The Codex Amiatinus *Maiestas Domini* and the Gospel Prefaces of Jerome

By Peter Darby

The manuscript art of the early medieval West was intimately connected to the textual cultures associated with Christian monasticism. The act of pairing illuminations and written content opens up myriad possibilities for meaningful correspondences to be made between image and text. Such opportunities were regularly exploited in the illuminated manuscripts produced in Britain and Ireland between the sixth and ninth centuries.[1] The illuminators of such manuscripts, who were often well acquainted with the Christian Latin culture of late antiquity, produced art that was typically allusive, multivalent, and deliberately complex.[2] The simultaneous presentation of text and image in a manuscript allows the visual material and written words to join together to create something dynamic that is more than the sum of its parts. In such cases even familiar texts and established iconographies can take on new meanings through simple yet meaningful juxtapositions. The process of producing a manuscript involved making a series of conscious choices regarding content, layout, and design. Making a Bible or part-Bible brought the additional considerations of which books to include and omit and which version (or in some cases versions) of the scriptures to follow. Once such choices had been made, the textual content presented within an early medieval Bible was heavily influenced by the exemplars at the copyists' disposal. The surviving body of evidence suggests that the practice of adorning manuscripts of the Holy Scriptures with images emerged as a major intellectual concern from the fifth century onwards.[3] This development introduced an expressive element into the process of bookmaking, which counterbalanced the more routine, if no less important,

[1] A great deal of recent research in this field is consolidated in the volumes arising from the International Conferences on Insular Art, e.g., Mark Redknap, Nancy Edwards, Susan Youngs, Alan Lane, and Jeremy Knight, eds., *Pattern and Purpose in Insular Art* (Oxford, 2001); Rachel Moss, ed., *Making and Meaning in Insular Art* (Dublin, 2007); Jane Hawkes, ed., *Making Histories* (Donington, 2013). Also see R. Michael Spearman and John Higgitt, eds., *The Age of Migrating Ideas: Early Medieval Art in Northern Britain and Ireland* (Edinburgh, 1993).

[2] "It is reasonable to suppose that monastic art in the seventh and eighth century consciously aimed at . . . biblical cross reference and depths of meaning": George Henderson, *Bede and the Visual Arts* (Jarrow Lecture, 1980), 16, reprinted in Michael Lapidge, ed., *Bede and His World: The Jarrow Lectures 1958–1993*, 2 vols. (Aldershot, 1994), 2:509–38.

[3] John Lowden, "The Beginnings of Biblical Illustration," in *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible*, ed. John W. Williams (University Park, PA, 1999), 9–59.

task of copying text without error. Art offered scope for freedom of expression in a format where much else had already been fixed and a means through which to engage the viewer directly with preferred exegetical interpretations. The study of the illuminations in medieval Bibles therefore has the potential to reveal a great deal about the intellectual cultures of the communities that produced them.

At the turn of the eighth century the members of the wealthy coenobitic community spread across the twinned sites of Wearmouth and Jarrow in Anglo-Saxon Northumbria were surrounded by artistic media as they busied themselves with prayer, contemplation, and the celebration of the liturgy. Soon after the sites were established (Wearmouth, c. 673; Jarrow, c. 681) the monks began producing and commissioning new artistic creations to complement the imported materials sourced on the Continent by the monastery's founders.[4] The Codex Amiatinus (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Amiatino 1) was one of three single-volume Bibles made at Wearmouth-Jarrow under the direction of Abbot Ceolfrith (d. 25 September 716).[5] Although no longer in its original binding,[6] the Codex Amiatinus is the only one of the three pandects to survive fully intact.[7] It offers the earliest complete extant witness to the version of the Latin Bible produced in the late fourth and early fifth centuries by Jerome (d. 420), commonly referred to as the "Vulgate."[8] The finished text was the result of a major editorial project, and it was written out by several scribes working simultaneously.[9] The codex contains 1,029 folios, which present the scriptures in a fine Roman uncial script; the text is laid out *per cola et commata* and arranged in parallel columns.[10]

[4] The early histories of Wearmouth and Jarrow are recorded in Bede's *Historia abbatum* and the anonymous *Vita Ceolfridi*, new editions of which are available in Christopher Grocock and Ian N. Wood, *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 2013), 21–76 (*Historia abbatum*); 77–122 (*Vita Ceolfridi*), with discussion of the foundation of the two sites at xxv–xxxii. The monastery was an active center of glasswork and sculpture from an early stage: Rosemary Cramp, *Wearmouth and Jarrow Monastic Sites*, 2 vols. (Swindon, 2005–6), 2:56–78 (Anglo-Saxon window glass) and 2:162–97 (Anglo-Saxon sculpture).

[5] A complete facsimile is available on CD-ROM: Luigi G. G. Ricci, Lucia Castaldi, and Rosanna Minello, eds., *La Bibbia Amiatina: Riproduzione integrale su CD-ROM del manoscritto Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino 1* (Florence, 2000).

[6] The manuscript was removed from its nineteenth-century binding in the process of making the electronic facsimile in 1999: "Binding," in Ricci, Castaldi, and Minello, *La Bibbia Amiatina*.

[7] Fragments from one or both of the other Bibles are preserved in London, British Library, Add MS 45025 (the "Middleton Leaves"), Add MS 37777 (the "Greenwell Leaf") and MS Loan 81 (the "Bankes Leaf"). See Ralph Hanna and Thorlac Turville-Petre, *The Wollaton Medieval Manuscripts: Texts, Owners and Readers* (Woodbridge, 2010), 122; Leslie Webster and Janet Backhouse, *The Making of England: Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture AD 600–900* (London, 1991), 122–23.

[8] Christopher De Hamel, *The Book: A History of the Bible* (London, 2001), 32–34. For an overview of the history of the Latin Bible in the early Middle Ages see Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, "The Latin Bible 600–900," in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible: From the Beginnings to 600*, ed. James Carleton Paget and Joachim Schaper (Cambridge, UK, 2013), 69–92, with comments on the term "Vulgate" at 69.

[9] David H. Wright, "Some Notes on English Uncial," *Traditio* 17 (1961): 441–56.

[10] Jennifer O'Reilly, " 'All That Peter Stands for': The *Romanitas* of the Codex Amiatinus Reconsidered," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 157 (2009): 367–95, at 367–68; Richard Marsden, *The Text of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 15 (Cambridge, UK, 1995), 113.

The enormous folios are made from high-quality parchment, each measuring 33.5 by 50 cm, thus distinguishing the Codex Amiatinus as a lavishly produced presentation manuscript fully befitting its ultimate status as a gift from Ceolfrith to the shrine of Saint Peter in Rome.[11] The written sources associate the production of the three pandects specifically with the period of Ceolfrith's abbacy.[12] Ceolfrith served as abbot of Jarrow before becoming sole abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow together on 12 May 688; on 4 June 716 he left Northumbria, taking the Codex Amiatinus with him on a final journey to Rome.[13] It is not clear exactly when the Codex Amiatinus was finished within this period of office, although it seems likely that the project to produce the three pandects occupied the community for many consecutive years.[14]

Manuscripts containing the Old and New Testaments together in their entirety were rare prior to the Carolingian era, with multiple part-volumes being the normal means of dissemination.[15] Nonetheless, Wearmouth-Jarrow was not the first center to prepare and issue complete editions of the Bible in Latin, and indeed the commissioning of the three pandects was explicitly designed to complement a single-volume version of the "old translation" (*uetustae translationis*), which Ceolfrith had acquired for the community in Rome in the late seventh century.[16] The manuscript in question is commonly identified as the now-lost "Codex Grandior," the larger of two Latin pandects produced at the monastery of Vivarium in southern Italy in the time of Cassiodorus (c. 490–585).[17] Nevertheless, Ceolfrith's decision to commission three high-quality complete Bibles was very unusual and extraordinarily ambitious. The new pandects would have had a profound impact upon those who encountered them. Their creation was considered to be a major achievement by the Wearmouth-Jarrow community and an important part of the monastery's early history, as is evident from the fact that the production of the three Bibles is articulated in the center's two contemporaneous institutional histories,

[11] The dedication page (fol. I/1v) originally made the manuscript's Northumbrian provenance clear by referring to "Ceolfridus Anglorum," but this was subsequently changed to "Petrus Langobardorum." The alteration was detected by Giovanni B. de Rossi, "La Bibbia offerta da Ceolfrido abbate al sepolcro di S. Pietro," in *Al sommo pontefice Leone XIII omaggio giubilare della Biblioteca vaticana* (Rome, 1888). On de Rossi, see Michael Gorman, "The Codex Amiatinus: A Guide to the Legends and Bibliography," *Studi Medievali* 44 (2003): 863–910, at 865–66. An attempt to record the codex's original dedication is made in chapter 37 of the anonymous *Vita Ceolfridi*; the verses transcribed by the anonymous address "the body of Peter . . . head of the Church" (*corpus Petri . . . aecclesiae caput*). The dedicatory verses are discussed by O'Reilly, "*Romanitas* of the Codex Amiatinus," 368–73. On the Amiatinus as a gift see Celia Chazelle, "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.

[12] Bede, *Historia abbatum* 15; anonymous, *Vita Ceolfridi* 37.

[13] Simon Coates, s.v. "Ceolfrith," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).

[14] Richard Gameson has suggested that the three Bibles may have taken around a decade to produce: "The Cost of the Codex Amiatinus," *Notes and Queries* 237 (1992): 2–9.

[15] Marsden, *Text of the Old Testament*, 2, 30, and 44; Harry Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven, CT, 1995), 79–80; Frans van Liere, *An Introduction to the Medieval Bible* (Cambridge, UK, 2014), 20–27.

[16] Bede, *Historia abbatum* 15.

[17] Cassiodorus, *Institutiones* 1.14.2 (the larger volume) and 1.12.3 (the smaller volume), ed. Roger A. B. Mynors, *Cassiodori senatoris Institutiones*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1961).

the anonymous *Vita Ceolfridi* and the *Historia abbatum* by Bede (c. 673–735).[18] A third notice concerning the gifting of the Codex Amiatinus ("a pandect translated by the blessed Jerome into Latin from Hebrew and Greek sources") to the church of Saint Peter in Rome features in the chronicle of universal history issued in 725 as part of Bede's *De temporum ratione*.[19] The anonymous *Vita Ceolfridi* testifies to the considerable erudition shared across Ceolfrith's community by revealing that the two other pandects were made available for open consultation in the monastery's churches so that anyone who wanted to could locate passages from either testament quickly.

The Codex Amiatinus contains a cycle of full-page illuminations. Roman graphic signs, such as *tabulae ansatae* and column arches decorated with capitals, are prominent throughout. A theologically complex visualization of the Tabernacle fills a single bifolium (II/2v–III/7r).[20] The other illuminated pages depict dedicatory verses enclosed within a single rounded arch (fol. I/1v); a prologue to the Old and New Testaments beneath two decorated arches on a purple page (fol. IV/3r);[21] a list of the books of the Old and New Testaments that follow in the codex, also under arches on the manuscript's only other purple page (fol. IV/3v); a framed portrait of a scribe who is most commonly identified as the Old Testament figure Ezra (fol. V/4r);[22] a diagram in which excerpts from Jerome's fifty-third epistle are presented cruciform in interlinked medallions (fol. VII/6v); three further diagrams, which set out schematic divisions of the scriptures (fols. VI/5r, VII/6r and 8r);[23] a framed *Maiestas Domini* scene in which an enthroned figure

[18] Bede, *Historia abbatum* 15: "tres pandectes nouae translationis, ad unum uetustae translationis quem de Roma adtulerat, ipse super adiungeret"; anonymous, *Vita Ceolfridi* 20: "ita ut inter alia tres pandectes faceret describi, quorum duo per totidem sua monasteria posuit in ecclesiis, ut cunctis qui aliquod capitulum de utrolibet Testamento legere uoluissent, in promtu esset inuenire quod cuperent; tertium autem Romam profecturus donum beato Petro apostolorum principi offerre decreuit." See also anonymous, *Vita Ceolfridi* 37.

[19] Bede, *De temporum ratione* 66, s.a. 4671, ed. Charles W. Jones, CCSL 123B (Turnhout, 1977): "Qui inter alia donaria, quae adferre disposuerat, misit ecclesiae sancti petri pandectem a beato hieronimo in latinum ex hebreo uel graeco fonte translatum."

