and those among communities that developed in eastern England following the end of Roman rule. If these connections can be explained in terms of related 'technologies of remembrance' rather than loosely and vaguely through discussions of 'cultural connections', 'invasions' and 'migrations', then we can begin to formulate new models for understanding the role of mortuary practices in social change at the beginnings of the Migration Period.[133] At the other end of the period, appreciating the mnemonic role of cremation and material culture enables us to re-appraise the changing form and contexts of burial rites in the 'final-phase' of the seventh century and beyond.[134] Yet, as suggested at the beginning of this paper, the most far-reaching implication is that, rather than focusing on prestigious monuments and exotic artefacts, studies of social memory can engage equally with quite humble objects. Consequently, it might be possible to promote a new archaeological perspective in early medieval Europe, emphasizing the role of material culture as memory.

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[133] Williams, 'Remains of Pagan Saxondom?'.
[134] Williams, 'Death, Memory and Material Culture'.

Ceolfrid's gift to St Peter: the first quire of the *Codex Amiatinus* and the evidence of its Roman destination

Celia Chazelle

The Codex Amiatinus, *the oldest extant complete Vulgate Bible, was sent from Wearmouth–Jarrow to Rome in June 716. This article begins by addressing one of the fundamental unanswered questions concerning the manuscript: the original order of its preliminary quire, where most of the decorative material in* Amiatinus *occurs. The most plausible arrangement of these folios is presented, based on study of their decorative and textual contents and the recently published results of the technical and chemical analyses undertaken in 1999–2001. The organization I propose allows new evidence to be discerned that the quire was planned from the outset to form part of a gift for the holy see. The article concludes by discussing the likely function of the Bible's famous portrait of Ezra copying scripture as a 'mirror' of the papal office, a picture intended to remind the pope who received* Amiatinus *of his own responsibilities in the Christian church.*

In the decades following Benedict Biscop's foundation of Wearmouth in 674 and the foundation of Jarrow in 682, the two communities faced varied challenges to their welfare. Plague swept through the houses in the mid-680s, killing virtually every resident of Jarrow except Bede and its first abbot, Ceolfrid.[1] The monastery's principal patron, King Ecgfrid, died in battle in 685,[2] and as Benedict Biscop lay dying in 689, according to Bede, he warned the monks to beware lest his blood brother force kinship rights over his establishment.[3] Criticism may have arisen of Benedict's unusual system of co-abbots, and this was possibly a reason for his announcement, on his deathbed, that Ceolfrid would

[1] See Bede, *Historia abbatum* (henceforth *HA*) 10; *Vita Ceolfridi* (henceforth *VC*) 13–14: *Venerabilis Baedae Historiam Ecclesiasticam Gentis Anglorum, Historiam abbatum, Epistolam ad Ecgberctum, una cum Historia abbatum auctore anonymo*, ed. C. Plummer, 2 vols (Oxford, 1896), I, 373–4, 392–3.
[2] *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (henceforth *HE*) 4.26(24), ed. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), pp. 426–9.
[3] *HA* 11, pp. 374–6.

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become sole abbot of both houses. Hints of factionalism between and within Wearmouth and Jarrow can be discerned,[4] and episcopal authority in the region was unsettled. The Hexham diocese, formed after the division of York in 678, changed bishops with notable frequency, with five different ecclesiastics occupying the see between 684 and 687.[5] Among them was Wilfrid, bishop in 687 and again in 706–*c.*710, whose relations with Ceolfrid's monastery appear to have been strained.[6]

Yet despite these troubles, Wearmouth–Jarrow held an exceptional position in early Anglo-Saxon monasticism, and some of its problems attest the attention it attracted because of its prestige. As Ian Wood has shown, the abbey possessed considerable wealth: by 716 it owned 150 hides of land, housed over 600 monks, and had accumulated an abundance of relics, books, and other treasures gathered on Benedict's trips to the Continent or collected and produced under Ceolfrid. Partly thanks to Benedict's repeated visits to Italy, ties with Rome were strong, a relationship reflected in the monastery's papal charters, its churches built *iuxta Romanorum . . . morem*, its role as a centre for instruction in Roman chant and liturgy,[7] and its support for Roman practice in the Easter controversy.[8]

Wearmouth–Jarrow's vast resources and the sense of allegiance to the holy see are also apparent from the work of its scriptorium, which from Ceolfrid's abbacy through the mid-eighth century was a major Northumbrian centre of book production.[9] Of all its known products, the most remarkable is the *Codex Amiatinus* (Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Cod. Amiatinus 1), one of three pandects (single volume Bibles) that Ceolfrid commissioned probably after his appointment to the joint abbacy of Wearmouth and Jarrow.[10] While twelve leaves and fragments of a thirteenth are extant from one or, possibly, both other manuscripts, *Amiatinus* alone appears to retain all its folios, though it lacks the original binding.[11] The two sister pandects were placed in Wearmouth's church

[4] I. Wood, *The Most Holy Abbot Ceolfrid* (Jarrow Lecture 1995), pp. 9–12.
[5] *HE* 4.12, 4.28(26)–29(27), 5.2, pp. 370–1, 438–41, 456–7.
[6] Wood, *Abbot Ceolfrid*, pp. 6–9.
[7] *HA* 4–6, 9, 15, pp. 367–70, 373, 379–80; *CV* 9–10, 16, 20, pp. 391, 393–5; Wood, *Abbot Ceolfrid*, pp. 3–5, 12–16.
[8] *HE* 5.21, pp. 532–53. The controversy is recently discussed in T.M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge, 2000), esp. pp. 391–415; M.W. Herren and S.A. Brown, *Christ in Celtic Christianity: Britain and Ireland from the Fifth to the Tenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 56–65.
[9] R. Marsden, *The Text of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 76–201.
[10] Complete facsimile available on CD-ROM: *La Bibbia Amiatina/The Codex Amiatinus, Complete Reproduction on CD-ROM of the Manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino 1* (Florence, 2000).
[11] Marsden, *Text*, 85–106. The other leaves are London, British Library, Add. Ms. 37777 ('Greenwell leaf'), Add. Ms. 45025 (ten fols, fragments of eleventh, 'Middletown leaves'), and Loan Ms. 81 ('Bankes leaf'). In Marsden's view, these all came from one pandect: *Text*, pp. 90–8. M. Budny discusses the possibility they are the remains of both pandects: *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: An Illustrated Catalogue* (Kalamazoo, 1997), pp. 614–15; *eadem*, 'The *Biblia Gregoriana*', in R. Gameson (ed.), *St. Augustine and the Conversion of England* (Strand, 1999), pp. 237–84, at pp. 248–9.

of St Peter and Jarrow's church of St Paul, whereas in June 716 Ceolfrid left the monastery with *Amiatinus* and other gifts directed, according to the Bible's dedication verses (fol. 1/1v), to the body of St Peter in Rome.[12] Together with the Bibles at Wearmouth and Jarrow, *Amiatinus* was intended to mark out a Trinitarian network linking Rome and the two houses, a symbolic reaffirmation of their bonds with the apostolic city.[13] Ceolfrid died en route in Langres in September 716, but some of his entourage apparently continued over the Alps with their offerings. A letter Pope Gregory II evidently sent back to Wearmouth–Jarrow is recorded in the anonymous *Vita Ceolfridi*; the letter does not directly mention the pandect, but the biographer clearly implies that the Bible was part of the gift (*munus*) for which the pope thanks the monastery. Bede, too, indicates the pandect was sent on to Rome when recalling Ceolfrid's journey in *De temporum ratione*. Since Ceolfrid's biographer and Bede probably had information from the monks who returned, including those who brought Gregory's letter, and since it seems to me unlikely that the biographer entirely fabricated the letter, the sensible conclusion is that the manuscript made it to its destination.[14] At an unknown later date, it came into the possession of San Salvatore at Monte Amiata, a mid-eighth-century foundation, where the dedication poem was altered to attribute the codex to 'Peter of the Lombards', an abbot who cannot be identified with certainty. After San Salvatore was disbanded in 1782, the *Codex Amiatinus* and other books were transferred to the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence.[15]

[12] 'Corpus ad eximii merito/uenerabile Petri/quem caput ecclesiae/dedicat alta fides/Ceolfridus Anglorum/extremis de finibus abbas/deuoti affectus/pignora mitto mei/meque meosque optans/tanti inter gaudia patris/in caelis memorem/semper habere locum.' ('To the deservedly venerable body of outstanding Peter, whom high faith proclaims the head of the church, I Ceolfrid, abbot from the furthest regions of the Angles, send pledges of my devoted affection, desiring that among the heavenly joys of such a father I and my men may forever have a place in memory.') On the alterations to this text, see K. Corsano, 'The First Quire of the Codex Amiatinus and the *Institutiones* of Cassiodorus', *Scriptorium* 41 (1987), pp. 3–34, at p. 8. The manuscript's unusual double foliation is explained below, p. 133.
[13] I develop this idea more fully in a forthcoming article, 'Christ and the Vision of God: The Biblical Diagrams of the Codex Amiatinus', in A.-M. Bouché and J. Hamburger (eds), *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Medieval West* (Princeton). The volume is in preparation.
[14] *VC* 21–27, 31–40, pp. 395–8, 400–4; Bede, *De temporum ratione liber* 66, ed. C.W. Jones, CCSL 123B (Turnhout, 1977), p. 534, quoted in P. Meyvaert, 'Bede, Cassiodorus, and the Codex Amiatinus', *Speculum* 71 (1996), pp. 827–83, at p. 869. I agree with Marsden, *Text*, p. 87 and n. 57 on the lack of ground for some scholars' doubt that *Amiatinus* reached Rome. I have been unable to consult Michael Gorman, 'The Codex Amiatinus: A Guide to the Legends and Bibliography', *Studi medievali* 44 (2003), pp. 862–910.
[15] *Amiatinus*'s career after Wearmouth–Jarrow has been clarified by S. Magrini, '"Per difetto del legatore . . .": storia delle rilegature della Bibbia Amiatina in Laurenziana, con una premessa

