THE MIND'S EYE

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Edited by Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché

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Christ and the Vision of God: The Biblical Diagrams of the Codex Amiatinus

Celia Chazelle

Pictorial decoration in early medieval Bibles, John Williams has reminded us, was a highly conservative art form. Particularly when the subjects came from the New Testament, imagery could "in some sense . . . share the authenticity of the text, assuming the role of a sanctioned portrait of an event presented verbally in the Bible."[1] It is therefore understandable that during much of the twentieth century, one of the most prominent currents in art-historical scholarship on biblical manuscripts from the early medieval West was the search for their artistic sources. The artist was seen as a "passive agent of descent," Williams notes,[2] and the principal significance assigned to his production was its success in transmitting an identifiable model or models or its failure to do so; discernible departures from a source or the inclusion of features without confirmable precedent were treated as of secondary interest. When the exemplar was no longer extant or traceable, the goal of the scholar's inquiry often become its reconstruction. The lost archetype was culturally more meaningful and interesting than the object at hand.

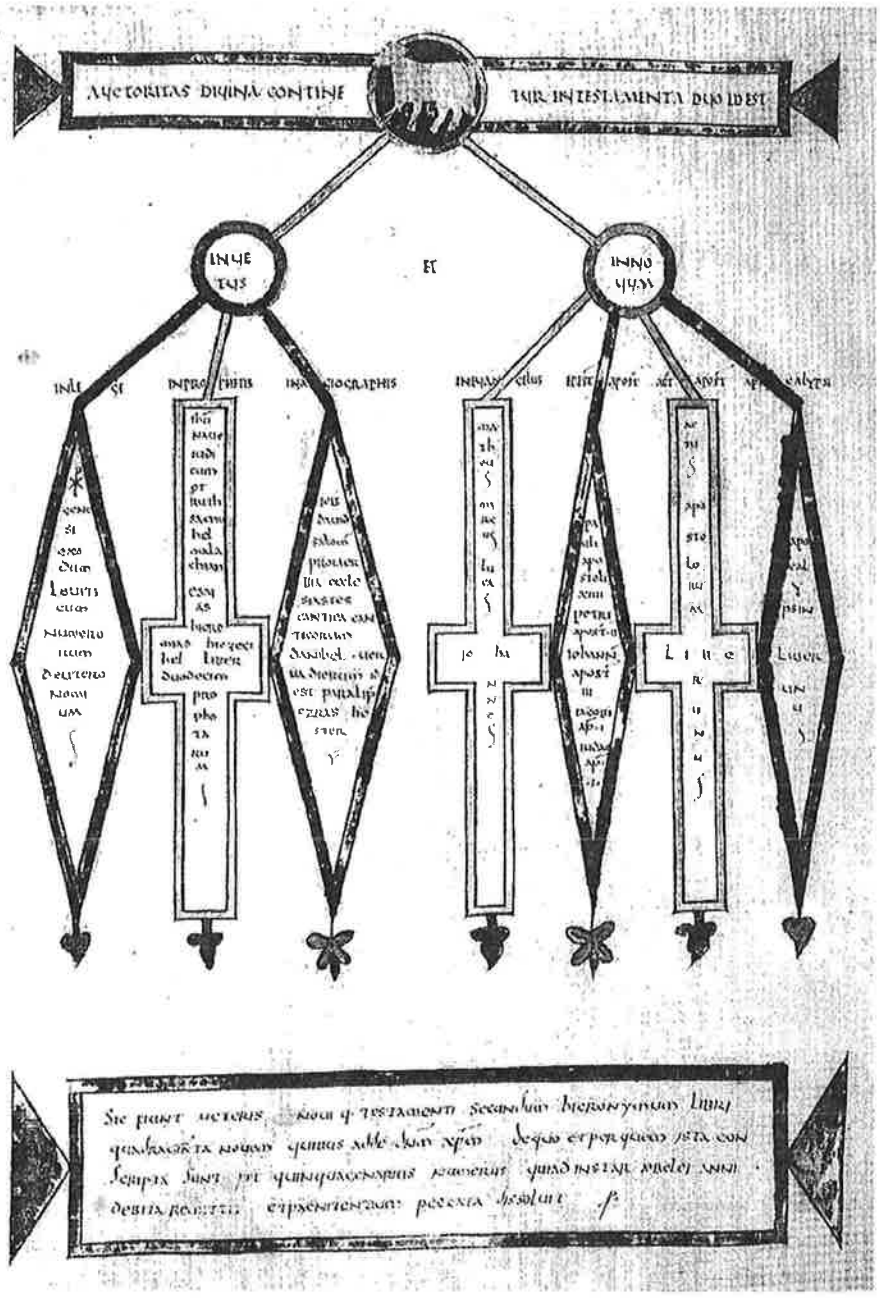
In the last three decades a number of studies, among them the volume edited by Williams from whose introduction I quoted, have challenged this approach by examining how older iconographic subjects and artistic forms served as raw materials with which early medieval artists responded to their own cultures. The choices they made from available materials, it is now better understood, what they decided to copy or to omit, their deviations from and adaptations of their models, can reflect ways of thought and goals rooted in their own backgrounds and environments. By investigating the evidence of this decision-making in early medieval Bibles in light of contemporary social, political, religious, and intellectual conditions, we can gain valuable insight into how the art of those books was informed by the contexts in which their creators worked, and into how the decoration may itself add to our knowledge of the same circumstances.

Until the mid-1990s, a manuscript largely immune to this new historiography was the Codex Amiatinus (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Cod. Amiatino 1), one of three pandects (one-volume Bibles) produced at the Northumbrian monastery of Wearmouth-Jarrow under its abbot, Ceolfrid, probably between 689 and 716, and more likely toward the end than the beginning of this period.[3] Twelve folia and fragments of a thirteenth survive from one or both sister pandects of Amiatinus,[4] but this is the only Bible of the three still evidently in possession of all

its leaves, though it lacks the original binding. The anonymous *Vita Ceolfridi* and the *Historia abbatum* by Bede, a monk at Jarrow during Ceolfrid's abbacy, inform us that whereas the other two Bibles were placed in Wearmouth's church of St. Peter and Jarrow's church of St. Paul, in June 716 Amiatinus was sent with other gifts to the shrine of St. Peter in Rome. Ceolfrid joined the party traveling to the holy see, but he died on the way, just outside Langres, Burgundy, in September of that year. After his burial, the *Vita Ceolfridi* indicates, some of his fellow monks continued on to Rome, bringing the codex to Pope Gregory II.[5] By the eleventh century, the pandect was at the monastery of San Salvatore at Monte Amiata. It was sent back to Rome in the sixteenth century to be used for Pope Sixtus's revision of the Vulgate, and it then returned to Monte Amiata, remaining there until the abbey was dissolved and its library moved to the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence in the late eighteenth century.[6]

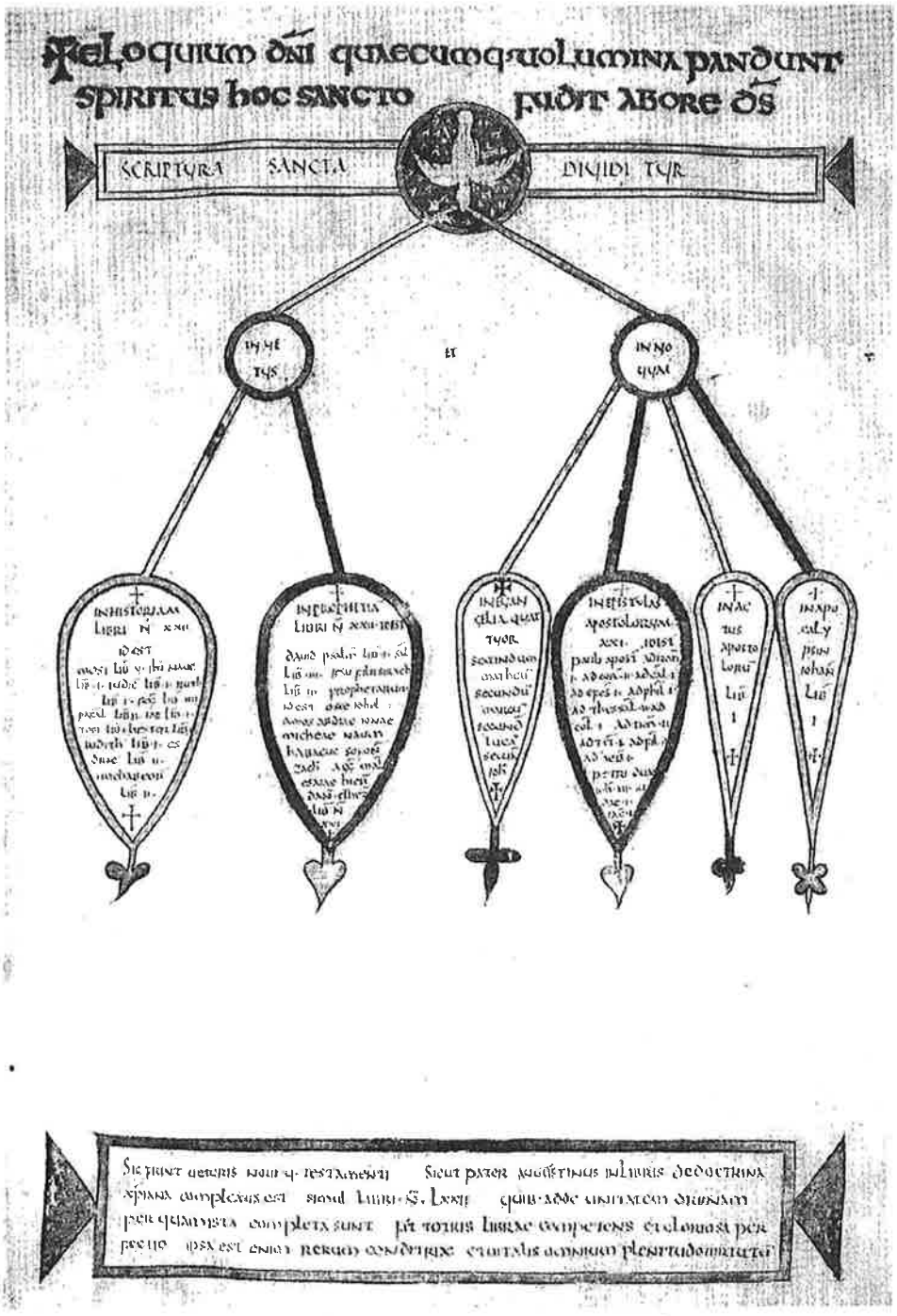
The *Historia abbatum* links Wearmouth-Jarrow's production of the three pandects to its possession of a now lost *uetusta translatio* of the Bible that Ceolfrid had acquired in Rome on his sole visit to the city about 677, with Benedict Biscop, Wearmouth's founder.[7] In 1883, Peter Corssen noted similarities between the texts of three diagrammatic lists of Scripture in Amiatinus's first quire (ff. 5/VIr, 8r, 6/VIIr; Figs. 1–3)[8] and the texts of the Scripture diagrams in Book 1 of the Italian scholar Cassiodorus's treatise, the *Institutiones*, written in the mid-sixth century. In the *Institutiones*, Cassiodorus states that he earlier placed the same charts in his Codex Grandior, a pandect made under him at his monastery of Vivarium in southern Italy.[9] While the Latin version of Grandior's New Testament is unknown, its Old Testament was an "old" translation, namely, Jerome's pre-Vulgate revision based on the Septuagint of Origen's *Hexapla*. In 1887, F. J. A. Hort suggested that Cassiodorus's Bible should be identified with Ceolfrid's *uetusta translatio*.[10] In general, this hypothesis has won widespread scholarly acceptance, but an article by Karen Corsano, published in 1987, argued that Grandior was not at Wearmouth-Jarrow and that Amiatinus's recognizably Cassiodorian features were based on other manuscripts. The biblical diagrams, she maintained, were inspired by the diagrams both of Scripture and of the liberal arts in a copy of the *Institutiones* in the English monastery's library.[11] Although Paul Meyvaert has presented evidence that it is unlikely Wearmouth-Jarrow owned the *Institutiones*, Corsano's theory that the *Institutiones* were there but Grandior was not has recently been reiterated by Michael Gorman.[12]

In my view, Corsano and Gorman have not succeeded in demonstrating that the *Institutiones* were at the English abbey; Meyvaert's arguments against this remain generally persuasive. Whatever the final resolution of this particular disagreement, however, we should not allow it to obscure the weight of evidence that the monastery did possess the Codex Grandior: the connection the *Historia abbatum* draws between Ceolfrid's *uetusta translatio* and the abbey's preparation of three pandects; Amiatinus's prologue, which uses Cassiodorian language and was probably written by Cassiodorus for a pandect which, like Grandior, contained seventy books of Scripture;[13] Amiatinus's picture of the Tabernacle, recalling Grandior's imagery of the Tabernacle and Temple; Bede's references to older illustrations of the Tabernacle and Temple he had seen, other than the painting in Amiatinus, which he assigns to Cassiodorus;[14] and the presence in Amiatinus of three Scripture diagrams comparable to those Cassiodorus placed in Grandior as well as in the *Institutiones*. Other explanations might be proposed for each individual circumstance, but overall the logical conclusion is that Grandior and Ceolfrid's copy of the *uetusta translatio* were one and the same volume, and that Grandior was one, quite possibly the only, source of Cassiodorus's influence on Amiatinus.[15]



