

313. London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 204

Gregory the Great, "Dialogues",
Ephraem the Syrian, "Sermo asceticus"
[Ker 277, Gneuss 510]

HISTORY: An early-11c manuscript containing the *Dialogues* of Pope Gregory the Great, followed by a text identified by the scribe as the 'Liber beati Efre[m] diaconi qui primus sedit in libro gerenticon.' This text, attributed to Ephraem the Syrian, is known as the *Sermo asceticus*, a Latin translation of Λόγος Ἀσκητικός, the title of its Greek original in Assemanus (1732: 1.40–70). This is an incomplete version of a text known variously as the *Ammonitio*, *Monita*, *Institutio ad Monachos*, or *De compunctione cordis*, based on hymns by Ephraem the Syrian, besides two Syriac sermons and spurious material. The popularity of this text in the Middle Ages is borne out by translations into Coptic, Arabic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Georgian, Slavonic, and Latin, the last as early as the 6c (Sims-Williams 1985: 206; Stevenson 1998: 7; Bischoff and Lapidge 1994: 237–39; Ganz 1999). This homily, which the scribe claimed to have found in the *Liber geronticon de octo principalibus vitiis* (by the 6c monk Paschasius), is not the same as what Allen and Calder (1976: 86–93) translated as part of the sources for *Christ III*. It is, however, the only text attributed to Ephraem the Syrian appearing in an A-S manuscript from before the Conquest (Stevenson 1998: 7). The last recto in the manuscript contains a so-called *rota*, a wheel with eight spokes containing verse lines running through the center and in the circle. The "Dialogues" and the homily by Ephraem contain scattered OE glosses and a line of text, which were already noticed by Wanley and mentioned in his catalogue (1705: 269).

Also distinctly A-S is one of the various scratched drawings. It depicts, in the lower margin of f. 74v, an A-S warrior inscribed as 'Engle' holding a spear and shield, called 'rex' and a viking 'Dene,' holding an axe and shield, and named 'Magnus'. The most likely figures to have been thus depicted are King Harthacnut or Edward the Confessor and the Norwegian pretender Magnus of Norway, the son of St. Olaf, but another possibility is Magnus,

the son of Harald Hardrada. Whichever of the two it may be, it suggests a date of 1040–1060 for the manuscript, since the sketch was presumably there before the text.

On the basis of palaeographical as well as circumstantial evidence, Ker (*Cat.*, p. 341; 1964: 78) regards the texts as constituting one manuscript, originating probably from Ely. Bishop (1971: xvi) suggested that the manuscript might have been written at Christ Church, Canterbury, but that it was later in Ely appears on f. 129v from the coat of arms of Robert Steward (d. 1557), the last prior of Ely Monastery as well as first dean of Ely Cathedral after the Reformation. Steward was eager to claim his ancestry from a Sir John Steward, related to the royal house of Scotland (Heal 2004), and a description of the coat of arms in French was added right beside it. Gneuss (no. 510) also postulates that the manuscript originates from Christ Church, Canterbury, but that its provenance is Ely. Later the manuscript belonged to Richard Bancroft (1544–1610), the founder of Lambeth Palace Library, as appears from the catalogue of his manuscripts (Ker, *Cat.*, p. 341). There is an old press mark ‘T5’ at the right side of the lower margin of f. 1r, which is the press mark of the pre-1647 Library. Upon its arrival in Cambridge in 1647, it was given the press mark ‘I. η. 12,’ and after its return to Lambeth in 1664, Archbishop William Sancroft (1677, deprived 1690) had the manuscript rebound and added a list of contents on f. ii recto (see above, the “History” of Lambeth Palace Library 173 [312], p. 90).

CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION: Membrane; ii+132+ii. The leaves measure 280 × 188 mm. (ff. 129 and 130 are smaller, 274 × 184 mm.). They contain a written space of 220 × 127–130 mm., and are ruled in dry point for 28 long lines. Quires XV–XVII (ff. 113–130) have a written space of 203 × 127 mm., and are ruled for 27 long lines. Writing is on top-line; sometimes letters cross the ruling. All quires have single vertical bounding lines continuing into both margins, except for quire IX, which has double vertical bounding lines in the outer margin; the double prickings are visible about 6 mm. from the bottom of the page. F. 105r has an extra incidental vertical bounding line in the outside margin. The toughness of the parchment, which is quite strong, makes the ruling in places almost invisible. Prickings for the horizontal lines are visible on some of the folios; in others they are lost as a result of trimming. Prickings for the vertical bounding lines are visible about 5 mm. from the lower margins, which makes it likely that the manuscript was never trimmed there. The foliation of the manuscript in pencil is modern; after f. 41 there is one unnumbered folio, referred to here as [f. 41*]. The quires were arranged regularly: all begin with

a hair side after which flesh faces flesh and hair faces hair (HFHF), with the exception of quire II, where hair faces flesh and vice versa (HFFH). The quires were numbered three times in the history of the manuscript. The oldest (probably medieval) signatures are in Roman numerals, in ink at the bottom of the verso side of the last leaf of a quire 'I'-'XVI.' In the 17c, the quires were signed again in ink by capital letters, 'A' - 'R,' at the center of the lower margins of the first leaf of each quire. The third set of signatures is also 17c, in arabic numerals, '1-17,' in pencil, at the right side of the lower margin of the first leaf of each quire.

