abbatum monasterii Sancti Albani* in Thomas Walsingham, *Gesta Abbatum Sancti Albani*, ed. H. T. Riley, 3 vols., RS 28 (London, 1867–9), I, pp. 57–8 (and cf. p. 76 for the situation under Abbot Geoffrey, 1119–46). See further R. M. Thomson, *Manuscripts from St Albans Abbey 1066–1235*, 2 vols. (Woodbridge, 1982) I, 13–14. For a survey of the (fairly exiguous) later documentation, see M. Gullick, 'Professional Scribes in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century England', *Eng. Manuscript Stud.* 7 (1998), 1–24.

[61] See R. G. Gameson, 'English Manuscript Art in the Mid-Eleventh Century', *AntJ* 71 (1991), 64–122 at 70–1 with nn. 53–64, for a convenient summary.

[62] *Early Scholastic Colloquies*, ed. W. H. Stevenson (Oxford, 1929), pp. 49–50; *Anglo-Saxon Conversations: the Colloquies of Ælfric Bata*, ed. S. Gwara and D. W. Porter (Woodbridge, 1997), p. 134. This passage has been much discussed in recent years: Heslop, '*de luxe* Manuscripts', pp. 177–8; M. Lapidge, 'Artistic and Literary Patronage in Anglo-Saxon England', *SettSpol* 39 (1991), 137–98, at 143–5; and D. N. Dumville, 'Anglo-Saxon Books: Treasure in Norman Hands?', *ANS* 16 (1994), 83–99, at 92–4.

APPENDIX

Hanover, Kestner-Museum, WM XXIa, 36

Notwithstanding numerous passing references and several catalogue entries,[63] the Eadwig Gospels has not hitherto been described and analysed in detail. The following account treats in turn its material fabric, content, textual characteristics, scribes, decoration and history.

FABRIC

Folios: 194. Fols. 9–184 (quires II–XXIII) represent the 'original' Anglo-Saxon strata, while fols. 1–8 and 184–194 (quires I and XXIV–XXV) were added in Germany. Size: 226 × 160 mm (written area 153 × 88 mm). Lines per page: 24. Space between lines: 7 mm. Height of minims: 2 mm. Parchment: good quality, very even, well prepared.

Collation: I–XXIII^{8}, XXIV^{6}, XXV^{4} (first rectos on fols. 1, 9, 17, 25, 33, 41, 49, 57, 65, 73, 81, 89, 97, 105, 113, 121, 129, 137, 145, 153, 161, 169, 177, 185 and 191). The observation 'singletons of thicker parchment carry the portraits'[64] is mistaken. On the contrary, the leaves with the portraits are all part of normal bifolia: **17** + 24 is the outer sheet of quire III; **65** + 72 is the outer sheet of quire IX; 89 + **96** is the outer sheet of quire XII; and **147** + 150 is one of the inner sheets of quire XIX. While the portraits and incipits of Matthew and Mark occur at the beginnings of quires and are disposed according to the same formula (first recto blank; first verso carries the portrait, facing the incipit on the second recto), no effort was made to continue the system in the third and fourth gospels. The portrait of Luke appears on the final verso of quire XII, its incipit being the first recto of quire XIII; the portrait and incipit of John appear on the third verso and fourth recto of quire XIX.

Ruling: the original section (Eadwig's part) was neatly ruled in hard point on the hair sides of the sheets. The grid comprises twenty-four horizontals, the first and last of which extend right across the page, the remainder being bounded on either side by double verticals which project into the upper and lower margins. The additions (fols. 1–8 and 185–94) were ruled in red crayon to a slightly different pattern; at the same time, an extra vertical was supplied in the outer margins of the original section for the correspondences.

Binding: a much re-made medieval binding whose structure is now difficult to make out in detail. There seem to be three sewing stations, plus head and tail. The wooden

[63] Notably Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, cat. 67; H. Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum im ottonischen und frühsalischen Reich*, MGH Schriften 30, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1986) I, 188–9; *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen*, ed. M. Brandt and A. Eggebrecht, 2 vols. (Hildesheim, 1993) II, no. V-39; *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit: Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125–1235*, ed. J. Luckhardt and F. Niehoff, 3 vols. (Munich, 1995) I, cat. D.65; and (the most detailed) Härtel, *Handschriften*, pp. 12–15.

[64] Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule*, p. 22. (The dimensions he gives are also erroneous.)

boards are comparatively thick (*c.* 9 mm); they are covered with white leather, which is, in turn, overlaid by a very worn silk brocade. There are two, much-repaired clasps on thongs. It is difficult to perceive the pattern of the channels, except on the outside rear board, where small diagonal grooves at head and tail flank three fairly short 'horizontal' grooves.[65] In the twelfth century the volume was furnished with a treasure cover, which was removed, sold, and melted down in 1792. As a coloured drawing published in 1755 reveals,[66] this had on the front Christ in majesty, surrounded by a generous border set with gemstones. The closest parallel for its general design among extant material (although undoubtedly of later date) is provided by the front cover of the north German gospelbook in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Brunswick.[67]