[20] The roman numerals for the foliation of the first quire refer to a reordering undertaken in 1876 and represent the sequence presented in the electronic facsimile; the arabic numbers refer to an earlier sequence, but neither is likely to preserve the original order (on which see further nn. 123 and 124 below). See "Foliation," in Ricci, Castaldi, and Minello, *La Bibbia Amiatina*. On the Tabernacle image see Jennifer 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. Paul Binski and William Noel (Stroud, 2001), 3–39, at 5–6 and 30–39; Bianca Kühnel, "Jewish Symbolism of the Temple and the Tabernacle and Christian Symbolism of the Holy Sepulchre and the Heavenly Tabernacle: A Study of Their Relationship in Late Antique and Early Medieval Art and Thought," *Jewish Art* 12/13 (1986–87): 147–68 at 165–66; Barbara Apelian Beall, "The Tabernacle Illumination in the Codex Amiatinus Reconsidered," in *Biblical Studies in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Claudio Leonardi and Giovanni Orlandi (Florence, 2005), 29–40.

[21] O'Reilly, "*Romanitas* of the Codex Amiatinus," 374–75; Paul Meyvaert, "Bede, Cassiodorus, and the Codex Amiatinus," *Speculum* 71 (1996): 827–83, at 866–70.

[22] Verses located outside the frame of the image refer directly to Ezra. The literature on this image is vast; see the works cited at n. 32 below.

[23] On the diagram pages see Lawrence Nees, "Problems of Form and Function in Early Medieval Illustrated Bibles from Northwest Europe," in Williams, *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible*, 121–77, at 161–68; Carol A. Farr, "The Shape of Learning at Wearmouth-Jarrow: The Diagram Pages in the

is flanked by two angelic beings and surrounded by full-length portraits of the evangelists accompanied by their traditional symbols of man, lion, calf, and eagle (fol. 796v, figure 1); and seven pages of canon tables (fols. 798r–801r).[24] This essay examines the *Maiestas Domini* illumination with reference to its position within the codex, its fusing of Old and New Testament prophecies, and its close connections with patristic exegesis, especially the Gospel prefaces by Jerome (d. 420) that follow it in the manuscript.

Before turning our full attention to the *Maiestas Domini* it is important to establish that it was produced in a milieu in which art was celebrated for its wide appeal and in which the nuances of production were fully understood. The choices that were made relating to the image's materials, colors, content, and placement would have been carefully thought out prior to its completion. Bede's writings provide evidence that Wearmouth-Jarrow was a center in which art was cherished for its multivalency. The *Historia abbatum* contains two well-known passages that describe the adornment of the Wearmouth and Jarrow churches with panel paintings brought back to Northumbria from Rome by Benedict Biscop, Ceolfrith's predecessor as abbot of Wearmouth.[25] In that text's ninth chapter Bede informs us that the panel paintings brought to Jarrow by Benedict were hung in Saint Paul's Church in such a way as to show "the harmony of the Old and New Testaments (*concordia ueteris et noui Testamenti*)."[26] An earlier chapter records that images inspired by the Book of Revelation were hung in Saint Peter's Wearmouth opposite scenes from the Gospels, again with the intention of suggesting theological connections through their strategic placement, in this case between the first and last parts of the New Testament.[27] The appeal of the panel paintings was not exclusive to those steeped in exegetical reading like Bede; he tells us that the Wearmouth display allowed those who could not read to contemplate Christ and the saints, and he praises its efficacy as a means through which to teach the illiterate about fundamentals of Christian belief, such as the Incarnation of Christ

Codex Amiatinus," in *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. Jane Hawkes and Susan Mills (Stroud, 1999), 336–44; Celia Chazelle, "Christ and the Vision of God: The Biblical Diagrams of the Codex Amiatinus," in *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché (Princeton, NJ, 2006), 84–111.

[24] The "formal and architectural" appearance of the canon tables reveals Italian influences: George Henderson, *From Durrow to Kells: The Insular Gospel-Books* (London, 1987), 101.

[25] Bede, *Historia abbatum* 6, 9. The classic study of the panels is Paul Meyvaert, "Bede and the Church Paintings at Wearmouth-Jarrow," *Anglo-Saxon England* 8 (1979): 63–77. See further Henderson, *Bede and the Visual Arts*, 13–17; Celia Chazelle, "Art and Reverence in Bede's Churches at Wearmouth and Jarrow," in *Intellektualisierung und Mystifizierung mittelalterlicher Kunst*, ed. Martin Büchsel and Rebecca Muller (Berlin, 2010), 79–98; Peter Darby, "Bede, Iconoclasm and the Temple of Solomon," *Early Medieval Europe* 21 (2013): 390–421, at 390–95.

[26] The two examples cited by Bede both concern the Crucifixion: a panel showing Isaac carrying the wood with which he was to be burned (Genesis 22.6–7) was paired with Christ carrying the cross to Golgotha and an image of Christ crucified was matched up with one of Moses and the brazen serpent (Numbers 21.8–9).

[27] Bede, *Historia abbatum* 6.

Fig. 1. *Maiestas Domini*. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Amiatino 1, fol. 796v.
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and the Last Judgment.[28] These passages suggest that the placement of panels in particular locations had been given careful thought, the result being that each picture communicated theological meanings derived from its position within the cycle as well as from the content that it displayed individually.[29] Recent studies of the Codex Amiatinus have similarly emphasized that the iconography of any single image is best understood by reference to other illuminations from across the pandect; a good example of this is Celia Chazelle's analysis of the first quire, which shows that the original configuration of its leaves must have been given careful consideration so that each image contributed meaningfully to an overarching scheme.[30]

The *Maiestas Domini* Illumination

The *Maiestas Domini* illumination (Fig. 1) measures 24 by 35.4 cm and covers approximately the same amount of space as a typical page of text.[31] Just over half of the available surface has been used, meaning that there is a generous amount of unused parchment surrounding each of the image's edges. The scribal portrait on folio V/4r has been examined extensively, but the *Maiestas Domini* has attracted far less scrutiny in modern scholarship.[32] An influential study by Paul Meyvaert in volume 71 of *Speculum* showed the importance of reading the scribal portrait illumination in concert with textual material, specifically the sixth-century writings of Cassiodorus, the contemporaneous commentaries produced at Wearmouth-Jarrow by Bede, and the two verses copied above the image.[33] There is no textual caption for the majesty scene. In fact, the *Maiestas* page is unique within the codex as a whole, being the only used folio of the pandect which bears no writing at

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[28] *Historia abbatum* 6. See also *De templo* 2, lines 809–43, ed. Dom David Hurst, CCSL 119A (Turnhout, 1969); *Homiliarum euangelii libri II* 2.13, lines 180–85, ed. Dom David Hurst, CCSL 122 (Turnhout, 1955). The sentiments expressed here echo similar ideas elucidated in letters from Gregory the Great to Serenus of Marseilles: *Registrum epistularum* 9.209 and 11.10, ed. Dag Norberg, CCSL 140–140A (Turnhout, 1982); for insightful analysis of these letters see Celia Chazelle, "Pictures, Books, and the Illiterate: Pope Gregory I's Letters to Serenus of Marseilles," *Word & Image* 6 (1990): 138–53.

[29] Peter Darby, *Bede and the End of Time* (Farnham, 2012), 219–21.

[30] Chazelle, "Ceolfrid's Gift," 129–49. See also O'Reilly, "Library of Scripture" and "*Romanitas* of the Codex Amiatinus"; Nees, "Problems of Form and Function"; Janina Ramirez, "'Sub Culmine Gazas': The Iconography of the *Armarium* on the Ezra Page of the Codex Amiatinus," *Gesta* 48 (2009): 1–36, at 8.

[31] The dimensions of the image are given by Melania Ceccanti, "Illuminations," in Ricci, Castaldi, and Minello, *La Bibbia Amiatina*.

[32] On the scribal portrait: O'Reilly, "Library of Scripture" and "*Romanitas* of the Codex Amiatinus," 379–88; Chazelle, "Ceolfrid's Gift," 149–56; Meyvaert, "Bede, Cassiodorus, and the Codex Amiatinus"; Karen Corsano, "The First Quire of the Codex Amiatinus and the *Institutiones* of Cassiodorus," *Scriptorium* 41 (1987): 3–34; George Henderson, "Cassiodorus and Eadfrith Once Again," in Spearman and Higgitt, *The Age of Migrating Ideas*, 82–91.

[33] Meyvaert, "Bede, Cassiodorus, and the Codex Amiatinus," 877–81. The two verses, which were known to Alcuin, read "CODICIBVS SACRIS HOSTILI CLADE PERVSTIS / ESDRA D[E]O FERVENS HOC REPARAVIT OPVS": Alcuin, *Carmina* 69, lines 201–2, MGH Poetae 1, ed. Ernst Dümmler, 288–92.

all.[34] Nevertheless, the *Maiestas Domini* is also designed to interact with a body of well-known written material.

By the early eighth century the Wearmouth-Jarrow library was well stocked with patristic texts, including several by Jerome. The high esteem in which Jerome was held by Ceolfrith's community is self-evident from their selection of his translations for the text of the three codices, and it is reinforced by Bede's indefatigable promotion of the Vulgate as the superior edition of the Bible in his exegetical and computistical writings.[35] Twenty-eight short Hieronymian texts are copied into the Codex Amiatinus to serve as prefaces for individual books of the Bible or collections of books (as is the case with the Pentateuch and the Books of Solomon, for example). These are not included in the list of contents provided on folio IV/3v, and they are therefore encountered by the reader as integral parts of the Vulgate. The Wearmouth-Jarrow monks clearly saw the prefaces as important, and their inclusion affords them a status approaching that of scripture itself. The prefaces are most commonly in the form of letters to Jerome's patrons or acquaintances. They typically recount some of the issues that Jerome had faced in completing his translations and they frame the upcoming content by introducing the reader to certain exegetical principles. There are strong resonances between the *Maiestas Domini* illumination and two of the prefaces in particular: those beginning "novum opus" (fols. 797r and 797v) and "plures fuisse" (fols. 802r and 802v). These two texts are copied into the Codex Amiatinus at the beginning of the New Testament to introduce the four Gospels, and they therefore sit in close proximity to the *Maiestas Domini* illumination in the manuscript. *Novum opus* and *Plures fuisse* were very influential in shaping early medieval attitudes towards the Gospels; they enjoyed wide circulation in the Latin West once the Vulgate edition of the Gospels (to which the prefaces was commonly prefixed) became predominant from c. 600 onwards.[36]

A comprehensive study of the majesty image in its manuscript setting has never previously appeared in print.[37] The illumination has been brought into wider debates concerning the origins of the artistic material in the Codex Amiatinus. The first of these concerns the artist or artists responsible for the paintings. Per Jonas Nordhagen supposed that the scribal portrait illumination was executed by an imported "Italo-Byzantine painter" in Northumbria, with the *Maiestas Domini* being

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[34] In addition to the unused pages in the first quire, the following are left blank: fols. 10v; 418v; 801v.

[35] Bede commonly referred to Jerome's translation as the "*Hebraica veritas* (Hebrew Truth)"; over forty uses of this phrase are found in his writings. On Bede's campaign to promote this edition of the scriptures in his chronological endeavors see Máirín MacCarron, "Bede, Irish Computistica and Annus Mundi," *Early Medieval Europe* 23 (2015): 290–307.

[36] Bogaert, "The Latin Bible 600–900," 74. An excellent discussion of the prefaces is offered by Elizabeth Mullins, "The Insular Reception of the Eusebian Canon Tables: Exegesis and Iconography," 2 vols. (PhD diss., University College Cork, 2001), 1:24–32 (*Novum opus*) and 1:42–59 (*Plures fuisse*); with a guide to their dissemination across a selection of Insular manuscripts at 2:269–71 (this builds upon the information compiled by Patrick McGurk, *Latin Gospel Books from AD 400 to AD 800* [Paris, 1961], 110–12).

[37] Important but relatively brief analyses are offered in O'Reilly, "Library of Scripture," 11–13; Bianca Kühnel, *The End of Time in the Order of Things: Science and Eschatology in Early Medieval Art* (Regensburg, 2003), 41–45 and 48–52.

produced by a pupil collaborator, although this view is not generally favored in the current scholarship.[38] Although not impressed by its execution, Rupert Bruce-Mitford argued that the *Maiestas Domini* was the work of the same artist as the scribal portrait on the basis of their "identical" palettes.[39] Investigative work carried out at the turn of the twenty-first century using nondestructive scientific techniques suggested that the materials used in the *Maiestas Domini* and some of the illuminated pages in the first quire were not substantially different in makeup. Specifically, greens and blues used on folio 796v were found to have the same composition as those used in the three diagrams that show the schematic divisions of the scriptures (fols. VI/5r, VII/6r, and 8r).[40] This strongly suggests that the *Maiestas Domini* was painted contemporaneously with the codex's introductory material before the pandect left Northumbria, as an original element of its overall design.

