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The Colophons of Codex Amiatinus

Abstract: A few of the many rubrics in Codex Amiatinus include colophonic phrases. This article investigates their nature (generally formulaic and conventional) and the various factors that may lie behind their inclusion, highlighting the possible contribution of individual scribes. Their implications for Wearmouth-Jarrow's scribal culture are considered.

1 Introduction

The great pandect Codex Amiatinus, made at Wearmouth-Jarrow prior to 716, has some 300 rubrics.¹ They introduce and conclude not just the individual biblical books but also the many prefatory texts and capitula lists. As one would expect, the overwhelming majority simply state that here begins or ends the book or ancillary text in question: *Explicit Abdias Propheta. Incipit Prologus Ionae Prophetae [...]. Explicit Prologus Ionae Prophetae. Incipit Ipse Liber* (fol. 664r). However, eleven amplify such formulae with a little extra information: *Explicit Paralypomenon qui hebraice dicitur Dabreiamin*, for instance (fol. 378v; Figure 1).² Eighteen

1 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino 1: Gneuss and Lapidge (2014: no. 825). The fullest description is Alidori et al. (2003: 3–58); the rubrics are transcribed on p. 26–53 as part of the account of textual content.

2 Fol. 86r (Exodus explicit): *Explicit Hellesmot, id est Exodus, feliciter*; fol. 86v (Leviticus incipit): *Incipit liber Leviticus qui hebraice dicitur Vaiegra. Lege feliciter*. Ο ΚΥΡΙΣ ΣΕΡΒΑΝΔΟΣ ΑΙ ΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ; fol. 110v (Leviticus explicit): *Explicit Leviticus qui hebraice dicitur Vaiegra. Lege felix*; fol. 111v (Numbers incipit): *Incipit Liber Numerorum qui appellatur hebraice Vaieddaber. Gloria indiuiduae Trinitati. Amen*; fol. 146r (Deuteronomy incipit): *Incipit Liber Deuteronomium qui hebraice dicitur Helleaddabarim. Deo laudes lege feliciter. Amen. Ora pro me*; fol. 221r (I Kings incipit): *Incipit Regum Liber Primus qui hebraice appellatur Samuhel*; fol. 276v (III and IV Kings incipit): *Incipit Regum Liber Tertius et Quartus qui Hebraice dicitur Malachim*; fol. 329v (III and IV Kings explicit): *Explicit Malachim id est Regum Liber Tertius et Quartus feliciter*; fol. 329v (Paralipomenon preface): *Incipit Paralipomenon qui hebraice dicitur Dabreiamin id est uerba dierum Amen*; fol. 378v (II Paralipomenon explicit): *Explicit Paralypomenon qui hebraice dicitur Dabreiamin*. The transcriptions here and in the main text use modern conventions of capitalisation and punctuation. For versions that are more closely imitative of the originals, see Appendix I.

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(including some of the previous group) add an injunction – *Explicit Leviticus qui hebraici dicitur Vaiecra. Lege felix* (fol. 110v) and *Expliciunt capitula. Incipit Liber Numerorum qui appellatur Hebraice Vaieddaber. Gloria indiuiduae Trinitati. Amen* (fol. 111v) are adjacent examples. And four of the eighteen in question feature more than one such phrase, thus: *Expliciunt capitula. Incipit Liber Deuteronomium qui hebraice dicitur Helleaddabarim. Deo laudes. Lege feliciter. Amen. Ora pro me* (fol. 146r; Figure 2). These short injunctions, akin both in their position and their content to scribal colophons, are the micro-texts that I shall consider here.³ I shall be using the terms ‘invocations’ and ‘colophonic phrases’ to refer to them.

2 Questions

A fundamental question to ask of any colophon (or its equivalent) is whether it was devised by the scribe of the manuscript (or stint) in which one encounters it for that very book (or passage), or whether it was, by contrast, taken over verbatim from the textual exemplar that he was copying. This is challenging to answer in relation to Codex Amiatinus when, on the one hand, we know that its comprehensive collection of biblical texts was assembled from multiple different exemplars,⁴ while, on the other hand, all that survives from those divers exemplars is a single fragment containing a few lines from the Book of Maccabees – a fragment, moreover, that includes neither incipit nor explicit.⁵ Much of what follows will be devoted to sifting such evidence as is available for the status of the colophonic phrases in our pandect.

The importance of evaluating the role played by textual exemplars in determining rubrics in Amiatinus is underlined by the case of that introducing Leviticus, the only one that has hitherto attracted much scholarly attention.⁶ Strikingly, this ends with the Greek words Ο ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΣΕΡΒΑΝΔΟΣ ΑΙ ΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ (Figure 3) – presumably derived from ὁ κύριος Σερβανδος ἐποίησεν ‘the Master Serbandos

³ The relevant texts are presented in full in Appendix I and II, below, p. 113–115.

⁴ Marsden (1995: 140–183).

⁵ Durham, Cathedral Library, B.IV.6, fol. 169*: *CLA* II, no. 153; Mynors (1939: no. 1 with pl. 1); Lowe (1962); Gameson (2010: no. 1).

⁶ Fol. 86v. See Lowe (1960: 10–13), summarising earlier debates. Noted by Berschin (1988: 288 n. 38). Edited by Howlett (2005: no. III.viii, p. 144), who argues on the grounds of the presence of word separation that this is an Insular text rather than a copy of a mediterranean one; however, as word separation is present throughout much of the biblical text of Amiatinus despite the fact that most of that was copied from exemplars written in *scriptura continua*, this is not a compelling argument.

created'.⁷ When Amiatinus was thought to have been produced in Italy, this note was seen as commemorating its maker. Once the book had been recognised as a Ceolfrith bible and hence produced in the north-east of England, the colophon, taken at face value, could be seen as evidence that an expatriate mediterranean scribe laboured there. Now that our greater knowledge about the codicology and script of the book favours manufacture by Anglo-Saxons and reveals that this colophon appears in the middle, rather than at the beginning or end, of a scribal stint, it seems more reasonable to presume that the naming phrase was taken over from the exemplar for Leviticus. The fact that three of the five Greek words – that is everything bar the article and the personal name – are anomalous in one way or another is consonant with this assumption.⁸

If the Greek personal phrase heading Leviticus (the only example in the entire manuscript to include the name of an individual) is thus likely to have been copied from the exemplar, it might seem logical to presume that the same would apply to all the other colophonic rubrics in Codex Amiatinus. Certainly, the invocations that are used here are readily paralleled in late antique and early medieval Italian manuscripts, as indeed in others. The formula that occurs most frequently in Amiatinus, *lege feliciter*, is equally the one that appears most often in early Italian books and, moreover, had been current in copies of classical texts before being taken over into Christian ones, reflecting broader use in acclamations and felicitations.⁹ There are likewise, unsurprisingly, manuscript precedents for *Deo gratias semper* and *ora pro me*;¹⁰ and, although I am not currently aware of an extant manuscript earlier than Amiatinus that uses *Deo laudes* in its subscriptions, that is probably my ignorance – it is another ‘universal’ Christian phrase. The same applies to its Greek equivalent, Θεω χαρις, which also makes a single appearance in Amiatinus.¹¹ There are likewise late antique and early medi-

⁷ Another (impersonal) Greek invocation appears on fol. 905v; see Appendix I and II below, p. 114 and 115. Greek words also appear among the legends in the plan of the Tabernacle, within the general Preface, *Desiderii mei* (fol. 9r), in the Prologues to Kings (fol. 218v) and Ezechiel (fol. 590r), and as part of a problematic passage within Judges (fol. 207v), here marked for deletion. Greek letters were used to flag the Commandments in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers.

⁸ κύριος lacks its omicron (there is no abbreviation mark). The freestanding ΑΙ presumably represents (?phonetically) the epsilon that one would expect to find prefaced to the verb as the augment for a historic tense (here the Aorist). Furthermore, ΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ was originally written with two epsilons, the first one subsequently corrected to an eta.

⁹ See Stern (1953: 118–120); Reynhout (2006: I, 57–66).

¹⁰ E.g. for the former Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, LI (49) (CLA IV.504) and LXI (59) (CLA IV.511); cf. Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele, Sessoriano 13 (2094) (CLA IV.420A). For *ora pro me*, see Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. LXV.1 (CLA III.298).