CONTENTS

[German additions]	
1r	*Lectio E B Iacobi apostoli* [s. xii]
1v	Blank
2r	*Plures fuisse* [s. xi$^{2/4}$]
4r	*Nouum opus*
6r	*Sciendum etiam*
6v	Argumentum Matt.: *Mattheus ex iudea sicut in ordine*
7r	Capitula Matt.: A Family[68] (numbered)
	.....
[Original Anglo-Saxon book]	
9v–16r	Canon Tables[69]
16v–17r	Blank
17v	Portrait of Matt.
18r	*Liber generationis*
62r	Explicit Matt. Prologue Mark: *Marcus evangelista*
63r	Capitula Mark: A family (unnumbered)
64v–65r	Blank

[65] Akin to the type represented by G. Pollard, 'Describing Medieval Bookbindings', *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (Oxford, 1976), pp. 50–65, fig. 3.

[66] Originally appearing in I. L. L. Gebhardus, *Dissertatio secularis de re litteraria coenobii S. Michaelis in urbe Luneburga* (Lüneburg, 1755) [which I have not seen], it is conveniently reproduced in *Heinrich der Löwe*, ed. Luckhardt and Niehoff II, fig. 197.

[67] MA 56: F. Steenbocke, *Der kirchliche Prachteinband im frühen Mittelalter von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn der Gotik* (Berlin, 1965), no. 109, pl. 148; with B. Klössel, *Das Evangelistar MA 56 der Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museums* (Brunswick, 1992), esp. pp. 25–6.

[68] Following the classification established by D. de Bruyne, *Sommaires, divisions et rubriques de la Bible latine* (Namur, 1914).

[69] Although the tables were clearly designed and painted by the Anglo-Saxon artist who was responsible for the rest of the decoration of the book, the rubrics are certainly and the numbers are probably the work of the s. xi$^{2/4}$ German hand (see further below).

65v Portrait of Mark
66r *Initium*
94r Explicit Mark. Prologue Luke: *Lucas syrus natione*
95r Capitula Luke: P[i] family (unnumbered)
96v Portrait of Luke
97r *Quoniam quidem*
145v Explicit Luke. Prologue John: *Hic est Iohannes euangelista unus ex discipulis*
146r Capitula John: Pi family (unnumbered)[70]
147v Portrait of John
148r *In principio*
183v Explicit John. Colophon.

.....

[German additions]
183v *Capitulare euangeliorum de anni circulo ad missas*[71] [s. xi[2/4]]
194r *Capitulare evangeliorum de diuersis causis.*

THE GOSPEL TEXT

The layout of the text is somewhat idiosyncratic. Matthew is largely set out in paragraphs, each one introduced by a one-line-high gold initial. Every sentence is also headed by a golden capital. Mark, Luke and John, by contrast, are largely presented as block-text, within which sections are distinguished by large golden initials, sentences being headed with golden capitals. However, from 179r (in John's Gospel) onwards, blue or green ink is used for the section initials, and red and blue for the sentence capitals.

The following passages receive additional visual emphasis.

37v *Vespere autem facto* (Matt. VIII.16): enlarged golden initial.
60v *heli heli lemazabacthani. hoc est deus meus ut quid dereliquisti me* (Matt. XXVII.46): two lines of golden script.
88r *Erat autem pascha post biduum Azima* (Mark XIV.1): enlarged golden initial, plus ink Rustic Capitals.
92v *heloi heloi lema zapthani quod est interpretatum Ds ms ds ms ut quid me dereliquisti* (Mark XV.34): written in green and blue.

[70] No other late Anglo-Saxon gospelbook parallels the Eadwig Gospels' pattern of capitula families: see P. McGurk, 'The Text', *York Gospels*, ed. Barr, pp. 43–63, esp. 46. (The Grimbald Gospels has A, A, A, A/B; while the York Gospels has A, Pi, Pi, Pi.)

[71] The first entry (*In uigilia natl. dni. scdm. Matheu. cap. iii*) specifies *Cum esset desponsata mater . . . usque Ipse enim saluum faciet populum suum a peccatis eorum* (Matt. I.18–21). The list (siglum 'Sx') is considered in relation to other, predominantly English witnesses by U. Lenker, 'The West Saxon Gospels and the Gospel-Lectionary in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 28 (1999), 141–78, who, however, appears to assume that it is of English origin. It is nevertheless usefully identified as a 'mixed type 2/3 (predominantly type 3)' within the Roman tradition as classified by A. Chavasse, 'Les plus anciens types du lectionnaire et de l'antiphonaire romains de la messe. Rapports et date', *RB* 62 (1952), 1–91.

93r *Maria autem Magdalenae et Maria iacobi* (Mark XVI.1): large golden initial, plus ink Rustic Capitals.
103r–v Genealogy (Luke III.23–38): the *qs* are gold, blue and green
138v *Approprinquabat autem dies festus azimoru.* (Luke XXII.1): enlarged golden initial, plus ink Rustic Capitals.
171r *Ante diem festum paschae / sciens IHS quia eius hora ut transeat* (John XIII.1): written in Uncials and Rustic Capitals.