Despite the abundant scholarship on *Amiatinus*,[16] some fundamental issues concerning its production remain unresolved, especially regarding the preliminary leaves where most of the decoration appears (Figs 3–10). Since the late nineteenth century, the starting point of most studies of these pages has been the theory that their decoration and texts were largely modelled on the *Codex Grandior*, a lost sixth-century Bible made under Cassiodorus at his monastery, the *Vivarium*. This volume was probably the *uetusta translatio* which, according to Bede, Ceolfrid acquired on his only completed trip to Rome, in 678/679.[17] The Wearmouth–Jarrow scriptorium, scholars have frequently suggested, demonstrated its admiration for this Italian treasure by copying pages in *Grandior* as closely as it could, to the extent that *Amiatinus* offers a window on that codex.[18]

Recently, though, a few historians have given new thought to the possibility that other sources besides *Grandior* influenced *Amiatinus*'s preliminary folios. They have also placed greater emphasis on the active decisions made by the English monks in selecting models, and on their inclusion of decorative elements and texts they themselves invented.[19] The following analysis adopts a similar approach to deal with, first, perhaps the most basic outstanding question concerning *Amiatinus*'s opening leaves: their original organization. For convenience, I use the term 'original' to denote the pages' final order when *Amiatinus* left Wearmouth–Jarrow, though we should remember that one or more (re)organizations may have occurred during their preparation. This original arrangement has been debated since the pandect reached the Laurenziana with its first leaves manifestly not in their correct order.[20] I present the most plausible sequence, the reasons in its favour, and additional evidence (beyond what other scholars have noted) that the gathering was planned with Rome as the intended destination. I also discuss the possible significance of the decoration of its opening and closing folios.

di Franca Arduini', *Quinio: International Journal on the History and Conservation of the Book* 3 (2001), pp. 137–67, at pp. 148–50. I am very grateful to Dr Magrini for providing me with copies of her article and the report on the analyses of the first quire undertaken in 1999–2001: M. Bicchieri *et al.*, 'Non-Destructive Analysis of the *Bibbia Amiatina* by XRF, PIXE-a and Raman', *Quinio* 3 (2001), pp. 169–79.

[16] For a measure simply of recent scholarship, see V. Longo *et al.* (eds), *Bibliografia della Bibbia Amiatina (1990–1999)* (Rome, 2000).

[17] *HA* 15, p. 379.

[18] See Marsden, *Text*, pp. 116–23; Meyvaert, 'Bede, Cassiodorus', esp. pp. 827–39. The problems caused by this approach are stressed in L. Nees, 'Problems of Form and Function in Early Medieval Illustrated Bibles from Northwest Europe', in J. Williams (ed.), *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible* (University Park, PA, 1999), pp. 121–77, esp. pp. 148–55.

[19] In particular Nees, 'Problems', pp. 148–74; Meyvaert, 'Bede, Cassiodorus', pp. 839–83.

[20] This is the order reflected in the arabic numbering; see Figs 1 and 2. Note how the arabic numeral arrangement divided the two parts of the Tabernacle illumination, fols 2/IIv and 7/IIIr, as discussed further below.

Amiatinus's first folios, which now consist of three bifolia (fols 1/I–8/VIII; 4/V–5/VI; 2/II–7/III; Figs 3, 4, 6–8) and two single pages (fols 3/IV, 6/VII; Figs 5, 9–10), were produced separately from the rest of the codex and have been reorganized at least three times since 716. Two such episodes are recorded in arabic and roman numerals in the upper right corners of their rectos; the arabic numbers give the order of pages when the pandect arrived at the Laurenziana, while the roman numbers refer to a rearrangement of 1866. That the leaves' organization when the Bible came to the Laurenziana (arabic numerals) was not the original was apparent from its separation of the two halves of the bifolium Tabernacle illumination (fols 2/II, 7/III; Fig. 6). The reordering noted in roman numerals also did not win general acceptance, though it brought the two parts of this miniature together.[21] Even so, the roman numeral order was kept until 1999, when the gathering was unbound and, prior to rebinding in a new sequence in 2001, submitted to microscopic examination and chemical and technical analyses in the hope of more clearly determining its organization at Wearmouth–Jarrow. One potentially significant discovery was the absence from the Tabernacle bifolium of signs of an early sewing, possibly the original, noticeable on other folios. Also detected and examined under ultraviolet light were a number of previously unnoticed stains, offsets (impressions left by the ink and pigments of decorated and written pages on other – at some point adjacent – leaves), and traces of rulings (again indicative of folios that spent time next to one another). When rebound in 2001, the folios were rearranged in the order in which the researchers decided, based on this evidence, they had been set for most of their existence:[22]

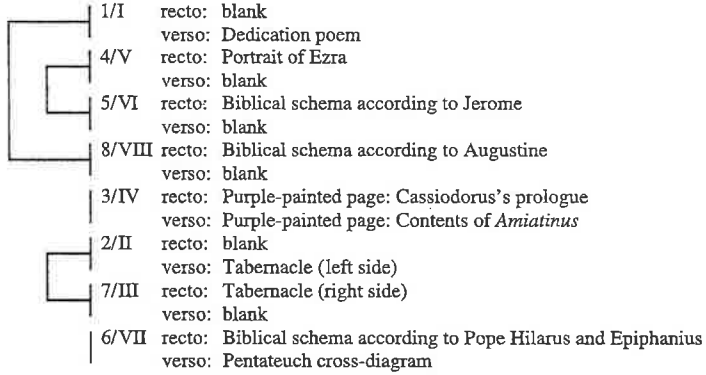

Fig. 1 *Codex Amiatinus*, first quire: present order of leaves.

[21] See Figs 1 and 2. The roman numeral of folio 8/VIII is barely discernible (though clearly there) and often overlooked in records of the pagination.

[22] Magrini, 'Per difetto', pp. 137, 159–62; Bicchieri *et al.*, 'Non-Destructive Analysis', *passim*.

While it is impossible to be absolutely sure, the analyses conducted in 1999–2001 support the hypothesis that all the opening folios produced at Wearmouth–Jarrow for *Amiatinus* have survived. No page appears to bear offsets or other traces not linked to another extant folio in the set.[23] No textual or decorative material is noticeably missing among the leaves, and since they contain the dedication poem (fol. 1/Iv; Fig. 3) and a list of the pandect's contents (fol. 3/IVv), texts logically placed near the beginning of the manuscript, it is unlikely a lost gathering preceded them.[24] An important question for determining the folios' intended sequence that the analyses left unanswered, though, concerns the combination of two single leaves, the only ones painted on both sides, with three bifolia.[25] Artistic style, pigments, and script indicate that the single leaves as well as bifolia were prepared at Wearmouth–Jarrow.[26] Yet while the earliest report mentioning folios 3/IV and 6/VII as single pages dates only to 1887,[27] no physical evidence has so far been detected to determine whether they were made as separate folios or formed a bifolium that was subsequently cut apart. Nor, if a bifolium was separated, does the physical evidence give any clue whether this might have happened some time after the Bible left Wearmouth–Jarrow or at the scriptorium.[28]

The investigators responsible for the recent analyses rightly hold that the rebinding in 2001, in accordance with the newly detected traces, almost certainly does not represent the organization chosen by the Northumbrian scriptorium, but they assert this is the order in which the pages were kept for the longest period since their production.[29] It should be noted that this conclusion is open to debate. In the 1300 or so years since *Amiatinus* was produced, a range of factors – such as

[23] Bicchieri *et al.*, 'Non-Destructive Analysis', esp. pp. 169–70.

[24] The *VC* reports that the dedication poem was placed *in capite*, implying it was at or near the opening of the codex: *VC* 37, p. 402.

[25] Although some scholars have referred to fol. 3/IV as dyed or stained purple, it is painted. See D. Wright, 'Some Notes on English Uncial', *Traditio* 17 (1961), pp. 441–56, at pp. 443–4; M.O. Budny, 'The Anatomy of a Bible Fragment: British Library Manuscript Royal 1 E.vi', Ph.D. thesis, University of London (1985), esp. pp. 29–30; *eadem*, '*Biblia Gregoriana*', pp. 243–4, 249.

[26] Wright, 'Some Notes', pp. 443, 452; R.L.S. Bruce-Mitford, *The Art of the Codex Amiatinus* (Jarrow Lecture 1967), esp. p. 5. A single Northumbrian scribe wrote the rubrics in the tablets (*tabulae ansatae*) at the bottom of fols 5/VIr and 6/VIIr: Meyvaert, 'Bede, Cassiodorus', p. 841, n. 75.

[27] G.F. Browne, Letter to *The Academy*, no. 782 (30 April 1887), p. 309.

[28] Magrini notes the inability of the recent analyses to decide these issues, but prefers to think the two pages left Wearmouth–Jarrow as a single bifolium: 'Per difetto', p. 162 and n. 116 ('La relazione tra i due fogli, oggetto dell'analisi di Corssen e di Browne . . . e degli interrogativi di Meyvaert . . . non è stata definita con precisione neppure dagli specialisti dell'I.C.P.L. Nulla osta tuttavia, da un punto di vista strutturale, alla loro appartenenza al medesimo bifolio.')

