

**CODEx ARGENTEUS**  
*and its printed editions*

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## *The Codex Argenteus – A General Presentation*

THE *CODEX ARGENTEUS* – THE ‘SILVER BIBLE’ IN Uppsala University Library is the most comprehensive still existing text in the Gothic language. It contains what is left of a deluxe book of the four Gospels, an *evangelarium*, written in the early 6<sup>th</sup> century in Northern Italy, probably in Ravenna, and probably for the Ostrogothic King Theoderic the Great. The text is part of Wulfila’s translation of the Bible from Greek into Gothic, made in the 4<sup>th</sup> century.

The *Codex Argenteus* is written in silver- and gold-ink on very thin purple parchment of extremely high quality. For a long time it was alleged that the parchment was made from the skin of new-born or even unborn calves, but modern research shows that it was more likely made from the skin of kids. The purple colour does not come from the purple snail but from vegetable dyes. The silver text is predominant, which explains why the book is called ‘the Silver Book’, or the *Codex Argenteus*. Originally, it probably had a deluxe binding, decorated with pearls and jewels. The writing surface on the leaves of the manuscript has been filled according to the principle of the Golden Section, i.e. the height is related to the width as the sum of the height and width is related to the height. The four arches at the bottom of each page are *canon tables*, one for each evangelist. They contain a system of cross references to passages of the gospels.

The Silver Bible was known in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when it was kept in the Benedictine Monastery of Werden near the Ruhr. Before the year 1600, it came into the possession of Emperor Rudolf II and was in Prague when the Swedes captured the city in 1648. It was taken to Stockholm as part of the enormous Swedish war booty. There it was incorporated into Queen Kristina’s library. After the queen’s abdication, it passed into the hands of one of her librarians, Isaac Vossius,

who took it to the Netherlands. From there, it was purchased by the Swedish Chancellor Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie, who was also the Chancellor of Uppsala University. He donated it to the university in 1669.

The codex originally consisted of at least 336 leaves. Of these, 187 are extant in Uppsala. One other leaf (as far as we know) has survived for posterity, in Speyer in Germany. It was sensationally discovered in 1970 in the Speyer Cathedral along with some hidden relics of a saint. This leaf, judging from its format and other details, appears to have journeyed along different paths than the other leaves before it came to light again. The discovery of this leaf, which has been named the 'Haffner Leaf' after its discoverer Franz Haffner, kindled new life in the discussions of the fate of the *Codex Argenteus* between 6<sup>th</sup> century Ravenna and 16<sup>th</sup> century Werden. A history of more than a thousand years, which is mainly shrouded in oblivion. This is The Mystery of the Thousand Years. This mystery does of course stimulate our fantasy. There are, however, beside fancies some facts as well as qualified guesses and scientifically based theories about the fate of the *Codex Argenteus* during this millennium.

There are several editions of the Silver Bible text. The very first one, *editio princeps*, was published in the Netherlands in 1665. The standard edition was made by Uppsala professor Anders Uppström in 1854 and 1857. The latest and most important one is the facsimile edition made in 1927 using high-tech equipment and the competence of Professor Theodor Svedberg and Dr. Hugo Andersson.

## The Project

EVER SINCE BISHOP WULFILA TRANSLATED the Bible into Gothic in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, there has been a striving to spread and publish the Gothic Bible text. Wulfila himself had this ambition, of course, and for his Bible translation he is said to have constructed the Gothic alphabet. Many hundreds of years later, when most of the manuscripts with Gothic Bible text were drowned in History's mud, the aim of publishing every Gothic text line became very important. And since the *Codex Argenteus* was the most comprehensive Gothic document still extant, it became published in several editions over the centuries. The reasons for editing the text have been of different kinds over the years: religious, chauvinistic, philological, and others. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century and later on, the philological reasons have been predominant.

Scanning and publishing the *Codex Argenteus* and its editions is a project originally meant to serve scholars and students of philology interested in the Gothic language. But even historians, archaeologists, and others interested in the Gothic culture can benefit from the project, as well as everyone curious about Gothic script and culture: tourists and pupils in the 'Silver Bible Room' in Uppsala, the public in general, thirsting for learning.

The inventor and initiator of the project is *David Landau*, MA, MSc, in Tampere, Finland. In his master thesis at Tampere University of Technology 2003, *Digitizing Text Heritage*, he made a first plan and description of the actual project in chapter 5 (pp. 23–30). At that time, Landau had already scanned, coded, and indexed the 1927 edition of *Codex Argenteus*, a kind of pilot project that made it possible to display the text on the Internet via the website of Uppsala University Library.

*Magnús Snædal*, Professor of General Linguistics at University of Iceland, was very soon involved in the project. His specialist competence regarding the Gothic language – his comprehensive inventory *A Concordance to Biblical Gothic* 1998 is a standard work in Gothic philology – made him fit for supervising the philological aspects of the project.

This project has been possible to realise thanks to funds from *Riksbankens Jubileumsfond* (The Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation). The foundation has provided the main financing of the project.

The photography job, the scanning, is carried out at the Photographic Services of Uppsala University Library in cooperation with the Library's Section for Preservation. The integration of the scanned material into the Library's website is completed by the Graphic Services.

## *The Goths, the Gothic Language and the Gothic Bible*

THE GOTHS WERE A TEUTONIC OR GERMANIC people, which once may have emigrated from the southern parts of Scandinavia. At the time of the birth of Christ they lived as farmers in the north of Europe. At the end of the first century, they began to wander southwards and became a people of warriors. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> century they operated around the Black Sea. They were often in war with the Romans. Sometimes they were victorious, like when the Roman emperor Decius fell for an army led by the Gothic King Kniwa in the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, and sometimes they were not, like in 269 on the Balkan Peninsula when the Romans managed to conquer and split the Gothic people.

At the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, the Goths were divided into two main groups: *Visigoths* and *Ostrogoths*, sometimes improperly called Westgoths and Eastgoths. The Visigoths went into Dacia in today's Romania, where they stayed for about a hundred years. Later on they became the rulers of what is now Southern France and Spain. When the Arabs came in the early 8<sup>th</sup> century, the Gothic hegemony was broken in these areas. The Ostrogoths went into today's Ukraine and became for a time dependants under the Huns. Free from the Huns again, they settled down in Pannonia under protectorate of the Eastern Empire after some time. Soon they were permitted by Constantinople to settle down in all Italy and rule the land.

The Goths were a Germanic people and the Gothic language is a Germanic language. As the Goths were wandering, some foreign words were adapted to their language. And as the Goths met the Romans very often and lived together with Romans for long times, the influence of Latin is sometimes discernible in the Gothic language. The Goths were not a writing people, and our possibility to study

their language today is very limited. What they left to posterity of literature is a translation of the Bible and moreover very few fragments of text. Even the Bible translation is very fragmentarily preserved: the *Codex Argenteus*, a Gospel book, even that in fragments, plus some minor documents. Then we can understand the great importance of this manuscript as a source for philological research.

Beside the *Codex Argenteus*, we can find Gothic texts today in a few *palimpsests*, some marginal notes in a manuscript, and some small fragment of a Gothic manuscript. *Palimpsests* are the *Codex Carolinus* in Wolfenbüttel, the *Codices Ambrosiani* in Milan, among them some of the *Skeireins* leaves that are not in the Vatican Library, and the *Codex Taurinensis* in Turin. Marginal notes are found in the so called *Codex Veronensis*, and a short fragment is for instance the *Codex Gissensis*, part of a Gothic-Latin double-leaf found in Egypt and destroyed by a flood in Giessen in Germany in the 1940s. Texts that might be Gothic are found on some metal artefacts (like weapons and trinkets), but these are very few and short inscriptions. Moreover, the exact linguistic origin of these inscriptions is questioned.

