

Evangeliarium Epternacense  
Evangelistarium



Codices illuminati medii aevi 9

## Evangeliarium Epternacense

(Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg, Cod. I.2.4°2)

## Evangelistarium

(Erzbischöfliches Priesterseminar St. Peter, Cod. ms. 25)

Colour Microfiche Edition

Introduction and Codicological Description  
by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín



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## FOREWORD

This colour microform is the first in what is hoped will be a series of micro-reproductions of early Echternach manuscripts. Echternach is almost unique in its importance: for no other scriptorium do we have the same wealth of detailed information concerning the date of its foundation and the historical circumstances behind it, the personalities involved and their origins, the names of the early and later scribes, and a substantial corpus of manuscripts dating from the late seventh century and after. Above all, Echternach is the best example of Insular masters and their methods transposed to a continental environment.

Uniquely among Insular foundations on the continent, Echternach also produced a series of richly illuminated gospel books: the Augsburg Gospels (reproduced in this microform), the Maeseyck Gospels, the Trier Gospels, and the Echternach Gospels. None of these has been reproduced in facsimile before now, and only the Trier codex has been the object of a thorough study (in a brilliant recent dissertation by Dr Nancy Netzer, Boston). It is hoped that the Introduction to this microform edition has gone some way to setting that situation to rights.

My own involvement with the corpus of Echternach manuscripts derives from an interest in questions of technical chronology; in this area also the Echternach material is of considerable importance. By this route I was drawn to the debate about the date and provenance of some of the best-known Insular gospel books, and the happy chance of a sabbatical year's leave spent in Munich in 1985 - working on other things - allowed me to examine at first hand the Augsburg Gospels, then deposited in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Thus began the work which has led to this study.

Nobody who has worked in the area of medieval manuscript studies can fail to appreciate the colossal contribution made to it by one man: Professor Bernhard Bischoff. Eight months in 1985 spent working almost daily with him was a rare privilege. The debt owed to him by Irish scholars in particular can never be repaid: almost single-handed, he made Hiberno-Latin studies an area of major research and importance. As a small token of personal esteem I would like to dedicate this study to him.

Dáibhí Ó Cróinín  
Coláiste na hOllscoile, Gaillimh

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Thanks are also due to Dr Stadel, Regens of the Priesterseminar der Erzdiözese Freiburg at St Peter, for his courtesy during my visit there, and for kindly making the St Peter MS. 25 available for photographic purposes. Dr Winfried Hagenmaier, Handschriftenabteilung der Universitätsbibliothek, Freiburg im Breisgau, was very helpful during my work there, and generously supplied me with his unpublished description of the St Peter MS. Two Freiburg friends made my stay there particularly pleasant: Dr Jan Gerchow, Historisches Seminar der Universität, and Hanne Thoma. Thanks are also due to the Royal Irish Academy for a generous grant which facilitated some of the research for this project.

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## INTRODUCTION

In 1980 the Bavarian State government purchased the library of the Counts of Oettingen-Wallerstein (for DM 40 million)<sup>1</sup> and placed it on permanent deposit in the Library of the University of Augsburg. Although a relatively young institution compared to other universities in Germany, Augsburg (est. 11 December 1969) thereby came into possession of one of the oldest and richest private manuscript and book collections in Europe: some 1500 manuscripts, medieval and modern (including the gospel codex, saec. VIIIin, reproduced in this microform), 1000 incunabula, 1787 music manuscripts with 604 printed works on music, as well as 117,000 printed books ranging in date from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

The history of this remarkable collection dates back to the fifteenth century. A catalogue of the German books in the library of Graf Ludwig von Oettingen dated 1430 still survives, and there are records for the same period of the books belonging to Graf Johann von Oettingen. There are seventy-seven items listed in a catalogue of the books owned by Graf Wilhelm von Oettingen dating from 1466/67. Little is known, however, of the acquisitions in the generations following until the seventeenth century, when Graf Ernst II of Oettingen-Wallerstein (1594-1670), a noted bibliophile, added substantially to the collection. Graf Ernst was President of the Council at the Habsburg court in Vienna, and in the middle of the century he acquired from his brother-in-law Marquard Fugger a large collection of humanistic literature which had been assembled by Fugger's grandfather, Marcus (of the famous banking family). In his will, Graf Ernst bequeathed the whole library to his family as inalienable property.

Vienna remained the principal family residence for the next two generations, and it was Graf Ernst's great-grandson who transferred the library in 1761 to Wallerstein, whither shortly afterwards, under Fürst Kraft Ernst of Oettingen (1748-1802) came the library of the protestant Oettingen line which had become extinct with the death of Albrecht Ernst II in 1731. The family libraries thus combined at Wallerstein formed the basis of the collection of books which Kraft Ernst built up, with great enthusiasm and at considerable expense. He bought books and rare prints at auctions and from private dealers, and from his bookseller Mathias Fontaine in Mannheim.

As compensation for properties on the left-bank of the Rhine (at Dachstuhl), which were ceded to France under the Treaty of Lunéville in 1801, the house of Oettingen-Wallerstein received in 1803 the properties of five monasteries which had been dissolved in the secularisation, and their libraries. These were assembled under one roof at the monastery of Maihingen and classified under thirteen categories and 101 subjects.

Fürst Ludwig (1791-1870) surpassed even his father in terms of financial outlay on books and art works, and in 1816 he opened a museum in one wing of Wallerstein castle which combined a gallery of early German paintings and a medieval library containing manuscripts and incunabula. However, the vast sums expended on his acquisitions ruined the prince financially, and on 14 October 1823 Ludwig granted his rights of Fideikommiss to his brother Friedrich. The museum and gallery were closed and over one hundred paintings went to England, while others were sold to the Münchner Pinakothek, through King Ludwig I of Bavaria.

In 1840 Fürst Friedrich moved the remaining collection to Maihingen (in course of which some valuable books disappeared), where it was catalogued. Although financial difficulties necessitated the sale of some further valuable items in the 1930s, the collection survived almost intact and was made available again to the public after the Second World War in Harburg Castle. After their purchase by the Bavarian State, the manuscripts were placed on interim deposit in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in München until 1985, but with the exception of the folio manuscripts, which are currently being catalogued by Dr Hägele, the collection is now on permanent deposit in Augsburg.

## History of the Manuscript

### Date

Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. I.2.4°2, is a manuscript of the four gospels in Latin, with their prefatory texts and canon tables, plus some additional matter.<sup>3</sup> Though there are indications of serious dislocation at one time, the manuscript seems now to be intact, except for one leaf, which is in the Erzbischöfliches Priesterseminar at St Peter im Schwarzwald.<sup>4</sup> That leaf contains on one side a portrait of the evangelist Mark by the Master of the Registrum Gregorii, who was active in Trier in the latter years of the tenth century.<sup>5</sup>

There are no internal indications of the manuscript's place of origin, but the combined evidence of the script, the Mark portrait, and the manuscript's relationship with other codices emanating from Echternach (Luxembourg), strongly suggests that

our manuscript too was once in that monastery and was probably written there.

According to E. A. Lowe (CLA V 606a), the scribe of the gospels also wrote the second part of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. lat. 10837 (f 34-41), the famous Calendar of Willibrord, which he described as having been written in "an Anglo-Saxon centre on the Continent, probably at Echternach, by the scribe of the Maihingen [= Augsburg] Gospels".<sup>6</sup> Lowe dated the Calendar "saec. VIIIin (ante A.D. 728)", and dated the gospels "saec. VIII<sup>1</sup>" accordingly. A similarly early date was proposed for the gospels by W. M. Lindsay.<sup>7</sup> A date considerably later in the eighth century was proposed by E. H. Zimmermann,<sup>8</sup> and this in turn was questioned by Carl Nordenfalk, who reverted to an early date, in the 730s.<sup>9</sup> Alexander describes our codex as "early eighth-century".<sup>10</sup>

Lowe ascribed his date of "saec. VIIIin (ante A.D. 728)" without distinction to Willibrord's Calendar and to the singleton (f 44, containing an Easter table) which is now bound up with the Calendar. However, since the (Dionysiac) Easter table (f 44<sup>r</sup>) is for the 19-year cycle AD 684-702, with no continuation for a further cycle on the verso, it is almost certain that f 44<sup>r</sup> was written in or before the first year of that cycle, i.e. ca. 684.<sup>11</sup> It is also to be noted that the script of this separate folio, while not identical with that of the *prima manus* in the Calendar, nevertheless is close enough to warrant description of it as deriving from the same scriptorium, and it doubtless represents an earlier stage in the development of that hand.<sup>12</sup> The similarities are so obvious that the two hands must be very close in date, and this suggests an early eighth-century date for the main hand of the Calendar, and consequently also for the gospels.

This proposed early eighth-century dating for the Calendar and Gospels is confirmed by the internal evidence of the Calendar. Despite statements to the contrary,<sup>13</sup> the cross added in the margin of the Easter table (f 40<sup>v</sup>) opposite AD 717 need not necessarily represent the year of writing. More significant, for dating purposes, are the names entered in the Calendar itself, and even more significant, those absent.

Since the *prima manus* commemorates Pope Sergius I (ob. 7 Sept. 701), the manuscript clearly cannot have been written before that date. Absent from the Calendar, on the other hand, is the name of Willibrord's first teacher and mentor, Wilfrid (ob. 12 Oct. 709),<sup>14</sup> while the name of his principal assistant on the mission, Suidbert (ob. 1 March 713(?)) is entered by a secondary hand. This strongly suggests a date in the first decade of the eighth century for the main text in the Calendar, and since the *prima manus* of the Calendar also wrote the Gospels, we are left with a dating of "saec. VIIIin" for the Augsburg Gospels.

### Provenance

Since it is agreed that the scribe of the Gospels also wrote the main text in Willibrord's Calendar, an Echternach provenance can be assumed for our manuscript from the outset. The Calendar was in Willibrord's personal possession in AD 728, as the autograph entry in the margin of f 39<sup>v</sup> clearly attests, and the nature of the entries is sure evidence for the manuscript's intimate association with Echternach and the Anglo-Saxon missionary group based there. Bound up with the Calendar (f 2-33) is a copy of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*,<sup>15</sup> written by the scribe Laurentius who wrote charters for Echternach between the years AD 704 and 718 (721/22?).<sup>16</sup> This is in all likelihood the same Laurentius who is named in the acrostich and telestich of the verses on f 157<sup>v</sup> of the Gospels: 'LAURENTIUS UIUAT SENIO'.<sup>17</sup> Although some scholars have assumed that Laurentius was the scribe of the Gospels,<sup>18</sup> the likelihood in fact is that he was only the subject of these verses, not the author. The identity of the scribe remains unknown, therefore, but all the evidence points to his close association with Echternach. There remains the slight possibility that the scribe, who undoubtedly received his initial training in the Anglo-Saxon monastery of Rath Melsigi in Ireland (now Clonmelsh, Co. Carlow) - where the Easter table for AD 684-702 was undoubtedly written - may have penned the Gospels there. But the balance of evidence is against this: with the transfer to Echternach of several scribes (including Virgilius and Laurentius) in the opening years of the eighth century the production of manuscripts for the mission seems to have shifted to the new foundation.<sup>19</sup>

Mention must be made here of the fact that the late Professor T. J. Brown, in his discussion of the Lindisfarne Gospels, classified our manuscript as Northumbrian, along with its close relatives, Paris, Bibl. nat., ms. lat. 10837, f 34-41+44 (Willibrord's Calendar and the Easter table, and the Martyrology written by Laurentius (f 2-33),<sup>20</sup> together with Paris, Bibl. nat., ms. lat. 9382 (Prophets, Jeremiah-Malachi), written in part by Virgilius.<sup>21</sup> Brown listed three principal reasons for regarding the group as Northumbrian: "First, Willibrord's own background was almost purely Northumbrian, and in the early days of his mission close contact with Northumbria was maintained. Secondly, much of the contents of the Kalendar and Martyrology are derived from Northumbria. Thirdly, the Echternach manuscripts are paleographically linked to certain Northumbrian manuscripts".<sup>22</sup>

There is not sufficient space available here to examine these statements in detail, but it must be said that the first two points are highly questionable.<sup>23</sup> The historical background to the Echternach mission was demonstrably set in Ireland, in the settlement of Rath Melsigi, where the mission was originally conceived and whence

it was subsequently directed by Ecgbert. The first members of the mission, Uuictberct and Willibrord, and their companions, all set out from Rath Melsigi, and the later recruits for the Saxon mission (such as the two Hewalds) also set out from there. Therefore the statement that "Willibrord's own background was almost purely Northumbrian" ignores the crucial formative influence of the years he spent in Ireland, and runs counter to all the evidence available about the early Frisian mission. Close contacts with Northumbria doubtless existed during those early years, but so also did contacts with Ireland, as witnessed by the continuous recruitment from Rath Melsigi.