There are two hands: both are English caroline minuscule (James and Jenkins 1932: 325; Ker, *Cat.*, p. 341), besides the hand of the glosses which is caroline, but A-S minuscule for the OE. Initials are either in red or in black touched with red. The only elaborate initial is the one on f. 2r, which is in brown and red, and which contains zoomorphic interlace, the lines broken at the intersections: the inner lines, ears, etc. are drawn red; the rest is black (Gameson 1995: 223). Rubrics occur throughout the manuscript; some are quite clear, in other instances the red lead pigment has oxidized to silver. In Gregory's "Dialogues", the names of Gregory and Peter are in red. OE notes, inscriptions, and glosses of various dates have been inserted on ff. 25v, 38v, 70v, 74v, 119v, 128v, and 129v. A coat of arms in yellow and black, with French and Latin inscriptions added, on f. 129v in 16c.

The manuscript is bound in a so-called Sancroft binding, "a lightish calf, plain except for a double fillet round the edges, and two double fillets vertically down each cover, a bit out from the spine" (Ker 1972: 7). Sancroft's archiepiscopal coat of arms is on the front and back covers. On the spine, which has been refurbished, it reads in gold lettering: 'Gregorii Dialogi | Ephrem,' and 'COD. LAMBETH. 204.' There are two paper flyleaves at the beginning and two at the end, all from the 17c; f. ii verso contains a 17c list of contents in the hand of Archbishop William Sancroft.

Damage is scarce: f. 28 is torn from the top down, and has been repaired with a few stitches, as has f. 101. There are a few worm holes and a few small holes in the last leaf through wear.

COLLATION: ii + 132 + ii. I⁸ (ff. 1-8); II⁸ 2 and 7 half-sheets, stubs visible after ff. 10 and 15 (ff. 9-16); III-V⁸ (ff. 17-40); VI⁸ one unnumbered folio after f. 41 (ff. 41-47); VII-IX⁸ (ff. 48-71); X¹⁰ 3 and 8 half-sheets, stubs visible after ff. 74 and 79 (ff. 72-81); XI⁸ (ff. 82-89); XII⁸ 2 canceled, stub visible after f. 90 (ff. 90-96); XIII-XVI⁸ (ff. 97-128); XVII² (ff. 129-131).

CONTENTS:

f. ii verso A list of contents in the hand of Archbishop William Sancroft, beg. 'S. Gregorij P(apa)e Dialogor(um) ll. IV'

1. Gregory the Great, "Dialogues" (as de Vogüé and Antin 1978–1980, Moricca 1924, PL 77.149–430):

f. 1rv Table of contents to Book 1: INN(O)M(I)NE D(OMI)NI INCIPIVNT | DE LIBRO PRIMO. PPAE GREGORII DIALO(GOR)U(M). | 'I S(an)c(tu)s honoratus dum in prima aetate a carnibus abstinet | piscis ei a d(omi)no p̄paratur . . . xxxv Multi signa n(on) faciunt. sed tam(en) s(an)c(t)i sunt' EXPLICIUNT / CAPITULA .

[Note: The chapters correspond neither in number nor wording to those in de Vogüé and Antin (1978–1980: 1.188–89; 2.[8]); in the text of Bk. 1 they are marked in the left margins, but in the photos the numbers on the rectos are lost in the tightly-bound gutter.]

ff. 1v (lower margin)–3r/19 Preface to Gregory's "Dialogues": INCIPIT PRAEFATIO LIBRI DIALOGORV(M) GREGORII PPAE ROMANAE | URBIS DE VITA S(AN)C(T)OR(UM). || 'QUADAM die nimiis quorundam s(e)c(u)larium | tumultibus depressus'; ends: 'Senior(um) ualde uenerabiliu(m) didici relatione | quod narro;' EXPLIC(IT) P(RE)-FATIO (as de Vogüé and Antin 1978–1980: 2.10–18);

ff. 3r/19–21r/25 Book 1 of Gregory's "Dialogues": 'I. Uenantii quonda(m) patricii in samni | partib(us)'; ends: 'liberius itaq(ue) haec loquimur. si aliud exordium | sumamus.' EXPLICIT LIBER PRIMUS. (as de Vogüé and Antin 1978–1980: 2.18–118);