The Gothic Bible translation was made by the Visigothic bishop Wulfila. His name means 'the little wolf'. Wulfila, who died in 381 or some years thereafter, was Bishop of 'Gothia', for those Christians who lived in the Gothic settlement at the river Danube. Wulfila was an Arian Christian (he is sometimes described as a 'semi-Arian'), like the Gothic Christians in general. The concept of Arianism is too complicated to deal with here, but it implicated that Wulfila did not accept the doctrine of the Trinity such as it had been stated at the Council of Nicaea in 325. Wulfila translated the Bible from Greek, and he seems to have used several Greek versions. The tradition tells that he translated the entire Bible except for the books of Kings. They were too martial, and Wulfila did not want to give the Goths any more martial encouragement. One



important task for Wulfila beside the translation seems to have been the Christian mission. Like many other missionaries after him, Wulfila was a typographic pioneer, if we can use this term for the era of handwriting. Probably it was he, who constructed the Gothic alphabet, and probably he did it for the Gothic Bible translation. Probably the Goths had earlier used the runic alphabet. There are a few characters in Wulfila's alphabet that remind of runic characters, but on the whole this is based on the Greek alphabet.

Theoderic the Great was the Ostrogothic King during the first period of the Gothic hegemony in Italy. He was born in the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, and he died in 526. He was the King of Goths in Italy, but also the King of Romans. He used the title *Gothorum romanorumque rex*. He was the leader of a tribe of barbarians, warriors and Arians – the Ostrogoths were still Arians as bishop Wulfila once had been. But Theoderic in Italy is not just a king, he acts like a Roman Emperor. He builds churches and palaces, he stamps coins with his own picture, he uses the purple colour with permission from the Eastern Emperor. He builds his capital Ravenna on the pattern of Constantinople. He gives the Romans *panem et circensem*, and they call him 'Trajan' and 'Valentinian'. The civil administration in Theoderic's Italy was Roman and its language was Latin. Theoderic's Prime Minister was Cassiodorus, a noble Roman magistrate, later one of the early cloister founders in Italy.

It was a question of great Gothic national prestige, that the Arians should have as splendid churches as the Catholics. But the ecclesiastical life required not only impressive buildings and beautiful liturgical dresses. It also required the Sacred Scriptures, preferably in magnificent books. The Silver Bible was such a book. Perhaps the most beautiful one, but we do not know for sure. Ravenna had began to be a centre even for book-writing.

Within thirty years after Theoderic's death in 526 the Gothic Empire in Italy was over. The Eastern Empire had conquered the land during the long so-called »Gothic war«. What happened to the *Codex Argenteus*?

## *The Mystery of the Thousand Years*

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE *CODEX ARGENTEUS* between Ravenna and Werden? This is the Mystery of the Thousand Years, and there are several theories about this mystery. In the Werden Monastery upon Ruhr the manuscript was discovered in the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century by two theologians from Cologne: Georg Cassander and Cornelius Wouters. At least they knew about it, which we can see from their correspondence with other scholars.

How did the manuscript wander from Ravenna to Werden? We do not know. Many scholars have been occupied with this mystery, and when the Speyer Leaf – or the Haffner Leaf, as it is called after its finder – was discovered in 1970, the speculations started again and were much connected to the question of how and when the Haffner Leaf was separated from the manuscript. There are in principal three main theories.

One is *the Theory of the Early Separation*, which means that the Haffner Leaf was taken away from the rest of the manuscript in the early Middle Ages. Representatives for this theory are Piergiuseppe Scardigli in Italy and Jan-Olof Tjäder in Sweden. Tjäder, for instance, thinks that the manuscript went southwards in Italy as a part of the Gothic Crown Treasury, when the Gothic Empire was falling, and that it found its way to Formia. There the Haffner Leaf was separated from the rest of the manuscript, and put together with the relics of St. Erasme from the 4<sup>th</sup> century. It went with the relics on roundabout ways to Werden, and the rest of the manuscript was found in Italy by St. Liudger who took it to Werden, to the monastery that he founded in 799.

A representative for *the Theory of the Late Separation* is Margarete Andersson-Schmitt in Sweden. She argues, that the

Haffner Leaf very well could have been together with the rest of the manuscript on its way to Werden. If the *Codex Argenteus* was rebound in the late 8<sup>th</sup> century or in the early 9<sup>th</sup> century, which Tjäder thinks it was, it is very unlikely that it should have been so roughly cut, she maintains. The margins of the Haffner Leaf are about two centimetres wider than the margins of the Uppsala leaves. During the Carolingian Renaissance, the book bindery was not on such a barbaric level. Andersson-Schmitt thinks, and so had also Frans Haffner thought, that the Haffner Leaf was still in the manuscript in Werden. But from Werden it was probably sent to Mainz in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. Perhaps they wanted in Werden to get an expert statement concerning the nature of the manuscript. Perhaps they wanted to sell the manuscript to Mainz, and sent the leaf as a sample. After some years, the leaf in Mainz was forgotten, and the manuscript in Werden got a simple binding and was put back on its shelf.

Tjäder had thought, that the Silver Bible hardly could have been bound in Werden in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, because Arnold Mercator some decades later found the manuscript there in a miserable condition. But Andersson-Schmitt means, that it very well could have been in a miserable condition, even if it was rebound some decades before. The Haffner Leaf was probably put together with the relics of St. Erasme, she suggests, when Archbishop Albrecht's property was put in order after his death in 1545.

A carbon 14 analysis, made of some binding-threads from the *Codex Argenteus* in 1998, shows that the manuscript was bound at least once during the 16<sup>th</sup> century. This does not prove Andersson-Schmitt's theory, and it does not disprove Tjäder's. But it shows that the theory of the early separation is unnecessary to explain the difference in format for the Haffner leaf and the Uppsala leaves.

*A third theory* about the Silver Bible wanderings during the Thousand Years is that of Lars Hermodsson in Sweden. This theory does not deal with the separation of the Haffner Leaf from the others. Hermodsson proposes that the Silver Bible was still in Ravenna when Charlemagne visited the city. Charlemagne was very fascinated by Ravenna and Theoderic the Great. Hermodsson means that the Silver Bible was taken together with other manuscripts from Ravenna to Aachen by Charlemagne. And from Aachen the way was short to Werden.

These three theories are the main explanations of the Thousand Years Mystery. In 1998 (in Swedish) and in 2002 (in English) Lars Munkhammar presented a fourth theory, *the Cassiodorus Theory*. It says briefly that the *Codex Argenteus* was taken to the Vivarium Monastery in southern Italy, founded by Theoderic's chief minister Cassiodorus. The Vivarium library collection is said to have been transferred to the Lateran Library in Rome. From there a shipment of manuscripts was sent to Cologne (Köln) in the early 9<sup>th</sup> century, and this shipment included the *Codex Argenteus*, which then ended up in Werden.

There are other theories too, trying to solve the thousand years' mystery. On the whole, the lacking of more facts shows the vanity of the enterprise. One scholar blows down his predecessors castle of cards with his own theory. And so it will be all the time until we get more facts – findings, documents, whatever.

## Werden – Uppsala

FROM WERDEN THE *CODEX ARGENTEUS* FOUND ITS way to Prague, to the castle of Rudolf II. We know that this must have been before the year 1601, because it is mentioned by Richard Strein, one of Rudolf's ministers, and Strein died in 1600. We do not know if Rudolf borrowed the manuscript or bought it, or perhaps just took it. And we cannot take it for granted that the codex went directly from Werden to Prague as we will see later. However, it came to be a part of the emperor's enormous collection of art, books, instruments, curiosities, and just anything. There was even a magic book collection in the castle, and perhaps the codex looked magic enough to get its place there.

As we know, the *Codex Argenteus* became a piece of Swedish war booty when Prague was captured in 1648. The manuscript went to Queen Kristina's library in Stockholm, where it lived quite a retired life. The Queen was a great manuscript collector, but her speciality was Greek manuscripts, not 'barbarian' ones. One of the Royal Librarians, Isaac Vossius, got the *Codex Argenteus* from the Queen after she had abdicated in 1654. His uncle, Franciscus Junius, made the *editio princeps* of the codex, printed in 1665. But Vossius himself, who was a great lover of manuscripts, was not interested in Gothic texts, only in classical manuscripts. So he sold the manuscript to Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie, the Swedish Chancellor and Chancellor of Uppsala University. De la Gardie donated it to Uppsala University in 1669.