The second point, about the contents of the Calendar, is of little weight. There are more Northumbrian names commemorated than Irish ones, to be sure, but that is only to be expected. As it is, the three principal Irish saints, Patrick, Brigit, and Columba are all commemorated (the latter under his Irish name Colum Cille).<sup>24</sup> The evidence of the names, therefore, cannot be pressed in favour of an exclusively Northumbrian background for the codex.

The third point, concerning palaeographical affinities with other allegedly Northumbrian manuscripts (such as the Durham and Echternach Gospels) naturally presupposes a firm consensus about the provenance of these manuscripts. Such a consensus cannot be said to exist, however, and to classify our manuscripts as Northumbrian on these grounds is to engage in circular argument.<sup>25</sup>

The historical background to the Augsburg Gospels speaks for its close connection with Echternach and with the circle of Willibrord which came there from Rath Melsigi. Furthermore (as will be seen below) the evidence of the gospel texts themselves confirms the link with Ireland, while the presence in the manuscript of the canon verses composed by the Irishman Ailerán of Clonard (ob. AD 665), and the unique connection between the verses and the canon tables prefixed to the Gospels (the significance of which was first noted by Dr Nancy Netzer), add further weight to the case for a Rath Melsigi/Echternach provenance.

### Later History

There are a number of clues to the Gospels' later history, though its fortunes are not easy to trace. Working backwards from the date of its 'rediscovery' in 1869, by Wilhelm Wattenbach,<sup>26</sup> there are clear internal traces of two former owners of the manuscript; these are to be found on f 158 and 159 (both endleaves). F. 158 is a patchwork, and at the bottom right-hand corner of the recto side, 'upside-down', is the name 'Gaertler'. On f 159<sup>r</sup> (also a patchwork job) are the words 'Ex libris A. Gaertler. A. 1809'. Above this, on a paper slip pasted down onto the vellum, is the following:

Lapidibus contexti codicis (est cum eras.?) scriptura est uncialis Merovingica de saeculo sexto desinente, alter de eodem circiter tempore scriptus scriptura Anglo Saxonica ad uncialem accedente, uterque codex ingentis raritatis ac valoris numerarii si venderentur. qui valor deberet excedere 125 Ludovicos aureos pro unoquoque. (col 2) Dom Maugerard in Mon. S. Arnulphi Magni Franciae Eleemosinarii bibliothecarius (societatis eras.?) regiae academiae Met. Socius, in camera Episcopali Regularium commissarius<sup>1</sup>.

The note was written by the notorious Jean-Baptiste Maugérard, Benedictine of the congregation of St-Vanne (29.4.1735-15.7.1815), whose activities as a collector and pedlar of rare and valuable manuscripts in the period of the French Revolutionary wars have earned him an unenviable (though not undeserved) reputation.<sup>27</sup> The title with which Maugérard here refers to himself was his during the years 1785-1790, and it must have been during this period that he began the trade in Echternach manuscripts which eventually saw no fewer than eighty-four of them make their way through his hands to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (after he had carefully erased the tell-tale *ex libris Codex monasterii sancti Willibrordi epternachensis*).<sup>28</sup>

Maugérard came into contact with the Echternach community after they had fled to the Benedictine house on the Petersberg at Erfurt. The unfortunate Echternach monk and librarian, Pater Konstantin Käuffer, whether through ignorance or necessity sold Maugérard several valuable items from the manuscript collection, some of which Maugérard in turn peddled to wealthy clients, such as Herzog Ernst II of Sachsen-Gotha.<sup>29</sup> If our manuscript was one of these, then Maugérard must have been unusually thorough in his deception, because there is no trace now of an *ex libris* from Echternach. There is no known connection either between Maugérard and the princes of Oettingen-Wallerstein; nor is there any firm indication of when our manuscript came to Maihingen.<sup>30</sup> Maugérard may perhaps have intended selling the Gospels to Herzog Ernst of Sachsen-Gotha, and then thought better of it. Evidence of his dubious behaviour on other occasions is not wanting,<sup>31</sup> and contemporaries, for that reason, viewed him with extreme distrust.

It is quite possible, therefore, that Maugérard acquired the Gospels from the exiled Echternach community. How the manuscript then came into the possession of Gaertler is not so easy to explain. Traube, in fact, was sceptical about Gaertler's very existence, and thought that the *ex libris* entry in his name in our manuscript and in the Maihingen Cod. I.2.4°25 (Old Testament, saec. XIII) might simply be another example of Maugérard's dissembling.<sup>32</sup> But Johann Adam Gaertler (1731-1818) certainly did exist. A canon of the Stiftskirche in Bruchsal (dioc. Speyer), his life and career are quite well documented.<sup>33</sup> He left his personal library to the seminary at Bruchsal and amongst his collection, apparently, was the present MS. 25 of the Archdiocesan Seminary at St Peter.<sup>34</sup> This manuscript contains a single leaf formerly in the Augsburg Gospels, with the portrait of the evangelist Mark painted on it by the Master of the Registrum Gregorii.

What previous writers did not realise, however, is that not only the Mark portrait page but the entire St Peter codex was once bound up with the Gospels. So much is clear even from the pencilled pagination.<sup>35</sup> The pagination in the Gospels begins with 21 (f 1<sup>r</sup>), and continues up to 338 (f 157<sup>v</sup>; f 158, 159 are not paginated). The only gap in this sequence is pp 66-67, which are found on the two sides of the St Peter leaf.<sup>36</sup> The ten leaves in the St Peter codex are numbered 1-20, and clearly stood at one time before our Gospels. Corroboration of this hitherto unnoticed connection between the two codices is to be had from an autograph note by Gaertler himself which is now pasted onto the inside back cover of the St Peter manuscript:

Nota. Negligentia Bibliopecti varia Folia extra Ordinem collocata sunt.  
 a) post Paginam 20 deberet sequi Folium [= p] 65. continens indicem Evangeliorum, quae per totum Annum in Ecclesia Diebus Festis leguntur.  
 b) a Pagina 22 usque ad Paginam 49. omnia sunt in justo Ordine. Ante Paginam 49. vero debet poni folium [= p] 82, quod incipit "et de Filiis Zebedaei". Supra manu recentiori scriptum est "et occidendus sit", quae verba supplent, quae de antecedente pagina 48, in fine omissa sunt. nunc pag. 84 sequitur initium Evangelii secundum Mathaeum et recto ordine continuatur usque ad Paginam 146. ante hoc folium [= p] debet collocari folium [= p] 49. cujus initialia verba sunt "ex minimis his". sed pagina 84. habetur initium Evangelii secundum Mathaeum. Pagina autem 68. habes initium Evangelii secundum Marcum. Pagina 188. incipit Evangelium secundum Lucam. Pagina 277. incipit Evangelium secundum Joannem. prima Decem Folia plane non pertinent ad hunc Codicem antiquum, sed sunt Liber communis omnium Ecclesiarum in quibus Diebus Festis legitur vel canitur Evangelium; hinc etiam notis musicis vel choralibus plura verba distincta sunt. Ultimum hujus Evangeliarum folium invenies pagina 66 (rectius 67), cum imagine s. Marci.  
 post Paginam 81 transitias usque ad Paginam 146. et ibi invenias continuationem Marci.

Four things are evident from this: 1) The Gospels and the St Peter manuscript were together when Gaertler wrote this note; 2) the Gospel section was in some disarray, and someone before Gaertler had worked out the correct sequence of gatherings; 3) The 'prima Decem Folia' [= St Peter MS. 25] did not belong to the original 'codex antiquus', but were clearly of a later date; 4) the Mark portrait page was already detached by the date of this note, and was found by Gaertler at the beginning of the Gospels.

The Mark portrait must, however, have once stood facing the opening of that gospel: the pagination implies as much, and the offset of the Mark 'Initium' is still clearly visible on the Mark page; and that is, of course, where one would expect to find it. Dr Nancy Netzer, however, differed from Lowe in suggesting that the folio with the Mark portrait was once the conjugate of f 61, and was originally left blank (Lowe talked of "inserted leaves" carrying portraits of all four evangelists). The possible significance of Dr Netzer's theory - if correct - will be further discussed below, in the section on the decoration.

Further evidence that the entire St Peter MS. 25 once accompanied the Gospels is to be found on f 54<sup>v</sup> (top, left of centre, though not remarked upon by Lowe), where there is a large red I(?), apparently painted by the same hand (saec. XV) that added the foliation in the St Peter manuscript, written in the same red ink.<sup>37</sup> Unfortunately, the gospel lections on the first page of the St Peter codex do not reveal any specific localised connections. The double feast of St Benedict suggests a monastic community, as Siegel remarked; he further argued that the commemoration of Magnericus (ob. 596) points to Trier as the place where the lectionary was used.<sup>38</sup> The fact that the Master of the Registrum Gregorii was based in Trier may possibly support his contention.

Though there is no known connection between the princes of Oettingen-Wallerstein and Maugérard, it is possible to suggest an alternative 'delivery route' for our manuscript. In the note added by Maugérard to the Gospels he referred to two manuscripts, one written "scriptura uncialis Merovingica", the other "de eodem circiter tempore scriptus scriptura Anglo Saxonica ad uncialem accedente". The manuscript in Insular script is undoubtedly our Gospels; the second is the famous Stuttgart Merovingian psalter (Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Bibl.fol.12; Lowe, CLA IX 1353; see Alban Dold (ed), *Lichtbild-Ausgabe des Stuttgarter altlateinischen Unzial-Psalters* (Beuron 1936)).

This manuscript has a remarkable history, and was the object of bizarre negotiations in 1787-88 between Herzog Carl-Eugen of Württemberg and the notorious Baron Hüpsch of Cologne.<sup>39</sup> Hüpsch's career as a pedlar of manuscripts is almost as well-known as Maugérard's, and equally disreputable; the Stuttgart psalter is a case in point.<sup>40</sup> What is of interest to us, however, is the fact that the volume once contained, following the psalms, the Canticum graduum, the Te Deum, the Athanasian Creed, a litany of saints (some uncommon), a prayer 'ut exercitum Francorum conservare digneris', and, most important of all, a prayer 'Ut clerum et congregationem sancti Willibrordi conservare digneris'. This last section of the manuscript is now no longer in the psalter because Hüpsch simply removed it, so that the tell-tale evidence of Echternach provenance would no longer remain. He then dismembered the psalter and attempted to sell it in three separate lots to the Herzog! Also worth noting is that Hüpsch had at least one other important Echternach manuscript in his possession, a missal and antiphon (saec. X), now also in Stuttgart.

Hüpsch possessed no fewer than six early gospel manuscripts with valuable bindings on them, and he thought nothing of stripping the bindings and selling them separately. This happened in the case of the psalter; the original binding of our Gospels too is gone, and the resulting dismemberment of the codex doubtless led to the dislocation noted subsequently by Gaertler. Is it possible that Hüpsch acquired the



Gospels from Maugérard? It is known that the two were in correspondence, and probably met in Cologne.<sup>41</sup> True, Maugérard is not always to blame for some of the misdeeds ascribed to him,<sup>42</sup> but it does seem very likely that he traded the Gospels to Hüpsch, who may in turn have intended selling the codex to Herzog Carl-Eugen. However, Hüpsch's rather unfortunate experience with the Merovingian psalter may have persuaded him that he was better off seeking another client, and the manuscript may thus have come into the hands of Gaertler.<sup>43</sup>

Gaertler's library passed into the possession of the seminary at Bruchsal. Dr Stadel of the Erzbischöfliches Priesterseminar at St Peter has suggested that the Mark portrait may have followed the same route to St Peter as the collection of large portraits (twelve in all) depicting the prince-bishops of Speyer (six of which were subsequently returned to Speyer), and which came to St Peter after the building was reopened in the 1840s as a seminary. It is not now known when the portrait page was separated from the rest of the Gospels, nor in what year precisely the codex was sold to the Oettingen-Wallerstein family, though the ex libris date of 1809 offers a terminus ante quem non.<sup>44</sup>

#### Binding

Dr Hägele pointed out to me that the simple half-leather cover on our manuscript is identical with that on Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. I.2.2°1 (saec. IX<sup>2</sup>), which can be dated to 1863 (see Rainer Kahsnitz, in Frankenberger & Rupp, *Wertvolle Handschriften und Einbände*, 37). There are other bindings of the same type on volumes which can be dated (by watermark) to 1862 and 1864, and some of these have notes written by the Fürstliche Bibliothekar saying that the books were bound around that time. This would suggest that the Gospels passed with Fürst Ludwig's private collection into the library at Maihingen after his retirement. Hence a date of ca. 1864 for the binding would be probably not far wrong. The original de luxe binding, described by Maugérard in the note now pasted onto f 159<sup>r</sup>, was removed and presumably sold separately.

