Codex Argenteus and political ideology in the Ostrogothic kingdom

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Introduction

In 313, Emperor Constantine the Great passed an edict of toleration of all worship, including Christianity. Around that time, he also ordered biblical books of an imposing nature, perhaps even written in gold and silver on purple vellum, from Eusebius, then based in Caesarea. During the early Christian period, such luxurious execution of the Scriptures emphasized the high status of the newly acknowledged religion. Likewise, the juxtaposition of purple, gold and silver with the Divine Word, accentuated the ruler's special position within the new political and religious constellation. As mentioned by Bishop Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History,* Constantine's action made a lasting impression on his successors who continued to commission splendid biblical manuscripts.[1] Indeed, throughout late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, monarchs and noblemen frequently used opulent bibles to show their status and express the relation between political power and Christianity. For instance, several biblical books associated with Charlemagne, the first post-Roman ruler who entirely fulfilled his imperial ambitions, purposely integrate elements rooted in the Roman tradition, such as purple-stained parchment and golden letters.[2] These objects reflected the ruler's political ideology and served as a means of promoting it.

One of the most intriguing manuscripts of late Antiquity, the early-6th-century *Codex Argenteus*,[3] combines elements typical of lavish Greek and Latin bibles with yet another significant aspect. It contains Gospels in Gothic, the language of a Germanic tribe.[4] Its form and contents are embedded in the Christian civilization. At the same time, this book represents the culture of "barbarians". Does this combination of cultural signifiers in one manuscript also reflect a specific ideology? Scholars have linked the *Codex Argenteus* to Theoderic, the Romanophile ruler of Ostrogothic Italy (473–526).[5] However, the essential question as to why Theoderic would have wished to posses or donate such a book has not been extensively explored.[6] In this paper, I will attempt to establish how, if at all, the *Codex Argenteus* fits in with Theoderic's art patronage, and whether it relates to his governmental strategy.

The *Codex Argenteus*,
its codicological elements, dating and localization

Both stylistically and chronologically, the *Codex Argenteus* belongs to the corpus of late Roman and Byzantine "purple bibles", i.e. early Christian manuscripts written in gold or silver on purple vellum. The tradition of writing with ink made of precious metals on purple-dyed parchment can be interpreted as part of a bigger cultural phenomenon, a Roman "purple fever". The colour purple, which is thought to have been "the most enduring status symbol of the ancient world", known already in Hellenistic Greece, was adopted by the Roman ruling elite in the 3rd century BC.[7] By the 3rd century AD, wearing purple garments and possessing objects in that colour became a means of displaying social and economic status. It is believed that the first purple-dyed codices with literary content, which were probably made under imperial patronage, were products of the 3rd century AD, too.[8]

Starting with Caligula, subsequent emperors attempted to introduce legal regulations restricting the use of the highest quality purple to objects related to the imperial entourage only.[9] Under Constantine, the luxurious hue started being used for church purposes. It is possible that the first purple-stained biblical codices appeared at that time. In any case, the oldest preserved purple manuscripts with biblical content date from the 5th century.[10]

Judging by the amount of manuscripts that have come down to us, the "purple bibles" achieved considerable popularity a century later. Several unilluminated books from the 6th century survive, both in Latin and in Greek, and of course one in Gothic.[11] The most famous ones, however, are the illustrated 6th-century purple Greek manuscripts: the Cotton Genesis, the Vienna Genesis, the Rossano Gospels and the Sinope Gospels.[12]

Recapitulating, by the time the *Codex Argenteus* was made, purple must have triggered immediate associations with wealth and secular power. It was used in religious contexts, too. Whoever ordered the Gothic gospels must have been aware of this symbolical load and deliberately chose to apply it. The use of purple indicates the high aspirations of the patron and constitutes his or her conscious reference to the Roman cultural code. In addition, by producing Gospels so luxurious in Gothic, the book's patron was giving the language and rite of the "barbarians" very high status.

Although there are some indications that Theoderic wanted to emphasize his Romanness and implement his ideology by art patronage, there is no hard evidence to prove his commission of the Gospels in Gothic. None of the main written sources for his reign seem to mention it. Nor does the *Codex Argenteus* itself contain any explicit indication as to the person to whom it might have belonged. In such a case, the assessment of the manuscript's origins and patronage can be at best hypothetical. Results of

a careful investigation of the content and codicological elements constitute a significant piece of evidence on which such an hypothesis can be based.

The content

The most obvious element that indicates the Ostrogothic kingdom as the place where the Silver Gospels came into being is its content. The translation of the Gospels into Gothic dates back to the 360s. Around that time, Goths, then residing at the Black Sea coast, came into conflict with the Empire. Christian hostages seized during Gothic invasions of Roman provinces preserved their faith and formed a large community within the barbarian realm in the Balkans.[13] In 340 Wulfila, a descendant of both Goths and Cappadocian Christians, was consecrated their bishop.[14] The translation of the Gospels into the Gothic language is attributed to him, although lexical variations in the individual Gospels indicate that "the Apostle of the Goths" was not working alone.[15] The main source for the Gothic *evangelarium* was a Greek text.[16] Beside that, versions in everyday Latin were consulted as comparative material.[17] The translators followed rigid principles. Every word present in the Greek text is represented by a word in Gothic. The translation preserves the Greek syntax, too. Because the runic writing system used by the Goths was insufficient to render the complex text, Wulfila had to provide an essential tool that would allow him to accomplish his ambitious enterprise: a Gothic alphabet. He used the Greek letters as his graphic examples, simultaneously incorporating signs derived from runes.

Although king Athanaric eventually exiled Wulfila and his community, the Christian religion was not entirely rooted out of the Gothic kingdom in the Balkans. By the time the *Codex Argenteus* was made, Christianity (in its Arian doctrinal variant)[18] had become prevalent among both the Ostrogoths in the Black Sea area and the Visigoths in Spain and southwestern France.[19] From 506 both realms were formally under the reign of one person: Theoderic. All in all, at the time the *Codex Argenteus* was produced Theoderic was the only monarch who could have been interested in an *evangeliarium* in Gothic and who would have had the resources to allocate its production.