In terms of its character, the gospel text stands somewhat apart from that of most late Anglo-Saxon copies, and would repay more detailed investigation.[72] The key point to make in the present context is that (judging from collation of the first chapters of Matthew and Mark) it is quite distinct from that of the Grimbald Gospels (the other gospelbook that was copied entirely by Eadwig) and the York Gospels (to which he contributed the second page of Matthew).[73] None of these manuscripts was copied from one of the others, nor do they share a common exemplar. Aside from plentiful discrepancies of orthography, and plain errors (which might in some cases be ascribed to the individual scribes of these manuscripts), the texts repeatedly display different readings, as the following examples show. In the specimen passages presented below, the manuscripts are identified by the following sigla: E = Eadwig; G = Grimbald; and Y = York. The reading in E is always presented first.

Matt. II.6 EG qui regat [Y qui reget
Matt. II.11 E et intrantes domum uiderunt [GY Et intrantes domum inuenerunt
Matt. II.13 EG angelus Domini apparet [Y angelus Domini apparuit
Matt. II.19 E ecce apparet angelus Domini [GY ecce apparuit angelus Domini
Matt. II.21 EY Qui consurgens [G qui surgens
Matt. II.22 EG Audiens autem quia [Y Audiens autem quod
Matt. II.22 EY timuit illuc ire [G timuit illo ire
Matt. III.6 EG in Iordane flumine [Y *om.* flumine
Matt. III.7 EY multos pharisaeorum et sadducaeorum [G *om.* sadducaeorum
Matt. III.9 E potest Deus [GY potens est Deus
Matt. III.10 E exciditur [GY excidetur
Matt. III.11 EY Ego quidem uos baptizo [G Ego quidem baptizo uos
Matt. III.12 EY suum in horreum [G in horreum suum
Matt. IV.3 EY Et accedens tentator [Y: temptator] dixit ei [G Et accedens ad eum temptator dixit ei
Matt. IV.4 EG vivet homo [Y vivit homo
Matt. IV.5 E Tunc assumit [GY Tunc assumpsit
Matt. IV.9 E Haec tibi omnia dabo [GY Haec omnia tibi dabo
[Note: the start of Mark is lacking in G]
Mark I.7 E uenit [Y ueniet
Mark I.8 E uos aqua [Y uos in aqua

[72] For very brief comment, see now *The Old English Version of the Gospels*, ed. R. M. Liuzza, 2 vols., EETS 304 and 314 (Oxford, 1994–2000) II, 22 with n. 109. [73] See above, nn. 2, 9 and 15.

Mark I.19 EG progressus pusillum [Y progressus in de pussillum
Mark I.21 E docebat [GY docebat eos
Mark I.23 E Et statim [GY *om.* statim
Mark I.27 E doctrina haec noua quia [GY quae doctrina haec noua quia [Y: qua]
Mark I.30 EY Discubebat autem [G Decumbebat autem
Mark I.34 E eiecit [GY eiciebat
Mark I.36 EG persecutus [Y secutus
Mark I.38 EY Eamus alibi in proximos uicos [G Eamus in proximos et ciuitates
Mark I.40 EY genuflexo [G genuflectens
Mark I.41 E Et misertus extendens manum suam tetigit [GY Ihs autem misertus eius extendit manum suam et tangens
Mark I.44 E uade te principi sacerdotum [GY uade ostende te principi sacerdotum
Mark II.5 E dimittuntur peccata tua [GY dimittuntur tibi peccata
Mark II.9 E Dimittuntur peccata tua an dicere Surge et tolle grabatum [G Dimittuntur tibi peccata aut dicere Surge tolle grabattum [Y Dimittuntur tibi peccata an dicere Surge tolle grabbatum
Mark II.16 E manducat et bibit [G manducat et bibit magister uester [Y passage erased
Mark II.18 EG Quare discipuli [Y Cur discipuli

SCRIBES

Four different hands can be distinguished in the manuscript, one English and three German. The sequence of their work is discussed in the section on the history of the volume, below. Their stints were as follows (they are numbered according to the order of their appearance in the book in its final state).

i Fol. 1r. A s. xii$^{1/2}$ German hand.

ii Fols. 2r–9r, and 183v (bottom seven lines)–194r (see pl. V). A neat s. xi$^{2/4}$ German hand which has been ascribed (on grounds of general aspect) to Hersfeld.[74] The same hand was almost certainly responsible for the marginal correspondences that were added to the original text up to 56v and then from 177r–179v, and probably also for the notes on 66r and 97r. In addition, he (or a close contemporary) added the rubrics and probably also the numbers to the canon tables, and contributed the running headings (written in golden Rustic Capitals) to the gospels.

iii Fols. 18r–64r, 66r–96r, 97r–147r, 148r–183v/line 15 (see pls. V–VII). A s. xi^{1} English hand, identified in the colophon on 183v as that of *Eaduuius cognomento Basan*. A well-sustained, calligraphic performance using an ink that has remained a dark black. Rubrics are written in green, blue and red.

iv Fol. 93r, an alternative reading supplied in the margin (Mark XVI.1–2).[75] A ?s. xi^{2} German hand of slightly poorer quality than ii.

