

The Old English Gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels



Language, Author and Context

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Stewart Brookes

The Shape of Things to Come?

Variation and Intervention in Aldred's Gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels

Abstract: This paper examines Aldred's response to the gospel text he was glossing through close analysis of his choices of script. The focus is on Aldred's experimentation with different types of letter-forms and the resultant variation in the realization of the letters. I suggest that these point to Aldred's deep engagement with the manuscript, prompting him to produce a response to its script and layout that positions him as a scribe working in the Northumbrian artistic tradition. The paper also argues, however, that Aldred's script offers evidence of his familiarity with Caroline minuscule and Square minuscule and thus of his awareness of the scribal fashions previously assigned exclusively to scribes working in southern England.

1 Introduction

In his polemical essay *Areopagitica*, John Milton asserted that “[b]ooks are not absolutely dead things, but doe contain a potencie of life in them to be as active as that soule was whose progeny they are; nay, they do preserve as in a violl the purest efficacie and extraction of the living intellect that bred them” (Wolfe 1959: 492). This notion seems particularly apposite in the case of Aldred and his tenth-century gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels (London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero D.iv). The Old English words that Aldred wrote between and around the Latin lines of the four gospels represent more than a simple act of explication, translation and occasional commentary. They are his personal meditation on the gospels and bear witness to his spiritual and scholarly engagement with a text that lies at the heart of Christian belief. If anything preserves his “living intellect”, it is this. A second and interrelated story is that of the physical act of his writing the gloss. It must have been a daunting task for Aldred to write alongside the elaborate carpet pages, decorative letters and Half-uncial Latin text of what has been described as one of the “great monuments of human endeavour” (Brown 2002–2003: I, 187). The manuscript had a particular religious significance also, being a volume dedicated to Cuthbert, the special saint of the community among whom Aldred lived. In this paper, I examine Aldred's response to the text through analysis of his choices of script, focusing on his experimentation with different

types of letter-forms and the resultant variation in the realization of the letters. I suggest that the motive behind this variation is style: in the scripts he chose for his gloss, Aldred offers a creative response to the variation in letter-shapes in the decorative script and main Latin text of the Lindisfarne Gospels, one which evolves from the Northumbrian artistic tradition in which he was steeped. I argue that the variations in the letter-forms afford us insight into Aldred's intentions in glossing the Lindisfarne Gospels, serving as a visual articulation of his self-positioning as a scribe in dialogue with the manuscript and as a priest responsible for translating the Gospels.

2 Variation in the gloss

Written in the years following the mid-tenth century, Aldred's gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels has frequently been described as old-fashioned, a throwback to an eighth- or ninth-century way of writing (Brown 1969: 39; Roberts 2005: 15; Jolly 2012: 76). For T. J. Brown (1969: 15), Aldred's choice of Anglo-Saxon pointed minuscule marked him out as a relic from the distant past and as a "backward, but not necessarily an incompetent, provincial". Brown (1969: 39) argues that because Aldred was located in Northumbria, he was unaware of the style of writing current in southern England and thus does not write in the "square" style found in glossed manuscripts more or less contemporary with his own. While it is not in doubt that Aldred often writes in a Cursive minuscule that owes much to the Northumbrian scribal habits and styles of at least a century earlier, there is reason to challenge the notion of his isolation from the scribal fashions that swept the south.¹ In this paper, I present evidence which suggests that Aldred was aware of both Square minuscule and Caroline minuscule and that this is reflected in his choice of letter-forms in his gloss. Beyond this, however, is the question of the significance of variation in the style of Aldred's writing. Right from the start Aldred signals his intention to use alternative forms of letters, with a straight-backed *d* (gesturing towards Half-uncial) alongside a round-backed minuscule form on f. 3r4 (2.45).² When Aldred adds a pen trial in the top right corner of f. 122r, he does so using the "oc" form characteristic of Half-uncial *a* (4.49), rather

¹ The terminology used in this paper to describe the various grades, hierarchies and types of script, including Insular Half-uncial, Hybrid minuscule and Caroline minuscule, is discussed with illustrative figures and plates in M. P. Brown (1990: 48–71), Roberts (2005: 13–103) and Rumble (2009: 37–49).

² See the first part of Appendix 2 below for explanatory references, and the second part of the appendix for images of the letter-forms discussed in this paper. A version of Appendix 2 which

than the minuscule in which he mostly wrote. And, most tellingly of all, his pen trial of the Tironian symbol in the middle margin of f. 193v shows two quite different forms (1.34). It would seem that his reflex was to experiment with varying forms. Only with an awareness of this variation can we understand the creative energies that Aldred put into the visual presentation of his gloss.

It would be difficult to overstate the impact of variation in the gloss. It is everywhere: from the range of alternative letter-forms that Aldred deploys to the size of his letters, which varies considerably. Some words are written neatly, others scratched hastily on to the vellum. On the same folio, minims may be formed slowly with frequent pen lifts and feet and wedges added, or they may be written hurriedly in the style of the lowest grade of cursive script. And, most surprisingly, different types of script are mixed together in the same sentences. In 1.1 and 1.6, for example, there are three forms of *a* (1.1 has Caroline, Square and open forms of *a*; 1.6 has open, pointed and Square forms of *a*) and in 1.8 there are two forms of *g* in the same passage. The variation extends beyond word-to-word differences: it is very common to find different forms of letters within the same word, as we see in 1.2 and 1.3 (Caroline and open *a* in “ana” and “sacerdas”), 1.11 (pointed and open *a* in “aras”) and 1.7 (two types of *g* in “getreowfæstnig”). It is, of course, unusual to find this range of letters from different scripts being used alongside each other as interchangeable alternatives. The consequence is that letter-types that are not usually found in a cursive context start to be adapted to the underlying script type; for example, the Caroline *a* in “ðara” (1.5) is joined with the *r* which follows it.

3 Methodology

Although the above examples give some sense of the range of letter-forms in the gloss, a wider sample is required in order to demonstrate the extent of the variation. I have, therefore, ‘cut out’ individual letter-forms (or “graphs” to use the terminology adopted for the DigiPal project) from across the manuscript.³ When selecting graphs for inclusion, I have attempted to present a spectrum of the forms that Aldred uses, placing the graphs in groupings according to shared features and characteristics. For example, graphs of open *a* are grouped from

is linked to the relevant pages of the Lindisfarne Gospels on the British Library digitized manuscripts site can be found here: <<http://www.digipal.eu/blog/aldred/>>.

³ The ‘Digital Resource and Database for Palaeography, Manuscript Studies and Diplomatic’ (DigiPal), available at <<http://www.digipal.eu>>.

4.1–4.8, the majority of graphs of *g* which have a closed tail from 8.45–8.76 and 2-shaped *r* from 9.49–9.53. This arrangement also offers the opportunity for comparison of various of the component features of the letter-forms; for example, 6.2–6.18 shows the tongue of *e* at various lengths, curved, rising and horizontal, and 10.1–10.6 gives a sense of the split ascenders which are typical for *s*. This also helps to provide a context for forms which otherwise might seem atypical. For example, the long, upright body of the *g* in “geworht” (1.12) is markedly different from the other *g* in that detail, but it seems less of an anomaly once it is placed next to similar instances (8.71–8.76). It is important to remember that the graphs are selected from across the complete manuscript, and do not necessarily occur on the same folio. In addition, although viewing the letters like this suggests a sort of evolution of script, the reality is that variant forms are used alongside each other in most sections of the gloss and that overall there is not a progression from one type to another.

4 Examples of *a* and *g*

Although it is not new to say that Aldred’s handwriting is subject to variation, the extent to which this is the case has been underestimated. A useful example of the range of letter-forms that Aldred employs can be seen by looking at the variants for *a* in examples 4.1–5.11. The graphs offer instances of virtually every possible type of *a* that was used in the Old English period. Amongst them is the “oc” *a* of Half-uncial (4.46–4.49); open *a* (4.1–4.8); the decorative enlarged *a* of Anglo-Saxon minuscule (4.87); the point-topped bowl of Anglo-Saxon pointed minuscule (4.53, 4.56, 4.57), with a tendency for the back to rise high above the bowl (4.50, 4.54); square and lozenge-shaped forms that are clearly influenced by Square minuscule (4.14–4.20, 4.37–4.39); and Caroline *a* (4.76–4.78). In addition, there are forms of *a* that demonstrate a calligraphic flourish (4.89), or an attempt to produce a higher grade of script (e.g. 4.43) and round forms (5.9–5.11) that may have emerged naturally when writing cursively. Aldred, it is clear, had a magpie’s scribal repertoire.

That this multiplicity of forms is typical of Aldred’s writing can be seen from the images accompanying this paper. With *g*, for example, he uses a 3-shape (8.1, 8.65), a 5-shape (8.4, 8.20, 8.31); the tail may be open (8.2–8.40), three-quarters closed (8.41–8.44) and closed (8.45–8.50). The body hangs from the left (8.18), from the right (8.1, 8.2), and from the middle (8.53). At times, he creates his *g* from five separate strokes, as can be seen when he neglects to add the bottom curve in “bigencga” (1.21, 8.66). One feature to which it is worth drawing atten-

tion is Aldred's addition of a stroke to close the tail of the *g* (8.59–8.64). This is unusual for an Anglo-Saxon minuscule script and it seems almost certain that he borrowed this from the *g* in the Latin text where it is ubiquitous (see 16.32–16.34 and particularly 16.35, which shows Aldred's *g* in close proximity to its Latin equivalent).

5 Ascenders and feet

The way that Aldred treats his ascenders varies considerably also. They may be tall and comparatively straight (2.3), sway-backed (2.24), compressed (2.5–2.6) or even squat (2.11, 2.14, 2.16). Some have approach strokes (2.11–2.13), others are unadorned (2.1, 2.3) or they may have wedges (2.17–2.22) or flags (2.24, 2.46). The ascenders appear forked in a few cases (2.35, 2.36) while in others a decorative hairline has been added (2.40–2.45). As so often, some variation in appearance is due to the care in execution, with the blob-like additions (2.5, 2.7, 2.14) most likely a poorly implemented attempt to add wedges to these letters. In similar manner, the minims of letters cover the full range of what one might expect to find across different types of script. What one would not expect is to find them together on the same page, executed by a single scribe. *n* may be narrow and tapered to give a claw-like appearance (7.24), thickly made and short (7.22) or have a pronounced wedge on the minim (7.20). The arch of *h*, *m* and *n* may descend below the line, curving inwards to the left (1.20, 7.8–7.10, 7.25), sometimes finished with a thick horizontal stroke (7.9, 7.25). At times, Aldred is careful to add feet to minims (7.21, 1.17, 1.19), but often does not (1.4, 1.7, 1.14, 1.28, 1.29). What is remarkable is that the varying forms are found in close proximity to each other, as we see in 1.18 with wedges on some minims and not on others.

The wish to vary letter-shapes seems to run in Aldred's scribal blood. He just cannot write them the same way each time. A clear demonstration of this variety can be seen in his treatment of *u*. As Ross et al. (1960: 23) note, Aldred makes a "sharp and unmistakable" switch away from the use of <u> to <v> after f. 203v. Having made that decision, Aldred then begins to vary his *v*, sometimes adding wedges, altering the angle at which it is written, and even adding a tail (7.38–7.46)⁴.

⁴ "While *v* is the predominant form from f. 203v onwards, Aldred does still deploy *u* on occasion, often it would seem for the purpose of variation alongside *v*. See for example, "uv`u`nden" (7.46), "suindriga" (f. 204ra10), "fvluaende" (f. 204rb20–21), "throvung" (f. 207va12) and "ðvruuwardæ" (f. 251va4). The *v* form can also be found on early folios because Aldred began a second campaign of glossing, in red ink, after he switched to *v*; see, for example, "gisomnvng" (f. 5va6).