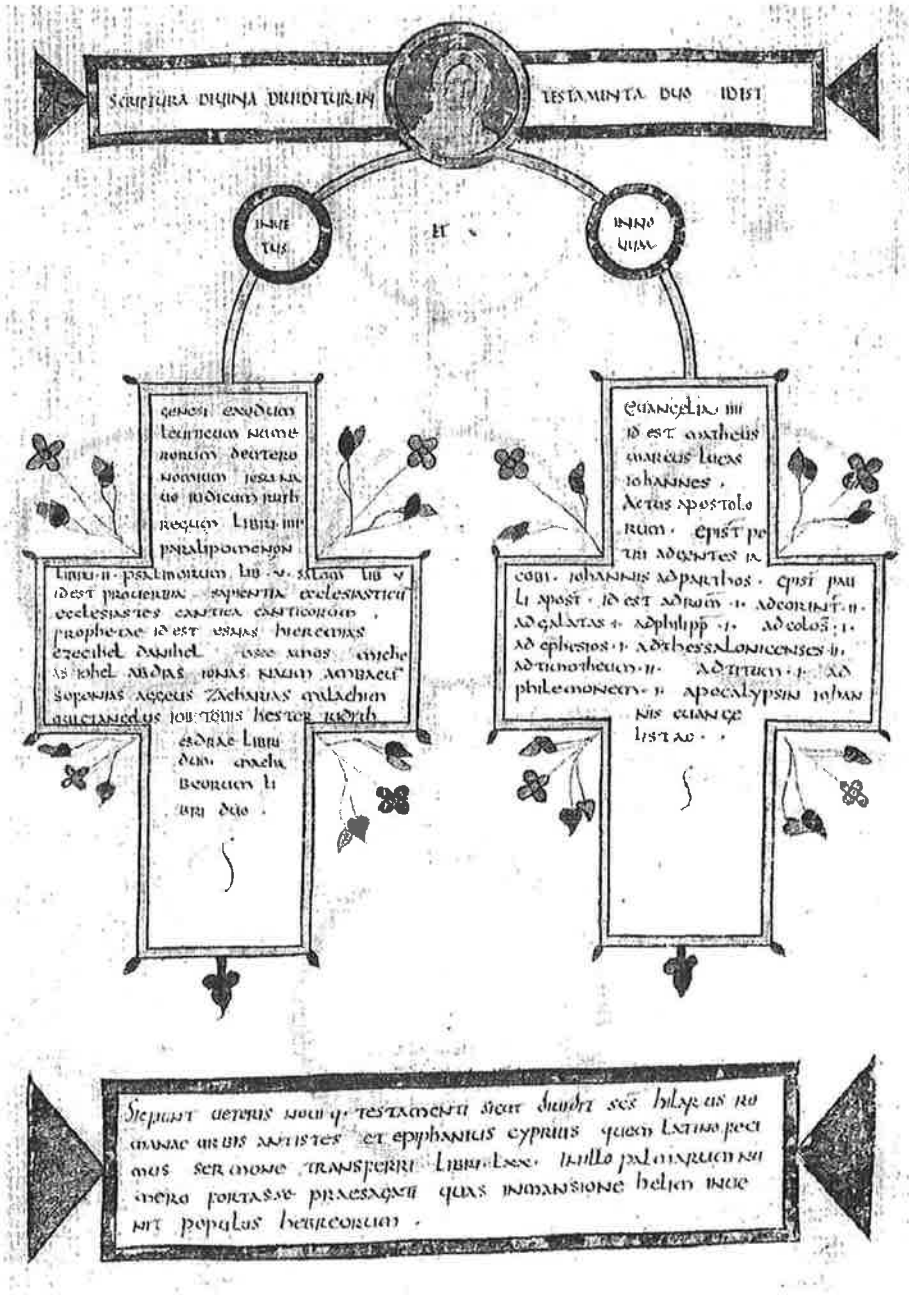
1. Division of scripture according to Jerome. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ms. Amiatino 1, f. 5/VIr

Significant differences existed between Amiatinus's scriptural text and Grandior's, so far as the latter is known. The English pandect, unlike Grandior, is written *per cola et commata*, a system of line division that added significantly to its length, and whereas Grandior's Old Testament was a pre-Vulgate Latin edition, both Testaments in Amiatinus are versions of Jerome's Vulgate.[16] But the main script in Amiatinus is an imitation of sixth-century Italian uncial, which could reflect Grandior's influence,[17] and, with only a few divergences, Amiatinus follows the organization of biblical books that the *Institutiones* note was found in Grandior.[18] Twentieth-century art historians were typically also disposed to view some, or even all, of the illustrated folios in Amia-



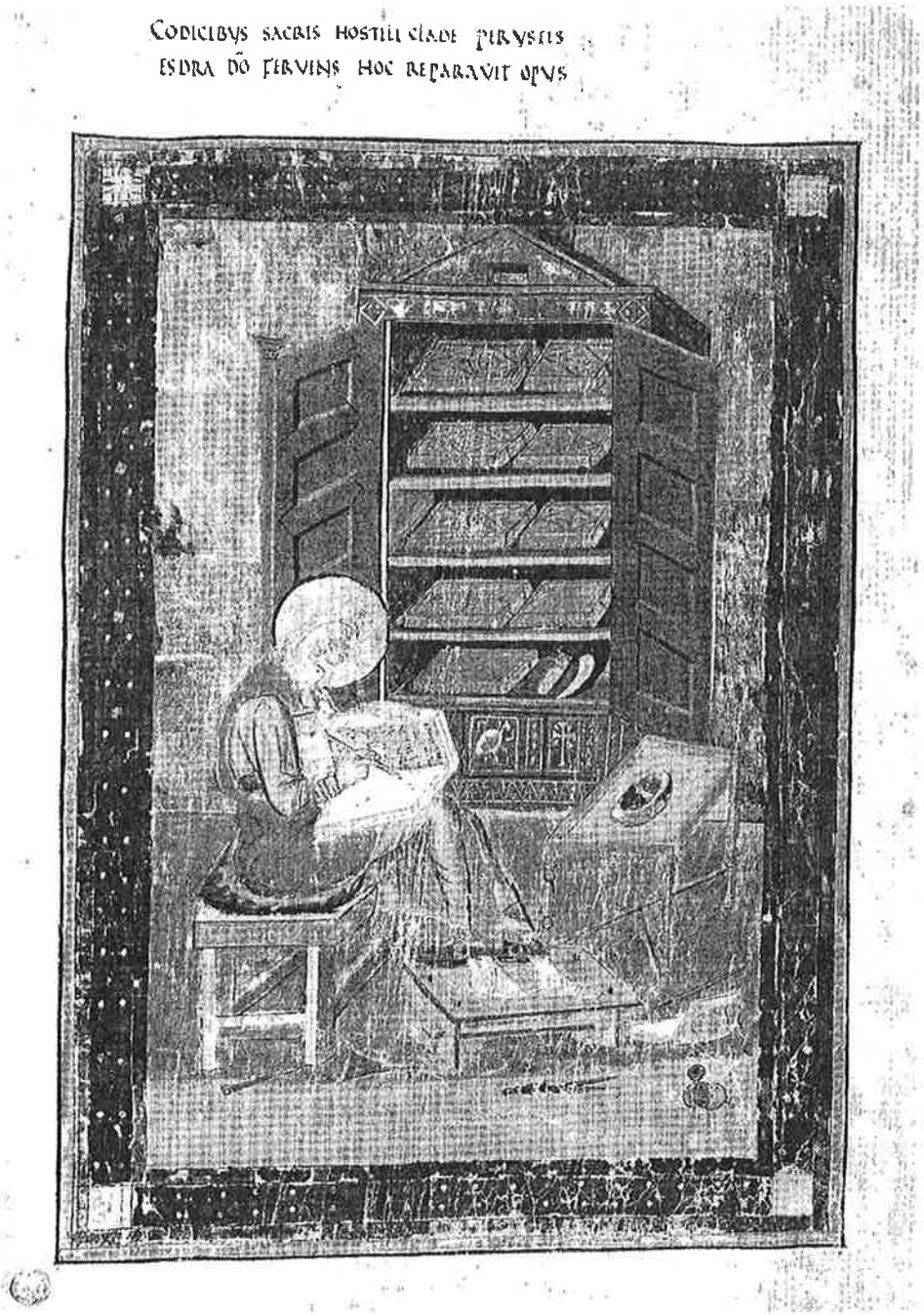
2. Division of scripture according to Augustine. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ms. Amiatino 1, f. 8r

tinus, especially its first gathering, where most of the art occurs, as copied directly from a Cassiodorian manuscript, the preferred candidate being Grandior.[19] Supporting evidence was found in the *Institutiones* report of Grandior's three charts of Scripture and in the references by Bede and Cassiodorus to Grandior's depictions of the Tabernacle and Temple.[20] In addition, some art in Amiatinus lacking parallels in written sources concerning Grandior has been thought more in tune with a sixth-century Italian than an eighth-century Northumbrian aesthetic; the most ex-



3. Division of scripture according to Pope Hilarus and Epiphanius. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ms. Amiatino 1, f. 6/VIIr

traordinary example is the famous portrait of the prophet Ezra (f. 4/Vr; Fig. 4). Contrasting the style of this picture to that of the Majestas illumination prefacing Amiatinus's New Testament (f. 796v; Fig. 5), G. F. Browne proposed in 1887 that both the Ezra and Tabernacle images, and possibly other pages of Amiatinus's first quire, had been lifted directly from Grandior.[21] Browne's theory was not decisively refuted until the 1960s, but for the next three decades the thrust of art-historical research continued to be to look at Amiatinus for insight into Cassiodorus's Vivarium, and particularly into the contents of the Codex Grandior, more than Bede's Wearmouth-Jarrow.[22]



4. Portrait of the prophet Ezra. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ms. Amiatino 1, f. 4/Vr

Since 1995, though, several studies have contended that while Grandior provided inspiration for some elements of the first quire, Wearmouth-Jarrow's borrowing of its texts and ornament was selective. The surviving evidence concerning Grandior's non-biblical material is limited, but enough remains to show that, in preparing Amiatinus's first quire, the English scriptorium ignored some features of the sixth-century manuscript, made changes to what it did copy, probably drew on other sources as well, and added new texts of its own composition and probably new artistic

5. Majestas Domini. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ms. Amiatino 1, f. 796v

forms.[23] These findings provide the starting point of my discussion here of the art of Amiatinus's three biblical diagrams, for which the chief models were most likely the diagrams in Grandior. Even if Wearmouth-Jarrow owned a copy of the *Institutiones*, I think the scriptorium would have looked primarily, if not exclusively, for guidance to the Scripture charts in its Italian pandect as it designed those of its own Bible. As I discuss below, certain elements of the decoration of Grandior's three diagrams can be reconstructed by comparing information provided by manuscripts of the *Institutiones* with the Amiatinus charts. Yet, although I will give some attention to the formal similarities and differences between Cassiodorus's and Wearmouth-Jarrow's diagrams, this is not the principal question I want to address. Rather, it is the rationale behind the ornament

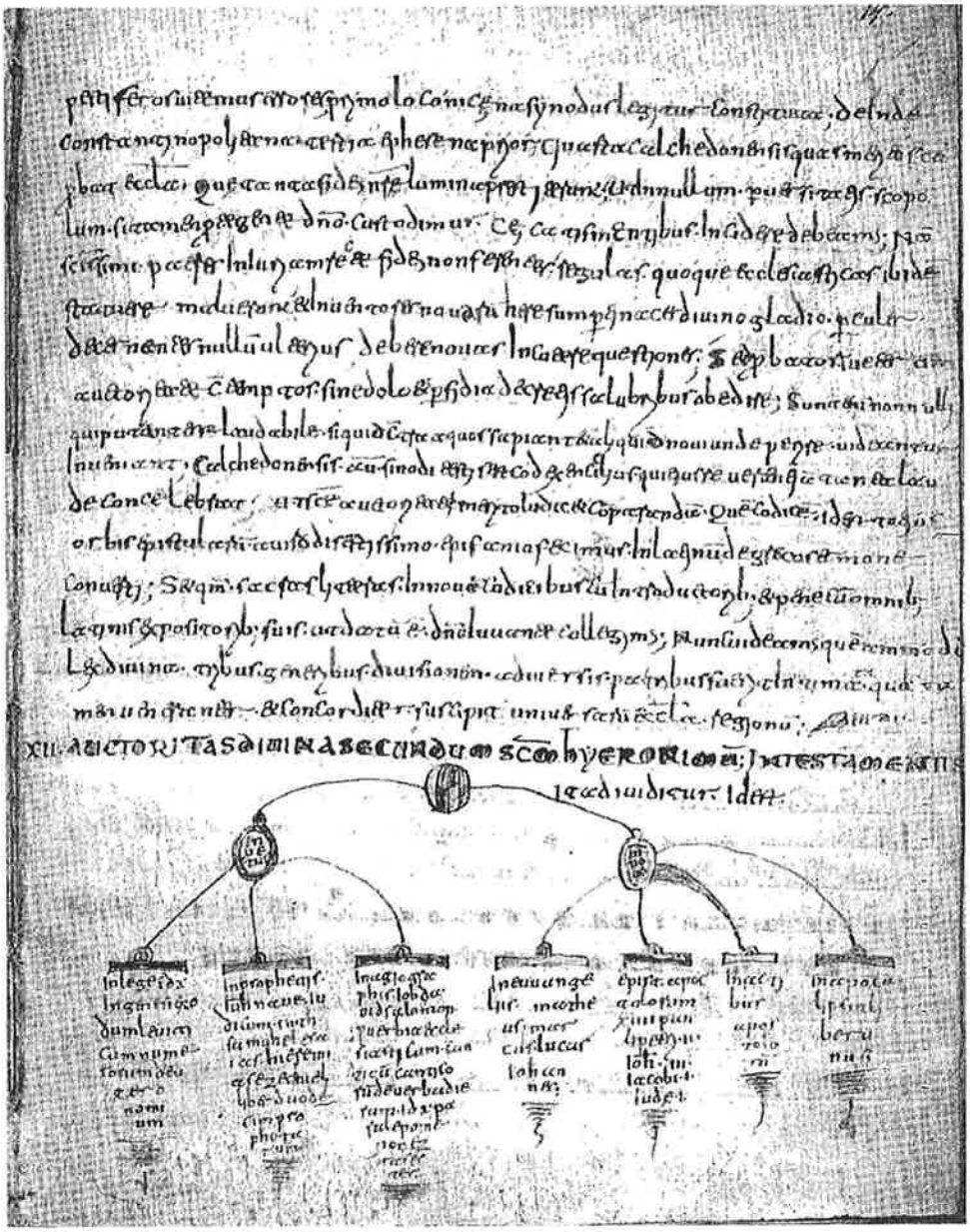
of the English folia and the impact that contemporary events and thought may have exerted on the English artist's handling of his sources. As Lawrence Nees suggested in his study of Amiatinus in Williams's book, some artistic details of the three pages may reflect concerns at Wearmouth-Jarrow about political and theological developments in the Mediterranean and Northumbria.[24] Once the potential impact of such developments on the Amiatinus diagrams is appreciated, we can also understand better the intellectual motivations for the design of the rest of the first quire and the production of the three pandects.[25]

