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CANONS OF EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA IN *THE EVANGELIARIUM ANASTASIAE* OF THE 12th CENTURY

Eusebius of Caesarea, the author of the famous *Historia Ecclesiastica*, written in the 4th century, expanded the evangelical manuscripts with a kind of concordance of parallel sections in other Gospels, called *canones*¹. He explains in *the Letter to Carpianus* that he was inspired by the *Evangelical concordance* of a certain Ammonius of Alexandria presenting the Gospels in four parallel columns². Due to the fact that the division made by Ammonius provided a possibility to read only the Gospel of Matthew in a sequence, Eusebius perfected it to make the lecture of each of the four Gospels possible. Therefore, he divided the Gospels into smaller sections differently numbered in each Gospel. Thus, the Gospel of Matthew was divided into 355 units, Mark's into 233, Luke's into 242 and John's into 232 units, which in total gave 1165 units for all four Gospels³. It is certainly very difficult to reconstruct the whole system of Eusebius's division nowadays since we do not know exactly what version of the Greek text was used by him in the 4th century. Nevertheless, it seems that he was quite innovative at that time.

After making the division into the abovementioned units, Eusebius prepared 10 canons containing a list of fragments of individual Gospels according to the established order, which was also presented by him in the aforesaid *Letter to Carpianus*:

- canon I – sections common to the four Gospels,
- canon II – sections common to the Synoptic Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke,
- canon III – sections common to the Gospels of Matthew, Luke and John,
- canon IV – sections common to the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and John,
- canon V – sections common to the Gospels of Matthew and Luke
- canon VI – sections common to the Gospels of Matthew and Mark,

* Translated by Spektra Sp. z o.o.

¹ Cf. Eusebius Caesarea, *Canones Evangeliorum*, PG 22, 1277-1292; see also: J. Quasten, *Patrologia*, vol. II, Casale Monferrato 1980, pp. 338-339.

² Eusebius of Caesarea, *Epistula ad Carpianum*, PG 22, 1275 -1278. The text of the Letter has been preserved in several language versions: the Greek version was reprinted by H. von Soden, *Die Schriften des neuen Testaments*, I, Berlin 1902, pp. 388-391; the Coptic version: A. Hebbelynck, *Les kephalaia et les titoloi des Evangiles*, Museon 41 (1928) p. 811-20, the Armenian version: A. Vardanian, *Euthalius' werke. Untersuchungen und Texte. Anhang: Briefes Eusebios von Kaisareia an Karpianos*, Wien 1930, pp. 23-26

³ I quote the indicated division in my study on the canons of Eusebius in the Bible of Płock – Cf. L. Misiarczyk, *Canones Eusebiani w Biblii Płockiej z XII wieku*, „Vox Patrum” 30 (2010) vol.55, pp. 421-441.

- canon VII – sections common to the Gospels of Matthew and John,
- canon VIII – sections common to the Gospels of Luke and Mark,
- canon IX – sections common to the Gospels of Luke and John,
- canon X – own sections in particular Gospels in the following order: fragments only in Matthew, only in Mark, only in Luke and only in John.

The tables drawn up in this way together with the numbers of verses or sections facilitated the quick finding of their parallel sections in the remaining Gospels as well as locating their own sections.

The system of Eusebius became popular very quickly in Christian antiquity and was widely adopted not only in Greek manuscripts but also in Syrian and Latin ones under the name of *Canones Eusebiani* or *Canones Eusebii*. It became even more widespread, especially in Western Christianity and in the Latin language area thanks to Jerome who included it in his Vulgate⁴. In turn, in later centuries, when the Latin versions of the Gospel based essentially on Jerome's Vulgate became popular in the western world, the canons of Eusebius were placed in various biblical medieval manuscripts in Europe and in Poland. An excellent example of the indicated process is the *Biblie of Plock* of the 12th century, in which we find such canons of Eusebius that constitutes an undoubtful proof for their wide application in the Christian world for many centuries to come as well as the genius of intuition of Eusebius himself⁵. After the publication of Eusebius's canons from the *Biblie of Plock*, I would like to present in this paper the canons that were preserved in the *Evangelarium Anastasiae* of the 12th century and compare them. It will provide a possibility to analyse the process of their dissemination in the 12th century in Poland and treat it as a guideline facilitating the dating of the creation of the *Evangelium of Anastasia* itself.