Discussions of the relationship between the Codex Amiatinus and the single-volume edition of the scriptures in the "old translation" brought to Wearmouth-Jarrow by Ceolfrith are also relevant here. Statements made in the commentaries *De tabernaculo* and *De templo*, both of which were written towards the end of Bede's career, relate that he had seen diagrams of the Temple and the Tabernacle in a Cassiodorean pandect.[41] The *Expositio Psalmorum* of Cassiodorus records that such illustrations were included in the larger of the two complete Bibles produced under his direction at Vivarium (the so-called "Codex Grandior"), suggesting that the volume brought to Wearmouth-Jarrow by Ceolfrith might well have been this very same pandect.[42] The fact that both pandects contained images of the Tabernacle has encouraged speculation about the extent to which the Codex Grandior influenced the layout and design of the Codex Amiatinus, with many supposing that any such influence would have been strong.[43] The intellectual connections between Ceolfrith's monastery and Vivarium are compelling, and the Codex Amiatinus undeniably draws upon several different Cassiodorean themes.[44] However, Lawrence Nees astutely warns against the assumption that

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[38] Per Jonas Nordhagen, "An Italo-Byzantine Painter at the Scriptorium of Ceolfrith," in *Studia Romana in honorem Petri Krarup septuagenarii*, ed. Karen Ascani (Odense, 1976), 138–45, and *The Codex Amiatinus and the Byzantine Element in the Northumbrian Renaissance* (Jarrow Lecture, 1977), reprinted in Lapidge, *Bede and His World*, 1:437–62.

[39] Rupert L. S. Bruce-Mitford, *The Art of the Codex Amiatinus* (Jarrow Lecture, 1967), 11–18, reprinted in Lapidge, *Bede and His World*, 1:187–234, at 199–206.

[40] Marina Bicchieri, Francesco Paolo Romano, Lighea Pappalardo, Luigi Cosentino, Michele Nardone, and Armida Sodo, "Non-Destructive Analysis of the Bibbia Amiatina by XRF, PIXE-α, and Raman," *Quinio: International Journal on the History and Conservation of the Book* 3 (2001): 169–79, at 176–78.

[41] Bede, *De templo* 2, lines 28–40; *De tabernaculo* 2, lines 1563–70, ed. Dom David Hurst, CCSL 119A (Turnhout, 1969).

[42] Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum* 86, lines 40–44, ed. Marc Adriaen, CCSL 97–98 (Turnhout, 1958). See also *Expositio Psalmorum* 14, lines 43–45; and Cassiodorus, *Institutiones* 1.5.2.

[43] In the most extreme statement of this view the first quire of the Codex Amiatinus was taken directly from the Codex Grandior and rebound: Dom John Chapman, *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels* (Oxford, 1908), 6.

[44] Jennifer O'Reilly, "The Art of Authority," in *After Rome*, ed. Thomas Charles-Edwards (Oxford, 2003), 141–89, at 154–59; Meyvaert, "Bede, Cassiodorus, and the Codex Amiatinus"; Marsden, *Text of the Old Testament*, 117–23 and 129–39.

any of the illuminations preserved in the Codex Amiatinus are facsimile copies of originals from the Codex Grandior.[45] It is also worth pointing out that even if the Amiatine illuminations had been direct copies of images from the Codex Grandior, their repositioning in new geographical, temporal, and intellectual contexts would dictate that the copies communicate novel cultural and exegetical messages in the new setting.[46] Cassiodorus does not tell us whether the Codex Grandior contained a *Maiestas Domini* illumination, and so the case for Cassiodorean inspiration in this instance is diminished. Those who have commented on the image's origins have tended to see the Codex Amiatinus *Maiestas Domini* as a Northumbrian creation, albeit one influenced by earlier models and late antique artistic techniques.[47] In Bianca Kühnel's assessment, the "Insular character" of the illumination is evident, although she supposes that the image was based upon an earlier manuscript source and highlights an apposite example from an early manuscript of Ambrose's *De fide catholica* as an analogue.[48]

A manuscript source is especially likely in light of the rich holdings of the Wearmouth-Jarrow monastic library at this time,[49] but this should not close off the possibility that the various features of the image were influenced by a wide variety of other artistic media. Bede and the author of the anonymous *Vita Ceolfridi* both speak admiringly of the efforts made by Wearmouth-Jarrow's founders to acquire resources for the monastery from Continental Europe in the late seventh century, and the arrival of Theodore of Tarsus to serve as archbishop of Canterbury in 669 had given Anglo-Saxon England a meaningful link to the Mediterranean world.[50] As mentioned above, the panel paintings brought from Rome to Northumbria by Benedict Biscop included a set of images of scenes from the Book of Revelation. Such images might well have influenced the visual appearance of the Codex Amiatinus *Maiestas Domini*, given that illumination's eschatological

[45] Nees, "Problems of Form and Function," 157–68.

[46] Cf. Ramirez, "Iconography of the Ezra Page," 14 n. 22.

[47] Meyvaert thought there were "good grounds" for seeing the *Maiestas Domini* as "a creation of the Wearmouth-Jarrow scriptorium, a composition with no direct link to the Codex Grandior": "Bede, Cassiodorus, and the Codex Amiatinus," 882. Jonathan J. G. Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts, 6th to the 9th Century* (London, 1978), 34, rather dismissively described the image as "an Insular pastiche from a variety of models," a statement endorsed by Corsano, "First Quire of the Codex Amiatinus," 6.

[48] Kühnel, *End of Time in the Order of Things*, 48–52, with reproduction on 298, figure 16. The manuscript in question is Sankt Paul im Lavanttal, Stiftsbibliothek, MS XXV/3, 19 (alt 25, a 1). Like the Codex Amiatinus illumination, the Lavanttal *Maiestas* occurs at a natural break in the text (between the end of book 2 and beginning of book 3 of *De fide catholica* at fol. 72v). It shows a seated Christ within a large disc flanked by two figures, identified by Kühnel as Peter and Paul. The entire scene is similarly enclosed within a decorated rectangular frame.

[49] Michael Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford, 2006), 34–37; Rosalind Love, "The Library of the Venerable Bede," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 1, *c. 400–1100*, ed. Richard Gameson (Cambridge, UK, 2012), 606–32; M. L. W. Laistner, "The Library of the Venerable Bede," in *Bede, His Life, Times, and Writings*, ed. Alexander Hamilton Thompson (Oxford, 1935), 237–66.

[50] Bede, *Historia abbatum* 4, 5, 6, 9, 11, 15, 18; anonymous *Vita Ceolfridi* 7, 9, 10, 12, 15, 20. On Theodore see Michael Lapidge, "The Career of Archbishop Theodore," in *Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies on His Life and Influence*, ed. Michael Lapidge (Cambridge, UK, 1995), 1–29.

content.[51] The *Maiestas Domini* (fol. 796v) and scribal portrait (fol. V/4r) are the only two illuminated pages in the Codex Amiatinus where an entire scene is fully enclosed by a drawn rectangular frame, giving them the appearance of panel paintings transferred to a page.[52] The frame for the majesty illumination is interesting. It contains ninety-three small squares, which are perhaps intended to represent gems. The number ninety-three corresponds to the Greek word ἀγάπη (agapē) if the letters of that word are read using the practice of isopsephy (in which a numerical value is attributed to each letter of the Greek alphabet).[53] This is one of several Greek nouns meaning "love," but one of its specific connotations is selfless unconditional love. In the Gospels it is used by Jesus to describe the reciprocal love existing between God and humankind.[54]

A wide variety of potential avenues for the transmission of late antique iconographies to Anglo-Saxon Northumbria are open, including the circulation of portable media such as textiles.[55] The geometric arrangement of the *Maiestas Domini* echoes configurations sometimes found on late antique book covers, another medium that had the potential to act as a vehicle for the transmission of visual designs to the Insular world.[56] An appropriate illustration of this is found in the Codex Amiatinus itself: five of the books depicted in the scribe's *armarium* on Codex Amiatinus folio V/4r have covers that show large central lozenges enclosed by rectangular frames; smaller shapes feature outside each lozenge but within the corners of the quadrangular frames. The Octateuch cover (on the left

[51] This possibility has been raised by Christopher Pickles, *Texts and Monuments: A Study of Ten Anglo-Saxon Churches of the Pre-Viking Period*, British Archaeological Reports 277 (Oxford, 1999), 77–78.

[52] Michelle P. Brown makes the same observation regarding the evangelist miniatures in the Lindisfarne Gospels: *The Lindisfarne Gospels: Society, Spirituality and the Scribe* (London, 2003), 364–70. The enclosing of images within framed panels is a defining feature of pre–Viking Age sculpture in Anglo-Saxon England.

[53] Here: ἀ = 1, γ = 3, ά = 1, π = 80, η = 8. Compare the tradition linking the Greek letters that form the name Ἀδάμ (Adam) to 46, the sum of their numerical equivalents and a number with strong scriptural resonances (e.g., John 2.20). This tradition was popular in Hiberno-Latin exegesis and it is echoed in the Tabernacle diagram in the Codex Amiatinus (a masterful explanation is given by O'Reilly, "Library of Scripture," 30–34). Bede often drew upon such ideas in his exegesis, and it is well known that his metrical and prose vitae for Saint Cuthbert had 46 chapters each: W. Berschin, "*Opus deliberatum ac perfectum*: Why Did the Venerable Bede Write a Second Prose *Life of Saint Cuthbert*?," in *St. Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to AD 1200*, ed. Gerald Bonner, David Rollason, and Clare Stancliffe (Woodbridge, 1989), 95–102.

[54] E.g., Luke 11.42; John 15.9–10.

[55] Various textiles would have been used in the celebration of the liturgy, and holy vestments (*sancta . . . vestimenta*) were among the treasures acquired for the monastery by Benedict Biscop from overseas: Bede, *Historia abbatum* 5. Examples with specific early Anglo-Saxon connections are rare, but a sixth-century tapestry panel from Egypt that is now in the Cleveland Museum of Art can perhaps offer a general impression of the types of images that were circulating on the luxury textiles of the period. The item depicts an enthroned Christ figure holding a book and offering a blessing, flanked by two angels in its upper panel; underneath is a portrait of the Virgin and Child flanked by staff-wielding archangels Gabriel and Michael. See Dorothy G. Shepherd, "An Icon of the Virgin: A Sixth-Century Tapestry Panel from Egypt," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 56 (1969): 91–120.

[56] Leslie Webster, "Decoration of the Binding," in *The St Cuthbert Gospel: Studies on the Insular Manuscript of the Gospel of John*, ed. Claire Breay and Bernard Meehan (London, 2015), 65–82.

side of the top shelf) shows a circular studded roundel inside its lozenge, thus revealing a geometric structure very similar to that which underpins the *Maiestas* scene.[57] Other aspects of the *Maiestas Domini* connect it to the late antique Mediterranean world. The depiction of the central figure as seated echoes Byzantine imperial iconography while recalling a statement about the return of the Son of Man made by Jesus in the Gospel of Matthew.[58] The figure is painted with a short beard and long hair parted in the middle. This means of depiction was devised to show the human and divine natures of Christ together in one image and underscore his status as "ruler of all" (Παντοκράτωρ / Pantocrator).[59] By the early eighth century it was being widely used on portable objects such as *ampullae*, icons, and the gold *solidi* of Justinian II (first r. 685–95; second r. 705–11), the first Byzantine ruler to show Christ's likeness on coinage.[60] The enthroned figure's head is positioned within a circular crossed nimbus embellished with gold leaf.[61] This further points the viewer in the direction of numismatic visual resonances.[62] The nimbus in the center of the *Maiestas Domini* is the only one of the eight displayed in the Codex Amiatinus to be crossed.[63]

  Northumbrian travelers to the Continent in the late seventh and early eighth centuries would of course have encountered many buildings richly decorated with frescoes and mosaics, not least the churches in Rome, which were lavishly adorned with gifts from papal benefactors throughout the period in question.[64] The visual parallels between the *armaria* shown in the Amiatine scribal portrait and the "Saint Lawrence" mosaic in the mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna are well known, and there are similarities between the building's internal decoration

[57] Numerous reproductions of this image are available in print, e.g., Michelle P. Brown, *Manuscripts from the Anglo-Saxon Age* (London, 2007), 40; Chazelle, "Ceolfrid's Gift," 138; O'Reilly, "*Romanitas* of the Codex Amiatinus," 380, and "Library of Scripture," 4.

[58] Matthew 26.64: "Hereafter you shall see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of the power of God and coming in the clouds of heaven" (*amodo videbitis Filium hominis sedentem a dextris virtutis et venientem in nubibus caeli*).

[59] Michelle P. Brown, "Bearded Sages and Beautiful Boys: Insular and Anglo-Saxon Attitudes to the Iconography of the Beard," in *"Listen, O Isles, Unto Me": Studies in Medieval Word and Image in Honour of Jennifer O'Reilly*, ed. Elizabeth Mullins and Diarmuid Scully (Cork, 2011), 278–90, at 285.

[60] Robin Cormack, *Writing in Gold: Byzantine Society and Its Icons* (London, 1985), 25 (for the famous Pantocrator icon from Saint Catherine's, Sinai); 27 (example of an *ampulla*); 96–99 (coinage of Justinian II).