Each of Amiatinus's three diagrams of Scripture (ff. 5/VIr, 8r, and 6/VIIr; Figs. 1–3) presents a carefully executed, predominantly geometrical pattern of forms. Lists of biblical books are set out like genealogical trees within colored, regularly shaped frames that descend from a tablet with handle-like ends (*tabula ansata*) enclosing an inscription.[26] The center of each tablet is marked by a medallion-framed image painted in gold foil on a colored background: a lamb, a bird (probably a dove) flying downward with wings outspread, and a male bust. Beneath the lists of Scripture, another *tabula ansata* encloses an inscription that refers to the diagram above it and names the lists' purported inventor or inventors. The chart with the lamb is attributed to Jerome (f. 5/VIr) and that with the dove to Augustine (f. 8r). The diagram with the male bust, which sets out the organization of Scripture actually followed in Grandior and Amiatinus, is jointly ascribed to the fifth-century pope Hilarus and the fourth-century Greek theologian Epiphanius of Cyprus (f. 6/VIIr).[27] Epiphanius was included in Bede's martyrology, and Hilarus of Rome was known to Bede for his interest in the Easter table and defense of the Councils of Nicaea, Ephesus, and Chalcedon.[28] The symmetrically arranged tablets, one above and one below each diagram, the alternating shapes of the frames around the lists, and the centered roundels with descending straight or arched lines contribute to each page's orderly appearance.[29]

While some aspects of the three charts were inspired by the diagrams of Grandior, others seem to represent input from Wearmouth-Jarrow. The English scriptorium copied Cassiodorus's lists of biblical books with minor variations.[30] The rubrics in the tablets below the Amiatinus charts correspond closely with, but are not identical to, passages relating to the Scripture diagrams in Book 1 of the *Institutiones*. As Meyvaert has demonstrated, the Wearmouth-Jarrow texts are most likely emended versions of similar passages written near Grandior's charts. One probable change in Amiatinus, to which I will return, was to substitute references to the "lord Christ" (*dominus Christus*) and "divine unity" (*unitas diuina*), in the lower tablets of the Jerome and Augustine diagrams, for references Cassiodorus had made to the Trinity.[31]

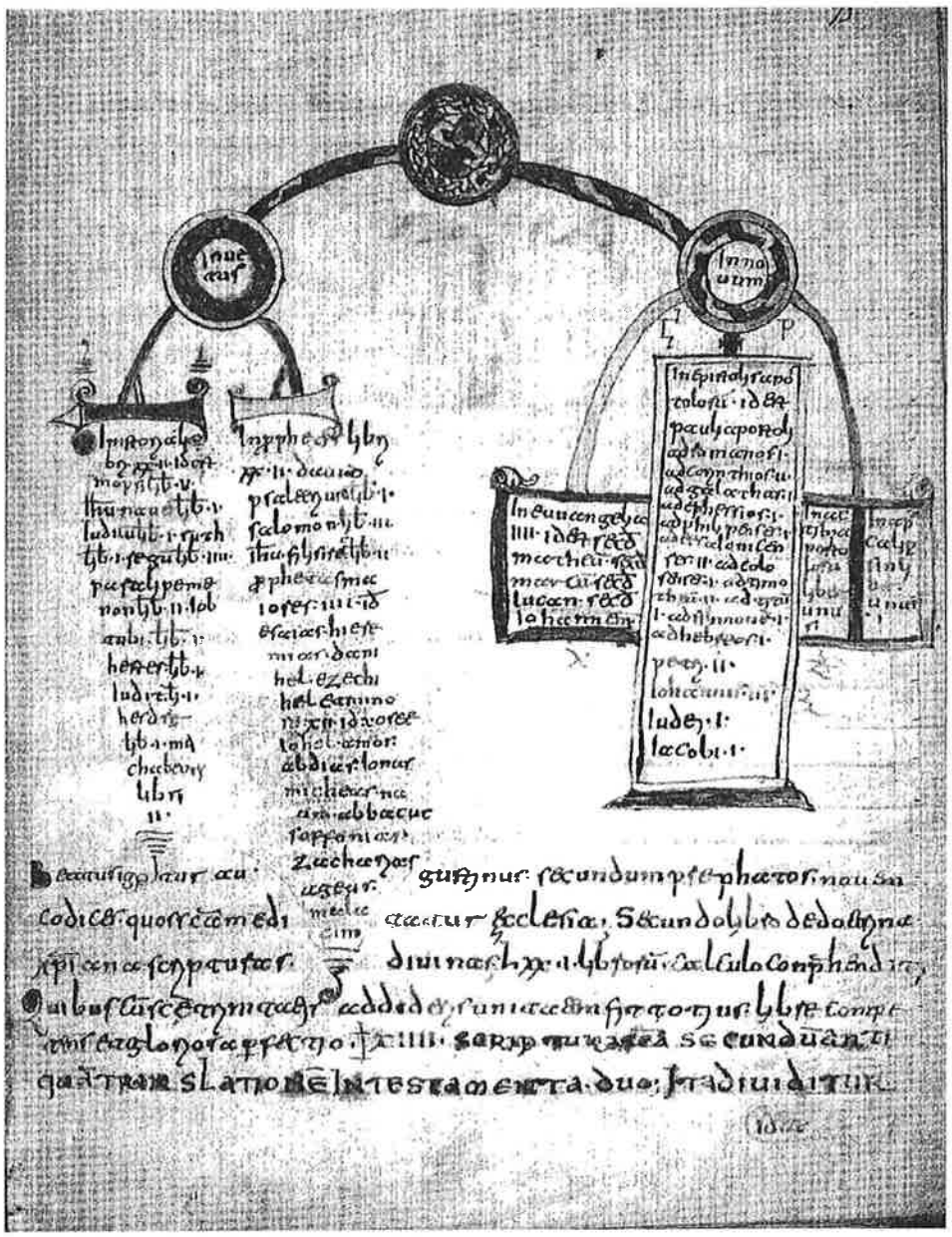
Another change involved adapting Cassiodorus's text for the tablet below Amiatinus's third diagram in order to attribute it to Pope Hilarus and Epiphanius. Judging from Amiatinus and the evidence of the *Institutiones*, the passage by Cassiodorus mentioned the Septuagint, Hilary of Poitiers, Epiphanius, possibly the Synods of Nicaea and Chalcedon, a translation of Epiphanius's writings that Cassiodorus had commissioned, and Exodus 15:27. The rubric in the Amiatinus tablet reads: "Thus occur seventy books of the Old and the New Testament as divided by Saint Hilarus, bishop of the city of Rome, and Epiphanius of Cyprus, whom we had translated into Latin, [the books having been] perhaps presaged in the number of palm trees that the Hebrew people found during their stay at Elim" (Ex. 15:27).[32] As Ian Wood has observed, the Northumbrian pandect's organization of biblical books is thus presented as partly a papal invention.[33]

The English monastery likely also modeled the layout and decoration of the Amiatinus charts



6. Division of scripture according to Jerome. Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, second half of the eighth century. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Patr. 61, f. 14r

on those in Grandior, but with significant alterations. I have examined microfilms of five manuscripts of the *Institutiones* that include versions of the diagrams of the liberal arts that Cassiodorus provided the treatise's second book; the manuscripts date from the eighth and ninth centuries.[34] The oldest codex, Bamberg, Ms. Patr. 61 of the second half of the eighth century, contains, along with the liberal arts diagrams, all three of Book 1's charts for Scripture (ff. 14r, 15r, and 15v; Figs. 6–8). An inscription at the end of the treatise (f. 67v) states this is the "the archetype codex to whose model others should be corrected" (*codex archetypus ad cuius exemplaria sunt reliqui*



7. Division of scripture according to Augustine. Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, second half of the eighth century. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Patr. 61, f. 15r

corrigendi).[35] As in Amiatinus, the charts in the five codices generally have rows of lists hanging from supports that branch off a central fulcrum. None, however, matches the insistently orderly, geometric layout of the Northumbrian diagrams:[36] the spacing between lists is often irregular, rows are not always horizontal, the ornament from which the charts spring is not always centered, the lines connecting a motif to the lists curve in different directions and are sometimes of different lengths.[37] Sometimes lists are unframed, in which case they often taper downward to points, a common format for marginal notes in medieval texts and one Cassiodorus hints he favors.[38] Or

the lists are the only framed writing on the page, and, whereas a concern with pattern is apparent from the frames in Amiatinus, most of those for the diagrams of the *Institutiones* are "shaped" only by the texts they enclose. It is possible that Cassiodorus's original design for his charts was closer to what we see in Amiatinus, though I think this is more likely true of the diagrams in Grandior than those in the *Institutiones;* the Vivarium scriptorium may well have put special care into production of a Bible.[39] Nevertheless, it is important to note that the pronounced effect of visual order and harmony in the English charts is also a feature of every other folio in Amiatinus's first quire, including pages almost certainly not modeled on Grandior.[40] To a large measure, therefore, it should be considered representative of Wearmouth-Jarrow's own objectives in designing the pages, and thus it points to aesthetic concerns similar to those revealed by the geometric frontispiece design of the Utrecht Gospels, a possibly contemporary production of the same scriptorium (Utrecht, University Library, Ms. 32, f. 101v).[41]

Lawrence Nees has noted that the *tabulae ansatae* surmounted by medallions do not accord with a sixth-century Italian aesthetic and were likely, too, devised at Wearmouth-Jarrow.[42] The motifs within the Amiatinus roundels, however, were probably inspired by imagery placed at the fulcra of the Grandior diagrams. The Scripture charts of the Bamberg copy of the *Institutiones* lack similar pictures; there, the Jerome and Augustine lists (ff. 14r, 15r; Figs. 6, 7) descend from small medallions containing abstract ornament, and the Septuagint lists (f. 15v; Fig. 8) spring from an interlace-filled cross.[43] But in every codex of the *Institutiones* I have studied, various objects, animals, and human figures are represented above the liberal arts diagrams of Book 2, and four of the five manuscripts show a male bust, lamb, and bird flying downward, in this order, with the diagrams of Book 2 for rhetoric, the five parts of Porphyry's *Isagoge,* and Aristotle's categories. The only interruption to this sequence is a vase-like object above the chart for *philosophia,* between the charts for rhetoric and the *Isagoge.*[44] The presence of the same grouping of images in four of the earliest copies of the *Institutiones* suggests it was invented at Cassiodorus's Vivarium.

Conceivably, similar imagery decorated the original Scripture diagrams designed at Vivarium for the *Institutiones* but was removed by later copyists of the treatise; the evidence is insufficient to determine whether or not this occurred. The most reasonable explanation for the sequence of images above the biblical charts in Amiatinus, though, is that it was inspired by the Vivarium decoration of Grandior's biblical diagrams; there, too, the fulcra of the three charts must have shown a male bust, lamb, and bird or dove. In preparing its three diagrams, the English scriptorium adapted the art as well as the texts of the charts in the sixth-century pandect. One likely difference between the images in Amiatinus and in Grandior, however, was their order. We cannot be sure that each picture in Grandior accompanied the same diagram as in Amiatinus, but in light of the connection the *Institutiones* draw between the Trinity and the diagrams of Jerome and Augustine, probably echoed in the texts accompanying Grandior's charts, and in light of the theme of the Bible's relation to the Trinity developed in other sections of this treatise, it is reasonable to think that Cassiodorus set the imagery in Grandior in a recognizably Trinitarian order. Whatever the order of the charts themselves, either the bust—a "Father" symbol—came first, followed by the lamb (of the Son) and the dove (of the Holy Spirit); or, possibly, the bust was placed between the lamb and the dove.[45]

Amiatinus's first quire has been reorganized at least three times since 716, and scholars still debate its original arrangement. In a recent article, I argued that the order of leaves intended by Wearmouth-Jarrow was the following, and I presented evidence that this was not the result of haphazard decision making but was carefully planned at the English monastery with aesthetic and

doctrinal considerations in mind.[46] In contrast to Cassiodorus, it is probable the Wearmouth-Jarrow scriptorium placed its motifs in the order of lamb, dove, male bust:

Folio 1/I recto: blank
Folio 1/I verso: dedication poem
Folio 4/V recto: portrait of the prophet Ezra
Folio 4/V verso: blank
Folio 3/IV recto: purple-painted page; prologue
Folio 3/IV verso: purple-painted page; contents of Amiatinus; poem honoring Jerome
Folio 2/II recto: blank
Folio 2/II verso: Tabernacle (left side)
Folio 7/III recto: Tabernacle (right side)
Folio 7/III verso: blank
Folio 5/VI recto: division of Scripture according to Jerome (image of the lamb)
Folio 5/VI verso: blank
Folio 8 recto: division of Scripture according to Augustine (image of the dove)
Folio 8 verso: blank
Folio 6/VII recto: division of Scripture according to Pope Hilarus of Rome and Epiphanius of Cyprus (male bust)
Folio 6/VII verso: cross diagram of the Pentateuch with excerpted text from Jerome

That Wearmouth-Jarrow chose to locate the Hilarus/Epiphanius diagram with its male bust at the end of Amiatinus's series of biblical charts raises the problem of the disruption to the imagery's Trinitarian symbolism. Why did the monks put the Second Person's symbol first, the Third Person's second, and the First Person's last? Since there is little doubt that Amiatinus's first quire was designed from the outset (or nearly) of production to be part of a gift-pandect sent to the pope in Rome,[47] the pictures' theological import must have received serious attention.