Codicological and palaeographical elements[20]

There are several codicological and palaeographical elements that can be used as arguments in favour of the localization of the book's production in Ostrogothic Ravenna. Firstly, the visual aids deployed to facilitate the organization of the text derive from both Greek and Latin traditions. The blend of eastern and western elements is a characteristic feature of Ostro-

gothic culture in general. Ravenna was a melting pot where Byzantine conventions mingled with Roman and Germanic customs. The *Codex Argenteus* seems to be a reflection of this tendency. The *evangeliae* are ordered in the same sequence as was common in the pre-Vulgate Latin translations produced in the Apennine Peninsula: Matthew, John, Luke and Mark.[21] In order to bind the quires in the correct order the last versos of every quire were marked with subsequent letters of the alphabet written in the bottom right-hand corner. This was a common practice in contemporary Latin manuscripts.[22]

The beginning of each Gospel is marked by an incipit formula and by the first few lines written in gold. In the oldest Latin manuscripts, the explicit and implicit formulae were usually written one after the other at the end of each Gospel. The Greek, on the contrary, tended to separate the two and write the "title" just above the first line of each Gospel book that it indicated (they often omitted the very word "incipit"). The latter practice was adopted in the *Codex Argenteus*, whereby the formulae are set within frames consisting of short dashes or diplé-like signs.[23] In addition, every second opening contained a running title comprising the Gothic word for "according to" on the verso side (left) and the name of the apostle on the recto side (right) of the opening. These were placed centrally in the upper margins and were framed with two horizontal lines. Running titles of this type occurred mainly in Latin books, although the famous Greek Codex Vaticanus and the Codex Sinaiticus also contain titles modelled in this manner.[24]

Every Gospel book is further divided according to two parallel systems: punctuation *per cola et commata* and division into Eusebian sections. The smallest textual units are marked off with a medial punctus (*commata*). This sign indicated a pause when the text was read aloud. After several such sections, a colon occurred (*cola*) to indicate the end of a passage. In many cases, these sections coincided with the Eusebian sections. In the *Codex Argenteus*, the beginning of each Eusebian section is marked in a threefold way. The first line of each section is written in gold and the first letter of the text underneath the golden rubric is enlarged. Beside it, in the margin, a framed number of the section is placed. Several Eusebian sections (or several *cola*) form a paragraph. It begins on a new line with an enlarged letter placed outside the written space. Classical philologist and palaeographer Jan-Olof Tjäder observed that several Latin manuscripts localizable to Ravenna feature the same system of punctuation and text division.[25] Such an elaborate and clear structure was probably meant to facilitate the study of the text. The *Codex Argenteus* was therefore not only a luxury object that emphasized the high status of its owner, but could also be used as a tool to study the Scriptures.

A blend of Greek and Latin influences can also be observed in abbreviations and certain features of the script. The letter "m" at the end of a

sentence or at the end of the line is abbreviated with a short dash and a dot underneath it. This feature certainly derives from Latin use, as there are no Greek words that end with an "m". The letter "n" is always abbreviated with a dash. This, on the contrary, is thought to be a Greek characteristic. Moreover, this abbreviation system seems to be typical of manuscripts made in Northern Italy in the 5th century.[26]

The Silver Gospels were written by two scribes. Each of them executed his script in a very careful way, quite different from rapid ductus observed in other Gothic manuscripts.[27] Hand A wrote the Gospels of Matthew and John; hand B, which is more angular and slender than hand A, wrote the Gospels of Luke and Mark.[28] The letter forms in the *Codex Argenteus* are ornamental and perfectly perpendicular to horizontal lines, unlike the majority of other Gothic manuscripts, where the letters are sloping. Straight letter forms are said to be indicative of contacts with contemporary Latin scriptoria, where at that time Uncial script was being developed.[29] Moreover, both scribes consequently indicated the beginning of a new part of the text by writing an enlarged initial in the margin. According to the specialist on Gothic script Carla Falluomini, this too means that the scribes were acquainted with contemporary Latin practices. All in all, it is possible that scribes who worked on the *Codex Argenteus* obtained some training in a Latin scriptorium.[30]

These codicological features are signs of professional and well-organized work. Scholars estimate that, when still complete, the book consisted of thirty-seven quaternions and four quinions, whereby a quinio was always the last gathering of the Gospel.[31] This implies a carefully planned production. Moreover, the elaborate text division and Eusebian tables on every folio suggest that the scribes were experienced in producing biblical manuscripts. In addition, the writing space is meticulously planned and its dimensions are calculated according to the golden section. In conclusion, the book of Gothic Gospels is the result of an effort of highly qualified specialists. The question arises whether there is any evidence of professional book production in Theoderic's Ravenna.

Bokareis Wiljarith, antiquarius Viliaric and book production in the Ostrogothic kingdom

We know of two Ostrogothic manuscripts in which the names of altogether three scribes are mentioned. The first one is the Orosius manuscript containing books I to VI of *Adversus paganos*.[32] It dates from the first half of the 6th century and was in all likelihood made in Ravenna. On the last folio (144 verso) of Book V, a scribal colophon in Uncial script reads: "Confectus codex in statione magistri Viliaric antiquarii".[33] The second source is a papyrus charter issued in 551 by the clergy of the Saint Anastasia Church, the Gothic cathedral of Ravenna.[34] It is written in

Latin, in rapidly executed Uncial script. Among those who signed it were two Gothic lay brethren: Merila and Wiljarith. Both of them added the word *bokareis,* which translates as scribe or notary, to their names. Wiljarith must have been old at that time, as he was not able to sign his own name because of his deteriorated eyesight. According to Tjäder, Viliaric is a Latinized version of the Gothic name Wiljarith and it is therefore highly possible that both documents mention the same person. Moreover, the Latin term *antiquarius* is similar in meaning to *bokareis*.[35] If Tjäder is right, it may mean that an organized scriptorium (*statione*) functioned within one of the most important churches of the Ostrogothic capital. Its scribes were capable of reading and writing Latin and mastered variants of Uncial script. In addition, as native Goths they were probably literate in their mother tongue. The approximate date of the *Orosius* manuscript suggests that *magister* Vilairic/Wiljarith was active already in the period in which the *Codex Argenteus* was made. Nothing can be proven, but where else could the silver Gothic *evangelarium* have been executed if not in a professional scriptorium localized in the local cathedral?

   The analysis of codicological evidence reveals that the book is datable to the time of Theoderic's reign and localizable to his capital. Moreover, its content and physical features indicate a patron who wants to emphasize both his high status and his Gothic origin, presumably the king himself. In the following paragraphs, I shall try to address the question of why the Ostrogothic ruler might have ordered such a book and how such an acquisition relates to his political ideology and art patronage.