De la Gardie bought the manuscript through the Swedish minister Peter Trotzig in Amsterdam. In order to get the book to Sweden Trotzig put it in an oak-wood box or case. The case was sent with the ship *St. Joris* from Amsterdam on the 28<sup>th</sup> of July, 1662. But a tempest broke out and *St. Joris* stroke the ground by Zuiderzee. Trotzig was badly frightened. He sent a

boat to the ship to fetch the book case. The case was intact and Trotzig praised God in Heaven. He made a new try. He put the oak case in a lead case, which he sealed with solder, and sent on the ship *Phoenix* on the 12<sup>th</sup> of September to Gothenburg. This time he was successful. The codex came to Sweden and De la Gardie got it.

De la Gardie was eager to show his remarkable acquisition to the professors in Uppsala. Now the codex had got a symbolic value that went far beyond its importance as a philological fountainhead. It was the Word of God such as it was revealed to the Goths, our ancestors, the original inhabitants of Sweden, and the origin of all people. This was within the frame of mind that dominated the Swedish chauvinistic Great Power Era. It was part of the historiography that soon would culminate in Olof Rudbeck's *Atlantica*, where Sweden once was inhabited by the Goths, the origin of all people. The Goths spread all over the world. They wandered, and they made war, and they conquered even the Romans. They founded great and mighty kingdoms.

De la Gardie donated the *Codex Argenteus* to Uppsala University in 1669. The gift comprised a collection of 65 manuscripts of which the *Codex Argenteus* was merely one. Many of the manuscripts were bought in 1651 after the Danish historian Stefanus Johannes Stephanius and were Old Norse, often Icelandic, documents. Among them the later so called *Uppsala Edda* being from about 1300. The highlight of the donation was of course the Gothic *evangeliarium*, which had got a silver cover with an interesting iconographic ornamentation made by two of Sweden's most famous artists: the drawer and painter David Klöcker Ehrenstrahl and the goldsmith Hans Bengtsson Sellin.

## *Codex Argenteus – A Codicological Description*

### *The cover*

THE MAGNIFICENT COVER THAT ENCASED the *Codex Argenteus* when it was presented to Uppsala University in 1669 was made of beaten silver. It was made in Stockholm by the Court goldsmith Hans Selling according to a design by David Klöcker Ehrenstrahl. Silver was a suitable material, since the manuscript had been well known under the name of *Codex Argenteus*, the ‘Silver Book’ ever since Bonaventura Vulcanius introduced this nomination in his *De literis & lingua Getarum, sine Gothorum* in 1597.

The front cover of the silver casing shows *Time* in the shape of an elderly winged man prising up a grave-slab, letting his daughter *Truth* up into the daylight. Truth is a naked woman carrying a book with the inscription ‘Codex Argenteus’ in her left hand and pointing with her right hand at Bishop Wulfila behind her. Wulfila is sitting at a desk in a library room wearing a mitre, writing. His writing is of course translating the Bible into Gothic or, as De la Gardie explained it to the University Council when donating the manuscript: writing the book in question, i.e. *Codex Argenteus* (!). A cartouche above this scene, held up by two putti, has the text: »Vlphila redivivus, et patriæ restitutus cura M. G. De la Gardie, R[egni] S[veciæ] 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 count’s family De la Gardie.

We do not know anything about the original cover of the *Codex Argenteus*. We can imagine that this deluxe codex once had a deluxe binding and cover, or at least was meant to have. There are different theories about when the original cover was removed from the book block, but it is never doubted that it



once was there, unless this prestige *evangeliarium* remained someone's Unfinished.

Surviving examples of cover masterpieces from the 6<sup>th</sup> century are few, a handful. But these, together with written and even pictorial testimony, provide an image of wooden boards covered in gold, silver, gems and sometimes ivory carvings. St. Jerome's loathing for these boastful *codices* of Bible texts is famous: »Parchments are dyed purple, gold is melted into lettering, manuscripts are decked with jewels, while Christ lies at the door naked and dying.«

### *The materials*

For a long period time, it was alleged that the parchment was made from the skin of new-born or even unborn calves, but modern research suggests that it was more likely made from kid. The parchment is very thin, 0.11–0.12 mm on average plus/minus some tenths of a millimetre. It is so carefully worked up that the hair follicles can be discerned in only a few places. There is a great difference between hair-side and flesh-side. The hair-side seems more compact and glossy, while the flesh-side seems more porous and mat. The scripture seems more elevated on the hair-side than on the flesh-side. The leaves have a tendency to curl up with the flesh-side out.

The colour of the leaves varies considerably today between the different folios as well as between hair-side and flesh-side. The flesh-side is in general paler than the hair-side. The nuance of the leaf colour varies from greyish to bluish, reddish, brownish, and purple. The dye is not from the *murex*, the purple-shell. This dye needed extensive heating and was suitable for textiles, not for parchment. An examination in 1990 showed that probably one of the following vegetable dyes has been used: alkanna, folium, kermes or a lichen dye. The colour nuance in the margins is stronger and better preserved than in the writing space. The outer margins have

on the other hand a tendency to become a shade of reddish-brown. The parchment is not dyed thoroughly, the dye has been coated on the hair-side very thinly, and it has partially penetrated the very thin parchment.

The codex is written in silver ink and gold ink. We do not know the formula of these writing materials, but it is plausible that the metals were pulverised and mixed with some liquid (water or oil) and an adhesive (glue). There is even a possibility that the text in some places (or everywhere, which seems utterly labour-intensive) is pre-written with some other writing material. In some places both ink and parchment have been destroyed, which might be a sign of some acid and corrosive material (gallic acid, copperas, garlic juice?).

The main part of the text is written in silver ink, this is the book face, so to speak. The headlines are also written in silver like the quotation marks in the left margin (looking like dots or arrows), the numbers of the sections (more about the sections and the canon system later on) and their framework in the left margin, the four pairs of columns covered with arches under the written surface, and the numbers they surround. Even the headings of the names of the evangelists are written in silver. (There are only the introductions to Luke and Mark left, but probably Matthew and John would have been marked out in the same way.)

The first three lines of Mark and Luke are written in gold ink, and probably this would have been the case for Matthew and John too. The beginning of each section is written in gold until the end of the relevant line. The sections do not necessarily begin with a new line, so the length of the gold scripture may vary considerably. The first line of the Lord's Prayer (Matthew VI:9) is written in gold, and so are the symbols and abbreviations for the evangelists in the canon tables.

### *Leaves, double leaves, and gatherings*

The width of the leaves of *Codex Argenteus* is between 19.75 and 20 cm. The height is between 24.25 and 24.50 cm. The Haffner Leaf in Speyer, found in 1970, is 21.7 cm at its widest and 26.5 cm at its highest. Probably this is quite close to the original size.

The double leaves, the *bifolia*, are the smallest constituents of the parchment. The pairs of leaves were cut out in one piece from the parchment. Today there are also some single leaves among the remnants of the manuscript, but this is because the leaves have separated or been separated from each other over the years. When building the book block, the bifolia were put together into gatherings, *quires*, that were bound together as a book, a *codex*.

Before the double leaves were gathered, they were ruled. This was done on the flesh-side with a pointed tool, effecting relief lines on both sides of the leaf. Two vertical lines were made with a 13 cm gap between on each leaf. The inner lines went 2.25 cm from the centre line or the fold of the bifolium. Between these margin lines, there are two systems of horizontal lines. The larger and upper system for the text column is 16.5 cm high, and its top line is about 2.25 cm under the present top edge of the Uppsala leaves (and perhaps 3.5 cm under the original top edge). The characters are written between each odd and even line in this system. The smaller and lower system begins one centimetre under the lowest line of the upper system. It consists of 11 parallel lines with a 3 mm space between, and it is 3.33 cm high. In this system the four canon tables are inscribed, that belong to every page. The top line and the bottom line of each system are ruled in the same continuous lines all over the full width of the bifolia. The proportions of the surface limited on each side of the vertical lines, the top line of the upper system, and the bottom

line of the lower system, are created 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 gatherings or quires consisted of four bifolia, called *quaternio*, or of five bifolia, called *quinio*. Thirty-seven of the original gatherings of the original *Codex Argenteus* were quaternio gatherings, and four were quinio gatherings. The last gathering in each gospel was a quinio. This is, of course, on the assumption that the original codex contained nothing but the four gospels. But it might well have contained something else. As did, for example, its 'sister codex', *Codex Brixianus*, a Latin *evangeliarium* created in the same cultural environment as the *Codex Argenteus* (probably Gothic Ravenna). This codex also contained an introduction, partially preserved today.