¹¹ Fol. 905v.

eval Italian precedents and parallels for the practice of arranging *ora pro me* in the form of a cross, as is done a couple of times in our book (Figures 2 and 4).¹² Moreover, one of these precedents appears in a manuscript that was probably at Wearmouth-Jarrow around the time Ceolfrith's pandects were being made – namely the so-called Burchard Gospels.¹³ In sum, the colophonic phrases used in Amiatinus are, or appear to be, commonplace conventional ones which, there is every reason to believe, the scribes of Wearmouth-Jarrow will have encountered in the late antique and Italian manuscripts brought to north-east England by Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrith, even if they were not in the specific exemplars for the relevant sections of Codex Amiatinus itself.

Yet if the evidence we have just summarised leaves no doubt that the invocations used in Amiatinus were ones that their scribes had inherited rather than coined, it simultaneously invites us to consider a further dimension to them. Might the inclusion of some such phrases in Amiatinus have been motivated by familiarity with their use in manuscripts other than the specific exemplars that were being copied for that pandect? Transcribing a subscription along with its text is one thing; adopting a formula that one has encountered elsewhere and then applying it oneself to a new context is a little different, revealing a modicum of creativity. Is there any way, then, in the absence of the relevant exemplars, to establish whether this was ever the case in Amiatinus? The question must, perforce, be approached obliquely.

3 Analysis

A first aspect to consider is the disposition of the colophonic phrases within Codex Amiatinus itself. Of the eighteen specimens, twelve appear in the Old Testament, six in the New; eight of them are associated with the incipit to a biblical book, eight with its explicit, one accompanies the incipit to a prologue, and one the explicit to a capitula list. The only cases where both the incipit and the explicit to a single biblical book have an invocation are Exodus and Leviticus.¹⁴

¹² Fols. 146r and 1029v. Compare, e.g., St Petersburg, Russian National Library, Q.v.I.3 (CLA XI.1613; Zimina et al. 2005: no. 1, the relevant page reproduced on p. 68); and Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.68 (CLA IX.1423); also Cividale, Museo Archaeologico, s.n. + Prague, Cim 1 + Venice, San Marco, s.n. (CLA III.285); and St Petersburg, Russian National Library, F.v.I.12, fols. 47–62 (CLA XI.1608).

¹³ Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.68, fol. 170v (CLA IX.1423; Gneuss and Lapidge 2014: no. 945).

¹⁴ There are also two at Acts, but here the first terminates the Capitula list.

Considering subgroupings of books within the Bible, we find colophonic phrases in four out of five of the books of the Pentateuch (the exception being Genesis), in three of the sixteen historical books (IV Kings, Esther, Maccabees), in one of the seven Wisdom books (Job), in the last of the four major prophets (Daniel), and in one of the twelve minor ones (Joel); there is no example in the gospels but two are associated with Acts, one appears amidst the nine Pauline epistles (Hebrews), two amidst the seven Catholic Epistles (II John and Jude) with, finally, a particularly elaborate exercise for the Apocalypse (Figure 4). There is little, therefore, to indicate any overarching plan for their placement within Amiatinus as a whole, and one might accordingly be tempted to assume that the occurrences here simply reflect their presence in the relevant exemplars. Nevertheless, there is one aspect to their disposition that does suggest adaptation for their context in our manuscript, namely the fact that the most fulsome collocations of invocations appear at the end of both Testaments. Now, given the multiple, piecemeal nature of the sources drawn upon to assemble the text of our pandect, it would be a remarkable coincidence if the exemplar for Maccabees and that for the Apocalypse just happened to terminate with the fullest invocations of any of those in all the manuscripts that were drawn upon for our biblical text as a whole. This is not impossible, but it does not seem very likely. On the contrary, the circumstance implies some modest manipulation of colophonic material at Wearmouth-Jarrow to suit Amiatinus itself.

That Wearmouth-Jarrow scribes could and did rework the presentation of their exemplars to suit this particular project is proven by the one and only case where we can compare an explicit/incipit in Codex Amiatinus with the corresponding section of one of the other pair of Bibles that were made at Ceolfrith's behest. Only thirteen leaves and fragments survive from this other copy,¹⁵ but one of the better-preserved folios fortuitously includes the end of III Kings and the beginning of IV Kings (Figure 5).¹⁶ Here we find that the text runs straight on from the former to the latter, IV Kings distinguished only by a two-line-high initial *P* and by the presence of a chrismon in the margin. In Amiatinus, by contrast, the end of III Kings (fol. 303v) is followed by ten blank lines, with the red rubric *Finit* centrally placed within the space in question, while IV Kings starts at the top of the

¹⁵ London, British Library, Add. 37777, Add. 45025, and Loan 81: *CLA* II.177; Marsden (1995: 90–98 and 123–129); Hanna and Turville-Petre (2010: 122).

¹⁶ BL, Add. 45025, fol. 2v; the full page is reproduced by Lowe (1960, pl. X; where mislabelled) and by Hanna and Turville-Petre (2010: pl. 23). An image of the relevant area of the page is conveniently juxtaposed with illustrations of the corresponding section of Amiatinus (fols. 303v–304r) in de Hamel (2016: 87–93), highlighting this contrast as part of a general discussion of the two books.

following recto (fol. 304r) with a line of red text headed by a three-line-high initial *P* (Figure 6). Whatever exactly the exemplar did at this point – and there is evidence to suggest that it probably marked the division in a fairly minimal way¹⁷ –, the contrast between the two Anglo-Saxon versions shows unequivocally that the scribes at Wearmouth-Jarrow reconsidered the presentation of at least one book division while work on their three pandects was in train. The break was enhanced visually and, most relevant to the present enquiry, a rubric was inserted. Modest though it is, this *Finit* proves that the scribes labouring on Wearmouth-Jarrow’s bibles were prepared to add rubrics of their own.

Another factor affecting rubrics within Codex Amiatinus itself, almost certainly independently of its exemplars, was the practical one of where on the page the text of each individual biblical book ended and, by extension, how much blank space was available thereafter. The entirety of the biblical text had to be included as a matter of course; rubric, as non-scriptural material, might be treated more flexibly if necessary. That this was indeed the case is shown by the circumstance that there is no explicit of any form at the end of Numbers, Deuteronomy and Joshua, whose biblical texts terminate at the very bottom of the relevant pages – which, in the case of the first and the last, are also the ends of quires (Figure 7).¹⁸ Equally, the compressed nature of the explicit for I Corinthians (merely a small *exp.* – for *explicit* ‘(here) it ends’) reflects the minimal space that was left for it.¹⁹ Conversely, where there was more room, the rubrics were, on the whole, more expansive. This is most obviously the case at the end of II Maccabees where imperfect erasure reveals that the second line of writing, originally done to a smaller scale, was enlarged in order to fill the space more satisfactorily (Figure 8).²⁰ Correspondingly, more words – including colophonic phrases – might be included on such occasions.

Although it may sound like a truism, it is in fact highly pertinent to note that on almost every occasion where an invocation was included in a rubric in Codex Amiatinus, there was ample space for it, and moreover that it helped the scribe

17 Namely the fact that the principal rubrics for the section as a whole in Codex Amiatinus appear before III Kings, then after IV Kings, and treat them together: *Incipit Regum liber tertius et quartus qui hebraice dicitur Malachim* (fol. 276v); *Explicit Malachim id est Regum liber tertius et quartus feliciter* (fol. 329v).

18 Fols. 144v, 173v, and 193v. On fol. 218r the explicit to Ruth was slotted in under the text area, written in small script. Compare the colophon at the end of Hosea (fol. 656v), which is very small because of limited room, with that at the end of the Prologue to Joel plus the incipit to the Book of Joel on the facing page (fol. 657r), which are more generous owing to greater space. There is no explicit to Samuel (fol. 274v) though the text ends two lines from the bottom of the page.

19 Fol. 960v, col. 1, top.

20 Fol. 796r.

to fill that space in a balanced way.²¹ Furthermore, the fact that no colophonic phrase appears in a context where space was in really short supply strongly suggests that the Wearmouth-Jarrow scribes were not automatically including them whenever they appeared in an exemplar. For it would be a remarkable coincidence if invocations were only present in exemplars for those texts which, when copied into Amiatinus, ended with plenty of room on the page. Equally, the evidence shows that such phrases were not simply fillers and that space was not the sole factor determining their inclusion or otherwise in Amiatinus. For there are also occasions where there was ample room for a colophon to augment the rubric at the end of a book yet nothing was supplied – as at the incipit to Judges, the explicit to Psalms, the incipit to Ezechiel, the incipit and explicit to Matthew, the explicit to Mark, the incipit to Luke, and the explicit to John (Figure 9).²² Space and layout in Codex Amiatinus itself would thus seem to be contributory rather than determining factors in relation to the inclusion or otherwise of colophonic phrases.