## Paleography



### Scripts

Fols 159 (2 endleaves) ca. 245x175/180 <190x130/135> mm. The endleaves, f 158-59, are in caroline minuscule saec. IX (158) and a patchwork of hands saec. XI and XV (159). The gospels are written by one hand in a beautiful, calligraphic Insular 'formal majuscule'.<sup>45</sup> T. J. Brown characterised the script of the Gospels and the related Echternach manuscripts as follows: "The general appearance of the majuscule in these Echternach manuscripts is more disciplined and compact than that of the early Irish and Northumbrian majuscule..., but it is still comparatively free and spontaneous and is not so rigidly confined between head-line and base-line".<sup>46</sup> The only exceptions to the use of formal majuscule are in the introductory poem on the canons by Ailerán (f 1<sup>V</sup>), and the acrostichon/telestichon dedicated to Laurentius (f 157<sup>V</sup>), which are written in majuscule verging on minuscule. The Ailerán verses, written in formal minuscule (not capitals, *pace* Alexander) are less formal in script than the Laurentius poem, and the typically Insular abbreviations *con* = con, *pro* = pro, are found on this page. The names of the evangelists f 7<sup>V</sup>-12<sup>V</sup> are in formal majuscule, the rest of the titles are in a less formal type of the same script.

Noticeably absent is the use of 'decorative minuscule', which is such a striking feature in the last lines of Durham, Cathedral Library, MS. A II 17, and the Echternach Gospels.<sup>47</sup> Also absent is any trace of the 'cursive minuscule' which occurs in the Echternach Gospels. Run-overs, added above and below line-ends, are usually in a smaller, less formal majuscule with minuscule elements; they are added below lines at the foot of columns and are usually enclosed in red dots.

Incipits and Explicits (what Lowe calls colophons and headings) are in mixed uncials and capitals, lines being written alternately in black and red. Running-titles and headings are in formal majuscule, headings in red. Corrections are added, some by the *prima manus*, some in Insular minuscule saec. VIII, others (and the punctuation?) in a minuscule saec. XI. Omissions are marked by signes de renvoi (26<sup>V</sup>, 47<sup>V</sup>, 129<sup>V</sup>) saec. VIII. Insertions by the *prima manus* are marked by points in the text.

Text is written in 2 columns of 28 lines, *per cola et commata*, originally without punctuation. Letter-forms include: uncial, majuscule and minuscule *a*; uncial *a* with a sharp, triangular rose-thorn bow is frequent in word-initial position (*aecclēsiae*, 3<sup>V</sup>a15; *altius*, 3<sup>V</sup>b18; *ad*, 5<sup>I</sup>a15; *aediderunt*, 6<sup>I</sup>a28; *ad*, 6<sup>I</sup>b2,22,23; *ante*, 6<sup>I</sup>b25); *a*

distinctive uncial **a** with a broad belly is found less frequently (asina, 15<sup>r</sup>a4; quia, 15<sup>r</sup>a5; quae, 15<sup>r</sup>a8; loquebatur, 31<sup>r</sup>b17); the broad-bellied and minuscule **a** occur together (dealba/tis; cf. also lauit, 125<sup>v</sup>b2); **æ** occurs as a diphthong (never with a raised loop) alongside caudate-**e** and **ae** (cf. caesari 41<sup>v</sup>b24, followed in run-over by caesari); **d**, **n**, **r**, **s** occur regularly in uncial and half-uncial forms (cessari, 41<sup>v</sup>b15, with both forms); uncial **g** occurs very rarely (magna, 93<sup>v</sup>b1; EVANGELII, 78<sup>v</sup>b; l-longa occurs sporadically (lonas In, 29<sup>v</sup>a20; In, 39<sup>v</sup>b25; Iret, 56<sup>v</sup>b28; alt, 24<sup>r</sup>b28); the loop of **l** may be extended in a flourish and at the foot of columns may be flourished for decorative purposes (solutum, 34<sup>v</sup>b28); -**m** may be artificially elongated for decorative purposes (solutum, 34<sup>v</sup>b28) and flourished at the foot of columns or in running-titles (lucam, 88<sup>r</sup>; mercentem, 58<sup>v</sup>b28; infirmitatem, 26<sup>r</sup>a28; homines, 87<sup>r</sup>a28 (where the -i- is enclosed by the third arch of the -m-); this flourishing occurs once when not at line-end (patrem, 133<sup>r</sup>b25); vertical **m** occurs, as it does in Durrow, Lindisfarne, and Durham A II 17, in the decorative initials at the beginning of Mark (INITIUM, 55<sup>r</sup>a); uncial **m** occurs once (tam, 83<sup>v</sup>a, foot of col.); uncial and half-uncial **n** occur, often in ligature (see below); open angular **d** occurs (sed, 157<sup>v</sup>7); -**e** is closely joined to the following letter and the tongue often extended at line-end; **e** in ligatures sometimes resembles the arabic number 8 ('theta-like' in Brown's terminology; Lindisfarnensis, 91 n 6; cf. mulier, 31<sup>r</sup>b12); both forms of **n** are ligatured in the running-titles to John (IohNn, 145<sup>r</sup>; cf. IohNN, 154<sup>r</sup>); uncial **N** is artificially drawn out to enclose -o- in NoUo, 91<sup>v</sup>a28); -**o** is oddly flourished at line-end in illo, 27<sup>v</sup>b19; cf. templo, 114<sup>v</sup>b21; open **q** occurs twice (quae, que, 157<sup>v</sup>5,7); uncial and half-uncial **R/r** are frequent, the former often in ligature; -**s** occurs regularly in both uncial and half-uncial forms, the latter being frequently flourished at line-ends; both forms are used side-by-side (cessari, 41<sup>v</sup>b15; cf. caesaris, 41<sup>v</sup>b22, both half-uncial forms); **s** also frequently occurs in ligature (see below); uncial **T** is very common in run-overs and ligatures; the **t** has a vertical back in curavit, 24<sup>r</sup>b12; **T** has a tail to the left in 83<sup>v</sup>a, foot of col., and -**u** is often **v**-shaped in all positions, but especially at line-end and in ligatures (noVos, 25<sup>v</sup>a8; no/vo, 25<sup>v</sup>b6; intravit, 25<sup>v</sup>b8; hvius, 148<sup>v</sup>a foot of col.; cf. ihy, with the second stroke of the **v** drawn down to the left); **v** occurs occasionally after **q**, written supralineally (exting<sup>v</sup>ibilis, 67<sup>v</sup>b13; seq<sup>v</sup>e/bantur, 70<sup>r</sup>a13; mort<sup>v</sup>us, 71<sup>v</sup>a24; cf. mortvus, 71<sup>v</sup>a23; a very shallow loop sometimes occurs for **u** in final syllables (longius, 3<sup>r</sup>a28; illius, 42<sup>r</sup>a6; ducantur, with double-stroked **u**, 44<sup>v</sup>a16; primus, 54<sup>r</sup>b11; comminabatur, 58<sup>r</sup>a8; contrarius, 63<sup>r</sup>b6; -**x** usually extends the left leg below the line in the Eusebian marginalia, and the left 'ear' is occasionally flourished upwards and across the letter towards the right; -**y** occurs in two forms, one tiny the other full size (moyses, 56<sup>v</sup>a1; cf. paralyticum, 56<sup>v</sup>a16); -**z** is not a particularly distinctive letter; - Greek  occurs once in a marginal reference (in al [= psalmo] xc, 19<sup>r</sup>a4).

### Ligatures, suprascript and subscript letters

These are generally (though not exclusively) confined to line-ends. Common ligatures are: -g with n and r (regnum, 26<sup>r</sup>b21, 29<sup>r</sup>a28; cognoscitur, 29<sup>r</sup>b26; agro, 31<sup>v</sup>a25); -u/v with one or more other letters (peribunt, 25<sup>v</sup>a7; sunt, 33<sup>v</sup>a4, with uncial N and T, 38<sup>r</sup>b14; conseruantvr, with uncial R, 25<sup>v</sup>a9; eius, 29<sup>r</sup>a28; 51<sup>v</sup>b20; corpus, 51<sup>r</sup>b19; aduersus, 57<sup>v</sup>b12; -us sometimes looks very like the ligature in New Roman Cursive (dignus, 27<sup>r</sup>b19; eius, 42<sup>r</sup>b5, 76<sup>r</sup>a14, 86<sup>v</sup>a9, b23); -ur: loquebatur, 31<sup>r</sup>b17; surgit, 138<sup>r</sup>a19); v is frequently ligated in the uncials/capitals of the incipits/explicits (EVANGELII, 52<sup>r</sup>b) and in the elaborate initials at the beginnings of gospels (MARCVS (-v̇ -), 52<sup>v</sup>); cf. architrlinvs, 129<sup>r</sup>a11; huius, 148<sup>v</sup>a, foot of col.); -up: nuptias, 107<sup>v</sup>a13; -e is ligated with r, s, and t; the er ligature sometimes looks like arabic 8: (mulier, 31<sup>r</sup>b12; similiter, 156<sup>v</sup>b16; celeri, 157<sup>v</sup>1; cernis, 157<sup>v</sup>5); et: habet, 58<sup>r</sup>b28; es: fornicationes, 64<sup>r</sup>b14; seniores, 119<sup>r</sup>b14; oues, 141<sup>v</sup>b25; ambulantes, 122<sup>v</sup>a4; a false ligature of e with i also occurs: ei, 38<sup>r</sup>b15, 79<sup>v</sup>a8; pharisaei, 34<sup>r</sup>b15; -f is ligated with i on occasions: fiet, 24<sup>r</sup>a28; filius, 28<sup>r</sup>b21.

Less common ligatures are a with T: audiat, 31<sup>v</sup>a23; t with i, where the head of the t is drawn down to the right: iusti, 27<sup>v</sup>a2; saturati, 34<sup>r</sup>b7; fueritis, 22<sup>v</sup>b18; h with e: israhel, 26<sup>r</sup>a6; -n with o: domino, 37<sup>r</sup>b16; agnoscere, 52<sup>v</sup>b28; regno, 74<sup>v</sup>b10; bono, 94<sup>r</sup>b12; o with n: leone, 1<sup>v</sup>a22; o with s: duos, 36<sup>v</sup>b16; discipulos, 39<sup>v</sup>a25; bonos, 41<sup>v</sup>a16; tuos, 43<sup>v</sup>b13; suos, 45<sup>r</sup>b20; -o with R: scandalizaboR, 48<sup>r</sup>a12; peccatoR, 140<sup>v</sup>b5; pastoR, 141<sup>v</sup>b21 (cf. 142<sup>r</sup>a12); moRtuus, 144<sup>r</sup>a16; -n with s: dicens, 112<sup>r</sup>b25, 113<sup>r</sup>b14; eructans, 3<sup>r</sup>b, foot of col.; -N with T: resurgINT, 27<sup>v</sup>a25; praecedebaNT, 39<sup>v</sup>b22; clamabaNT, 39<sup>v</sup>b23, and in third places endings with -u/v (see above); -N with D: remigaNDo, 63<sup>r</sup>b5; -N with N: NoN (with suprascript -o-), 71<sup>r</sup>b9; -s with a: hierusalem, 122<sup>v</sup>a8; -r with a: uulnera, 101<sup>r</sup>b21; -R with e: uolucRe, 1<sup>v</sup>a10; domaRe, 59<sup>v</sup>a28; N with e: homiNe, 96<sup>v</sup>b23; -R with C: MaRCum, in the running-titles to Mark.