[Note: There are occasional marginal and interlinear glosses in the *Dialogues*. The hand of a corrector is visible on f. 3r/5 'accedunt' > 'sucedunt'; f. 3r/11 'scripserunt' > 'descripserunt'. Such corrections occur throughout the manuscript. A smaller hand, adding explanatory glosses and, presumably, also the OE, can be identified on, for instance, f. 4r/9 'Que' `i. uirtutes'; f. 4r/20 'illius' `i. honorati'; f. 8v/8 'adolando' `i. fraudulent(er)'; 'questi' `i. accusatores'; f. 8v/10 'sibim&' `i. p(er) semetipsu(m)'; 'usurpare' `i. c(on)taminare'; f. 26r/17 'adunati' `(ve)l c(on)gregati' shows an insular and a caroline *g*. In the upper margin of f. 8r there is an additional line in what seems to be the hand of the original scribe, which is to be inserted into line 6. Later marginal glosses in different hands occur on ff. 30r and 31r; on f. 32r/19–20 there is a later gloss in the margin with added pencil ruling, now partly lost through trimming.]

ff. 21r/26–23v/16 Table of contents to Book 2: INCIPIT CAPITULATIO LIBRI SECUNDI. 'I Seruus d(e)i nomine benedictus quod nutrix eius casu | fregerat oratione integrum reddidit . . . xlv Quod plerumq(ue). ad reliquia s(an)c(to)r(um) maiora miracula fiunt quam | ubi eorum

corpora requiescunt' EXPLICIUNT CAPIT(U)L(A) [see note to table of contents to Bk. 1];

ff. 22v/17–42r/27 Book II of Gregory's "Dialogues" (Life and Miracles of St. Benedict): INCIPIT LIBER SECUNDUS. | 'Fuit uir uitę uenerabilis gratia. benedictus et nomine'; ends: 'loquen|di uires interim per silentium reparamus.' | EXPLICIT LIBER SECUNDUS. (as de Vogüé and Antin 1978–1980: 2.126–248);

OE Content: On f. 25v/20 'i. hula' (in left margin), glossing 'siliquas'; f. 38v/1 & upper margin, 'hrunc rap. | i. ligam(en)tu(m) <ve>l fune(m)' glossing 'tripedica(m)' (ed. Meritt 1945: 23, no. 17).

ff. 42v/1–44r/28 Table of contents of Book 3: INCIPIUNT CAPITULA DE LIBRO TERTIO. | 'I S(an)c(tu)s paulinus Nolanus ep(iscopu)s dum om(ni)a que abuit p(ro) captiuis dedisset seipsu(m) pro filiu(m) mulieris uidue recipiendu(m) dedit. cuius meritis | om(ne)s qui captiui fuerant relaxati sunt . . . Liii Uenerabili redempto ep(iscop)o a sancto euticio martyre de fine | mundi p(re)dicatur.' EXPLICIUNT CAPITULA | DE LIBRO TERTIO. [see note to table of contents to Bk. 1];

ff. 44v/1–78v/6 Book 3 of Gregory's "Dialogues": INCIPIT LIBER TERTIUS. | 'DUM UICINIS UALDE PATRIBUS INTENDO. | maioru(m) facta reliquera(m)'; ends: 'subsequenti | hoc quarto uolumine demonstrabo.' EXPLICIT | LIBER TERTIUS. (as de Vogüé and Antin 1978–1980: 2.256–432);

[Note: In the lower margin of f. 44v there is an insertion to be added to line 27 according to the *signes de renvoi*.]

OE Content: On f. 70v/4, 'baratrum `i. dolh.´'; f. 74v/4 (left margin) 'byt' glossing 'oretis' (line 5) (ed. Meritt 1945: 23, no. 17; with correction by Ker, *Cat.*, p. 341).

ff. 78v/7–81r/3 Table of contents to Book 4: INCIPIUNT CAPITULA LIBRI QUARTI; | 'I Quia oportet inuisibilia credere p(er) similitudine(m) pueri in carcere nati | atq(ue) nutriti . . . Lxxii Tunc munera bene d(e)o offerunt(ur) du(m) peccati fratri ex | corde dimittitur.' EXPLICIUNT | CAPITULA LIBRI QVARTI. FELICITER. [see note to table of contents to Bk. 1];

ff. 81r/4 119v/11 Book 4 of Gregory's "Dialogues": IN NOMINE D(OMI)NI N(O)STRI IE(S)U CHR(IST)I. INCIPI(T) | LIBER QUARTUS. | 'Postquam de paradysi gaudiis culpa exigente. | pulsus est primus humani generis parens' ; ends: 'si ante morte(m) d(e)o hostia ipsi | fuerimus.' EXPLICIT LIBER DIALO|GORUM GREGORII D(E)O GRATIAS. AM(EN). (as de Vogüé and Antin 1978–1980: 3.18–207).