[74] Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum* I, 188–9 (citing pagination rather than foliation).
[75] See n. 89 below.

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DECORATION

The volume is ornamented with canon tables, evangelist portraits, and initials, as follows.

Fols. 9v–16r: fourteen pages of decorated canon tables.[76] Their architectural framework is rendered in gold with details in red, green and blue. Most of the arches are adorned with bold foliate forms, while beast and bird heads appear on 12r–14r. The first tympanum (9v) contains the hand of God, holding a compass and scales; the second (which faces it on 10r) has a bearded bust figure (presumably the Deity). The tympana of 11r–15r include the heads of the evangelist symbols (often drastically cropped); while those of 10v, 15v and 16r are purely decorative. The circumstance that the symbols rarely correspond to the gospel lists below them in part, no doubt, reflects the fact that the tables were entirely blank, having not yet been written when they were done.

Fols. 17v, 65v, 96v and 147v: full page miniatures of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John (without symbols or tituli) presented within gold bar, foliage adorned frames.[77] All four figures are long-haired and bearded. Matthew, Mark and John are seated frontally; Luke faces sideways. Matthew seems to be dipping his pen; Mark appears on the point of sharpening his; Luke is writing in the book he holds. John tramples underfoot the figure of Arius (identified by the inscription 'Arrius'), who holds an inverted scroll bearing the legend 'Erat tempus quando non erat.' John brandishes a scroll with the opening words of his gospel: 'In principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud D[eu]m. Et D[eu]s erat uerbu[m]. h[oc] erat in principio.'

Fols. 18r, 66r, 97r, and 148r: gospel incipits distinguished by a large plain gold initial (seven- to eight-lines-high), accompanied by a row of monumental coloured capitals (blue in Matthew, green in Mark, blue in Luke, and green in John), followed by one line of ink Rustic Capitals (see pl. VII).[78]

Fols. 2r and 183r: early Romanesque, German initials P and I for 'Plures fuisse' and 'In uigilia natl. dni. scdm. Mtheu.' at the start of the *capitulare euangeliorum* (see pl. V). Formed from bars adorned with modest foliate sprigs, these letters are rendered in gold outlined with red, all set against a blue ground.

The original book was supplied with decorated canon table arcades and evangelist portraits, all the work of a single hand. The same artist was responsible for the illumination of London, British Library, Arundel 155, the psalter which was also written by Eadwig Basan and is datable to 1012 × 1023.[79] If the use of elaborate foliate borders

[76] Reproduced in full in Ohlgren, *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration*, pp. 372–85 with description on pp. 63–4. Colour reproductions of 10r: *Heinrich der Löwe*, ed. Luckhardt and Niehoff I, 253; Härtel, *Handschriften*, pl. II.

[77] For colour reproductions, see Gameson, 'Books, Culture and the Church in Canterbury', pl. 10 (17v); Härtel, *Handschriften*, pl. III (65v); *Golden Age*, ed. Backhouse *et al.*, pl. XVII (96v); and Alexander and Kauffmann, *English Illuminated Manuscripts*, pl. I (147v).

[78] For a colour reproduction of 18r, see Gameson, 'Books, Culture and the Church in Canterbury', pl. 11.

[79] For colour reproductions, see R. G. Gameson, 'Manuscript Art at Christ Church, Canterbury, in the Generation after St Dunstan', *St Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult*, ed. N. Ramsay, M. Sparks and T. Tatton-Brown (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 187–220, pl. XVI (53r); J. J. G. Alexander,

for the evangelist portraits betrays a response to Winchester art of the later tenth century, the modest presentation of the facing Incipits as unframed, undecorated golden initials supported by a line of coloured capitals displays a degree of continuity with the Canterbury aesthetic of the previous generation. (The decorated letters in the added German sections are thus the most elaborate initials in the book.)

The decorative programme is framed with unusual imagery. It opens (9v + 10r) with a schematic depiction of the orderliness of creation according to Wisdom XI.21 ('But you created everything in measure and in number and in weight'). The theme has particular resonance in the context of canon tables, where numbers illustrate the essential unity of the different accounts of the gospels; moreover, one might reasonably advance a comparison with the philosophy of numbers expounded by, for instance, Boethius and Abbo of Fleury. In the Introduction to the first book of his *De arithmetica*, Boethius claimed that God considered mathematics to exemplify his own thought, and that he established all things in accordance with it.[80] Similarly, in addition to expounding the mathematics of the tables, Abbo of Fleury's Commentary on the Calculus of Victorius of Aquitaine (probably written shortly before his period at Ramsey in 985–7) sought to demonstrate that their numerical patterns echoed the order of creation, and thus showed something of the mind of God.[81]

The iconography of the final decorated page in the Eadwig Gospels (the portrait of St John), which shows the refutation and crushing of the heresiarch Arius (whose views were condemned at the Council of Nicea in 325), acknowleges that dissident elements may arise in the world to disrupt the divinely established order, but demonstrates that they will inevitably be confuted by 'The Word' as witnessed in the gospels. Was this, one wonders, a response to contemporary rumblings of heresy in Frankia, known from the trials at Orléans in 1022 and at Arras in 1025?[82] Whatever the answer, the page is in the vanguard of early Romanesque anti-heretic imagery.[83]

Footnote 79 (*cont.*)

The Decorated Letter (London, 1978), pl. 16 (93r); *Golden Age*, ed. Backhouse *et al.*, pl. XVIII and Gameson, 'Books, Culture and the Church in Canterbury', pl. 9 (133r). For discussion of the hypothesis that Eadwig was himself the artist in question, see above, n. 16.