[61] Bruce-Mitford, *Art of the Codex Amiatinus*, 17–18, repr. Lapidge, 205–6.

[62] Cf. Nees, "Problems of Form and Function," 166–73, where Nees draws parallels between the Pantocrator coins of Justinian II and the medallion on Codex Amiatinus, fol. VII/6r.

[63] The uncrossed nimbuses belong to the scribe on fol. V/4r and the two angelic beings and four evangelists depicted in the *Maiestas Domini*.

[64] *Liber Pontificalis* 72–91, ed. L. Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis: Texte, introduction et commentaire*, 3 vols., 2nd ed. (Paris, 1955–57), 1:323–414 (Honorius–Gregory II). See Alan Thacker, "Rome: The Pilgrims' City in the Seventh Century," in *England and Rome in the Early Middle Ages: Pilgrimage, Art, and Politics*, ed. Francesca Tinti (Turnhout, 2014), 89–139; Alan Thacker and Éamonn Ó Carragáin, "Wilfrid in Rome," in *Wilfrid: Abbot, Bishop, Saint. Papers from the 1300th Anniversary Conferences*, ed. Nicholas Higham (Donington, 2013), 212–30; Rosamond McKitterick, John Osborne, Carol M. Richardson, and Joanna Story, eds., *Old Saint Peter's, Rome* (Cambridge, UK, 2013).

and the *Maiestas Domini* as well.[65] The continuous ribbon that surrounds the central scene of the *Maiestas Domini* echoes a colorful three-dimensional pattern displayed on the underside of the barrel-vaulted ceiling at the opening of the mausoleum's southern lunette (at the entrance to the "Saint Lawrence" mosaic), and the use of concentric circles to depict the heavens in star-studded blue is visually reminiscent of the scene depicted in the dome that covers the building's central space. Near-contemporary Insular materials, such as the scene on the lid of the carved wooden coffin of Saint Cuthbert and the panel that shows the washing of Christ's feet on the Ruthwell Cross, offer further visual correspondences: both the cross and coffin show cross-nimbed Christ figures holding books with hands that are concealed by robes.[66]

HARMONY OF THE TESTAMENTS

The *Maiestas Domini* is intentionally complex and multivalent, a carefully crafted composition that demands high levels of participation from its viewers. Before discussing some of its meanings we should take heed of statements by Jennifer O'Reilly to the effect that the manuscript illuminations of this period are enigmatic, and that it is difficult for us to know exactly what was originally intended by those who created them.[67] It is possible, however, as O'Reilly demonstrated in several pioneering studies, to elucidate some of the associations that would likely have been made by contemporary viewers of such images by reference to written material current at the time of painting and to use those images as windows onto the monastic cultures that produced them. The intellectual culture of Ceolfrith's monastery is partly recoverable by reference to Bede's early career writings; these reveal some of the patristic texts available in the Wearmouth-Jarrow library during the period in which the community was working on the three pandects.[68] In some instances Bede's biblical commentaries can help to explain how specific details from the *Maiestas Domini* would have been understood by an educated member of Ceolfrith's monastery. Indeed Bede's direct involvement

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[65] For the connections between the scribal portrait and the "Saint Lawrence" mosaic, see O'Reilly, "Library of Scripture," 7–8; Ramirez, "Iconography of the Ezra Page," 3–4. The Codex Amiatinus *Maiestas Domini* is linked to Ravenna by Lawrence Nees, *The Gundohinus Gospels* (Cambridge, MA, 1987), 145–46 and 167–71. See also Hans Belting, *Probleme der Kunstgeschichte Italiens im Frühmittelalter* (Berlin, 1967), 109 (cited by Nees at 169, n. 100); and George Henderson, *Vision and Image in Early Christian England* (Cambridge, UK, 1999), 89. On the mausoleum and its decoration see Deborah M. Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, UK, 2010), 74–84.

[66] A comprehensive study of the Ruthwell Cross is provided by Éamonn Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood: Liturgical Images and the Old English Poems of the Dream of the Rood Tradition* (London, 2005). On the coffin, which is commonly dated to 698, the year of Cuthbert's reinterment on Lindisfarne, see Ernst Kitzinger, "The Coffin-Reliquary," in *The Relics of Saint Cuthbert*, ed. Christopher F. Battiscombe (Oxford, 1956), 202–304.

[67] Jennifer O'Reilly, "Early Medieval Text and Image: The Wounded and Exalted Christ," *Peritia* 6–7 (1987–88): 72–118, at 108.

[68] For an overview of Bede's career see Peter Darby and Faith Wallis, "Introduction: The Many Futures of Bede," in *Bede and the Future*, ed. Peter Darby and Faith Wallis (Farnham, 2014), 1–21 (4–11 for the period to 716). A list of works known to Bede is offered by Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 191–228.

in the production of the Codex Amiatinus has often been assumed.[69] Richard Marsden has suggested that Bede would have been instrumental in helping to establish the community's approved edition of the text of the Vulgate, although he also estimates just 60 percent direct agreement between the citations featured in Bede's commentaries and the Codex Amiatinus.[70] The scribal portrait illumination has often been connected to Bede's exegesis of the Book of Ezra,[71] but in the specific case of the *Maiestas Domini* illumination it is most appropriate to consider Bede's writings as parallel sources that were products of the same intellectual environment rather than as influences that shaped the design of the image directly. Indeed, it will become clear that the most apposite connections between image and text are found by reference to textual material contained within the Codex Amiatinus itself.

One of the core themes of the Codex Amiatinus *Maiestas Domini*, and indeed of the visual scheme of the entire codex, is the unity of scripture.[72] Typology—in simple terms, the idea that occurrences recorded in the New Testament were foreshadowed in the Old—was accepted as a fundamental truth by the church fathers, and it is a principle that is commonly expressed in medieval Christian art.[73] Augustine, a writer held in the highest esteem at Wearmouth-Jarrow, succinctly explained typology with the following maxim: "Just as in the Old [Testament] the New lies hidden, so in the New the Old is revealed."[74] This manner of thinking is frequently evident in the New Testament itself.[75] It is expressed especially clearly in the Gospels and the writings of the Apostle Paul, where current events are regularly presented as the fulfillment of ancient types. Bede's detailed discussion of the different senses and types of allegorical interpretation in *De schematibus et*

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[69] Bede's influence over the Tabernacle painting is tentatively proposed by Beall, "Tabernacle Illumination Reconsidered," 39–40. The project to produce the Codex Amiatinus was "probably led by Bede," according to Michelle P. Brown, "'Excavating' Northumbrian Manuscripts: Reappraising Regionalism in Insular Manuscript Production," in *Early Medieval Northumbria: Kingdoms and Communities, AD 450–1100*, ed. David Petts and Sam Turner, Studies in the Early Middle Ages 24 (Turnhout, 2011), 267–82, at 272. Meyvaert proposes that the verses in honor of Jerome on fol. IV/3v were added by Bede: "Bede, Cassiodorus, and the Codex Amiatinus," 868–70.

[70] Richard Marsden, "*Manus Bedae*: Bede's Contribution to Ceolfrith's Bibles," *Anglo-Saxon England* 27 (1998): 65–86, at 68.

[71] Meyvaert, "Bede, Cassiodorus, and the Codex Amiatinus" and "The Date of Bede's *In Ezram* and His Image of Ezra in the Codex Amiatinus," *Speculum* 80 (2005): 1087–1133. See also Scott DeGregorio, *Bede: On Ezra and Nehemiah*, Translated Texts for Historians 47 (Liverpool, 2006), 229–33; and DeGregorio, "The Figure of Ezra in the Writings of Bede and the Codex Amiatinus," in Mullins and Scully, "*Listen, O Isles, Unto Me*", 115–25.

[72] O'Reilly, "Library of Scripture," 11–14, and "*Romanitas* of the Codex Amiatinus," 373–77.

[73] Herbert L. Kessler, "'They Preach Not by Speaking Out Loud but by Signifying': Vitreous Arts as Typology," *Gesta* 51 (2012): 55–70.

[74] Augustine, *Quaestionum in heptateuchum libri septem* 2 (*De quaestionibus Exodi*) 73, lines 1276–82, ed. Jean Fraipont, CCSL 33 (Turnhout, 1958): "quamquam et in uetere nouum lateat et in nouo uetus pateat." For further references and commentary see Catherine Brown Tkacz, "Typology," in *Augustine through the Ages: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Allan D. Fitzgerald (Grand Rapids, MI, 1999), 855–57. Augustine's influence on Bede is investigated by Alan Thacker, *Bede and Augustine of Hippo: History and Figure in Sacred Text* (Jarrow Lecture, 2005).

[75] Charles K. Barrett, "The Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New," in Paget and Schaper, *New Cambridge History of the Bible*, 377–411, especially 410–11.

tropis, a work that explains different categories of figurative language by drawing on examples from the Bible and Christian Latin literature, cites several Old Testament pericopes which can be understood in a spiritual sense as allusions to persons or events from the Christian era.[76] The monks at Wearmouth and Jarrow were hardwired to think in such terms through near constant engagement with the Latin Bible, which members of the community at both sites had ready access to in its entirety once the codex's two sister pandects were completed and displayed for public viewing.[77] At Jarrow the principle was reinforced by the physical characteristics of Saint Paul's Church, where panel paintings imported from Rome were arranged in such a way as to elucidate concordances between the two parts of scripture.[78]

It is helpful to keep Bede's description of the Jarrow display in mind when contemplating the Codex Amiatinus *Maiestas Domini* because the manuscript illumination also has very strong connections to typological exegesis. These connections are suggested by the image's location within the pandect. The *Maiestas Domini* is currently positioned where it must always have been, at the bridge of the Old and New Testaments between the final page of 2 Maccabees (fol. 796r) and the first page of Jerome's preface beginning "novum opus" (fol. 797r).[79] That the image has not been relocated since it was first created is evident from folio 796r (Fig. 2), where the materials used to paint the majesty scene can be clearly seen showing through from the other side of the parchment, and from the illumination itself where some of the text from 2 Maccabees is visible in the upper left corner of the image spilling out beyond the decorated rectangular frame. The *Maiestas Domini* is positioned on the verso of the final folio of Quire C, meaning that it is codicologically distinct from the Hieronymian textual material that faces it on folio 797r at the beginning of Quire CI.[80] The overwhelming majority of the quires in the Codex Amiatinus consist of four bifolia, but Quire C is made up of three bifolia and two singletons.[81] The image is also the dividing point between two

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[76] Bede, *De schematibus et tropis* 2.12, ed. Calvin B. Kendall, *Libri II de arte metrica et de schematibus et tropis: The Art of Poetry and Rhetoric* (Saarbrucken, 1991). The verses cited to illustrate the different varieties of allegorical interpretation include 1 Kings 16.12–13 and Song of Songs 5.10 (understood as revealing the appearance, wisdom, and anointing of Christ by God the Father); Isaiah 11.1 (an allusion to the genealogy of Christ); Genesis 37.28 and Zachariah 11.12 (both of which were seen to foreshadow the betrayal of Christ by Judas). Bede's explanation of allegory is discussed by Kendall, *Art of Poetry and Rhetoric*, 26–28; Jennifer O'Reilly, "Introduction," in *Bede: On the Temple*, ed. Seán Connolly (Liverpool, 1995), xxviii–xxix; Martin Irvine, "Bede the Grammarian and the Scope of Grammatical Studies in Eighth-Century Northumbria," *Anglo-Saxon England* 15 (1986): 15-43, at 36–38.

[77] Anonymous, *Vita Ceolfridi* 20.

[78] Bede, *Historia abbatum* 9. For references see above, n. 25.

[79] The canonicity of the Books of Maccabees was doubted in Jerome's prologue to the Books of Solomon, but he accepted that they were useful for strengthening faith (Codex Amiatinus, fol. 419r). See further Marsden, *Text of the Old Testament*, 182.

[80] The following observations about the sequence of quires are derived from Lucia Castaldi, "Quire Arrangement," in Ricci, Castaldi, and Minello, *La Bibbia Amiatina*.

[81] The occurrence of irregular quires is related to the completion of individual books of the Bible: see Dom Henri Quentin, *Mémoire sur l'établissement du texte de la Vulgate*, Collectanea Biblica Latina, vol. 6 (Paris, 1922), 438–40; Marsden, *Text of the Old Testament*, 109–10.