The leaves were assembled in the following manner. The first bifolium was put with the flesh-side down. On the top of it the next bifolium was put with the hair-side down. The third one was put with the flesh-side down. And so on. This order meant that 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.

Each gathering was numbered with a figure in the bottom margin of its last page. Several of these figures are left today, but others are lost through trimming and cutting the edges.

#### *Extent and gaps*

If the original *Codex Argenteus* contained nothing but the four gospels, it must have had 336 leaves or 672 pages. This is the result of intricate calculations made by professor Otto von Friesen in the 1920s. Today there are just 188 leaves left, 187 in Uppsala plus the Haffner Leaf in Speyer. The lacunae are spread as follows. 76 leaves are missing from Matthew, and 22

remain. Twenty-nine leaves are missing from John, and 45 remain. Thirty-six leaves are missing from Luke, and 70 remain. Seven leaves are missing from Mark, and 50 remain in Uppsala, and one, the final leaf, in Speyer. Six of the lacunae are large and concern 9–60 leaves. Two of them are in Matthew, two in John, and two in Luke. Eleven of the lacunae are minor: one or two leaves. Four of them are in Matthews, two in John, one in Luke and four in Mark. Or: 75% of Matthew is lost, 40% of John, 35% of Luke, and 8% of Mark.

### *The binding*

Otto von Friesen and Anders Grape, two of the men behind the facsimile edition of 1927, described the original binding thread as purple-coloured linen thread. They say that shorter pieces of this thread were still left when the codex was disassembled and the leaves were detached from the binding to be photographed. Friesen and Grape had these thread pieces preserved in an envelope close to the leaves.

In 1997, one of these thread pieces (more reminiscent of wool than of linen) was subjected to a C14 analysis for a rough estimate of age. It showed that the material was at least one thousand years younger than had been supposed by Friesen and Grape. This means that we do not know any original binding thread from the codex.

### *The scripture*

The scripture of the *Codex Argenteus* is the Gothic script in the Gothic characters Wulfila is supposed to have constructed. The characters also represent numeral figures. The *Codex Argenteus* script is not the everyday script of the Goths, but an artistic one, meant to give an ornamental impression. It is a kind of uncial script, a majuscule script, strictly kept between two horizontal lines. It is erect, and so regular that the philologist Johan Ihre in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century

asserted that it was not written with a pen or a *calamus*, but that the letters were burnt into the parchment with hot stamps. He had good reasons to make his assumption, but later research has disproved him on this point.

The left margin is even, except for initials of sections and larger divisions, which are drawn out into the margin. The right margin, on the other hand, is not even. Rules for syllabification, ends of sections and other factors have affected the margin line here. Beside the normal script, there are also enlarged characters of different sizes. Some of them have been used as initials of sections beginning on a new line, and others as initials of sections beginning somewhere in the line.

The script does not separate the words by space, but there are normally spaces between sentences and certain clauses. There is also space between sections ending and beginning on the same line. Space between sections is normally preceded by a colon or full stop.

There are only column headlines on the flesh-sides. On the left page of an opening the word 'pairh' (according to) is the headline, on the right page the shortened name of the evangelist. The headlines of the gospels (there are only Luke and Mark left) are short: 'Gospel according to Luke begins'.

Each section has its own number, noted in the left margin at the beginning of the section. The numbers are marked by figures (marked by letters), elaborately framed.

A division sign is used to indicate the beginning of each new section. It has the shape of a thin horizontal hair-stroke, thickened at the tips, with a dot or a mark resembling an arrow-head in the middle. It is golden and placed obliquely up to the left of the initial of the section. There are also abbreviation signs, ligatures, and different punctuation marks in the script.

### *The canon tables*

The canon tables or parallel tables at the foot of the pages of *Codex Argenteus* is a cross reference system for Bible passages in the four gospels. The system is the so called *Eusebian*, the *synopsis* of the gospels constructed by Eusebius of Caesarea (d. 339/40). Eusebios divided the text into *sections* which he gave numbers within each gospel from the beginning to the end. With the help of the section numbers he formed ten concordance tables, *kanones*. In the other direction he made four tables, one for each gospel. In *kanon I* there are Bible passages common to all gospels. In the *kanones II, III, and IV*, there are passages common to three of the gospels. In *kanones V–IX* there are passages common to two of the gospels. Finally, in *kanon X* there are the passages that have no correspondence in any other gospel. For this *kanon* system Eusebios made a prologue, a manual for the user of the system. The prologue and the concordance tables often constitute a kind of introduction to the gospel books contemporary to the *Codex Argenteus*. This is the case in *Codex Brixianus*, and it is very likely that even the *Codex Argenteus* once had such an introduction.

Thus, the four pairs of columns covered with arches at the foot of each page of the *Codex Argenteus* are number tables, one for each evangelist, quoting the different *kanones* valid for each page. This shows the reader which sections of the text he is reading (in this milieu it is always a he) that have corresponding sections in other gospels. The order of the canon tables is the order of the gospels in the *Codex Argenteus* (Matthew, John, Luke, Mark) with the exception that the table for the gospel in question always comes first. At the top of each table is the evangelist's name in gold: Matthew and Mark have monograms, John and Luke have abbreviations. Everything else in the tables (framework and figures) is in silver.

The canon tables are very regularly designed thanks to the lower line system of the pages. They give the pages a special aesthetic expression when visually carrying the massive text. The association from the shape of the canon tables to Theoderic's palace and other buildings in Ravenna is inevitable.

### *The scribes*

Johan Ihre had the idea that the script was not written, but that the letters were burnt into the parchment with hot stamps. Those who criticised him and maintained that the codex was written by hand were still struck by the regularity of the script, and no one seems to have thought anything else than that it was written by one hand from beginning to end. Not until the 1920s when the leaves were detached from the binding was it possible to compare the different leaves side by side. Anders Grape then discovered some differences between the beginning of Luke and the previous parts of the text, especially concerning a couple of characters. It became obvious that the codex was written by two different scribes. The first scribe (hand I) had written Matthew and John. The other scribe (hand II) had written Luke and Mark. Hand II has a more slender, more angular, and more contrasting type-form than hand I, says Grape.

We do not know who the two scribes were. Jan-Olof Tjäder once introduced Wiljarith and Merila to us as known scribes in a ravennatic Arian Gothic *scriptorium*. In this workshop, however, there were probably more scribes, and of course we cannot say the exact names of hand I and hand II. Tjäder thinks that Wiljarith was the master of his workshop, and that Merila was his assistant. Wiljarith and Merila might have been the 'hands' in *Codex Argenteus*, but almost nothing can be stated with certainty in the history of this codex.



## *An Old Codex in a New Europe*

WHEN THE *CODEX ARGENTEUS* WAKES UP as the Sleeping Beauty in the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the world is new. Books are not written by hand anymore, Gutenberg's invention has been used for a hundred years. The reformation of the churches shook Europe decades ago. The distant relatives of Bishop Wulfila in Germany and Sweden have finally got their own Bibles in their own languages. But on the other hand: the place where the Silver Bible is blessed with her reviving princely kiss is not part of the modern world – it is an old Catholic recess for manuscripts: the Benedictine monastery of Werden on the Ruhr.

**The traditional story** about the fate of the *Codex Argenteus* during the 16<sup>th</sup> century goes something like this.