The Ostrogothic kingdom and its political ideology

Flavius Theodericus rex in Italy

After the demise of the Hunnic empire in the 450s, the Balkan Goths, who used to be Attila's federates, strove to establish themselves in a new political framework. In the 470s, Theoderic the Amal, who spent his childhood as a hostage at the court in Constantinople, took over the leadership. He managed to establish good relations with Byzantium by providing the imperial army with substantial military support in exchange for rights and privileges. Theoderic obtained Roman citizenship, extorted the title of Master of the Soldiers, followed by the title of Master of Both Services and finally reached the summit of Roman aristocratic ambition: the Consulate.[36] The Gothic leader's growing power and ultimate ambition to form an independent state worried Emperor Zeno. In order to remove the mighty Amal from the Balkans, the Byzantine ruler offered him Italy, on condition that Theoderic defeat Odoacer, a Germanic general in the service of the Roman army, who led the rebellion of the soldiers that famously besieged Rome in 476 and subsequently ruled over Italy. In 488,

the Goths moved westwards. After five years of heavy fighting, Theoderic and Odoacer agreed to share the government.[37] This never happened, because Theoderic killed his new ally shortly thereafter. Ostrogothic dominance in Italy became a fact.

The Gothic leader was proclaimed king by his army and received support from the Roman Senate.[38] Despite the fact that Constantinople recognized and accepted Theoderic's hegemony in Italy, subsequent emperors never made any statement regarding his formal status. The only title he had was *Flavius Theodericus rex*, whereby *Flavius* referred to his Roman citizenship and *rex* was a traditional title of barbarian kings.[39] All in all, Theoderic never became emperor of the Romans. In practice, however, he held power equal to that of a western emperor and was eager to exercise it fully. In order to be able to do so, he had to appease the Romans and show deference towards Byzantium. It seems that these goals were the very reason why Theoderic adopted his conspicuously Romanophile ideology.

Romanitas in politics and art

The essence of Theoderic's ideology was *Romanitas,* a concept that can be explained as striving to present himself as a genuine Roman ruler, who ensures the continuation of the Roman Empire. By doing so, he reassured Constantinople that he was worthy of the trust he was given and aspired to be Emperor's powerful ally rather than merely a dependant. Simultaneously, his aim was to convince his Roman subjects that despite his barbarian origins, he was no threat to the Roman people, their culture and political organisation. Furthermore, by deploying quasi-imperial ideology, Theoderic strived to present himself as superior to other barbarian kings of his time. As will be demonstrated in the following paragraphs, he used visual arts and texts as vehicles of this ideology. Can the *Codex Argenteus* be interpreted as a manifestation of *Romanitas,* too?

One of the basic constituents of this ideology was the claim that Theoderic's power, just like the imperial power of the emperors, was a divine gift. It was God's help that allowed him to rule properly over Romans.[40] The most conspicuous artistic manifestation of this cult of a sacred king was the iconography of the mosaics in Sant'Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, Theoderic's palace church. The fragmentary mosaic on the western wall of the church depicts a ruler and his entourage. Although it bears an inscription identifying him as Justinian, it is certain that the effigy dates from the time of Theoderic. On the opposite wall, a mosaic shows Christ the Pantocrator and the majesty of Heaven. The heavenly authority is shown directly sustaining the terrestrial authority.[41] One finds a literary realisation of the same concept in Ennodius's panegyric, in which the author states that Theoderic was sent by God.[42]

Another essential ideological component was expressed in the term *civilitas*. It occurs frequently in Cassiodorus's *Variae* and several other contemporary sources.[43] Peter Heather defines it as "the correct, divinely ordained state of society which naturally ensued when a governmental regime consistently followed the divinely ordained plan for human society which had brought into being the Roman system, with its norms, education and rule by written law".[44] In order to preserve *civilitas* and make the Romans believe that virtually nothing had changed for the worse, Theoderic almost obsessively watched over the Roman political and cultural traditions. This included a clear division between civilians, who paid taxes and guaranteed the efficient functioning of the state, and soldiers, who guaranteed peace and security. In Ostrogothic Italy, the first group consisted almost entirely of Romans and the latter of Goths. Thus, Roman civilians experienced little social changes under the barbarian king. Moreover, his administration was Roman at every level and the written law that he introduced consisted of quotations from earlier edicts.[45]

In cultural terms, this element of the ideology was reflected, among other things, in Theoderic's recognition of the importance of education and scholarship. He himself attended a palace school in Constantinople during his years as the emperor's hostage, where he received a Greek schooling. Under his reign, secular public schools established by the Romans lived on, and the king surrounded himself with learned men such as Cassiodorus and Boethius. In addition, Theoderic manifested his ambition to preserve the Roman order by investing in the restoration of Roman monuments. Not only did he order important elements of infrastructure, such as the aqueduct of Trajan in Ravenna to be rebuilt, but he also decreed splendid cultural facilities, such as the Theatre of Pompey in Rome, to be refurbished.[46]

The third element was closely related to *civilitas*. Alongside the promotion of Romanness, Theoderic attempted to conceal his barbarian origin and clearly stated that he wanted to model his personal conduct on that of the eastern emperors. In one of his letters, he stated: "Our royalty is an imitation of yours, modelled on your good purpose, a copy of the only empire, and in so far as we follow you we excel all other nations."[47] Moreover, the title he preferred to use was not *Rex Gothorum,* but *Flavius Theodoricus rex,* which included neither reference to his family nor to his Gothic origin.[48] Besides, he disapproved of some Gothic traditions, such as burying the dead with their precious possessions. He also refused to command his army in person, as was common for Germanic kings. Surprisingly, Theoderic did not abandon his Arian religion. Nevertheless, he never failed to show great respect for Catholic hierarchs and was remarkably tolerant of non-Arians. His personal imitation of eastern emperors is reflected in Theoderic's building programme in Ravenna. None of the churches in the Ostrogothic kingdom display specifically Germanic or

Arian elements. The royal palace, depicted in a mosaic in Sant' Apollinare Nuovo, was most probably modelled on the imperial palace in Constantinople.[49]

Lastly, Ostrogothic propaganda was also directed at barbarian kings in neighbouring regions. The letters Theoderic sent them often had a patronising tone.[50] Likewise, "he presented himself as controlling the monopoly of surviving Roman heritage" and "asserted a cultural hegemony over other western successor states".[51]

We can conclude therefore, that the art, architecture and literature associated with Theoderic more often than not reflect his political ideology. It does not seem probable that a king who wanted to be perceived as a Roman emperor and who deliberately concealed his Germanic origin would have ordered a book like the *Codex Argenteus*. The manuscript contains two elements that were otherwise never combined in the art and literature of the Ostrogothic kingdom: imperial splendour (purple, silver, gold) and an overt manifestation of Gothic culture. If it was indeed Theoderic's commission, it was a very odd one. The Uppsala-manuscript does not seem to fit within his political ideology.