[29] Magrini, 'Per difetto', p. 137; Bicchieri *et al.*, 'Non-Destructive Analysis', p. 170.

changes in humidity, temperature, and other conditions of storage, and differing situations in which the pandect was transported or handled – may have variously quickened, slowed, facilitated, or prevented the processes by which traces were left. Long periods when two pages were brought together may have left no physical signs of their proximity, while shorter periods in other circumstances did leave them.[30]

The offsets and other traces, however, at least indicate times of unknown duration and unknown chronology when certain leaves were next to one another, and thus they constitute one piece of evidence to consider in efforts to determine the original order. Taking them into account, and weighing them against other available evidence, the most likely arrangement of the leaves when the pandect left Wearmouth–Jarrow seems to me to be the following:

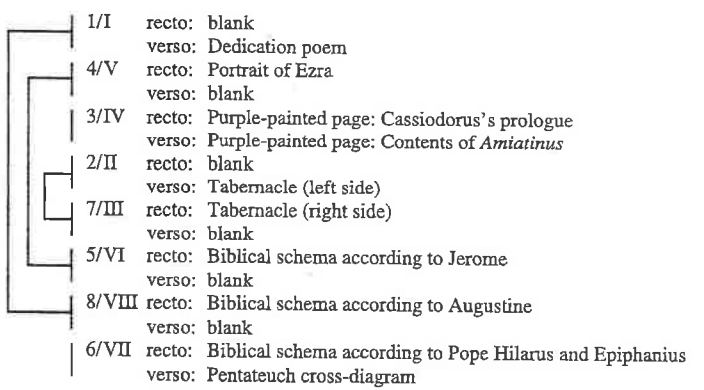

Fig. 2 *Codex Amiatinus*, first quire: suggested original order of leaves.

This organization assumes that folios 3/IV and 6/VII were either made as single folios or belonged to a bifolium cut apart at the monastery, before the gathering was bound with the rest of the *Amiatinus* volume. In my view, we cannot at this stage of research decide which explanation is more likely. Perhaps a change of plan took place during production that required the bifolium's separation. The English scriptorium, for example, might have shifted pages around one or more times before deciding on the order in which to join them to the rest of

[30] I am grateful to Dr Budny for her generous help with this question (oral communications, 2002).

the pandect; one rearrangement might have required separating the two pages.[31] But it is also conceivable that separate leaves were used from the start to facilitate writing and decoration on both sides: every other folio in this quire has one side blank. In any event, whether or not the single folios were once joined, by the time the gathering was bound with the remainder of the manuscript, the selected order made it impossible for them to be or stay together.

One factor supporting the arrangement I propose is the respect it demonstrates for the results of the recent analyses. The arrangement follows precisely the order they indicate except with the purple folio (fol. 3/IV; Fig. 5) and Tabernacle bifolium (fols 2/II–7/III; Fig. 6). These leaves, I think, originally adjoined one another and continued to do so when they were moved, sometime after the pandect left Wearmouth–Jarrow (compare Figs 1 and 2). If the purple leaf was already a single folio when *Amiatinus* was sent to Rome, as I believe was the case, then its binding into the quire may have been relatively fragile. This was probably true for the Tabernacle illumination, as well, where there is no sign of the possibly original sewing used for the other pages. Given the rarity of early medieval illuminations covering double pages, the English scriptorium may well have devised a special strategy for incorporating this miniature into the quire because of concern that sewing it in directly would hide a portion of its wonderful image.[32] Perhaps the Tabernacle bifolium was a loose insert or was glued to a stub next to the purple leaf, but more likely – since it would help explain why the two pages remained side by side – the bifolium was glued onto the purple folio's inner margin or a stub attached to that page, and stayed joined to it when these leaves became displaced. Unfortunately, as far as I can tell from the published reports, the recent tests do not seem to have looked for traces of glue, so it is now impossible to determine whether this hypothesis may be correct. Still, it seems a plausible explanation of the evidence we currently possess.

Other considerations also favour the organization indicated here. One is that it gives the Tabernacle miniature the central position in the quire, as may have seemed best in view of the painting's exceptional nature. Placed immediately before it within the gathering (in accordance with the analyses), the purple-painted surface of folio 3/IV faces less risk of damage than if it were the first leaf, its position in the arrangement

[31] Meyvaert's theory, arguing for a different arrangement than the one I propose: 'Bede, Cassiodorus', pp. 864–5.

[32] My thanks to Dr Budny for her guidance in interpreting the lack of sewing traces on the Tabernacle miniature and ways it might have been joined with the other folios.

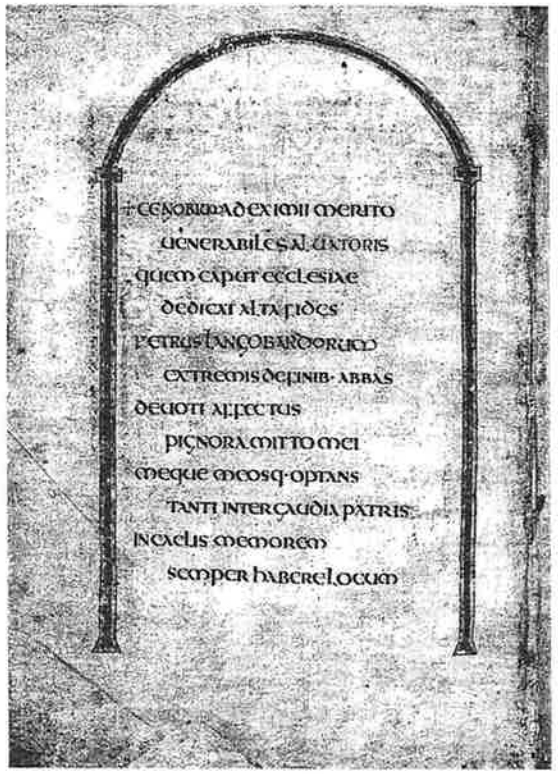

Fig. 3 Dedication poem: Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Ms. Amiatino 1, fol. 1/I verso. Su concessione del Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali. E' vietata ogni ulteriore riproduzione con qualsiasi mezzo.

Sabina Magrini has suggested.[33] Instead, the quire opens with a protective blank, folio 1/I recto; folio 1/I verso, with the poem dedicating *Amiatinus* to St Peter (Fig. 3), as the first decorated and written page, a logical position for a dedication and one that agrees with the reference in the *Vita Ceolfridi* to its location.[34] The portrait of Ezra on the facing recto (in agreement with offsets; Fig. 4) also served a dedicatory function,

[33] See Magrini, 'Per difetto', pp. 161–2, suggesting the following arrangement: Fol. 3/IV (purple leaf): recto, prologue; verso, *Amiatinus*'s contents, poem honouring Jerome. Fol. 1/I: recto, blank; verso, dedication poem. Fol. 4/V: recto, Ezra portrait; verso, blank. Fol. 5/VI: recto, divisions of scripture according to Jerome; verso, blank. Fol. 8/VIII: recto, divisions of scripture according to Augustine; verso, blank. Fol. 6/VII: recto, divisions of scripture according to Hilarus/Epiphanius; verso, Pentateuch cross-diagram. Fol. 2/II: recto, blank; verso, Tabernacle image, left side. Fol. 7/III: recto, Tabernacle, right side; verso, blank.

[34] See above, n. 24.

Fig. 4 Portrait of Ezra. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Ms. Amiatino 1, fol. 4/V. Su concessione del Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali. E' vietata ogni ulteriore riproduzione con qualsiasi mezzo.

as I will discuss later. It also seems appropriate that the cross-diagram on the gathering's last leaf (fol. 6/VIIv; Fig. 10), with passages from Jerome's *Epistola* 53 on the Pentateuch, comes directly before Jerome's *Praefatio in Pentateuchum* with which the next quire begins (fols 9r–9v).[35] Set at the very end of the first gathering, the Pentateuch cross offers an intriguing parallel to the decorative pages usually featuring a cross (so-called carpet pages) that preface scripture in some other Continental and insular biblical manuscripts, such as the possibly contemporary Lindisfarne Gospels (London, British Library, Cotton Ms. Nero D. iv)

[35] *Biblia sacra iuxta latinam Vulgatam versionem, I: Genesis*, ed. D.H. Quentin (Rome, 1926), pp. 63–9. See Meyvaert, 'Bede, Cassiodorus', pp. 863–4.

and, formally a more striking comparison, the Book of Kells with its eight-circle cross-page (Dublin, Trinity College Library, Ms. 58, fol. 33r).[36]

This order of leaves makes sense, too, of the numerous blank pages in the *Amiatinus* gathering: aside from the two single folios, every written or decorated folio has one blank side. One likely motive was to prevent shadowing onto decoration and text on the recto or verso of the same folio.[37] More significant for determining the original organization, though, when the quire was laid flat in the order I suggest, before attachment to the rest of the volume, a protective blank faced virtually every decorated page.[38] The only exceptions are the cross-page at the end of the gathering and, possibly, the dedication poem with the Ezra miniature (Figs 3, 4). Yet if the dedication was added only shortly before *Amiatinus* left the monastery, as is possible, then the Ezra picture was at first adjacent to a blank leaf.[39]

More remarkable still, when the folios are placed in this sequence, a formal and numerical order is evident in the progression of motifs and textual themes from one page to the next. The decorative and thematic organization of the entire quire mirrors the taste for numerical and geometric harmony revealed in each individual decorated folio of *Amiatinus* and in some other products of the Wearmouth–Jarrow scriptorium, such as the frontispiece of the surviving leaves of the Utrecht Gospels (Utrecht, University Library, Ms. 32, fol. 101v), a manuscript approximately contemporary with *Amiatinus*.[40] A particularly prominent decorative theme of the *Amiatinus* leaves, in this arrangement, is the organization of forms in sequences or groups of three. The quire opens with three folios presenting symbolic 'entryways' into scripture and *Amiatinus*, composed of alternating shapes: the rounded arch enclosing the dedication poem (fol. 1/Iv; Fig. 3), the rectangular armarium with triangular gable behind Ezra (fol. 4/Vr; Fig. 4), the twin

[36] A facsimile of the Lindisfarne Gospels is now available: Michelle P. Brown, *Das Buch von Lindisfarne: Cotton Ms Nero D.iv der British Library, London* (Luzern, 2002). See P. Brown (ed.), *The Book of Kells* (New York, 1980), Plate 15.