Aldred also seems to have delighted in trying out unusual letter-forms that he had seen elsewhere, as we see in the *k* that he uses in the word “stenk” (10.80) which, for all its distinctiveness, is not unique.⁵

6 Aldred’s minuscule

As noted earlier, Aldred’s writing owes much to an older tradition. It exhibits many of the features one might expect to find in Anglo-Saxon pointed minuscule of the ninth or very early tenth century, and also betrays the influence of Phase II Insular Cursive minuscule which had fallen into disuse by the early ninth century (though Roberts (2005: 14) suggests that Phase II Insular minuscule had a longer life in the north of England than it did in the south). Examples of Aldred’s indebtedness to these older styles of minuscule include occasional low-slung *l*, the lower curve of which swings below the line (2.56–2.59, with a particularly graceful example at 2.60); *f*-shaped *y* (7.64–7.66); the arch of *m* and *n* descending below the line, curving inwards to the left (7.8–7.10, 7.25), sometimes finished with a thick horizontal stroke; and elongated *i* at the beginning of words, either standing on the line, rising to the height of the ascenders of other letters (2.63, 2.64) or dropping far below it (2.65).⁶ Another tell-tale feature of early Insular Cursive minuscules is the placing of subscript vowels below the line in ligature (3.29, 3.35, 3.38). Indeed, throughout the gloss there is a frequent use of ligature forms, including the distinctive reversed ductus *e*, with its 8-shape (6.63, 6.66, 6.68) that Lindsay (1921: 17) notes is *par excellence* the Insular Cursive form (for recent discussion of 8-shaped *e*, see Sparks 2013: 30). At first glance, Aldred’s use of letters in ligature seems typical of older Cursive minuscules. For example, the tongue of *e* is often drawn out to form the top stroke of *g* (3.1–3.9) and *t* (3.12–3.15); and *i* may hang from the tongue of *f* (3.29), the top stroke of *g* (3.17 and 3.18), the lower curve of *t* (3.20) and the top stroke of *t* formed from the tongue of *e* (3.12). Aldred goes further, however, constructing a range of idiosyncratic ligatures, including *o* formed in ligature with the top stroke of *g* (3.19); ligatures between *b* and *r* (3.22 and 3.23); the tongue of *e* forming the top of the bowl of *d* (3.16); and the calligraphic yet curiously constructed use of the tongue of *e* to form the arch

⁵ I am grateful to Elaine Treharne for bringing to my attention the analogous instances of *k* in the Parker Chronicle (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 173), f. 26r (10.82) which probably dates from a few decades before Aldred, and to those in the twelfth century London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius A.xv, f. 49v (10.81). In editions of the gloss, and in Ross et al. (1960), Aldred’s *k* has been read as an *nc* ligature.

⁶ Unconventionally, Aldred also uses elongated *i* in a medial position.

of *h* (3.21). His subscript ligatures are noteworthy because in many cases they have become stylistic and are no longer really ligatures in the true sense where the stroke of one letter serves as part of another (as, for instance, the tongue of *e* does for the top stroke of *g* (3.2)). So, while Aldred uses the classic subscript real ligature of *m* with open *a* (3.39) – which Jane Roberts (2005: 39) describes as a “relic of earlier practices” in the context of the usage by the first hand of the Parker Chronicle – many more of his subscript letters are false ligatures, pushed up against, but not joined to, the letter above (3.34, 3.36–3.37, 3.41). Aldred sometimes manages to create true ligatures for traditional combinations such as *nt* and *ht* (3.26), but on closer inspection there are many that turn out to be look-alikes (3.24, 3.25). In some cases, it is possible that Aldred deliberately allows the second element of the ligature to break free in order to create visual impact (compare the true ligature of *fi* in 3.29 with the subscript *i* in 3.32). This stylistic effect is most fully developed in Aldred's playful *hi* ligature with its appended *a* (3.31) and his suprascript *l* rising above *d* (3.27), both of which seem to be his own invention. Another example of Aldred apparently extending the traditional model for subscript ligatures, false or otherwise, is in the combinations *bi* (3.30), *di* (3.33), *mo* (3.40) and *æ* (3.44, 3.45). Striking also is his decision to drop *e* below the line, which is purely for visual effect (3.46), and combined with the reverse ductus *e* (3.43) is almost certainly Aldred's innovation. The reverse ductus *e* is itself of much interest for understanding Aldred's method: its practical purpose was to save scribes time as part of a ligature combination, but he creates a stand-alone version (6.71–6.79) which is unlike anything I have seen elsewhere; presumably this is to add another form to his repertoire for the purposes of variation.⁷ Similarly, we may note the placing of looped cursive *y* (7.49–7.51) at the end of words when in genuinely cursive hands it would be found in a medial position where it serves as a means to link letters without lifting the pen. While Aldred does use the looped *y* medially (7.47), economy of effort is not his main concern and more often he introduces this form as a feature of style, lending his writing a cursive appearance.

Examples of actual cursivity can be seen in the *m* of “carchern” (1.26), where Aldred clearly did not lift his pen between minims; the *is* of “israhela” (1.27); and the rapidly written *ym* of “cymeð” (1.25). As is typical in a cursive script, *n* and *r* (9.10) can look very similar. Another feature of Cursive minuscule is that the letters *f*, *p*, *r* and *s* frequently have a *v*-shaped “split”. This is the result of Aldred moving his pen away from the base of the descender after the initial downward

⁷ Due to the idiosyncrasy of this letter-form, Ross et al. (1960: 14) do not recognize this as a form of *e*, describing it as “no more than a change from *o* to *e*”. The frequency with which it occurs means that they cannot, however, be correct about this.

stroke. See, for instance, the split ascenders in *f*, *r* and *s* in “getreowfæstnig” (1.7) and in *p* in “papa” (1.7). The split is often deep and very noticeable, of the sort seen in *r* (9.12, 9.16, 9.17) and *s* (10.1, 10.4, 10.9). Such splitting is a consequence of rapid writing as it takes longer to return up the descender with the second stroke and is a feature typical of Aldred’s writing. He was capable of minimizing the split, as we see in the *s* of 10.32, and the Hybrid minuscule on the first page (1.35), but speed of writing seems often to have been more important to him than care of execution. When he does make efforts to avoid the split, the difference is particularly apparent. A good example of this can be seen in the proto-Square minuscule of 1.17: the square-ish letters are formed carefully and evenly and are the result of frequent pen-lifts between minims.

Another letter-form typical of early Anglo-Saxon Cursive minuscule that we find with great frequency in Aldred’s gloss is open *a*, made up of a bowl and *c*-shaped back (4.1–4.5, 4.7–4.8). Clemoes (1995: 33 n. 77) observes that the use of this form of *a* is an old-fashioned trait of Aldred’s writing and that open-headed *a* was not used for documents after the middle of the ninth century and “killed off in non-documentary contexts south of the Humber” by the creation of Square minuscule in the early tenth century (1995: 32). The form seems never to have been in widespread use in a vernacular context, as is made clear from Ker’s (1957: xxviii) description of it as an “unusual” form which appears only in five manuscripts. In all of Ker’s examples, open *a* is used very sparingly, sometimes featuring only once, whereas for Aldred it is a standard form used throughout his gloss.⁸ Antiquity and scarcity aside, an issue with open *a* is that it is easily confused with *u*, as can be seen in, for instance, “gebecnades” (1.1), “apostola” (1.5), “vallað” (1.6) and “papa” (1.7). Lindsay (1922: 8–9) remarks that this potential for mistaking the two letter-forms was an issue even in early minuscule and that scribes often added small touches to differentiate between them. This is the case with Aldred who responds to the problem by adding small wedges on the lower curve and the minim of *u*. Even so, it can be difficult to distinguish between the two letters, and there are occasions on which one has to look twice, such as “gearuas” (1.9).⁹

⁸ The five are Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 144, which seems only to have one example, the interlinear gloss “apryd” (f. 26vb24); St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS Lat. Q.v.I.18, f. 107r, where it occurs in the three lines of *Cædmon’s Hymn* added in the bottom margin; London, British Library, MS Add. 23211, f. 2r, in the word “hiora” on line 1; London, British Library, MS Cotton Domitian A.ix, f. 11r, which has a few examples; and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Lat. 8824, which has only one instance on f. 19rb26.

⁹ Newton et al. (2013: 107, 113, 140) fall foul of this, offering “gisulde” instead of “gisalde” in their transcription of Aldred’s colophon.

Aldred's familiarity with older styles of writing may also be seen in his use of the runes for "monn" (13.1–13.4) and "dæg" (13.5–13.7). The introduction of these ideographs cannot simply be to save time because he occasionally adds them as alternatives to support a word (13.5–13.6). Example 13.2 is particularly intriguing because Aldred first wrote the word "monn" and then erased it, writing the rune on top of the erasure. Perhaps here we see more than a penchant for variation: the use of the runes could be an expression of cultural identity, pointing to the ancient Lindisfarne and Northumbrian heritage with which the community at Chester-le-Street was associated. With this in mind, we might notice the angularity of many of Aldred's forms for *thorn* (11.1–11.12) and *wynn* (12.7–12.12). Several of these appear more epigraphic than designed for a bookhand, and he even seems to attempt majuscule forms (11.1, 12.1, 12.6) which might point to a familiarity with runes and the runic letters in a carved context.

7 Square and English Caroline minuscule

In contrast to the variety of letter-forms found within Aldred's Cursive minuscule, the founding principle of both Square minuscule and English Caroline minuscule was one of simplicity. Accordingly, these scripts moved toward discarding the myriad abbreviations, interchangeable letter-form equivalents, elaborate conjoined letters and subscript ligatures that were salient characteristics of Insular minuscule (Dumville 1987: 153). Both Square minuscule and English Caroline minuscule have been claimed by scholarship to have originated in the south of England. The assumption has been that Square minuscule was written exclusively in the south: as Ganz (2012: 188) puts it, "south of a line running from the Thames to the Severn". Similarly, Dumville (1987: 143) is "practically certain that almost all the surviving specimens were written in Southumbrian England". Although Dumville (1987: 148) remarks that "there is some evidence for its penetration of Northumbria in the third quarter of the tenth century", he adds the caveat that "if one were to judge by the scanty specimens of tenth-century Northumbrian writing, it would have to be said that Square minuscule had few practitioners in that region".

As we have seen, however, Aldred's gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels (not considered in this context by Ganz or Dumville) does include instances of letter-forms drawn from Square minuscule. In fact, the numbers of Square (and square-ish) forms in Aldred's writing suggest that he was familiar with the latest styles, as well as slightly older fashions. For example, 1.17 is arguably an example of Aldred writing what Dumville (1987: 163) terms proto-Square minuscule, a tran-

sitional script which shares some of the features of Square minuscule. There is a square-ish aspect to Aldred's letter-forms here, and an even height to minims which have feet and wedge-like serifs, creating an appearance radically different from, say, the Cursive minuscule of 1.14. What this demonstrates is a familiarity with a reformed minuscule, antecedent to Square minuscule, which has some of the proportions but not all of the characteristics which identify that script. While 1.17 suggests a script style that anticipates Square minuscule, Aldred frequently uses a form of *a* which meets the distinctive and defining characteristics of Square minuscule, an open *a* closed by a top stroke which may be horizontal (4.10, 4.16) or rising from left to right (4.26–4.30). There are many examples of the lozenge-shaped *a* (4.37–4.39), another form within the spectrum of Square minuscule. There are examples of “horned” *e* (6.22–6.38) which also seem to be influenced by Square minuscule, looking very much like what Dumville (1994: 145) identifies as Phase III Square minuscule. The dates Dumville assigns for this, c. 940–959, coincide with precisely when Aldred is thought to have glossed the Lindisfarne Gospels; Aldred's use, I argue, is an early instance.

The above indicates that Aldred was well aware of the latest fashions, and that he assimilated some of the features of Square minuscule into his script. This is not to say that he wrote what would be termed Square minuscule, but it certainly demonstrates Aldred's familiarity with the southern move to create a new English minuscule. A point worth noting is that while palaeographers have identified a progression from Insular minuscule to Square minuscule, that trajectory might well not have been apparent to Aldred.