[80] *De arithmetica* I, 1: *Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii Opera* II, ed. H. Oosthout and I. Schilling, CCSL 94A (Turnhout, 1999), 12.

[81] *Commentarius in calculum Victorii*: N. Bubnov, *Gerberti postea Silvestri II papae opera mathematica 972–1003* (Berlin, 1899), pp. 197–204; further on which, see M. Huglo, 'D'Helisachar à Abbon de Fleury', *RB* 104 (1994), 204–30, esp. 220–7.

[82] For a summary account of the events in question, see M. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1992), pp. 9–16 and 22–5. For further discussion, see M. Frassetto, 'Reaction and Reform: Reception of Heresy in Arras and Aquitaine in the early Eleventh Century', *Catholic Hist. Rev.* 83 (1997), 385–400; and G. Lobrichon, 'Arras, 1025, ou le vrai procès d'une fausse accusation', *Inventer l'hérésie? Discours polémiques et pouvoirs avant l'Inquisition*, ed. M. Zerner (Nice, 1998), pp. 67–85.

[83] Other (later) examples include (in approximate chronological order): London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvii, 75v (1023 × 1031; Winchester, New Minster; includes image of Arius); Avranches, Bibliothèque municipale, 72, 97r (xi$^{2/4}$; Mont Saint-Michel; Felicianus); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 2079, 1v (xi^{med}; Fécamp; Faustus); lat. 1684, 1r (xi^{med}; Fécamp; Arius); Avranches, Bibliothèque muncipale, 90, 1v (xi$^{3/4}$; Mont Saint-Michel;

The original English book (9r–183v) comprised the four gospels, along with the prefatory matter for Mark, Luke and John, plus the arcades (though not the rubrics and numbers) of the canon tables. The fact that it was the work of the same 'team' that was responsible for the Arundel 155 Psalter, which is securely attributable to Christ Church, Canterbury, and datable to 1012 × 1023, suggests that our manuscript was made in the same place around the same time. (If there was indeed some connection between the anti-Arius imagery in the portrait of St John and the documented stirrings of heresy in Frankia, that would point to the very end of this period.) The book was not, however, quite finished.[84]

The English core was supplemented (and effectively brought to completion) by a German scribe in the second quarter of the eleventh century. It is worth emphasizing that this was very skilfully done and that, although no attempt was made to imitate the original script or decorative style, the high quality of the work effectively preserved the integrity of the volume. The interweaving of this German scribe's contribution into the English strata – most notably in the canon tables – raises the question of whether he might actually have worked in Canterbury. Although not impossible, this does not seem very likely, particularly given that the preparation (that is, the pricking and ruling) of the portion for which he was wholly responsible is quite distinct from that of the Canterbury section, and that red ink was not used for ruling any other book that was produced there in this period. It is altogether more probable, therefore, that the volume had already reached Germany. As the manuscript was clearly disbound when this first German scribe made his contribution, it is likely that it left England in this state. To the front of the book he contributed the general prologues and the prefatory material for Matthew (1v–9r), prefixing a new quire and running on to the originally blank first page of the Anglo-Saxon quire containing the Canon Tables.[85] He probably supplied the numbers to the canon tables, and added correspondences in the margins of the pre-existing gospel text on 18r–56v and 177r–179v, supplying extra rulings for the purpose; he or a close colleague added running headings in Rustic Capitals. He appended a *capitulare euangeliorum* of Carolingian ancestry to the end of the book, beginning at the bottom of the original final leaf (183v: see pl. V) and continuing on two supplementary quires (fols. 184–94). On the grounds of the general aspect of his hand, this scribe has been associated with Hersfeld,[86] whither presumptively, therefore, the

Faustus); and Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, 15, 56v (xii^{in}; Cîteaux; Arius). The examples from Normandy – unlike those from England and Cîteaux – all accompany texts which refute the heretic in question. See further, in general, W. Cahn, 'Heresy and the Interpretation of Romanesque Art', *Romanesque and Gothic: Essays for George Zarnecki*, ed. N. Stratford *et al.*, 2 vols. (Woodbridge, 1987) I, 27–33; and J. A. Kidd, 'The *Quinity* of Winchester Reconsidered', *Stud. in Iconography* 7–8 (1981–2), 21–33.

[84] Given that the numbers were apparently not supplied to the canon tables, it seems unlikely that the other preliminary matter was completed but subsequently lost or damaged.