A further dimension to consider is the graphic presentation of the rubrics as a whole. They are generally written in Rustic Capitals, a usage widely paralleled in late antique and early medieval Italian manuscripts, emulation of which doubtless accounts for its adoption in Amiatinus. That said, the seven scribes responsible for the main body of the pandect did differ among themselves in the precise forms that they used.²³ Scribe A deployed large Rustic Capitals in red and black throughout (Figure 10);²⁴ work in an identical manner appears in the very short single-book stint of Scribe B and this too may be by A. Scribe C used both large Rustics and little Rustics, first in red alone, then in red and black. Scribes D and E also employed both big and small Rustics (Figure 11), their bigger versions being thinner and more stylised than those of their colleagues; D's rubrics were generally in red alone, as were the first five of E (it was not until his sixth that he resorted to black as well as red). Scribe F, who accomplished two stints (one

21 Sixteen of the eighteen have plenty of space. Of the other two, the briefest, Θεω χάρις (fol. 905v), was written in small script and exactly fills the end of the final line of the capitula list, while the example on fol. 1014v exactly occupies the length of the final line of column 1, permitting the text proper to commence at the top of column 2.

22 Fols. 194v, 418r, 592r, 805r, 831r, 849r, 852r, and 904r respectively. Small Rustic Capitals signalled the explicit of the prologue to the Psalter (fol. 379v).

23 The stints were first set out by Wright (1961: esp. 452–454). Petrucci (1971: 125 n. 151) thought that there might be eight scribes. The difference is whether or not fols. 379–418 and 419–535 are by the same hand. In my view they are; however, I see short interventions by an eighth hand within the stint of Scribe C (on fols. 244v and 255r). See further n. 25.

24 On fol. 111v the explicit proper is in large Rustics, alternately red and black by line; the invocation is in smaller Rustics, the individual letters alternately red then black.

at the end of the Old Testament, the other at the end of the New), used throughout Rustics of different sizes, both in red alone and in red and black. Scribe G, who was responsible for the start of the New Testament, generally employed red alone (with one example, fol. 881r, in black alone), except for the rubric between John and Acts (fol. 904r), which is red and black. The overarching point here is that, while all the scribes followed the same basic approach to the presentation of rubrics, it was one that admitted a degree of diversity. Specific forms and sizes of the script could have been prescribed and a colour code mandated (red alone, or red and black, or both); patently they were not. Nor, as the variations in wording show, was there an attempt to define standard formulae for the content of rubrics in this grand project. To the modern mind it would seem logical to have included Hebrew names in the rubrics for all the Old Testament books whose Judaic moniker differed appreciably from its Latin one rather than for eleven of the eighteen cases in point; at Ceolfrith's Wearmouth-Jarrow such standardisation was apparently not a priority.

Concerning the inclusion or otherwise of colophonic phrases, there is evidence that points to the involvement of a yet another factor, namely the inclination of the individual scribes who worked on the project. For when we compare the distribution of colophonic phrases across the manuscript as a whole with the stints of the individual scribes responsible for writing it, an interesting pattern emerges (see below, Appendix II, p. 114–115). As just noted, the main text of Amiatinus was shared between seven scribes. Five of them wrote approximately the same amount (some twenty quires); one was responsible for two such stints (a joint total of thirty-three quires); while the last contributed only the Book of Joshua (a mere three quires).²⁵ One of the seven was probably not responsible for the rubric in his pages; however, as this is the very short stint comprising Joshua alone which only includes a single rubric (fol. 175r) without an invocation, we may safely discount it and him. Of the six remaining major workers, one (Scribe D, responsible for Psalms, the Wisdom books and Isaiah), included no personal phrases whatsoever. Scribe C (who wrote Judges to II Chronicles) included a single example (mid-stint). Scribe G (responsible for the Gospels and Acts) included two, both of them in the final book of his stint (i.e. Acts). Scribe E (who accomplished the remaining Prophets and Tobit) offered three (all mid-stint); while Scribe A (who transcribed the Pentateuch) and Scribe F (who wrote the final portions of both Testaments – Judith to II Maccabees, and Romans to Revelation) both contributed six.

²⁵ Scribe A: Qq. I–XXI; Scribe B: Qq. XXII–XXIV; Scribe C: Qq. XXV–XLVII; Scribe D: Qq. XLVIII–LXVII; Scribe E: Qq. LXVIII–LXXXIX; Scribe F: Qq. XC–C and CXVIII–CXXIX; Scribe G: Qq. CI–CXVII. See also n. 23.

Modest though the numbers are, the difference between none on the one hand and six on the other is sufficient to suggest that individual scribal choice probably played a role in the inclusion or otherwise of invocations in rubrics. That a degree of autonomy was indeed possible is underlined by the fact that Scribe E (who included *Deo gratias semper* twice and *feliciter* once) enhanced six of his impersonal colophons with hederæ or decorative flourishes and another one with a pair of crosses (Figure 12) – something that none of the other scribes ever attempted.²⁶ Equally telling, surely, is the fact that both A and F, who contributed the overwhelming majority of the personal phrases, offered their most fulsome examples at the ends of their stints (and in the case of F, who had two stints, at the ends of both of them).

4 Conclusion

What, then, have we learned? In the absence of any of the relevant textual exemplars, diagnosing what was inherited and what was added or adapted in any specific rubric in Codex Amiatinus will always be a matter of conjecture; however, while the status of each case individually will always remain ambiguous, collectively they reveal patterns that reflect identifiable general factors. The nature of the rubrics in the exemplars is highly likely to have played a role in defining the content of those in Codex Amiatinus (most obviously perhaps in the case of those which include Hebrew titles and name Serbandos, but probably also in many of the more commonplace examples).²⁷ The amount of space left in the column when the scribe reached the end of a biblical book was important in determining how long a rubric might be (or indeed whether there was one at all). In relation to the inclusion or otherwise of colophonical phrases, however, individual scribal choice would also seem to have played a part. The phrases in question were drawn from an inherited and strictly limited repertoire, but the decision to include them on a particular occasion would, at least sometimes, appear to have been that of the scribe responsible for the section in question. This finding sits comfortably alongside the variations in certain other minor elements of the manuscript – such as the inclusion (or not) of little crosses, the use (or not) of hederæ to ornament running

²⁶ Fols. 592v, 633r, 634r, 650v, 652r, 708v; crosses and lines of ‘rope’ twist on fol. 683r.

²⁷ It is a reasonable hypothesis – though it can be nothing more than that – that Scribe G, who included no invocation whatsoever in the Gospels (despite there being plenty of room to have done so) yet two in Acts, was primarily guided by his exemplars.

headings, and the extraordinary variety of ruling patterns²⁸ – which indicate that within the well-disciplined scriptorium of Wearmouth-Jarrow, a modest degree of autonomy was entirely acceptable in relation to ancillary features. Indeed, highly ambitious and extremely complicated though Codex Amiatinus was as an exercise in book production, one of the easiest aspects of it to have regularised would have been the rubrics, both in terms of form and of content. Evidently doing so was not a priority. On the contrary, it appears to have been one of the areas – along with minor details of presentation – that were left to the discretion of the individual scribe. But then this is much the same pattern that is observable in relation to the use of scribal colophons – including examples that are altogether more fulsome than the terse ones of Amiatinus – in the early medieval West as a whole. For reasons that are rarely fathomable, a few scribes occasionally included them, while most of their colleagues did not.

The more immediate context for the usage observed in Amiatinus is that provided by scribal and authorial invocations in other early manuscripts and texts from Wearmouth-Jarrow. Of the eleven other extant Wearmouth-Jarrow volumes dating from the seventh and eighth centuries, only five are complete (or nearly so), while the remaining six are mere fragments, ranging from a few leaves to but part of a single leaf.²⁹ A couple of the complete books include invocations which, as evidence to be considered shortly suggests, are likely to have been authorial. One of the fragmentary ones (twelve leaves from a fine gospel-book) preserves a scribal prayer – an elaborately presented exercise in Greek which implores, *Holy Mary help the scribe*.³⁰ The data for authorial invocations associated with Wearmouth-Jarrow are complicated and ambiguous, for in most cases the earliest surviving copies of works by Bede date from the ninth century, are at several removes from the archetypes, and regularly differ among themselves in the wording of rubrics and subscriptions.³¹ However, in relation to the *Historia*

²⁸ See Gameson (2018: 12–13).

²⁹ For listing and discussion, see Gameson (2015: esp. 25–33).

³⁰ +ΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΒΟΗΘΗΣΟΝ ΤΩ ΓΡΑΨΑΝΤΙ: Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek 32, fols. 94–105, fol. 101v. Facsimile: van der Horst and Engelbregt (1984). Greek text edited in Howlett (2005: no. III.viii, p. 144–145).