8 Influence of Caroline minuscule

When considering Aldred's awareness of contemporary scribal practice, one of the most significant pieces of evidence is his frequent use of the Caroline form of *a* (4.74–4.78). Ker (1943: 8) was the first to comment upon this, but stopped short of calling it Caroline; instead, he said that it “resembles” the Caroline form. Ross et al. (1960: 13) were more confident in making the association, noting that amongst the variant forms that Aldred uses is one which is “the same as the standard Carolingian *a*”. More recently, Roberts (2005: 36) returned to the issue in her study of the colophon page, arguing that what has been termed the Caroline-like *a* of Aldred is [...] more likely to have been an inherited feature within his hand”. There are, indeed, many examples in Aldred's writing of the Anglo-Saxon pointed minuscule *a* with a high back of the sort that Roberts cites from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 20, the first hand of the Parker Chronicle (Cambridge,

Corpus Christi College, MS 173) and London, British Library, Add. Cht. 19791 (4.40, 4.41, 4.61, 4.64, 4.88). When one looks beyond the colophon page, however, a different picture emerges of a distinctive Caroline *a* that is noteworthy both for Aldred's confident fluency with the form and his use of it initially, medially and in final position. On ff. 5r–5v, for instance, there are 60 occurrences of unmistakably Caroline *a*. The next most common form is the open *a*, of which there are 28 instances; as is usual in Aldred's gloss, there are also examples of several other types of *a*, which I have not recorded. (See Appendix 1 for the distribution of Caroline *a* and open *a* on these folios.¹⁰) While the frequency of the Caroline form at this point in the gloss is not typical of its distribution in the manuscript as a whole, it was clearly an established part of Aldred's scribal repertoire. It is surprising, therefore, to discover that his use of the form seems not to have continued beyond his work on the Lindisfarne Gospels. Judging by the description of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 819 by Ross et al. (1960: 32–33), Aldred did not use Caroline *a* in what is taken to be his next project. Nor, it seems, did he use it in his extensive glosses to the Durham Ritual: Brown (1969: 25 n. 11) notes only four occurrences of Caroline *a* in the Ritual, and from what I can see in the facsimile edition, the examples look like the high-backed forms of *a* found in the first hand of the Parker Chronicle and do not seem Caroline. It is possible that it was an experiment introduced for the purpose of variation, but his confidence with it is in contrast to his attempts at Hybrid minuscule “oc” *a* (4.46–4.49), suggesting that he had experience with it prior to the Lindisfarne Gospels. Perhaps he saw it as a higher grade of script, not suited to the task of glossing less grand manuscripts than the Lindisfarne Gospels.

At any rate, Aldred's use of Caroline *a* is not the only indication of his familiarity with Caroline minuscule. For example, he often writes *s* in a way suggestive of Caroline influence, with the downstroke more or less on the base-line and a small wedge half-way up the downstroke (10.41, 10.43, 10.50). Another pointer in this direction is the distinctive *st* ligatures Aldred uses (10.66–10.70), which are likely to have been informed by Caroline models. Finally, Aldred occasionally deploys a 2-shaped *r* ligature in both his Old English gloss and occasional Latin notes (9.40–9.44).¹¹ The *or* ligature is not common in an Old English context, and

10 The forms listed in Appendix 1 are those which seem to have been part of Aldred's first pass at glossing the Gospels, and do not include the later additions that he made. There seems to be no pattern or preference for using individual forms with particular words; for example, in this sample Aldred uses both Caroline and open *a* for “regula” and writes both forms alongside each other in “aehteða” (1.8).

11 Ross et al. (1960: 15) record fifteen instances of this ligature between ff. 19ra14 and 189ra5.

more unusual still is Aldred's use of the 4-shaped *-um* abbreviation (9.45–9.46).¹² These two ligatures were a borrowing from Latin manuscripts, and were typical of Caroline minuscule.

In light of the above, there seems to be enough evidence to argue that Aldred was familiar with Caroline minuscule, had a willingness to experiment with some of its letter-forms, and had access to resources which would have provided a model (whether in the form of manuscripts or other scribes). The implications of this argument are significant. Aldred is thought to have written his gloss in the middle of the tenth century, or a little afterwards, a time-frame that corresponds closely with the earliest dated examples of English Caroline minuscule, which would place Aldred's use of Caroline letter-forms very early on in this chronology. His usage would thus be contemporary with the single sheet charters that are the earliest datable witnesses to Caroline minuscule in an English context (Rushforth 2012: 198–199).

9 Variability in the quality of the writing

While I have focused until now mainly on deliberate experimentation in script type, another aspect of the variation is the inconsistency in the quality of the writing. The difference between, say, 1.17 and 1.23 is marked and this has led to an often contradictory response to the gloss. For Ker (1943: 12) "Aldred's skill is apparent in the Gospels", whereas Gameson (2013: 83) sees Aldred's handwriting as "functional and variable rather than elegant and constant". Newton et al. (2013: 106) describe the gloss as "discreet and orderly throughout", whereas Horobin (2013: 45) classes it as scruffy. G. Baldwin Brown (1903–1937: V, 337) comments that the "neatly written interlinear gloss really does no harm to the manuscript", while Gilbert (1990: 154 n. 13) decries it as "an aesthetic disaster unparalleled in insular manuscripts". Aside from the last, all of these comments might be judged appropriate to particular stints by Aldred, even if none of them, aside from perhaps that of Gameson, is applicable for the gloss in its totality. What the differing responses point to is the lack of consistency. There is evidence to suggest that the glossing process was not a linear one, and that Aldred moved back and forth, adding additional glosses to earlier sections of the manuscript on different days. This can be seen most noticeably in the appearance of glosses in red on the earlier folios (for example, f. 5va6). While this accounts for a small part of the

¹² Roberts (2005: 50) notes the use in the first hand of the Parker Chronicle (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 173, f. 15r).

inconsistency, much more of this is down to care and attention in preparation of the writing materials. When Aldred's pen is freshly-cut and the gloss written carefully and evenly, his hand is well deserving of the description "neat" (1.17, 1.19). In many other places though his pen is worn or poorly cut, which gives the gloss a rough, scratchy appearance (1.13–1.14, 1.24, 2.54, 4.84, 4.85) and leads to letters getting filled in or poorly made (4.92–4.97, 6.52–6.53, 6.57–6.62, 8.6, 8.7). The way that Aldred trimmed his quill also had some effect on the size of his writing, which differs markedly from folio to folio. What the cut of the quill does not account for though are the significant differences in letter-size from line to line on the same folio. A clear example of this can be seen on f. 242v (2.49–2.52), where the abbreviation sign used for *vel* – or most likely *oððe* in a vernacular context – exhibits marked differences in height, width and weight (this in addition to the stylistic variations, such as treatment of the ascenders and the application of points either side of the abbreviation). While some variation in the size of the writing might, perhaps, be expected between early and later folios over the course of glossing such a large volume, the frequent occurrence of differences in the size of individual letters on the same folio is unusual. (For a sense of how significant the differences in the size of letter-forms can be, see *a*: 4.43, 4.92; *f*: 7.1, 7.2; *g*: 8.9, 8.76; and *wynn*: 12.6, 12.26.) When he wants to, Aldred is quite capable of writing letters of an even size (1.15, 1.17, 1.19). That he does not always write like this suggests that uniformity was not his main priority.

Another highly noticeable variation in the gloss is in the colour of the ink. Nominally, the ink that Aldred uses is black, but the colour often drifts from black to a brownish hue and may appear washed out before the writing resumes in a blacker colour. (See, for example, the sudden ink change at 160rb19.) As has often been noted, Aldred switches to a reddish ink for the closing pages of the manuscript. Despite this deliberate change, there is as wide a variation in the vividness of his red ink as there is with his black (235r, 237v). As with the variation in size, it seems likely that Aldred was not particularly concerned about this, and certainly not enough to expend the considerable effort in careful mixing of the ink and making sure his pen was dipped in ink between words.

That it is possible for a scribe to maintain size and ink colour is clear from the enviable and impressive model Aldred had before him. The writing of Eadfrith, the artist-scribe who created the Lindisfarne Gospels, is even and disciplined, the result of time-consuming attention to detail. Judging by the regularity of the writing, Eadfrith was careful to cut his pen to a consistent width and must have been diligent in supplying it with ink because the richness of the black is remarkably constant over what Gameson (2013: 29) estimates as a line-length of nearly two kilometres. If anything demonstrates the craft of the experienced scribe, it is this. At his most sedate, with frequent pen lifts and attention to spacing, Aldred

achieves a neat and consistent handwriting. More often, though, haste appears to have won out over quality of execution.

Of course, what lies behind all of this is the question of presentation. To Eadfrith, a balanced visual appearance was paramount and so he wrote in a disciplined manner, keeping his words parallel to the twin guidelines that he had carefully scored into the vellum. Even a brief look at Aldred's style of glossing indicates that he did not have the same intention. His words are often jumbled around each other (1.14, 1.23, 1.30, 1.31) or written at an angle, flying away from the Latin in a way that suggests the manuscript had not been positioned carefully (1.22). The occasional passages of explanatory commentary that Aldred adds are sometimes written with an awareness of the visual balance of the page, but just as often are squashed around the Latin text. Examples of both of these approaches can be seen on f. 45r (14.1) where Aldred squeezes his commentary at an angle into the gap between the two columns and yet across the page arranges it carefully to the right of the second column (where it has suffered at the hand of the post-medieval binder who trimmed the manuscript). When considering Aldred's attitude to presentation, a significant piece of evidence is provided by the colophon and additional material on f. 259r (18.1). Although Aldred put both thought and preparation into this, even ruling the section in hard-point, he was not able to fit it all into the layout he had planned. We see this on the very first line of the new text that he added, with his Latin and its Old English glosses crashing into each other, meaning that Aldred had to write *sæccla constitvit* (18.1, line 4) in two stages above the line in order to preserve the single column width modelled on Eadfrith's layout (Roberts 2005: 36). One has to be careful, of course, not to impose a modern aesthetic on Aldred's work, assuming that what might look careless, ill-planned, or untidy to us would have been viewed in the same way by Aldred or his contemporaries. We might also consider the possibility that this treatment of the line, and Aldred's more general practices of layout in his gloss, reflects the design of manuscripts that he had seen. In particular, it is possible that he was familiar with the writing habits found in some Irish manuscripts where, as Parkes (1991: 112) puts it, the "finish of the book" was less important than preserving the information and this led to an appearance of "comparative untidiness". Lowe (*CLA*: II, xvi) notes that Irish scribes often treated the line as if it were "something elastic, not a fixed and determined space which has to be filled in a particular way". That description has much resonance for Aldred's approach. Nevertheless, one does not need to go in search of Irish manuscripts for a model of glossing. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.10.5 has an interlinear gloss in Latin that spills into the margins in a manner not dissimilar to Aldred's practices. That Aldred might have known this manuscript is suggested by his use

of a system of abbreviations in the Durham Ritual that are, as T. J. Brown (1969: 40) notes, found only in this and one other extant Northumbrian volume.

10 Artistic variation in the decorative capitals

If we are seeking a paradigm for Aldred's variation in letter-forms, we need only look at the Lindisfarne Gospels. Everywhere, there are twists and turns: stylistic reimaginings, elongations of strokes, inventive ligatures, flourishes and, above all, elegant variation in the letter-forms. And yet this variation is subtle and nuanced: one both sees and does not see the differences. Eadfrith switching between Uncial, Half-uncial, Roman capitals, and minuscule is not the equivalent of eighteen computer fonts on the same page, with Comic Sans alongside Garamond, Zapf Chancery, and Chalkduster. Rather, he weaves his letter-forms with their arching backs and reaching feet into the atmosphere of the page with a lithe congruity, variant forms embracing each other both physically and stylistically. Close study brings the subtleties to the surface, something which would not have been lost on Aldred both as a scribe curious about interpreting letter-forms and someone who demonstrably examined the artistic realization of the manuscript in detail. Evidence of this is Aldred's sketching of Eadfrith's geometric patterns (f. 202v), his Uncial pen trial in the top right of f. 122r, his alteration of Eadfrith's Uncial *gs* (see below), and his tracing of the lamb image on f. 137r. These are examples of interventions we can detect; most of his study is, of course, hidden from us. In the following lines I will explore examples of variation in the letter-forms, starting with the decorative capitals, then moving on to the main Latin text.

