

457. St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia Lat. Q.

v. I. 18

Bede, “Historia Ecclesiastica”

(“St. Petersburg Bede”, olim “Leningrad Bede”)

Ker 122, Gneuss 846, Lowe, *CLA* 9.1621

HISTORY: One of the earliest, if not the earliest extant copy of Bede’s “Historia Ecclesiastica,” which was finished in 731. This copy (generally designated “L,” but “P” by O’Donnell 2007: 80) has been dated as early as 731 by Parkes ([1982]: 7) , as 746 by many scholars starting with Lowe (1958b: 188), and as late as 761 by Dumville (2007:73, 92–3); dating to the year 746 is on the basis of the “retrospective” numbers added against items in Bede’s chronological recapitulation on f. 159rv (see the note on dating below and the note to f. 159rv in “Contents”; Lowe *CLA* 9.1621 calls “746” only the “terminus post quem non”). The style of decoration, including (f. 26v) the earliest historiated initial known (Schapiro 1958: 191–93, see below “Cod. Descr.”) and the dialect of “Caedmon’s Hymn” on f. 107r, written by the scribe of the main text above it, indicate that it was produced in Northumbria. It is a careful and deluxe copy, exhibiting hierarchies of scripts, consistent orthography and punctuation (O’Brien O’Keeffe 1987: 140–1), and fine decoration. There are four hands: Scribe A ff. 1r-32v (4 quires), Scribe B ff. 33r-63v (4 quires), Scribe C ff. 64r-68r, Scribe D ff. 68v-161r. Lowe (1958b: 188) dated Scribes A-C s. viii² and Scribe D s. viii¹, regarding the latter as an old-fashioned hand and would date the whole ensemble ca. 750, i.e. 746 (see also Crick 1987: 186–7). Parkes ([1982]: 6–7, following Lowe’s dates but not his conclusion) argues convincingly that Scribe D exhibits an early example of insular minuscule from Wearmouth-Jarrow itself and given that it shows an earlier type of hand than Scribes A and B, with more frequent occurrence of open-headed ‘a’, and that despite the accuracy of its text it shows “a/u” confusions and ambiguities, it must have been following an exemplar in the same type of script that was close to Bede’s original draft (see G. H. Brown 2009: 123). Moreover, as Parkes also notes, since Scribe D picks up in mid-sentence, C and D must be contemporary, though D’s hand

is an earlier type than C's, probably indicating an older person; Scribes A and B use a different layout than C and D and show signs of crowding indicating that they were copying column-by-column. They also use thinner parchment. He therefore concludes that probably A and B were writing supply quires for an earlier defective manuscript, so that C and D were writing closer to 731 and A and B closer to 746 (but cf. G. H. Brown 2009: 128). [Note: Parkes (1994: 29 & n. 22) says "the most dominant characteristic of the orthography in the stint [of Scribe D] is the presence of a very high proportion of corrected and etymological spellings. Forms in the manuscript frequently agree with those given in Bede's *De orthographia*." He tentatively suggests that this scribe may be Bede himself (see also Parkes 1991: 104, n. 45). But in the same 1994 volume, without reference to Parkes, Lapidge (1994: 116–9) expresses skepticism that the orthography of Scribe D *does* adhere to Bede's canons and is doubtful of the Bedan identity of that scribe, similarly Dumville (2007: 72–3). G. H. Brown (2009: 127) points out several errors which make nonsense of the text and concludes that the writing cannot be authorial. Dumville (2007: 85) and Lapidge (2008: 237) give their stemmae of the earliest manuscripts of *Historia ecclesiastica* and place St. Petersburg, with London, BL Cotton Tiberius A. xiv (s. ixⁱⁿ), (siglum B) several stages from Bede's autograph and the Monkwearmouth-Jarrow house copy. In his 2009 edition Lapidge represents that M (Moore Bede, CUL Kk.5.16[105]) and L stem from the same exemplar, M directly and L via a later Northumbrian copy (2009: xciv-cxv). The modern consensus is that L is younger than M, and sometime close to 746 (see Lapidge 2008–10: xc). Dumville (2007: 91–2), in a complexly argued critique of the dating issue, concludes that St. Petersburg should be placed "in the 760s or later" on the basis of the Phase II insular minuscule script of scribes A, B, and C and the script intermediate from Phase I of scribe D.]