[37] The purple leaf, painted on both sides, avoids evidence of shadowing since each side has similar decoration and layout (fol. 3/IV). Fol. 6/VIIr (Fig. 9) does display shadowing from the Pentateuch cross on the verso (Fig. 10) but, once it occurred, this was perhaps thought to conform to the quire's artistic programme. Discussed below, p. 149.

[38] See Nees, 'Problems', p. 151, n. 85.

[39] See Bruce-Mitford, *Art of the Codex Amiatinus*, p. 8.

[40] K. van der Horst *et al.*, *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art: Picturing the Psalms of David* (Utrecht, 1996), p. 32, Fig. 7. I also discuss the concern with formal pattern in *Amiatinus* in 'Christ and the Vision of God' (above, n. 13) . See also (though setting the pages in the wrong order, I think) C.A. Farr, 'The Shape of Learning at Wearmouth–Jarrow: The Diagram Pages in the Codex Amiatinus', in J. Hawkes and S. Mills (eds), *Northumbria's Golden Age* (Stroud, 1999), pp. 336–44.

Fig. 5 Cassiodorus's prologue. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Ms. Amiatino 1, fol. 3/IV. Su concessione del Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali. E' vietata ogni ulteriore riproduzione con qualsiasi mezzo.

rounded arches topped by triangles on the two sides of the purple leaf (fol. 3/IV; Fig. 5). The Ezra portrait and purple leaf introduce the three systems for organizing the Bible recognized in *Amiatinus*, and the authorities the Wearmouth–Jarrow community held responsible for them. The nine books of scripture in Ezra's cupboard are arranged according to Augustine's system (fol. 4/Vr);[41] the prologue on folio 3/IV recto, probably copied from *Grandior*, refers to the three systems that Cassiodorus associated with Augustine, Jerome, and the Septuagint; the list of *Amiatinus*'s books on the verso of the same page shows their arrangement according to Cassiodorus's Septuagint system and

[41] P. Michelli, 'What's in the Cupboard? Ezra and Matthew Reconsidered', *Northumbria's Golden Age*, pp. 345–58, Fig. 28.2, at p. 353. See Marsden, *Text*, pp. 134–6.

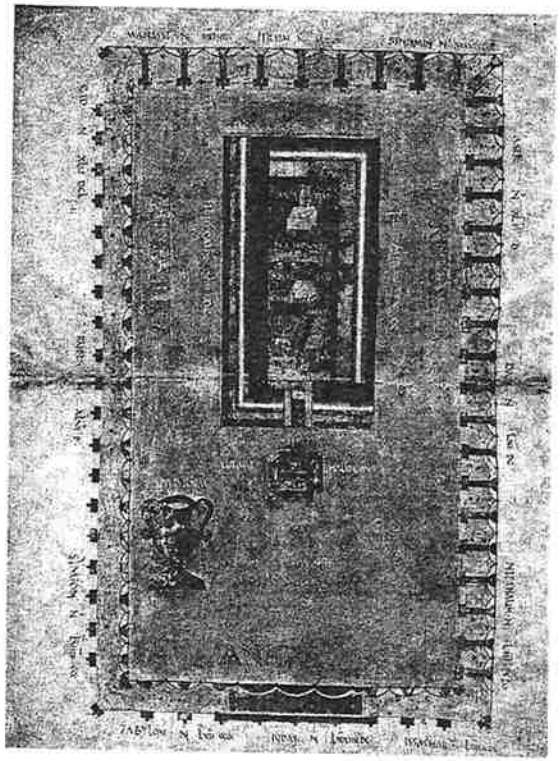

Fig. 6 Tabernacle. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Ms. Amiatino 1, fol. 2/II verso, fol. 7/III. Su concessione del Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali. E' vietata ogni ulteriore riproduzione con qualsiasi mezzo.

concludes with a poem honouring Jerome.[42] Following these pages, in the centre of the gathering, the bird's-eye view of the Tabernacle allows its own three, successive entrances to be distinguished: the gateway into the courtyard, the door of the Tabernacle proper, and inside, the veil before the Holy of Holies (Fig. 6). On separate pages following the Tabernacle illumination, charts are presented of the same three organizational systems mentioned in the prologue (fols 5/VIr, 8/VIIIr, 6/VIIr; Figs 7–9). Rubrics below the first two diagrams attribute them to Jerome and Augustine; the text below the third diagram, showing

[42] On Cassiodorus's likely authorship of the prologue and Bede's possible responsibility for the poem on Jerome, Meyvaert, 'Bede, Cassiodorus', pp. 866–70. Cassiodorus outlines the three systems for organizing scripture in *Institutiones* 1.12–1.14, ed. R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1937; repr. 1961), pp. 36–41.

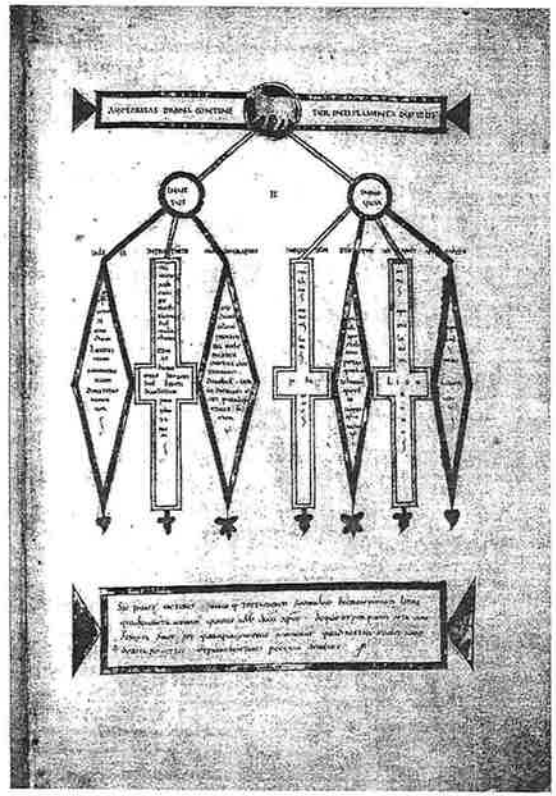

Fig. 7 Biblical schema according to Jerome. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Ms. Amiatino 1, fol. 5/VI. Su concessione del Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali. E' vietata ogni ulteriore riproduzione con qualsiasi mezzo.

Cassiodorus's Septuagint system, accredits it to Pope Hilarus of Rome (461–468) and Bishop Epiphanius of Cyprus (*c.*315–403).[43]

Both individually and as a group, the quire's three biblical diagrams (fols 5/VIr, 8/VIIIr, 6/VIIr) also reflect the scriptorium's taste for formal pattern and symmetry. On each leaf we see two inscriptions enclosed in tablets (*tabulae ansatae*), the upper one surmounted by a medallion-image painted in gold, and below this, straight or arched ribbons that link the medallion to framed lists of biblical books. The first roundel (Jerome's system) encloses a lamb, the second a dove (Augustine's system), and the third a male bust (Hilarus/Epiphanius system). In this order, the diagrams present a descending number of lists: seven on the Jerome

[43] Texts quoted and discussed in Meyvaert, 'Bede, Cassiodorus', pp. 839–44.

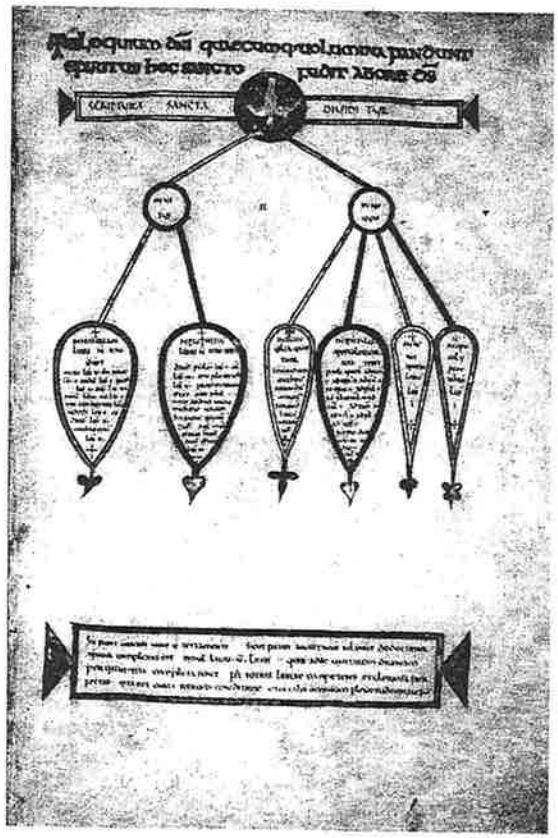

Fig. 8 Biblical schema according to Augustine. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Ms. Amiatino 1, fol. 8/VIII. Su concessione del Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali. E' vietata ogni ulteriore riproduzione con qualsiasi mezzo.

page, six on the Augustine page, two on the Hilarus/Epiphanius page. The couplet above the dove of the Augustine diagram, the second of the three pages, seems in this location to apply as well to the preceding and following lists (the Jerome and Hilarus/Epiphanius charts) as to those below it: 'Whatever volumes present the lord's eloquence, God spirit poured this forth from [his] holy mouth.'[44] Whereas a 'two–four'

[44] 'Eloquium domini quaecumque uolumina pandunt/spiritus hoc sancto fudit ab ore deus.' The rubrics within the upper tablets of the three pages are also 'symmetrically' worded: 'auctoritas diuina continetur in testamenta duo id est' (Jerome diagram page; fol. 5/VIr); 'scriptura sancta diuiditur' (Augustine diagram page; fol. 8/VIIIr); 'scriptura diuina diuiditur in testamenta duo id est' (Hilary/Epiphanius diagram page; fol. 6/VIIr). The couplet above the dove must have been written before *Amiatinus*'s departure from Wearmouth–Jarrow: see Marsden, *Text*, pp. 96–7, 102.