As an example of the style of letter-form variation in the Lindisfarne Gospels, we can begin by discussing the decorative capitals on f. 29r5–6 (15.1).¹³ The letter-forms in the six words (*esset*, *desponsata*, *mater*, *eius*, *maria*, and *ioseph*) vary both from word to word and within individual words. We can see, for example, two variations on the angular form of *s*: the first is constructed of three strokes (like a *z* in modern type, reflected in the *x*-axis) and is found in *esset*, the first *s* of *desponsata*, and *ioseph*. The second has an additional two strokes towards the stem and is filled with a yellow flower motif. Eadfrith elsewhere experiments with this further, creating a seven-stroke *s* (15.2). A third type of *s*, this time Uncial, is to be found in *eius*, with the round upper and lower curves curling in towards

¹³ It should be noted that the variation I discuss is typical of the decorative capitals and that there a number of alternative folios which I might have chosen.

the back of the *s* to create an oval proportion, the lower half larger than the top. (Compare this to the elongated shape and symmetry of the *s* in *plures* (15.3).) There are three types of *e*: a Roman capital form in the first *e* of *esset*, *desponsata*, and *ioseph*, with a diamond-shaped tongue; the square second *e* in *esset* is a variant on the Roman capital form, with additional strokes to create balance and a long tongue rising upward forming the top stroke of the *t* with which the *e* is in ligature; and a round Uncial form of *e* in *mater*. In addition, the hook of the *e* in *eius* curves down to meet the tongue of the *e*, giving it a Half-uncial appearance. Finally, there are three different types of *a*. The first of these, the first *a* in *desponsata*, is derived from Roman capitals, and has a wide cross bar on top and an angular connecting stroke which meets the base-line.¹⁴ The second *a* is the Uncial form found in the second *a* of *desponsata*, with its long straight back and connecting stroke angled towards the base-line, and in the first *a* in *maria* with a straight connecting stroke and a curved back with a head that curls down towards the left, ending in a serif. The third type of *a* is the Half-uncial *a* found in *mater* and the second *a* of *maria*. While these two Half-uncial forms look similar, there are subtle differences: the hook at the top of the *c*-shaped back of the *a* in *mater* is flattened out almost to a right-angle and pressed so close to the *t* which follows that it creates the appearance of a ligature-like join, while the hook at the top of the *c*-shaped back of the second *a* in *maria* curves downwards, ending in a serif which both embellishes its appearance and aligns it with the curved heads and tails which finish many of the other letters.

Consideration of the small sample of letter-forms on f. 29r is enough to grasp both the variety and individuality of the letters created by Eadfrith. It is worth looking elsewhere in the manuscript, however, to get a fuller sense of the range of influences behind his style. For instance, the varied forms of *g* in the decorative capitals, include examples of letter-forms derived from Uncial (15.11, 15.12); from Insular Half-uncial (15.13); an angular stylization of Half-uncial (15.14); and Rustic capitals (15.15). To this list I would add the point that Eadfrith creates decorative capitals derived from minuscule forms; for example, a form of *a* with a back that curves to the right, and a lower curve that joins with the border (15.7); a straight back with serifs at either end and a curved connecting stroke (15.8) or a straight connecting stroke (15.9); and in ligature with *n* (15.10). The range of forms for *g* and *a* are enlarged majuscule (Uncial, Half-uncial and Rustic capitals) and minuscule forms; angular forms of the majuscule and minuscule which owe something to the Anglo-Saxon runic letters carved into wood and stone; and

¹⁴ For stylistic variants on this, see *a* with a straight connecting stroke (f. 136va3, 15.4); with a serif where the connecting stroke touches the base line (f. 3r3, 15.5); and with a triangular head in place of the crossbar which is typical of *a* in Eadfrith's Roman capitals (f. 27r5, 15.6).

Roman capitals, which are, like the rune-like forms, ultimately derived from an epigraphic context.

11 Letter-form variation in the Latin text of the Gospels

While the decorative capitals make the case for variation well, Eadfrith's main Latin text is, of course, of the greatest significance when looking for immediate influences on Aldred's handwriting. Here too there is a great deal of variation, and while Half-uncial forms predominate, Eadfrith frequently uses letter-forms drawn from Uncial and even minuscule. Such variation is, of course, to be expected in an Insular Half-uncial manuscript. Lowe (*CLA*: II, xvi) notes that the interchangeable use of *d*, *n*, *r* and *s* is a salient characteristic of Insular majuscule manuscripts, commenting that "[t]hey are handled in a diversity of ways in which it is hard to see a design". The final comment resonates with what we saw earlier in Aldred's usage – that there is diversity without detectable design beyond the desire for variation itself. We can see this by looking at Eadfrith's *a*, a letter that, as we saw, exhibits much variation in Aldred's gloss. There are three types of *a* in Eadfrith's main Latin text: Half-uncial, minuscule and Uncial. Half-uncial *a* is the most common type, with the characteristic "oc" shape (16.1–16.4). Minuscule *a* occurs much less frequently than the Half-uncial form; the back is either upright (16.10) or slanting to the left (16.8, 16.12). The top of the back may be level with the bowl (16.6), though often extends to form a distinct head rising well above the bowl (16.12, 16.15). The Uncial form is the least common type of *a* found in Eadfrith's Latin text; the back of the *a* slants to the left, and the bottom of the back stroke often does not descend much or at all beyond the connecting stroke (16.17–16.20). With mixed results, Aldred attempts to copy the Half-uncial *a* (4.46–4.49) and it is possible that Eadfrith's minuscule *a* also had some impact on Aldred's own minuscule (4.50, 4.51). The most significant influence though is not the letter-forms themselves, but the way that Eadfrith mixes them together on a line or a single word; see *mandata* (16.23), which has the three versions of *a* in the same word in a manner comparable to Aldred's practice. (Similarly, one might compare *recepunt* (16.39), which has two different forms of *r* in close proximity.)

The possibility that variation in the Latin letter-forms provided Aldred with a creative model seems a strong one. Beyond this, the Latin seems to have influenced Aldred in other ways also. We know that he studied closely the construction of Eadfrith's letter-forms because there are frequent signs of his adding strokes to the Latin text. Partly his interventions seem to be aimed at removing ambigu-

ity, as is the case with the wedges he adds to Eadfrith's Uncial *g* to differentiate it from *c* (16.29–16.32, 179). Another measure he takes to increase legibility is to draw a lower curve to create a *t* where Eadfrith has only a top stroke to represent the letter in final position (17.7, 17.16). Once we watch for Aldred's interventions, there are many, including his splitting up the words of *scriptura continua* on f. 3r and isolating easily confused Latin words elsewhere (17.12); adding abbreviation marks to identify the *nomina sacra* (17.8); and introducing apex signs, again to assist reading (17.13). This in addition to his constant revisions to the Latin text, either by striking out letters (17.14) or inserting those that were missing (17.15). Some of his other alterations seem to be motivated by stylistic interests, such as his addition of a triangular wedge to the leg of *r* (17.9), the wedges he adds to *y* (17.3, 17.4), the short stroke he attaches to the back of *a* (17.6) and a long, curved stroke to another *a* (17.5). On many occasions Aldred attempts to replicate the Half-uncial of the Latin, for example when he inserts a missing word or letter to correct the text (17.10, 2.24). With this close study in mind, it is perhaps not surprising that some of the variants we find in Aldred's gloss appear to be borrowings from, or at least influenced by, Eadfrith's text. Aldred's *f*, for example, occasionally seems to be modelled on the Latin (compare 7.3, 7.4, 17.2); at least one instance of *f*-shaped *y* looks remarkably like Eadfrith's (cp. 7.66, 7.67), as does the finish of the lower-left branch of *x* in 17.1. The attention that Aldred paid to Eadfrith's *y* results in a round *y* in the gloss that echoes that of the Latin (cp. 7.61, 7.62). The Half-uncial *n* which occasionally appears in Aldred's gloss (7.11–7.15) has much in common with the form found in the Latin (7.16) and there are telling examples of imitative behaviour to be seen in 7.17, where Aldred offers a version of Eadfrith's *i* and *n*, and 7.18 where Aldred attempts Half-uncial *n* to supply a letter omitted from the main text. Aldred's low-slung *l* may well betray a similar influence (cp. 2.60, 2.61). The subscript *i*-ligatures in the Latin may also have been suggestive (cp. 3.38, 3.47). Finally, on many occasions, Aldred modelled his layout upon that devised by Eadfrith, as can be seen in 14.2–14.8, where his spacing, vertical writing and splitting of words provides a creative engagement with the text he is glossing.

12 Non-scribal interventions

If we are to fully understand Aldred's interaction with the manuscript he was glossing, it is important to note that his efforts extend beyond those expected of a glossator and towards those of an artist. Thus, Aldred adds a rough line drawing in the top-left margin of f. 202v (17.17), copying what could be seen through the

page of the decorative initial *I* of *Iohannes* on f. 203v (17.19). He goes much further than this, however, introducing a sketch on f. 137r of the calf iconographically associated with the evangelist Luke. Aldred's calf is loosely traced from Eadfrith's portrait of Luke on the other side of the folio and, as is apparent from a comparison of 19.1 and 19.2, it is much simpler than its model. Placing the two representations alongside each other as I have done does not favour Aldred's line-drawing. Eadfrith's portrait is alive with colour, from the bright mustard-flower yellow of the nimbi of Luke and the calf to the rust red of the cushion on which Luke sits. The wings of the calf are washed with blue pigment, and the book the calf holds is green with yellow edging. In contrast, Aldred's version of the calf is simplistic: the image is reduced to strokes, with no shading or colour, and Aldred makes basic errors of anatomy, drawing only three legs and misplacing the calf's right ear behind its head. He does not draw the book or the haloes, seemingly using technology of the page to have these present in the form of a show-through. The differences in detail and execution led R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford (1960: 126 no. 1) to observe that Aldred's calf is "drawn in rather uneven and shaky lines and is not the work of a practised artist". Rather than focus on Aldred's lack of artistic flair, we would do better to recognize the sketch for what it is, a scribe's interpretation of the aesthetic element. Aldred hints at this by placing the left foot of the calf on the enlarged letter *h* of *haec*, pointing to the letters which make up the words of the Gospel, thereby drawing attention to the craft of the scribe. Adding the picture in the blank space in the manuscript is another act of completion of something which only Aldred saw as not yet done. In doing so, he brings himself closer to the domain of the original artist-scribe, Eadfrith.

13 Conclusion

In his study of the development of Square minuscule, Ganz (2012: 190) observes that it is scribes, and not scripts, who are at the heart of the story. As I hope to have shown, this notion could not be more appropriate in the case of Aldred. In his gloss we see ninth-century letter-forms, runes and the latest scribal innovations placed alongside each other, seemingly all in the service of variation and an imaginative scribal response to the artistry of the Lindisfarne Gospels. The variation in Aldred's writing that I have discussed here illuminates Aldred's relationship with the manuscript he glossed. Aldred's deep connection to the manuscript's style and aesthetic can be traced in his altering of the Latin letter-forms, his juxtapositioning of the glosses in response to Eadfrith's organization and layout of the text and, even more significantly, in his imitative behaviour with

regard to the variation he saw in Eadfrith's writing. As a consequence of immersing himself in the patterning of the manuscript, Aldred is taken back to a much older time, imbibing the Insular impulse for creativity. As much as he is a glossator, he is also an interpreter of that visual tradition.