Theoderic's succession plans and the re-discovery of "Gothicness"

As explained above, the basis for Theoderic's ideology lay in his aspiration to establish himself as a Roman ruler, perhaps even to be crowned as the Western Emperor. Despite the fact that he was never awarded the imperial title, and thus officially remained a dependant of the Eastern Emperor, his long-held ambition can be considered as (at least partially) fulfilled. He created a relatively stable kingdom and cultivated good relations with Constantinople and neighbouring realms.[52] It is not surprising that during the later period of his reign Theoderic eagerly sought to establish a line of succession, which would safeguard his heritage, and in a longer perspective a chance to become the new imperial dynasty. In other words, if he could not be an *augustus* himself, he wanted at least to become the great progenitor of a royal line. Since Theoderic did not have a male heir, he designated a Visigothic nobleman Eutharic, whom he married to his daughter Amalasuintha in 515, as his successor. Emperor Justin officially accepted this arrangement. Eutharic obtained Roman citizenship and soon thereafter assumed the consulship.[53] Nevertheless, a special strategy was needed to strengthen the position of the newly established Gothic dynasty and to demonstrate that despite "barbarian" origin, it was not inferior to the Byzantine ruling family. Moreover, Theoderic had to find a way to secure the support of the Roman Senate, of neighbouring kingdoms and of other Gothic clans within his realm. Thus, alongside his political actions, he seems to have shifted from an ideology of *Romanitas* to one of

Gothic propaganda in the second decade of the 6th century. Again, art was deployed as a tool to promote this plan.

The main element of the new ideology was the myth of the divine ancient Amal dynasty. In all likelihood, the whole notion of the antiquity of Theoderic's family was invented. The Amal clan was indeed prominent, but had no claims to special status among the Goths, nor had it previously exercised royal authority over them. Despite that, on the occasion of Eutharic's induction Cassiodorus wrote a short *Chronicle*, in which he presented the Amals as a divine family of seventeen generations of rulers.[54] In order to emphasize the respectable status of the appointed successor, he did not fail to add Eutharic's line to the line of the king in the Amal family tree. In addition, royal letters of the 520s give considerable space to presenting Theoderic's family as a uniquely royal dynasty. This correspondence, addressed to both the Roman Senate and to foreign kings, contains references to the "purple dignity of Amal blood".[55] All in all, in this phase of his career Theoderic explicitly combined his imperial ambition with praise of his ancestors.

Alongside the glorification of the Amal family, the new ideology elevated "Gothicness" in general. At approximately the same time that he completed his *Chronicle*, Cassiodorus wrote the *History of the Goths*.[56] Although the text did not survive to our times, we may learn a bit of its content from the *Getica* composed circa 550 in Constantinople by Jordanes, who claimed that his work was a compact version of Cassiodorus's 12-volume work.[57] Asking a learned Roman to write the history of the Goths in Latin could have been a strategic movement in a greater propaganda programme. Theoderic needed not only a pedigree that would prove the legitimacy of his reign but also an entire history that would present the Goths as ancient people of no less importance than the Romans. The fact that pre-6th century sources that have come down to us contain only very scarce and accidental information on the Gothic past leads to the assumption that Cassiodorus not only wrote down but actually created the history of the Goths, using perhaps some elementary information available to him and possibly some legends preserved in oral tradition.[58] "Celebration of Gothicness" also appeared in royal letters from the last decade of Theoderic's life. Again, the recipients were local audiences as well as rulers of neighbouring countries.[59]

Finally, the last years of Theoderic's reign are marked by an escalating tension between Arians and Catholics. Although the Ostrogothic king adapted a policy of tolerance and avoided religious polarisation, relations between the two Churches were not always harmonious, especially in Ravenna. The Catholic hierarchy wanted to regain the splendour of the first half of the 5th century, when the city was the seat of western emperors. They knew that this was impossible under Ostrogothic rule. Moreover, Arianism was commonly rejected, not because it was heretical, but be-

cause it was associated with the barbarians.[60] The Catholic clergy was therefore a potential objector to the Ostrogothic succession. Thus, it was in Theoderic's interest to prevent the increase of its power and to emphasize the value of Arian religion. In 519, he discouraged large-scale Catholic building activity and, for unclear reasons, ordered a Catholic chapel in Verona to be destroyed. Shortly after this, he reportedly attempted to close all the Catholic churches in his *urbs regia*.[61]

To sum up, Theoderic was highly concerned about the Gothic succession. He imposed a range of political measures and supported them with strong propaganda, in which the Amal myth, the glorification of "Gothicness" and measures favouring Arianism played a major role.[62] Looking at the content, the material features and the symbolical meaning of the *Codex Argenteus*, it seems likely that the book was a manifestation of Theoderic's ideology as it developed during the last years of his reign. It can be placed in line with other contemporary products of Gothic propaganda, such as letters and Cassiodorus's quasi historical writings.

The *Codex Argenteus* as a manifestation of political ideology: conclusions

Analysis of the palaeographical and codicological features of the *Codex Argenteus* lead to the conclusion that it is highly possible that the book was made in early 6th-century Ravenna. There is evidence for the existence of a professional scriptorium in that city at the very time the manuscript was made. Considering the fact that in that period there was hardly any other ruler who had clearly defined imperial ambitions and who could have any interest in the Scriptures in Gothic, it is very likely that the manuscript was made for Theoderic. However, the examination of the king's ideology and its artistic manifestations shows that he initially restrained himself from emphasizing his origins. Only in the last decade of his reign did Theoderic change this strategy. The *Codex Argenteus* is a cultural product that seems to reflect the key elements of this new political programme.

First, the book combines a lavish style with a manifestation of Gothic culture. Its form fits in the tradition of manuscripts made for great rulers and wealthy men and women, through which they wanted to exhibit their worldly power and Christian devotion. The content of *Codex Argenteus* points to a powerful Christian Gothic monarch, which is probably exactly how Theoderic wanted to be perceived in his last years.