³¹ Even if all the relevant rubrics are fully and accurately reported in the available modern editions, an uncertain number of the phrases in question may have been contributed by the scribes of those s. ix manuscripts themselves, something that the regular differences in wording from one copy to another might seem to support. All that may safely be observed in relation to our topic is, first, that the intermittent appearance of colophonic phrases in the rubrics of s. ix copies makes a more systematic deployment of them in s. viii Wearmouth-Jarrow exemplars unlikely, hinting rather at an episodic usage in those archetypes akin to that in Codex Amiatinus; and second that, where several s. ix copies do agree upon a specific colophonic phrase in a particular

ecclesiastica, we have three complete (or near-complete), eighth-century Northumbrian copies, two of which were made at Wearmouth-Jarrow.³² The fact that these three early manuscripts all feature the same rubrics makes it likely that their wording is authorial as opposed to scribal. What we find there is modest variation with traditional phrases not unlike that seen in Codex Amiatinus: whereas Books I, III and IV are introduced by the rubric *Incipit ipse liber*, at Book II *Lege feliciter* was added to the formula, and at Book V, *lege felix*. Thus, for what it is worth, the usage of invocations in other Wearmouth-Jarrow books shows a redeployment of inherited formulae at will rather than in accordance with an overarching system – much as we have observed between the covers of Codex Amiatinus itself.

To conclude: at one level, these are all very minor matters. Simultaneously, however, the material we have considered does have some slightly broader implications. First, it indicates that in small elements (such as the form and content of rubrics and subscriptions) as well as larger ones (such as Uncial script and layout *per cola et commata*), Wearmouth-Jarrow adopted conventions of the late antique/Italian book culture to which it was exposed. Secondly, it shows that just as the scriptorium developed its own form of Uncial (known as Capitular Uncial) for non-biblical texts, so too the ancillary features rapidly became part of Wearmouth-Jarrow's own scribal culture, subject to redeployment and adaptation as circumstances permitted. Third, it highlights the fact that, even in the most carefully regulated writing centres, scribes enjoyed a degree of autonomy, albeit modest, in relation to such features. Fourth, while the colophonic phrases in Amiatinus do not provide the sort of information that we would most like to have today – details about the biography of the scribe, the practicalities of the work, or its date – they are consistent in the values that they project, namely devotion to God and to the virtues of reading scripture, along with the desire to be remembered in the prayers of the reader – someone who is wished well.

place, the 'tag' in question is generally one of those found in Amiatinus: thus three of the s. ix copies of *Expositio Apocalypseos* (Gryson 2001) conclude their final rubric with *Deo gratias semper*, while a fourth has a version of the same phrase in Greek capitals; two of the s. ix copies of *In Lucae Evangelium Expositio* (Hurst 1960) add *Lege feliciter* to the explicit for Book II, while three append *Feliciter* ΧΣ ΒΟΗΘΗΣΟΝΕΙ (for Χ[ΡΙΣΤΟ]Σ ΒΟΗΘΗΣΟΝ Σ[Ο]Ι) to that for Book V; three s. ix copies of *In Marci Evangelium Expositio* (Hurst 1960) finish the explicit to Book IV with *Deo laudes*, while two s. ix copies of *De Tabernaculo* (Hurst 1969) conclude the incipit to Book II with *Feliciter*.

32 Cambridge, University Library, Kk.5.16 (facsimile: Hunter Blair 1959); London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.xiv (readings reported under siglum 'B' in Lapidge 2008–2010); St Petersburg, Russian National Library, Q.v.1.18 (facsimile: Arngart 1952). The second and third were made at Wearmouth-Jarrow.

As such, they effectively encapsulate the ethos of the great scribal endeavours of Wearmouth-Jarrow, and this was surely their point. Brevity and familiarity added to their efficacy in this respect. In an absolute minimum of words – words, moreover, that were recommended by venerable tradition – they articulated sentiments akin to those spelled out slightly more fully by Bede at the end of the Preface to his prose *Vita Cuthberti*:

Orante pro nobis beatitudinem uestram Dominus omnipotens custodire dignetur in columem, dilectissimi fratres et domini mei. Amen. (Colgrave 1940: 146–147)

‘So I pray on our behalf, my beloved brethren and masters, that the almighty Lord may see fit to keep you in perfect blessedness. Amen’.

In sum, our case shows that even the briefest, most formulaic of texts may, when considered holistically in their manuscript context, shed a little light on the scribal and cultural milieu in which they were produced, reminding us, in particular, that even within the grandest, most closely-regulated, communal projects, each scribe was an individual.³³

33 I thank the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, above all its director, Dott.ssa I. Giovanna Rao, for making Amiatino 1 available to me and for permission to reproduce the details that illustrate this study. Figure 5 is reproduced courtesy of the British Library Board.

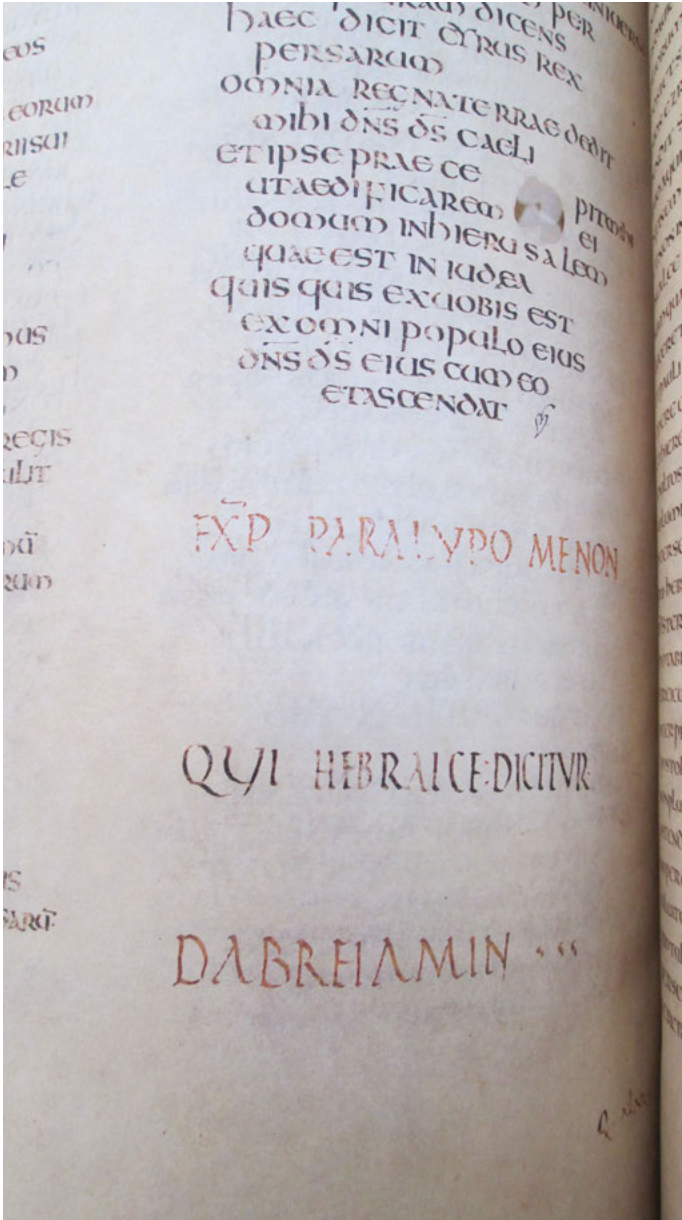


Figure 1: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino 1, fol. 378v (detail). Explicit to II Paralipomenon. Scribe C. Reproduced courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