Lowe (1958b: 185–86, see also Lowe 1959) pointed out that the form of the uncial letters in the closing formulas of papal letters (f. 15rv, 23rv, 77r) is unmistakably the same type seen in the "Codex Amiatinus" and thus is indicative that the writing took place at Jarrow, Bede's home and that the Amiatine form of rustic capitals used in transcriptions of dating formulas in papal documents points the same way.

[Note: A further controversy over the date of writing was stirred by Lowe's suggestion (1958a) that the final added line of the colophon on f. 161vb BEDA FAMVLVS XI INDIG[NVS] was a "signature" in Bede's own hand, its nominative denoting personal reference and its unsteadiness a sign of an old man's hand; if true this would date the manuscript to 731 × 735, not to mention giving Bede's imprimatur to this copy. Meyvaert (1959) briefly surveyed other Bede colophons and skeptically noted that they are of the "banal" type with genitive, unlike this example; he followed this up (1961) with more such examples and the plausible suggestion that the line was a forgery, a later scribal confection to validate a tradition at Wearmouth-Jarrow that this manuscript was "de manu Bedae" (as several Durham catalogue entries

and Durham B.II. 30 f. 1v have it), the uncertainty of the writing in this line of rustic capitals and the typical scribal epithet “indignus” indicating a later, scribal origin. The presence around the colophon of dozens of *probationes penne* in the form of caroline minuscule ‘a’ that must be dated 800 or later, one impinging on the “signature” (whether on or under F cannot be determined by the naked eye), is suggestive but not determinative of its later date. Wright (1961:272–73) concluded that the only reliable dating criterion is the marginalia to the dominical dates on ff. 159rv. If Wright is correct that the rubricator (see below) supplied both the chapter numerals and the marginal numerals on ff. 159rv then “746” might seem to be the correct date for the production of the manuscript; but as Bénévot 1962: 368–69 observed, whoever did the numerals on f. 159rv was not nearly so conscientious and tidy as the one who put in the chapter numerals, as the former overlooked the fact that the “Recapitulation” was not numbered in the capitula on f. 119v and disposed them messily on the page; one might add that the chapter numerals have ‘x’ made with the two lower limbs ending at the same level, while the form of ‘x’ on f. 159rv extends the left limb lower than the right. Wright (1964) made the further important observation that the closely related BL Tiberius A. xiv has on ff. 200r–201v the same marginalia to the “Recapitulatio” yielding the same date of “746.” Since it is unlikely that both manuscripts were written in the same year, it is more likely that both reproduce the marginalia from the same exemplar (of 746) or one copies the other; in fact both contain the error of “861” (second item in Petersburg, f. 159ra/20). This was elaborated by Arngart (1973), who remained agnostic on dates or priority of manuscripts but pointed out that the idea of the system doubtless stems from Bede’s own practice and that a subsequent copyist inserted his contemporary dates which were later mechanically copied and corrupted by scribes who did not understand the system. If this is the case, the marginal numbers have no significance for dating this manuscript as it could be later than 746 or earlier, if someone entered them in a pre-746 manuscript at a later date. Tiberius A. xiv of the early 9c is in direct line of descent from St. Petersburg and contains the marginal numbers pointing to 746. Citing discrepancies in the memoranda that point to dates later than ‘737’ (for Moore) and ‘746’ (for Petersburg), Kiernan (1990) considers these dates to be useless for the exact dating of the manuscript or of the copy of “Caedmon’s Hymn” (f. 107r.)]

The text is an exceptionally good witness to the “m” recension (Colgrave in Colgrave and Mynors 1969: xl–xli, xlv: xlv), though not so error-free as they and others have alleged (see O’Donnell 2002). A direct copy of the text from this manuscript is BL Cotton Tiberius A. xiv (*CLA* Supp. 1703), 8c/9c, Northumbria, and possibly also another is the 12c Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal 1154, a book with 17c provenance in Saint-Martin-des-Champs in Paris (see Colgrave in Colgrave and Mynors 1969: xlvi–xlvii, lxi). Parkes ([1982]: 16) speculated that “Petersburg” was refurbished

(quires I-VIII) and exported to the continent as early as the 8c to meet the rising demand for the works of Bede.

[Note: Colgrave and Mynors used but did not fully collate L in their edition. Lapidge, in his recent edition 2008–10, is the first to fully collate and incorporate L into the edited text.]