The most plausible answer to the question just posed is that the Northumbrian scriptorium was indeed concerned about the doctrinal implications of Amiatinus's three miniatures, but it selected this arrangement to convey different ideas from those it associated with the imagery in Grandior. Although Bede and his fellow monks may have been somewhat unsure about the precise theological significance of the three pictures in the Italian Bible, in particular its male bust, they almost certainly identified the iconography as Trinitarian and the male bust as, in some sense, a symbol of the Godhead's First Person.[48] In Amiatinus, as I will explain further shortly, rather than using the three motifs to signify the Trinity's eternal reality, they sought to shift the focus more directly onto Christ and his unfolding revelation of divinity in the temporal realm. Two reasons for doing this were probably negative: to avoid implying that the Trinity could be portrayed with three separate artistic images, which might conflict with the doctrine of unified shared divinity; and second, to avoid implying a belief that God the Father possessed anthropomorphic features. If the rubrics below the Jerome and Augustine charts in Amiatinus are emended versions of those in Grandior, similar concerns probably underlay the changes made there—the replacement, that is, of references by Cassiodorus to the Trinity with the references on the Amiatinus pages to the "lord Christ" and "divine unity."[49]

Bede's writings suggest additional reasons why he and his brothers at Wearmouth-Jarrow would have wanted to distance Amiatinus's pictures from an overtly Trinitarian interpretation. We need to consider, first, the evidence for their, or especially Bede's, theoretical conception of artis-

8. Division of scripture according to the Septuagint. Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, second half of the eighth century. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Patr. 61, f. 15v

tic images. The frequency of travel between England and Italy in the sixth to eighth century—Anglo-Saxon monks went south and Mediterranean ecclesiastics came to England—enabled English churchmen to gain considerable familiarity with artistic productions south of the Alps and with the region's devotional practices and beliefs concerning images.[50] An openness to Mediterranean attitudes is implied by the accounts of miracle-working pictures in Adomnán of Iona's *De locis sanctis*, a work known by about 703 to Bede.[51] It is also suggested by Bede's report in the *Historia ecclesiastica* of Augustine of Canterbury's arrival in England, with a group that carried a panel painting of Christ and a cross in procession and chanted litanies as it went to meet Ethel-

bert of Kent.[52] There is no record that worship was directed toward the paintings of Christ, saints, and scenes from the Old and New Testaments that Benedict Biscop collected in Rome and placed in Wearmouth-Jarrow's churches; but it is quite possible this occurred, particularly with the images of the Virgin and apostles displayed across the nave of St. Peter's at Wearmouth, *mediam eiusdem aecclesiae testudinem*.[53]

Two of Bede's reports of the paintings at Wearmouth-Jarrow, in his *Historia abbatum* and homily on Benedict Biscop, incorporate brief comments on the nature and function of images. A longer excursus on this theme occurs in his treatise *De Templo*, where he defends pictures by interpreting the second commandment in light of the Temple's decoration. These writings postdate completion of Amiatinus, and the passage in *De Templo* may have been influenced by Gregory I's correspondence with Serenus of Marseilles, which probably became familiar to Bede only after Amiatinus was on its way to Rome.[54] Nevertheless, all three sources probably give a basic idea of his thinking as the three pandects and Amiatinus's first quire were being prepared. The tone of his remarks is consistently positive: artistic representations are valuable insofar as they ornament churches, encourage meditation on the persons and events they depict, and stir emotional responses such as contrition, love, or anxiety about the Last Judgment. Above all, as in Gregory's letters, the emphasis is on the art's ability to induce memory of holy persons and sacred stories or history, and thus to serve, to a limited degree, as a substitute for the written word, especially for the illiterate.

Although, however, Bede probably accepted that miracles sometimes occurred through images, as Adomnán reported, he does not seem to have believed that they possessed the inherent sanctity he attributed to relics.[55] The *Historia abbatum* refers to "pictures of sacred images" (*picturas sanctarum imaginum*), but the sanctity evidently belongs to their subjects, not the works of art themselves.[56] Moreover, Bede's comments on Grandior's depictions of the Tabernacle and the Temple in his treatises *In Regum Librum XXX quaestiones*, *De Tabernaculo*, and *De Templo* imply that images assist viewers to comprehend spiritual truth only to the extent that the pictures conform to the teachings of sacred texts. Where the artwork does not strictly represent biblical or hagiographical truth, it might have a certain historical utility, but only for remembering things of the past without spiritual merit. It cannot assist the Christian to grasp the mysteries of the faith.[57]

A second theme of Bede's thought to consider is divine invisibility. Here we may turn to other of his writings, in particular, other homilies likely postdating Amiatinus's completion, which clarify how he reconciled the Bible's statements that mortal eyes cannot see God, its accounts of prophetic visions of the divine, and the doctrine of the vision of God at the end of time.[58] In general, Bede follows earlier patristic exegesis in accepting the limited character of the visions received in this life, Christ's status as the only Person of the Trinity to possess humanity, and the knowledge of God attained through Christ, who took on human nature for this purpose.[59] Through the Son, mortals may learn about the "unity of the sacred Trinity" and approach the vision of the divine majesty, to which Christ will lead them after the Last Judgment.[60] As the audience of one homily is reminded, it is necessary to embrace the truth about Christ's equality with the Father in order to be rewarded later with the one vision of both, "concerning which Philip requested, 'Lord, shew us the Father, and it is enough for us', and the Lord himself answered saying, 'He that seeth me seeth the Father also'" (John 14:8–9).[61] Because of the incorporeal nature of divinity and the imperfection of physical sight, no mortal in this life can truly behold the face of God; as God said to Moses, "Man shall not see me and live" (Ex. 33:20). Bede draws an emphatic contrast between the circumscribed "images" (*imagines*) mediated to the patriarchs, prophets, and saints

through fire, angels, clouds, and *electrum* or amber, which fragile flesh can comprehend, and the eternal, incircumscribable light of divinity.[62] Even the transfiguration showed the disciples only Christ's glorified humanity and is differentiated from the eternal contemplation of God, "face to face" (*facie ad faciem*; Gen. 32:30), reserved to heaven.[63]

The disparity between the visions that the prophets and saints enjoyed on earth, and the reward the blessed will receive at the end of time was doubtless on Bede's mind as he wrote his first exegetical treatise, a commentary on the Apocalypse that its recent editor has characterized as exceptionally faithful to Tyconius.[64] The abbreviated style of this work makes its doctrine more difficult to decipher than that of the homilies, but since it was written between 703 and 709, while Amiatinus's first quire was perhaps being planned or prepared, simply the choice of biblical book for exegesis seems significant for analyzing the pandect's roundel motifs. For Bede, John's visions, like those of other prophets, were mediated through words and figures accessible to human understanding and are open to different levels of exposition.[65] While he acknowledges the Book of Revelation's literal significance as a foreshadowing of the eschaton, he also develops its allegorical interpretation, following Primasius, as an account of the church moving through history and already triumphing in Christ's name.[66]

Bede perceived religious imagery that conformed to biblical and hagiographical truth as useful to Christian devotion and teaching; but the foregoing considerations suggest that he and his brothers may well have found the Trinitarian iconography of Grandior's biblical charts a source of puzzlement and concern. As Bede knew so well, Scripture announces that the divinity of the Trinity is unified and imperceptible to mortal eyes, and that although God has manifested himself to earth in different forms, his humanity belongs to Christ. Yet, as opposed to the Bible's clear doctrine, Grandior seemed to divide the Trinity's three Persons by depicting their symbols on separate pages with separate diagrams of Scripture, as though each Person taught something different. Furthermore, the pandect used a material image to signify, it appeared, the incorporeal divine nature of God the Father, as if the Trinity's First Person had a human form distinguished from that of the Son, symbolized by the lamb.[67]

As the Wearmouth-Jarrow scriptorium worked on Amiatinus, worries about the theological message of Grandior's biblical diagrams were probably fueled by news of the doctrinal strife threatening Rome at the time. During the second half of the seventh and the early eighth century, the regular flow of travelers between Italy and Wearmouth-Jarrow kept the monastery acquainted not only with Mediterranean art and devotional practices, but also with the tensions between Rome and Byzantium caused by the doctrines of Monophysitism, Monenergism, and Monotheletism. The latter two Christologies developed in the East as Byzantine ecclesiastics searched for a compromise between the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon (451) and the Monophysites who rejected its decrees. Whereas Chalcedon had affirmed that Christ had two distinct, complete natures of divinity and humanity united in one Person, Monophysites put forth that the Incarnation united divine and human into a single divine nature.[68] Pope Honorius I (625–638) accepted the Monothelete solution to the quarrel, which upheld the doctrine of two natures yet claimed that Christ possessed only a single divine will; but aided by Maximus Confessor's strenuous defense of Chalcedon in North Africa, subsequent popes, beginning with John IV (640–642), led a Western resistance to Monotheletism that culminated in the condemnation of the doctrine at the Lateran Synod of 649, convened under Pope Martin I. Benedict Biscop must have directly witnessed some of the synod's chaotic aftermath on his first visit to Rome, in 653; shortly before or after his

arrival, Byzantine authorities arrested Martin for the Lateran defense of Chalcedonian orthodoxy. The new pope, Eugenius, was not elected until August 654, so Benedict's first experience of the city—no matter how brief his stay, the length of which is unknown—was of disruption to its ecclesiastical life.[69]

On one of Benedict's later visits to Rome, about 677, this time with Ceolfrid, Pope Agatho sent the archcantor John back to England with the two monks. John's responsibilities were to teach liturgical reading and Roman chant at Wearmouth, assist in the organization of the calendrical liturgy, and, because of a renewed attempt at reconciliation between the papacy and Constantinople, ascertain England's support for Rome. It is uncertain how well Northumbrian ecclesiastics understood the quarrels in the Mediterranean, but they clearly identified their loyalty to Rome with support of its theology and therefore Chalcedon. John brought a copy of the decrees of 649 with him, and the Wearmouth scriptorium prepared a copy for its archives. In 679, Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury convened a synod at Hatfield in Northumbria that composed a letter to Rome confirming the five ecumenical councils and the Lateran synod.[70] Similar councils were held in other Western churches and in Rome at Easter in 680; the latter meeting was attended by the Northumbrian bishop Wilfrid, who was in the apostolic city to gain papal support for his claim to the see of York, from which he had been dismissed in 678.[71] Monotheletism was condemned for both the East and the West at the Sixth Ecumenical Council in Constantinople, 680–681. Under Pope Leo II, elected in August 682, the decrees from Constantinople were translated into Latin and sent to other Western churches, among them, no doubt, those in England.[72]

Further contacts between Wearmouth-Jarrow and Rome occurred in the mid-680s, when Benedict was in the city on his final visit, and under Pope Sergius I (687–701). Ceolfrid's eventual successor, Hwaetbert, studied in Rome during Sergius's pontificate, and he perhaps brought back to Wearmouth-Jarrow the new papal charter mentioned in the *Historia abbatum* and the anonymous life of Ceolfrid.[73] Wilfrid was again in Rome about 703, to ask for another papal confirmation of his rights to the episcopacy and to his monasteries.[74] Either of these churchmen, or other English visitors, could have returned with the news that Sergius had rejected the decrees of the Quinisext Council *in Trullo*, held under Emperor Justinian II in 691–692 to confirm and extend the decisions of the Fifth and Sixth Ecumenical Synods.

Rome apparently disapproved of the Quinisext legislation both because it was thought to challenge papal authority in the West and because some devotional practices it imposed conflicted with Latin traditions.[75] One of the decrees Sergius probably disliked was canon 82, which ordered images of Christ to be substituted for those of his prefiguration in the lamb. It has been argued that Sergius's opposition to this decree lay behind his promotion of the singing of the *Agnus Dei* in the mass, and that for the same reason he commissioned the imagery of the lamb on the triumphal arch of SS. Cosma and Damiano and on the facade of Old St. Peter's.[76] Papal opinion on specific canons of Quinisext may have been unknown in Northumbria, yet to the degree that Wearmouth-Jarrow was informed about the council, the monastery likely identified the quarrel that this meeting, too, engendered with the Christological and Trinitarian issues previously addressed in Rome in 649 and 680, Hatfield in 679, and Constantinople in 681. Although the Byzantine court and Pope Constantine I evidently settled their disagreement about Justinian's council in 710–711, the peace was again broken under Emperor Philippikos (711–713), who tried to revive Monotheletism. Philippikos's successor, Anastasios II (713–715), reversed this imperial policy, but worries about Byzantine heterodoxy continued in the West. Even in the last years before Amiati-

nus's departure in 716, then, travelers from Italy to Northumbria might have brought reports of theological strife in the Mediterranean.[77]

Whenever the first quire of Amiatinus was made under Ceolfrid, these circumstances offer additional reasons to suspect that Wearmouth-Jarrow would have avoided emulating imagery that hinted of unorthodoxy, above all in regard to the Trinity. If we turn now, though, to doctrines that the scriptorium might have wanted the three pictures of its own Scripture diagrams to communicate—arranged in the order of lamb, dove, male bust—then we should recognize that the lines of thought this order most directly evokes are chronological and mystical. The imagery remains in a sense Trinitarian, but it less immediately recalls the eternal truth of the First, Second, and Third Persons than the temporal movement of divine revelation from the Old Testament, through the present time of the spirit in the church, to the eschaton: the stages of past, present, and future set forth in the Bible. In mystical terms, these stages parallel the ascent in knowledge of God from material symbols, epitomized by the lamb, to the faith in the unseen Christ brought with the grace of the Holy Spirit, to the fullness of the vision of God, through the heavenly Christ, awaiting the blessed.[78]

By setting the bust last in the series rather than first or second, Wearmouth-Jarrow tied it to the prophetic visions of the apocalypse, parousia, or eschaton, words I use interchangeably to refer to the apparitions connected with the prophecies of the end of time.[79] It is likely that the scriptorium thought the gold coloring supportive of an eschatological reading of the imagery. Nees has stressed the unusual nature of the gold foil technique used for Amiatinus's three miniatures, especially the male bust. Although all three motifs are similarly executed, the gold paint of the bust's entire figure, including the face, is particularly striking.[80] Whether or not the technique was copied from Grandior, there is little doubt that the English monks would have associated this coloring with the radiance of the theophanies described in the Old and New Testaments: Ezechiel's enthroned one shining like amber (*electrum;* Ez. 1:27); the "stream of fire" from the ancient of days in Daniel's vision (Dan. 7:10); the one like "a refining fire" in Malachias 3:2; the eyes "as a flame of fire," the Lord's face shining like the sun, the appearance "like the jasper and the sardine stone" in John's Apocalypse (Apoc. 1:14, 16; 4:3), discussed in Bede's commentary of 703–709;[81] the brilliance of the Son of man overcoming the sun and moon, according to Matthew 24:27–29; the Son of man's return like lightning according to Luke, to which Bede, about 717, devoted a commentary.[82]

In terms of artistic influences besides Grandior, those monks who had gone to Rome most likely remembered the mosaics of episodes from the Old Testament on the walls of Sta. Maria Maggiore, in which the Lord God appears as a Christ-like, half-length figure alone in the heavens.[83] More importantly, they would have recalled the full-length images of the glorified Son of God in the apses of other Italian churches, such as the sixth-century mosaic in SS. Cosma e Damiano, Rome, where he floats in the sky dressed in gold.[84] Probably a stronger influence on their thinking was Mediterranean imagery of the Pantocrator: the frontal bust or half-length portrait of Christ, bearded, robed, usually with shoulder-length hair, sometimes framed by a clipeus.[85] Early Mediterranean church mosaics and some other works of art combine images of the full- or half-length Son of God with depictions of the lamb, again at times in roundels.[86] Examples of these varied iconographies were probably seen among the panel paintings that Benedict Biscop hung in his churches, such as those with scenes from John's Apocalypse, or among the monastery's other rich holdings of manuscripts and artifacts from Italy.[87] It is important to remember that, besides

Grandior, Amiatinus's designers were familiar with many Mediterranean productions from which they could have sought inspiration in developing the art of their own Bible.