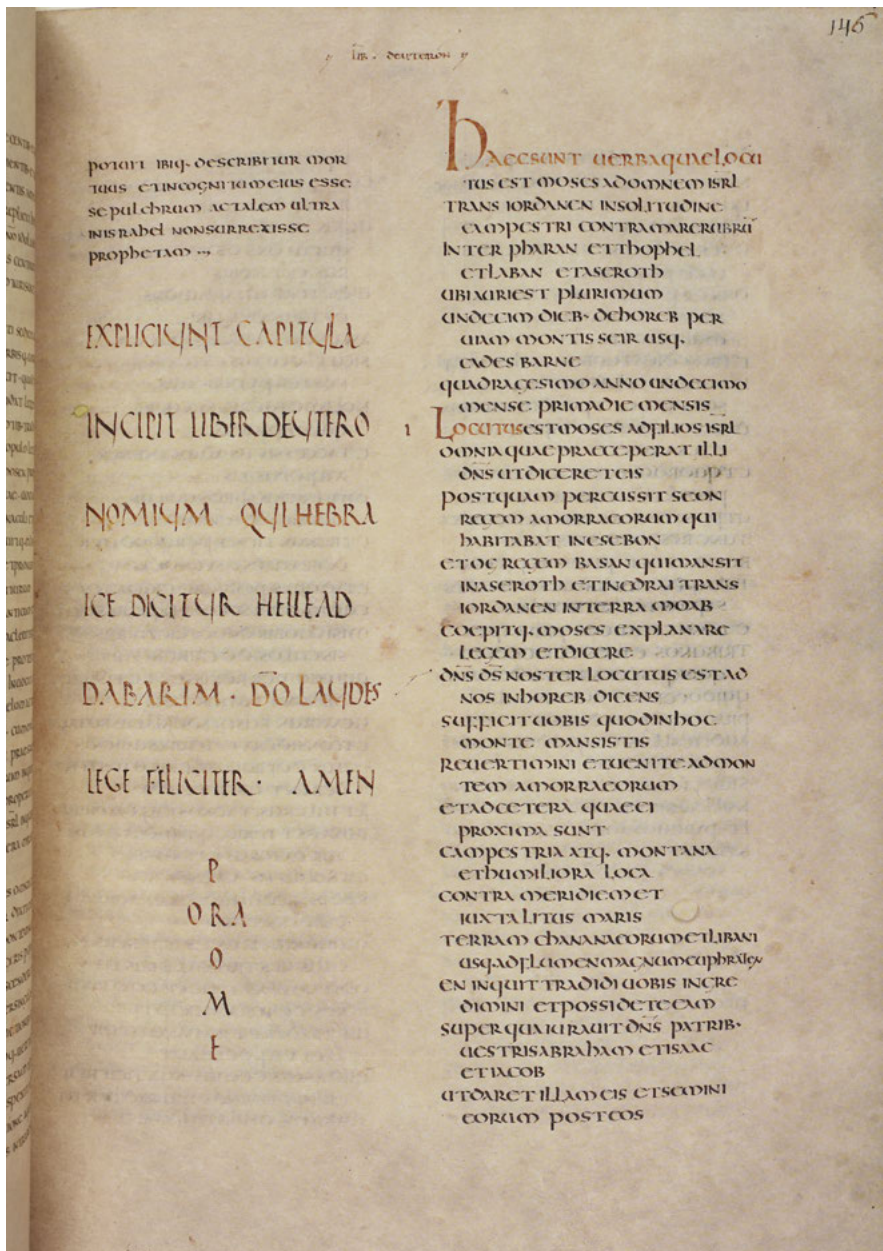


Figure 2: Amiatino 1, fol. 146r. Explicit to the capitula for, and incipit to, Deuteronomy. Scribe A. Reproduced courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

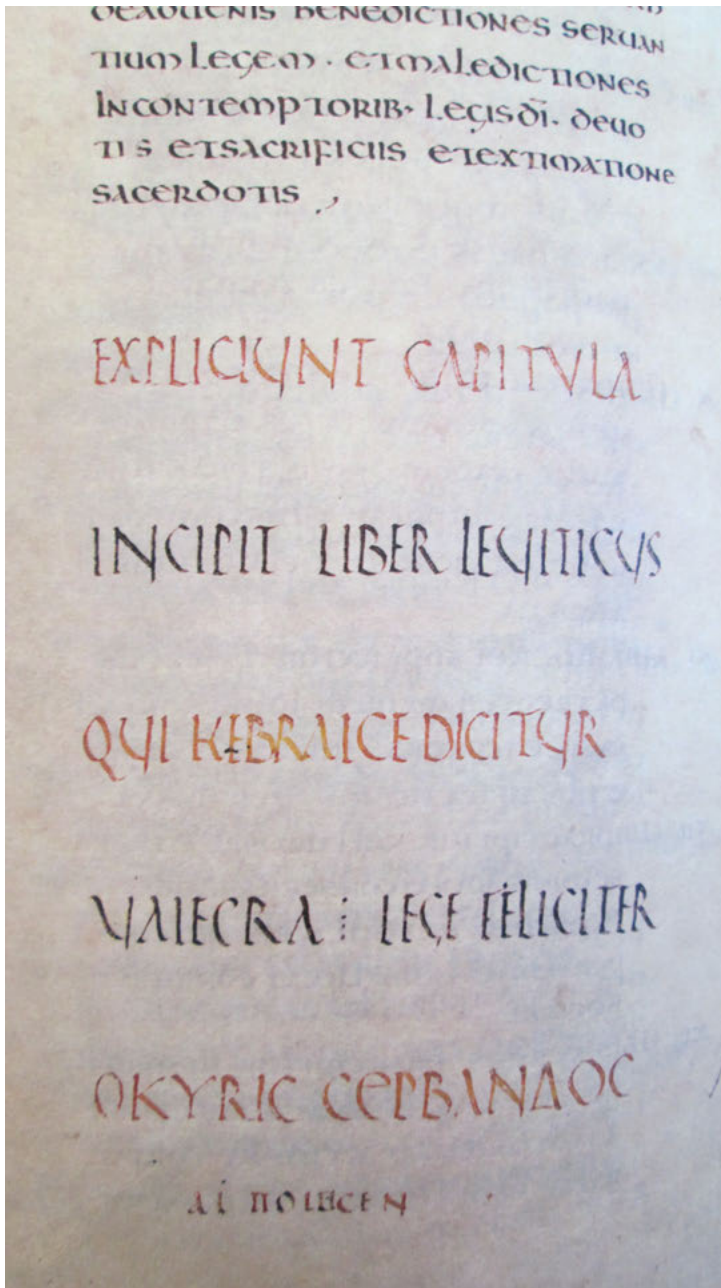


Figure 3: Amiatino 1, fol. 86v (detail). Explicit to the capitula for, and incipit to, Leviticus. Scribe A. Reproduced courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

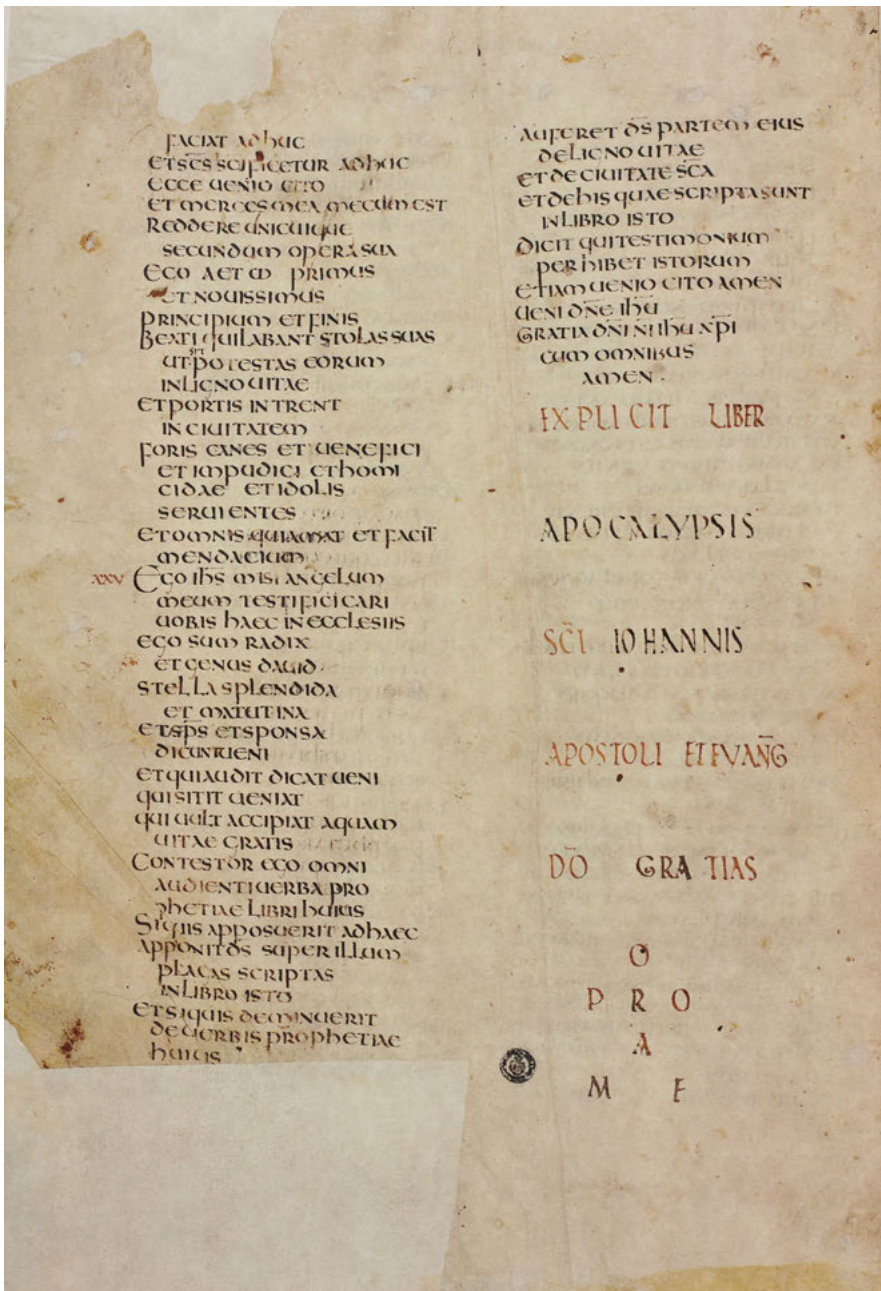


Figure 4: Amiatino 1, fol. 1029v. Explicit to Apocalypse. Scribe F. Reproduced courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