In 1554 (or perhaps earlier) two men knew that there was a Gothic Bible text manuscript in the Werden Monastery. Probably they had seen it; at the very least they had copies of the Gothic alphabet, of the Lord's Prayer in Gothic and of some other Bible passages in Gothic. The two men were Georg Cassander, a theologian from Brügge, later active in Cologne and dead in 1566, and his friend and patron Cornelius Wouters (or Gualtherus), teacher at the Cathedral school in Brügge, later living in Cologne and dead in 1582. Their acquaintance with the *Codex Argenteus* is known through correspondence between contemporary German scholars. Otto von Friesen and Anders Grape say that Cassander and Wouters should be regarded as the discoverers of *Codex Argenteus* in the Modern Era, »as far as research has reached today« (1927).

Somewhere between 1573 and 1587 (we do not know when) Arnold Mercator saw the *Codex Argenteus* in Werden. He was a cartographer and son of the famous Belgian-German

cartographer Gerhard Mercator. He knew that the manuscript was kept in the monastery, and he wanted to copy parts of the text. He noted that the codex was incomplete and torn, and that the leaves were incorrectly arranged in the binding, probably because the bookbinder was unable to order them since he could not read the text.

As we have seen, the *Codex Argenteus* was in the possession of Rudolf II in Prague in 1600 or earlier. How the Emperor acquired the codex is unclear. Perhaps he borrowed it from Werden (as he borrowed the *Codex Gigas*, the ‘Devil’s Bible’ from the monastery in Broumov), perhaps he bought it or received it as a gift.

**New research discoveries** point to a somewhat different possible course of events. The German scholar Dorothea Diemer has recently shown that the *Codex Argenteus* was probably removed from the Benedictine monastery in Werden soon after it had been discovered by Cassander and Wouters. And probably the discovery of the codex was made earlier than we have previously assumed. There are signs suggesting that the *Codex Argenteus* was part of the collection of curios – antiquities, coins, natural-history specimens and so on – belonging to a noble man called Johann Wilhelm von Laubenberg von Wagegg (1511–1563). In a letter 1562 he offers the Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria (1528–1579) the purchase of his *Altertümersammlung* which contains among other things a ‘silver book’. Laubenberg’s description of this book indicates that he might be talking about the *Codex Argenteus* (named this already in the 16<sup>th</sup> century). Diemer also refers to a tradition saying that there was a Gothic gospel book in Bibliotheca Palatina in Heidelberg in the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and that it disappeared some time thereafter. In his letter Laubenberg writes that he once sent the book as a loan to the Count Palatine Ottheinrich (1502–1559) who had it for several years. There is no evidence for the common view that for

example Arnold Mercator saw the original codex in Werden. It might even be that all of Mercator's information about the codex comes from the papers left by his father, Gerhard Mercator. Duke Albrecht did not buy the 'silver book' from Laubenberg, but perhaps Rudolf II did.

Knowledge of the *Codex Argenteus* was spread in different ways during the late 16<sup>th</sup> century and onwards: by letters and learned correspondence, of course, but probably also in discussions by word of mouth. Very soon glimpses of the Gothic gospels appear in printed literature.

**Johannes Goropius Becanus** published *Origines Antwerpianae* in 1569. In this work the Lord's Prayer and parts of the gospel according to St. Mark are reproduced in Gothic, transcribed to German type. The author has a defective knowledge of the Gothic language, but he knows that the texts are from an old manuscript in the monastery of Werden. The Lord's Prayer from *Origines Antwerpianae* was also published in *Specimen XL diversarum linguarum*, Frankfurt 1592, by Hieronymus Megiser.

**Bonaventura Vulcanius**, Professor of Greek in Leiden, published *De literis & lingua Getarum, sive Gothorum* in 1597. Vulcanius refers to an author (unknown to him, but probably Cornelius Wouters) who claims to have his information from a very old codex called *argenteus*. This is the first time the denomination *Codex Argenteus* is used as far as we know, and it is frequently used in this work. Vulcanius gives many samples of the Gothic language set up in woodcut with transcription and translation into Latin. He also relates the Gothic texts to Wulfila's translation of the Bible.

*Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romani* is a huge epigraphic omnibus book, published in its first edition by the Dutch-English writer and polyhistor **Janus Gruter** or Jean de Gruytere in Heidelberg in 1602–1603. Here we can find two full folio columns of Gothic text in woodcut. They contain

parts of the gospels according to St. Matthew (including the Lord's Prayer) and St. Mark. Gruter obtained his information about the *Codex Argenteus* from Mercator, and he quotes what Mercator says about the codex in Werden, the Gothic text and the miserable condition of the codex. But we should not forget the tradition according to Diemer about the Codex in Heidelberg in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

### *Franciscus Junius 1665*

FRANCISCUS JUNIUS THE YOUNGER (1591–1677) was a skilled scholar in many disciplines (theology, law, history, languages, and other fields), periodically working as an editor, a teacher, and a librarian. He was very interested in collecting and editing rare manuscripts, and also very interested in Germanic languages, not least Gothic.

Junius made the first printed edition of the *Codex Argenteus*, the *editio princeps*, using specially made Gothic fonts. It was published in Dordrecht in 1665 and later in Amsterdam in 1684 with a new title page. In Junius' edition the Gothic text is adapted to modern custom: the order of the Gospels is Matthew, Mark, Luke, John. The division is in chapters and verses, and there are no traces of the Eusebian system of sections and canon. The Gothic text is printed with resolved abbreviations. An English Bible text translated by Thomas Marshall is added as parallel reading. The edition includes a Gothic glossary.

The Dordrecht edition 1665 as well as the Amsterdam edition 1684 has a frontispiece leaf with an engraving by A. Santvoort (»A Santvoort fe:«). The centre of the picture is a portal in a decorated renaissance wall. The four evangelists are placed in each corner of the image square. In the middle of the top God is shining like the sun, marked as *Jahve* in the Hebrew tetragrammaton. The portal encases the text »D.N. Iesu Christi S.S. EUANGELIA Gothicè & Anglo-Saxonicè.« Thereafter is a Greek quotation from Colossians III:11 saying something like: »Not Barbarian, Scythian – but Christ is all, and in all.« The entire passage is: »Where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision, nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free: but Christ is all, and in all.« So even (or perhaps: not least) the barbarian Goths and other peculiar peoples could be the portal to the gospels.

Junius had great difficulties in finding the order of the *Codex Argenteus*. The order of the Gospels was not the one he was used to, and the leaves were bound together in disorder. This explains Junius' many notations in the margins of the original manuscript, which we still can see today.

Franciscus Junius had several reasons for his interest in the *Codex Argenteus*, and there were also certain circumstances that made him the suitable first editor of the manuscript. He had the learned librarian's instinct to collect and edit old and rare manuscripts. As 'The Father of Germanic Philology', he had a special interest in the Gothic language. And he also probably had a religious interest in Wulfila's Bible as a first example of non-Catholic vernacular Bible translations into Germanic languages (a proto-reformatory Bible). Moreover, (but perhaps just a coincidence?) Junius had a special relation to Friesland where St. Liudger once worked as a missionary, Liudger who was supposed to have taken the *Codex Argenteus* from Italy to the Germanic countries. And last but not least: he was the uncle of Isaac Vossius who owned the manuscript.

After his education in Leyden (philology, theology, and science) Junius had moved to England in 1621. First he worked in the library of the Bishop of Norwich, Samuel Harsnet, and then in the library of Thomas Howard, the 2nd Earl of Arundel. The Arundel library, of which Junius later became the librarian, contained great and rare collections. Junius could spend part of his time on studies, copying and making excerpts from manuscripts. Later on, he could use this material together with material from the rich library of his nephew Isaac Vossius for editions and lexicographical works.

Back in the Netherlands in the early 1640s Junius became interested in the history of the Dutch language, and soon he was absorbed by Germanic philology in general: Old English, Frankish, Frisian, and other languages. His interest in the

Gothic language is for the first time expressed in 1650 in a letter to a kinsman. He hopes that his nephew Isaac Vossius, librarian at the court of the Swedish Queen, would come to London and tell his uncle what he has learnt of the Gothic language. Junius obviously thinks that Gothic is still living in some (unclear) respect in Sweden. In 1654 he has borrowed the *Codex Argenteus* from Vossius, who has got the codex from Queen Kristina when the Queen abdicated and started her journey to Rome. Junius is very happy to plunge into this sea of Gothic words, and he starts to transfer them to his Old English-Latin dictionary. Later on, he discusses Gothic words and philology with learned colleagues, especially the German theologian Johan Clauberg.