Since the Amiatinus bust lacks a cruciform halo or other attribute specific to Christ, a modern viewer might regard its identity as more ambiguous than that of the Majestas prefacing the volume's New Testament, where the nimbus is marked by a faint cross (f. 796v; Fig. 5). Yet in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, the cruciform halo distinguishing Christ from other holy figures was not an invariable iconography,[88] and in some Mediterranean Pantocrator imagery, as in all three miniatures of the Amiatinus biblical charts, there is no halo except the medallion frame.[89] Simply the location of the Amiatinus bust at the end of the sequence was probably thought sufficient to identify it with the eschaton and Christ's return; for, as already remarked, Bede, like earlier commentators, well understood that the visions of divinity in human form recorded in the Bible, such as John's Apocalypse, were dependent on the Son's humanity that would again be visible at the parousia.[90] Placed last in the series and painted in gold, the image was a reminder of the longed-for revelation through the reappearance of Christ, the Son of man.

If this interpretation of Amiatinus's lamb, dove, and male bust is correct, then other intellectual considerations reflected in Bede's writings can be discerned that Wearmouth-Jarrow might have utilized in explaining its arrangement of the images. One is Scripture's multivalence. Bede's short treatise of uncertain date, *De schematibus et tropis*, offers a variant on the traditional levels of biblical interpretation: the Bible, he asserts, expresses truth both through its literal text and allegorically on three levels that correspond to the different moments of sacred time. Typologically, it can present the Christian reader with figures of past events in the life of Christ and the history of his church; tropologically, it can refer to the present state of the Christian soul; and anagogically, to higher, heavenly things. The example offered in *De schematibus et tropis* of a single scriptural passage that performs all three functions is 3 Kings 6, the description of Solomon's Temple, which allegorically denotes Christ's body and his church, tropologically the souls of the faithful, and anagogically the joys of heaven.[91] In other writings, Bede identifies and makes use of three levels of exegesis, the historical together with the allegorical and moral or the allegorical and anagogic.[92] At Wearmouth-Jarrow, the pictures of the lamb, dove, and male bust may have been thought to conform with any of these interpretations of the exegetical process and for this reason, too, to constitute fitting art for a set of Scripture diagrams. Signifying the chronology of sacred history and the stages in the inner ascent from the material world to the eschatological vision, and placed at the springs of charts listing the books of the Old and New Testaments, the motifs point to the different levels of meaning accessible to the exegete in the texts listed on the same pages.

A second but related focus of Bede's scholarly activity was the calculation of time, the discipline of *computus*. His major treatise on this subject, *De temporum ratione*, written about 725, is an expanded version of *De temporibus*, written in 703.[93] The conclusion of *De temporum ratione* responds to a charge of heresy against the earlier tract, an accusation made at the monastery of Hexham under the bishop and abbot Wilfrid, to which Bede previously reacted in a letter of 708 to Hexham's monk, Plegwine.[94] Together with Bede's commentary on the Apocalypse, also written near the beginning of the eighth century, the letter to Plegwine is revealing of how, in the years when the three Bibles and the first quire were likely under production, Bede's inquiries into chronology and the nature of the eschaton intersected. Against the claim at Hexham that he had "denied that the Lord Savior came in the flesh in the world's sixth age," the letter comments on the connection between the beginning of that age and Jesus' nativity, but toward its conclusion,

and at greater length in *De temporum ratione*, the main subjects become Christ's return, the world's end, and the impossibility of knowing when this will take place.[95] In its analysis of the issue of the eschaton's timing, the letter twice refers to Luke, perhaps an indication of Bede's developing interest in the exegesis of this gospel. The first reference, a paraphrase of Luke 12:35–36, occurs within a warning of the need always to be vigilant, since it is unknown when Christ will reappear. The second is a quotation of Luke 17:24, which describes the return's suddenness "like lightning" (*sicut fulgur coruscans*).[96]

While Bede's thought alone offers a sound platform for interpretation of the Amiatinus motifs, our grasp of the complex network of ideas that could have shaped Wearmouth-Jarrow's perception of these images can be broadened if we turn now to the Easter conflict and, once more, to the monastery's familiarity with developments in the Mediterranean. This is not to say that anyone in the monastery necessarily viewed the three pictures as direct references to precisely defined doctrine on these matters; yet the mental associations the imagery might have stirred or been expected to stir at Wearmouth-Jarrow and in Rome need to be recognized. One such association was possibly with orthodox dogma of Christ. In setting the miniatures in the order of lamb, dove, male bust, the Northumbrian scriptorium was perhaps not only mindful of the mystical ascent and the course of Christian history; it may also have recalled the Chalcedonian definition of faith that had been the cause of such conflict within the previous century.[97] To present the lamb and bust as two symbols of the same Person of the Trinity, with between them the symbol of the unifying power of the Holy Spirit, was perhaps believed to be a way of visually confirming the Son's union of two natures in one Person. The Incarnation foreshadowed in the lamb is joined to the final revelation of divinity made possible by his humanity. If, as is likely, Amiatinus's first quire was produced after Wearmouth-Jarrow had learned of the Quinisext Council of 691–692 and the papal reaction to it, and if the monastery knew of the papacy's opposition to canon 82 (less probable though conceivable), it may have also associated the sequence of motifs with its belief, like Rome's, in the validity of the lamb as a symbol of Christ and the legitimacy of images of both it and the incarnate son.

A geographically more immediate influence on the monastery's view of these images was probably the combined effect of the controversy over the proper method of dating Easter, and other arenas of tension that directly impinged on Wearmouth-Jarrow in the late seventh and early eighth centuries: disagreements revolving around the jurisdiction of the see of York, Wilfrid's claims to the episcopacy, and control of the bishopric of Hexham, to which Wearmouth-Jarrow belonged after the see's formation in 678;[98] criticisms of the monastery's rule and its application;[99] challenges to its autonomy from Benedict's kin and probably other outside powers;[100] and possibly disputes within its two houses, which may have increased in the period just before Amiatinus's departure.[101] The monastery's emphasis on loyalty to the Church of Rome and its efforts to strengthen those ties, for instance, through the papal charters acquired by Benedict and Ceolfrid, ought to be seen against the backdrop of these difficulties. Although the Synod of Whitby in 664 decided in favor of the Dionysiac (Rome's) system of timing the Easter feast, the Celtic method continued to attract adherents into the second decade of the eighth century.[102] By the late seventh century Wearmouth-Jarrow evidently had good relations with Iona, a monastic stronghold of the Celtic Easter, but in this controversy, too, Ceolfrid's abbey supported Rome.[103] A lengthy analysis of the Roman system occurs in a letter sent about 710 from Wearmouth-Jarrow to the Pictish king Nechtan, who had appealed to Ceolfrid for assistance in converting the Picts to Roman practices. The letter is recorded in the *Ecclesiastical History* as sent in Ceolfrid's name, but Bede was probably mainly responsible for the version found there and likely helped with the original com-

position.[104] In order to explain how Easter's date is determined, the letter provides a detailed examination of the laws governing the timing of Passover, beginning with the sacrifice of the lambs, Easter's relation to Passover, and the Christian feast's commemoration of the crucified and resurrected Christ as the new lamb who liberates God's chosen from eternal death.[105]

For Wearmouth-Jarrow, the dating system outlined to Nechtan was a fundamental measure of allegiance to Rome. The Northumbrian scriptorium may not have planned the miniatures of the Amiatinus schemata as an allusion to its position in the Easter controversy, but it is unlikely to have overlooked the thematic parallel between the three images and the doctrinal principles on which it knew Roman practice to be based, or the appropriateness of recalling these in a Bible sent to the pope in 716. As Barbara Beall has remarked, this was the year Iona converted to the Dionysiac system, a victory that conceivably led Wearmouth-Jarrow to decide the time was right to send the pandect, a work magnificently celebrating the monastery's special relationship with the holy see.[106] Indeed, the possibility of connecting the roundel motifs with the final stage in the Easter conflict, evidenced by the letter to Nechtan, with other aspects of Bede's thought in the first decade of the eighth century, and perhaps with the tensions surrounding the Quinisext decrees, lends support to the hypothesis that Amiatinus, or more specifically its first quire, was completed only shortly before the Bible left the abbey.[107]

That Wearmouth-Jarrow wanted to remind Amiatinus's papal recipient of the monastery's orthodoxy and attachment to Rome is also implied by two other characteristics of the three diagram pages: the numerical relationship between the charts and their purported inventors, and the final diagram's decoration and texts. While Cassiodorus attributed Grandior's three charts to three sources—Jerome, the Septuagint, and Augustine—those in Amiatinus are assigned to four: Jerome, Augustine, Hilarus, and Epiphanius. Four theologians are presented as the spokespersons of a narrative of divine revelation occurring in three stages, designated by the images of lamb, dove, and eschatological vision. Even though three theologians' names were probably found written on the diagram pages of Grandior, this was unlikely to have been the sole reason for their inclusion in Amiatinus. Both the numerology of three and four and the authors' identities should be recognized as significant: Jerome, the church father Wearmouth-Jarrow most closely connected with the Latin Bible; Augustine, the preeminent exponent of Christian dogma in the West; Epiphanius of Cyprus and Hilarus of Rome, a Greek together with a papal champion of Christological and Trinitarian orthodoxy.[108] Very possibly, it was hoped that the conjunction of the last two names with the same Scripture diagram, with priority assigned to Hilarus (his name comes first) and a notice that Epiphanius had been translated into Latin, would remind viewers that the East had once been in doctrinal harmony with Rome. But more notably, Wearmouth-Jarrow's reverence for the apostolic see is communicated by the page's decoration. The only pope named in the first quire except St. Peter, in the dedication poem,[109] is identified with the most beautifully ornamented diagram, the only one with lists framed in gold crosses and an anthropomorphic representation of divinity: Christ's humanity mediating knowledge of God to mortals, since he is both God and man, the essence of the orthodox faith that Hilarus and the papacy in Ceolfrid's own day defended.

Although the foregoing analysis helps clarify the intellectual stance from which Wearmouth-Jarrow designed Amiatinus's Scripture diagrams, it is clearly improbable that such wide-ranging concerns would have influenced only three pages of this manuscript. The monastery's desire to express its admiration for Rome has frequently been cited to explain Amiatinus's carefully prepared edition of Jerome's Vulgate, its imitation of sixth-century Italian uncial, and the classicizing features of

its art;[110] but the biblical diagrams offer a conceptual key to other ways in which this admiration was expressed, and to other intellectual factors at work as the scriptorium prepared the pandect and its sister volumes. Amiatinus conveyed Wearmouth-Jarrow's fidelity to the holy see by linking that loyalty decisively to the monks' knowledge of Scripture and the orthodox faith, and to their conviction that the Bible was the absolute foundation of orthodoxy. At the core of the knowledge gained from Scripture, Amiatinus demonstrated, was the doctrine of the unity of God, his recorded word, and the Church of Rome to which Wearmouth-Jarrow belonged.

Since I have elsewhere discussed in detail some artistic elements of Amiatinus that reveal these lines of thought,[111] I will conclude simply by pointing out briefly how they are reflected in a few characteristics besides the biblical diagrams. One striking aspect of this manuscript is the remarkable number of ways it announces the English scriptorium's belief in biblical, ecclesiastical, and doctrinal unity.[112] As should already be evident, the oneness of Scripture and God is a clear message of the three biblical diagrams, where lists of every book in the Bible descend from symbols of the divinity revealed through Christ, and the regularity of geometric forms underscores the harmony of the charts' contents.[113] More basically, the doctrine of Scripture's unity is proclaimed in the fact that Amiatinus and the other two Bibles were pandects, the entirety of Scripture written in a single volume, a type of book rare in the early medieval West.[114] Notice should be taken, too, of how most of the pages of the first quire, in addition to the biblical charts, evoke this idea: the Ezra miniature, in which the prophet sits before an armarium that contains multiple volumes, copying Scripture into a single book;[115] the prologue's announcement of the harmony among the different schemes for organizing Scripture attributed to Jerome, Augustine, and the Septuagint; the verso of the same page listing all the books in the Amiatinus pandect;[116] the Tabernacle miniature, with its allusions to the Tabernacle's prefiguration of the Temple, the church, and the heavenly sanctuary, and thus to the union of the Old with the New Testament;[117] and the Pentateuch diagram at the end of the first quire, where inscriptions describing the first five books of the Old Testament are joined together within a single cross-frame (f. 6/VIIv).[118] Preceding Amiatinus's New Testament, the canon tables (ff. 798r–801r) draw attention to the harmony of the Four Gospels, and in the Majestas illumination (f. 796v; Fig. 5), the Four Evangelists together present their books to the one enthroned Christ.

Other features of Amiatinus and its sister pandects more directly advertise the unity of the Church of Rome and Wearmouth-Jarrow with the holy see. Amiatinus's dedication poem directs the book on Ceolfrid's behalf to the "body of St. Peter."[119] The Tabernacle miniature, as already noted, depicts the edifice as a type of the church. The Ezra miniature, as I have more fully argued in my recent article, offered Gregory II, the pope who received Amiatinus, a mirror of papal virtue centered on biblical scholarship.[120] The production of three pandects, one for St. Peter's in Rome, the other two for Wearmouth-Jarrow's churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, I think, was partly undertaken to symbolize the union of the two Northumbrian houses with one another and both with the apostolic city, and to identify that unity with the Trinity.

Finally, Ceolfrid's timing of his departure with Amiatinus on the Thursday before Pentecost is likely significant.[121] By choosing this day (a day associated with penitence), he opened the way for Hwaetbert to be elected on the Sunday of Pentecost, the feast celebrating Christ's sending of the Holy Spirit to his apostles and the establishment of his church.[122] For the monks, both the ceremony that marked Ceolfrid's leave-taking and that of his successor's election must have further reinforced their belief in the Christian unity of the two houses over which Hwaetbert would now be sole abbot, and, again, the spiritual ties of both to Rome.[123] Like the Scripture diagrams of Ami-

atinus's first quire, these features of the same Bible, its sister pandects, and the circumstances under which Amiatinus was sent to the holy see were carefully conceived to attest Wearmouth-Jarrow's full membership in the one Church of Rome, by virtue of its adherence to Scripture and Christian orthodoxy.

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Notes

1. J. Williams, "Introduction," in *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible*, ed. J. Williams (University Park, Pa., 1999), 1–8, at 5.