Within Aldred's script, we witness a clear refutation of the notion that he was a rustic, living in a backwater far removed from the shifts in scribal fashions. My close analysis of the letter-forms shows that Aldred was familiar with both Square minuscule and Caroline minuscule and we see evidence of writing which approaches both in his gloss. This finding is particularly significant in light of the general scholarly agreement that Aldred's script is our most important evidence for Northumbrian handwriting in the mid-tenth century. With so much variation and flirting with other styles, his writing cannot be taken as typical of Northumbria. It is, perhaps, typical only of Aldred, and even then only of Aldred when he is glossing the Lindisfarne Gospels.

The Lindisfarne Gospels was not just Aldred's training ground, it was also his playground, as his experimentation with features of style and variant letter-forms makes clear. When we next see his work, it is in a Latin gloss to Bede's commentary on the biblical Book of Proverbs found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 819 (see Roberts, this volume: p. 53) and his writing is more restrained, with the most noteworthy variation being the addition of feet to minims about half-way through his interlinear additions. Later in his career, when he came to gloss and write in the Durham Ritual, Aldred was more expert, as is witnessed in his decorative Anglo-Saxon minuscule,¹⁵ but possibly less creatively engaged with the manuscript than he had been with the Lindisfarne Gospels.¹⁶

¹⁵ Examples of Aldred's script in the three different manuscripts may be seen on the DigiPal website at <<http://goo.gl/mm5Ejv>>.

¹⁶ I am grateful to Francisco J. Álvarez López, Marc Michael Epstein, Jane Roberts, Peter Stokes and Louise Sylvester for their encouragement, support and advice at various stages of this paper. In addition, I thank Stella Wisdom at the British Library who kindly helped with image permissions at a crucial juncture. I also acknowledge the financial support of the European Research Council: I was able to pursue this research due to funding of the DigiPal (dipal.eu) project by the European Union Seventh Framework Programme (FP7) under grant agreement no. 263751. Finally, I express my deep gratitude to Sara Pons-Sanz for her patience and kindness throughout the editorial process.

Appendix 1¹⁷

Distribution of Caroline *a* and open *a* on ff. 5r–5v

Caroline <i>a</i>	Open <i>a</i>	Caroline <i>a</i>	Open <i>a</i>
"arun", 5ra2, 5ra5	"alra", 5ra7	"aehteða", 5rb3	"aanu(m)", 5rb11
"fearða", 5ra20	"æfterra", 5ra1, 5ra14	"forma", 5rb20	"aehteða", 5rb3
"fifta", 5ra23	"gelicra", 5ra6	"habbas", 5rb9	"aerest", 5rb20
"forma", 5ra10	"regula", 5ra14	"nioða", 5rb5	"án", 5rb8
"gegead", 5ra10	"ðrea", 5ra15	"regula", 5rb3	"blaccu(m)", 5rb14
"gegeadriges", 5ra10–11		"seofunda", 5rb1	"regula", 5rb7, 5rb21
"regulas", 5ra3–4		"tal", 5rb1, 5rb5, 5rb13, 5rb17, 5rb20	
"sceomaes", 5ra5		"ða", 5rb1, 5rb5, 5rb7	
"seista", 5ra25		"ðara", 5rb13	
"sua", 5ra8			
"tal", 5ra10, 5ra17, 5ra23			
"ða", 5ra1, 5ra3, 5ra4, 5ra17, 5ra20, 5ra23, 5ra25			
"ðrea", 5ra17, 5ra20			
"buta", 5va19	"æfterra", 5va23	"æteawdon", 5vb21	"eadga", 5vb2
"gearn", 5va4	"ceasa", 5va24	"frumma", 5vb16	"fæstnunga", 5v20
"gefundena", 5va20	"gebecnades", 5va21	"geembihtatun", 5vb17–18	"gecunnate", 5vb11
"gesceaden", 5va6	"gemerca", 5va17	"sago", 5vb12	"gemyndga", 5vb1
"gesomna", 5va6	"habas", 5va16	"ða", 5vb13, 5vb16, 5vb16, 5vb21	"hia", 5vb16
"ilca", 5va7, 5va10	"talo", 5va15	"ðinga", 5vb13	"larwum", 5vb22
"sona", 5va7			"papa", 5vb2

¹⁷ An electronic version of Appendix 1 and Appendix 2 may be found at <<http://www.digipal.eu/blog/aldred/>>.

Caroline <i>a</i>	Open <i>a</i>	Caroline <i>a</i>	Open <i>a</i>
“stowa”, 5va22			“ða”, 5vb6
“tacon”, 5va8			“ðerhwunadun”, 5vb18–19
“talum”, 5va5			
“tuia”, 5va20			
“ða”, 5va22			

Appendix 2

Folio and Line Numbers for the Images

1.1:	5va20–21	2.6:	99rb19: hæfde
1.2:	6ra11	2.7:	220vb8: t
1.3:	125vb7	2.8:	224va1: villo
1.4:	196va20	2.9:	236rb12: gebecnas
1.5:	6ra7	2.10:	8rb18: but`te´an
1.6:	226ra7	2.11:	99rb24: hæbbende
1.7:	5vb1–2	2.12:	70vb1: his
1.8:	5rb3	2.13:	19vb16: hates
1.9:	95va3	2.14:	123vb3: hwidder
1.10:	224ra20	2.15:	222va4: hvv
1.11:	125vb22	2.16:	7vb9: getal
1.12:	7ra24–25	2.17:	99rb22: hueðer
1.13:	176rb21	2.18:	19vb17: lichoma
1.14:	134vb22–24	2.19:	236rb10: hire
1.15:	225rb4	2.20:	8ra2: nabbas
1.16:	223ra9	2.21:	236rb15: heono
1.17:	222r63–5	2.22:	20rb5: rehtlic
1.18:	171ra4–5	2.23:	7vb13: lomb
1.19:	7vb4	2.24:	7vb14: <i>fu`l`gora</i>
1.20:	225vb20	2.25:	105ra3: hal
1.21:	174vb9	2.26:	20rb4: læras
1.22:	52ra1	2.27:	236rb21: vldre
1.23:	85va4–5	2.28:	249rb2: vnderhebendvm
1.24:	193vb2	2.29:	236rb11: broðer
1.25:	171rb18	2.30:	232vb21: his
1.26:	106vb21	2.31:	259ra11: villo
1.27:	239vb12	2.32:	161rb23: blodes
1.28:	86rb21	2.33:	259rb13: lindisfearnensis
1.29:	254va3	2.34:	96ra4: leaf
1.30:	238va17	2.35:	200va17: his
1.31:	5vb16	2.36:	144rb5: his
1.32:	207rb22–24	2.37:	99rb21: behealdon
1.33:	259ra9	2.38:	249rb2: vnderhebendvm
1.34:	193vb9	2.39:	99rb21: hine
1.35:	3r7	2.40:	45rb17: bið
		2.41:	45ra13: his
		2.42:	73ra1: in
2.1:	249rb9: ælces	2.43:	194ra1: iuh
2.2:	7va10: his	2.44:	33va7: hælend
2.3:	8ra1: hia	2.45:	3r4: neddes
2.4:	171ra6: huoego	2.46:	4va6: gelæded
2.5:	236rb4: martha	2.47:	174vb9: ðæm

- 2.48: 5rb12: wið
 2.49: 242va4: t
 2.50: 242va1: t
 2.51: 242vb19: t
 2.52: 242vb5: t
 2.53: 222rb1: cvðe
 2.54: 193vb3: aldormon(num)
 2.55: 201vb16: laf
 2.56: 156rb16: geleafo
 2.57: 123va6: lichoma
 2.58: 236rb12: latzar
 2.59: 229va14: lichoma
 2.60: 70vb3: locadon
 2.61: 146vb24: *populo*
 2.62: 7vb16: ymbiornas
 2.63: 45rb10: iu`e`ra
 2.64: 73vb21: is
 2.65: 41rb2: in
 2.66: 244rb23: ilca
 2.67: 20ra13: is
- 3.1: 34va9: eghwelc
 3.2: 44vb10: uoeg
 3.3: 37vb1: legeras
 3.4: 33vb4: tuoegel
 3.5: 258ra21: gesegon
 3.6: 139vb7: boegel
 3.7: 108ra7: gesegon
 3.8: 110va14: tueg
 3.9: 191va19: tuoeg
 3.10: 5rb8: eghwelc
 3.11: 238ra18: egvm
 3.12: 200ra22: su`u`eti
 3.13: 20rb1: mettes
 3.14: 73va14: settas
 3.15: 232va14: gesette
 3.16: 121ra10: sedla
 3.17: 235vb16: gie
 3.18: 178rb8: gif
 3.19: 73ra9: god
 3.20: 249rb4: tid
 3.21: 103vb14: hæll(end)
 3.22: 72va13: broeðer
 3.23: 72va6: broeðer
 3.24: 20rb19: sint
 3.25: 34vb1: sint
- 3.26: 72ra22: penningslæht
 3.27: 99rb23: gete`l`don
 3.28: 46vb7: findes
 3.29: 39vb2: fic beamas
 3.30: 169ra10: bið
 3.31: 91vb1: hia
 3.32: 117rb8: hierusal(em)
 3.33: 8ra14: hlifiendiu(m)
 3.34: 251rb16: eorodmonna
 3.35: 252ra1: anna
 3.36: 8rb13: gewordena
 3.37: 49rb22: ðona
 3.38: 242vb22: mið
 3.39: 255rb21: broema
 3.40: 259ra24: doemo
 3.41: 203va7: gemana
 3.42: 175vb17: untyn
 3.43: 93ra5: ðone
 3.44: 35va4: gesellæ
 3.45: 90va3: ðæs
 3.46: 221rb1: ðone
 3.47: 147va1: *mihi*
 3.48: 164ra12: wo`s`anne
 3.49: 72rb24: *mo`y`ses*
- 4.1: 5va24: ceasa
 4.2: 142va18: witgena
 4.3: 34ra13: moniga
 4.4: 61rb14: nallas
 4.5: 5rb11: aanu(m)
 4.6: 255ra12: groefa
 4.7: 161rb1: noma
 4.8: 161rb3: aldormon
 4.9: 5va20: rimas
 4.10: 244rb12: fader
 4.11: 174vb20: hia
 4.12: 161rb21: fasne
 4.13: 201vb9: wuna
 4.14: 199vb1: gast
 4.15: 199vb3: aworden
 4.16: 174va13: gefeall
 4.17: 259rb33: earnvnga
 4.18: 207vb8: ðegla
 4.19: 8va1: hamcuða
 4.20: 100va11: wiðerwearda
 4.21: 135vb18: f(a/o?)la

4.22:	221rb25: aec	4.69:	253rb22: ae
4.23:	105rb5: inhlogan	4.70:	113ra10: an
4.24:	95vb8: andoa/undoa?	4.71:	120va3: alra
4.25:	174va16: ðailco	4.72:	145vb2: awundrade
4.26:	39va16: behaldas	4.73:	6vb15: awrat
4.27:	3r1: canona	4.74:	127va4: all
4.28:	259rb8: <i>mathevs</i>	4.75:	6vb1: aet
4.29:	4va1: ana	4.76:	5ra2: arun
4.30:	3va19: sceawað	4.77:	5rb3: ða
4.31:	244rb6: la	4.78:	5rb3: regula
4.32:	128vb21: aldor(men)	4.79:	259rb15: allvm
4.33:	8vb18: bocana	4.80:	125vb1: alle
4.34:	4ra8: aldrum	4.81:	126va19: arð
4.35:	4ra3: arun	4.82:	128vb1: astigon
4.36:	223rb11: avorden	4.83:	204ra10: suindriga
4.37:	4va1: ana	4.84:	157vb12: aeldeuutu(m)
4.38:	44va12: hia	4.85:	214va1: æft(er)
4.39:	3r1: ðara	4.86:	97va25: (bottom left margin) að
4.40:	3va2: fagas	4.87:	259rA7: eadfrið
4.41:	3r5: aefter	4.88:	213vb23: aec
4.42:	3r5: alde	4.89:	254va3: cempa
4.43:	3r6: bissena	4.90:	174va9: ah
4.44:	99rb14: hlafard	4.91:	135rb17: f(or)esaga
4.45:	186vb19: abrahames	4.92:	61ra23: ða
4.46:	117rb19: hua	4.93:	20rb2: ah
4.47:	158rb9: ad	4.94:	102ra11: walana
4.48:	259rb10: lvcas	4.95:	36vb22: singa
4.49:	122r (top right margin)	4.96:	35ra24: haaldum
4.50:	148ra12: ab(raham)	4.97:	204rb20: fvluande
4.51:	122va6: ilca	4.98:	74va18: onduarde
4.52:	259rb29: ora	4.99:	215b4: vserna
4.53:	70rb24: dalf		
4.54:	167vb23: aworden		
4.55:	9ra13: anra	5.1:	191va11: mara
4.56:	214va1: astag	5.2:	51r2: arises
4.57:	95r9: esaia	5.3:	106vb13: að
4.58:	68rb4: sona	5.4:	177ra6: afor
4.59:	207va16: aron	5.5:	167vb16: astyred
4.60:	174va10: alle	5.6:	5va2: sona
4.61:	191va24: alle	5.7:	161rb22: sona
4.62:	5rb20: tal	5.8:	245va9: aldormonn
4.63:	4ra23: apostol	5.9:	190vb1: buta
4.64:	125vb22: aras	5.10:	245va19: hiona
4.65:	259rb22: aldred	5.11:	184va24: monna
4.66:	259rA28: aldred		
4.67:	89vb2: heafud		
4.68:	207va13: gebiotate		