Suprascript and subscript letters are common, usually at line-ends, sometimes extending down the margins; sometimes whole words are written this way: scriburae, 48<sup>v</sup>b12; (IN)galileam, 132<sup>v</sup>a24; iudeorum, 132<sup>v</sup>a25; esaia, micheas, 17<sup>r</sup>, left margin; single letters may occur above or below line: (subscript) i: dormit, 25<sup>v</sup>b6; regni, 26<sup>v</sup>a13; hominibus, 27<sup>r</sup>b3 (cf. hominibus, 104<sup>r</sup>a27); hominum, 33<sup>r</sup>b22; nouissimi, 38<sup>v</sup>a5; homine, 96<sup>v</sup>b23; -s: dicens, 25<sup>v</sup>b22; magnificans, 113<sup>r</sup>b21; sequens, 155<sup>r</sup>b9; (suprascript) s: turbas, 42<sup>v</sup>a15; uos, 43<sup>r</sup>a6; -o: resurrexero, 48<sup>r</sup>a7; NoN, 71<sup>v</sup>b9; daemoniorum, 79<sup>v</sup>a23; uestro, 105<sup>r</sup>a4 (cf. ligated oR supra); -c: nunc, 92<sup>v</sup>a28. Two or more letters may be written above or below line: tradentes, 72<sup>v</sup>b28.

### Abbreviations

Abbreviations are used very sparingly, except for nomina sacra (though *isrl* occurs only twice, 26<sup>I</sup>b18, 86<sup>V</sup>a4). Common forms are *b*, *q*, (bus, que, but cf. *lampadibus*, with two points after the *b*, 45<sup>V</sup>a11, and *panibus*, 63<sup>I</sup>a8); *neque* occurs three times on 26<sup>V</sup>a1,3,4, the first with *q'*-, the others with the usual *q*; *h'* (autem) is frequent; 119<sup>I</sup>b21 the loop is drawn upwards from the base of the second foot, rather than from the shoulder. Lowe records instances of *h'* (haec) and *n* (non); *st* (sunt) occurs occasionally; *†* occurs once in a correction, saec. VIII, 73<sup>V</sup>b2; the abbreviation-stroke is invariably duplicated in red (perhaps the explanation for the double *u* in *ducantur*, 44<sup>V</sup>a16); mistaken abbreviations occur: *sp̄ritui*, 67<sup>I</sup>a12; *sp̄bš* (= spiritibus), 92<sup>V</sup>a1; *lqr* occurs once for *loquitur*, 79<sup>V</sup>a7. The *-m* stroke at line-ends is sometimes surmounted by a point; *q̄* (qui) occurs in a correction (saec. X(?)), 108<sup>V</sup>b14, left margin; *q<* (quia) occurs 85<sup>I</sup>a left margin in a hand saec. X(?); *+* (est) occurs once at 115<sup>V</sup>a2 left margin; it may be an addition, saec. VIII; that added 142<sup>I</sup>a12 marg. inf. is certainly late. *o* (con) occurs 1<sup>V</sup>a11; *ℙ* (pro) occurs 13<sup>V</sup>b top and 157<sup>V</sup>b13.

### Orthography

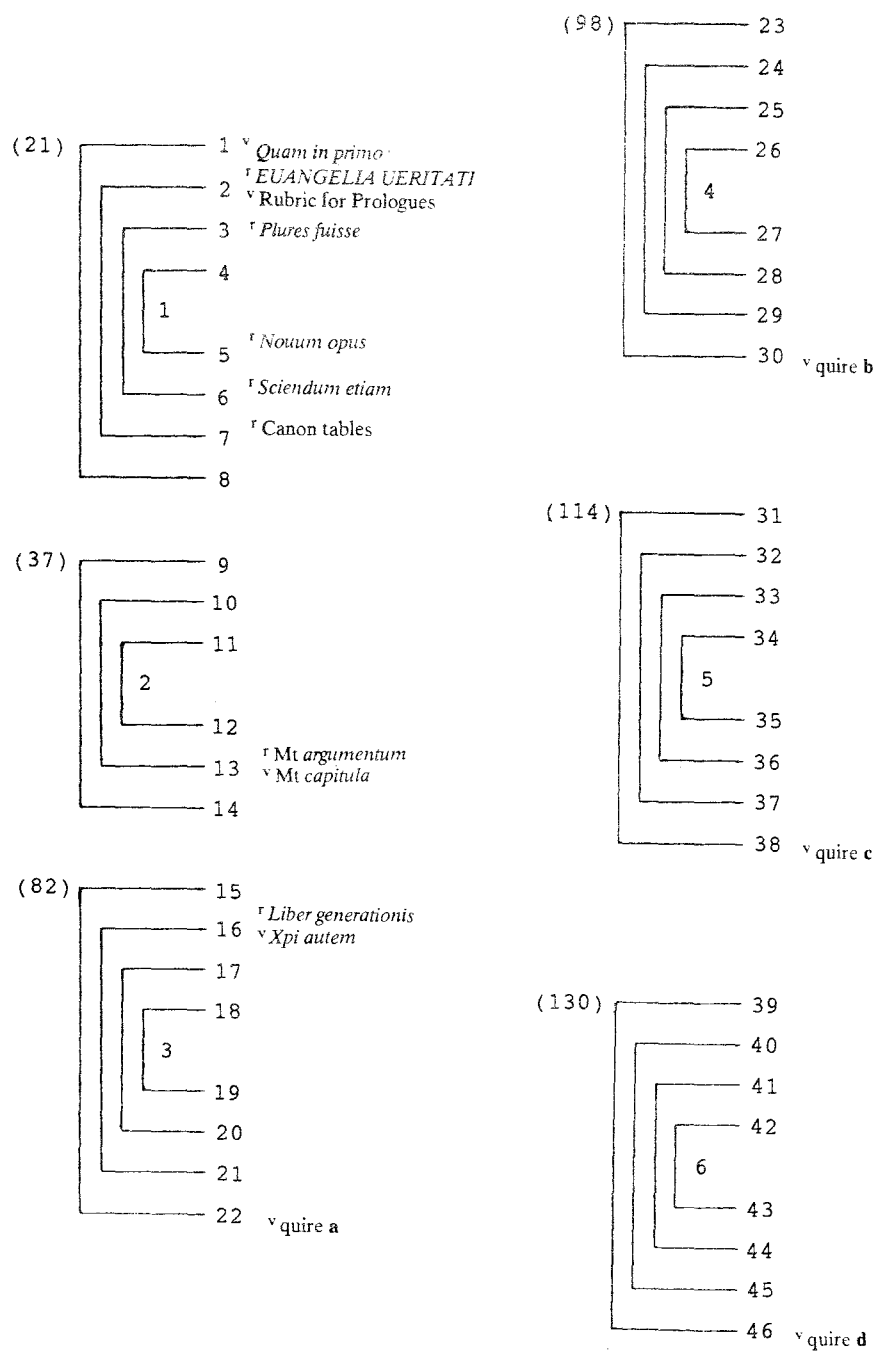
The usual Insular use of single for double-*s*, and vice versa, occurs; *-bt-* for *-pt-* is the rule (*scribtum*, etc.); noteworthy are the forms *alabeti* (1<sup>V</sup>a12), *nubs* (66<sup>I</sup>b22), and *noies*, for *nouies* (1<sup>V</sup>b16); *ii* is rare: *abiit*, 40<sup>V</sup>a21, 80<sup>V</sup>a21, 133<sup>I</sup>a23, 140<sup>I</sup>b26; *hii*, 53<sup>V</sup>b5, 59<sup>I</sup>a26; cf. (ex) *hiis*, 145<sup>I</sup>b8; the practice otherwise is to use single accented *i* (*i*); monosyllables also are usually accented; fluctuation of *ę*, *ae* and *e* is rare: *aediderunt*, 6<sup>I</sup>a28.

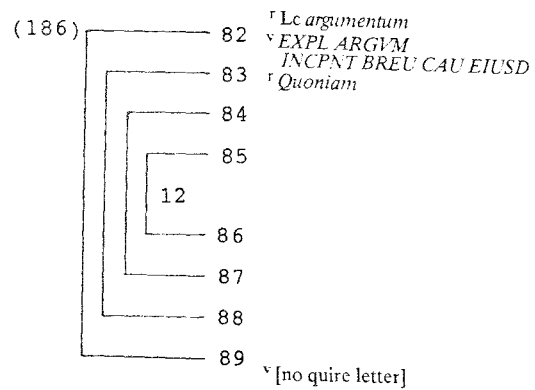
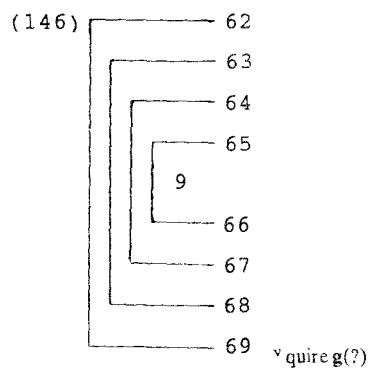
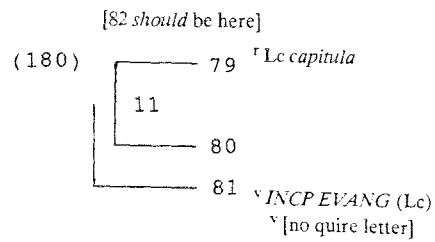
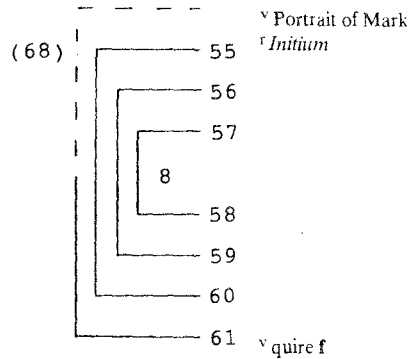
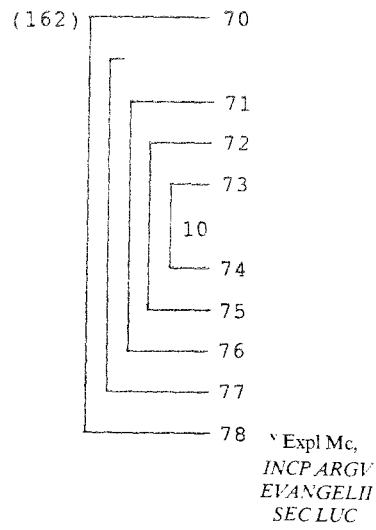
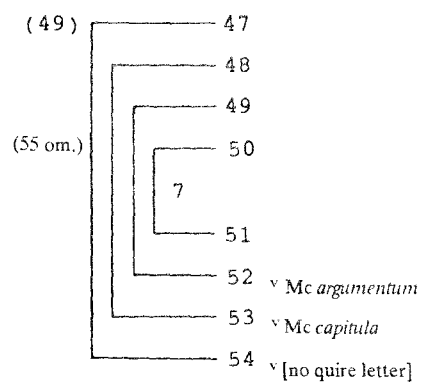
### Decorative capitals

These are a mixture of enlarged majuscules and rectangular letter forms derived, presumably, from capitalis. The NO monogram in NOUUM (OPVS), 5<sup>I</sup>a1 is reminiscent of the connecting shaft of N in the elaborate IN monogram (without O) in Durham A II 17, 2<sup>I</sup>, and Echternach, 1<sup>I</sup> (NOUUM OPUS); the LIB(ER) monogram in 16<sup>I</sup>a1 is made up of enlarged majuscules, with the ER in solid rectangular letters, without any interlace filling. The XPI monogram in 16<sup>V</sup>b1 is likewise in enlarged majuscules; the large ET ligature on 53<sup>V</sup>a1 has no head on the T; INITIUM, 55<sup>I</sup>a1 (Mark) has an IN monogram followed by four solid rectangular letters and an inverted M (cf. Durrow, 126<sup>I</sup>1: QUONIAM); the monogram has elaborate interlace filling. In ZACCHARIAE, 79<sup>I</sup>a1, the opening of the Lucan capitula, the second A is in the so-called 'Lindisfarne' style, while the opening of Luke proper: QUONIAM,