Apart from being an imperial manifestation, the manuscript is also one of the most magnificent monuments of Gothic culture. It shows the Goths as a Christian people with a long religious tradition and a good understanding of the Scriptures, a people who are not inferior to the Romans. This in turn corresponds with key elements of Ostrogothic ideology in the last years of Theoderic's reign.

In addition, it should be stressed that the Silver Gospels contain an elaborate system of visual tools, such as running titles, headings, punctuation and indexes. All these improvements facilitated the study of the Scriptures. Thus, alongside its symbolic function, the Silver Gospels also provided a useful source for the study of the New Testament. This brings us to the question of the actual use of the codex. Was it a gift to one of the prominent churches of Ravenna, where the ecclesiasts could use it for both study and liturgy or was it meant to be a part of the palace treasure, a showpiece used only in the presence of the king and his retinue? These matters can only be the subject of speculation, unless new evidence is found. Meanwhile, I hope to have presented a reasonable hypothesis regarding a possible ideological function of the *Codex Argenteus*, which is borne out by its materiality.

Summary

Codex Argenteus *and political ideology in the Ostrogothic kingdom. By Marta Bigus*. During the Middle Ages, luxurious books were often used as manifestations of power, ideology and political aspirations. Opulent religious manuscripts ordered by noblemen and -women signified relations between Christianity and worldly power. One of the most intriguing codices of the late Antiquity, the *Codex Argenteus*, contains a unique combination of cultural signifiers, which can be interpreted as a demonstration of a certain ideology. This 6th-century *evangelarium* in the Gothic language, written in silver on purple parchment, is associated with the Ostrogothic king Theoderic, famous for his imperial ambitions and Romanophile attitude. This paper proposes a hypothesis regarding the ideological meaning of the *Codex Argenteus* in relation to Theoderic's politics. The materiality of the *evangelarium* indicates a patron (or a beneficiary) who could have had imperial aspirations and at the same time glorified his Gothic heritage. Theoderic, indeed, seems the most obvious "candidate". However, the combination of elements that refer to the imperial splendour (purple, silver, gold) with an overt manifestation of Gothic culture (Gospels in Gothic) does not seem to match the king's political strategy. Theoderic put much effort in presenting himself as a genuine Roman ruler. His art patronage and building programme were manifestations of this ambition.

This ideological course changed when Thoederic started implementing a succession plan for his realm. The key elements of the new propaganda were the glorification of both the Amal family and Gothicness in general, expressed especially in Cassiodorus's letters and presumably in his *History of the Goths*. These texts combine the imperial ambitions of the Ostrogothic king with his Gothic cultural self-consciousness. The *Codex Argenteus* was probably a reflection of this specific element of Theoderic's ideology introduced in the last years of his reign.

Appendix: Codicological description[63]

General Information

Shelfmark	Uppsala, University Library, DG 1 (De la Gardie Collection 1)
Content	Fragments of Gospels in Gothic
Date	*Terminus ante quem*: 526 (death of Theoderic the Great, assuming that the book was made during his reign), probably second decade of the 6th century. The C14 dating confirmed that the book was made no later than 550.[64]
Origin	North Italy, Ravenna (Ostrogothic Kingdom)
Language	Gothic
Provenance	Donated to Uppsala University Library in 1669 by M. G. De la Gardie, Chancellor of Sweden

Codicological features

Book block

Measurements	Width: 19.75–20 cm Height: 24.25–24.50 cm. Haffner Leaf: 21.7 cm x 26.5 cm
Material	Very thin (0.11–0.12 mm on average) purple-dyed parchment of good quality. The flesh-side and hair-side are easily distinguishable. It seems that the flesh-side absorbed the dye in a different way than the hair-side, as flesh-side is paler than the hair-side. Moreover, the outer margins changed colour to reddish brown.
Ink	The text of the gospels is written in silver and golden ink. The exact chemical composition of the substances used for the ink is not known.
Collation	It has been estimated that, when still complete, *Codex Argenteus* consisted of thirty-seven quaternions and four quinions, whereby a quinio was the last gathering in each gospel.
Quire signatures	Some quire signatures still survive on the bottom margins of the last page of several quires. The signatures have a form of letters in the bottom right corner of the verso site of the last leaf of the quire.

Number of leaves	188 leaves, 187 in Uppsala and one in Speyer (originally probably circa 336 leaves). Matthew: 22 leaves (76 missing, 75% lost) John: 45 leaves (29 missing, 40% lost) Luke: 70 leaves (36 missing, 35% lost) Mark: 50 leaves + 1 Speyer leaf (7 missing, 8% lost)
Flesh/skin structure	"both pages in each opening were either flesh-sides or hair-sides, which gave the opening a homogenous impression in respect of structure and dyeing"[65]

Binding

Binding (covers)	The present cover is made of wooden plates covered with silver. It is a product of the Court goldsmith Hans Selling, made according to a design by Davis Klöcker Ehrenstrahl.
Date binding	Silver cover was made in 1669, when the book was presented to the Uppsala University. The C14 analysis has shown that pieces of parchment from the spine cover date from the 15th century and the binding threads from the sixteenth. This means that the book received only the silver covers in the 17th century, but (probably) not an entire binding. The abovementioned data indicate that the book was rebound at least once in the medieval period.
Decoration of the binding	The front cover of the silver casing shows an elderly man who symbolizes Time, and a naked young woman who represents his daughter, Truth. She carries a book with the inscription "Codex Argenteus" in her left hand and points with her right hand to a man behind her. He sits at his desk writing, a mitre decorating his head. An inscription held above this scene by two putti reads: "Vlphila redivivus, et patriæ restitutus cura M. G. De la Gardie, R[egni] S[veciae] Cancellarij. Anno 1669" (Wulfila revived and repatriated by M. G. De la Gardie, Chancellor of Sweden, in the year 1669). The back cover shows the coat of arms of the De la Gardie family.

Palaeography

Script	The script is based on the Gothic alphabet created by Wulfila in 4th century AD. It is an ornamental two-line script with uncial features

Scribes	Hand A wrote the Gospels of Matthew and John. Hand B wrote the Gospels of Luke and Mark.
Ductus and characteristic features	Letters are perfectly perpendicular to the horizontal writing lines. It probably came into being under the influence of Latin scriptoria.

Punctuation and text structuring

Abbreviations	m abbreviated with a dash with a dot underneath it, always abbreviated at the end of the sentences and at the end of a line. n abbreviated with a dash Contractions for *nomina sacra* This system was typical for manuscripts made in North Italy in the 5th century.