Apart from this, nothing is known of the medieval history of the St. Petersburg Bede. It belonged to Achille III de Harlay (d. 1712) of Grosbois near Versailles (his arms on the binding), whose son, Achille IV, donated it to the abbey of St.-Germain-des-Prés in 1717. It was acquired in 1791 by Peter Dubrowsky (1754–1816) along with many other St.-Germain-des-Prés manuscripts and made its way to Russia by 1805; his inscription ‘Ex Museo Petri Dubrowsky’ on f. 1r and f. 161v (for Dubrowsky’s collecting, see 455 “History,” Arngardt 1952: 31–33, Thompson 1984). Relatively little was known about this manuscript (it was not used by Plummer for his critical edition of 1896) until Arngardt’s publication of the facsimile (1952, cf. Dobiache-Rojdestvensky 1928: 314–15, Anderson [Arngart] 1941: v–vi), since when it has undergone extensive study and been exhibited in London 1967, Wearmouth-Jarrow 1979, Helsinki 2001.

CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION: ff. 162 + ii, foliated (18c) ff. 1–51, 51, 52–161. Ff. 160–61 are original parchment flyleaves, and there are front and back paper fly- and endleaves. A leaf is missing after f. 159. Original signatures on bottoms of last versos beginning from f. 63v. Upper ink foliation (French, 18c), with f. 51 twice, which this description follows; in lower margins a Russian foliation in reddish pencil ‘1’ and on every tenth folio thereafter (‘110’ twice), to ‘162’.

Page size (trimmed) 268 × 190 mm. Arranged in 20 quires of 8 plus a bifolium, hair outside all leaves. Parchment is thick and crisp but varies, ff. 1–63 somewhat transparent; in general some leaves smooth and greasy, some thick with suede-like or rough surfaces; attempts have been made to put similar quality membranes together in a quire, e.g. all the sheets in quire XII (ff. 88–95) are rough and stiffer than usual.

Leaves are ruled by dry-point one or several at a time from rectos on folded quires, no visible pricking due to trimming. Single bounding lines. Writing area is 223 × 150 mm. divided into two columns about 73 mm. wide (on the “originality” of this feature, see Gameson in Gameson 2012: 25, and on its possible implications for dating the manuscript see Brown in Gameson 2012: 158). Lineation varies: f. 1r v 26/27 lines, ff. 3–4 33 lines, ff. 5–8 30 lines, f. 9 31 lines, ff. 10–16 32 lines, ff. 17–24 30 lines, ff. 25–40 29 lines, ff. 41–55 28 lines, ff. 56–160 27 lines, f. 161 24 lines. Lines of Latin

verse are indicated by capitals and indentation (e.g. 'Alma d(eu)s trinitas' ff. 100v-101v). Four hands have been identified, the first three writing a very similar style of pointed A-S minuscule of the mid-8c, the fourth somewhat rounder and less compressed, an earlier type with prevailing open-headed 'a': Scribe A (brown ink) on ff. 1r-32v (quires I-IV), Scribe B (darker brown ink) ff. 33r-63v (quires V-VIII), Scribe C (dark gray, blackish ink) ff. 64r-68r (in quire IX), Scribe D (blackish ink) ff. 68v-161 (rest of quire IX and X-XXI). Scribe A left space for chapter numerals, titles and colophons, farewell and date formulae in papal letters some initials including chapter initials. Scribe B did similarly, but wrote the opening of Bk. 3 in majuscule (f. 48v/20-29) and the papal formula in rustic capitals on ff. 45r and 46r. In his brief stint Scribe C wrote chapter initials. Scribe D left space similarly to A and B but wrote the smallish chapter initials (see Wright 1961: 266-68). Rubrications, including titles and explicits, colophons, and papal formulae in uncials and rustic capitals were done by one hand in spaces left for them by the scribes (except those on ff. 45r, 46r). Wright thinks this hand also added the chapter numerals as well as the marginal "quotations marks" ('?') and document marks ('??') (Wright 1961: 269, also see Lowe, *CLA* 9.1621).