6.1:	162ra11: tuoelfo	6.48:	199vb9: aworden
6.2:	205vb14: f(or)doemendvm	6.49:	39va12: bogehte
6.3:	86va19 : wedo	6.50:	215vb10: heofne
6.4:	211vb10: hine	6.51:	7vb1: eft
6.5:	201vb5: hine	6.52:	215rb10: geondsværade
6.6:	39va11: suiðe	6.53:	35ra23: acueden
6.7:	207vb23: hine	6.54:	83va14: feorra
6.8:	211va10: ne	6.55:	68rb3: ego
6.9:	259ra4: me	6.56:	68rb11: sende
6.10:	20ra9: lufianne	6.57:	258ra20: eorðv
6.11:	174va23: alle	6.58:	235vb1: ne
6.12:	6vb1: aet	6.59:	34rb24: oehtnisse
6.13:	215vb5: onfoas	6.60:	75ra10: witnese
6.14:	39va7: rumwelle	6.61:	37va16: ec
6.15:	207vb23: onsoce	6.62:	216ra2: hæfeð
6.16:	128vb8: seðe	6.63:	213vb17: monnes
6.17:	30rb24: me	6.64:	86va16: acueden
6.18:	223vb8: hine	6.65:	232va14: gesette
6.19:	3r2: niwe	6.66:	240vb6: engel
6.20:	3r4: neddes	6.67:	34va9: eghwelc
6.21:	213vb11: gesegn	6.68:	19va21: ðeignas
6.22:	23vb3: ðegna	6.69:	105va10: gewundrade
6.23:	235vb23: genaelle	6.70:	19ra4: enne
6.24:	37ra24: heara	6.71:	18vb8: sie
6.25:	5vb11: gecunnate	6.72:	215vb16: gefeage
6.26:	33ra1: bebead	6.73:	205va21: f(or)eðon
6.27:	34vb11: lehteð	6.74:	208ra1: ðirde
6.28:	207vb17: tiberiaðes	6.75:	45rb10: iu'e'ra
6.29:	235vb17: ebolsongas	6.76:	93ra5: ðone
6.30:	212va17: begeonda	6.77:	34vb23: cueðo
6.31:	222va19: eastro	6.78:	35ra23: acueden
6.32:	219rb8: earde	6.79:	34ra20: geneolecedon
6.33:	205ra5: ðe	6.80:	259ra7: eadfrið
6.34:	21ra15: hine		
6.35:	105va7: haligdoeg		
6.36:	85vb13: fæste	7.1:	4vb22: eft
6.37:	207vb2: lecvord	7.2:	235va20: from
6.38:	207va8: brenise	7.3:	222ra4: stefne
6.39:	212rb8: gefrvgnon	7.4:	29vb11: <i>filium</i>
6.40:	97rb5: ec	7.5:	215rb10: hæl(end)
6.41:	41rb23: onfoeng	7.6:	49ra8: hehsynne
6.42:	107rb26: geseað	7.7:	223va6: am
6.43:	45rb18: eorðe	7.8:	174va19: monnum
6.44:	199vb24: iudeæ	7.9:	73va21: monnum
6.45:	19vb6: caeseres	7.10:	241rb12: egvm
6.46:	82vb21: menigo	7.11:	3r2: niwe
6.47:	53va7: gewæxe	7.12:	222rb14: ane

7.13:	70rb14: hreonise	7.60:	259ra3: ðy
7.14:	102va14: ðorn	7.61:	6va15: shya
7.15:	109vb18: on	7.62:	204vb20: <i>mystice</i>
7.16:	100va9: <i>non</i>	7.63:	166ra1: wyrðe
7.17:	47va14: in	7.64:	135rb21: gefyldon
7.18:	151vb7: era`n`'t	7.65:	256va5: miððy
7.19:	73vb14: nallas	7.66:	216rb5: cymmeð
7.20:	122va8: ne	7.67:	147vb14: <i>symeon</i>
7.21:	244va13: noma		
7.22:	73vb8: nalleð		
7.23:	143vb22: binna	8.1:	96ra2: geworden
7.24:	52ra24: ne	8.2:	39ra18: berg
7.25:	214rb13: biðon	8.3:	106vb1 giuge
7.26:	9rb5: tal	8.4:	239vb12: cynig
7.27:	119vb3: uut(edlice)	8.5:	249vb17: æni`g`h
7.28:	34vb10: sint	8.6:	102rb8: gedegled
7.29:	217vb7: to	8.7:	44ra18: geeadon
7.30:	3r6: w`u`ritta	8.8:	4va16: reglas
7.31:	207vb20: ðriu	8.9:	204vb9: fvl`g`uge
7.32:	7vb4: middum	8.10:	137r3: gegearuad
7.33:	19ra22: wundres	8.11:	127vb19: intinges
7.34:	35rb8: unuis	8.12:	106vb1: giuge
7.35:	73vb8: uut(edlice)	8.13:	157rb20: witge
7.36:	34va6: cuoeðas	8.14:	34rb19: god
7.37:	249ra11: cuom	8.15:	49rb4: gefræpgedon
7.38:	240vb14: avorpen	8.16:	8ra5: god
7.39:	243va19: bitvih	8.17:	34va14: monigfalde
7.40:	214rb3: geworden	8.18:	181rb3: hlogon
7.41:	207ra12: svæ	8.19:	34rb4: gbyes
7.42:	240vb6: cvoedon	8.20:	207vb9: gebecnað
7.43:	240vb14: vt	8.21:	87va10: halga
7.44:	259ra20: svnt	8.22:	207va14: ðrovvnge
7.45:	252ra8: ðegnavm	8.23:	256ra8: byrgenne
7.46:	253ra11: uv`u`nden	8.24:	248vb5: geddv(m)
7.47:	135ra16: tocymende	8.25:	207va10: longvnga
7.48:	109ra15: wyrca	8.26:	179vb11: f(or)abreng
7.49:	179va21: miððy	8.27:	35ra17: geworðe
7.50:	200rb16: miððy	8.28:	253r11: gewvndvn
7.51:	200rb22: miððy	8.29:	5va12: witting
7.52:	259ra4: fyl`i`gdvme	8.30:	240rb8: gesea
7.53:	173ra4: gegyrdedo	8.31:	259rb24: gloesade
7.54:	200va8: miððy	8.32:	226vb21: geliornade
7.55:	173ra10: cymeð	8.33:	83ra8: geongende
7.56:	222vb24: styd	8.34:	5rb18: ungelices
7.57:	202vb18: byrig	8.35:	72ra2: geceigdo
7.58:	202vb5: syn(na)	8.36:	4va13: gemendum
7.59:	173ra17: gegyrdeð	8.37:	214va8: astag

- 8.38: 68vb2: menigo
 8.39: 95r4: godspelles
 8.40: 85vb1: getreudon
 8.41: 135rb1: ænig
 8.42: 95vb9: ðuongas
 8.43: 107rb26: geseað
 8.44: 83va22: somnung
 8.45: 65va14: ingeonga
 8.46: 99rb25: drygi
 8.47: 131ra11: byrig
 8.48: 147vb22: nathaning
 8.49: 53rb12: dæg
 8.50: 88vb2: ge
 8.51: 147vb1: sorobabeling
 8.52: 35ra17: monigfald
 8.53: 35ra21: ingaes
 8.54: 3vb24: girihtæ
 8.55: 131ra3: fostring
 8.56: 88va1: astag
 8.57: 34rb1: gaste
 8.58: 34rb1: unspoedge
 8.59: 136ra24: tuoge
 8.60: 103vb24: geflugon
 8.61: 54va14: gæs
 8.62: 132vb4: ceping
 8.63: 199vb4: god
 8.64: 199vb1: ofgæf
 8.65: 225rb24: gesende
 8.66: 174vb9: bigencga
 8.67: 157va18: wege
 8.68: 63va4: synngiga
 8.69: 160ra1: astag
 8.70: 173rb20: sgiire(monn)
 8.71: 34ra11: geboeta
 8.72: 181rb3: hlogon
 8.73: 75rb3: gesomnungum
 8.74: 50va15: monigfaldnisse
 8.75: 80ra5: gie
 8.76: 7ra25: geworht
 8.77: 95r1: godspell
 8.78: 19ra23: georne
 8.79: 122va19: gecoreno
 9.1: 3r3: werc
 9.2: 259rb7: *trinus*
 9.3: 113ra1: *sc`r`ibas*
 9.4: 121ra11: farmum
 9.5: 7va9: gearwas
 9.6: 3r4: wyrce
 9.7: 131vb10: *desc`r`ibturu(m)*
 9.8: 259rb8: *scripsit*
 9.9: 243vb21: fadores
 9.10: 34va15: forðon
 9.11: 99rb13: ræstdæge
 9.12: 103rb14: recone
 9.13: 226vb17: lærde
 9.14: 222vb23: gærs
 9.15: 222vb15: broðer
 9.16: 135vb2: unrod
 9.17: 226vb18: wvndradon
 9.18: 214ra5: wvndar
 9.19: 95va3: gearuas
 9.20: 73vb15: eorðu
 9.21: 85va10: crist
 9.22: 61ra3: mor
 9.23: 5rb14: her
 9.24: 3vb22: gihverfde
 9.25: 202rb13: grapað
 9.26: 106vb21: carchern
 9.27: 258ra22: veron
 9.28: 91rb14: geðreatnum
 9.29: 103ra10: færrende
 9.30: 73vb9: laruas
 9.21: 3vb19: grecisc
 9.32: 35rb22: broðre
 9.33: 255rb24: arimaðia
 9.34: 61va1: gefrugnun
 9.35: 85va5: carcern
 9.36: 8vb8: mercunga
 9.37: 238va2: forðon
 9.38: 46va17: forðor
 9.39: 161rb23: hire
 9.40: 35ra18: suiðor
 9.41: 38va18: suiðor
 9.42: 46va17: forðor
 9.43: 110ra22: suiðor
 9.44: 39ra20: *porcos*
 9.45: 103rb12: gerasenor(um)
 9.46: 234ra21: *singvlor(um)*
 10.1: 153rb16: symbeldæg
 10.2: 108ra9: gesprecend