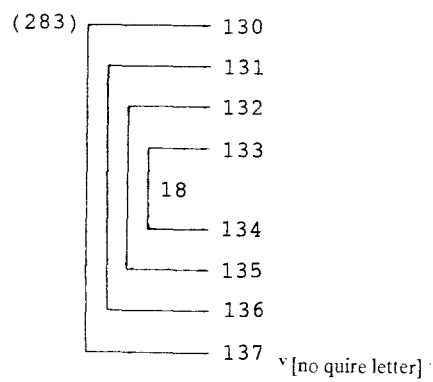
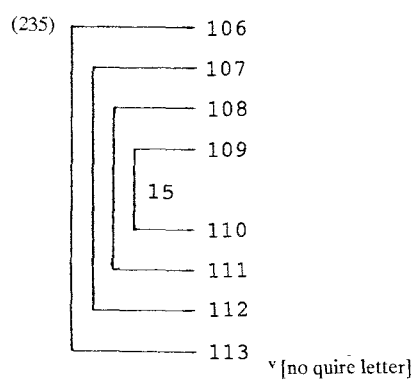
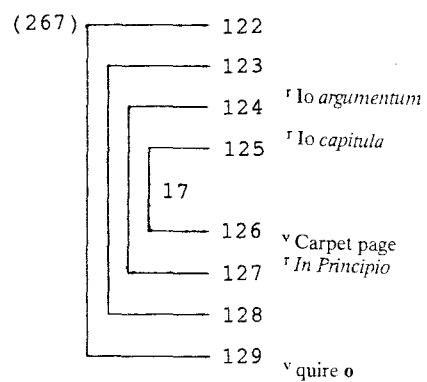
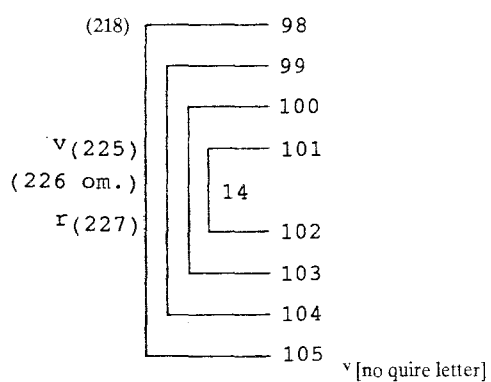
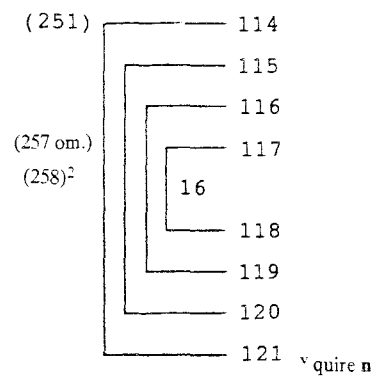
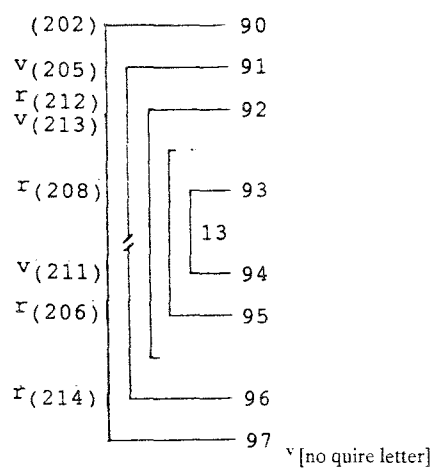
83<sup>r</sup>a, is entirely in that style, except for the elaborate initial with interlace filling (the rubric in capitals was added by the 10th c. Master of the Registrum Gregorii, who may also be responsible for the punctuation, which starts in this gospel); the Trier Master also added the second explicit to Luke at 123<sup>v</sup>; IOHANNES at the opening of the John argumentum, 124<sup>r</sup>a1, and capitula, 125<sup>r</sup>a1, are almost identical in style, a mixture of majuscules and 'Lindisfarne'-style A. The INP monogram at the opening of John, 127<sup>r</sup>a, has a large interlace filling; the P has a double-loop, the R is half-filled capital, the IN are left unfilled, and -cipio are majuscule. The inscription in capitals above the rampant lion, 157<sup>v</sup> top, was probably added by the Trier Master. There is a noticeable tendency to ligature on U/VS in the decorative capitals: OPVS, 5<sup>r</sup>a1; MATHEUS, 13<sup>r</sup>a1; MARCUS, 52<sup>v</sup>a1; (LUCAS) SYRVS, 82<sup>r</sup>a1.

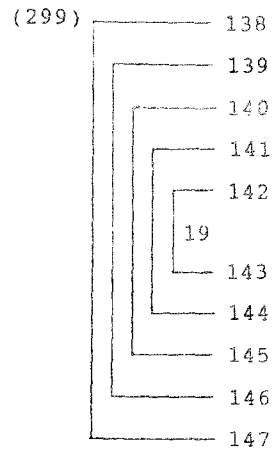
## RECONSTRUCTION OF AUGSBURG



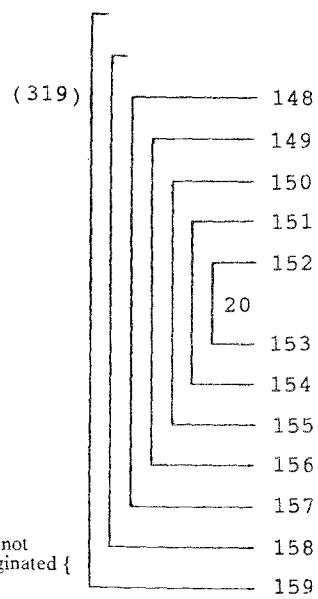
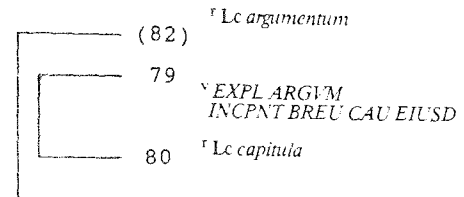




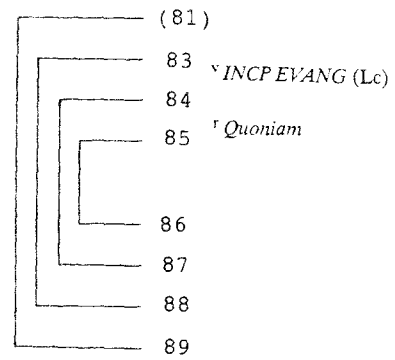




[*Lc argumentum* + *capitula* should precede *INCP EVANG*]



not  
paginated {



*EXPL EVANG SEC IOHANN UIUE ET FRUERE*  
*LAURENTIUS UIUAT SENIO*

### Decoration

The decoration of the Augsburg Gospels, though less elaborate than in other, better-known Insular gospel books, is nevertheless on a par with them in terms of execution.<sup>48</sup> What Lowe termed the "dignified simplicity" of its decoration has, however, been mistaken for primitiveness by Rupert Bruce-Mitford: "At Echternach, even in the Maihingen [= Augsburg] Gospels, the atmosphere is one of primitive and provincial simplicity, almost wholly Insular and largely dependant (*sic*) for what elegance it could muster on models from the Northumbrian homeland".<sup>49</sup>

The decoration comprises small initials (versals), carefully drawn, usually yellow and red on black, and often ornamented with terminal spirals, whorls, and trumpet-patterns, and surrounded by red dots; these are used also for the beginnings of Eusebian canon sections and *capitula* in the gospels. In addition there are major and minor initials, the less elaborate minor ones being used for the beginnings of *argumenta* and *capitula* to each of the four gospels, while the more elaborate major ones are used for the openings of the gospels themselves (and for *Christi autem*, Mt I 18), and for the Hieronymian prologues. These major initials are equal to anything in Durrow, Echternach, or Lindisfarne in terms of their intricacy and draughtsmanship (though they are obviously less ornate than the others). The canon tables, 7<sup>r</sup>-12<sup>v</sup>, are much less developed than, e.g., in Kells, and are the least Insular element in the decoration, apart from the secondary elements added in the tenth century by the Trier Master.

The birds perched on the top corners of the frame, 2<sup>r</sup> (EUANGELIA UERITATI) and on 2<sup>v</sup>, were described by Zimmermann as "karolingische Vögel" and are possibly not original; likewise the rampant lion above the Laurentius poem, 157<sup>v</sup>, is possibly an addition (see below). The titles added in gold rustic capitals on 83<sup>r</sup>, and in silver on 123<sup>v</sup>, are probably the work of the Trier Master, who was presumably responsible also for the gold touches on some initials throughout the manuscript (16<sup>v</sup>, 47<sup>r</sup>, 55<sup>r</sup>, 83<sup>r</sup>). The major and minor initials are usually surrounded by red dots; in the case of major initials, these dots usually form box-frames around the initial group, sometimes with internal red dot patterns. Colours used are red, pink, purple, green, bluish-green, yellow, buff, and brown. Lines are filled with small groups of three red dots; run-overs above and below line are also enclosed in red-dot borders. Running-titles and colophons are usually bounded by leaf ornaments.

Occasional marginal 'arabesques' occur, usually as a flourish on the letter g: 6<sup>r</sup>a28, 30<sup>r</sup>b28, 36<sup>v</sup>a28, 48<sup>v</sup>b28 (run-over), 116<sup>v</sup>b28; 6<sup>r</sup>, e.g., the letter is flourished in a zig-zag pattern and finished by a sharp-beaked birdhead (cf. Book of Armagh, 149<sup>v</sup>); 52<sup>v</sup>b8-11, the flourish is on the head of initial t and g.

The major and minor initials, and the carpet-page, 127<sup>v</sup>, are described in what follows:

2<sup>r</sup> EUANGELIA UERITATI (Alexander, 115; Henderson, 58, pl 71) The letters are in Insular majuscules (not capitals, *pace* Alexander). The frame measures 90x90 mm (border = 5 mm), and is yellow with red S's in the corners. The birds astride the frame are green and red, and are similar to the ones that occur on the tops of columns in the Eusebian canon tables.

3<sup>r</sup> PLURES fuisse The word PLURES, written in enlarged Insular majuscules, is set in an oblong box outlined in red dots. The width of the box above the letters (60 mm) is determined by the tramlines, although the last two letters, ES, in fact extend beyond the frame into the centre margin. The bowl of the P ends in a cat-head; the cat's tongue is interlaced and terminates in bifocated spiral patterns; the descender of P ends in a long-beaked bird-head. The wedges at the tops of the letters L and U are finished off by two whorls, with a bird-head added to the left-hand one. From the top left corner of the box to the tip of the P-shaft measures 80 mm. The background to the letters is a band of densely-packed red dots. Colour is provided by yellow infills in the letters, red in the spiral of the U, the cat's eye, and the bird's eye. Beneath the bowl of the P are three small patterns outlined in red dots.

5<sup>r</sup> NOUUM OPVS Written in enlarged Insular majuscules, except for the N and the V of OPVS. The O in the NO monogram forms a central boss in the loop connecting the two vertical strokes of N. The wedges on the two adjacent U's are extended in a loop to give a 'curtain-rail' effect. The elaborate red dotted background is set off by a delicate yellow infill in the boss and in parts of the other letters. Dot patterns also appear beneath the NO monogram, and the shafts of the N are finished, above and below, in delicate spirals.

13<sup>r</sup> MATTHEUS The opening word of the Matthew *argumentum* is very elaborately drawn using Insular majuscule forms. The background, as usual, is made up of red dots. The outline of initial M and ATT is set off by a yellow infill. There is a beak-like addition to the wedge of the H and the bowl is drawn into a spiral. The M is enclosed by a box of red dots, and a delicate interlace and spiral are added to its rounded first stroke.

13<sup>v</sup> GENERATIONUM The opening word of the Matthew *capitula* is written in enlarged Insular majuscules on a background of red dots. The back of the G has subtle additional dot patterns added to it. Colour is provided by yellow infill.