[85] Whereas all three capitula lists in the Anglo-Saxon section (for Mark, Luke and John) were unnumbered, the capitula list he supplied (for Matt.) was numbered.

[86] Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum* I, 188–9.

codex had come. The Eadwig Gospels is thus a further witness to contacts between England and Germany around the second quarter of the eleventh century,[87] and probably adds Hersfeld to the list of places that were involved in such intercourse.[88]

A different German scribe subsequently added in the margin of 93r a more conventional reading for Mark XVI.1–2 than Eadwig's slightly unorthodox version.[89] Then, a twelfth-century German hand copied a reading for St James on to the supplementary first page. Whether the inclusion in the added *capitulare de diversis causis* of readings for the ordinations of various ranks of clerics including a bishop, along with the added reading for St James, could imply an association with a cathedral community which had a particular devotion to that saint, is a moot point. Also in the twelfth century (to judge from an eighteenth-century drawing),[90] the volume was supplied with a magnificent (though now lost) treasure binding.

The earliest documented provenance of the Eadwig Gospels is the benedictine abbey of St Michael, Lüneburg, where until 1792 it formed part of the *Reliquienschatz der Goldenen Tafel*.[91] (How and when it travelled the more than 250 km north from Hersfeld to Lüneburg are unknown.) In 1792 the precious cover was sold and melted down, while the book itself was given (along with other items from the Treasury of the Golden Altar) to the Museum of the Lüneburg *Ritterakademie*. In 1852 it was transferred to the *Reliquienkammer* of the Palace Chapel in Hanover, passing in the following year (1853) to the Royal Library, Hanover; less than a decade later (1861) it was presented to the newly-founded Welfen-Museum there. In 1955 the manuscript was deposited on permanent loan in the Kestner-Museum.[92]

[87] See S. Keynes, 'Giso, Bishop of Wells (1061–88)', *ANS* 19 (1997), 203–71, esp. 205–13; and M. Hare, 'Cnut and Lotharingia: Two Notes', *ASE* 29 (2000), 261–78; also, more generally, V. Ortenberg, *The English Church and the Continent in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries: Cultural, Spiritual and Artistic Exchanges* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 41–94.

[88] The only other hint of a connection during the eleventh century of which I am aware is the brief notice of events in England in 1066 that appears in the Chronicle of Lampert of Hersfeld (*c.* 1025–after 1081): *Lamperti Monachi Hersfeldensis Opera: Annales*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi 38 (Hanover and Leipzig, 1894), 3–304, at 103.

[89] Eadwig's text: 'Maria autem Magdalenae et Maria Iacobi notauerunt locum ubi ponebatur. Et exeuntes emerunt aromata. Et cum transisset sabbatum uenerunt ad monumentum oriente iam sole.' The version added in the margin: 'Maria Magdalena et Maria Iacobi et Salome emerunt aromata ut uenientes ungerent Iesum. Et ualde mane una sabbatorum ueniunt ad monumentum orto iam sole.'

[90] See n. 66 above.

[91] See F. Stuttman, *Der Reliquienschatz der Goldenen Tafel des Michaelis Klosters in Lüneburg* (Berlin, 1937); and B. Bänsch, 'Der Schatz der Goldenen Tafel zu Lüneburg bis 1235', *Heinrich der Löwe*, ed. Luckhardt and Niehoff II, 313–28.

[92] I am very grateful to Dr Wolfgang Schepers and his staff for the warm welcome I received at the Kestner-Museum in October 1999. I wish also to record my thanks to Claudia Caspers who kindly checked a couple of details that I had failed to note in the very limited time I had to study the manuscript.

discipulus ille non moritur · Et non dixit ei ihc non
moritur · sed sic eum uolo manere donec ueniam quid
adhuc · Hic est discipulus ille qui testimonium phibet
debis · & scripsit haec · Et scimus quia uerum est ·
testimonium eius ·

SUNT AUTEM ET ALIA MULTA QUAE FECIT IHC · QUAE SCRIBANTUR
PSINGULA · NEC IPSUM ARBITROR MUNDUM CAPERE EOS QUI
SCRIBENDI SUNT LIBROS · AMEN ·

Prosciptore precem nec empnas fundere pacer ·
Librum istum monachus scripsit EADUUIGS · cogno
mento BASAN · Sit illi longa salus · Uale seruus
di · N · & memor esto mei ·

INCIPIUNT CAPITA EUANGE
LIORUM DE ANNI CIRCULO AD MISSAS ·
IN UIGILIA NATI DNI SCDM MATHEU ·
cap · iii · Cum esset desponsata mater ihu · ma
ria ioseph · ante quam conuenirent inuenta
est in utero habens · Ipse enim saluum
faciet populum suum a peccatis eorum ·