ET NUNC DOMINATOR CAELORUM
MITTE ANGELUM TUUM BONUM
ANTE NOS
IN TIMORE ET TREMORE MAGNITU
DINIS BRACHII TUI
UT METUANT QUI CUM BLASPHE
MIA UENIUNT ADUERSAS
POPULUM TUUM
ET HIC QUIDEM ITA PERORAUIT
NICANOR AUTEM ET QUI CUM IPSO ERANT
CUM TUBIS ET CANTICIS ADMOUEBANT
IUDAS UERO ET QUI CUM EO ERANT
INUOCATO DO PER ORATIONES
CONCRESSI SUNT
MANU QUIDEM PUGNANTES
PROSTRAUERUNT NON MINUS
TRIGINTA MILIA
PRAESENTIA DI MAGNIFICE DELECTATI
CUMQ CESSASSENT ET CUM GAU
DIO REDIRENT
COGNOUERANT NICANOREM
RUISSET CUM ARMIS SUIS
FACTO ITAQ CLAMORE ET PERTUR
BATIONE SUSCITATA
PATRIA UOCE OMNIPOTENTEM
DNM BENEDICEBANT
PRAECEPIT AUTEM IUDAS
QUI PER OMNIA CORPORE ET ANIMO
EMORI PRO CIUIB PARATUS ERAT
CAPUT NICANORIS ET MANUM
CUM HUMERO ABSCISAM
HIERUSOLYMAM PROFERRI
QUO CUM CONUENISSET CONUOCATIS
CONTRIBULIB ET SACERDOTIBUS
AD ALTARE ACCERSIIT ET EOS
QUI IN ARCE ERANT
ET OSTENSO CAPITE NICANORIS
ET MANU NEFARIA
QUAM EXTENDENS CONTRA DOMUM
SCAM OMNIPOTENTIS DI MAGNI
FICE GLORIATUS EST
LINGUAM ETIAM IMPII NICANORIS
PRAECISAM IUSSIT PARTICU
LATIM AUIBUS DARI

MANUM AUTEM DEMENTIS
CONTRA TEMPLUM SUSPENDI
OMNES IGITUR CAELI DNM BENE
DIXERUNT DICENTES
BENEDICTUS QUI LOCUM SUUM
IN CONTAMINATUM CONSERUAUIT
SUSPENDIT AUTEM NICANORIS CAPUT
IN SUMMA ARCE EUIDENS UT ESSET
ET MANIFESTUM SIT AUXILI DI
ITAQ OMNES COMMUNI
CONSILIO DECREUERUNT
NULLO MODO DIEM ISTUM ABSQUE
CELEBRITATE PRAETERIRE
HABERE AUTEM CELEBRITATEM
TERTIA DECIMA DIE MENSIS ADAR
QUOD DICITUR UOCE SYRIAE
PRIDIE MARDOCHEI DIE
IGITUR HIS ERGA NICANOREM GESTIS
ET EX ILLIS TEMPORIB AB HEBRAEIS
CIUITATE POSSESSA
EGO QUOQ IN HIS FINEM FACIAM SERMONIS
ET SI QUIDEM BENE UT HISTORIAE
COMPETIT ET IPSE UELIM
SI AUTEM MINUS DIGNE CONCEDEN
DUM EST MIHI
SICUT ENIM UINUM SEMPER
BIBERE AUT SEMPER AQUAM
CONTRARIUM EST
ALTERNIS AUTEM UTI DELECTABILE
ITA LEGENTIBUS SI SEMPER
EXACTUSSIT SERMO
NON ERIT GRATUS
HIC ERGO ERIT CONSUMMATUS

EXPLICIT: MACCHABEORUM

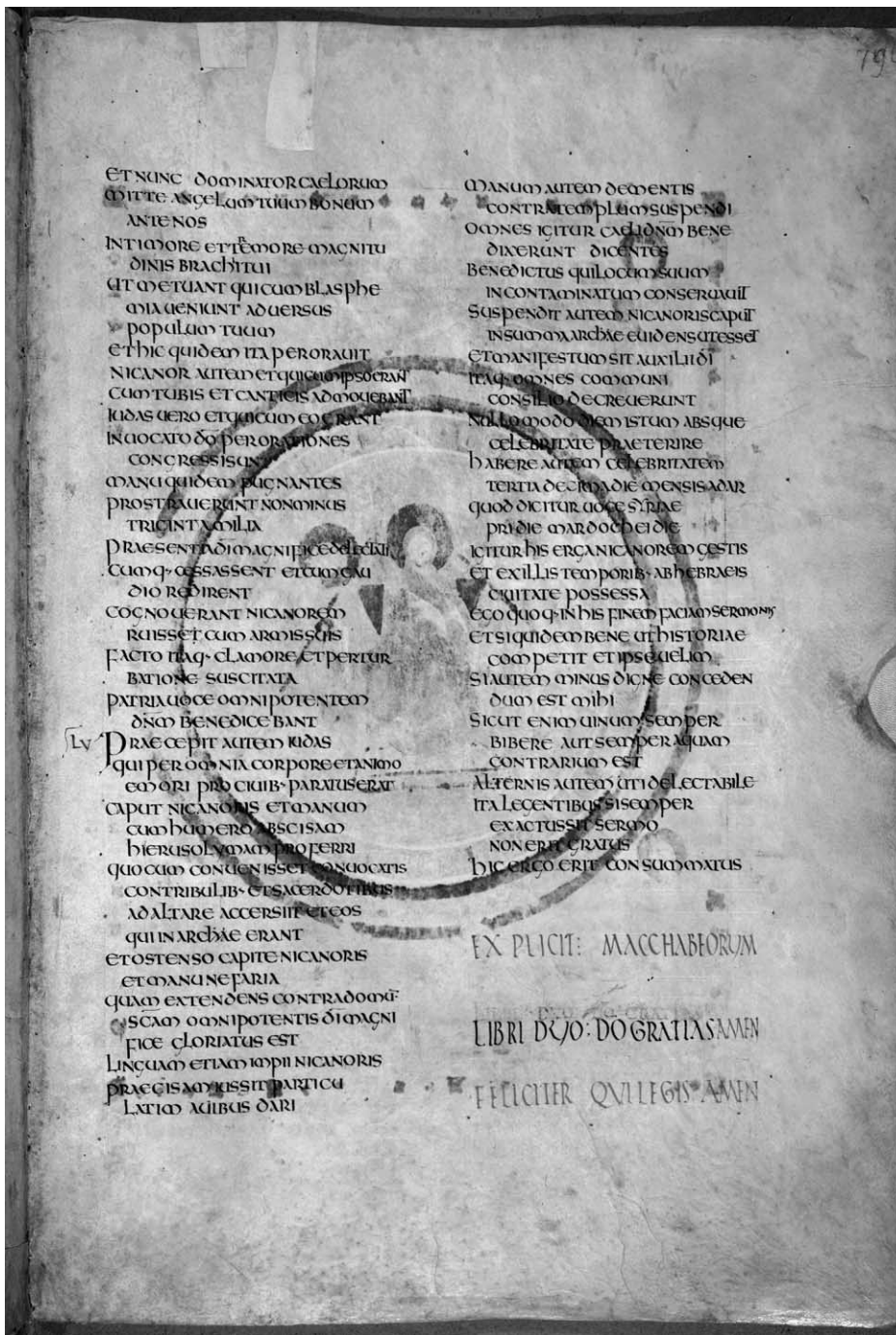LIBRI DUO: DO GRATIAS AMEN

FELICITER QUI LEGIS AMEN

Fig. 2. Final verses of 2 Maccabees. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Amiatino 1, fol. 796r. Printed with the permission of MiBACT. Reproduction in any form prohibited.

different scribal hands: the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles in Quires CI to CXVII are copied in a hand different from that of the Book of Judith to 2 Maccabees in Quires XC–C.[82] The image thus occupies a space in the manuscript that divides the work of two scribes, the content of distinct quires, and material from two Testaments.

The *Maiestas Domini* has connective functions as well as divisive ones. It has aptly been described as linking "the Old Covenant and the New."[83] With the codex open at the image, the entire Old Testament physically nestles underneath it, while on the facing page the beginning of Jerome's *Novum opus* announces the start of the New Testament. The *Maiestas Domini* thus connects the two parts of scripture in a literal sense by bridging the physical gap between them in the codex. The two angelic figures depicted on either side of the throne may be designed to evoke the cherubim that were placed above the Ark of the Covenant in the Tabernacle and Temple (although they are not overtly labeled as cherubim, in contrast to those featured in the majesty scene from the Frankish Gundohinus Gospels of c. 754).[84] The angelic beings are inclining towards the Christ figure, who is revealed to both of them as a symbol of the New Covenant between God and humankind, although their heads are bowed so as not to look directly upon the likeness of the Lord.[85]

The *Maiestas Domini* reinforces the connections between the Old Testament and the New suggested by its physical positioning by combining elements of visionary material from both parts of scripture into a single scene. The image is inspired by several scriptural prophecies, but it is not an attempt to depict any particular one of them faithfully. The illumination is a composite construction, which is the result of a complex process of engagement with various prophetic and exegetical texts. In the fourth chapter of the Book of Revelation, which the compilers of the Codex Amiatinus believed to be the work of John the Evangelist,[86] a door is opened in heaven and a voice promises to reveal "the things which must

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[82] Simone Nencioni, "Script," in Ricci, Castaldi, and Minello, *La Bibbia Amiatina*. See further Wright, "English Uncial."

[83] Beall, "Tabernacle Illumination Reconsidered," 38.

[84] Exodus 25.18–22; 1 Kings 6.23–28; and 2 Chronicles 3.10–13. The connection with the Ark of the Covenant is suggested by O'Reilly, "Library of Scripture," 11–13; Brown, *Society, Spirituality and the Scribe*, 353; Ramirez, "Iconography of the Ezra Page," 11–12. For the patristic tradition, see further O'Reilly, "Wounded and Exalted Christ," 90–94. Cherubim are shown in the painting of the Ark that features in the double-page Tabernacle illumination in the Codex Amiatinus: see George Henderson, "Cherubim and Seraphim in Insular Literature and Art," in Mullins and Scully, *"Listen, O Isles, Unto Me"*, 263–77, at 266. On the Gundohinus Gospels miniature (Autun, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 3) see Nees, *Gundohinus Gospels*, 131–88; and Nees, "Image and Text: Excerpts from Jerome's *De Trinitate* and the *Maiestas Domini* Miniature of the Gundohinus Gospels," *Viator* 18 (1987): 1–22. At page 12 of the latter publication Nees states that the winged figures in the Amiatine illumination should not be identified as cherubim.

[85] Henderson, *Vision and Image*, 87. Henderson identifies the figures as the archangels Gabriel and Michael.

[86] The final page of the Codex Amiatinus contains the following: "EXPLICIT LIBER APOCALYPSIS S[AN]C[T]I IOHANNIS APOSTOLI ET EVANG[ELISTAE]" (fol. 1029v). This view was shared by Bede, *Expositio Apocalypseos* 1, lines 17–20, ed. Roger Gryson, CCSL 121A (Turnhout, 2001).

be done hereafter."[87] It then describes a vision of a male figure sitting in judgment upon a throne at the end of time. This individual is identifiable as God, Lord and Creator of all things (Revelation 4.8–11), but in exegesis contemporaneous with the production of the Codex Amiatinus the enthroned figure was also seen as a symbol of the Church and connected to the "Son of Man" through concordance with Matthew 24.[88] The other major reference point here is the first vision of Ezekiel, a priest under whose name a collection of prophecies are gathered in the Old Testament. The Book of Revelation engages with various Old Testament prophecies, and Ezekiel 1 is an especially important antecedent to Revelation 4. Ezekiel 1.28 describes the appearance of the likeness of the glory of the Lord, which is similarly revealed in the form of a throne and a figure with the appearance of a man, although here the throne is said to be made of lapis lazuli and the individual is to be seen not on it but above it. In the exegetical tradition the individual described in this vision was often seen as a figure of Christ, although again multiple different interchangeable interpretations were possible.[89]

These connections are reinforced in the *Maiestas Domini* through carefully drawn visual details that recall the scenes described by the biblical prophecies. Bright flashing light is described in Ezekiel 1, Revelation 4, and Matthew 24. The first vision of Ezekiel describes flashes of lightning and a great cloud filled with fire, which is surrounded by bright light.[90] Lightning emanates from the throne in Revelation 4.5, and the coming of the Son of Man is compared to the appearance of lightning in Matthew 24.27. The radiance surrounding the throne in Ezekiel's vision is likened to a rainbow, and in Revelation 4.3 the throne is encircled by a rainbow with the appearance of an emerald. The central scene of the *Maiestas Domini* is enclosed by a series of elaborate discs that form a border between the heavenly and earthly parts of the image. From inside outwards these consist of a thin orange band; a thin yellow band; a continuous flowing multicolored ribbon, which appears to be folded at the four cardinal points;[91] two further yellow and orange rings (the latter is now partially obscured by its immediate neighbor); a thick metallic circle, now oxidized; an even thicker red band, in which small shapes are painted to appear like jewels; and a second metallic circle, which has also darkened through oxidation.[92] The series of roundels draws the viewer's attention towards the revelatory scene inside, giving that scene a "gem-like" quality.[93] Although the splendor of this part of the image is unavoidably diminished because of the deterioration of the metallic substances, the multilayered circular border still conveys a sense of

[87] Revelation 4.1: "ecce ostium apertum in caelo et vox prima quam audivi tamquam tubae loquentis mecum dicens ascende huc et ostendam tibi quae oportet fieri post haec."