2. Williams, "Introduction" (as in note 1), 5.

3. A complete reproduction of the Codex Amiatinus with scholarly apparatus is now 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). On the dating, see R. Marsden, *The Text of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 15 (Cambridge, 1995), 98–106, esp. 102, 106; D. Wright, "Some Notes on English Uncial," *Traditio* 17 (1961), 441–56 with plates at 442. A list of most of the bibliography on Amiatinus of the 1990s is found in *Bibliografia della Bibbia Amiatina (1990–1999)*, ed. V. Longo et al. (Rome, 2000). Omissions include Marsden's book; P. Meyvaert, "Bede, Cassiodorus, and the Codex Amiatinus," *Speculum* 71 (1996), 827–83; B. A. Beall, "The Illuminated Pages of the Codex Amiatinus: Issues of Form, Function, and Production" (Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1997); L. Nees, "Problems of Form and Function in Early Medieval Illustrated Bibles from Northwest Europe," in *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible* (as in note 1), 121–77, at 148–74.

4. London, B.L., Add. Ms. 37777 (one folio, "Greenwell leaf"), Add. Ms. 45025 (ten folios and fragments of eleventh, "Middletown leaves"), Loan Ms. 81 (one folio, "Bankes leaf"). See Beall, "Illuminated Pages" (as in note 3), 32–34, 225–27; Marsden, *Text* (as in note 3), 90–98; M. B. Parkes, "The Scriptorium of Wearmouth-Jarrow," Jarrow Lecture 1982, reprinted in *Bede and His World: The Jarrow Lectures*, 2 vols., preface by M. Lapidge (Aldershot, 1994), vol. 2, 555–86, at 557.

5. Vita Ceolfridi 20–21, 34–40, in *Venerabilis Baedae Historiam Ecclesiasticam Gentis Anglorum, Historiam Abbatum, Epistolam ad Ecgberctum, una cum Historia Abbatum Auctore Anonymo*, 2 vols., ed. C. Plummer (Oxford, 1896), vol. 1, 388–404, at 394–95, 401–4 (henceforth cited as *VC*, ed. Plummer); cf. Bede, *Historia abbatum* 15–16, 21–23, in *Venerabilis Baedae*, vol. 1, 364–404, at 379–81, 385–87 (henceforth cited as *HA*, ed. Plummer). I discuss the evidence that the codex reached its Roman destination in "Ceolfrid's Gift to St. Peter: The First Quire of the Codex Amiatinus and the Evidence of Its Roman Destination," *Early Medieval Europe* 12 (2003), 129–57, esp. 130–31. An additional, circumstantial piece of evidence supporting this hypothesis is the later recorded belief at Monte Amiata, which came to own the pandect, that Pope Gregory I had himself written the codex. This papal association, and moreover association with a pope Gregory, may well reflect a distorted memory that the book had come from Rome, where it had first been received by Pope Gregory II. The connection drawn at Monte Amiata between the Codex Amiatinus and Pope Gregory I is noted by Gorman (M. Gorman, "The Codex Amiatinus: A Guide to the Legends and Bibliography," *StMed* 44 [2003], 863–910, at 864).

For further discussion and evidence that Amiatinus reached Rome from Wearmouth-Jarrow, see Paul Meyvaert, "The Date of Bede's *In Ezram* and His Image of Ezra in Codex Amiatinus," *Speculum* 80 (2005), in press. I am very grateful to Dr. Meyvaert for providing me with a copy prior to publication. The article was completed too late for me to address its theories fully here. I should note, however, that I am not persuaded by the order of leaves that Meyvaert proposes for Amiatinus's first quire or by his assertion that the roundel motifs of the three biblical diagrams were invented at Wearmouth-Jarrow rather than derived from similar imagery in Grandior. I stand by the arguments presented in this essay and in my other work on the codex, and I return to these issues in the book I am currently writing on Amiatinus.

6. Gorman, "The Codex Amiatinus" (as in note 5),

863–64, 874–75; S. Magrini (with preface by F. Arduini), "'Per difetto del legature . . . ': Storia della relegature della Bibbia Amiatina in Laurenziana," *Quinio: International Journal on the History and Conservation of the Book* 3 (2001), 137–67, at 148–50. The date of the pandect's arrival at San Salvatore is unknown. The monastery's existence is documented from 762. The codex was still in Rome when Alcuin visited the last time in 781; see Meyvaert, "The Date of Bede's *In Ezram*" (as in note 5), at n. 128. At San Salvatore Amiatinus's dedication verses were altered to attribute the book to "Peter of the Lombards"; Peter was abbot ca. 900. When this emendation happened is unclear. The original poem, which directed the book to the "deservedly venerable body of the outstanding Peter" (*corpus ad eximii merito uenerabile Petri*), the altered version from Monte Amiata, and the other texts of Amiatinus's first quire are transcribed in *Biblia Sacra iuxta Latinam Vulgatam Versionem*, vol. 1, ed. H. Quentin (Rome, 1926), xxi–xxv, xxii–xxiii for the dedication verses. At the Laurenziana the manuscript was first studied by A. M. Bandini; see his *Bibliotheca Leopoldina Laurentiana seu Catalogus Manuscriptorum Qui Iussu Petri Leopoldi*, vol. 1 (Florence, 1791), 701–32.

7. *HA* 15, ed. Plummer, 379: "ita ut tres pandectes nouae translationis, ad unum uetustae translationis quem de Roma adtulerat, ipse super adiungeret."

8. In this article I indicate the pages in the first quire according to their eighteenth-century Arabic and nineteenth-century Roman numerations, which represent two different arrangements of the gathering. The quire has recently been rebound; the new arrangement, too, probably does not represent the original order: see Magrini, "Per difetto della legature" (as in note 6), 140–67; Chazelle, "Ceolfrid's Gift to St. Peter" (as in note 5), 133–35; and note 46 below.

9. P. Corssen, "Die Bibeln des Cassiodorus und der Codex Amiatinus," *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie* 9 (1883), 619–33, at 619–28; Marsden, *Text* (as in note 3), 116–17; *Cassiodori senatoris institutiones* 1.14.3, ed. R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1937, repr. 1961), 40, lines 15–16 (henceforth cited as *Institutiones*, ed. Mynors).

10. F. J. A. Hort, letter to *The Academy*, no. 773 (26 February 1887), 148–49. On Grandior's text, see Marsden, *Text* (as in note 3), 117, 131, cf. 6–7; J. H. Halporn, "Pandectes, Pandecta, and the Cassiodorian Commentary on the Psalms," *RBén* 90 (1980), 290–300, at 297–98.

11. K. Corsano, "The First Quire of the Codex Amiatinus and the *Institutiones* of Cassiodorus," *Scriptorium* 41 (1987), 3–34, at 22–30.

12. Meyvaert, "Bede, Cassiodorus" (as in note 3), 827–31; Gorman, "The Codex Amiatinus" (as in note 5), 866–67, 869–72.

13. Meyvaert, "Bede, Cassiodorus" (as in note 3), 866–68.

14. The comments of Bede and Cassiodorus make it evident that Grandior had pictures of both the Tabernacle and the Temple; for analysis of their language, see Halporn, "Pandectes" (as in note 10), 299; Meyvaert, "Bede, Cassiodorus" (as in note 3), 833–34, 846 n. 91, discussing Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalmorum* 14 (ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 97 [Turnhout, 1958], 133 lines 43–45); Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalmorum* 86 (ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 98 [Turnhout, 1958], 189–90 lines 40–44); Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, 1.5.2, ed. Mynors, p. 23; Bede, *In Regum librum XXX quaestiones* (ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 119 [Turnhout, 1955], 312 lines 52–59); Bede, *De Tabernaculo* 2 (ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 119A [Turnhout, 1969], 81–82 lines 1563–70); Bede, *De Templo* 2 (CCSL 119A, 192–93 lines 28–30, 48–52). I discuss the Amiatinus image of the Tabernacle and its relation to Grandior's picture in a forthcoming article, "A Sense of Place: Wearmouth-Jarrow, Rome, and the Tabernacle Miniature of the Codex Amiatinus," in *The Transmission of the Bible in Word, Image and Song*, ed. M. Budny and P. G. Remley (volume in preparation).

15. Cf. Marsden, *Text* (as in note 3), 117–23.

16. Marsden, *Text* (as in note 3), 114–15, 131–32.

17. Marsden, *Text* (as in note 3), 111–13; Parkes, *Scriptorium of Wearmouth-Jarrow* (as in note 4), 3. See D. H. Wright, "Review of Lowe, *English Uncial*," *Speculum* 36 (1961), 493–96; E. A. Lowe, *English Uncial* (Oxford, 1960), 1, 8–9. The significance of this imitation of sixth-century Italian forms is discussed in I. Wood, *The Most Holy Abbot Ceolfrid*, Jarrow Lecture 1995 (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1995), 13–14.

18. *Institutiones*, 1.14, ed. Mynors, pp. 39–41.

19. The dominance of this scholarly view and the difficulties it poses are nicely outlined in Nees, "Problems of Form and Function" (as in note 3), 148–56; also see Beall, "Illuminated Pages" (as in note 3), 4–9.

20. See notes 9 and 14 above.

21. Letter to *The Academy*, no. 782 (April 1887), 309–10.

22. R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, *The Art of the Codex Amiatinus*, Jarrow Lecture 1967, reprinted in *Bede and His World* (as in note 4), vol. 1, 185–234; Wright, "Some Notes" (as in note 3), 442–53, at 443. For an overview of the debate and its aftermath, see Beall, "Illuminated Pages" (as in note 3), 46–52. A recent exploration of the art of the Codex Amiatinus that sees it as simultaneously a window on Vivarium and Wearmouth-Jarrow is presented by J. O'Reilly, "The Library of Scripture: Views from Vivarium and Wearmouth-Jarrow," in *New Offerings, Ancient Treasures: Studies in Medieval Art for George Henderson*, ed. P. Binski and W. Noel (Stroud, 2000), 3–39. I disagree with O'Reilly that Amiatinus sheds significant light on Cassiodorus's monastery, but her analysis of the art of the Northumbrian manuscript is remarkably insightful.

23. Nees, "Problems of Form and Function" (as in note 3), 156–60, 164–65; Meyvaert, "Bede, Cassiodorus" (as in note 3), passim; J. O'Reilly, "Introduction," in *Bede: On the Temple*, trans. S. Connolly, Translated Texts for Historians 21 (Liverpool, 1995), lii–lv. Cf. Corsano, "First Quire" (as in note 11), esp. 8–34. Despite my disagreement with Corsano concerning the role of Grandior in the preparation of Amiatinus, her study remains very important for its analysis of the differences between the first quire of Amiatinus and what is known about the pandect of Cassiodorus.

24. Nees is the first scholar to propose this, so far as I am aware, in "Problems of Form and Function" (as in note 3), see esp. 167–72.

25. The first quire was made separately from the rest of the pandect. While the sister pandects may have had preliminary material, those pages are unlikely to have been

identical with the folios in Amiatinus's first quire, one reason being that the latter were designed for a papal audience. I discuss the evidence of the intention to send a Bible with this gathering to Rome in "Ceolfrid's Gift to St. Peter" (as in note 5), esp. 146–57. Other reasons to think the art of the three Bibles differed are indicated in Marsden, *Text* (as in note 3), 102–3, citing G. D. S. Henderson, *Losses and Lacunae in Early Insular Art*, University of York Medieval Monograph Series 3 (York, 1982), 12.

26. See *Institutiones*, ed. Mynors, xxiii; E. Teviotdale (discussing the liberal arts diagrams of the *Institutiones*), "The Filiation of the Music Illustrations in a Boethius in Milan and in the Piacenza '*Codice magno*'," *Imago Musicae* 5 (1988), ed. T. Seebass with the assistance of T. Russel, 7–22, at 18. My thanks to Dr. Teviotdale for sending me a copy of her article.

27. Jerome diagram (f. 5/VIr): "Sic fiunt ueteris nouique testamenti secundum hieronymum libri quadraginta nouem quibus adde dominum christum de quo et per quem ista conscripta sunt fit quinquagenarius numerus qui ad instar iobelei anni debita remittit et paenitentium peccata dissoluit."

Augustine diagram (f. 8r): "Sic fiunt ueteris noui que testamenti sicut pater augustinus in libris de doctrina christiana complexus est simul libri numero LXXI[I (erased?)] quibus adde unitatem diuinam per quam ista completa sunt. Fit totius librae competens et gloriosa perfectio ipsa est enim rerum conditrix et uitalis omnium plenitudo uirtutum."

The inscription of the Hilarus/Epiphanius diagram (f. 6/VIIr) is given below.

28. Meyvaert, "Bede, Cassiodorus" (as in note 3), 842–44, esp. 843, quoting from Hilarus's biography, *Liber pontificalis* 48, MGH, *GestPontRom* 1.1, 107–11, at 107 (henceforth cited as *LP*). The lives of the early popes are available in English translation based on the editions of Mommsen and Duchesne and the manuscript evidence, in *The Book of Pontiffs (Liber Pontificalis)*, trans. R. Davis, Translated Texts for Historians, Latin Series 5, 2nd rev. ed. (Liverpool, 2000); for Hilarus, see 40–42. Hilarus is sometimes referred to in English as Hillary, but the former appelation is more accurate; my thanks to Peter Brown for correcting me on this point. Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis in Cyprus (ca. 367–403), sided with Jerome in a controversy over Origen, and in 374–375 wrote a lengthy refutation of heresy, the *Panarion*: see *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, vol. 4 (Paris, 1960), s.v. "Epiphane (saint)," cols. 854–61, on the writings of Epiphanius, cols. 856–57 (R. Tandonnet); L. Nees, *The Gundohinus Gospels* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), 15–16. On Epiphanius in Bede's martyrology, P. Meyvaert, "Bede the Scholar," in *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede*, ed. G. Bonner (London, 1976), 40–69, at 60.

29. Carol Farr rightly stresses the formal harmony of the Amiatinus schemata, though she is mistaken about their order, in "The Shape of Learning at Wearmouth-Jarrow: The Diagram Pages in the Codex Amiatinus," in *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. J. Hawkes and S. Mills (Stroud, 1999), 336–44.

30. *Institutiones*, 1.12–14, ed. Mynors, pp. 36–41. See Marsden, *Text* (as in note 3), 119.

31. Meyvaert, "Bede, Cassiodorus" (as in note 3), 839–41. Compare the texts in note 27 above with the following passages from the *Institutiones* (boldface mine): "unde factum est ut omnes libros veteris Testamenti diligenti cura in Latinum sermonem de Hebreo fonte transfunderet. . . . huic etiam adiecti sunt novi Testamenti libri viginti septem; qui colliguntur simul quadraginta novem. **cui numero adde omnipotentem et indivisibilem Trinitatem**, per quam haec facta et propter quam ista praedicta sunt, et quinquagenarius numerus indubitanter efficitur, quia ad instar iubelei [iobelei] anni magna pietate beneficii debita relaxat et pure paenitentium peccata dissolvit" (Jerome's arrangement; *Institutiones*, 1.12.2, ed. Mynors, p. 37); "Beatus igitur Augustinus secundum praefatos novem codices, quos sancta meditatur Ecclesia, secundo libro de Doctrina Christiana Scripturas divinas LXXI librorum calculo comprehendit; **quibus cum sanctae Trinitatis addideris unitatem**, fit totius librae competens et gloriosa perfectio" (Augustine's arrangement; *Institutiones*, 1.13.2, ed. Mynors, p. 39).