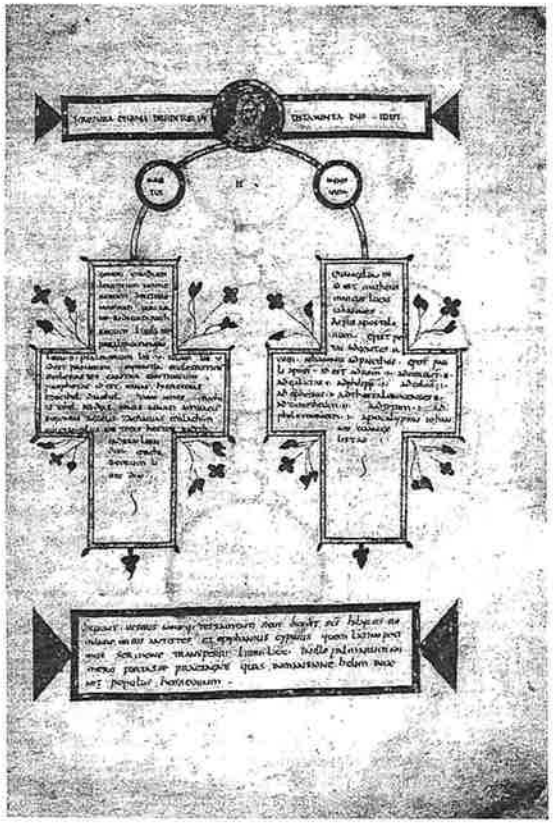

Fig. 9 Biblical schema according to Pope Hilarus and Epiphanius. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Ms. Amiatino 1, fol. 6/VII. Su concessione del Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali. E' vietata ogni ulteriore riproduzione con qualsiasi mezzo.

scheme governs the Augustine diagram, the designs of the flanking Jerome and Hilarus/Epiphanius pages are based on the numbers two, three, and four: two groups of lists in three crosses and four diamonds for the Jerome chart; two sets of lists divided among groups of two and four petal frames for the Augustine page (with a tiny cross prefacing each list); clusters of three plants marking the four corners of the two crosses on the Hilarus/Epiphanius page.[45] Note, too, that the series of three diagrams attributed to four authors ends with the Pentateuch

[45] I am very grateful to L. Nees for drawing my attention to the pattern of vegetal motifs (oral communication, 2001).

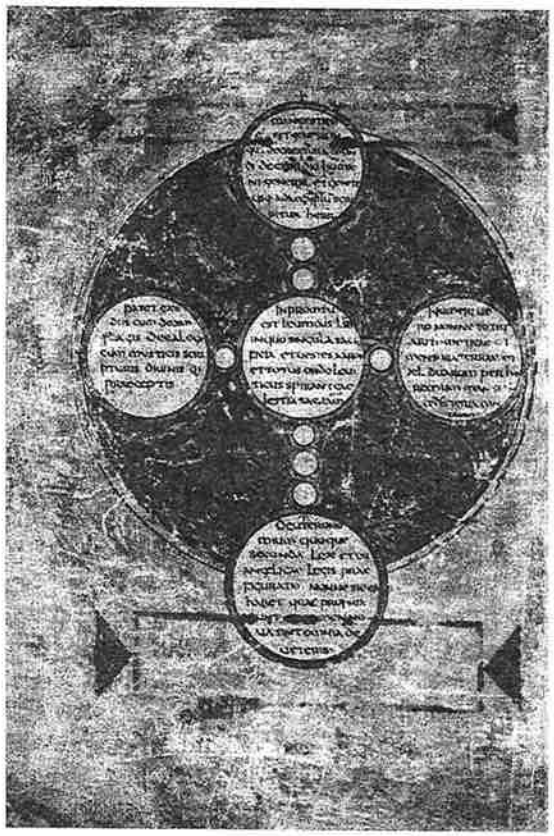

Fig. 10 Pentateuch cross-diagram. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Ms. Amiatino 1, fol. 6/VII verso. Su concessione del Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali. E' vietata ogni ulteriore riproduzione con qualsiasi mezzo.

cross (fol. 6/VIIv; Fig. 10), where the numerical pattern is one, five, seven: a purple circle surmounted by a single gold cross, formed of a continuous ribbon outlining seven small circles and the five larger ones that frame Jerome's comments on the Pentateuch.[46] These three folios (the number of the Trinity) 'represent' every number from seven to one, a fitting preface to the first biblical book of Genesis.

Although different arrangements of the opening folios might seem to possess their own apparent logic, the patterns just noted add to the

[46] See J. O'Reilly, 'The Library of Scripture: Views from Vivarium and Wearmouth–Jarrow', in P. Binski and W. Noel (eds), *New Offerings, Ancient Treasures: Studies in Medieval Art for George Henderson* (Stroud, 2001), pp. 3–39, esp. pp. 8–11.

other evidence I have indicated that this was the desired order of the leaves. As much attention went into formal considerations in arranging them, it would appear, as into the design of each individual page, two sets of decisions that must have been made conjointly. No decorated folios survive from *Amiatinus*'s sister pandects, yet given how few of their leaves are extant this cannot be viewed as evidence no decoration was made for them.[47] We also do not know if the decision to preface *Amiatinus* with the surviving first quire was reached only after all three pandects were completed, perhaps after deciding *Amiatinus* was the most finely written of the three, or if this quire was always meant for that codex. The surviving fragments from the other volume or volumes are close enough in size to *Amiatinus* for the gathering to have been attached with only minor trimming.[48] Whatever considerations led to the quire being joined to this Bible, however, and whatever decoration was included in the sister volumes, the effort put into preparing the quire suggests it was always meant to be part of a gift sent outside the monastery. It is therefore improbable that any prefatory material made for the other two Bibles was identical. While there were perhaps resemblances, differences likely existed reflecting different functions.[49]

Since the dedication could have been written just prior to *Amiatinus*'s departure in 716, the poem does not itself constitute evidence that the quire was designed from the outset for Rome. Nevertheless, certain clues that a plan to use these folios in a gift for the holy see was in place before they were designed, or arose early in their planning, have not received the attention they deserve in scholarship on *Amiatinus*, where

[47] Above, n. 11.

[48] Observation of Dr Budny (oral communication). *Amiatinus* measures *c.*505 × 340 mm; according to Marsden, eight of the surviving leaves from the sister pandect(s) 'retain more or less their original full size, which appears to have been *c.*480 × 335 mm': *Text*, pp. 108, 123.

[49] Nees, 'Problems', *passim* but esp. p. 148; Marsden, *Text*, p. 105. Meyvaert thinks Alcuin saw a sister pandect in England with decoration resembling *Amiatinus*'s. For Meyvaert ('Bede, Cassiodorus', pp. 877–80), this imagery was the inspiration for Alcuin's description of the Tabernacle and repetition of the couplet above Ezra (in *Amiatinus*, fol. 4/Vr), in his Poem 69: *MGH Poetae latini aevi Carolini* I, ed. E. Dümmler (Berlin, 1881), pp. 288–92, lines 73–80, 201–2. There are difficulties with Meyvaert's argument. First, Alcuin's verses on the Tabernacle seem directly based on Exodus; note that he refers to certain features, such as the priests' vestments (line 80, *vestes Aaron*) described in Exodus (cf. Ex. XXVIII.3, *vestes Aaron*) but not depicted in the *Amiatinus* miniature (fols 2/IIv–7/IIIr). Second, the couplet above Ezra may have circulated apart from any miniature in a Wearmouth–Jarrow Bible, as did the dedication poem (fol. 1/Iv) and the couplet above the Augustine diagram (fol. 8r): Marsden, *Text*, pp. 96–7, 102, 121. But third and most significantly, Alcuin may well have seen *Amiatinus* and drawn ideas directly from it on his trip to Rome as a young man or when he brought to the city Archbishop Eanbald of York's request for the pallium, in early 781: see the new, magisterial reassessment of Alcuin's life and work by the late Donald A. Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation* (Leiden, 2004), esp. pp. 242–7, 331–6.

it is sometimes assumed that the decision to send this pandect to the apostolic city was reached only after it was essentially completed.[50] The clues to which I refer are provided by the Hilarus/Epiphanius diagram (Fig. 9) and the Ezra portrait (Fig. 4) – not simply the portrait's Mediterranean style, which, as often remarked, may anticipate a Mediterranean/Roman destination, but its iconography.[51] Paul Meyvaert has demonstrated that the lower inscription of the Hilarus/Epiphanius page was likely inspired by a text in *Grandior* echoed in Cassiodorus's *Institutiones*. The *Institutiones* passage mentions Hilary of Poitiers and Epiphanius of Cyprus, among other authorities, in discussing the Septuagint division of scripture. The *Amiatinus* page's designer apparently altered the *Grandior* text to attribute his lists to Hilarus of Rome and Epiphanius.[52] The latter ecclesiastic, known for his writing against heresy, is mentioned in Bede's martyrology.[53] The *Liber pontificalis*, a work available at Wearmouth–Jarrow, recalls Hilarus's confirmation of the councils of Nicea, Ephesus and Chalcedon, and his condemnation of Eutyches and Nestorius.[54] As Ian Wood has observed, a papal defender of orthodoxy is thus the first-named author of the system for arranging scripture used in *Amiatinus*.[55] Furthermore, Hilarus and Epiphanius are associated with the most beautifully decorated of the three charts, the final one in the series, where above the inscription naming the pope are seen the only two floriated crosses and the first quire's only anthropomorphic rendering of divinity.