Mise-en-page

Writing space	Height: 16.5 cm, width: 13 cm The writing space is divided in two parts. The major part consists of one column containing 20 lines of text. Circa 1 cm under the last line of this part, 11 lines are drawn, with a 3 mm space between them. There, the four canonical tables are inscribed. The measurements of both parts were calculated according to the principle of the Golden Section: the height relates to the width as the sum of the height and the width relates to the height. The manuscript contains numerous later annotations outside the written space as well as several contemporary glosses.
Columns	One broad column, as in most Gothic manuscripts. Exception: folios 130v–132v, which contain the genealogy of Jesus. There, the writing space is divided into two columns of equal size. The left side column contains the word *sunaus* (of the son), whereas the right side column contains the list of his ancestors. The same organization of the genealogy can be found in the oldest Greek manuscripts of the New Testament Codex Sinaniticus and Codex Alexandrinus.[66]
Lines per folio	20

Ruling	The written space is demarked with lines drawn with a pointed tool.
Foliation	In the early 18th century, librarian Erik Benzelius wrote the folio numbers in black ink in the top right corner of every recto. One of his assistants corrected them, and thus some folios are marked with two different numbers.

Mise-en-texte

Indexes, tables etc.	The bottom part of every folio contains Eusebian canon tables.
Rubrics, headings, etc.	The headlines are written on every second opening and consist of the word "þairh" (according to) on the verso side and of the name of the evangelist on the recto opposite. The page titles are framed with two horizontal lines. Such practice was common for the Latin manuscripts.
Structure of the text	- explicit and implicit formulae: the explicit is written at the end of a gospel book and the incipit at the beginning of the next book - first three lines of every gospel book and the beginnings of all smaller sections of the gospels are written in gold - each section of the gospels has its own number, noted in the left margin at the beginning of the section. The numbers are marked by elaborately framed figures. The beginning of each new section was indicated by a golden horizontal stroke placed to the left of the first initial of the section.
Punctuation	Punctuation combines two systems of text divisions: *per cola et commata* and according to Eusebian sections. - *per commata,* i.e. short sections marked off with a middle high dot and a space. Those dots indicate a short pause and help to regulate the intonation when the text was read aloud. - *per cola*, i.e. longer parts of the text are marked of with a colon and a space. In many cases, the cola coincide with the Eusebian sections. - *Eusebian sections:* the Eusebian sections in CA are indicated by framed numbers in the margins and golden rubrics at the beginning of every section. Additionally, if a new section starts in a new line, the first letter is enlarged and placed in the margin

	- *paragraphs:* larger parts of the text, comprising several Eusebian sections (or several cola). A paragraph begins in a new line with an enlarged letter placed left from the writing space and with a paragraph mark. The paragraphs are marked off with colons, just as Eusebian sections. Begin of a new paragraph coincides in most cases with a new section.
Marginalia	Fifteen contemporary glosses, one by hand A fourteen by hand B

Notes

1. Herbert L. Kessler: "The book as icon" in Michelle P. Brown (ed.): *In the beginning. Bibles before year 1000* (Washington D.C., 2006), 79.

2. Examples of Carolingian *codices purpurei* are Abbeville, Bibliothèque Municipiale, ms 4, the Godescalc Lectionary (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, n.a. lat. 1203), Vienna Coronation Gospels (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Weltliche Schatzkammer, Inv. XIII 18) and Folschart Psalter (St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 23).

3. The book survives in two pieces. The first is a manuscript kept in Uppsala University Library under the signature DG 1 (De la Gardie Collection 1). It contains 187 of 336 original leaves and is referred to as the *Codex Argenteus*. Another part consists of single leaf discovered in 1970 by Franz Haffner in Speyer Cathedral (South-West Germany), where it is still kept. It is the last leaf of the original codex, containing the last verses of the Gospel of Mark (16, 12–18). On the discovery of this fragment, see Jan-Olof Tjäder: "Der Codex Argenteus in Uppsala und der Buchmeister Viliaric in Ravenna" in Ulf Erik Hagberg (ed.): *Studia gotica. Die eisenzeitlichen Verbindungen zwischen Schweden und Suedosteuropa. Vorträge beim Gotensymposion im Statens Historiska Museum* (Stockholm, 1972), 157.

4. Although the Germanic provenance of the Goths seems unquestionable, it is difficult to determine where they exactly came from. In his *Getica* (mid 6th century), Jordanes reports on the island of *Scandza* situated in the northwestern part of the trackless ocean [as quoted in Walter Goffart: *The narrators of Barbarian history* (Princeton, 1988), 88 note 327]. From there, the Goths reportedly moved to the continent, where they settled in a place called Gothiscandza and later moved to Scythia. The description of the cold Nordic island, as well as its name, led some scholars in past centuries to the conclusion that Scandza could hardly be anything else than Scandinavia. However, the idea of Scandinavian origins of the Goths has been hotly contested, especially since the historical value of *Getica* and the historiographical methods applied by its author have been subject to rigid revision in the last few dec-

ades. All in all, the ethnogenesis of the Goths remains uncertain. For the criticism of written sources in the context of the discussion on the origins of the Goths, see for example revisionist views in Arne Søby Christensen: *Cassiodorus, Jordanes and the history of the Goths. Studies in a migration myth* (Copenhagen, 2002 [2002]) and Walter Goffart: *The narrators of Barbarian history*.

5. Tönnes Kleberg: *Codex Argenteus. The silver bible at Uppsala* (Uppsala, 1984), 9 and Lars Munkhammar: *Codex Argenteus and its printed editions* (Uppsala, 2010), 11, (http://www.ub.uu.se/Global/Kulturarvsmaterial/Handskrifter/Editionsinledning.pdf, 18 December 2010). There is some ambiguity about the precise dates of Theoderic's reign. He beat Odoacer in 493, but Byzantium officially recognised him as the ruler of Italy in 478. I use the earlier date, because it marks the factual beginning of Ostrogothic dominance in Italy.

6. See however Lars Munkhammar: *Silverbibeln. Theoderiks bok* (Stockholm, 1998), 61–88 and Lars Munkhammar: "Theoderic, Ravenna, and the Codex Argenteus" in Rossen Milev (ed.): *Gotite III. New studies on Gothic cultural and historical heritage in the Bulgarian lands (2007–2010)* (Sofia, 2011), 241–245. I wish to thank Lars Munkhammar for these references.