32. "Sic fiunt ueteris nouique testamenti sicut diuidit sanctus hilarus romanae urbis antistes et epiphanius cyprius quem latino fecimus sermone transferri libri. LXX. In illo palmarum numero fortasse praesagati quas in mansione helim inuenit populus hebreorum." The allusion to Ex. 15:27 can be compared to *Institutiones* 1.14.2, p. 40; the reference to the translation of Epiphanius into Latin parallels *Institutiones*, 1.5.4, ed. Mynors, p. 24. See also *Institutiones* 1.14.3, ed. Mynors, p. 40; Meyvaert "Bede, Cassiodorus" (as in note 3), 841–44.

33. Wood, *Abbot Ceolfrid* (as in note 17), 13.

34. *Institutiones*, ed. Mynors, x–xxxix. I am very grateful to Dr. Teviotdale for generously loaning me her microfilms; see her article, "Filiation of the Music Illustrations" (as in note 26); F. Troncarelli, "Alpha e acciuga: Immagini simboliche nei codici di Cassiodoro," *Quaderni medievali* 41 (1996), 6–26.

35. *Institutiones*, ed. Mynors, x. The four other manuscripts I have studied are Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Ms. 660; St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 855; London, B.L., Ms. Harley 2637; Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Ms. Augiensis CCXLI, ff. 1–71. I have not consulted Berlin, Phillipps 1737, ff. 38–43. See M. Gorman, "The Diagrams in the Oldest Manuscripts of Cassiodorus' Institutiones," *RBén* 110 (2000), 27–41; F. Troncarelli, *Vivarium: I libri, il destino* (Turnhout, 1998), esp. 29-33; Corsano, "First Quire" (as in note 11), 23–30, pls. 2–4. Mynors (*Institutiones*, ed. Mynors) discusses the *Institutiones* 2 decoration, without reproductions, at xxii–xxiv. My thanks to Roger Reynolds for his advice (oral communication, March 2002) concerning the Bamberg manuscript.

36. As Corsano and Nees have noted in relation to the Bamberg manuscript: Corsano, "First Quire" (as in note 11), 28–29; Nees, "Problems of Form and Function" (as in note 3), 163–64.

37. The most carefully executed of the five manuscripts is Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Ms. 660, but even here the diagrams lack the geometry of those in Amiatinus. See Teviotdale, "Filiation of the Music Illustrations" (as in note 26), 20–21.

38. Corsano, "First Quire" (as in note 11), 28; see *Institutiones*, 1.3.1, ed. Mynors, p. 18. This is the format of all the Scripture diagrams of the Bamberg codex except the one set of four lists in the Augustine scheme, which is

grouped within the four arms of a cross-shaped frame (Corsano, "First Quire," 28–29).

39. See Nees, "Problems of Form and Function" (as in note 3), 164.

40. The list of Amiatinus's contents with the poem honoring Jerome and the dedication page with its poem directing Amiatinus to Rome were clearly not modeled on Grandior. See Meyvaert, "Bede, Cassiodorus" (as in note 3), 868–70.

41. Noted by Farr, "The Shape of Learning" (as in note 29), 338–39 and fig. 27.5. On the Utrecht Gospel, also see K. van der Horst, "The Utrecht Psalter: Picturing the Psalms of David," in *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art: Picturing the Psalms of David*, ed. K. van der Horst et al. ('t Goy, The Netherlands, 1996), 23–84, at 30–32, fig. 7.

42. Nees, "Problems of Form and Function" (as in note 3), 164–65. The roundels mirror the liking for circular ornament also evident in other parts of Amiatinus, such as its Pentateuch diagram and Majestas illumination, ff. 6/VIIr, 796v.

43. The fulcrum of the Scripture diagram in Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Ms. 660 (f. 92r, for Jerome), is also marked by abstract ornament.

44. The motifs occur at Bamberg Patr. 61, ff. 41v, 44r, 45r, vase-motif at 43v; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Ms. 660, ff. 114r, 117v, 118r, vase at f. 116v; St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 855, ff. 220r, 234r, 236r, vase at f. 230r; and London, B.L., Ms. Harley 2637, ff. 12r, 17r, 17v, vase at f. 15v. In the Bamberg codex, the bust is labeled *Domnus Donatus eximius grammaticus* (f. 41v), and the vase is labeled *calix domni Donati gramatici* (f. 43v). See Corsano, "First Quire" (as in note 11), 29–30. In Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Ms. Augiensis CCXLI, the male bust occurs at f. 10r, the vase at f. 13r, and the lamb at f. 14r, but the bird is replaced by an abstract ornament at f. 15r. In the Karlsruhe codex (f. 9r); Bamberg Patr. 61, f. 40v; London, B.L., Ms. Harley 2637, f. 11r; and St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 855, f. 216r, the sequence is preceded by a diagram that springs from a cross in a roundel, for the *partes orationis rethoricae* (*Institutiones*, 2.2.9, ed. Mynors, p. 103). The copyists of St. Gall 855 (f. 220r) and Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Ms. 660 (f. 114r), seem to have interpreted the sequence as Trinitarian; both give the male figure a halo, and in the St. Gall codex this is inscribed with a cross.

45. The latter order may be implied in *Institutiones*, 1.14.2, ed. Mynors, p. 40 line 6, where Cassiodorus states that his Septuagint diagram was placed in Grandior *inter alias*, the reference being to the three diagrams. If the same motifs accompanied the same diagrams as in Amiatinus, this implies that the order was lamb, bust, dove.

46. "Ceolfrid's Gift to St. Peter" (as in note 5), passim. I am enormously grateful to Mildred Budny for her wise counsel as I wrestled with the quire's codicological problems. My solution to its order has only been possible because of the insights she generously provided.

47. See note 25 above.

48. I discuss this issue in an article in preparation: "Cassiodorus, the Three Chapters, and the Trinitarian Imagery of the Codex Grandior," in *The Crisis of the Oikoumene: The Three Chapters and the Failed Quest for Unity in the Sixth-Century Mediterranean*, ed. C. Chazelle and C. Cubitt (Turnhout, forthcoming, 2006).

49. See notes 27 and 31 above. On the rarity of images of the Trinity in antique and early medieval art, see Nees, "Problems of Form and Function" (as in note 3), 165–66. I may overstate this distinction, as Herbert Kessler has recently suggested. My main point is to stress the importance of Christ as the human face of God. Only through Christ does one approach the Father, an experience only truly possible at his return. See Herbert L. Kessler, "Images of Christ and Communications with God," in *Communicare e significare nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane di Studio della Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 52 (Spoleto, 2005), 1099–36, at 1119–20.

50. For example, the visits of Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrid to Rome. For visits of Mediterranean ecclesiastics to England, see Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, 1.23–25, 4.1–2, 4.17(15)–18(16), ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969; henceforth cited as *HE*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors), 68–76 (Augustine's mission and arrival), 328–36 (Theodore and Hadrian), 384–90 (John). Cf. H. Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd ed. (University Park, Pa., 1991), esp. 61–62, 69–77, 120–22, 124–28.

51. Adomnán, *De locis sanctis*, 3.4–5, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 3, ed. D. Meehan (Dublin, 1958), 110–18. On the significance of these stories, J.-M. Sansterre, "Entre deux mondes? La Vénération des images à Rome et en Italie d'après les textes des VIe–XIe siècles," in *Roma fra Oriente e Occidente*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 49, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 2002), vol. 2, 993–1050. My thanks to Professor Sansterre for providing me with a copy of his article. Bede's own *De locis sanctis*, written 702–703, was deeply influenced by Adomnán's work (W. T. Foley, "Introduction: On the Holy Places," in *Bede: A Biblical Miscellany*, trans. W. T. Foley and A. G. Holder, Translated Texts for Historians 28 [Liverpool, 1999], 1–2).

52. "At illi non daemonica sed diuina uirtute praediti ueniebant, crucem pro uexillo ferentes argenteam, et imaginem Domini Saluatoris in tabula depictam, laetaniasque canentes pro sua simul et eorum, propter quos et ad quos uenerant, salute aeterna Domino supplicabant" (*HE* 1.25, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, 74).

53. *HA* 6, ed. Plummer, 369.

54. See previous note; Bede, *Homilia* 1.13 (*S. Benedicti Biscopi*, Matthew 19.27–29) (ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 122 [Turnhout, 1955], 88–94, at 93 lines 180–85); Bede, *De Templo* 2 (CCSL 119A, 212–13). See P. Meyvaert, "Bede and the Church Paintings at Wearmouth-Jarrow," *Anglo-Saxon England* 8 (1979), 63–77, at 68–69. On the probable dating of the homilies to 730–735 (*De Templo* dates to ca. 729–731), see Hurst, *Praefatio*, CCSL 122, vii. The relative dates of *De Tabernaculo*, *De Templo*, and Bede's exegetical treatise *In Ezram et Neemiam* have recently been discussed by Scott DeGregorio, "Bede's *In Ezram et Neemiam* and the Reform of the Northumbrian Church," *Speculum* 79 (2004), 1–25, at 22–23. On the teachings of the letters of Gregory I to Serenus, see my article, "Pictures, Books, and the Illiterate: Pope Gregory I's Letters to Serenus of Marseilles," *Word & Image* 6 (1990), 138–53.

55. See C. Thomas, *Bede, Archaeology, and the Cult of Relics*, Jarrow Lecture 1973, reprinted in *Bede and His World* (as in note 4), vol. 1, 349–68, esp. 351–55.

56. *HA* 6, ed. Plummer, 369; cf. *VC* 9, ed. Plummer, 391:

"historiarum canonicarum picturam merito ueneran-dam."

57. I discuss this more fully in a forthcoming article, "A Sense of Place" (as in note 14).

58. Bede, *Hom.* 1.2 (*In Adventu*, John 1:15–18; CCSL 122, 7–13, esp. 11–13); *Hom.* 1.23 (*In Quadragesima*, John 5:1–18; CCSL 122, 161–69, esp. 167–69); *Hom.* 1.24 (CCSL 122, 170–77, esp. 175–77); *Hom.* 2.17 (*Dominica Pentecostes*, John 14:15–21; CCSL 122, 301–10, esp. 304–10).

59. Compare the discussions of heavenly visions and the eschaton in Jerome, *In Esaiam* 3.3, in *Commentaires de Jerome sur le prophète Isaie, Livres I–IV*, ed. R. Gryson and P.-A. Deproost, Vetus Latina: Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel 23 (Freiburg, 1993), 309–11; Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 20.30; Gregory, *Hom.* 8.20–32, *Homélies sur Ézéchiel*, vol. 1, *SC* 327, ed. C. Morel (Paris, 1986), 302–26; Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, 2, *Conclusio*, ed. Mynors, pp. 158–63. On Bede's emphasis on Christ as the visible God, see B. C. Raw, *Trinity and Incarnation in Anglo-Saxon Art and Thought* (Cambridge, 1997), 66–67.

60. Bede, *Hom.* 1.2 (CCSL 122, 12); *Hom.* 2.17 (CCSL 122, 304–5). See Raw, *Trinity and Incarnation* (as in note 59), 184.

61. "Credamus eum ueraciter se patri aequalem potestae gloria aeternitate et regno praedicasse et bene agendo satagamus ad unam utriusque uisionem peruenire de qua roganti Philippo ac dicenti, 'domine ostende nobis patrem, et sufficit nobis,' respondit ipse dominus dicens, 'qui me uidet uidet et patrem'" (Bede, *Hom.* 1.23; CCSL 122, 169). Cf. Bede, *Expositio Apocalypseos* 37 (ed. R. Gryson, CCSL 121A [Turnhout, 2001], 565–67). English translations of Vulgate quotations are taken from the Douay-Rheims version.

62. Bede, *Hom.* 1.2 (CCSL 122, 11–12).

63. Bede, *Hom.* 1.24 (CCSL 122, 171–72, 175–77). Cf. *Hom.* 1.9 (*Sancti Iohannis Evangelistae*, John 21:19–24; CCSL 122, 60–67, at 63–65); Raw, *Trinity and Incarnation* (as in note 59), 14–15.

64. Bede, *Expositio Apoc.* (CCSL 121A, 153–54). Also on this treatise, see T. W. Mackay, "Augustine and Gregory the Great in Bede's Commentary on the Apocalypse," in *Northumbria's Golden Age* (as in note 29), 396–405; E. A. Matter, "The Apocalypse in Early Medieval Exegesis," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. R. K. Emmerson and B. McGinn (Ithaca, 1992), 38–50, esp. 47; G. Bonner, *Saint Bede in the Tradition of Western Apocalypse Commentary*, Jarrow Lecture 1966, reprinted in *Bede and His World* (as in note 4), vol. 1, 155–83.

65. Bede, *Expositio Apoc.*, *Praefatio*, CCSL 121A, 221 lines 1–2: "Apocalypsis sancti Iohannis, in qua bella et incendia intestina ecclesiae suae deus uerbis figurisque reuelare dignatus est."

66. See Bede, *Expositio Apoc.*, *Praefatio*, CCSL 121A, 221–33. Cf. Bede, *De temporum ratione liber 70–71* (ed. C. W. Jones, CCSL 123B [Turnhout, 1977], 539–44).

67. The dilemma that early medieval artists faced trying to reconcile corporeal vision with the incorporeal nature of divinity and the spiritual vision through which it was "beheld" is examined with great subtlety in the recent collection of essays by H. L. Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art* (Philadelphia, 2000); see esp. chap. 1, "The Icon in the Narrative," 1–52.

68. See J. Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom* (Princeton, 1987), 107–8, 119–27, 208–9, 250–59, 275–80; J. F. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century: The Transformation of a Culture*, rev. ed. (Cambridge, 1997), 48–49, 56–59, 67–68, 286–323; Mayr-Harting, *Coming of Christianity* (as in note 50), 120–28.

69. Herrin, *Formation* (as in note 68), 217–19, 250–59; Haldon, *Byzantium* (as in note 68), 56–59, 285, 306–7, 309–12; see the lives of Martin and Eugenius, in *LP* 76–77, pp. 181–85; *Book of Pontiffs* (as in note 28), 70–73. On Benedict's first visit to Rome, *HA* 2, ed. Plummer, 365; É. Ó Carragáin, *The City of Rome and the World of Bede*, Jarrow Lecture 1994, 15–17; E. Fletcher, *Benedict Biscop*, Jarrow Lecture 1981, in *Bede and His World* (as in note 4), vol. 2, 539–54, at 542, on the uncertain length of the stay.