[88] Bede, *Expositio Apocalypseos* 5, lines 17–20 and 29–33. Cf. Jerome, *Commentarii in Danielem* 2, lines 607–29, ed. Francisco Glorie, CCSL 75A (Turnhout, 1964).

[89] Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Hiezechihelem prophetam* 1.8, ed. Marc Adriaen, CCSL 142 (Turnhout, 1971).

[90] Ezekiel 1.4; 1.12.

[91] O'Reilly explains that the design of the ribbon suggests the theme of Gospel harmony: "Library of Scripture," 11.

[92] The two metallic discs are compounds containing gold, silver, iron, and copper: see Bicchieri et al., "Non-Destructive Analysis of the Bibbia Amiatina," 177–78 (element points Bi28 and Bi29).

[93] Kühnel, *End of Time in the Order of Things*, 44.

miraculous wonder through its bright colors and visual complexity. The striking multicolored three-dimensional ribbon and the thin orange and yellow bands that frame it communicate to the viewer the sense of bright light that is common to Revelation 4, Ezekiel 1, and Matthew 24. Before oxidation the metallic circles would have flashed before the viewer's eyes, especially when viewed under flickering candlelight or direct sunlight.

The central figure's clothes are painted in two distinct shades: a light-red garment covers the upper right arm and ankles; a darker red-brown robe hangs from the left shoulder and covers much of the rest of the torso. The depiction of the central figure as wearing two shades of red echoes Revelation 4.3, where the enthroned man is said to have the appearance of jasper (*iaspis*) and sard (*sardinus*).[94] At Ceolfrith's monastery sard was unambiguously regarded as red: the mini-treatise on precious gemstones incorporated into Bede's *Expositio Apocalypseos* makes this clear by likening it to the color of blood. There were many types of jasper, according to Bede. It could be green as well as red, but significantly its red manifestations were thought to shimmer "like snow or the foam of ocean waves mixed with blood."[95] The scientific analysis of the Codex Amiatinus published in 2001 detected the presence of gold in the robes worn by the central figure, a configuration that produces a glistening effect, which evokes through its physical properties the precious gemstones mentioned in Revelation 4 while perhaps also calling Bede's description of jasper in *Expositio Apocalypseos* to mind as well.[96] Earlier commentaries on the Book of Revelation by Caesarius of Arles and Primasius of Hadrumetum interpret jasper and sard as signifying judgment by water and fire respectively, water representing the Flood and fire the consummation of the world at the end of time.[97] Both of these commentaries were known at Wearmouth-Jarrow by the turn of the eighth century, and Bede's own interpretation of Revelation 4.3 in *Expositio Apocalypseos* is a near verbatim citation of Primasius.[98]

Another significant detail in the iconography of the *Maiestas Domini* is the showing of the lower part of the Christ figure's right forearm, which is visible along with his right hand. The figure's fully exposed right hand is making a gesture of benediction next to a closed book, which is held through clothing with the left.[99] The arms of the evangelists and the angelic beings are all concealed, making this the only exposed anthropoid arm visible in the image (and, indeed, in the en-

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[94] "Et qui sedebat similis erat aspectui lapidis iaspidis et sardini": Codex Amiatinus, fol. 1018v.

[95] Bede, *Expositio Apocalypseos* 37, lines 105–9 (jasper) and 211–12 (sard).

[96] Bicchieri et al., "Non-Destructive Analysis of the Bibbia Amiatina," 178.

[97] Primasius, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin* 1.4, lines 32–34, ed. Arthur W. Adams, CCSL 92 (Turnhout, 1985); Caesarius of Arles, *Expositio in Apocalypsim* 2, lines 23–24 and 3, lines 15–18, ed. Dom Germain Morin, *S. Caesarii opera omnia*, vol. 2 (Maredsous, 1942), 210–77, at 214 and 219. See further Peter Kitson, "Lapidary Traditions in Anglo-Saxon England: Part II, Bede's *Explanatio Apocalypsis* and Related Works," *Anglo-Saxon England* 12 (1983): 73–123, at 75–76.

[98] Bede, *Expositio Apocalypseos* 5, lines 18–20.

[99] On benediction, see Leslie Ross, *Medieval Art: A Topical Dictionary* (Westport, CT, 1996), 34. As well as being an act of blessing, the gesture also serves as a simple act of finger pointing designed to draw the viewer's attention towards the sealed book: see Ramirez, "Iconography of the Ezra Page," 3, and 15 n. 40.

tire codex: the scribe's arms on folio V/4r are covered by sleeves). The *brachium domini* is an important scriptural theme with a long exegetical tradition that is intimately connected with the beginning of the Gospel according to Matthew.[100] Its origins lie in two Old Testament passages. The first is Psalm 97(98).1: "Sing to the Lord a new canticle, because he has done wonderful things; his right hand has wrought for him salvation, and his arm is holy."[101] The other is Isaiah 53.1, which asks, "Who has believed our report, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?"[102] The latter verse is repeated in a vignette about unbelief that features in the Gospel according to John shortly after the anointing of Jesus at Bethany (John 12.37–49). The events described in that part of the Gospel are explicitly framed as fulfilling Isaiah 53.1, and in the ensuing verses Jesus gives a speech, which explains that those who recognize him are actually looking upon the Lord ("the one who sees me is seeing the one who sent me").[103] Returning to the *Maiestas Domini* image, a contemporary observer familiar with this chain of texts would have simultaneously recalled both Christ and God when looking upon the central figure. In the act of contemplation viewers had the arm of the Lord revealed to them, a detail which served as an affirmation of their faith and an endorsement of their status as a member of the community of believers. This aspect of the image conveys the message that the Old and New Testaments explain each other and that together and individually they both reveal Christ.

Hieronymian Lenses

Further layers of meaning can be recovered by considering the *Maiestas Domini* in concert with the textual material adjacent to the image within the codex. *Novum opus* is a letter from Jerome to his patron Pope Damasus (d. 384). It is frequently included as a prefatory text in early medieval editions of the Vulgate Gospels, and Insular examples are sometimes lavishly decorated.[104] The Amiatine reproduction of this letter extends over two pages (fols. 797r and 797v) and is comparatively unremarkable: the salutation addressing Damasus is written in red and the initial letter of *novum* is larger than normal, but both of those techniques are used frequently throughout the manuscript. In *Novum opus* Jerome explains to Damasus that he has faced certain problems in fulfilling the papal commission

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[100] Jennifer O'Reilly, "Gospel Harmony and the Names of Christ: Insular Images of a Patristic Theme," in *The Bible as Book: The Manuscript Tradition*, ed. John L. Sharpe and Kimberly Van Kampen (London, 1998), 73–88, at 80–81, with discussion of interpretations of this theme from Gregory the Great and Isidore of Seville.

[101] "Cantate Domino canticum novum quia mirabilia fecit salvavit sibi dextera eius et brachium sanctum eius": Codex Amiatinus, fol. 404v. Monks frequently committed the Psalter to memory; it was recited by Ceolfrith two or three times per day, according to his biographer, anonymous, *Vita Ceolfridi* 33. See Sister Benedicta Ward, *Bede and the Psalter* (Jarrow Lecture, 1991), 3, reprinted in Lapidge, *Bede and His World*, 2:871–902, at 873.

[102] "Quis credidit auditui nostro et brachium Domini cui revelatum est": Codex Amiatinus, fol. 528v.

[103] John 12.45: "et qui videt me videt eum qui misit me": Codex Amiatinus, fol. 896v.

[104] Henderson, *From Durrow to Kells*, 21 (Book of Durrow, fol. 4r); 98–99 (Lindisfarne Gospels, fol. 3r). A color reproduction of the example from the Lindisfarne Gospels is given as plate 3 in Brown, *Society, Spirituality and the Scribe*.

to translate the Gospels into a single language from Greek and Hebrew sources. Referring to the many different versions of the Gospels in existence in the late fourth century, Jerome describes the New Testament as flowing forth in many streams: his job, as he saw it, was to "to seek the single fountainhead" and present a revised Latin translation.[105] The letter categorically states that only four Gospels ought to be regarded as canonical and it sets out the order, which was to become the common sequence followed in Vulgate manuscripts, as follows: Matthew, Mark, Luke, John. This was a departure from previous practice: in manuscripts that preserve the Old Latin translation the Gospels are commonly found in the sequence Matthew, John, Luke, Mark.[106] The second part of *Novum opus*, which owes a considerable debt to the *Epistula ad Carpianum* of Eusebius of Caesarea (d. 339/340), proceeds to explain the function of canon tables and gives instructions on how to use them.[107] Gospel harmony is a common theme in patristic exegesis.[108] Augustine devoted an entire treatise to the subject, which promotes the view that while each Gospel has its own distinctive purpose they nevertheless exist in a concordant state.[109] Canon tables aid a reader in identifying passages from across the Gospels that correspond with each other as well as the unique passages for which no parallels exist. After being championed by Jerome, canon tables were frequently prefixed to early medieval copies of the Vulgate Gospels, but they were not a feature of the Old Latin tradition.[110] A carefully copied and fully functional set of tables is included in the Codex Amiatinus immediately after the *Novum opus* preface (fols. 798r–801r).[111] *Novum opus* is therefore intimately connected to the material that follows it in the codex; it offers specific guidance about how to use the tables, while highlighting important principles of interpretation for Gospel study. The preface encourages readers to regard the Gospels as containing a single divine truth revealed fourfold and to use the tables to help them avoid "the confusion of errors."[112]

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[105] "De novo nunc loquor testamento quod graecum esse non dubium est excepto apostolo mattheo qui primus in Iudaea evangelium christi hebraeis litteris edidit. Hoc certe cum in nostro sermone discordat et diversos rivulorum tramites ducit unio de fonte quaerendus est": Codex Amiatinus, fol. 797r. For commentary on the "baptismal imagery" used in this part of the *Novum opus*, see Mullins, "Insular Reception of the Eusebian Canon Tables," 1:26–28.

[106] Nancy Netzer, *Cultural Interplay in the Eighth Century: The Trier Gospels and the Making of a Scriptorium at Echternach* (Cambridge, UK, 1994), 12. A catalog of Old Latin Gospel manuscripts is provided by Philip Burton, *The Old Latin Gospels: A Study of Their Texts and Language* (Oxford, 2000), 14–28.

[107] Mullins, "Insular Reception of the Eusebian Canon Tables," 1:7–23 (on *Epistula ad Carpianum*) and 30–32 (on the relationship between that letter and *Novum opus*).

[108] O'Reilly, "Gospel Harmony and the Names of Christ," 74–75; Thomas O'Loughlin, "Harmonizing the Truth: Eusebius and the Problem of the Four Gospels," *Traditio* 65 (2010): 1–29.

[109] Augustine, *De consensu euangelistarum*, ed. Franciscus Weihrich, CSEL 43 (Vienna, 1904).

[110] Nees, "Problems of Form and Function," 160–61.

[111] On the Amiatine canon tables see Barbara Apelian Beall, "Entry Point to the Scriptorium Bede Knew at Wearmouth and Jarrow: The Canon Tables of the Codex Amiatinus," in *Bède le Vénérable: Entre tradition et postérité / The Venerable Bede: Tradition and Posterity*, ed. Stéphane Lebecq, Michel Perrin, and Olivier Szerwiniack (Lille, 2005), 187–97.

[112] "Cum itaque canones legeris qui subiecti sunt, confusionis errore sublato": Codex Amiatinus, fol. 797v. For commentary, see Mullins, "Insular Reception of the Eusebian Canon Tables," 1:32.

The idea that it is possible to discern a coherent message by reading the Gospels in the correct manner, which is expressed in the Codex Amiatinus in written form in *Novum opus* and in schematic form by the inclusion of the canon tables that follow it, is also conveyed pictorially through the arrangement of the five books depicted in the *Maiestas Domini*. A nimbed human figure is shown standing and holding a book in each corner of the image's rectangular frame. Next to each figure is a winged being suspended in mid-air, in turn a man, lion, calf, and eagle; these recall the four living creatures described in Revelation 4 and their Old Testament antecedents from Ezekiel 1.[113] Traditionally these creatures were associated with the four evangelists. Gregory the Great understood them to represent phases in the life of Christ, but also the stages through which an individual Christian must progress in order to achieve spiritual perfection in imitation of Christ.[114] The presence of the four winged creatures identifies the adjacent human figures as the evangelists, with their four codices unambiguously representing the Gospels attributed to each of them. The fifth book sits at the point at which the other four intersect in the center of the image: a new creation formed by the harmonious meeting of its constituent parts.