16<sup>r</sup> LIBER (Alexander, 123) The opening word of Matthew's gospel is the first major initial. The letters LIB are enlarged Insular majuscules, the ER is in solid, black capitals. The LIB monogram is filled with elaborate interlace, terminating in an animal-head with gaping jaws within the bowl of the B. The I and B are similarly filled with interlace, and the monogram is outlined in red dots. Whorls are added to the wedge of L, while the tops of I and B are extended into intertwined beak-like shapes. Between the L and the I is a 'figure of 8' in purple with mock interlace in the centre. The E and R are filled with three-dot patterns in red. Colours in the monogram are yellow, green, and red (gold was added *saec. X*). There are delicate patterns of outline red dots added below the monogram as space fillers. The small chi-rho cross in the top left-hand corner of the page is difficult to date; it may be contemporary.

16<sup>V</sup> XPI (Alexander, 124) The X has an interlace filling, with triscele-shaped terminal on the lower left leg; the wedge 'tail' of the left leg extends into twin spirals, which are then joined in a mock interlace. There are other spiral and mock interlace ornaments on the two upper terminals of the X and the spaces on either side of the intersecting legs are filled with Pictish-like 'mirror' shapes. The tails of P and I are extended into a bird-head (in the case of P) and a dog-head (in the case of I). The spiral on the upper right-hand arm of X is joined in mock interlace to the top of the I. The spaces around the monogrammed letters are filled with red dots arranged in triangular groups of three; additional colour is provided in yellow.

52<sup>V</sup> MARCVS The opening word of the Mark *argumentum*, in Insular majuscules except for uncial M and capital V, is set in a red dot band that entirely fills the M and that provides the backdrop for all the other letters in the word. The first and third legs of the M are extended into twin spirals with red and yellow trimmings; the middle leg is filled by a triangular knot at the base and extended into a star-shaped red- and black-filled interlace at the top. Yellow is also used as an infill in the other letters.

55<sup>I</sup> INITIUM The opening word of Mark's gospel is a good example of the characteristically Insular IN monogram-style, with elaborate multicoloured infill. The 'base' colour of the monogram and of the backdrop to ITIUM is purple. The shaft of I and the first shaft of N are joined at the top in a mock interlace terminating in two beak-like shapes. These two shafts are joined at the base to form a dog-head with mock interlace surround extending from the ear and the tongue. At the base of the second shaft of N is a mock interlace triangle and at the top is a 'dicky-bow' of mock interlace. There are green additions at the top of the second shaft in N and at the end of the dog's tongue. Gold touches are later additions (saec. X). The letters ITIUM are in the 'Ardagh/Lindisfarne'-style and are solid black.

79<sup>I</sup> ZACCHARIAE The opening word of the Luke *argumentum* is in Insular majuscules (the second A is in 'Ardagh/Lindisfarne'-style). The box frame of red dots intended for the rubric was never filled. The top and bottom left and lower right terminals of the Z are extended into spiral patterns; to the top left spiral is attached a small circle with daisy-petal pattern enclosed. The other letters are in solid black. The Z is enclosed in a box of red dots with patterned space-filling. Colours are red, black, and yellow.

82<sup>V</sup> LUCAS SYRVS Insular majuscules on a red dot background. Letters are all solid black. Spiral terminals on the L. Colours are red, yellow, and black.

83<sup>I</sup> QUONIAM (Alexander, 126) The opening word of Luke is written entirely in 'Ardagh/Lindisfarne'-style letters following on an enlarged Insular Q with elaborate multicoloured interlace filling and with prominent Celtic spiral patterns at the top and bottom of the shaft and in the bowl of the letter (forming a bird-head). The letters UO are on a green background; NI on a yellow background; and AM are on a buff background. The whole word is framed by a red dot box with smaller box-shaped space-fillers beneath the letters AM. Colours used are green, yellow, red, buff, black, and brown. The title in gold at the top is a later addition (saec. X).

124<sup>I</sup> IOHANNES The opening word of the John *argumentum* and of 125<sup>I</sup> IOHANNES the John *capitula* are decorated in an almost identical fashion. The letters are Insular majuscules, solid black, on a red dot background, with occasional yellow infill. The IO sequence is slightly less elaborate on f 124<sup>I</sup>, with only the red dot background. On f 125<sup>I</sup> these dots are drawn in a 'cloud' pattern above and below the O. The I in both cases terminates in a delicate mock interlace; on f 124<sup>I</sup> the head of the I is a mock interlace in a kind of 'eyes and eyebrows' pattern, whereas on f 125<sup>I</sup> the I is topped by a circle enclosing four spirals. Colours are red, yellow, and black.

126<sup>V</sup> Carpet-Page (Alexander, pp 90-91, pl 131; Henderson, pl 119) Occupies twenty-six lines, one ruled line being left blank at top and bottom. Dimensions: 134x170 mm. The border is black and encloses a purple frame. The narrow inner border is buff coloured; top panels have red borders; colouring of the panels is red, brown, green, and buff. Bottom panels have brown borders; colouring of panels is buff, brown, and green. The labyrinth pattern in the two bottom panels was drawn freehand, not with ruled diagonals. Interlace along the frame panels is brown, buff, and green. Corner squares are red dot on brown, in a black square. Central and terminal panels of the cross are red and brown; the arms are black and green.

127<sup>I</sup> IN PRINCIPIO (Alexander, 120) The 'base' colour is green; bird-beaks are pink; the 'clothes-hanger' shapes with crosses held in the birds' beaks are buff coloured, as is some of the interlace in the INP monogram and the IN that follows it. Celtic spiral patterns are very prominent between the two shafts of the monogrammed-N. The letters CIPIO are black Insular majuscules enlarged and filled with green. PR are filled by red dots and the whole sequence INPR is bordered by a red dot outline. The magnificent bird trailing from the bird-head finial's plumage is coloured buff and green. Zimmermann was certainly wrong to date this to the Carolingian period.

157<sup>V</sup> Laurentius Poem (Alexander, 116) The rampant lion astride the frame of this page is usually taken to be a later addition (Merovingian/Carolingian?). If this is the case, then the green frame surrounding the poem must also be later, since the green matches that of the foliage and grass beneath the lion. Less easily explained is the apparent fact that the red colour of the initial and final letters in the acrostich and telestich seems identical to that of the flowers beneath the lion. If the lion and frame are indeed later, then the red letters may have been touched up. Alternatively, the lion may be a contemporary addition to the manuscript by a Frankish member of the Echternach community.

## Biblical Texts and Preliminaries

### Biblical Text

The principal text in the Augsburg codex is the Latin gospels in the Vulgate version. Accompanying each gospel are a prologue (*argumentum*) and chapter-lists (*capitula / breues causae*); there is no list of Hebrew names. Prefixed to the gospels and their accessories are the two prefaces of St Jerome, *Plures fuisse* (Jerome's general preface, originally attached to his Commentary on Matthew), and *Nouum opus* (his letter to Pope Damasus introducing his new edition and explaining the workings of the Eusebian canons), followed by the less common, anonymous prologue *Sciendum etiam*. These prefaces are followed in turn by the ten tables of Eusebian canons. At the beginning of the codex is a versified *Kanon euangeliorum* by the Irishman Ailerán of Clonard (ob. AD 665) and a diagrammatic representation of the words *EUANGELIA UERITATI*. At the end of the codex are the acrostich/telestich verses for Laurentius.

It is not possible in the space available here to do anything more than summarise the data resulting from a complete collation of the gospel texts and their accessories.<sup>50</sup> However, the data do allow some general remarks concerning the family

affiliations of the four gospels with two other gospel manuscripts in particular, Maeseyck, Church of St Catherine, MS. s.n., and Trier, Domschatz, MS. 61 (olim 134), both of Echternach provenance.<sup>51</sup> The nature of the relationship may be stated summarily as follows:

All three manuscripts depend on a common archetype, which was probably written *per cola et commata*. The text of the Trier Gospels derives from two separate exemplars, A and B. The text of Exemplar A is most closely related to Augsburg and Maeseyck. The near identity of the contents of Augsburg and Maeseyck suggests that they are roughly contemporary and may have been copied from the same exemplar. However, textual variants in their prefatory material suggest that Maeseyck is the later of the two.

In the *Nouum opus* Maeseyck shares more variants with Trier than with Augsburg, while in *Plures fuisse* the variants in Maeseyck agree equally with Augsburg and Trier. Additional variants not matched in either Augsburg or Maeseyck for the text of Trier which is derived from Exemplar A suggest that Trier is the youngest of the three.

Given the historical background behind its production, one would expect clear traces of affinity between the gospel texts in Augsburg and the so-called 'Irish' family of biblical manuscripts: DE PLQR (the Book of Armagh, London, British Library, MS. Egerton 609, the Echternach Gospels,<sup>52</sup> the Lichfield Gospels, the Book of Kells, and the Rushworth/Mac Regol Gospels).<sup>53</sup> An analysis carried out by Dr Netzer using collations of test passages in over 300 manuscripts made by P. Bonifatius Fischer (formerly of the Vetus Latina Institut, Beuron) suggested that, for Matthew, Augsburg, Maeseyck, and Trier "are closely related", and that Augsburg and Maeseyck, which share some variants not found in Trier, "are closer to each other than either is to Trier".<sup>54</sup>

On the broader front, my collation of the entire text has demonstrated a very definite affinity with 'Irish' manuscripts in all four gospels. The detailed statistics are set out below; their implications may be summarised here as follows:

- (1) Augsburg differs from the standard Vulgate text in 4852 readings (these comprise all variants, textual and orthographical).
- (2) Significant textual readings which are unique to Augsburg number over 800 (these are readings other than mere orthographical ones, which may be said to represent real variants and not copyists' errors).
- (3) By far the largest number of significant variants follows the 'Irish' family: Augsburg has 52 readings which it shares with Armagh (D) alone; 44 which it shares with Egerton 609 (E) alone; 13 which it shares with the Echternach

Gospels ( $\mathfrak{P}$ ) alone; 14 which it shares with the Lichfield/Chad Gospels (L) alone; 38 which it shares with Kells (Q) alone; and 31 which it has in common only with the Mac Regol/Rushworth Gospels (R). The total of all readings shared with the DE  $\mathfrak{P}$ LQR family is over 900.

In stark contrast with these figures is the fact that Augsburg has no more than a handful of readings in common only with the Codex Amiatinus and the Lindisfarne Gospels, the two exactly contemporary representatives of the so-called Italo-Northumbrian text, and those are only of an orthographical nature.

- (4) The text of Matthew and Mark is almost pure Vulgate; Luke, however, has a strong Vetus Latina element (125 unique readings), and John is very heavily contaminated (232 unique readings). Given also the fact that many of the readings listed as shared with one or more members of the Irish family are usually common also to one or more of the VL witnesses, it is quite possible that the VL readings in Augsburg derive from VL MSS, rather than from an archetype of the Irish group. Hence the VL element, particularly in Luke and John, is in fact considerably larger than the bare statistics might seem to indicate.<sup>55</sup>

Variant readings in the Augsburg Gospels :

Variant readings (Total)	4852
Unique readings in Augsburg	813
Vetus Latina readings	2 (Mt) 9 (Mc) 125 (Lc) 232 (Io)
DE $\mathfrak{P}$ LQR readings (indiv.)	453
All combinations of D	152 (+52)
All combinations of E	88 (+44)
All combinations of $\mathfrak{P}$	115 (+13)
All combinations of L	77 (+14)
All combinations of Q	120 (+38)
All combinations of R	161 (+31)

	Mt	Mc	Lc	Io
D	1	10	12	29 (52)
E	7	0	23	14 (44)
$\mathfrak{P}$	4	2	7	0 (13)
L	4	9	1	0 (14)
Q	10	15	9	4 (38)
R	12	6	5	8 (31)

### Preliminaries

1. *Capitula* The order of prefatory matter at the beginning of each gospel book (as well as before each individual gospel) in every extant early Latin gospel book, together with a listing of the types of prefaces and chapter-lists used, was drawn up by Patrick McGurk, *Latin gospel books from A.D. 400 to A.D. 800*, publications de Scriptorium 2 (Paris-Brussels 1961) 110-117.<sup>56</sup> McGurk's data were drawn



principally from two books by Dom Donatien de Bruyne, *Sommaires, divisions et rubriques de la bible latine* (Namur 1914) and *Préfaces de la bible latine* (Namur 1920). Using the following key, the contents of Augsburg and its relatives may be charted as follows:

- 1: Nouum opus
- 2: Sciendum etiam
- 3: Plures fuisse
- 4: Eusebius-Carpianus
- 5: Canon tables
- 6: Gospel Prefaces (a: Mt; b: Mc; c: Lc; d: Io)
- 7: Gospel Chapter-Lists (a: Mt; b: Mc; c: Lc; d: Io)
- H: Hebrew Names (a: Mt; b: Mc; c: Lc; d: Io)
- 8: Satisque miror
- 9: Quam in primo speciosa quadriga

Augsburg:	9	3	1	2	5	6a	7a	
Maeseyck:		5	3	1	2	7a	6a	
Trier 61:		3	1	2	5	6a	7a	Ha

Following De Bruyne's classification of the chapter-lists in families, the arrangement in Augsburg and its relatives is as follows:

	Mt	Mc	Lc	Io
Augsburg	p <sup>i</sup>	I	I	I
Maeseyck	p <sup>i</sup>	I	I	I
Paris 260	p <sup>i</sup>	I	I	I

Only these three manuscripts have this order of chapter-lists (Trier 61 has p<sup>i</sup> I D D).