A skilled illuminator did the more elaborate decorations: f. 1r large capital 'G' black with orange infill and dots, the rubric in rustic capitals (as is typical throughout manuscript) at top in same orange; f. 2r and f. 3r, rubrics in red; f. 3v large decorative capital 'B', a column wide and 11 lines high, very fine Northumbrian interlace and decorated monumental lettering with floral decorations stemming from near-eastern motifs according to Schapiro (1958: 193-97) in text ink with orange-wash infill in the bowls of the 'B'; f. 26v historiated initial 'H(IS)' in "italo-saxon" style with a half-length figure of a tonsured, nimbed man holding a cross-staff and book ('HIS' ensemble a column wide and 8 lines high, black penwork, red, blue, yellow, light pink for flesh), a later hand labeling the nimbus 'Augusti/nus' (details, Schapiro 1958: 202-04); f. 29v, large initial 'N' in black text-ink interlace with bird's head terminal at bottom of left vertical. Less elaborate large initials at f. 4vb/32-33 'U' in black with brown pen-work and other similar intermediate-size decorated initials throughout; heading Bk. 3, f. 48vb, large initial 'A' is lavender with reddish orange metallic ink border, probably by a later hand, over the erased outline of an 'A' in hiberno-saxon style which the text-outline had accommodated; heading Bk. 4, f. 79r, another in same style without such textual accommodation or erasure and heading Bk. 5, probably by same hand 'S' on f. 119v; f. 101v, initial 'A' filled in with brownish-lavender wash; ff. 114v 'E' and 115r 'D' brownish lavender wash; f. 118v, f. 135r initials 'N', 'A' purplish infill.

Natural holes on ff. 2, 58, 72, 86, 102, 109, 114, 117, 137, 144, 146, 155 (three small holes, two formerly sewn), 156 (formerly sewn); ff. 113/118 large hole across middle of sheet 2/5 (quire XV); f. 145/150, sheet 2/7 (quire XIX) has a tear or hole across the back of the sheet once sewn, thread removed; f. 158/9–10 a gash on inner column, cockling; f. 116 has prominent vein marks (not a stain). The manuscript is in remarkably pristine condition and shows few signs of later use before the modern era. A 12c gloss at f. 160vb/19. Pen trials of 9c–10c on f. 161rv and 12c on f. 161v. On f. 159v a number of lines were treated with a reagent and rendered illegible (a UV photo of this side is pr. Arngardt 1952 opposite p. 16). A leaf is missing after f. 159, probably a singleton associated with quire XXI.

Five spine-bands presently at 45, 90, 133, 175, 218 mm. from top, with top stitch at 20 mm. and bottom at 248 mm.; another old, now unused stitch hole at 233 mm. Binding 17c, boards bound in brown leather with the de Harlay arms stamped on the cover and 'ADHCDB' stamped on spine ("Achille de Harlay, Comte de Beaumont").

[Note: Owen-Crocker and Cesario (2009:21) note that at the 2001 exhibition in Helsinki (actually St. Petersburg) in connection with the Helsinki/St. Petersburg meeting of ISAS the manuscript was displayed, unbound, under glass and implies that it is normally inaccessible for study. The present describer was allowed two days with the manuscript in May 2002, at which time the manuscript was bound as described above.]

COLLATION: ff. 162 + ii. I-XX⁸ (ff. 1–51, 51bis, 52–159), [1 leaf wanting after f. 159], XXI² bifolium (ff. 160–61). Original signatures on last versos, beginning on f. 63v ('viii-xviii').

[Note: The foliation here follows the old (18c) ink foliation at top right, as does Arngardt (1952). A correct but faint modern red colored-pencil foliation on bottoms of f. 1 and every tenth recto thereafter to '162'.]

CONTENTS:

Bede, "Historia Ecclesiastica"

ff. 1ra/1–2rb/21 Preface: INCIPIT PRÆ(ATIO) BEDÆFAMVLICHR(IST)I.

IN GEST[A] ANGLORVM | 'Gloriosissimo regi ceol|uulfo beda famulus chr(ist)i et | p(res)b(iteri)'; ends: 'apud omnes fructum pie interces|sionis inueniam' | EXPLIC(IT) PRAEFAT(IO) (as Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 2–6; coll. Lapidge 2008–10: 1.6–12);

ff. 2rb/22–3rb/33 Capitula to Bk. 1: INCIP(IT) KAPIT(ULA) | 'i De situ brittaniae uel hiberniae | et priscis earum incolis . . . xxxiiii Ut aedilfrid rex nordanhym|brorum scottorum gentes proelio | conterens ab