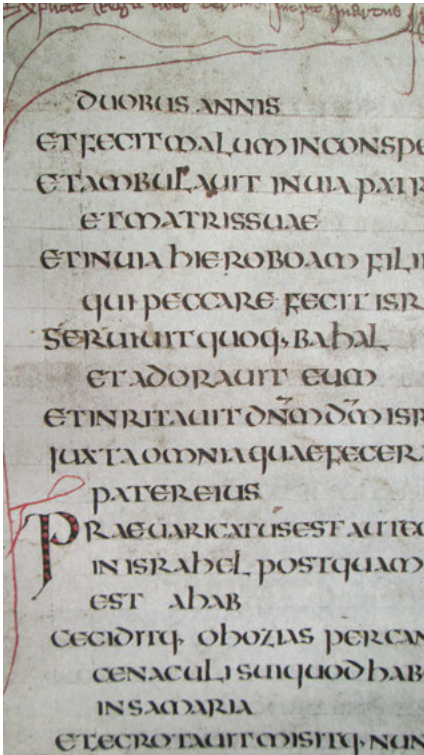


Figure 5: London, British Library, Add. 45025, fol. 2v (detail). Incipit to IV Kings. © British Library Board.

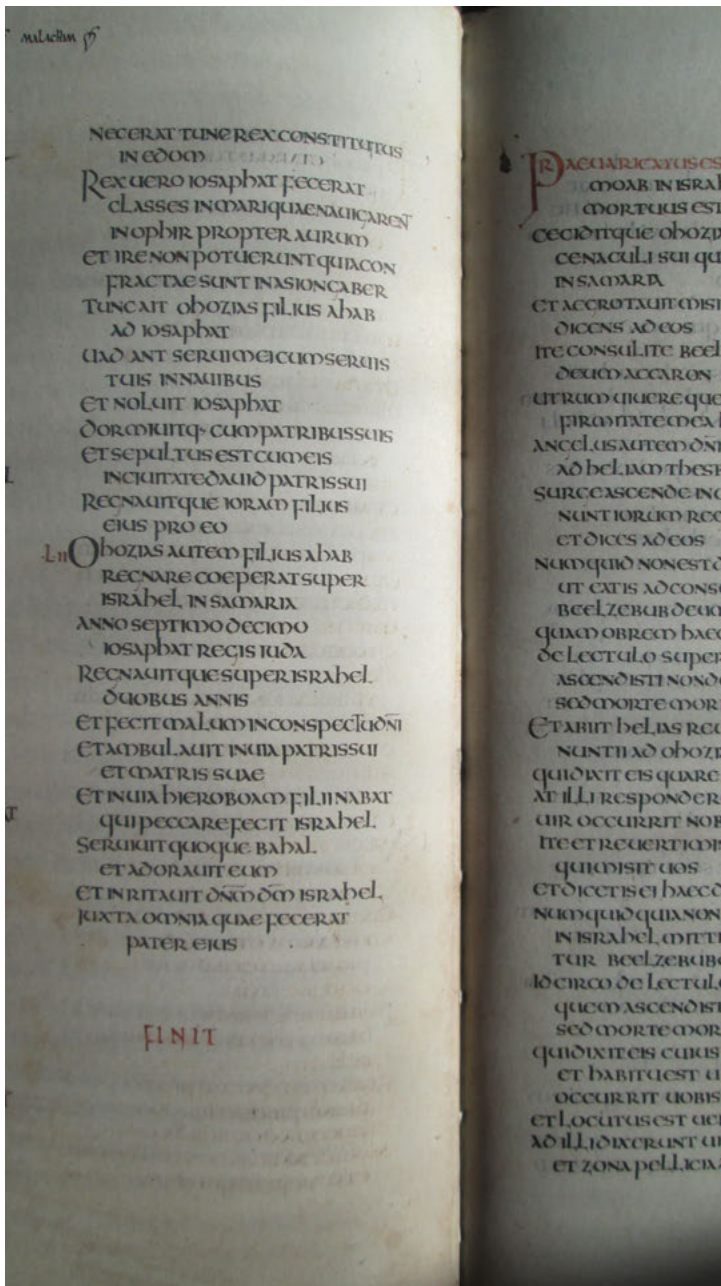


Figure 6: Amiatino 1, fols. 303v+304r (detail). Explicit to III Kings; incipit to IV Kings. Scribe C. Reproduced courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

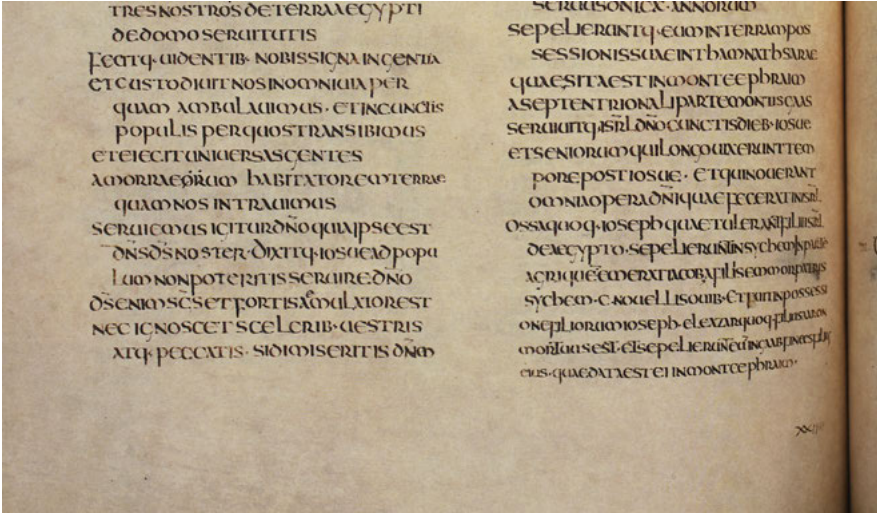


Figure 7: Amiatino 1, fol. 193v (detail). End of Joshua. Scribe B. Reproduced courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

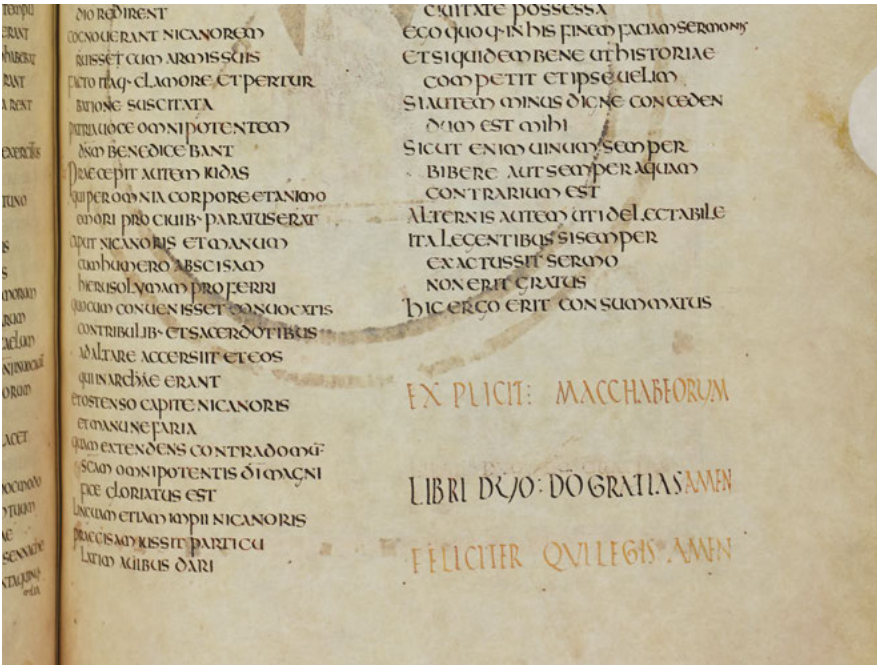


Figure 8: Amiatino 1, fol. 796r (detail). Explicit to II Maccabees. Scribe F. Reproduced courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