10.3:	259rb23: cvðberhtes	10.50:	122va19: his
10.4:	113rb6: sona	10.51:	246ra17: ðegnas
10.5:	135vb13: losade	10.52:	182rb1: his
10.6:	178vb14: scip	10.53:	242vb2: wyrkas
10.7:	135vb18: asales	10.54:	195rb16: his
10.8:	73vb17: is	10.55:	211vb4: væs
10.9:	191va10: ðas	10.56:	224ra18: is
10.10:	137r10: lucas	10.57:	222rb22: moisi
10.11:	3vb16: swa	10.58:	68rb11: sende
10.12:	102ra11: loswist	10.59:	46va14: husa
10.13:	73vb16: is	10.60:	174rb13: seleð
10.14:	252vb7: ðis	10.61:	40rb16: huse
10.15:	213ra18: sie	10.62:	68rb11: sende
10.16:	34rb1: unspoedge	10.63:	113vb24: saet
10.17:	259rb16: sint	10.64:	259rb10: <i>scripsit</i>
10.18:	240rb21: vvnas	10.65:	259rb8: <i>scripsit</i>
10.19:	19vb1: salt	10.66:	191va11: maasto
10.20:	134vb22: soecane	10.67:	18va10: cristes
10.21:	259rb31: milsæ	10.68:	108va9: ðingstow
10.22:	221rb22: salde	10.69:	19rb7: crist
10.23:	73rb18: gidyrstig	10.70:	7va4: cristes
10.24:	34rb18: esuice	10.71:	145rb17: stigendu(m)
10.25:	7ra18: saego	10.72:	34rb1: ofgaste
10.26:	113vb20: soð	10.73:	7va8: stefn
10.27:	109rb7: bisssen	10.74:	212vb21: gesiist
10.28:	196ra3: se	10.75:	97vb2: spræc
10.29:	242vb15: soð	10.76:	190vb19: ðisses
10.30:	191va10: cursung	10.77:	241vb4: spreccend
10.31:	121ra19: hierusal(em)	10.78:	241ra18: spreccend
10.32:	44ra19: gemersadon	10.79:	9ra14: f(or)esprecon
10.33:	240va17: gesæh	10.80:	216ra7: <i>mundus</i>
10.34:	259rb12: <i>scrip(sit)</i>		
10.35:	191rb17: his		
10.36:	108ra1: gesegon	11.1:	239v17
10.37:	37rb15: nallas	11.2:	97va1
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10.40:	249vb2: sint	11.5:	146rb2
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10.42:	108va9: sie	11.7:	159rb12
10.43:	134vb6: sinapis	11.8:	159rb4
10.44:	259rb28: seo`v`lfres	11.9:	7ra18
10.45:	137r8: godspelles	11.10:	253rb1
10.46:	223ra11: his	11.11:	242vb12
10.47:	19ra14: geleornas	11.12:	259ra2
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10.49:	242vb17: onfoas	11.14:	145rb1

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11.16:	99ra3	14.2:	101rb24
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11.18:	108va1	14.4:	27r7
		14.5:	237rb25
		14.6:	90ra1
12.1:	125rb8: wæs	14.7:	19rb24
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12.3:	7ra24: geworden		
12.4:	37rb15: wosa		
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12.6:	3r6: w`u`ritta	15.2:	27r6
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12.11:	74va5: wæ	15.7:	27r7
12.12:	157vb1: win	15.8:	136va3
12.13:	86va19: wedo	15.9:	95r9
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12.18:	6vb15: awrat	15.14:	3r4
12.19:	7va6: woestern	15.15:	29r4
12.20:	159ra1: wæs	15.16:	203r11
12.21:	113vb4: walde	15.17:	137v2
12.22:	222rb16: woenæ		
12.23:	241rb3: hwa		
12.24:	215vb3: we	16.1:	101vb17: <i>petrosa</i>
12.25:	230va1: worde	16.2:	101vb9: <i>circa</i>
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		16.18:	43ra11: <i>misericordia(m)</i>

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16.21:	92va24: <i>ficulneae</i>	17.7:	221ra24: <i>honorificent</i>
16.22:	196ra23: <i>uenerant</i>	17.8:	95r6
16.23:	65va14: <i>serua mandata</i>	17.9:	223rb8: <i>regem</i>
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16.28:	90rb25: <i>intellegendum</i>	17.14:	178rb15
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16.35:	160vb1: <i>ingredi</i>		
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16.38:	19vb5: <i>glorificandum</i>		
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17.1:	175rb1: <i>sex</i>		
17.2:	174vb3: <i>ficbeames</i>		
17.3:	239vb4: <i>hierosolyma</i>		
17.4:	227rb23: <i>hierosolymis</i>		

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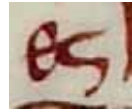
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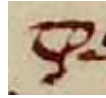
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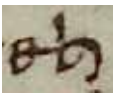
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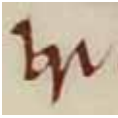
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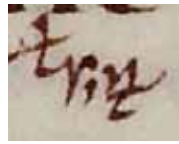
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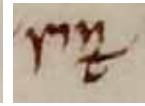
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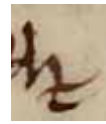
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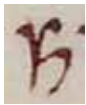
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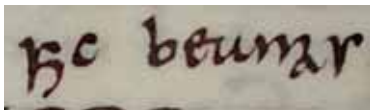
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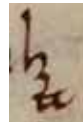
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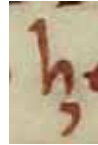
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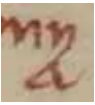
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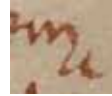
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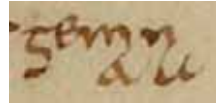
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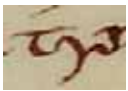
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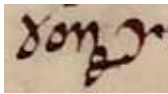
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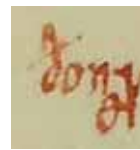
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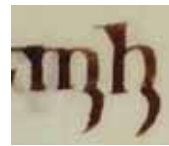
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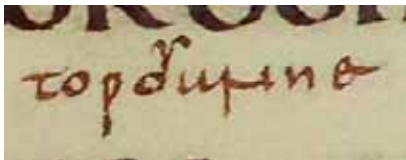
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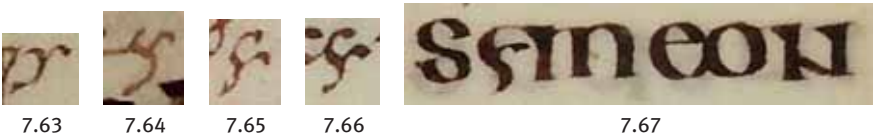
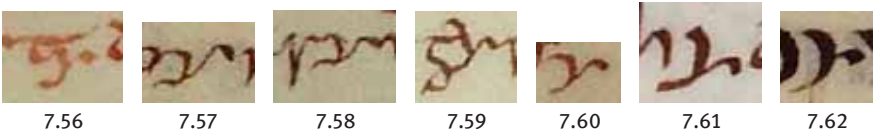
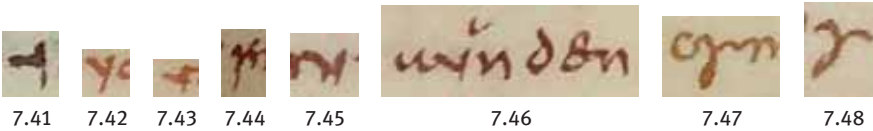
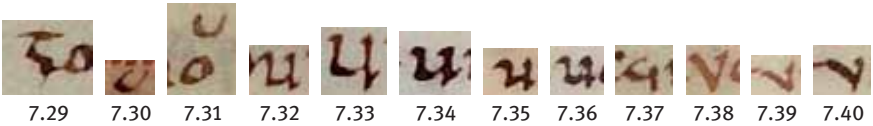
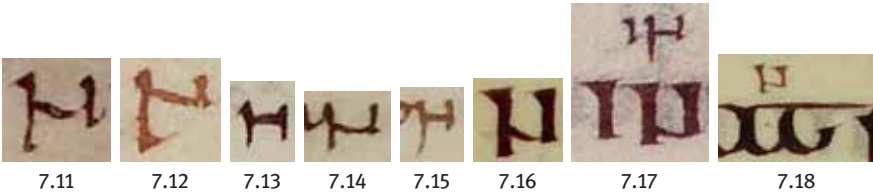
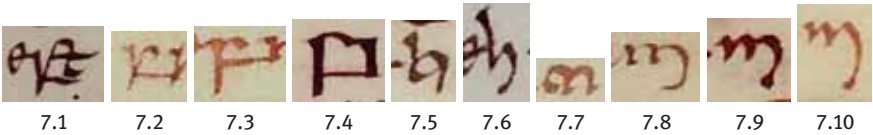
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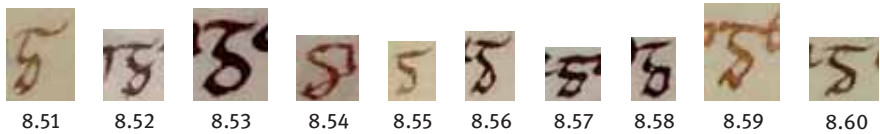
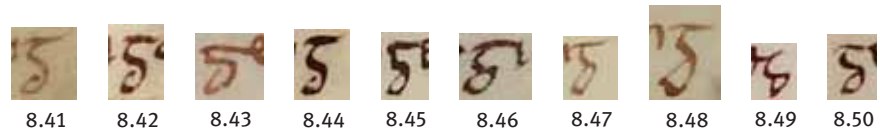
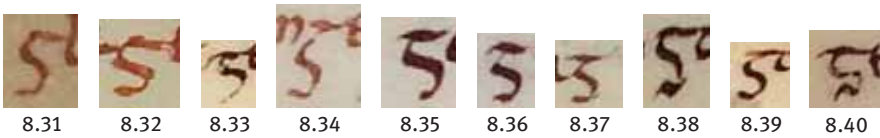
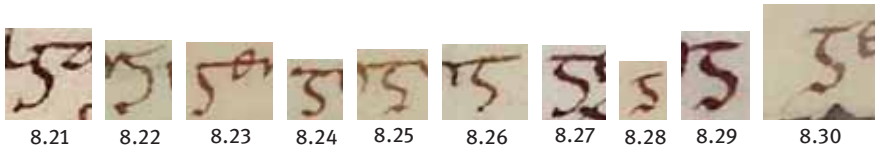
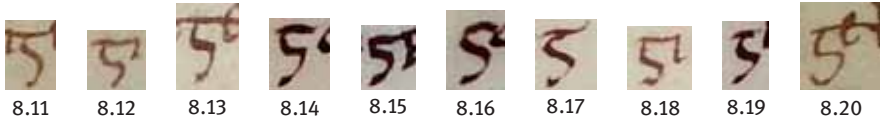


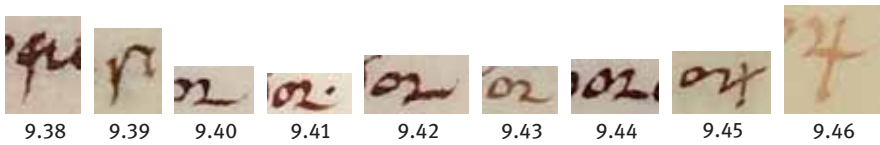
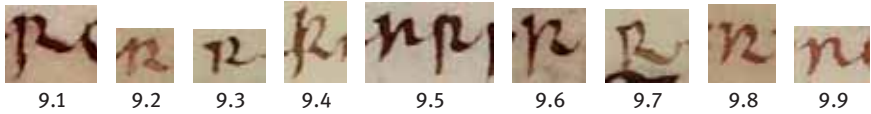
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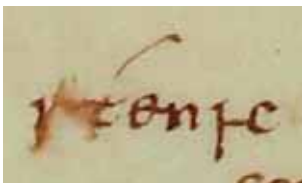
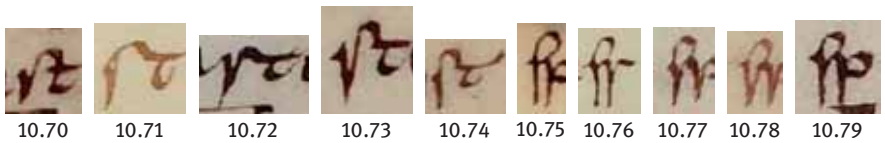
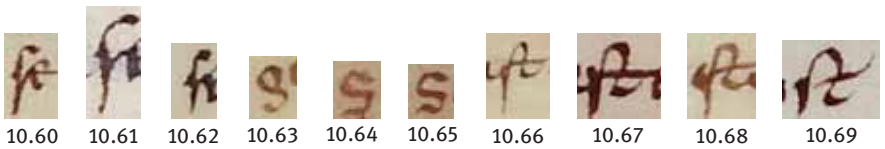
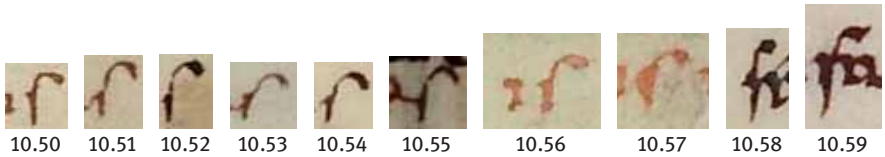
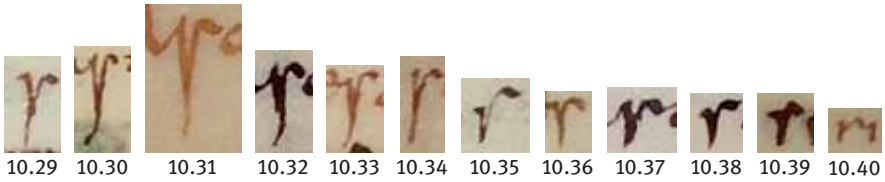