183

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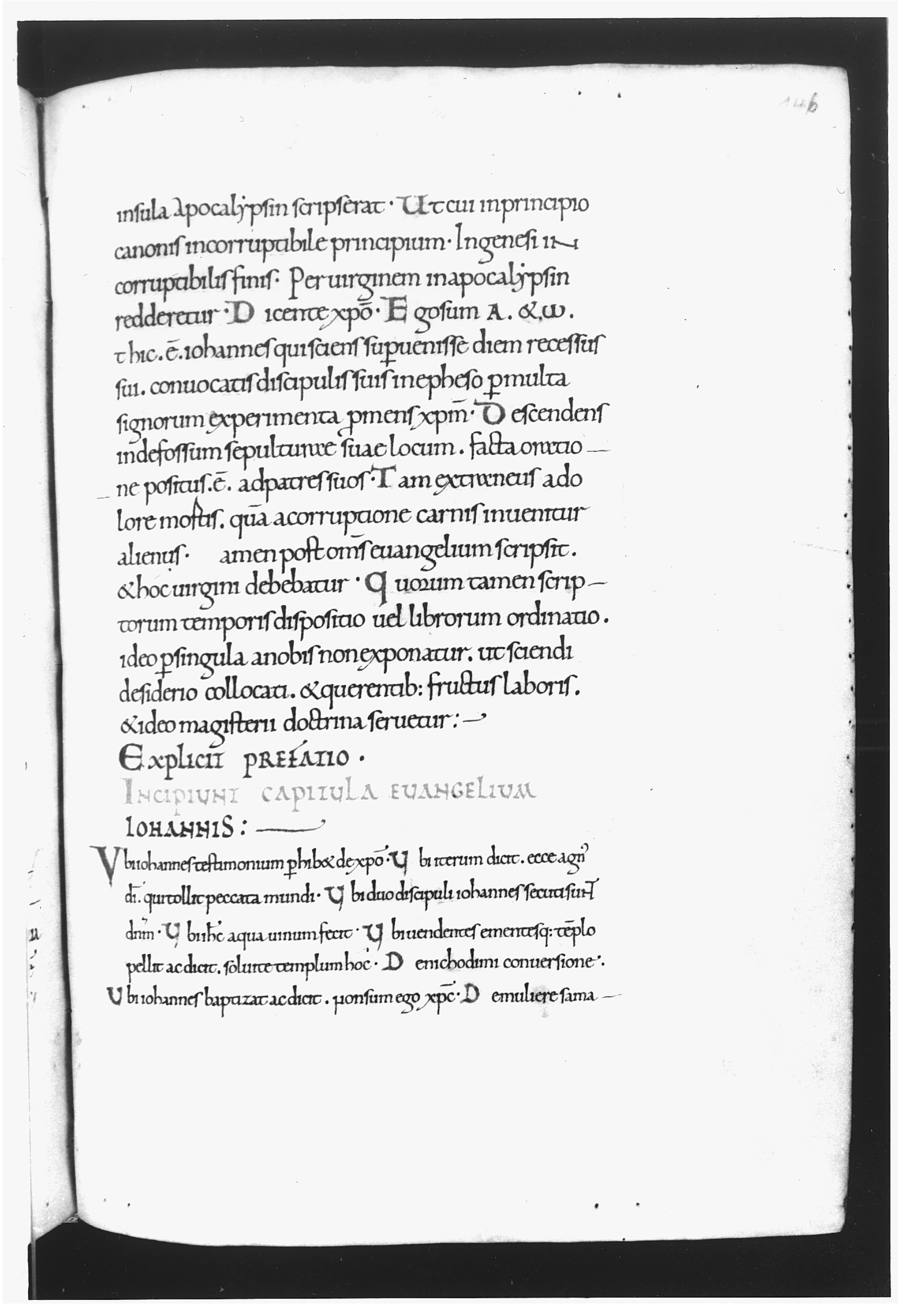
146

insula apocalypsin scripserat · Ut cui in principio
canonis incorruptibile principium · In genesi in-
corruptabilis finis · Per uirginem in apocalypsin
redderetur · Dicente xpo · Ego sum A. & ω.
Et hic. ē. iohannes qui sciens supuenisse diem recessus
sui. conuocatis discipulis suis in epheso p multa
signorum experimenta pmens xpm · Descendens
in defossum sepulturae suae locum. facta oratio-
ne positus. ē. ad patres suos · Tam extraneus a do-
lore mortis. quã a corruptione carnis inuenitur
alienus · Tamen post omnes euangelium scripsit.
& hoc uirgini debebatur · Quorum tamen scrip-
torum temporis dispositio uel librorum ordinatio.
ideo p singula a nobis non exponatur. ut sciendi
desiderio collocato. & querentib: fructus laboris.
& ideo magisterii doctrina seruetur :—
Explicit prefatio ·
Incipiunt capitula euangelium
iohannis :—
Ubi iohannes testimonium phib& de xpo · Ubi iterum dicit. ecce agn̄
dī. qui tollit peccata mundi · Ubi duo discipuli iohannes secuti sunt
dnm · Ubi de aqua uinum fecit · Ubi uendentes ementesq: de templo
pellit ac dicit. soluite templum hoc · De nichodimi conuersione ·
Ubi iohannes baptizat ac dicit. non sum ego xpc · De muliere sama-