2. ff. 119v/12 129v/19 attributed to Ephraem Syrus (or Latinus), “Sermo asceticus”: IN NOMINE D(OMI)NI. INCIPIT LIBER BEATI EFREM | DIACONI QUI PRIMUS SEDIT IN LIBRO | GERENTICON. | ‘Dolor me compellit dicere, et iniquitas mea minat(ur) | mihi ut sileam. Dolor me proloqui uehementer’ with interlinear gloss of these lines only: ‘min sar me benet to segen 7 min unrihtwisnesse. me ðræð | þæt ic swige sar me for’; the Latin text ends: ‘& in inferno sortem ex eis pro suis | meritis susceperunt. GLORIA SOLI SAPIENTI | D(E)O. AMEN.’ EXPLICIT D(E)O GRA|TIAS AMEN. PAX IN TERRA | OMNIBUS BONE UOLUNTATIS. (cf. Assemanus 1732–1746: 1.40–70; OE ed. Logeman 1889: 110).

[Note: Some *nota* hands occur, e.g. ff. 121v/18, 121r/9, 123v/4.]

OE Content: On f. 128v/1 OE gloss to ‘Beatus ergo qui sibi : ædi soðlice ðe hi(m) silue’ (pr. Ker, *Cat.*, p. 341); on f. 129v, below the conclusion of Ephraem’s homily, there is a line of OE: ‘Ða æfter æadgares cininges forðsiðe on ðam gewalce’ (ed. Förster 1937–1938: 10).

- f. 129v/20–27 sketch of coat of arms of Robert Steward, last prior of Ely (d. 1557).

[Note: A description in French on the left, ‘Il port in vn eschocheon | da`r`gent sur vn feße chekey | dargent et dasure aus | Champe dore vn lion ruge | ramp debruse dun baston | nove dore’, and on the right ‘Hec sunt arma domini | Robarti stewardei | Prioris monaster(ii) elien(sis).’ At the bottom of the page: ‘francor(um) carolus sic vult hec stem(m)ata ferri | Singula cum valeant sunt meliora simul.’ (James and Jenkins 1932: 598).]

- f. 130r A large wheel (*rota*) in black and yellow. The eight spokes and the rim contain verses, starting and ending with O, besides having an O in the middle, the Os being formed by the ends of the spokes and by the hub: beg. on left ‘Omnibus in terris egO sum notissima mundO . . .’ (Schaller and Könsgen 1977: 11297). The Os contain sketches of faces (ed. with a reproduction by Zangemeister 1877: 538).

[Note: James (1912: 140) mentions in his *Catalogue* of the manuscripts in Lambeth Palace Library (326–327) that a similar *rota* with the same text occurs in CCCC 326 [53], f. 140v, and provides an edition of the verse lines. There is an erased note above the wheel, which could not be further investigated due to restrictions on the use of infra-red light in the library.]

- f. 130v Scribbles and other marks: Two vertical lines which James and Jenkins (1932: 327) suggested to be part of a press mark, and scribbles. At the top of the page, in five lines, in a 15c hand (James and Jenkins 1932: 327), a prayer from the Roman Missal, of unknown authorship and date, beg. ‘Anima chr(ist)i’ (ed. Christopher et al. 1957: 79–80). A little below, centered on the page, in a 12c hand: ‘No(n) ego titides a quo tua

saucia mater | i(n) liquidu(m) rediit ethera martis equis | ruffe doles 7
flere soles' (James and Jenkins 1932: 327). 'Non ego . . . equis' is from
Ovid, *Remedia amoris*, 5–6; 'flere soles' is a phrase from Propertius,
Elegiae, 3.25.6; some further pen trials.

[Note: Special marginalia: the manuscript contains some fading and partly erased sketches and scratched depictions. At the top of f. 1r, there is a scratched inscription, visible to the naked eye, reading: IN N[O]M[I]NE D[E]I; in the lower margin of f. 73r a scratched list of the first six letters of the alphabet in capitals. On f. 72v the figure of a man is vaguely visible. In the lower margin of f. 74v there are two figures, facing each other; see above, History. There are unrecognizable scratched drawings on ff. 78v and 79r. On f. 100v there is a faded sketch of a male figure.]

PHOTO NOTES: Two shots of fly verso + f. 1r and of ff. 4v–5r.

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