Junius' possible religious interest in Wulfila's Bible as a non-Catholic vernacular Bible translation into a Germanic language, a proto-reformatory Bible, is probable when looking upon his own background. He came from a Huguenot family. His father, Franciscus Junius or François de Jon, was a French Protestant, who once had translated the Bible into Latin for the Protestant world. Very many of Junius' kinsmen and learned colleagues were Protestants, like many of the humanistic philologically interested scholars of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. One of them, James Ussher, Archbishop of Ireland with Calvinist sympathies, was one of Junius' correspondents. In 1651 he writes to Junius about Vulcanius' information about the *Codex Argenteus*, and among other things he comments the 'doxology' at the end of the Lord's Prayer in Wulfila's translation ('For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever'). This is lacking in the Vulgate, but Wulfila has it from an old Greek source, and (understood) the Protestant Bibles have it.

And Friesland? Well, it is a vague connection or perhaps just a coincidence. The idea that the *Codex Argenteus* was taken from Italy to the northern parts of Europe by St. Liudger

seems to be born in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. But of course this tradition might be older. It is not very likely that a connection between Liudger and the codex ever was in Junius' mind, but you never know. Liudger founded the monastery Werden in 799. Before that he stayed in Italy from where he took many pieces of art. He was a pupil of Alkuin, Charlemagne's 'minister of culture', and he visited Alkuin's school in York in the 760s and 770s. Thereafter he worked as a missionary among the Frisians, and in 784 he went to Rome and Monte Cassino where he stayed for two and a half years. In 787 he returned to France, and after a new missionary period among the Frisians and in Westfalen, he founded his monastery Werden. Junius stayed in Friesland for about two years, perhaps 1646–1648, it is unclear, to study the language. The connection *Codex Argenteus* – Liudger – Friesland – Junius – *Codex Argenteus* may have philological and/or religious roots or be just a matter of chance.

But the connection Junius – Vossius was not by chance. Junius was the uncle of Vossius, his mother's brother. The two gentlemen seem to have been very close related, not only by family ties, but also, and not least, by joint scholarly interests. For some periods they even lived together. Isaac Vossius had been one of Queen Kristina's librarians. When Kristina moves to Rome in 1654, Vossius' time at Her Majesties Service is over. But he has not got his salary, and his own manuscript collection is partly mixed up with the Queen's, they have borrowed books from each other. On her way to Rome Kristina makes a stop in Antwerpen where she tries to settle up with her librarians. She gives them books for money and books for books. And among the books (or manuscripts) that Vossius gets is the *Codex Argenteus*. It is not fortune, of course, but we cannot prove it. Vossius was very aware of his uncle's great interest in the Gothic language and of his knowledge of this codex. He knew that Junius wanted



it, wanted to see it, to use it, to have it, at least to borrow it. And borrow it he finally could.

Junius used specially made Gothic fonts for his edition of the *Codex Argenteus*. At the bottom of the title page we can read: »DORDRECHTI.// *Typis & sumptibus JUNIANIS. Excudebant Henricus & Joannes Essæi, // Urbis Typographi Ordinarii.* CDDCLXV.« This means that the edition is printed in Dordrecht in 1665 with Junius' types and money, and that the printing work was done by Hendrik and Johann van Esch, printers with burghership in the town. The title page text also says: »*Accessit & GLOSSARIUM Gothicum: cui præmittitur ALPHABETUM // Gothicum, Runicum, &c. operâ ejusdem FRANCISCI JUNII.*« That is to say that the publication also includes a Gothic glossary and has views of Gothic, Runic, and other alphabets, and that these also are works by Franciscus Junius.

As a scholar of Germanic languages, and as an editor of Germanic texts, Junius had special types made of those characters that could not be represented by the Latin ones. He treated these 'printing utensils' as treasures, and when he died, he bequeathed this equipment together with his books and manuscripts to Oxford University where they are still kept and exhibited as a part of Oxford University Press archive. Junius had Gothic, Runic, Anglo-Saxon, ancient German, and other types cut, matriculated, and cast. He had contact with several printing houses in Amsterdam, Dordrecht, London, and Middelburg, and it is not easy to know whom he chose as his punchcutter. The Dublin scholar Peter J. Lucas has seriously penetrated the question. His suggestion is after a complicated reasoning (although he cannot prove it) that Junius' punchcutter was Christoffel van Dijk, one of two very competent punchcutters in Amsterdam in the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Van Dijk thus could be the cutter of Junius Gothic font', his 'Pica Gothica'.

Before Junius' edition was published in 1665, the original *Codex Argenteus* was back in Sweden. Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie had bought the codex from Vossius in 1662 together with a copy of the text made by an (to us) unknown person called Derrer. Junius had used Derrer's copy for his edition work, but he had also made his own copy of the manuscript, still extant and kept in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (MS Junius 55). The Derrer copy, on the other hand, was destroyed in the Uppsala fire in 1702. De la Gardie had paid 500 Swedish dollars, 'riksdaler', for the original codex and the copy. He may also in some way have supported the printing of Junius' edition. However, the edition is grandiosely dedicated to De la Gardie: »Illustrissimo et Exellentissimo Domino, D. Magno Gabrieli De la Gardie, Comiti de Leckou et Arensburg, Domino in Habsal, Magnushoff, et Hoyendorp, S. Regiæ Majestatis Regniue Sueciæ Senatori et Cancellario, Wester-Gothiæ ac Daliæ Judici Provinciali, nec non Academiæ Upsaliensis Cancellario.« (To the most Brilliant and Excellent Gentleman, Sir Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie, Count of Leckö and Arensburg, Lord of Habsal, Magnushoff, and Hoyendorp, and Senator and Chancellor of His Royal Majesty and the Kingdom of Sweden, Chief judge in Västergötland and Dal, also the Chancellor of Uppsala University.)

That is the beginning. The dedication takes eleven pages, and it constitutes at the same time an introduction to the edition. Junius' Gothic glossary had already been published in the year before, but now it was reprinted together with the edition. The glossary had its own dedication to De la Gardie. The beginning is similar to the dedication of the edition, but the continuation consists of a fourteen pages long Latin poem in elegiac distich, written by the philologist Jan van Vliet (1620–66). The poem is about De la Gardie, the Gothic history, Junius and the *Codex argenteus*. It is undersigned: »devotissimus JANUS VLITIUS J.C. *Civitatis Ditionisque Bredanae*

*Syndicus & Archigrammateus*», i.e. »Yours Most Devoted JAN VAN VLIET, Jurist. *Lawyer and City Legal Advisor of the City and Jurisdiction of Breda*«.

Apart from any possible financial aid relation between De la Gardie and Junius, there may have been another, more sentimental or symbolic relation: they were both coming from old Huguenot families, and as we have seen, the Protestant tradition was very important for many of those who were interested in the *Codex Argenteus*. The iconography of the silver cover De la Gardie had ordered for the *Codex Argenteus* when he presented it to Uppsala University emphasises the Protestant symbolic value of the Codex. Not least the image of Bishop Wulfila, sitting and translating the Bible, an alternative parallel to St. Jerome, the translator of the Catholic Bible. This has been appositely described by the British scholar Simon McKeown.

## Georg Stiernhielm 1671

MAGNUS GABRIEL DE LA GARDIE DONATED the *Codex Argentens* to Uppsala University in 1669, to be kept in the University Library. Both from his deed of gift and from the iconography of the silver cover he had specially made for the codex, we can understand the symbolic value he associated with this book. We have noticed the Wulfila–Jerome parallel, and in general: this was God’s Word such as it had once been revealed to the Goths, our ancestors and the original inhabitants of Sweden. Now repatriated by De la Gardie, this book (‘Wulfila’s manuscript’) was an incarnation of the invisible link that united the Gothic heroic antiquity and the present Swedish Great Power Era.