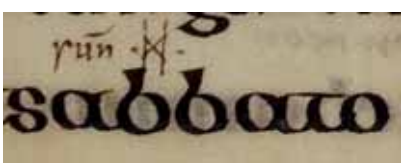
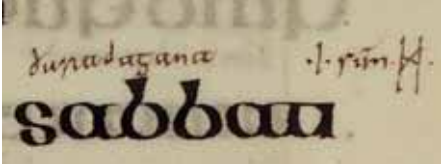
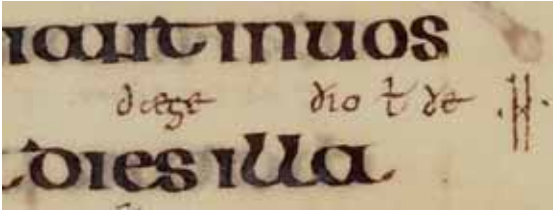
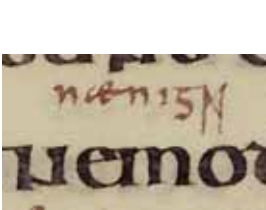
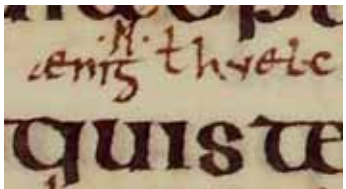
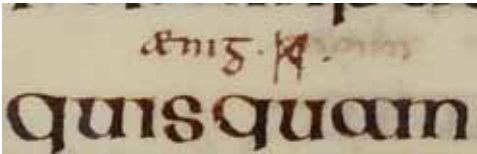
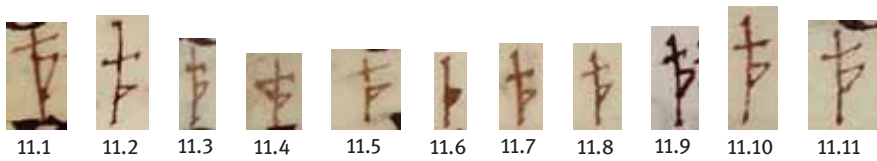


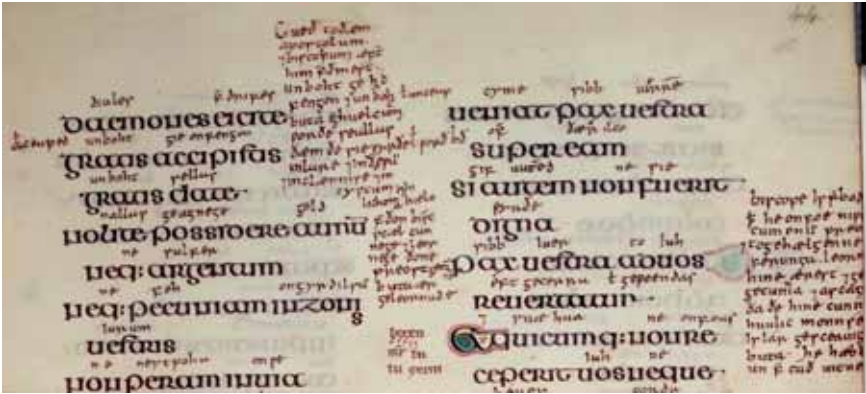


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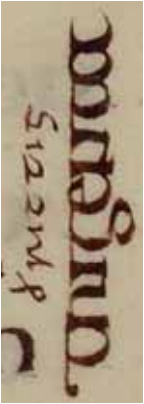


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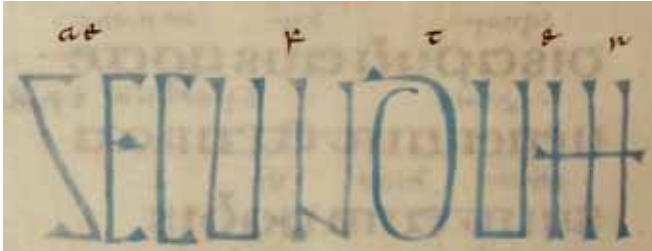




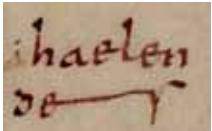
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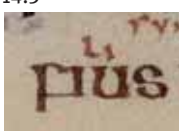
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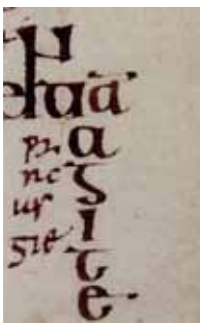
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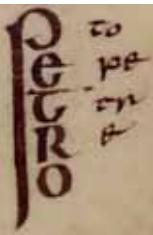
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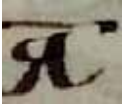
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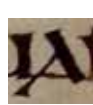
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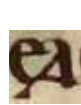
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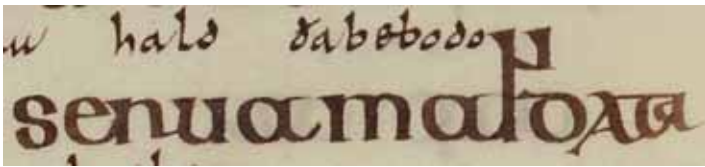
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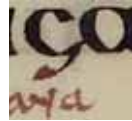
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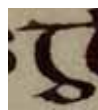
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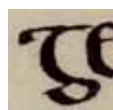
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16.35



16.36



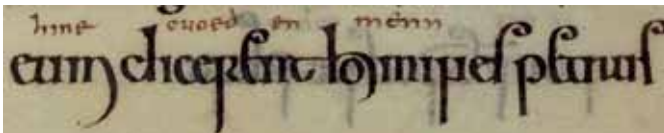
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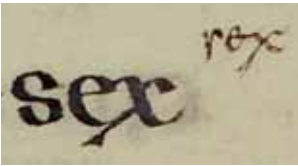
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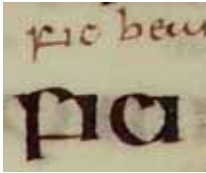
16.39



16.40



17.1



17.2



17.3



17.4



17.5



17.6



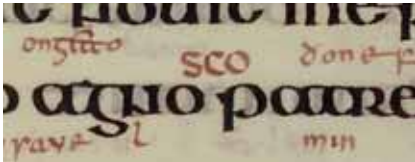
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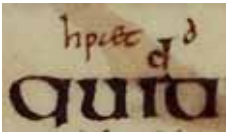
17.8



17.9



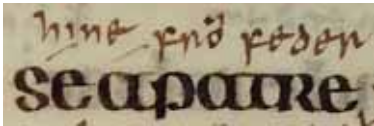
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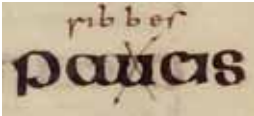
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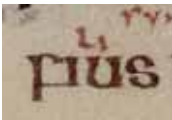
17.12



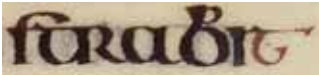
17.13



17.14



17.15



17.16



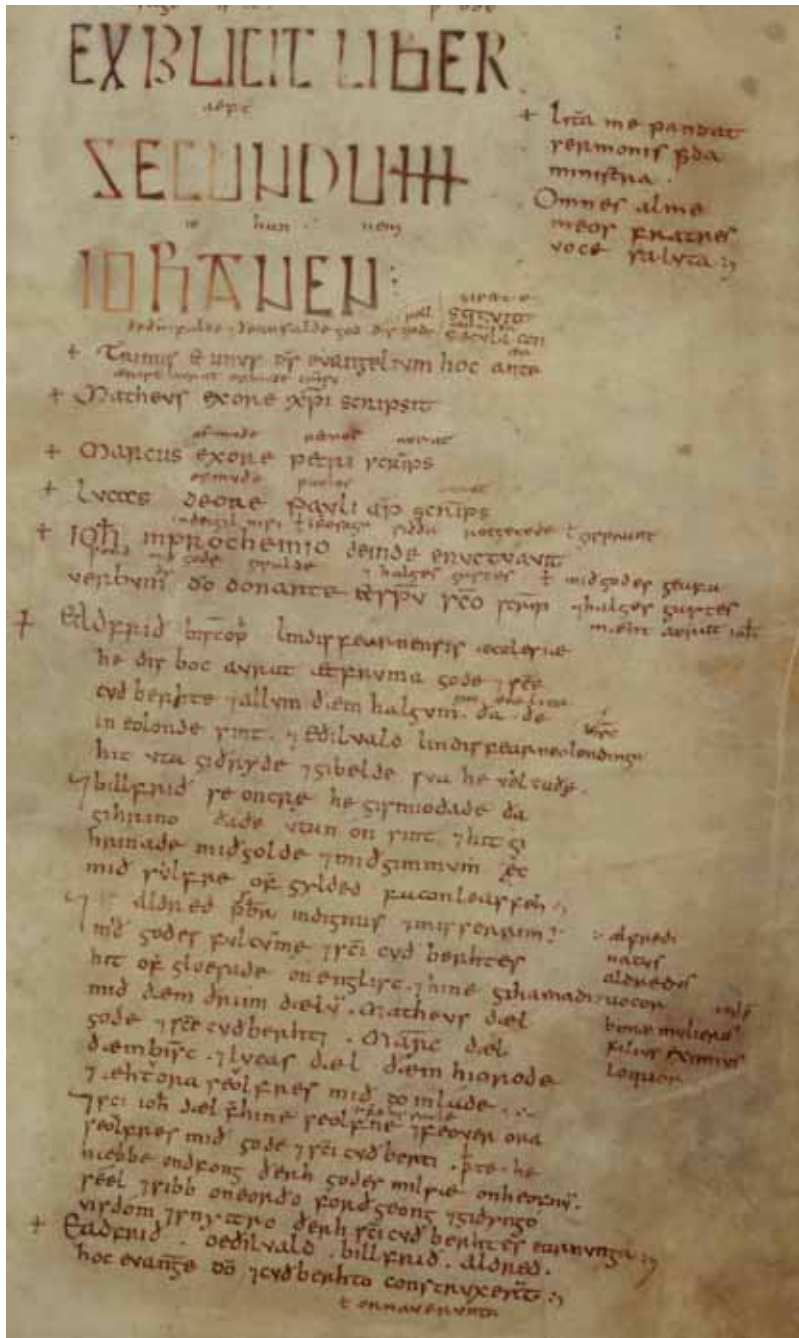
17.17



17.18



17.19



18.1: detail of f. 259r: Aldred's colophon



19.1: detail of f. 137r: Aldred's tracing of Luke's calf



19.2: detail of f. 137v: portrait of the Evangelist Luke (reversed in vertical axis)