Evangelium Anastasiae

The history of the *Evangelium Anastasiae* is closely related to the history of Christianisation of Mazovia. Though, it cannot be ruled out that the first missionaries reached Masovia as early as in the 10th or even 9th centuries, however, there are no sources confirming that. It is accepted that Pope Gregory VII founded a diocese in Plock in 1075⁶, and in the second half of the 11th century, the first biblical codexes appeared in Plock, exemplified by a famous Codex aureus Pultoviensis coming from the indicated period of time. The real blooming period for the book collection for use by both the local cathedral and probably a cathedral school, may be observed in the first half of the 12th century under the reign of Bishop Alexander of Malonne (1129-1156), who brought many books to Plock and also created a local scriptorium⁷. He was the person to erect the first cathedral basilica made of stone on

⁴ Jerome explains the system of Eusebius in the Letter to Pope Damasius (Epistula ad Damasum). Cf. also J. Quasten, *Patrologia*, vol. II, Casale Monferrato 1980, p. 338.

⁵ Cf. L. Misiarczyk, *Canones Eusebiani in the Bible of Plock of the 12th century*, „Vox Patrum” 30 (2010) vol.55, pp. 421-441.

⁶ Cf. T. Żebrowski, *Zarys dziejów diecezji plockiej*, Plock 1976, p. 13nn; idem, *Kościół (X-XIIIth century)*, in: Gieysztor – H. Samsonowicz (ed.), *Dzieje Mazowsza do 1526 roku*, Warszawa 1994, pp. 132- 162.

⁷ Cf. W. Graczyk, *Biblioteka katedralna Plocka od średniowiecza do nowożytności*, in: idem (ed.), *Biblioteka wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Plocku*, Plock 2003, pp. 7-71; W. Graczyk – J.M. Marszalska, *Księgi rękopiśmienne i stare druki w zbiorach Biblioteki wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Plocku. Z dziejów kultury polskich bibliotek kościelnych w dawnych wiekach*, Kraków 2010, pp. 25-35.

the Tumskie Hill (Wzgórze Tumskie) in Płock, consecrated in 1144 and during his reign in diocese, he probably brought the famous *Bible of Płock*⁸, *Evangelium secundum Marcum, Pericopae evangelicae*⁹ to Płock for the purpose of liturgy in the newly created cathedral.

When it comes to our *Evangeliarium Anastasiae*, it supposedly reached Płock in times of Alexander of Malonne¹⁰ or the successor thereof, Bishop Werner (1156-1170), who probably brought it from the journey to the court of Frederick Barbarossa, where he was sent as the prince's representative¹¹. It is unknown exactly when and why he was linked to the figure of Anastasia, not well known to the researchers dealing with the genealogy of the Piast Dynasty¹². Jan Długosz uses the indicated name with reference to Wierzchosława, a daughter of Wsiewłod (the Prince of Novgorod), married to Bolesław Kędzierzawy, but it is difficult to say whether the information can be trusted. It cannot be ruled out that it is the same person using two names: the Slavic one – Wierzchosława and the baptismal one, just Anastasia. Probably her death was the reason for ordering a *Evangeliarium* as a gift-sacrifice for the salvation of her soul¹³. However, the exact date of her death, which could facilitate the dating of the code itself, is not certain. Two dates are provided nowadays: Father Balzer, a researcher dealing with the genealogy of the Piast Dynasty, believes that it took place in 1148¹⁴, whereas others suggest the year 1158¹⁵. It was probably part of the book collection of the Płock Cathedral at first and later, as T. Mroczo suggests, it was handed over to a new foundation of Canons Regular in Czerwińsk by Bolesław IV in 1161 because the document of 1808 mentioned it in the list as the 'book with Gospels all in silver bound'¹⁶. However, we are not sure that it is really about the *Evangeliarium Anastasiae* or another, similar codex. In 1831 the Bishop of Płock, A.M. Prażmowski, offered it as a gift to the Society of Friends of Sciences in Warsaw and the record of the indicated message can be found on the first page of the codex. After the fall of the November Uprising the *Evangeliarium Anastasiae* was taken to St. Petersburg and stored in the Tsar's Public Library, which the seals of the aforementioned library confirm on the first, second and the last page of the codex and the note in Russian of 1899 on the last page. Currently, the codex can be seen in the National Library in Warsaw in the collection of manuscripts under catalogue number II 3307.