The chapter-lists for Matthew in Augsburg, Maeseyck, and Trier 61 contain the standard 81 summaries in De Bruyne's family p<sup>i</sup>. The chapter divisions in all three manuscripts are identical, with just one exception.<sup>57</sup> In five places the sections in all three manuscripts begin one verse below/above the usual placement in De Bruyne, revealing (as Dr. Netzer pointed out) that the Mt gospel text and summaries derive from a common archetype.

These three manuscripts provide the earliest evidence for p<sup>i</sup> summaries, which are not the 'standard' summaries found in Insular gospel books; these usually contain summaries of the I, C, or (less frequently) B families.<sup>58</sup> However, Augsburg and Maeseyck part company with Trier after Matthew and their summaries constitute a distinctive series p<sup>i</sup> I I I found only in three other early manuscripts: Ghent, Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS. lat. 260, and Vatican, Bibl. Apost., MS. lat. 8523.<sup>59</sup>

The chapter-lists for Mark in Augsburg and Maeseyck are virtually identical (and share no significant variants with the I summaries of the Echternach Gospels). The divisions in Augsburg and the extant portions of Maeseyck match the usual 47 divisions for the I summaries, with just three minor exceptions. Dr Netzer believes

that the differences unique to Augsburg are probably the result of scribal caprice.

The chapter-lists for Luke in Augsburg and Maeseyck match the I summaries with just one exception (the result of haplology).

The chapter-lists for John in Augsburg and in the extant parts of Maeseyck are more-or-less identical. The divisions match the I summaries (36), with minor exceptions.

## 2. *Plures fuisse, Nouum opus, Sciendum etiam*

Collation of the three prefaces in Augsburg with the standard Vulgate text shows significant correspondence between Augsburg, Maeseyck, and Trier in all three texts.<sup>60</sup> In *Plures fuisse* all three manuscripts share 12 variants; Augsburg and Maeseyck have 4 in common; Augsburg and Trier have 2 in common; 1 is shared by Maeseyck and Trier, and 2 are unique to Augsburg (total = 36). In *Nouum opus* 4 are shared by all three manuscripts; 4 by Augsburg and Maeseyck; 13 by Maeseyck and Trier; 7 are unique to Augsburg (total = 29). In *Sciendum etiam*, Augsburg, Maeseyck, and Trier all share the 6 significant variants.

3. *Canon Tables* The only point requiring comment here is the unique number of passages proper to John listed in canon X: 97, compared to the standard 96. The significance of the number as a means of establishing the background of the manuscript was first pointed out by Dr Netzer. That the number is not merely a scribal error is confirmed by the fact that Ailerán's poem on the canons, *Quam in primo speciosa quadriga* (1<sup>V</sup>), mentions 97 passages proper to John in canon X; in addition, the number of passages for all the canons in Ailerán matches the numerals in the Augsburg canon tables, with just one exception: the final numerals in the list of passages proper to Mark (table 11, canon X<sup>1</sup>, f 12<sup>I</sup>) is clearly an addition; the original number, 19, agrees with that in Ailerán's poem.

This obviously suggests that the poem was intended as an integral part of the Augsburg Gospels from its inception, and that the scribe of Augsburg followed an Irish exemplar for his canon tables. Dr Netzer also suggests, on the basis of the 'animal discourse' narrative device in the poem, that it presupposed a 'beast' canon table sequence such as is found in the Book of Kells, and that the various verses of the poem may have been conceived as a series of *tituli* for each table.<sup>61</sup> In terms of their decoration, on the other hand, the canon tables are representative of Mediterranean rather than Insular artistic styles; these may, however, have been mediated to Echternach via Ireland (Rath Melsigi).

## Glosses

The Augsburg Gospels contain thirty-two dry-point glosses, fourteen in Old English and eighteen in Old High German. The manuscript is the oldest containing OHG glosses, predating the famous Abrogans Glossary by at least half a century. The OE glosses are said to be contemporary with the script of the main text, and the OHG glosses are reckoned to be of roughly the same date.<sup>62</sup> The glosses were discovered by Bernhard Bischoff, and first published by Josef Hofmann.<sup>63</sup> Two new glosses were subsequently discovered by the American scholar H. D. Meritt and published in 1985.<sup>64</sup> I give below the texts and their locations in the manuscript; for further details the reader is referred to the literature cited.<sup>65</sup>

(1)	20 <sup>v</sup> b5	(scandalizat) Incful:	Mt	5,29
(2)	21	libellum] repudii dribenis		5,31
(3)	25	excepta ... causa buta intigu		5,32
(4)	21 <sup>r</sup> a5	omnino allio		5,34
(5)	23	non resistere niuidare		5,39
(6)	21 <sup>r</sup> b9	(odio) hase		5,43
(7)	22 <sup>v</sup> b9	adiecietur ganutsamo		6,33
(8)	23 <sup>r</sup> a20	quanto [magis ueo - [marg.:] ue		7,11
(9)	26 <sup>r</sup> a3	demonium tiu [=tiuual]		9,32
(10)	33 <sup>r</sup> b21	(sine causa) holun		15, 9
(11)	43 <sup>v</sup> a12	socii gan:os:		23,30
(12)	49 <sup>r</sup> b7	(quid nobis) uidetur] giseandi		26,66
(13)	49 <sup>v</sup> b3	(consilio autem] inito) Ingancnum		27, 7
(14)	13	adpraetiati aehtande		27, 9
(15)	50 <sup>r</sup> a5	insignem mærnæ		27,16
(16)	50 <sup>r</sup> b6	proficeret framadæ		27,24
(17)	23	(clamidem) ræglæ:		27,28
(18)	50 <sup>v</sup> b1	causam intingan - [supra] racæ		27,37
(19)	51 <sup>r</sup> a13	Ceteri andræ		27,49
(20)	60 <sup>v</sup> b5	decapoli ten	Mc	5,20
(21)	66 <sup>v</sup> b27	(frequenter) ofto		9,22
(22)	68 <sup>r</sup> b24	(genuflexo) naic		10,17
(23)	69 <sup>v</sup> a20	(comminabantur) sænan (sanan ?)		10,48
(24)	28	(exiliens) ilandi		10,50
(25)	69 <sup>v</sup> b20	neccessarius est nodibidarf		11, 3
(26)	24	foris in biuio : (: ) tuane		11, 4
(27)	70 <sup>r</sup> a10	frondes : : : :		11, 8
(28)	72 <sup>r</sup> b21	in conuiuis gaumio		12,39
(29)	23	prolixæ lanc		12,40
(30)	73 <sup>r</sup> a12	sustinuerit uone		13,13
(31)	86 <sup>r</sup> a15	conferens droc	Lc	2,19
(32)	86 <sup>v</sup> b10	confortabatur stran		2,40

### Notes on the Makeup and Materials of the Gospels

Lowe (CLA VIII 1215) describes the membranes of the Gospels as "mostly parchment; a few leaves seem to be vellum with a rough surface", a view apparently shared by T.J. Brown; some of the leaves are of uneven quality: ff 18, 56, for example, are thin and curl up at the corners.<sup>66</sup> There is evidence of patching on ff 1 (top and side), 73, 129, and 146.

Prickings are visible in both margins and ruling is on hair- or flesh-side, apparently one leaf at a time, according to Lowe sometimes before, sometimes after folding. Leaves are arranged sometimes with hair-side facing out, sometimes flesh-side. The columns are bound by double tramlines and are normally of 28 lines. Gatherings are irregular, but the majority are of eight leaves. Quire [i] seems to have contained an internal gathering (ff 79-81). The quires are signed (a, b, c, etc.) in the lower left-hand corner of the last page with minuscule letters enclosed in four dots; Lowe describes the positioning of the quire signs as "unusual". The pagination is possibly Gaertler's.

There is evidence of a previous dislocation of the manuscript in the paper note pasted onto the cover of St Peter MS. 25, and in a number of 18th/19th century remarks in the Gospels: f 14<sup>v</sup>b, foot of page: "Post duos quaterniones vide sub signo A.M.", followed in pencil: "Duos quaterniones faciunt 16 folia"; 91<sup>v</sup>b, foot of page: "Hic desunt," etc., with a catch-mark that recurs on f 92<sup>r</sup> top; 94<sup>v</sup>b, a similar note, with the catch-mark recurring on f 95<sup>r</sup>, and again f 95<sup>v</sup>, a reference to a catch-mark that occurs f 96<sup>r</sup> top.

The single leaf in the Archiepiscopal Seminary of St Peter im Schwarzwald now contains a portrait of the evangelist Mark by the Trier Master of the *Registrum Gregorii*. Lowe thought the portrait page an addition to the original manuscript, and assumed the presence at one time of three others. Dr Nancy Netzer, however, has argued that the leaf in St Peter MS. 25 was once the conjugate of f 61 in the Augsburg Gospels, and the dimensions of the leaf, the vellum used, and the arrangement of hair- and flesh-sides in quire f seem to bear out her surmise. Although the St Peter leaf has been slightly trimmed (240x172 mm, compared with 245x175/180 mm in the Gospels), there are still traces of slits along the edge (sewing holes) which correspond more-or-less to the slits in the Gospels, f 61. There is no ruling on the Mark portrait page which might be compared with that on f 61 of

the Gospels, and the ruling on the verso of the portrait page is probably later in date, and therefore of no use for our purposes. The arrangement of the leaves, however, suggests that Dr Netzer may be right: f 61<sup>v</sup> of the Gospels is a hair-side, and the corresponding page of the Mark portrait leaf (p 67) is likewise a hair-side. The presence on that page of an offset from the IN monogram that opens the Luke gospel (f 55<sup>r</sup>) confirms that it must originally have been blank.

Although there are two other gaps in the pagination (226 and 257), these seem to be nothing more than clerical errors, and there is no evidence in the surviving pagination to support Lowe's surmise that the Gospels once contained portraits of the other three evangelists as well (however illogical that may seem). Certainly, there is no evidence that any other leaves were excised from the manuscript, as the Mark portrait page apparently was.

A Note on the  
Erzbischöfliches Priesterseminar St Peter MS. 25

The St Peter MS. 25 is an evangelistary or gospel lectionary which was at one time joined to the Augsburg Gospels. The note in Gaertler's hand now pasted onto the inside back cover of the manuscript describes it as a 'Liber communis omnium ecclesiarum' containing gospel lections to be chanted on specific feast days. A fifteenth-century hand has added to the originally blank verso side of the Mark portrait page a list of such days with an index of the readings for each day.

The manuscript contains ten folios, ca. 240x175 mm, with paper flyleaves front and back, in a modern binding. F. 1<sup>r</sup>-6<sup>v</sup> are in caroline minuscule saec. XII; f 7<sup>r</sup>-10<sup>v</sup> are in Textura and Bastarda saec. XIV and XV. There are marginal additions and corrections in the first six folios, by a hand of saec. XV. F. 1<sup>r-v</sup> has black neumes, with red overlay; the rest of the manuscript has red neumes. The lections are rubricated throughout.

The codex is both paginated and foliated. The foliation is in fifteenth-century Roman numerals written on the centre top of verso pages: III-X, II, XI (1<sup>v</sup>-10<sup>v</sup>); the sequence (though not the script or the pagination) suggests that f 9 may once have stood before the present f 1. There are in fact two paginations: 1-10, and 1-20, dating perhaps from the eighteenth or nineteenth century; both sequences occur on the top right of recto pages.