As I argue more fully in a forthcoming article on the *Amiatinus* biblical diagrams (Figs 7, 8, 9), the Wearmouth–Jarrow community probably considered these pages' decoration, above all that of the third chart, expressive of its allegiance to Rome and orthodox doctrine.[56] While orthodoxy is obviously a message of the repeated crosses, especially

[50] E.g. Bruce-Mitford, *Art of the Codex Amiatinus*, p. 5; B.A. Beall, 'The Illuminated Pages of the Codex Amiatinus: Issues of Form, Function and Production', Ph.D. thesis, Brown University (1997), pp. 136–42. Nees strongly argues against this view ('Problems', pp. 148–74), on different grounds than those presented here.

[51] See e.g. the nice analysis in W. Diebold, *Word and Image: An Introduction to Early Medieval Art* (Boulder, CO, 2000), pp. 33–6 (referring to other iconographical features than those I discuss here).

[52] The texts are quoted and their relationship carefully analysed in Meyvaert, 'Bede, Cassiodorus', pp. 841–4.

[53] P. Meyvaert, 'Bede the Scholar', in *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Century of the Birth of the Venerable Bede*, ed. G. Bonner (London, 1976), pp. 40–69, at p. 60. See R. Tandonnet, 'Epiphane (saint)', *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, vol. 4 (Paris, 1960), cols 854–61, esp. cols 856–7.

[54] *Liber pontificalis* 48, *MGH Gesta pontificum Romanorum* 1.1, ed. T. Mommsen (Munich, 1982), pp. 107–11, at p. 107; quoted in Meyvaert, 'Bede, Cassiodorus', p. 843.

[55] Wood, *Abbot Ceolfrid*, p. 13.

[56] 'Christ and the Vision of God' (above, n. 13).

given the importance of the cross as a symbol in insular art,[57] the three roundel images also convey the monastery's Catholic faith and, moreover, its belief that this faith is synonymous with divine unity. Images of a lamb, dove, and male bust apparently decorated the scriptural diagrams in *Grandior* that were the principal models for the *Amiatinus* charts, but the textual evidence for *Grandior* suggests Cassiodorus arranged his motifs in what he considered to be a Trinitarian order. Either the bust came first, symbolizing the Trinity's first person, followed by the lamb for the second person and the dove for the third person; or the bust was between the lamb and dove.[58] The *Amiatinus* artists chose the different order of lamb, dove, bust, I think, partly because of concern that *Grandior*'s arrangement, with the Trinitarian significance the Wearmouth–Jarrow monks themselves ascribed to it, was unorthodox. Comments on divine invisibility, the vision of God, and the role of artistic images, in contemporary and later writings by Bede, imply he would have opposed the use of a human figure to represent God the Father, and he and his brothers may have been concerned that to represent the Trinity with three images on separate pages implied the divine was divisible.[59]

In the order of lamb, dove, bust, however, *Amiatinus*'s motifs were probably meant to signify not the three persons of God, but the principal temporal and mystical stages in the divine manifestation through the one person of Christ.[60] The lamb, Christ's Old Testament prefiguration, symbolizes the Jews' approach to God through material things. The dove, symbol of the holy spirit sent at Pentecost, recalls that Christians turn to Christ and God through faith in the unseen deity. The bust of the Hilarus/Epiphanius page is a reminder of the mystical vision: imperfectly attained in the present and for Bede closely associated with Christ's human form, this experience of divinity will not be fully realized until Christ's return. Painted in gold, the *Amiatinus* bust is a fitting emblem of the apocalyptic son of man through whom, 'as lightning cometh out of the east' (Matthew XXIV.27), God will be revealed at the end of time.[61] Viewed sequentially, therefore, the roundels evoke the son's revelation in the past, present and future; or in mystical

[57] For a recent discussion, Herren and Brown, *Christ in Celtic Christianity*, pp. 191–224.

[58] In *Inst.* 1.14.2, p. 40, Cassiodorus states that *Grandior* contained the three division schemes and that its Septuagint diagram was located *inter alias*, perhaps meaning between the other two diagrams. If the same motifs accompanied the same schemata as in *Amiatinus*, the order was lamb, bust, dove. I review the evidence that *Grandior*'s charts had images similar to those in *Amiatinus* in 'Christ and the Vision of God'.

[59] Discussed in 'Christ and the Vision of God'.

[60] L. Castaldi, 'Quire Arrangement', (CD-ROM) *La Bibbia Amiatina/The Codex Amiatinus*, suggests an allusion to mystical ascent.

[61] Cf. Ezechiel I.27; Daniel VII.10; Luke XVII.24; Apocalypse I.14, 16.

terms, the ascent in knowledge of God from material foreshadowing, to faith in the invisible divinity, to final vision. The dove of the holy spirit and the couplet above it, alluding to the sacred eloquence of the books listed on all three pages,[62] unite the first epoch or level (the lamb) with the last (the bust). It is worth noting that if this interpretation of the diagrams' imagery is correct, it may shed light on how the Northumbrian scriptorium understood the shadow that the Pentateuch cross left on the Hilarus/Epiphanius page (Figs 9, 10). Whether or not they anticipated this effect, the monks quite possibly appreciated that Pope Hilarus was thus connected with a 'trinity' of crosses: the two crosses framing the lists and the giant shadow floating behind the head in the medallion. Beheld through the Hilarus/Epiphanius diagram, the shadow seems a suitable reminder of the heavenly sign that will reappear with Christ on the last day.

The Ezra portrait (fol. 4/Vr; Fig. 4), too, like the Hilarus/Epiphanius page, seems to me clearly designed with the understanding that it would be part of a gift to Rome. The prophet is identified in the verses above the painting: 'When the sacred codices were burned by the enemy horde, Ezra, glowing with God, repaired this work' ('Codicibus sacris hostili clade perustis/Esdra Deo feruens hoc reparauit opus'). Seated before the armarium that contains the biblical books, writing a script reminiscent of Tironian notes (a form of shorthand) into another volume, he wears the breastplate and headdress of a Jewish high priest, possibly along with phylacteries on his forearm.[63] An inkwell rests on a nearby table and writing implements lie scattered on the floor. The miniature's connection with *Grandior* remains debated. The seated, writing male derives from an antique iconography for authorial and evangelist portraits, but Ezra's representation in this manner is without known precedent. Some scholars assert that the painting copies a lost portrait of Ezra, or Cassiodorus in the guise of Ezra, in *Grandior* or another book from Cassiodorus's library that reached Wearmouth–Jarrow. Others think it more probable that it was loosely inspired by a Mediterranean image of an evangelist or another author, in *Grandior* or another codex, which the English scriptorium transformed into the Old Testament prophet.[64]

I cannot here discuss in depth the different hypotheses about the miniature's exemplar. Still, it is important for assessing them and for what I have to say about the painting to bear in mind Paul Meyvaert's

[62] Above, n. 44.

[63] Meyvaert, 'Bede Cassiodorus', pp. 873, 876–7; O'Reilly, 'Library of Scripture', p. 18.

[64] Cf. Meyvaert, 'Bede, Cassiodorus', pp. 870–82; O'Reilly, 'Library of Scripture', pp. 3–5, 22–30; Corsano, 'First Quire', pp. 15–22; Nees, 'Problems', pp. 155, 157–8.

comments on the image's textual antecedents. As he demonstrates, while some features are reminiscent of the Vulgate I Esdras, other details recall Christian exegesis, and three features each reflect a different non-canonical source.[65] Four verses of I Esdras VII refer to Ezra as a scribe of the Jewish law (verses 6, 11, 12, 21), and he is similarly described in Nehemiah VIII (verses 1, 4, 9, 13) and XII (verses 26, 35). The cupboard in the *Amiatinus* illumination, with its nine volumes of the Old and New Testaments, does not agree with a literal rendering of these Old Testament passages, but it suggests an allegorical interpretation of the law Ezra writes as Christian scripture, the embodiment of Trinitarian (3 × 3) orthodoxy. In one sense, then, *Amiatinus*'s nimbed prophet can be viewed as a type of the Christian evangelist or scribe, or a type of Christ, as Meyvaert argues, drawing support from the commentary on Ezra and Nehemiah that Bede wrote in 725–731.[66]

The miniature's non-canonical details are the depiction of Ezra as high priest (I Esdras designates him as a priest/*sacerdos*), his unusual script, and the caption linking his work of restoration to destroyed volumes. The first-mentioned attribute can be traced to III Esdras (III Ezra), a book in *Grandior* but not *Amiatinus*'s Vulgate.[67] The second attribute derives from IV Esdras, which was not in *Grandior* or *Amiatinus* but circulated in early medieval Britain. IV Esdras XIV.22–44 records that after the books of divine law were burned in the Chaldeans' invasion of Jerusalem (see IV Kings XXV), Ezra, inspired by God, dictated scripture to five scribes who recorded his words with newly devised, speedily formed letters.[68] The *Amiatinus* painting, however, represents Ezra without assistants, and the caption describes him working alone. Similarly, some Latin patristic sources imply Ezra himself rewrote the codices but do not mention a new script.[69]

The best textual parallel to the *Amiatinus* illumination in bringing together these details is Question 7 of Bede's *Thirty Questions on the Book of Kings*, a treatise completed *c.*715, quite possibly as the pandect was being prepared:

[65] Meyvaert, 'Bede, Cassiodorus', pp. 873–7.

[66] Bede, *In Ezram et Neemiam* 2, CCSL 119A, ed. D. Hurst (Turnhout, 1969), pp. 336–7; Meyvaert, 'Bede, Cassiodorus', pp. 881–2. Bede's commentary is the subject of a recent analysis by Scott DeGregorio, 'Bede's *In Ezram et Neemiam* and the Reform of the Northumbrian Church', *Speculum* 79 (2004), pp. 1–25, which unfortunately appeared too late for me to use in preparing this article.

[67] III Ezra IX.39–40, 50, in *Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, ed. R. Weber, 2 vols (Stuttgart, 1969), I.1930. See Mevyaert, 'Bede, Cassiodorus', pp. 875–6; Marsden, *Text*, pp. 330–1.