It is uncommon for a *Maiestas Domini* to show all four human figures and evangelist symbols together in one scene.[115] Here the viewer is encouraged to think in terms of evangelist pairs.[116] The lower two figures face each other, wearing matching pale-green upper robes and earthy-colored undergarments, and the upper two do likewise, clothed in dark blue over orange. In the absence of textual captions it is difficult to say conclusively which portrait corresponds to which evangelist. Jerome's categorization, popularized by his *Plures fuisse* preface, paired them as follows: man = Matthew; lion = Mark; calf = Luke; and eagle = John. *Plures fuisse* is copied into the Codex Amiatinus on the recto and verso of folio 802, and its themes resonate with some of this image's details, as will become clear below. Accepting the Hieronymian scheme gives a pleasing result in which the evangelists are presented in the canonical sequence of the Gospels according to the Vulgate if one reads anticlockwise starting from the top left (Matthew, Mark, Luke, John). It is worth noting that, whether by accident or design, the Hieronymian pairings also reveal a traditional configuration for the Gospels in the Old Latin Bible if a clockwise sequence is followed from the same starting point (Matthew, John,

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[113] Revelation 4.6–9 describes four creatures covered with eyes, each with six wings. The first was like a lion (*leo*), the second a calf (*vitulus*), the third a man (*homo*), and the fourth an eagle (*aquila*). Ezekiel 1.5–15 describes four creatures with four wings and four faces each. The faces resemble those of a man (*homo*), lion (*leo*), ox (*bos*), and eagle (*aquila*). Cf. the four-faced cherubim described in Ezekiel 10.14.

[114] Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Hiezechihelem prophetam* 1.4. See further Jennifer O'Reilly, "The Hiberno-Latin Tradition of the Evangelists and the Gospels of Mael Brigte," *Peritia* 9 (1995): 290–309, at 291; Kees Veelenturf, *Dia Brátha: Eschatological Theophanies and Irish High Crosses* (Amsterdam, 1997), 39–43.

[115] The frontispiece to the Gundohinus Gospels depicts the symbols in individual medallions without the human evangelists. This became commonplace in Carolingian *Maiestas Domini* illuminations: see Kühnel, *End of Time in the Order of Things*, 25–64, with reproduction of the Gundohinus *Maiestas* at 295.

[116] Cf. Bede's interpretation of the Ark of the Covenant's four golden rings (Exodus 25.12): *De tabernaculo* 1, lines 418–52.

Luke, Mark).[117] Although other ways of processing the evangelist portraits are of course possible,[118] the anticlockwise and clockwise methods are logical because in such readings the eye is guided around the area beyond the celestial central scene in a circular motion, which closely tracks the shape of the roundels that dominate the image. Absolute certainty regarding the evangelist symbol assignations is hindered by the fact that an alternative scheme, which transposed the man and lion, was championed by Bede, and several additional configurations had been suggested by various patristic figures.[119] Nevertheless it seems very likely that the fair-haired youthful figure next to the eagle in the upper right corner of the frame represents John the Evangelist (as one would expect if the pairings outlined in Jerome's *Plures fuisse* were indeed intended).[120] The hand in which he holds his book close to his chest is visible, setting him apart from the authors of the three synoptics, whose hands are concealed behind clothing. The accompanying eagle is also unique, in that it is the only evangelist symbol not to encroach upon the outermost colored disc. These details communicate the special status afforded to John and his divinely revealed account of Christ, a common patristic theme that was regularly expressed in Insular art.[121]

Together the *Novum opus* preface and *Maiestas Domini* form a diptych, an arrangement that helps to reinforce the thematic connections between text and image suggested above. This practice was subsequently adopted by the Frankish scribe/illuminator Gundohinus, who similarly positioned a majesty scene directly opposite textual material by Jerome at the beginning of his Gospel book in order to emphasize Christological themes common to both media, as Lawrence

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[117] Cf. Beall, "Tabernacle Illumination Reconsidered," 38 n. 25, which makes the same observation and assumes that the Hieronymian pairings are intended. On the sequence of the Gospels in Old Latin Bibles, see above, n. 106.

[118] Indeed it would not be unreasonable to expect readers familiar with Latin to scrutinize the image in the same way as they would approach a page of writing, from left to right and top to bottom (evangelist with man, evangelist with eagle, evangelist with lion, evangelist with calf).

[119] Bede, *Expositio Apocalypseos* 5, lines 62–79. Bede credits this interpretation to Augustine, although he also made use of ideas from Primasius: see Faith Wallis, *Bede: Commentary on Revelation*, Translated Texts for Historians 58 (Liverpool, 2013), 134–35 n. 181. The criticism that Bede's set of pairings drew from Acca, bishop of Hexham, is documented in the preface to Bede's commentary on Luke: *In Lucae euangelium expositio* prologue, lines 123–214, ed. Dom David Hurst, CCSL 120 (Turnhout, 1960). Another influential scheme was that outlined by Irenaeus: lion = John; calf = Luke; man = Matthew; eagle = Mark. These pairings are followed in the Book of Durrow. See Irenaeus, *Aduersus haereses* 3.11.8, ed. Adelin Rousseau, Louis Doutreleau, Bertrand Hemmerdinger, and Charles Mercier, *Irénée de Lyon: Contre les hérésies*, Sources Chrétiennes 100, 151, 152, 210, 211, 263, 264, 293, 294 (Paris, 1965–82).

[120] I am very grateful to Adam S. Cohen for sharing his thoughts on this matter with me.

[121] See Jennifer O'Reilly, "St. John the Evangelist: Between Two Worlds," in *Insular and Anglo-Saxon Art and Thought in the Early Medieval Period*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton, NJ, 2011), 189–218; Susan Cremin, "St John and the Bosom of the Lord in Patristic and Insular Tradition," in *The Beauty of God's Presence in the Fathers of the Church*, ed. Janet E. Rutherford (Dublin, 2014), 177–205; Robert E. McNally, "The Evangelists in the Hiberno-Latin Tradition," in *Festschrift Bernhard Bischoff zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Johanne Autenrieth and Franz Brunhölzl (Stuttgart, 1971), 111–222. In *Plures fuisse* John receives as much attention as the authors of the three synoptics combined: see Mullins, "Insular Reception of the Eusebian Canon Tables," 1:52–54.

Nees has shown.[122] A similar arrangement may also have featured in the first quire of the Codex Amiatinus. Here, an illuminated page that displays medallions bearing short descriptions of the five books of the Pentateuch visualizes themes expressed in another nearby Hieronymian preface, that for the Pentateuch beginning "Desiderii mei desideratas accepi epistulas." The original configuration of the first quire has been the subject of a great deal of speculation through several decades of scholarship without any consensus being reached. The codicological and iconographic aspects of this matter are complex, and the offsets visible on some folios are potentially misleading because the material has been reorganized more than once in the thirteen hundred years since it left Northumbria.[123] Various different reconstructions have been posited. Many of these have placed the medallions illumination at the very end of the first quire, a position that is both possible codicologically and logical thematically.[124] If this position is correct, the image in question would have been directly adjacent to the textual preface for the Pentateuch that is located at the beginning of the second quire (Quire I) on folios 9r and 9v.[125] That preface serves all five books of the Law in the codex; it is devised to meet the needs of readers trying to make sense of the Pentateuch in a Christian context. Jerome encourages the reader to regard the five books of the Pentateuch as a homogenous unit and justifies at length his decision to produce a new Latin translation of the Old Testament. One of his major concerns was to restore to the canon a selection of Old Testament verses that were present in Hebrew codices but absent from the Greek Septuagint. These verses, some of which were echoed in the Acts of the Apostles or the Gospels, were important because they made prophetic allusions to Christ. The examples offered by Jerome include Zechariah 12.10 ("and they shall look upon him whom they pierced"), which

[122] Nees, "Image and Text."

[123] The offsets were considered in the elemental analysis published in 2001, but the authors of that paper suggest that their conclusions can only tell us the order in which the pages were kept for the longest period of time since production; this may not necessarily be the same as the original configuration, since the date of the quire's first reordering is unknown: see Bicchieri et al., "Non-Destructive Analysis of the Bibbia Amiatina, 170." See further the important modifications to this position offered by Chazelle, "Ceolfrid's Gift," 134–35.

[124] E.g., Chazelle, "Ceolfrid's Gift," 133–46; Meyvaert, "Bede, Cassiodorus, and the Codex Amiatinus," 860–66; Henry Julian White, "Codex Amiatinus of the Latin Vulgate Bible and Its Birthplace," *Studia biblica et ecclesiastica: Essays Chiefly in Biblical and Patristic Criticism by Members of the University of Oxford* 2 (1890): 273–308, at 307–8; Sabrina Magrini, "'Per difetto del legatore . . .': Storia delle rilegature della Bibbia Amiatina in Laurenziana [con una premessa di Franca Arduini]," *Quinio: International Journal on the History and Conservation of the Book* 3 (2001): 137–67; and Bicchieri et al., "Non-Destructive Analysis of the Bibbia Amiatina, 169–70 (but see the caveat explained in the footnote above). Cf. the alternative reconstructions offered by Quentin, *Mémoire sur l'établissement du texte de la Vulgate*, 438–52; Corsano, "First Quire of the Codex Amiatinus," 5 n. 12; Bruce-Mitford, *Art of the Codex Amiatinus*, 3, repr. Lapidge, 189. Gorman, "Legends and Bibliography," 872–74 (an endorsement of Bruce-Mitford's position). Bruce-Mitford and Corsano have the Pentateuch circles facing the diagram for the division of the scriptures according to Jerome (fol. VI/5r).

[125] The second quire in the codex is commonly referred to as Quire I, following the designation "Q.I." given in the manuscript (fol. 16v). The illuminated first quire has no such designation and has often been considered separately in the scholarship. It is referred to as Quire A in the electronic facsimile: see Castaldi, "Quire Arrangement."

is repeated in John 19.37. By restoring such verses to the canon, Jerome's new translation helped the reader to see Christ in the Old Testament.

The content of the preface is complemented by the first quire's Pentateuch-themed illumination (fol. VII/6v). Here five gold-colored circles are joined together, one for each of the five books of the Law.[126] Short captions that cue the reader in to how to approach each individual book are taken from Jerome's fifty-third epistle and presented inside each of the five large medallions.[127] The medallions are linked by a continuous ribbon, which serves to emphasize the unity of the Pentateuch's five constituent parts, and they are configured in the shape of a cross, indicating that the five Books of Moses together reveal Christ.[128] Jerome's concern in the textual preface to the Pentateuch to make clear the presence of Christ in the Old Testament is mirrored in the cruciform arrangement of the five circles in the Amiatine image; the diagrammatic structure of the latter helps to solidify Jerome's interpretation in the viewer's memory.[129] The original placement of the illumination and Jerome's preface in close proximity (at the very least in neighboring quires, and quite possibly on facing pages) foreshadows the pairing of *Novum opus* and the majesty scene later in the codex. There is further thematic resonance between the images themselves: in both cases Christ is revealed in the midst of five books.

Close connections are evident between the *Maiestas Domini* and the *Plures fuisse* preface, another Hieronymian composition, which is copied into the Codex Amiatinus after the canon tables on the recto and verso of folio 802. This text was originally written as a preface to Jerome's commentary on Matthew, a work completed in March 398.[130] An abbreviated version of the preface was commonly prefixed to early editions of the Vulgate Gospels, and it is this shortened text that is preserved in the Codex Amiatinus immediately before the so-called Monarchian prologue for Matthew (fols. 802v–803r) and a set of chapter headings for that book (fols. 803r–804v).[131] *Plures fuisse* is a tour de force of typological exegesis, which takes in the origins of each Gospel; the biographies of each evangelist; and the relationship between the evangelists and the symbols set out in

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[126] Reproductions of the image are printed in Chazelle, "Ceolfrid's Gift," 145; O'Reilly, "*Romanitas* of the Codex Amiatinus," 378, and "Library of Scripture," 10.

[127] See O'Reilly, "Library of Scripture," 8–11; Farr, "Shape of Learning," 340. Meyvaert offers a strong argument that the image was devised in Northumbria for the opening of the Old Testament, "Bede, Cassiodorus, and the Codex Amiatinus," 863–64. For a different view see Marsden, *Text of the Old Testament*, 122–23.

[128] O'Reilly, "Library of Scripture," 8–11.

[129] On the use of diagrams as organizing devices for memory in monastic settings see Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 34 (Cambridge, UK, 1998), esp. 130–42.

[130] For the circumstances of composition of the commentary on Matthew see Thomas P. Scheck, *St. Jerome: Commentary on Matthew*, The Fathers of the Church 117 (Washington, DC, 2008), 15–16.