Collation of the lections with the text of the Augsburg Gospels shows that the scribe of St Peter MS. 25 did not use the Gospels; the lections have none of the variant readings to be found in the Augsburg codex. It is therefore not possible to say from the present evidence when the two manuscripts were joined together.

## Notes

- 1 The purchase generated considerable public and academic controversy, for which see R. FRANKENBERGER and P. B. RUPP (1987) 5, with literature.
- 2 The manuscript collection was summarily catalogued by G. GRUPP (1897). - The medieval German manuscripts are currently being catalogued by Frau Dr Karin Schneider, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München, and the medieval Latin ones by Dr Günter Hägele, Universitätsbibliothek, Augsburg. Catalogues of the printed books and other collections are also being planned.
- 3 See E. A. LOWE, [CLA] VIII 1215; CLA V 605, 606a; - P. McGURK (1961) 68-70, 110, 114-118, 121. - J. J. G. ALEXANDER (1978) 51-52, No. 24 (with plates).
- 4 See A. SIEGEL (1928) 113-117, with plate. - Dr Winfried Hagenmaier, Keeper of Manuscripts in the University Library, Freiburg im Breisgau, very kindly allowed me access to the typewritten catalogue description of the St Peter MS. which he has prepared for publication (to appear 1988). I would like to express my thanks to him for this and for other facilities which he made available to me during my work in Freiburg.
- 5 C. NORDENFALK (1950) 61-77; - idem (1972) 62-75. - There is no additional information in H. HOFFMANN (1986). - For discussion of the Mark portrait and its significance for the history of the MS., see further below.
- 6 CLA VIII 1215: "Script is beautiful, regular Anglo-Saxon majuscule closely resembling that of Willibrord's Calendar", and CLA V 605: "... the Maihingen Gospels, paleographically closely related to the Willibrord Calendar". - For a full reproduction of the Calendar, see H. A. WILSON (1918).
- 7 W. M. LINDSAY (1915) 463.
- 8 E. H. ZIMMERMANN (1916) 126: "Die karolingischen Vögel auf dem unteren Ablauf der Initiale 'IN' und dem Akrostichon sollten allein schon davon abhalten, den Kodex früh zu datieren ... so glaube ich, daß ... wir als Entstehungsort des Maihinger Evangeliars das Kloster Echternach ansehen können, wo die Handschrift im letzten Drittel des 8. Jahrhs. geschrieben wurde".
- 9 C. NORDENFALK (1932) 60: "To us a dating of the Maihingen [Gospels] to the 730s is most satisfactory".
- 10 J. J. G. ALEXANDER (1978) 51.
- 11 D. O. CROININ (1982) 360-361.
- 12 The difference was not remarked on by LOWE, but it was noted by WILSON, and by J. F. KENNEY (1929) 233 No. 69.
- 13 See A. H. BANNISTER (1910) 148, and LOWE, CLA V 606a. But compare WILSON (1918): "But the significance of these remarks is not a matter of certainty". - The Anglo-Saxon and Old High German dry-point glosses in the MS. are of no help for dating purposes.
- 14 The 'Wilfrid presbyter' commemorated at 17 February is not the bishop of York. I am grateful to Dr Jan Gerchow, Historisches Seminar der Albert Ludwigs-Universität, Freiburg im Breisgau, for allowing me to read part of his dissertation,

Die Gedenküberlieferung der Angelsachsen, mit einem Katalog der 'Libri Vitae' und Necrologien, before publication, and for much helpful discussion of the Calendar.

15 The Calendar and Martyrology (and the single folio 44) were bound up together already before the ninth century, as LOWE pointed out, CLA V 606a.

16 LOWE referred to "three Echternach charters of the years 704, 710, and 711" written by Laurentius. In fact, however, Laurentius wrote charters up to 24 Oct. 718 (and perhaps as late as 721-22); see C. WAMPACH (1929-30) 2, 30-76.

17 ZIMMERMANN (1916) 126, was hypersceptical: "Sollte hiermit der berühmte Echternacher Schreiber gemeint sein? Jedoch der Name ist häufig, und wir wollen hierauf weiter kein Gewicht legen". On the other hand, NORDENFALK (1932) 61, strongly supported the identification, and Lindsay and Lowe agreed.

18 TRAUBE (1903-04) refers throughout to "das insulare Evangelium des Laurentius"; LINDSAY (1915) 463, is more cautious: "either the scribe or the head of the scriptorium"; NORDENFALK (1932) opts for the latter. The statement by N. NETZER (1987) 267, that Augsburg was "written by Virgilius", is a slip; the scribe is rightly left unidentified in the rest of her book.

19 The only other tentative ascription to Ireland is in A. REINERS (1889) 23: "La deuxième partie du ms. ... est un calendrier que le saint missionnaire peut avoir fait, étant encore moine, en 684 au couvent de Rathmelsing" (sic). But though Reiners is undoubtedly right about the table for 684-702, the inference of an Irish origin for the Calendar hardly holds.

20 T. D. KENDRICK et al (1960) 2, 90-91; cf. also 103-104. For the views on the artistic quality of the Augsburg Gospels there expressed (293), see further below.

21 "The script has some features resembling that of the Maihingen Gospels (written at Echternach?), especially the suprascript o in ligatures", LINDSAY (1915) 473. - I am grateful to P. Prof. Edouard Jeuneau and M. Jean Vezin, Paris, for re-examining this MS. on my behalf and for their comments on Lowe's and Lindsay's statements.

22 'Lindisfarnensis', 91.

23 For a detailed critique, see D. O. CROININ (1982) 352-362; - idem, (1984) 17-49.

24 The form was familiar to Bede, who even knew its correct etymology (HE V 9). But Bede was writing after the composition-date of the Calendar. It should be noted that the Irish form of the name is not otherwise found in non-native sources.

25 For a fuller discussion of the question, see the contribution by D. O. CROININ to the forthcoming proceedings of the Cuthbert 1300th Anniversary Conference, held at Durham in July 1987.

26 W. WATTENBACH (1869) cols 289-293. - See also M. STOKES (1928) 36-40.

27 For a comprehensive account of his career, see L. TRAUBE and R. EHWALD (1903/04) 303-387.

28 For the Echternach manuscripts at Paris, see H. DEGERING (1921) 48-85, where Traube's researches are extended and, where necessary, corrected.

29 On the Echternach manuscripts now at Gotha, see R. SCHIPKE (1972).

30 TRAUBE says that the Gospels "wurde erst unter Fürst Ludwig von Öttingen für die jetzt Maihinger Sammlung erworben", and cites as his authority the Maihingen librarian G. Grupp. Ludwig succeeded to the title in 1812.

31 See H. DEGERING (1916) 23, for some of Maugérard's devious business practices. Cf. TRAUBE's verdict (1903/04) 309: "Es sind wirklich nicht seine Verdienste, nur seine Untaten, die uns angehen und zwingen, ihn aus dem Dunkel hervorzuholen".



- 32 "Wer dieser Gärtler war und ob nicht ein Versteckspiel Maugérard's vorliegt, ist nicht aufzuklären", TRAUBE (1903/04) 326.
- 33 See A. WETTERER (1918).
- 34 See WETTERER (1918) 191.
- 35 See A. SIEGEL (1928) *passim*. I have also had the benefit of access to the unpublished description of the MS. by Dr Hagenmaier of Freiburg.
- 36 Pp 226 and 55 are also missing in the pagination, but not through any loss from the MS.; p 257 is also wanting in the pagination, but since p 258 is repeated, there is no gap; see the reconstruction of the codex, below. SIEGEL was unaware of the full implications of the note in Gaertler's hand.
- 37 The significance of the letter is not immediately obvious.
- 38 "Trier wird also wohl zur Zeit, als man das Evangeliar abschloß, die HS. besessen haben", SIEGEL (1928) 115.
- 39 See A. SCHMIDT (1919) 45-63; - *idem* (1906).
- 40 SCHMIDT (1919) 47-48, 52-55, recounts the extraordinary details.
- 41 See A. SCHMIDT (1905) 252-253 and n1 reports an entry in Hüpsch's visitors' book recording a visit to Cologne by Maugérard in July 1789, and cites the signatures from two letters of Maugérard to Hüpsch (text no longer extant).
- 42 See H. KNAUS (1963) 832.
- 43 NORDENFALK (1932) concluded that Maugérard sold both the Gospels and the Psalter to Hüpsch; Knaus, however, has stated that the Psalter was sold to Hüpsch not by Maugérard but by a Trier book-dealer, Gerhard Graach, in January 1787; see KNAUS (1963) 832. It must be said, however, that Maugérard's reference, in the note now pasted into the Gospels, to two "lapidibus contextis codices" strongly suggests that the manuscripts concerned were the Gospel and the Psalter.
- 44 See note 4, *supra*.
- 45 I prefer the terminology used by Prof. T. J. BROWN in 'Lindisfarnensis' to the system employed in his paper 'The Insular system of scripts to A.D. 800', in H. LÖWE (1979) 1: 101-119.
- 46 'Lindisfarnensis', 91.
- 47 'Lindisfarnensis', 96f.
- 48 For a good, brief description, see J. J. G. ALEXANDER (1978), 51-52, No 24, and plates 115-116, 119-124, 126.
- 49 'Lindisfarnensis', 293.
- 50 Collation was with the revised and corrected Stuttgart Vulgate, ed. by R. WEBER et al, (1973); apparatus is based on the variants cited by WORDSWORTH-WHITE (1889-98). It is hoped to provide a more comprehensive discussion of the texts elsewhere.
- 51 The information regarding the textual relationship between Augsburg and the other Echternach gospel books derives from Dr Nancy NETZER's Harvard dissertation (1987) 29-68.
- 52 The traditional distinction which is made between the readings of the main text in  $\mathfrak{P}$  - usually taken to represent a fairly pure Northumbrian type Vulgate - and the marginal readings - usually regarded as typically Irish - though observed in the collation which I undertook of the Augsburg texts, is not followed in the statistical comparisons given below, because of the recent startling discovery by Fr Martin MacNamara, MSC (Galway), that the main text in  $\mathfrak{P}$  has over 100 variants from the Vulgate which occur nowhere else but in the Mac Durnan Gospels and in two other twelfth-century Irish gospels of Armagh provenance.

- 53 The sigla are those employed by Wordsworth-White and the Stuttgart Vulgate.
- 54 Because Trier draws on two different exemplars, the evidence of collation is clear-cut only for Matthew.
- 55 It should be noted here, however, that the text of the *Vetus Latina* in A. JÜLICHER's edition (1938) was not available to me in Galway. Evidence for VL readings derives solely from Wordsworth-White's apparatus.
- 56 I owe my copy of this invaluable book to the generosity of the author.
- 57 For full details, see NETZER (1987) 39ff.
- 58 Only four other early MSS have p<sup>i</sup> lists for Mt: Ghent, St Bavo, Douai, and the Cuthbert Gospels (Vienna, Österr. Nationalbibliothek, MS. 1224). For details, see McGURK (1961).
- 59 Dr NETZER is of the view that Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS. lat. 250, and Douai (both now lacunose) may originally have contained the same series).
- 60 For full details, see NETZER (1987) 323-328, Appendices I, J, K.
- 61 See NETZER (1987) 119.
- 62 "So sind die älteren althochdeutschen Glossen in dem Harburger Evangeliar aus Echternach etwa gleichalt wie die altenglischen Glossen, die 'unmittelbar aus Willibrords (gest. 739) Mitarbeiterkreis in Echternach' stammen": B. BISCHOFF (1971) 103 n3, (1981: 75 n3).
- 63 J. HOFMANN (1963) 34-42.
- 64 See J.-C. MULLER (1985) 72-73.
- 65 The glosses have been the subject of much discussion; the list here given is not intended to be exhaustive. - General: B. FISCHER (1985) 169. - N. R. KER (1957) 348 No 287\*. - R. BERGMANN (1983) 16, 29-40; - idem, (1966-67) 307-321; - idem, (1977) 88-92; - idem, (1973) 36 No. 275 (with bibliography). - J. SCHROEDER (1979) 391-399. Glosses: J. HOFMANN (1963) 36-42 (text 39). - H. D. MERRITT (1959) 542; - idem, (1961) 442. - J.-C. MULLER (1985) 72-73; - idem, (1983) 381-393.
- 66 See T. J. BROWN (1972) 131.

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