[68] *The Fourth Book of Ezra, The Latin Version Edited from the Mss.*, ed. R.L. Bensly, in J.A. Robinson (ed.), *Texts and Studies: Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature*, III.2 (Cambridge, 1895), pp. 70–2.

[69] R.L. Bensly, 'Introduction', *Fourth Book of Ezra*, pp. xxxvi–xxxviii; Meyvaert, 'Bede, Cassiodorus', p. 874.

> For when the Chaldeans destroyed Judea, a raging fire consumed its library, which had been assembled long before, as well as that province's other treasures. By his diligence, Ezra, High Priest and prophet, later restored from that [library] a few books now contained in Holy Scripture. Consequently, this is written of him, 'Ezra went up from Babylon and he was a nimble scribe in the law of Moses' [I Esdras VII.6] (nimble, that is, because he devised shapes of letters that were more easily written than those that the Hebrews had used up until that time), and this, in the Persian king's letter, 'Artaxerxes, king of kings, to Ezra the priest, the most learned scribe of the law of God of heaven, greeting' [I Esdras VII.12].[70]

When Bede wrote the *Thirty Questions*, he probably believed this exegesis compatible with the Vulgate accounts; later in his commentary on Ezra and Nehemiah, he seems to have abandoned the idea that Ezra was a *pontifex* (high priest).[71] No extant text before the *Thirty Questions*, though, combines the notions that Ezra was a *pontifex*, worked alone to recopy the books destroyed by the Chaldeans, and used a new, speedier script for this purpose. Conceivably, Bede and the *Amiatinus* painting both follow a lost older text or image of Ezra; yet as Meyvaert indicates, a more plausible scenario is that the exegesis outlined in Question 7 was developed at Wearmouth–Jarrow, perhaps as Bede helped the scriptorium plan its picture. To the extent that the *Amiatinus* image and caption reflect these ideas, the inspiration arose at the English monastery.

That Bede and his fellow monks thought of Ezra in these terms, however, does not explain why their scriptorium chose to portray him in *Amiatinus* or what message the painting was expected to convey, placed in a Vulgate pandect. Scholarship on *Amiatinus* has often rightly stressed the forceful symbol that the entire manuscript, including the style of the Ezra miniature, offers of the Northumbrian monastery's sense of harmony with Rome.[72] For Meyvaert, as already noted, the

[70] 'Vastata namque a Chaldaeis Iudaea et bibliotheca antiquitus congregata inter alias prouinciae opes hostili igne consumpta ex qua pauci qui nunc in sancta scriptura continentur libri postmodum Ezrae pontificis et prophetae sunt industria restaurati. Unde scriptum est de eo, "Ascendit Ezras de Babilone et ipse scriba uelox in lege Moysi," uelox uidelicet quia promptiores litterarum figuras quam eatenus Hebraei habebant repperit, et in epistola regis Persarum, "Ataxerses rex regum Ezrae sacerdoti scribae legis Dei caeli doctissimo salutem"': Bede, *In Regem librum XXX Quaestiones* 7, CCSL 119, ed. D. Hurst (Turnhout, 1962), pp. 301–2. Text emended by Meyvaert: 'Bede, Cassiodorus', p. 874, see p. 832 on the treatise's date. Translation from W.T. Foley and A.G. Holder (trans.), *Bede: A Biblical Miscellany*, Translated Texts for Historians 28 (Liverpool, 1999), pp. 102–3.

[71] Though Bede once refers there to Ezra's 'pontifical authority': *In Ezram et Neemiam* 2, CCSL 119A, p. 310 (line 890).

[72] E.g. M.P. Brown, *'In the Beginning was the Word': Books and Faith in the Age of Bede* (Jarrow Lecture 2000), pp. 6–7; Diebold, *Word and Image*, pp. 33–6.

painting also owes something to the doctrine, elaborated in Bede's later commentary, that Ezra copying scripture foreshadowed the Bible's renewal through Christ, who showed its true spiritual meaning and inspired the New Testament. Jennifer O'Reilly, hypothesizing that *Grandior* held a closely resembling picture, builds on Meyvaert's interpretation to incorporate the idea that the image alludes to monastic *lectio divina*. Ezra, who not only rewrote scripture but edited and taught others to obey it, foreshadows the Christian scribe, teacher and interpreter of the Bible, and therefore monks at both the *Vivarium* and Wearmouth–Jarrow, in particular Cassiodorus and Ceolfrid. Like the ancient high priests, the only persons allowed to access the Holy of Holies of *Amiatinus*'s Tabernacle (Fig. 6), these scholars 'entered' the inner sanctum of scripture by copying, editing, and studying its contents.[73]

The lack of textual precedent before Bede for the Ezra image weighs against the theory that *Grandior* contained a similar illumination. Still, both O'Reilly's reading of the *Amiatinus* picture as an allusion to monastic biblical scholarship, and the other interpretations indicated above, are certainly plausible; and it is feasible to hold they all reflect facets of the Wearmouth–Jarrow community's thinking about its miniature. Yet in every discussion of the portrait known to me, the potential significance of one critical characteristic is consistently overlooked: the fact that this miniature of a high priest/pontiff, the only human figure in the first quire besides the Hilarus/Epiphanius bust and the only human representation that is full page, occurs in a manuscript dedicated to the body of St Peter and sent to Rome. Surely it is not a coincidence that the Bible offered to the shrine of the church's first pontiff after Christ and received by the pope, the supreme living representative of St Peter, from whom papal authority supposedly derived, has a frontispiece representing an Old Testament *pontifex*? Regardless of when *Amiatinus*'s dedication was written,[74] the portrait must have been designed and its position in the quire determined in knowledge that it would be part of a pandect taken to the holy see. Another dimension of this picture's multivalence to be considered, therefore, is what the Northumbrian abbey hoped to communicate specifically to *Amiatinus*'s Roman audience.

At this time I can only sketch a few ideas about how to answer this question, which I plan to explore more deeply in a longer study of *Amiatinus*. It is hard not to think that one goal at Wearmouth–Jarrow was to encourage the pope to regard *Amiatinus*'s high priest as a mirror of the papacy's responsibilities. If we turn back to the miniature and its

[73] O'Reilly, 'Library of Scripture', esp. pp. 18–30.
[74] See above, p. --.

inscription with this possibility in mind, then other lines of thought it might have prompted in Rome – and been intended to prompt – become discernible. I do not mean to imply that these ideas in any sense exhaust the picture's meaning. They are complementary, not contradictory, to the significance other scholars have suggested it possesses, but I think they deepen our understanding of its powerful, intentional polysemy.

Concerning first the caption, 'Codicibus sacris hostili clade perustis/ Esdra Deo feruens hoc reparauit opus' ('When the sacred codices were burned by the enemy horde, Ezra, glowing with God, repaired this work'). Whether this couplet was composed at Wearmouth–Jarrow or (as seems to me unlikely) copied from an earlier exemplar like *Grandior*,[75] the English scriptorium set the verses above its painting in the expectation they would assist *Amiatinus*'s viewers, among them its papal recipient, to a particular interpretation of the imagery. When studied apart from the couplet but knowing the subject is Ezra, the depiction partially recalls I Esdras VII.6: 'ipse scriba uelox in lege Moysi, quam Dominus Deus dedit Israel' ('he was a ready scribe in the law of Moses, which the Lord God had given to Israel'). While this verse makes no reference to Ezra's pontificate, it acknowledges his scribal activity, links it to scriptural law, and describes him as *uelox*, a quality that his script in the portrait may imply. More clearly than the miniature, though, the caption above it recalls the books burned in the Jerusalem invasion. Ezra is not simply writing God's law, he does so in relation to that event. Yet while the caption seems to lend precision to the image, it is still notably vague. First, there is the anonymity of the 'enemy horde' (*hostilis clades*) that destroyed the volumes. Although anyone in Wearmouth–Jarrow or Rome reading these lines would have remembered the Chaldeans, that the horde is not explicitly identified leaves an opening for thoughts of other groups to which the epithet might apply. Second, there is the disjunction between the 'holy books' (*codices sacri*) and 'this work' (*hoc opus*) that Ezra 'repaired' (*reparauit*). Neither does the caption unambiguously state that he restored the very codices destroyed by the enemy horde, nor does it give the repaired *opus* a name. The verb *reparauit*, which can recall other forms of renewal besides the copying of books, adds to the ambiguity.

Even if Wearmouth–Jarrow copied these verses from another source, I suggest it carefully chose them (or their wording) in order to encourage memory of both Ezra's rewriting of the lost books and the task King Artaxerxes assigned him in I Esdras VII (verses 11–23), where no

[75] Meyvaert thinks Bede was the author: 'Bede, Cassiodorus', p. 877. O'Reilly and Marsden think the verses were possibly copied from *Grandior*: O'Reilly, 'Library of Scripture', pp. 22–6; Marsden, *Text*, p. 121.

reference to the burned codices occurs: that is, to assist in furnishing the new Jerusalem Temple, built after the Babylonian exile. On the one hand, the *opus* Ezra writes/repairs is the Bible, the volumes in his cupboard and *Amiatinus*, which divine inspiration (*Deo feruens*) leads him to transmit to the written page. As type of Christ, the source of Christian scripture, Ezra writing is also a type of Jerome and of the Wearmouth–Jarrow scribes who further Jerome's achievement through their edition of the Vulgate. Yet on the other hand, just as the Bible is Christ's Temple, Ezra copying the word of God participates in the renewal of the Temple in Jerusalem. Like the Jews responsible for the building Cyrus commissioned (I Esdras I), and like Jerome preparing the Vulgate or Wearmouth–Jarrow in its preparation of *Amiatinus*, Ezra, using newly invented letters which his people came to prefer (Bede implies), renovates that which is sacred and ancient by producing something improved. His action foreshadows all the new, better versions of the Temple that its reconstruction in Jerusalem prefigured: among them, the new Temple of Christ's body, the church of Rome, and the heavenly Temple to be revealed at Christ's return, as well as the newly edited scripture of *Amiatinus*. That the subject represented, though, is Ezra *as scribe* and not refurbisher of the Temple underscores the significance of this Bible-centred activity, the accomplishment the viewer is most directly led to remember. Every other historical and spiritual means by which the Temple has been and will be restored is encoded in the image of the *pontifex* Ezra copying scripture.