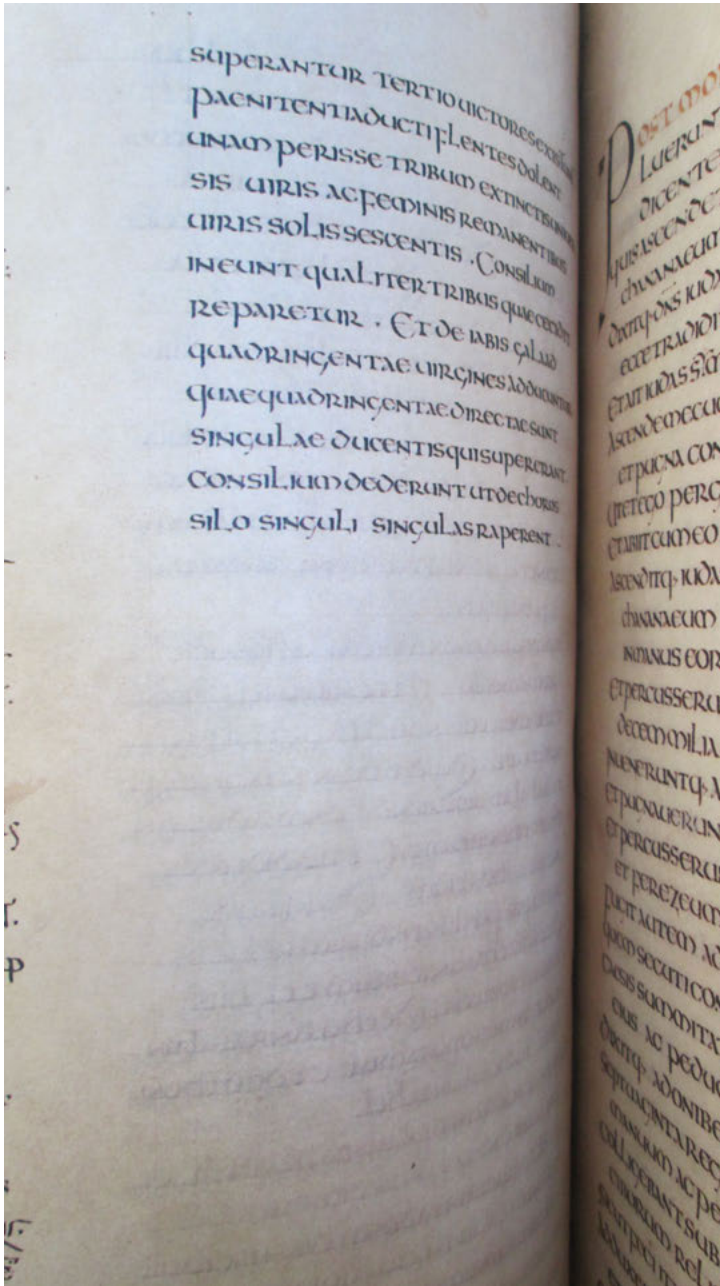


Figure 9: Amiatino 1, fol. 194v (detail). End of the capitula for, and the start of, Judges. Scribe C. Reproduced courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

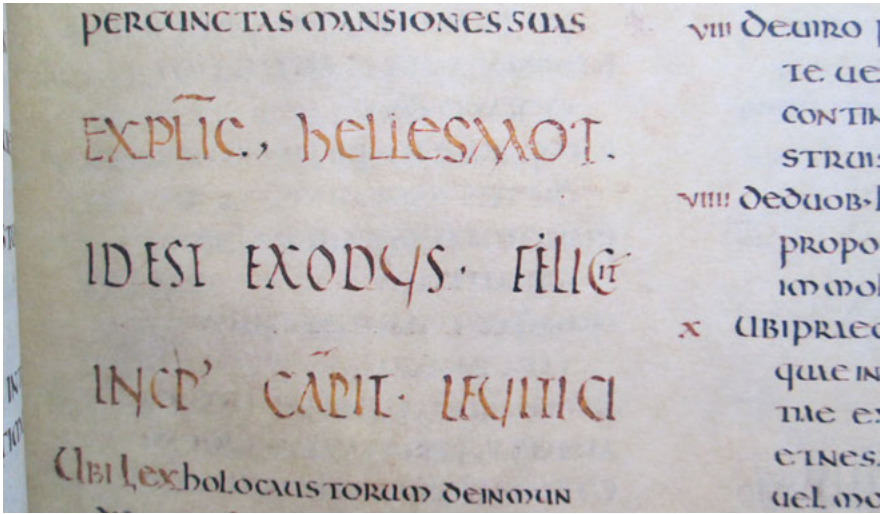


Figure 10: Amiatino 1, fol. 86r (detail). Explicit to Exodus; incipit to capitula for Leviticus. Scribe A. Reproduced courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

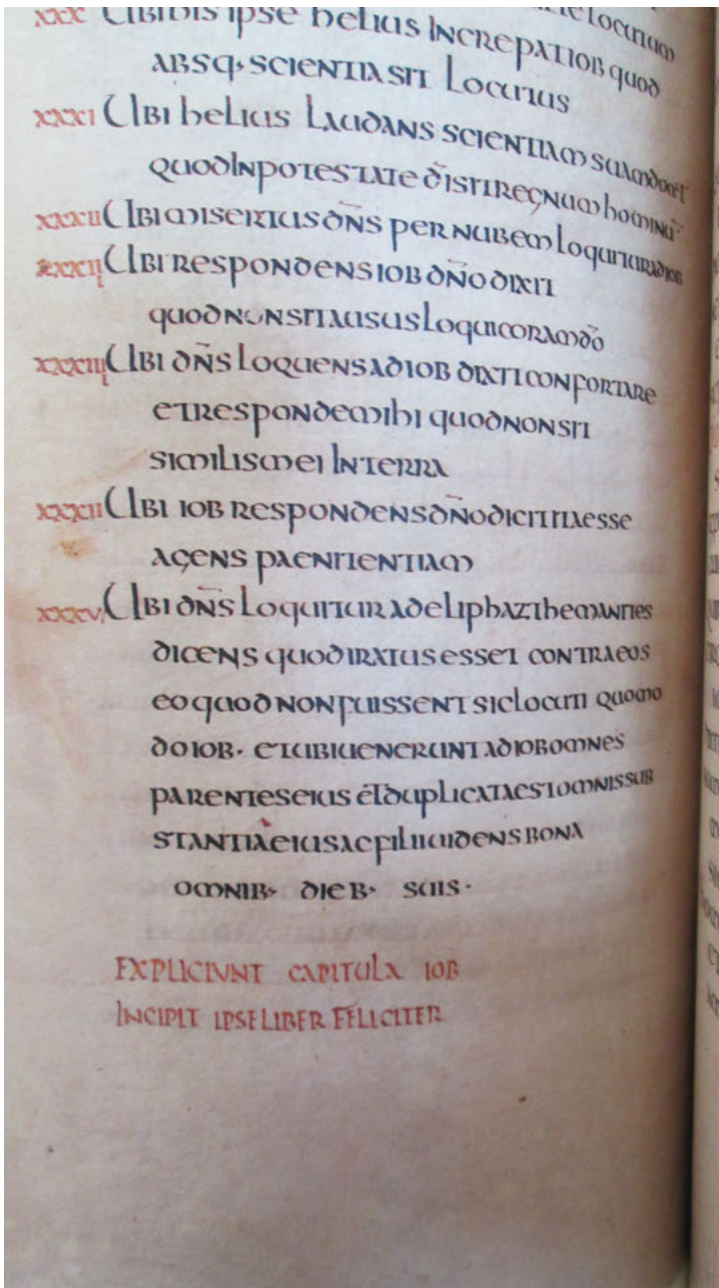


Figure 11: Amiatino 1, fol. 683v (detail). Explicit of capitula for, and incipit to, Job. Scribe E. Reproduced courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