- anglorum finib(us) expulerit' | EXPLIC(IT) KAPITVLA (as Colgrave and Mynors 8–12; coll. Lapidge 2008–10: 1.13–20);
- ff. 3rb/37–26ra/20 Bk. 1: INCIP(IT) IPSE LIBER || 'BRIT|TA|NIA | Oceani insula cui quondam albion | nomen fuit' ends: 'ad huanc [sic] diem in proeli|um uenire audebat.' | EXPLIC(IT) LIB(ER) PRIMVS (as Colgrave and Mynors 14–116; coll. Lapidge 2008–10: 1.22–156);
- f. 26ra/22–26va/30 Title and capitula to Bk. 2: INCIP(IT) LIB(ER) SEC(UNDUS). HAEC CONTINEN|TVR IN LIB(RO) SEC(UNDO) HISTORIARU(M) | ECCLESIAST(ICE) GENTIS | ANGLORVM || 'i De obitu beati papae gregorii . . . xx Ut occiso eduiue paulinus Cantiam | ecclesiae p(re)sulatum susceperit.' | EXPLIC(IT) KAPIT(ULA) LIB(ER) SECVND(VS) (as Colgrave and Mynors 118–20; coll. Lapidge 2008–10: 1.158–62);
- ff. 26vb/1–47vb/28 Bk. 2: INCIPIT IPSE LIB(ER) SEC(UNDUS) HISTORIAE | ECCLESIASTICAE GENTIS ANGLORVM | LEGE FELICITER | 'HIS | temporibus idest anno dominicae | Incarnationis. dc.v. beatus papa | Gregorius'; ends: 'patrum | uiam secutus est.' | EXPLIC(IT) LIB(ER) SECUNDVS. (as Colgrave and Mynors 122–206; coll. Lapidge 2008–10: 1.164–272);
- [Note: Historiated initial 'H' with a portrait of a man holding a cross staff in right hand and book in left, labeled 'augustinus' in a later hand (intended for Gregory the Great? (cf. G. H. Brown 2009: 121).]
- f. 48ra/1–48vb/16 Title and capitula to Bk. 3: INCIP(IT) LIB(ER) TERTIVS. HAEC CONTINEN|TVR IN LIBRO TERTIO HISTORIAE | ECCLESIASTICAE GENTIS ANGLORVM | KAPITVLA. | 'i. Ut primi successores eduini | regis et fidem suae gentis p(ro)|diderunt . . . xxx Ut orientales saxones tempore | latriam [*recte* idolatriam] reuersi. sed per instantia[m] | Iarumanni episcopi mox sint ab er|re [*recte* errore] correcti' EXPLIC(IT) KAPITVLA (as Colgrave and Mynors 208–10; coll. Lapidge 2008–10: 2.6–10);
- ff. 48vb/17–78ra/3 Bk. 3: INCIPIT IPSE LIBER | 'At interfecto in pugna | eduino'; ends: 'et ipsi sacerdotes doctoresq(ue) | eorum domum rediere laetantes,' || LIBER TERTIUS HISTORIAE ECCLESIASTICAE | GENTIS ANGLORVM EXPLIC(IT) (as Colgrave and Mynors 212–322; coll. Lapidge 2008–10: 2.12–156);
- ff. 78ra/5–79ra/9 Title and capitula to Bk. 4: INCIP(IT) LIB(ER) QUART(US). | LEGE FELIX | 'Hæc continentur in libro | quarto historiae ecclesiasticae | gentis anglorum. | i Ut defuncto deusdedit. uighard | ad suscipiendum episcopatum | romam sit missus . . . xxx Ut alter ad