It is striking how the characteristics just noted are reminiscent of Bede's ideals for the episcopacy and, more interesting given *Amiatinus*'s destination, the papacy. Although Bede articulated his most forceful criticisms of bishops toward the end of his life, Scott DeGregorio has shown that these criticisms are adumbrated in his exegetical writings from the time of *Amiatinus*'s production and the years immediately following.[76] For Bede, influenced by the teachings Pope Gregory I put into practice in his own career, the monastic life was fundamental to the episcopal office. Bishops and their clerical entourages should combine pastoral activity and the teaching of Christian truth with personal dedication to monastic asceticism and contemplation.[77] In Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* the portrait of Gregory I, the ideal bishop of Rome, draws on this ideology.[78] Like the anonymous *vita* of Gregory written

[76] S. DeGregorio, '*"Nostrorum socordiam temporum"*: The Reforming Impulse of Bede's Late Exegesis', *EME* 11 (2002), pp. 107–22, esp. pp. 111–13.

[77] A. Thacker, 'Monks, Preaching and Pastoral Care in Early Anglo-Saxon England', in J. Blair and R. Sharpe (eds), *Pastoral Care Before the Parish* (Leicester, 1992), pp. 137–70, esp. p. 153. Also see S.J. Coates, 'The Bishop as Pastor and Solitary: Bede and the Spiritual Authority of the Monk-Bishop', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 47 (1996), pp. 601–19.

[78] *HE* 2.1, pp. 122–35.

at Whitby between 704 and 714,[79] it locates the pope's greatness in his knowledge of scripture and the extensive writings by which he spread that wisdom as far away as the British Isles. For the Whitby author, Gregory enabled fulfillment of the command that the gospel be diffused everywhere; through him, Christ continued to speak.[80] Both accounts, but especially Bede's, connect this scholarly talent with Gregory's humility and love for the monastery. Bede stresses that the pope showed 'monastic perfection' even during his papal administration, despite his pastoral cares.[81] The monastic life gave him the needed refuge for his biblical studies and written work, encompassing his letters, through which he taught the church.[82] Thus Gregory stands in contrast to those popes with excessive tastes for worldly riches. Whereas other popes 'applied themselves to the task of building churches and adorning them with gold and silver', Gregory 'devoted himself entirely to winning souls'.[83]

While certain of the *Amiatinus* Ezra's attributes unambiguously identify him as an Old Testament high priest, as O'Reilly remarks he does not wear the full panoply of the high priest's garb. Aside from his headdress, breastplate, and possible phylacteries, his appears to be the simpler clothing of an antique scholar.[84] Furthermore, his surroundings invite thoughts of neither the decor of the Jerusalem Temple (see I Esdras I, VII–VIII) nor the impressive interiors of Roman churches that constituted the chief sites of early medieval papal power.[85] Ezra's armarium and bench are decorated, yet the furniture seems generally in accord with a monastic study or scriptorium, and the scribal utensils would have been familiar to the monks of Wearmouth–Jarrow. The *Amiatinus* prophet is a *pontifex* and his copying of scripture is his participation in the Temple's restoration, but the viewer is led away from the notion that renewal of the Temple/church is achieved through earthly luxury. Instead, the focus is on biblical scholarship and writing.

Although this picture is first and foremost a visual commentary on Ezra and his prefiguration of Christian truth, an element of that typology is the combined roles of pontiff and scholar of holy scripture that Bede considered paradigmatic of papal virtue. As Pope Gregory II

[79] *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great, By an Anonymous Monk of Whitby*, ed. B. Colgrave (Lawrence, 1968), pp. 45–59. See A. Thacker, 'Memorializing Gregory the Great: The Origin and Transmission of a Papal Cult in the Seventh and Early Eighth Centuries', *EME* 7 (1998), pp. 59–84; P. Meyvaert, *Bede and Gregory the Great* (Jarrow Lecture 1964), esp. pp. 108–13.

[80] *Earliest Life* 24, pp. 116–17.

[81] *HE* 2.1, pp. 124–5.

[82] *HE* 2.1, pp. 126–9. Cf. *Earliest Life* 1–8, 31, pp. 72–89, 134–7.

[83] *HE* 2.1, p. 129. Cf. *Earliest Life* 28, pp. 124–7 and n. 120.

[84] O'Reilly, 'Library of Scripture', p. 20.

[85] R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (Harmondsworth, 1965), pp. 63–5, 127–30; J. Wilpert and W.N. Schumacher, *Die römischen Mosaiken der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV.–XIII. Jahrhundert* (Basel, 1916/1976).

examined the painting, perhaps assisted by the monks who brought *Amiatinus* to Rome, he may have been led to contemplate how he too, like St Peter and Gregory I, followed in the footsteps of Ezra and Christ. The caption's failure to identify precisely Ezra's adversaries, the 'enemy horde', and its evocation of the renewal of both scripture and the Temple, were perhaps conceived with this Roman reception in mind. Ezra restored the Bible and furnished the new Temple after the destruction by the Chaldeans, whereas other defenders of orthodoxy have opposed other enemies. To Gregory II, the picture and caption may have offered a reminder that one means by which he emulated the prophet was his endeavour to safeguard and strengthen the church and Catholic belief – thereby continuing to build Christ's Temple on earth – in the face of the numerous destabilizing forces that concerned Rome and Wearmouth–Jarrow at this time.[86] Gregory II's success in fulfilling his pastoral responsibilities, leading the church of Rome to salvation despite its adversaries, was guaranteed by his own humility, devotion to scripture, and efforts to teach the Bible's precepts throughout the known world.

Studies of *Amiatinus*'s decoration sometimes rightly remark that the Ezra portrait seems thematically balanced by the *Maiestas* illumination on folio 796 verso. Ezra, the prefiguration of Christ, prefaces *Amiatinus*'s Old Testament, while the lord himself is depicted before the New Testament.[87] From the foregoing analysis it can now be seen that the Ezra miniature also, in a more immediate sense, provides a counterweight to the Hilarus/Epiphanius diagram on the last recto of the preliminary quire (fol. 6/VIIr; Fig. 9). The thematic relationship between these two pages operates on several levels. First, Ezra, the restorer of scripture and the Temple after the Chaldean invasion, foreshadows the son of man in the Hilarus/Epiphanius medallion who will complete these tasks at the apocalypse, revealing the heavenly Temple and every secret in the biblical books listed beneath this image. But further, Ezra anticipates the Hilarus/Epiphanius diagram's inscription honouring the fifth-century pope. The Old Testament pontiff writing scripture prefigures not only Christ but Christ's earthly representative, Pope Hilarus, the supposed creator (with Epiphanius) of the system of organizing the Old and New Testaments employed in *Amiatinus*. The poem opposite the Ezra miniature dedicating *Amiatinus* to the body of

[86] J. Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom* (Princeton, 1987), pp. 277–90; Wood, *Abbot Ceolfrid*, esp. pp. 10–12. I discuss the political context of the *Amiatinus* decoration in 'Christ and the Vision of God' (above, n. 13) and another forthcoming article: 'A Sense of Place: Wearmouth–Jarrow, Rome, and the Tabernacle Miniature of the Codex Amiatinus', in M. Budny and C.A. Jones (eds), *The Transmission of the Bible in Word and Image*. The volume is in preparation.

[87] E.g. O'Reilly, 'Library of Scripture', esp. pp. 11–14, Fig. 6; Meyvaert, 'Bede, Cassiodorus', p. 882.

St Peter, the first pope after Christ, reinforces these connections: the pandect's first gathering originally opened and closed with decorative schemes that aligned Christ (prefigured in Ezra and depicted in the Hilarus/Epiphanius roundel) with the papacy, the heavenly and earthly leaders of the church/Tabernacle (the Temple's forerunner) at the quire's centre (Fig. 6).[88] Both the scripture diagram on folio 6/VII recto and the Ezra page with the facing dedication, moreover, associate Christ and Petrine/papal authority with knowledge of scripture and engagement in biblical scholarship. Ezra's renewal of *hoc opus* – from one perspective *Amiatinus*'s contents – parallels the work pursued by Hilarus in his invention of a new organization for the Bible's books, and by every other pope who emulates the Old Testament prophet. The church's victory will only be finalized at the eschaton, the roundel motif of the Hilarus/Epiphanius page would have warned viewers at Wearmouth–Jarrow and Rome. But in the meantime *Amiatinus*, an edition of Jerome's Vulgate, organized acccording to the system attributed to Hilarus and Epiphanius, with a frontispiece that shows the books in Ezra's armarium organized according to Augustine's system, was a worthy gift to help Gregory II in his dissemination of biblical truth.

As Ceolfrid lay dying in September 716, one can imagine, he discussed with the monks travelling on to Rome how they should guide Gregory in his study of their magnificent pandect, starting with its opening portrait of Ezra, the pope's spiritual forebear. Careful consideration of the *Amiatinus* quire's likely order of leaves, and of the evidence they were designed to be part of a gift for the apostolic see, opens new possibilities in the interpretation of these meticulously executed pages and the volume they accompanied, the finest surviving product of the Wearmouth–Jarrow scriptorium.

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[88] Chazelle, 'A Sense of Place' (above, n. 86). See also J. O'Reilly, 'Introduction', in S. Connolly (trans.), *Bede: On the Temple*, Translated Texts for Historians 21 (Liverpool, 1995), pp. lii–lv.

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