7. Meyer Reinhold: *History of purple as a status symbol in Antiquity* (Brussels, 1970), 39–47 (about the use of purple by magistrates, priests, consuls and praetors in the Roman Republic) and 48–61 (about the role of purple in the Imperial period). See also Mark Bradley: *Colour and meaning in ancient Rome* (Cambridge, 2009), 189–211.

8. Barbara Zimmermann: *Die Wiener Genesis im Rahmen der antiken Buchmalerei* (Wiesbaden, 2003), 65. According to Zimmermann, Maximianus owned a copy of Homer's works written in gold on purple parchment and Constantine received a poetry book made in the same way. She does not specify from which source this piece of evidence comes.

9. There were various sorts of purple-dye in use, apparently of varying quality. The pigments of the highest quality were affordable only to the wealthiest. Vegetable dye

was generally considered as a cheap substitute for expensive *murex*, i.e. stuff made of purple shell of certain sea animals. However, parchment could only be dyed with vegetable substances, because contrary to *murex*, they did not require extensive heating that could destroy the material during the dying process. In 1990 a spectral examination showed that the *Codex Argenteus* was possibly dyed with one of the following vegetable substances: alkanna, folium, kermes or a lichen dye (I wish to thank Lars Munkhammar for this information).

10. Zimmermann: *Die Wiener Genesis*, 65.

11. **Patrick McGurk: "The oldest manu**scripts of the Latin Bible" in Richard Gameson (ed.): *The early medieval bible. Its production, decoration and use* (Cambridge, 1994), 11, mentions The Old Latin Brescia Gospels (Brescia, Bibliotheca Queriniana, n.s.) and an Old Latin Psalter (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 11947). See also Zimmermann: *Die Wiener Genesis*, 65. John Lowden: "The beginnings of biblical illustration" in John Williams (ed.): *Imaging the early medieval bible* (University Park, PA, 1999), 24, note 39, makes rather unclear reference to two Greek unillustrated purple Gospels of that period.

12. Respectively London, British Library, Cotton Otho B VI (the age of the Cotton Genesis is disputable, yet according to *communis opinio* it probably dates from the end of the 5th century), Vienna, Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Cod. theol. gr. 31, Rossano, Museo Diocesano D'Arte Sacra, n.s., and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, suppl. gr. 1286. See also Lowden: "The beginnings", 16–24 and Zimmermann: *Die Wiener Genesis*, 42–44.

13. Dennis H. Green: *Language and history in the early Germanic world* (Cambridge, 1998), 308. A good general introduction to the history of Gothic Christianity can be found in Knut Schäferdiek: "Germanic and Celtic Christianities" in Augustine Casiday & Frederic W. Norris (ed.): *The Cambridge history of Christianity. Volume 2* (Cambridge, 2007), 52–69. A thorough, though slightly outdated study of Gothic Christianity in its historical context is Edward A. Thompson: *The Visigoths in the time of Ulfila* (Oxford, 1966).

14. **There are several variants of the spell**ing of his name (Ulfilas, Ulfila, Wulfila). I choose for "Wulfila" because it occurs in the most recent publications, for example in Sam J. Barnish & Frederico Marazzi (ed.): *The Ostrogoths from the migration period to the sixth century* (Woodbridge, 2007).

15. Peter Heather & John Matthews: *The Goths in the fourth century* (Liverpool, 1991), 133–155, give an account of the main sources for Wulfila's life and ecclesiastical activities. They also mention lexical variations on p. 159. On lexical variations in the Gothic Bible see also M. J. Hunter: "The Gothic Bible" in G. W. H. Lampe (ed.): *The Cambridge history of the Bible, Volume 2* (Cambridge, 1969), 342–344.

16. Kleberg: *Codex Argenteus*, 8; Carla Falluomini: "Textcritische Anmerkungen zur Gotischen Bibel" in *Annali della facoltà di lingue e leterature straniere* 5 (2009), 311.

17. Carla Falluomini: "Kodikologische Bemerkungen über die handschriften der Goten" in *Scriptorium* 60 (2006), 3.

18. On Arianism, see John Moorhead: *The Roman Empire divided, 400–700* (London, 2001), 37.

19. **The Visigoths converted to Catholi**cism in 589. On the situation in the Visigothic kingdom at the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century, see Guy Halsall: *Barbarian migrations and the Roman West, 376–568* (Cambridge, 2007), 296–300.

20. See also Appendix.

21. Kleberg: *Codex Argenteus,* 9.

22. **In Greek books quire signatures con**sisted of a letter and a number placed in the upper right-hand corner or, exceptionally, in the lower left-hand corner of the first leaf of the quire, as described in **Falluomini: "Ko**dikologische Bemerkungen", 12.

23. **Falluomini: "Kodikologische Bemer**kungen", 13.

24. **Falluomini: "Kodikologische Bemer**kungen", 12; Munkhammar: *Codex Argenteus,* 21. The manuscripts are respectively Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 1209 and London, British Library, Add. 43725.

25. Tjäder: "Der Codex Argenteus", 146.

26. **Falluomini: "Kodikologische Bemer**kungen", 7; Tjäder: "Der Codex Argenteus", 146.

27. Piergiuseppe Scardigli: "Zur Typologie der gotischen Handschriftenüberlieferung" in Heiko Uecker (ed.): *Studien zum Altger-*

manischen. Festschrift für Heinrich Beck (Berlin & New York, 1994), 528–529.

28. Munkhammar: *Codex Argenteus*, 23.

29. **Falluomini:** "Kodikologische Bemerkungen", 10.

30. **Falluomini:** "Kodikologische Bemerkungen", 7.

31. Munkhammar: *Codex Argenteus*, 19.

32. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Plut. 65.1; see also Tjäder: **"Der Codex Argenteus"**, 147.

33. **As quoted in Tjäder: "Der Codex Argenteus"**, 147.

34. Tjäder: "Der Codex Argenteus", 147–148. For detailed information on this manuscript see Jan-Olof Tjäder: *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445–700*, Part 3, no. 34 (Lund, 1954).

35. Tjäder: "Der Codex Argenteus", 148–150. However, some scholars argue that Viliaric is most certainly an alternative Gothic-Germanic version of Wiljarith. See for example Lars Hermodsson: "Rätsel um die Silberbibel" in *Studia neophilologica* 71 (1999), 235–238.