Junius’ edition was clearly related to Sweden through the swelling dedication to De la Gardie, but De la Gardie still thought that there should be made an official Swedish edition of this Wulfila monument. In November 1666 he pays Georg Stiernhielm 600 Swedish dollars, ‘riksdaler’, in silver from public funds for preparing a printed edition of the *Codex Argentens*. In December he presents the plan for a civil service department with responsibility for national archaeology: *Collegium Antiquitatum*, ‘Antikvitetskollegiet’, an early model of today’s Swedish National Heritage Board. Stiernhielm becomes the first director of this institution when it starts to work in 1667. It is obvious that the Wulfila edition is one of its first tasks. In 1667 De la Gardie also procures a scholarship for the student Abraham Tornæus to assist Stiernhielm with proof-reading the edition.

Georg Stiernhielm (1598–1672) made a career in Swedish public service, but he was also a poet, and went down to posterity as the ‘Father of Swedish Poetry’. His great hexameter poem *Hercules* was for centuries well known by Swedish pupils. His linguistic philosophy included ideas of

text creation by means of replaceable language modules, a preliminary stage of transformational grammar. In the 1640s he developed a ‘Gothic’ (in a Swedish chauvinistic sense) view of the Swedish language, which he looked upon as the original language with sound values directly representing the essence of things. Stiernhielm’s linguistic ideas are expressed in *Gambla Swea- och Götha måles fatebur* 1643 (Treasury of the Old Swedish and Gothic Languages).

Stiernhielm’s edition 1671 was published together with a *glossarium*. This was essentially Junius’ dictionary, now completed with Swedish words by Stiernhielm. The title page of the 1671 edition does not mention Stiernhielm’s name; the editor is supposed to be the institution, *Antikvitetskollegiet*. In the dedication to the Swedish King, on the other hand, Stiernhielm’s work is mentioned as well as his revision of the *glossarium*. The printing of the glossary had been completed already in 1670 with its own title page. In the publishing process in 1671, however, a considerable part of the edition got a new title page for the glossary. The title leaf of the 1670 glossary has on its verso page some alphabets in woodcut, while the 1671 title leaf of the glossary, which has a more ambitious title, has on its verso page alphabets and Gothic text samples in copperplate.

The frontispiece page in Stiernhielm’s edition is a copperplate depiction of the front cover scene from the silver cover De la Gardie had ordered for the *Codex Argenteus* when he donated it to Uppsala University in 1669. »Dav: Klöker. S.R.M. Pictor: Inv: Dionysius Padt-Brugge. Fecit. Stockholmiæ«.

Stiernhielm’s edition is quadrilingual. Each opening has four columns, one for each language: Gothic transliterated with Latin letters, Icelandic, Swedish and Latin. Icelandic was in Stiernhielm’s days supposed to be the old Swedish language.

The Latin text is from Latin Vulgate, *Versio Vulgata*. The Gothic text is exactly the one presented by Junius, though transliterated.

Anders Grape says that Stiernhielm follows Junius in detail, and so slavishly – including Junius’ misreadings and unsolved lacunae – that his edition is, in reality, an edition of Junius’ text, not of the text of the Codex itself. The deviations from Junius – misprints as well as supposed improvements – are all nothing but deterioration. Grape questions Stiernhielm’s closer acquaintance with the Gothic language. The edition is more of a patriotic deed than of a philological one. Stiernhielm’s introduction to the edition, on the other hand, not very much dealing with the Gothic language, and not at all dealing with the *Codex Argenteus*, is quite an important contribution to the question of relations between languages and principles for linguistic development, all this vividly debated at this time.

## *Erik Benzelius 1750*

ERIK BENZELIUS THE YOUNGER (1675–1743) CAME from a remarkable family. His father, Erik Benzelius the Elder, was son of a farmer in Bensbyn, a small village near Luleå in the north of Sweden. Father Benzelius took his family name from the village. He completed his career as the Archbishop of Sweden, as did his eldest son Erik the Younger and two other sons, Jakob and Henrik.

As a student and scholar, Benzelius – Erik the Younger – made a comprehensive educational tour in Europe for some years. He established scholarly relations to the learned elite of his time: Leibniz, Thomasius, Malebranche, and others. Back in Uppsala Benzelius was after a couple of years (in 1702, at the age of just 27!) appointed the Librarian of Uppsala University. Though ungraduated, he was chosen for his wide learning and for his fame of ‘wonder child’. And the choice was lucky; the library was remarkably enriched under his leadership, regarding quality as well as quantity. As a scholar, a teacher, and a university official, Benzelius was multidisciplinary. He was a ‘polyhistor’, interested in science as well as in the humanities. As a lecturer, an editor, and a founder of learned societies, he became an intellectual central figure in Uppsala and in Sweden in general.

Junius’ and Stiernhielm’s editions of the *Codex Argenteus* had opened up a new field of research: the Gothic language. The editors had essentially paid attention to the Gothic vocabulary, while the grammar was still virgin soil. However, there were scholars eager to grapple with this aspect of the language, but some of them suspected the published editions to suffer from misreading and lacunas though they could not verify it.

But Benzelius could, he had the codex in his hands. One day in the beginning of his library career he began with some spot tests. »One day«, he says, »I took it into my head to collate some leaves of Cod. Argenteo with Editione Dordrechtana, and as I found this not being correct, I went through all the manuscript, supplementing infinitely many places.« But of course the work went slowly, since Benzelius had many duties and tasks of great moment. In 1706 Benzelius persuaded Lars Roberg, professor of medicine, to make a facsimile page of the manuscript in woodcut, and sent it to different persons. At the same time he translated the Gothic text of the *Codex Argenteus* into Latin, since he did not find the Vulgate suitable as a parallel text. These measures were preliminaries. Now the object was to get the King interested.

The King became interested or at least very positive to the project, and this was very much thanks to offensive lobbying efforts from Benzelius' supporters. When Olof Rudbeck obtained an audience with the King in Lund in the summer 1717, he used the opportunity for this purpose. On his way to Lund, Rudbeck had met Count Carl Mörner, member of the Royal Council, who also got very keen on Benzelius' project when he heard about it. Mörner too attended the King for the same purpose and got a very positive response.

However, the following year 1718 was fatal for the Swedish King Karl XII. The famous bullet at Halden during his Norwegian raid crossed his head and ended his life. In this situation it seemed impossible to Benzelius to base the project on Swedish resources. Benzelius turned his eyes abroad. He began to look for the Gothic types once cut by Junius and found them in England, more specifically at Oxford University, as we have seen earlier. So he began to negotiate with English scholars, making plans, looking for partners and looking for financial backing. These preparations went on for several years in various stages.



Benzelius worked tirelessly with the project, though he had left Uppsala to become Bishop of Gothenburg in 1726 and of Linköping in 1731. In 1742 he was appointed Archbishop of Uppsala and would have returned there if he had not died the year after. However, the edition was published several years after Benzelius' death thanks to Benzelius' English co-editor, the vicar and philologist Edward Lye. Lye was skilled in the Gothic language, as Benzelius had also become over the years.

The 1750 edition contains Benzelius' collating of the Gothic text and his translation into Latin. The Gothic text is printed with Junius' types. Moreover, there are critical and grammatical commentaries by Benzelius, and also his preface concerning the philological relations of the Gothic language and Wulfila's Bible translation. Lye's contribution is a Gothic grammar and several notes. The Eusebian section numbers are noted in the margin, but the parallel tables are omitted.