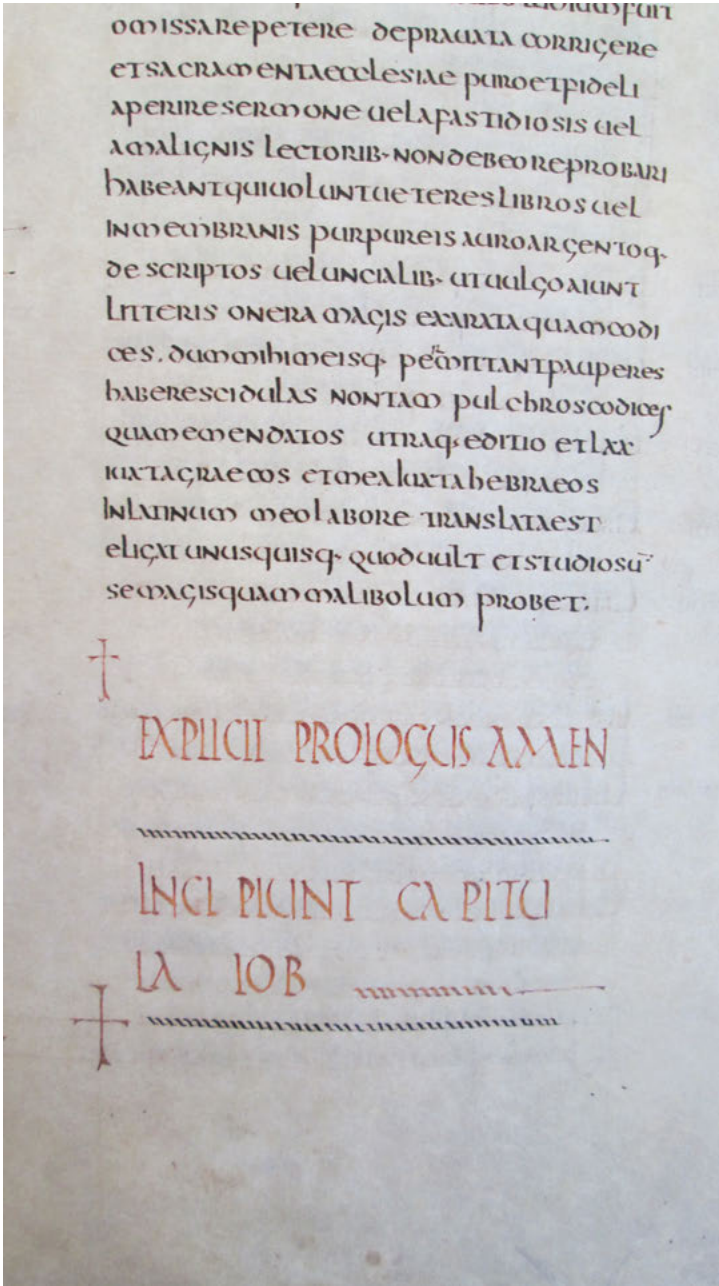


Figure 12: Amiatino 1, fol. 683r (detail). Explicit to Prologue, and incipit to capitula for Job. Scribe E. Reproduced courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

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Appendix

I Rubrics with Exhortations/Invocations

In the manuscript, the texts are entirely written in Uncials or Rustic Capitals. For ease of reading, capitals are here used only for the initial letter of each word. Line breaks are indicated by vertical lines. Abbreviations have been silently expanded. Modern punctuation has been substituted for the pointing of the original, and a full stop has been added to the end of each entry.

- Fol. 51r** (Exodus, incipit): Incipit Ipse | Liber Feliciter.
- Fol. 86r** (Exodus, explicit): Explicit, Hellesmot, | Id Est Exodus, Feliciter.
- Fol. 86v** (Leviticus, incipit): Incipit Liber Leviticus | Qui Hebraice Dicitur | Vaiegra. Lege Feliciter | Ο ΚΥΡΙΣ ΣΕΡΒΑΝΘΟΣ | ΑΙ ΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ.
- Fol. 110v** (Leviticus, explicit): Explicit Leviticus Qui Hebraice | Dicitur Vaiegra. Lege Felix.
- Fol. 111v** (Numbers, incipit): Incipit Liber | Numerorum Qui | Appellatur Hebra|ice Vaieddaber | Gloria Indiu|dae Trinitati. Amen.
- Fol. 146r** (Deuteronomy, incipit): Incipit Liber Deutero|nomium Qui Hebra|ice Dicitur Hellead|dabarim. Deo Laudes | Lege Feliciter. Amen | Ora Pro Me.
- Fol. 329v** (IV Kings, explicit): Explicit Malachim Id | Est Regum Liber Tertius | Et Quartus Feliciter.
- Fol. 634r** (Daniel, incipit): Incipit [ipit – *expunctuated*] Ipse Liber | Deo Gratias.
- Fol. 657r** (Joel, incipit): Incipit Ipse Liber | Deo Gratias Semper.

- Fol. 683v** (Job, incipit): Incipit Ipse Liber Feliciter.
- Fol. 720r** (Prologue to Esther, incipit): Incipit Liber Hester. | Deo Gratias
[corrected from: Incipit ipse liber | deo gratias].
- Fol. 796r** (II Maccabees, explicit): Explicit, Maccabeorum | Libri Duo, Deo
Gratias Amen | Feliciter Qui Legis Amen.
- Fol. 905v** (Capitula list for Acts, explicit): ΘΕΩ ΧΑΡ[Ι]Σ.
- Fol. 934v** (Acts, explicit): Explicit Liber Actuum Apostolorum | Deo Gratias
Amen.
- Fol. 1003r** (Hebrews, explicit): Explicit Epistula Pauli Apostoli Ad Hebraicos
Deo Gratias Amen.
- Fol. 1014v** (II John, incipit): Incipit Epistula Iohannis Secunda Deo
Gratias.
- Fol. 1016r** (Jude, explicit): Explicit Epistula Iudae. | Deo Gratias Amen. |
Feliciter Qui Legis.
- Fol. 1029v** (Apocalypse, explicit): Explicit Liber | Apocalypsis | Sancti
Iohannis | Apostoli Et Evangelistae | Deo Gratias | Ora Pro Me.

II The Same Rubrics by Scribal Stint

Capitalisation and punctuation are here normalised in accordance with modern conventions. For transcriptions that more closely reflect the presentation of the originals, see Appendix I above.

Scribe A

- Fol. 51r** (Exodus, incipit): Incipit ipse liber feliciter.
- Fol. 86r** (Exodus, explicit): Explicit Hellesmot id est Exodus feliciter.
- Fol. 86v** (Leviticus, incipit): Incipit liber Leviticus qui hebraice dicitur
Vaiekra. Lege feliciter. Ο ΚΥΡΙΣ ΣΕΡΒΑΝΔΟΣ ΑΙ ΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ.
- Fol. 110v** (Leviticus, explicit): Explicit Leviticus qui Hebraice dicitur
Vaiekra lege felix.
- Fol. 111v** (Numbers, incipit): Incipit liber Numerorum qui appellatur
hebraice Vaieddaber. Gloria indiuiduae trinitati. Amen.
- Fol. 146r** (Deuteronomy, incipit): Incipit liber Deuteronomium qui
hebraice dicitur Helleaddabarim. Deo laudes lege feliciter. Amen.
Ora pro me.

Scribe C

Fol. 329v (IV Kings, explicit): Explicit Malachim id est Regum liber tertius et quartus feliciter.

Scribe E

Fol. 634r (Daniel, incipit): Incipit ipse liber Deo gratias.

Fol. 657r (Joel, incipit): Incipit ipse liber deo gratias semper.

Fol. 683v (Job, incipit): Incipit ipse liber feliciter.

Scribe F

Fol. 720r (Prologue to Esther, incipit): Incipit liber Hester. Deo gratias.

Fol. 796r (II Maccabees, explicit): Explicit Maccabeorum libri duo Deo gratias Amen, Feliciter qui legis Amen.

Fol. 1003r (Hebrews, explicit): Explicit epistula Pauli apostoli ad Hebraicos Deo gratias Amen.

Fol. 1014v (II John, incipit): Incipit Epistula Iohannis secunda Deo gratias.

Fol. 1016r (Jude, explicit): Explicit epistula Iudae. Deo gratias. Feliciter qui legis.

Fol. 1029v (Apocalypse, explicit): Explicit liber Apocalypsis sancti Iohannis apostoli et evangelistae deo gratias, ora pro me.

Scribe G

Fol. 905v (Capitula list for Acts, explicit): ΘΕΩ ΧΑΡ[Ι]Σ.

Fol. 934v (Acts, explicit): Explicit liber Actuum apostolorum Deo gratias Amen.