36. Michael McCormick: *Eternal victory. Triumphal rulership in late Antiquity, Byzantium and the early medieval West* (Cambridge, 1986), 286, and Roger Collins: *Early medieval Europe 300–1000* (London, 1999), 109.

37. On the Ostrogoths' road to Italy see Peter Heather: *Goths and Romans 322–489* (Oxford, 1991), 304–308; John Moorhead: "Ostrogothic Italy and the Lombard invasions" in Paul Fouracre (ed.): *The new Cambridge medieval history. Volume I* (Cambridge, 2005), 142–145; Herwig Wolfram: *The Roman empire and its Germanic peoples* (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1997 [1990]), 199.

38. McCormick: *Eternal victory,* 45; Herwig Wolfram: *History of the Goths* (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1988 [1979]), 284.

39. Wolfram: *History of the Goths,* 286.

40. Peter Heather: *The Goths* (Oxford, 1996), 223.

41. **The description and iconological interpretation of the mosaic in Sant' Apollinare Nuovo can be found in Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann:** *Ravenna. Geschichte und Monumente* (Wiesbaden, 1969), 189–196 and in Mark J. Johnson: "Towards a history of Theoderic's building program" in *Dumbarton Oaks papers* 42 (1988), 85–86. Compare also James J. O'Donnell: *The ruin of the*

Roman Empire (London, 2009), 229–230.

42. Heather: *The Goths*, 225.

43. Peter Heather: "Merely an ideology? Gothic identity in Ostrogothic Italy" in Sam J. Barnish & Federico Marazzi (ed.): *The Ostrogoths* (Woodbridge, 2007), 35.

44. Heather: "Merely an ideology?", 35.

45. O'Donnell: *The ruin of the Roman empire*, 134.

46. Wolfram: *History of the Goths,* 288.

47. As quoted from Cassiodorus's *Variae* I.I.3 in Moorhead: "Ostrogothic Italy and the Lombard invasions", 146.

48. Wolfram: *History of the Goths,* 286.

49. On architecture in Ostrogothic Italy, see Deichmann: *Ravenna;* Peter Heather: "Theoderic, king of the Goths" in *Early medieval Europe,* 4.2 (1995), 145–173; Johnson: "Towards a history of Theoderic's building program", 73–96; Ian Wood: "Theoderic's monuments in Ravenna" in Barnish & Marazzi (ed.): *The Ostrogoths,* 249–263.

50. Patrick Amory: *People and identity in Ostrogothic Italy* (Cambridge, 1997), 61–62.

51. Heather: *The Goths*, 230.

52. Good relations with Constantinople are reflected in the positive evaluation of Theoderic in contemporary Byzantine sources. For thorough investigation of these, see Andreas Goltz: *Barbar-König-Tyrann. Das Bild Theoderich des Grossen in der Überlieferung des 5. bis 9. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin & New York, 2008), 68–85.

53. Wolfram: *History of the Goths,* 329.

54. Heather: "Theoderic, king of the Goths", 170; Heather: "Merely an ideology?", 47.

55. Amory: *People and identity in Ostrogothic Italy*, 68; Heather: *The Goths*, 233; Heather: "Merely an ideology?", 45.

56. Not all scholars agree on dating of the *History of the Goths* during Theoderic's lifetime. See for instance Goffart: *The narrators of Barbarian history*, 32–33 and Sam J. Barnish: "The genesis and completion of Cassiodorus's *Gothic history*" in *Latomus* 43 (1984), 336–337.

57. Heather: *The Goths*, 9. Jordanes is sometimes referred to as a Gothic-born scholar, but his nationality is in fact uncertain, as pointed out in Goffart: *The narrators of Barbarian history*, 42–47. Furthermore, the relation between *Getica* and Cassiodorus history of the Goths seems to be more

complex than Jordanes wants us to believe. It has been suggested that his text cannot be merely a verbatim summary of Cassiodorus work and that the perspective Jordanes gives on Theoderic and his reign was probably fundamentally different from the view presented in the Cassiodorian version of Gothic history. See for example Christensen: *Cassiodorus, Jordanes and the history of the Goths*, 113–123, and Goffart: *The narrators of Barbarian history*, 62–84.

58. For the analysis of the contemporary written sources, see Christensen: *Cassiodorus, Jordanes and the history of the Goths*, 21–53. See also his conclusion on 345–346 for a similar view of Cassiodorus's *History of the Goths* (Christensen rejects the hypothesis that there could be any relevant Gothic oral tradition).

59. Amory: *People and identity in Ostrogothic Italy*, 68; Heather: "Merely an ideology?", 45.

60. Thomas S. Brown: "The role of Arianism in Ostrogothic Italy. The evidence from Ravenna" in Barnish & Marazzi (ed.): *The Ostrogoths,* 419.

61. Brown: "The role of Arianism in Ostrogothic Italy", 419.

62. The famous imprisoning and execution of Boethius shows how distressed Theoderic was regarding his succession. The king was capable of taking the life of one of his best men just because he was accused of supporting a supposed plot against Theoderic's succession plans. The whole intrigue and its consequences cannot be discussed here in detail. A good general account can be found in Halsall: *Barbarian migrations and the Roman West*, 290–293; John Moorhead: *Theoderic in Italy* (Oxford, 1992), 212–235; and Wolfram: *History of the Goths,* 330–331.

63. This description is based on Falluomini: "Kodikologische Bemerkungen", 3–37; Kleberg: *Codex Argenteus*; Munkhammar: *Codex Argenteus*; Scardigli: "Zur Typologie", 527–538; and Tjäder: "Der Codex Argenteus", 144–159. Additionally, I used a digital facsimile (**http://www.ub.uu.se/silverbibeln/Original/html/001.en.html,** 18.12.2010), and a printed facsimile with an introductory codicological description in Otto von Friesen & Andreas Grape: *Codex Argenteus Upsaliensis jussu senatus universitatis phototypice editus* (Uppsala & Malmö, 1927).

64. The findings of the C14 analysis are summarised in Göran Possnert and Lars Munkhammar: "Silverbibelns ålder och bindingshistoria i ljuset av C14-analys" in *Annales academiae regiae scientiarum Upsaliensis- kungl. vetenskapssamhällets i Uppsala årsbok* 33 (1999–2000), 53–56.

65. As reported in Munkhammar: *Codex Argenteus*, 19.

66. London, British Library, Add. 43725 and London, British Libray, Royal 1 D VIII.