Benzelius like the earlier editors had not, in spite of his qualified philological achievement, been able to fill up all the lacunae in the Gothic text. Perhaps he was afraid of later critical voices when he wrote in his autobiographical notes: »I could believe that many a one coming after me would say, that in many places I have feigned what is supplemented, since he cannot see *primo intuitu* the letters on the leaf; but be as diligent as I: have that patience: use the glasses: turn the leaf so that not too bright sunshine catches the purple colour: confere *loca parallela*, and you will find them rightly as easy as I.«

## *Zahn's Edition 1805 – Johan Ihre & Erik Sotberg*

JOHAN IHRE WAS ACTUALLY PROFESSOR OF Eloquence and Politics in Uppsala, but his passion was philology. His great lifework was his Swedish etymological dictionary, *Glossarium Suiogothicum* 1769. One of the sources he used in his dictionary work was the *Codex Argentens*, and he found like Benzelius that Junius' and Stiernhielm's editions were insufficient. Perhaps he was not aware of how far the Benzelius' edition preparations had advanced, or perhaps he did not expect the Benzelius' edition to be actually published. So he asked one of his pupils, Erik Sotberg, to make a collation of the manuscript. He found himself too purblind and too busy for the task. When Benzelius' edition finally reached Uppsala, Ihre saw that Sotberg with his work had filled up many more lacunae than Benzelius had, and the idea of making yet another edition began to grow. Sotberg published his deciphering in two dissertations in 1752 and 1755 under Ihre's presidency. The title was *Ulphilas illustratus*. In the preface of the first of these dissertations Ihre introduces the theory about the stamps: the *Codex Argentens* was not written with a pen or a *calamus* – the letters were burnt into the parchment with hot stamps. In both dissertations Sotberg gives a Latin translation of the parts of the text he deals with. Friesen and Grape say that Sotberg's reading of the manuscript is »... the greatest progress in understanding the text made from the publication of the *editio princeps* up to today« (1927).

Ihre did not succeed in publishing a new edition of the *Codex Argentens*. Sotberg had penetrated it once again and made a complete copy of it. He had even made a calligraphic copy, perhaps designed for the planned edition. In 1773 Ihre sent Sotberg's clean copy to the German scholar A.F. Büsching, publisher of a collected edition of Ihre's Gothic dissertations. But Büsching had no better luck with publishing it. Sotberg's

manuscript wandered through several hands. From one of its owners the German clergyman Johann Christian Zahn (1767–1818) gained access to it. Zahn managed to publish it in 1805 together with a Gothic grammar and a Gothic glossary by two German scholars: Friedrich Karl Fulda and W.F.H. Ihre's Latin translation is printed between the Gothic text lines, and his footnotes are printed at the bottom of the pages. Zahn wrote the comprehensive introduction. Ihre's name is mentioned on the title page, but not Sotberg's. The Gothic text in this edition is printed in Latin type in a special transliteration also used in *Ulfhilas illustratus* and in Ihre's works, however here somewhat improved by Zahn. The edition is dedicated to the Swedish King Gustav VI Adolf, but in the list of subscribers there are no traces of Swedish participation.

## *Gabelentz & Löbe 1836*

THE GERMAN SCHOLARS HANS CONON von der Gabelentz (1807–1874) and Julius Löbe (1805–1900) included all remnants of Wulfila’s Bible translation in their edition. This meant not only the *Codex Argenteus*, but also the *Codex Carolinus* and the palimpsests preserved in Italy, discovered in 1817. For this work Löbe spent four weeks in Uppsala during the summer of 1834 collating the *Codex Argenteus*. At this time a rivalry had arisen between the tourists and the serious scholars. Löbe was very concerned about the poor condition of the codex, and that tourists had priority over scholars concerning access. »We had not imagined that the manuscript would be in such bad condition«, he says, »always listening to the praising of its beauty concerning material and script. First we had the daylong work finding the sequence of the unordered leaves, and then the often hour-long work with just one passage, and so the interruptions of the difficult work when the quite frequently tourists must take the manuscript into their hands and look at it. This diminished even more the time we had hoped to spend on an extended comparison of it.«

The text edition was the first volume of Gabelentz’ and Löbe’s work. Volume 2:1 was published in 1843 and had the title *Glossarium der gotischen Sprache*. Volume 2:2, 1846, had the title *Grammatik der gotischen Sprache*. In Gabelentz’ and Löbe’s edition the Gothic text is printed in transliteration in Latin type.

## Uppström 1854 & 1857

ANDERS UPPSTRÖM (1806–65) BECAME Professor of ‘Moesogothic and Related Languages’ at Uppsala University in 1859. This was after his edition of the *Codex Argenteus*. When it was published in 1854, ten leaves of the manuscript were missing. Three years later he could complete his edition with these ten leaves, now recovered.

Already when Julius Löbe worked with his collations of the *Codex Argenteus* during the summer of 1834, it was realised that ten leaves from the manuscript, earlier in place in the Codex, were missing. It was a matter of scandalous dimensions, of course. It was unknown how the leaves had disappeared, and when. The loss was kept a secret and it was not admitted to until a couple of years later. And even then, the matter was kept under wraps. When Uppström was working with his edition of the *Codex Argenteus*, the lack of these ten leaves was very irritating to him. The leaves had been lost for a long time, and this state was commonly known. But Uppström could not accept the lacuna in the manuscript; he wanted to get to the bottom of the matter.

Uppström was met with no positive response from Johan Henrik Schröder, the Librarian, in his searching for the ten missing leaves. However, he happened to ask the old library messenger Lars Wallin about the leaves. Uppström’s more than two years’ long dialogue with Wallin is a fascinating story for itself. A month before his death, Wallin gives Uppström the ten missing leaves when Uppström is visiting him at his sickbed. Wallin does not admit that he is the thief of the leaves, but Uppström thinks that he is. Nevertheless, in his preface to his edition of the missing leaves, Uppström writes very warmly about Wallin and says: »... I cannot avoid feeling grateful to the deceased who gave me back what he could have easily destroyed forever. And though I hate his

crime, I wish with all my heart that the creator of the world may prove to be a mild rather than severe judge.«

Uppström's edition gives the text of the manuscript transliterated into Latin letters with pages and lines marked out. The text is ordered by chapters and passages in a 'modern' manner, but the Eusebian division into sections is also marked out, as well as the gold script, the enlarged initials, and the dissolved abbreviations and ligatures. In a supplement the parallel numbers in the canon tables under the text are noted, and in another supplement there is an overview of the original and the still existing leaves of the manuscript. »Uppström has practically ... reached the definitive, and as a philological deed his work is final« according to Friesen and Grape.

## *The Facsimile Edition of 1927*

THE[ODOR] SVEDBERG WAS PROFESSOR OF Chemistry at Uppsala University, and in 1926 he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Chemistry. He was, among other things, very fascinated by the problems of detecting, revealing and restoring lost and invisible text passages in manuscripts with the help of photographic techniques. Together with Dr. Ivar Nordlund he performed photographic experiments on some leaves of the *Codex Argenteus* in 1917.

This experimentation was a pilot study to prepare a great facsimile edition of the Codex where the most important aspect was to be the legibility of the text. The edition was planned as – and became – a jubilee manifestation for the 450<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Uppsala University in 1927. Svedberg and Nordlund carried out photographic experiments using four different techniques. Two of these techniques were later used for the edition. One of them was to show the page exposed in ultraviolet reflected radiation, which made the text appear light on a dark background. The other one was to use a fluorescent technique, which made the text appear dark on a light background. However, none of these techniques made the golden parts of the text show up very well. Consequently the difficult-to-decipher pages in golden ink were also presented as supplementary images on a reduced scale. These were made by using three different techniques: using a yellow filter, using X-rays, and using oblique lighting.

For the photography work of the 1927 edition, a special workshop was established in the basement of Carolina Rediviva, the main building of Uppsala University Library. A specially constructed camera for the purpose was bought from A.W. Penrose & Co. in London. The X-ray work was done at the radiotherapy department of Uppsala University Hospital.

The research assistant Hugo Andersson was the photographer during the project.

In addition to the images of the pages in the *Codex Argenteus*, the 1927 edition also contains an exhaustive introduction in Latin by Otto von Friesen, Professor of the Swedish Language at Uppsala University, and Anders Grape, later on the Chief Librarian of Uppsala University. Hugo Andersson wrote an appendix in English concerning the photographic procedure. The facsimile edition of 1927 was printed by Malmö Ljustrycksanstalt.



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