VI Hanover, Kestner-Museum WM XXIa, 36, 146r

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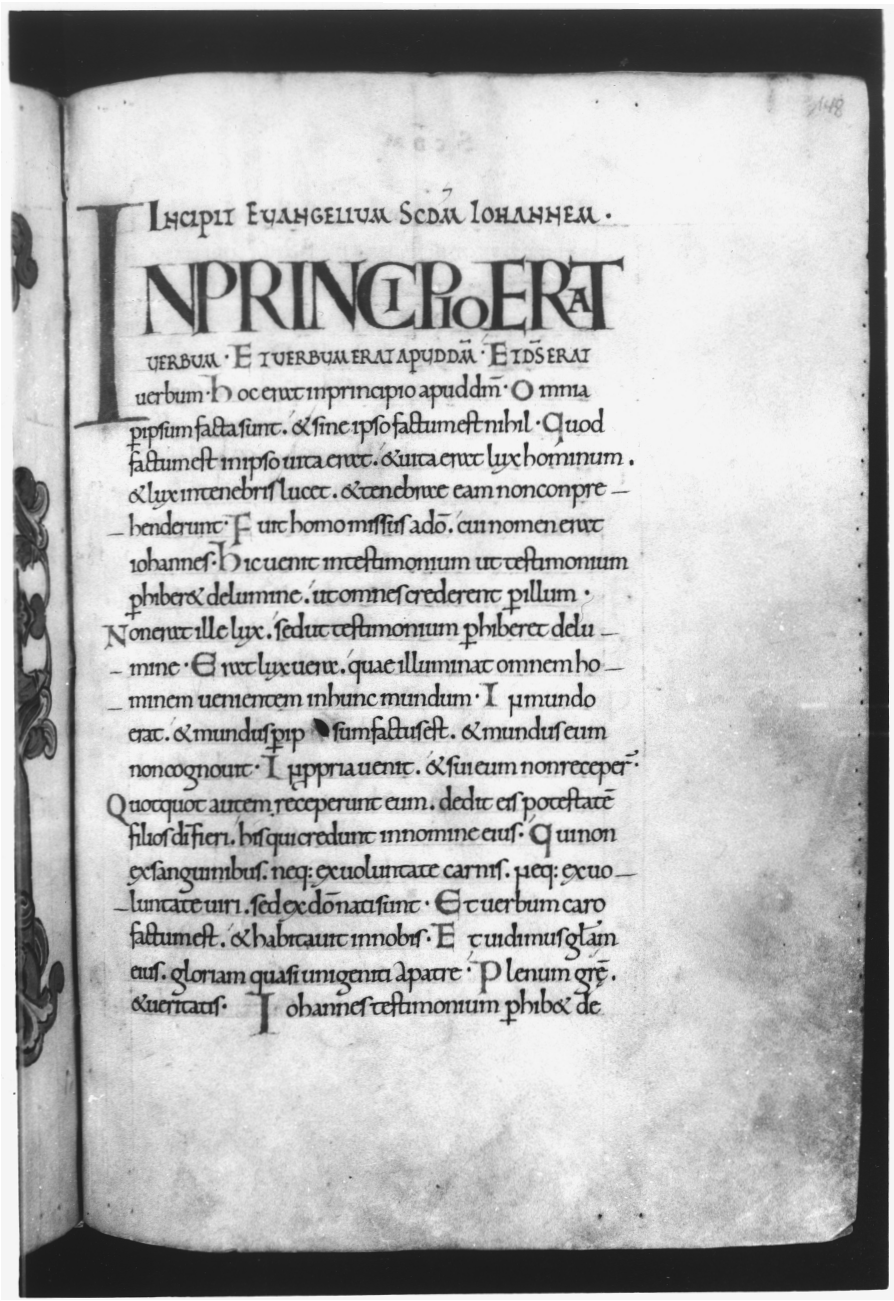

INCIPIT EVANGELIUM SCM IOHANNEM.

IN PRINCIPIO ERAT VERBUM. ET VERBUM ERAT APUD DM. ET DS ERAT verbum. Hoc erat in principio apud dm. Omnia ipsum facta sunt. & sine ipso factum est nihil. Quod factum est in ipso vita erat. & vita erat lux hominum. & lux in tenebris lucet. & tenebre eam non comprehenderunt. Fuit homo missus a dō. cui nomen erat iohannes. Hic venit in testimonium ut testimonium phiberet de lumine. ut omnes crederent per illum. Non erat ille lux. sed ut testimonium phiberet de lumine. Erat lux vera. que illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum. In mundo erat. & mundus per ipsum factus est. & mundus eum non cognouit. In propria venit. & sui eum non receperunt. Quotquot autem receperunt eum. dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri. his qui credunt in nomine eius. Qui non ex sanguinibus. neq; ex voluntate carnis. neq; ex voluntate viri. sed ex deo nati sunt. Et verbum caro factum est. & habitauit in nobis. Et vidimus gloriam eius. gloriam quasi unigeniti a patre. Plenum gre. & veritatis. Iohannes testimonium phibet de

VII Hanover, Kestner-Museum WM XXIa, 36, 148r

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