[131] In the Codex Amiatinus *Plures fuisse* lacks the original preface's final paragraphs addressing Eusebius of Cremona: see Jerome, *Commentarii in euangelium Matthaei* preface, lines 84–125, ed. Dom David Hurst and Marc Adriaen, CCSL 77 (Turnhout, 1969). On the "Monarchian" prologues see Elizabeth A. Livingstone, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 2000), 383–84.

the first vision of Ezekiel and Revelation 4. One of the most important messages of *Plures fuisse* is introduced in its first five words: "Plures fuisse qui Evangelia scripserunt" (there have been many who have written Gospels). Jerome explains that although many have attempted to write down accounts of the life of Jesus, only four divinely inspired canonical Gospels ought to be accepted as true, thus reinforcing an important theme present in *Novum opus*. Jerome warns that the enduring popularity of a variety of pseudo-Gospels had inspired heretical beliefs in the past, and their continuing circulation at the time of writing was a problem that gatekeepers of the faith like him were obliged to tackle. *Plures fuisse* would not have lost its contemporary relevance, as noncanonical material continued to circulate freely in later centuries. It is evident from critiques offered in Bede's commentaries that apocryphal texts were known in Anglo-Saxon England in the early eighth century.[132]

Plures fuisse is much concerned with establishing the canonicity of the Gospels, and it ruminates extensively on the sacred significance of the number four. The Church is described in the following terms: "It discharges four rivers like paradise; it has four corners and four rings through which it is carried with moveable beams like the Ark of the Covenant, the receptacle of the Law of the Lord."[133] Jerome proceeds to explain that these sets of fours represent the evangelists, again given in the order Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. This description of a four-cornered Church resonates with the positioning of the evangelists inside the four corners of the frame of the *Maiestas Domini* image located just a few pages prior to *Plures fuisse* in the codex. In that preface Jerome explains that the authors of the four Gospels were alluded to enigmatically in the statements about the four winged beings surrounding the heavenly thrones in Ezekiel 1 and Revelation 4. As we have already seen, the *Maiestas Domini* draws visual details from the same pair of biblical texts, further strengthening the close links between the image and the nearby Gospel prefaces of Jerome.

Conclusions

The Codex Amiatinus *Maiestas Domini* illumination is complex by design. Its full allusive range has by no means been exhausted here, and some of its original meanings must no doubt remain hidden to the modern eye. It is clear that the image is intimately connected with a register of textual material, especially the writings of Jerome and of course Holy Scripture itself. The *Maiestas Domini*

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[132] Mary Clayton, *The Apocryphal Gospels of Mary in Anglo-Saxon England*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 26 (Cambridge, UK, 1999), 102–3. On knowledge of the Apocrypha in Anglo-Saxon England, see further Kathryn Powell and Donald G. Scragg, eds., *Apocryphal Texts and Traditions in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, UK, 2003); Frederick M. Biggs, ed., *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: The Apocrypha*, Instrumenta Anglistica Mediaevalia 1 (Kalamazoo, 2007).

[133] "Quatuor flumina paradisi instar eructans, quatuor et angulos et annulos habet, per quos quasi per arcam testamenti et custos legis domini lignis mobilibus vehitur": Codex Amiatinus, fol. 802r. The passage echoes ideas expressed in Irenaeus, *Aduersus haereses* 3.11.8, and draws upon Genesis 2.10 (four rivers) and Exodus 25.10–16 (Ark of the Covenant).

offers a privileged insight into the intellectual concerns of the Wearmouth-Jarrow community during the period of Ceolfrith's abbacy. It stands alongside the contemporaneous commentaries of Bede as a monument to the community's fluent participation in patristic discourse at the turn of the eighth century. The image is designed to reinforce existing connections in the viewer's mind and also inspire new ones. It achieves these goals through the following methods: through the depiction of specific details, such as the exposure of the arm of the Lord; through the materials used to paint the image, for example the substances used to color the red robes; and through its positioning at a key location in the codex that serves to enhance the typological associations conveyed by its iconographic features. The *Maiestas Domini* is designed to be viewed in concert with the prefatory content that follows it in the manuscript. Cumulatively, that body of material, which comprises the image itself, *Novum opus*, the canon tables, and *Plures fuisse*, emphasizes the themes of Gospel harmony and the integrity of the biblical canon. This content constitutes a bridging section that facilitates the transition from Old Testament to New, thus managing an issue especially pertinent to the production of pandects, a highly unusual book type for the era in which the Codex Amiatinus was made.

At this crucial juncture in its early transmission it is evident that the credibility of the Vulgate was closely entwined with the authority of Jerome. The Wearmouth-Jarrow community's admiration for him is expressed in the following quatrain, which is copied into the Codex Amiatinus on folio IV/3v (Fig. 3).

> Jerome, most skilled interpreter in diverse languages,
> Bethlehem honors you, the whole world calls out to you.
> Our library, also, will exalt you through your books,
> where you place new gifts with ancient treasures.[134]

The first three lines are borrowed from Isidore of Seville, but the fourth appears to be an original Wearmouth-Jarrow addition.[135] In one reading of this multivalent poem the final line can be interpreted as a reference to the Codex Amiatinus and its sister Bibles supplementing the resources assembled by Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrith for the monastery. Indeed the *Historia abbatum* describes the commissioning of Ceolfrith's pandects in similar terms to those of the quatrain: the three copies of the "new translation" were added to (but did not render obsolete) the copy of the "old translation" that Ceolfrith had previously sourced in Rome.[136] The fourth line could be seen to introduce several other new meanings to the original Isidorian triplet: the "new gifts" could credibly be taken as an allusion

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[134] "Hieronyme interpres variis doctissime linguis / te Bethlem celebrat te totus personat orbis / te quoque nostra tuis promet bibliotheca libris / qua nova cum priscis condis donaria gazis": Codex Amiatinus, fol. IV/3v. See Meyvaert, "Bede, Cassiodorus, and the Codex Amiatinus," 868–70; O'Reilly, "Library of Scripture," 21; Bruce-Mitford, *Art of the Codex Amiatinus*, 6–7, repr. Lapidge, 192–93; Corsano, "First Quire of the Codex Amiatinus," 14; Marsden, *Text of the Old Testament*, 103–6.

[135] Isidore of Seville, *Versus* 8 (Hieronymus), ed. José Maria Sanchez Martin, CCSL 113A (Turnhout, 2000). The first distich is cited again in paragraph 12 of Bede's *Epistola ad Pleguinam*, which was written in the year 708; ed. Charles W. Jones, CCSL 123C (Turnhout, 1980), 617–26.
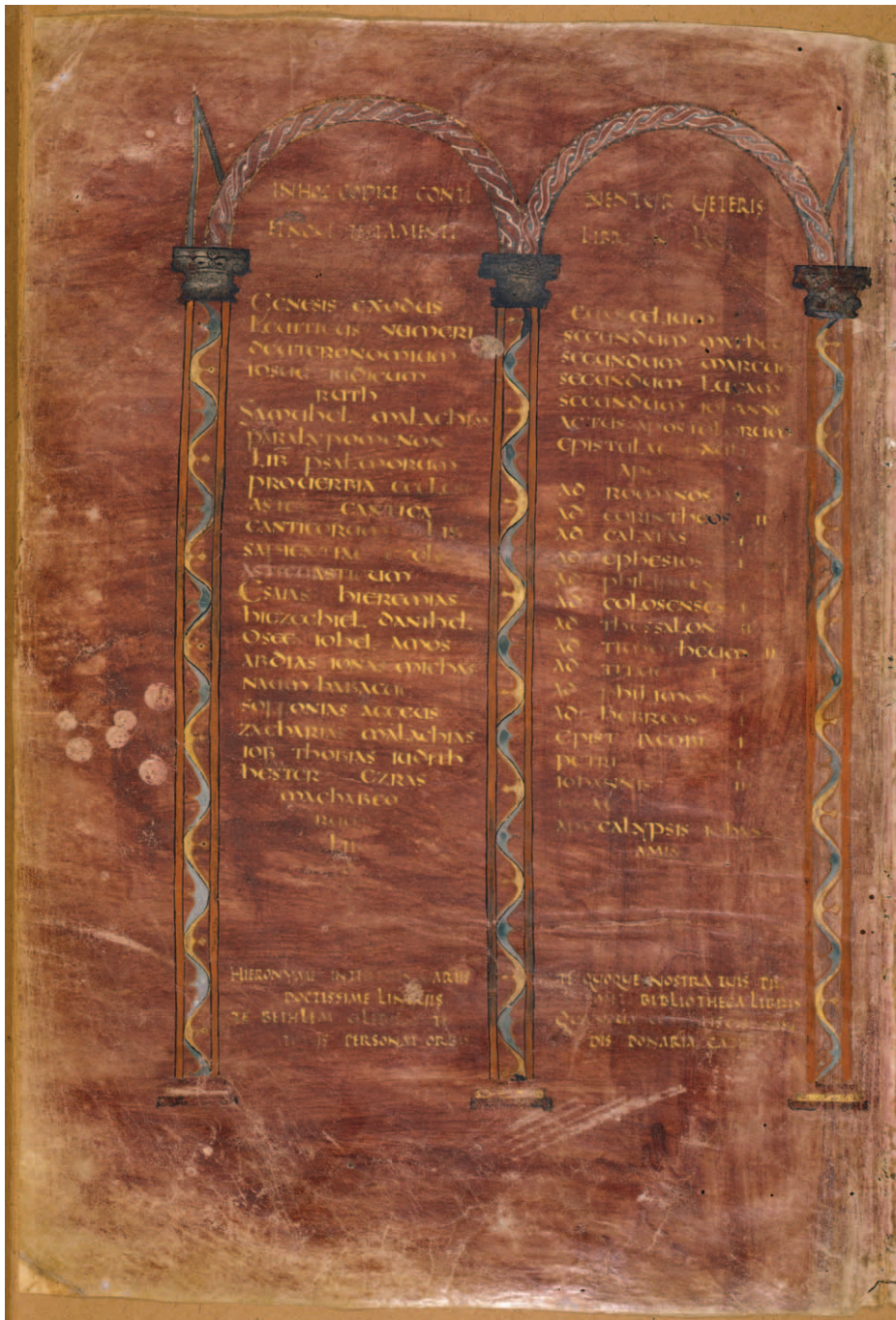
[136] Bede, *Historia abbatum* 15.

Fig. 3. Verses in honor of Jerome. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Amiatino 1, fol. IV/3v. Printed with the permission of MiBACT. Reproduction in any form forbidden.

to the Hieronymian prefaces placed among the "ancient treasures" of the Old and New Testaments, for example. These interpretations, which are by no means mutually exclusive, emphasize and celebrate Jerome's personal contribution to the transmission and interpretation of the Latin Bible.

Folio IV/3v shows a colonnade of three decorated columns bearing two arches supported by decorated capitals. The verses in honor of Jerome are written out at the foot of the colonnade in yellow paint, which has been used to convey the appearance of gold.[137] The golden rustic capitals that display the epigram stand out against the purple substance used to color the background (just one other page of the Codex Amiatinus, the recto of folio IV/3, is colored in this way).[138] This presentation imitates luxury manuscripts of the late antique period and it represents a very early example of the practice from the Insular world.[139] Above the epigram the titles of the books featured in the Codex Amiatinus are also displayed in a gold-like color, although these are written in uncials, which are in keeping with the script used for the biblical text throughout the codex. The two parts of scripture are divided by the central pillar of the colonnade: the books of the Old Testament are restricted to the area under the left arch with those of the New Testament underneath the right. In contrast, the short poem in honor of Jerome straddles both of these areas: on the left side the first distich underpins the Old Testament and on the right the New Testament is supported by the epigram's third and fourth lines. By occupying both intercolumnar spaces, the verses for Jerome connect the two parts of scripture to each other, thus offering a visual expression of the exegetical principles set forth in the Hieronymian prefaces. For the architects of the Codex Amiatinus Jerome's significance was not limited to his contribution as a translator of sacred scripture; his exegetical prefaces were important sources of inspiration for Ceolfrith's community as they developed their erudite program in text and image in the early eighth century.

[137] Brown, *Society, Spirituality and the Scribe*, 277–80; Bruce-Mitford, *Art of the Codex Amiatinus*, 14–15, repr. Lapidge, 202–3.

[138] The other purple page is folio IV/3r. The purple color "seems to have been accomplished with an organic compound": Bicchieri et al., "Non-Destructive Analysis of the Bibbia Amiatina," 175. Bruce-Mitford suggests that the leaf is "not painted, but genuinely, if inefficiently, stained": *Art of the Codex Amiatinus*, 14–15, repr. Lapidge, 202–3.

[139] Stephen of Ripon reports that Bishop Wilfrid had previously had a Gospel book prepared in which the scriptures were written out in gold on purple: *Vita Wilfridi* 17, ed. Bertram Colgrave, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus: Text, Translation and Notes* (Cambridge, UK, 1927). On the use of the color purple in Anglo-Saxon art see Henderson, *Vision and Image*, 122–35.

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