70. Bede, *HE* 4.17(15)–18(16), ed. Colgrave and Mynors, 384–90, quoting portions of the synodal book at 384–86. See, too, *HA* 6, ed. Plummer, 368–70; *VC* 9–10, ed. Plummer, 391; Bede, *Hom.* 1.13 (CCSL 122, 93 lines 178–80).

71. Bede, *HE* 5.19, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, 522–26; *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus: Text, Translation, and Notes*, ed. and trans. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1927), chaps. 24, 29–32, pp. 48–50, 56–66; Herrin, *Formation* (as in note 68), 276–77.

72. Herrin, *Formation* (as in note 68), 277–80, noting (280) that only the letters to Spain survive; Haldon, *Byzantium* (as in note 68), 313–16.

73. On Benedict's final trip, *HA* 9, ed. Plummer, 373; *VC* 12–13, ed. Plummer, 392. On Hwaetbert's stay in Rome, *HA* 18, ed. Plummer, 383. On the charter Ceolfrid obtained, *HA* 15, ed. Plummer, 380; *VC* 20, ed. Plummer, 395. Benedict earlier received a charter from Pope Agatho, during his visit with Ceolfrid ca. 677: *HA* 6, ed. Plummer, 369; *VC* 20, ed. Plummer, 395.

74. *Life of Bishop Wilfrid* (as in note 71), 50–55, pp. 102–20; D. H. Farmer, "Saint Wilfrid," in *Saint Wilfrid at Hexham*, ed. D. P. Kirby (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1974), 35–59, at 52–54.

75. Conciliar decrees in Greek, Latin, and English in *The Council in Trullo Revisited*, ed. G. Nedungatt and M. Featherstone (Rome, 1995), 45–186; cf. the life of Sergius in *LP* 86, pp. 210–16, esp. 211–13; *Book of Pontiffs* (as in note 28), 82–87, esp. 84–85. See Haldon, *Byzantium* (as in note 68), 73–74, 317–18, 332–37; Herrin, *Formation* (as in note 68), 284–88; T. F. X. Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter: The Birth of the Papal State, 680–825* (Philadelphia, 1984), 16–18; H. Ohme, *Das Concilium Quinisextum und seine Bischofsliste: Studien zum Konstantinopeler Konzil von 692* (Berlin, 1990), 55–61, 373–86.

76. The decree concerning the *Agnus Dei* is noted in *LP* 86, p. 215; *Book of Pontiffs* (as in note 28), 86–87. See Noble, *Republic of St. Peter* (as in note 75), 17; Nees, "Problems of Form and Function" (as in note 3), 169, n. 142. On the triumphal arch of SS. Cosma e Damiano, dating its mosaic after 692, and linking it to the decoration of St. Peter's, see V. Tiberia, *Il mosaico restaurato: l'arco della basilica dei Santi Cosma e Damiano* (Rome, 1998), 11–22, esp. 19. Herbert L. Kessler ("Real Absence: Early Medieval Art and the Metamorphosis of Vision," in *Morfologie sociali e culturali in Europa fra Tarda Antichità e Alto Medioevo, 3–9 aprile 1997*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 45 [Spoleto, 1998], 1157–1211, reprinted in Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing* [as in note 67], 108–10 and n. 16) implies doubt that the lamb

on the facade of St. Peter's responded to the Quinisext canon. My thanks to him for guidance on this issue and the reference to Tiberia's work.

77. J.-M. Sansterre, "Le Pape Constantin Ier (708–715) et la politique religieuse des empereurs Justinien II et Philippikos," *Archivum Historiae Pontificae* 22 (1984), 7–29; Sansterre, "Jean VII (705–707): Idéologie pontificale et réalisme politique," in *Rayonnement grec: Hommages à Charles Delvoye*, ed. L. Hadermann-Misguich and G. Raepsaet (Brussels, 1982), 377–88; Sansterre, "À propos de la signification politico-religieuse de certaines fresques de Jean VII à Sainte-Marie-Antique," *Byzantion* 57 (1987), 434–40. Also see Herrin, *Formation* (as in note 68), 288, 312, 318–19, 341; Ohme, *Concilium Quinisextum* (as in note 75), 61–75.

78. As far as I know, the only other scholar to have proposed an interpretation of the images in this order is L. Castaldi, "Quire Arrangement," in *La Bibbia Amiatina/ The Codex Amiatinus* (as in note 3). Castaldi sees the arrangement as symbolic of the route by which mortals arrive at knowledge of God, progressing from the Son to the Holy Spirit to the Father. My interpretation is essentially in agreement.

79. See J. Engemann, "Images parousiaques dans l'art paléochrétien," in *L'Apocalypse de Jean: Traditions exégétiques et iconographiques, IIIe–XIIIe siècles*, ed. R. Petraglio et al. (Geneva, 1979), 73–107, at 73–74; Y. Christe, *La Vision de Matthieu (Matth. XXIV–XXV): Origines et développement d'une image de la Seconde Parousie* (Paris, 1973), esp. 73–88.

80. Nees, "Problems of Form and Function" (as in note 3), 169, n. 145.

81. Bede, *Expositio Apoc.* 3 (CCSL 121A, 247–49 [to Apoc. 1.16]): "'Et facies eius sicut sol lucet in virtute sua'. Qualis in monte discipulis, talis post iudicium dominus omnibus sanctis apparebit; impii enim in iudicio uidebunt in quem pupunxerunt (John 19:37). Totus autem hic filii hominis habitus etiam ecclesiae conuenit, cum qua una natura ipse factus est Christus, honorem illi sacerdotalem et iudiciariam tribuens potestatem, et ut fulgeat sicut sol in regno patris sui."

82. Bede, *In Lucae euangelium expositio* 5 (ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 120 [Turnhout, 1960], 316–17). See M. Gorman, "Source Marks and Chapter Divisions in Bede's Commentary on Luke," *RBén* 112 (2002), 246–90.

83. J. Wilpert and W. N. Schumacher, *Die römischen Mosaiken der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV.–XIII. Jahrhundert* (Basel, 1916/1976), pls. 28, 34, 40, 41, 48.

84. Wilpert and Schumacher, *Die römischen Mosaiken* (as in note 83), pls. 101, 102; G. Matthiae, *Mosaici medioevali delle chiese di Roma*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1967), vol. 2, pl. 78.

85. See Nees, "Problems of Form and Function" (as in note 3), 167–68, 172; Kessler, "Real Absence" (as in note 76), 109 and figs. 6.6–6.8. I am grateful to Martin Büchsel for suggesting to me (oral communication, October 2001) that the Amiatinus bust follows an iconography of the Pantocrator first seen in Eastern imagery of the sixth to seventh century, distinguished by the portrayal of Christ's hair. Unfortunately, the Northumbrian miniature is too worn to be certain. Cf. M. Büchsel, "Das Christusporträt am Scheideweg des Ikonoklastenstreits im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert," *MarbJb* 25 (1998), 7–52, at 12–13. My thanks to Dr. Büchsel for sending me a copy of this article.

86. See Tiberia, *Il mosaico restaurato* (as in note 76), on the triumphal arch of SS. Cosma e Damiano, where the lamb appears on the arch and Christ is depicted in the apse; Wilpert and Schumacher, *Die römischen Mosaiken* (as in note 83), pl. 20 (S. Pudenziana), pl. 101 (SS. Cosma e Damiano); J. Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (London, 1997), fig. 77 (S. Vitale, Ravenna).

87. Bede, *HA* 6, 9, 15, ed. Plummer, 369–70, 373, 379–80; *Hom.* 1.13 (CCSL 122, 93); *VC* 9, 20, ed. Plummer, 391, 394–95.

88. Cf. Matthiae, *Mosaici medioevali* (as in note 84), vol. 2, pls. 27–28 (S. Costanza), pl. 36 (S. Pudenziana), pl. 78 (SS. Cosma e Damiano); Wilpert and Schumacher, *Die römischen Mosaiken* (as in note 83), pls. 1, 2 (S. Costanza), pl. 19 (S. Pudenziana, detail), pl. 73 (Mausoleum of Galla Placidia), pls. 101, 102 (SS. Cosma e Damiano).

89. Examples include some of the earliest Mount Sinai icons: K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai, the Icons*, vol. 1, *From the Sixth to the Tenth Century* (Princeton, 1976), pls. 48, 50a, 52, 53, 57. See also Büchsel, "Das Christusporträt" (as in note 85), figs. 2, 4, 5, 9, cf. 11; Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (as in note 86), fig. 56; Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing* (as in note 67), figs. 2.6, 4.11, 5.4, pl. IVa; J. D. Breckenridge, *The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II (685–695, 795–711 A.D.)* (New York, 1959), 22, 46, 90, pl. V.30; Nees, "Problems of Form and Function" (as in note 3), 168 and fig. 23.

90. See notes 58 and 59 above.

91. Bede, *Libri II de arte metrica et de schematibus et tropis/ The Art of Poetry and Rhetoric*, ed. and trans. C. B. Kendall (Saarbrücken, 1991), part 2, 192, 196–200. See Kendall's introduction, 25–28; on the treatise's uncertain date, 28–29.

92. G. H. Brown, *Bede the Venerable* (Boston, 1987), 42–61, esp. 47, with examples from the commentaries. See Meyvaert, "Bede the Scholar" (as in note 28), 44–47.

93. *De temporum ratione liber* (CCSL 123B [as in note 66]); *De temporibus liber* (ed. C. W. Jones, CCSL 123C [Turnhout, 1980], 580–611).

94. *Epistola ad Pleguinam* (CCSL 123C, 617–26).

95. *Epistola ad Pleguinam* (CCSL 123C, 617–18, 624–25, see 626); *De temporum ratione* 67–71 (CCSL 123B, 535–44).

96. *Epistola ad Pleguinam* (CCSL 123C, 624–25); cf. Bede, *In Lucam* 5 (CCSL 120 [as in note 82], 316–17).

97. See note 68 above.

98. T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge, 2000), 416–17, 429–38; Wood, *Abbot Ceolfrid* (as in note 17), 7–8; C. Cubitt, "Wilfrid's 'Usurping Bishops': Episcopal Elections in Anglo-Saxon England, c. 600–c. 800," *Northern History* 25 (1989), 18–38; W. Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 550–800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon* (Princeton, 1988), 258–328; cf. D. P. Kirby, "Northumbria in the Time of Wilfrid," in *Saint Wilfrid at Hexham* (as in note 74), 1–34.

99. See Wood, *Abbot Ceolfrid* (as in note 17), 6–7, 9–10. P. Wormald, "Bede and Benedict Biscop," in *Famulus Christi* (as in note 28), 141–69, at 143–44, notes the differences between Benedict Biscop's and Wilfrid's versions of the Benedictine Rule.

100. On his deathbed, Benedict urged his monks to prevent the dispersal of the monastic library and warned them that his blood brother might seek kinship rights: *HA* 11–13, ed. Plummer, 374–77; see Wood, *Abbot Ceolfrid* (as in note 17), 10–11; Wormald, "Bede and Benedict Biscop" (as in note 99), 153–54. The papal charter that Ceolfrid obtained for the monastery was to protect it against the "incursion of the wicked" (*ab inproborum inruptione securiora*): *VC* 20, ed. Plummer, 394–95.

101. Wood, *Abbot Ceolfrid* (as in note 17), 11–12. Ceolfrid's departure speech stresses the need to avoid dissension between the two houses: *VC* 25, ed. Plummer, 397. I discuss the evidence of internal tensions in my forthcoming article, "A Sense of Place" (as in note 14).

102. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (as in note 98), 317–21, 391–415; Mayr-Harting, *Coming of Christianity* (as in note 50), 103–13.

103. See Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (as in note 98), 326, 410, 436–37; Goffart, *Narrators* (as in note 98), 183, 309–13, 326–27, stressing Bede's admiration for the Irish in contrast to his hostility (Goffart argues) toward Wilfrid.

104. *HE* 5.21, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, 534, n. 1.

105. *HE* 5.21, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, 534–50, esp. 534–46.

106. Beall, "Illuminated Pages" (as in note 3), 129–30.

107. See note 3 above.

108. It is striking that Augustine, Jerome, and also Epiphanius were included in Bede's martyrology. Hilarus of Rome is placed here in very good company. See Meyvaert, "Bede the Scholar" (as in note 28), 60.

109. *Biblia Sacra* (as in note 6), vol. 1, xxii–xxiii.

110. Among recent discussions, e.g., Wood, *Abbot Ceolfrid* (as in note 17), 13–15; Nees, "Problems of Form and Function" (as in note 3), 148–74; Marsden, *Text* (as in note 3), 105–6; William J. Diebold, *Word and Image: An Introduction to Early Medieval Art* (Boulder, Col., 2000), 33–37.

111. "Ceolfrid's Gift to St. Peter" (as in note 5); "A Sense of Place" (as in note 14).

112. For another unified reading of the art of this codex, taking a somewhat different, also valuable perspective, see O'Reilly, "The Library of Scripture" (as in note 22).

113. On the formal harmony of the three pages and other folia in the first quire, see my article, "Ceolfrid's Gift to St. Peter" (as in note 5), 139–45; Farr, "The Shape of Learning" (as in note 29).

114. Nees, "Problems of Form and Function" (as in note 3), passim, esp. 121–24.

115. See Chazelle, "Ceolfrid's Gift to St. Peter" (as in note 5), 139–40.

116. For both texts, *Biblia Sacra* (as in note 6), vol. 1, xxi–xxii.

117. Chazelle, "A Sense of Place" (as in note 14), passim; also see O'Reilly, "The Library of Scripture" (as in note 22), 5, 30–34.

118. *Biblia Sacra* (as in note 6), vol. 1, xxv; O'Reilly, "The Library of Scripture" (as in note 22), 8–11.

119. *Biblia Sacra* (as in note 6), vol. 1, xxii–xxiii.

120. "Ceolfrid's Gift to St. Peter" (as in note 5), esp. 149–57.

121. *HA* 17, ed. Plummer, 381–82; *VC* 25–26, ed. Plummer, 396–97.

122. Wood, *Abbot Ceolfrid* (as in note 17), 16. See *HA* 18–19, ed. Plummer, 382–84; *VC* 29–30, ed. Plummer, 398–400.

123. See Ó Carragáin, *City of Rome and the World of Bede* (as in note 69), 11–13.