- reliquias eius nuper | fuerit ab oculi languore | curatus' (as Colgrave and Mynors 324–260; coll. Lapidge 2008: 2.158–62);
- ff. 79ra/10–118vb/22 Bk. 4: INCIPIT IPSE LIBER | 'Anno memorato præ-fatæ | eclipsis'; ends: 'ac si nil | umquam in eo deformitatis | ac tumoris apparuisset.' | LIB(ER) QVARTVS EXPLIC(IT) (as Colgrave and Mynors 328–448; ed. Lapidge 2008–10: 2.164–320);
- f. 107r (3 lines across bottom margin, by Scribe D) "Caedmon's Hymn" in Northumbrian OE: 'Nu scilun herga hefenricæs uard . . . firum foldu frea allmehtig' (ed. Dobbie 1937: 16–17; Anderson [Arngart] 1941: 58; ed. Lapidge 2005: 2.634; facs. Okasha 1968, after p. 228, facs. Robinson and Stanley 1991: pl. 2.3; O'Donnell 2007: 93, with transcription and color facs. on accompanying CD).
- ff. 118rb/27–119vb/15 Title and capitula of Bk. 5 and notice of recapitulation of entire work: INCIP(IT) LIB(ER) QVINTUS || '[i] Ut oidiluald successor | cudbercti in an`a` choretica | uita. laborantibus in mari | fratribus . . . xxiii Qui sit in praesenti status | gentis anglorum uel britta|niæ totius. | Recapitulatio chronica | totius operis et de persona | auctoris' (as Colgrave and Mynors 450–52; coll. Lapidge 2005–10: 2.322–6);
- ff. 119vb/16–159ra/7 Bk. 5: INCIP(IT) IPSE LIBER. LEGE FELIX | 'Successit autem uiro d(omi)ni | cudbercto in exercenda | uita solitaria'; Bk. 5 (ch. 23) ends: 'et confiteantur | memoriæ s(an)c(t)itatis eius' (as Colgrave and Mynors 454–560; coll. Lapidge 2008–10: 2.328–472);
- f. 159ra/8–159vb/27 Chronological recapitulation: 'xxviii [for xxiii] Uerum ea quae temporum distinctione latius digesta | sunt ob memorandum conseruan|dum breuiter recapitulari | placuit. | (*in margin*, 159r/a13–14 'ante an[no] | dcccvi') Anno igitur ante incarna|tionem dominicum sexagesimo | gaius iulius cæsar primus | romanorum brittania | bello pulsauit et uicit nec | tamen ibi regnum potuit | obtinere'; breaks off at end of f. 159v, the following leaf wanting: '[(cii) Anno dc]xliiii paulin[us] | quondam eboraci || [. . .]' (coll. Lapidge 2008–10: 2.472–6/3; cf. Colgrave and Mynors 560–64; facs. Dobiache-Rojdestvensky 1928: after 314; UV photo Arngardt 1952: after 16).

[Note: The rest of the "Recapitulation" is lost with the missing leaf. The Recapitulation section is not given a ch. number in the capitula, but is at this place. Next to each entry of an event, with its dominical date according to Bede's calculation in his text, is noted in an annotator's hand the number of years since that event, which when the two numbers are compared in most cases, not all, gives the year "746," which could be taken as the year the entries were annotated, as the year the manuscript was written, or as indicating that the system was copied later from an earlier exemplar

(or laterally from a later copy) and hence irrelevant to the date of the manuscript (for the system see Dobiache-Rohdestvenskaia 1928: 317–21, who first noted it, and Arngart 1952: 16–17; Dobiache-Rohdestvensky gives better facsimiles of the recto and verso than those in Arngart). The same dating system, yielding “746”, is in BL Cotton Tiberius A. xiv, a direct copy of this one. A similar system in the Moore manuscript (CUL Kk. 5.16 [105]), gives the date “737” which is generally accepted as the date that that manuscript was written. See above, “History” for a discussion of the dating issues associated with the “St. Petersburg Bede.”]

ff. 160ra/1–161rb/25 (after loss of one leaf) Bede’s account of his life and work: beg. imperf. ‘[. . .] reuerentissimo abbati benedicto | ac deinde ceolfrido’; ends: ‘et parere semper | ante faciem tuum.’ EXPLIC(IT) D(OMI)NO INVANTE | (red) LIB<ER> QVIN[.] HISTORIA | EC-CLESIASTICAE GENTIS | (red) ANGLORV[.] | (*written in a different hand*) BEDA FAMVLVS CHR(IST)I INDIG[NVS] (as Colgrave and Mynors 566–70; ed. Lapidge et al. 2005: 3.188–94).

[Note: The final line of the colophon has been much discussed, see above, “History.” This page is covered with dozens of examples of carolingian minuscule ‘a’, a letter form that could be found in scripts from the end of the 8c to the 12c but scarcely in the first half of the 8c. These *probationes pennae* mostly avoid the inscription in rustic capitals, but a faint ‘a’ coincides with the ‘F’ of ‘FAMVLVS’ in the last line; whether it overlies or underlies the inscription has been much-debated with obvious implications for the dating of the added line, see above, “History,” and the enlarged detail of this place in Wright 1961: pl. III.]

f. 161v blank, now with *probationes pennae* in carolingian minuscule, including more ‘a’s’, various scribbles, and five faint lines of writing in several caroline scripts; ‘Ex Museo Petri Dubrowsky’ across top of page.

IMAGE NOTE: The film images and perforce those of the fiche are very light. The entire manuscript has been rescanned from the original microfilm, hence no images of the original five fiche have been shown.

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