The Codex contains 66 parchment cards, 64 of which contain a written text of the Gospel, and 2 extra ones are placed at the beginning: the first one provides us with a record of the donation of Bishop Prażmowski and the second one is the card with the text of the genealogy

⁸ Cf. R. Knapiński, *Iluminacje romańskiej Biblii Płockiej*, Lublin 1992, pp. 9-10; W. Graczyk – J.M. Marszałka, *Księgi rękopiśmienne i stare druki w zbiorach Biblioteki wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Płocku. Z dziejów kultury polskich bibliotek kościelnych w dawnych wiekach*, Kraków 2010, p. 79nn.

⁹ Cf. R. Knapiński, *Iluminacje romańskiej Biblii Płockiej*, pp. 9-10.

¹⁰ This is the opinion of Wł. Semkowicz, *Paleografia łacińska*, Kraków 1951, p. 137, even though he did not study the entire codex thoroughly.

¹¹ Cf. C.K. Święcki, *Kultura literacka Płocka w średniowieczu*, Warszawa-Siedlce 2006, pp. 49-53; idem, *Kultura piśmienna w Polsce średniowiecznej X-XII wiek*, Warszawa 2010, pp. 135-138.

¹² Cf. O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, Kraków 1895, p. 5; K. Askanas, *Srebrna okładka „Ewangeliarza księżnej Anastazji”*, „Notatki Płockie” 1989, s. 2, pp. 9-10; T. Mroczo, *Czerwińsk romański*, Warszawa 1972, p. 50.

¹³ Cf. C.K. Święcki, *Kultura literacka Płocka w średniowieczu*, p. 50; idem, *Kultura piśmienna w Polsce średniowiecznej X-XII wiek*, p. 136.

¹⁴ Cf. O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, Kraków 1895, p. 5.

¹⁵ Cf. C.K. Święcki, *Kultura literacka Płocka w średniowieczu*, p. 50.

¹⁶ T. Mroczo, *Czerwińsk romański*, p. 47.

of Jesus, however, it was taken from some other codex and written by someone else. The 30, 5×20 cm codex was written in one column with the Carolinian minuscule. It includes the *Prephatio* of St. Jerome to the four Gospels, then *Prologus*, *Argumentum*, *Capitula*, the canons of Eusebius, *Evangelium Matthei*, *Evangelium Lucae*, *Commentatio in Johannem Evangelistam* and *Evangelium Johannis*.

The code cover, as W. Semkowicz supposes, is original and comes from the 12th century¹⁷, it was made of oak wood, which was then covered with ornamented reliefs and inscriptions, making our codex an exception in Europe. According to T. Mroczko, only two codexes that have survived to our times have a similar silver cover: The Gospel of Namur in Belgium and of Treviso in Italy¹⁸. The front cover presents the scene of crucifixion with Mary and John the Evangelist, standing nearby accompanied by a woman, supposedly Anastasia, kneeling at the foot of the cross. The upper medallions contain the symbol of the sun, the inscription of 'sol' and the symbol of the moon 'luna'. The back cover presents Christ on the throne holding the codex in the left hand with two fingers of the right hand raised to the top and the letters A and Ω. The symbols of four Evangelists are placed in the four corners: the man – Matthew, the eagle – John, the lion – Mark and the bull – Luke. The cover reveals the elements of Byzantine and Meusean art and the indicated mixture of styles may show that it does not come from the country of Meuse but was created locally – in Płock, where the scriptwriters and masters of the Meusean art were living from the times of Bishop Alexander. However, in the case of our *Evangeliarium Anastasiae* they could combine the Meusean art with the elements of Byzantine art that reached Poland. Anyway, a more thorough analysis of the codex made by art historians is required.

The Canons of Eusebius in the *Evangeliarium Anastasiae*

The canons of Eusebius can be found on the 6-8 incaust-lined cards inscribed inside arches with outer and middle columns. There is the following inscription at the top of the card 6r: *Canon i[us] in q[uo] iiii: Math[eu]s, Marcus, Luca[s], Johannes*. It is therefore the first canon, which presents parallel sections in the four Gospels, which is meant.

Canon I: Matthew, Mark, Luke, John

Mt	Mk	Łk	J	Mt	Mk	Łk	J
VIII	II	VII	X	CCCII	CLXXVI	CCLXXII	XLII
XI	IIII	X	V	CCCIIII	CLXXXI	CCLXXXV	CLVIII
XI	IIII	X	XI	CCCVI	CLXXXI	CCLXXXVII	LXXIX
XI	IIII	X	XIIII	CCCVI	CLXXXI	CCLXXXIX	CLX
XI	IIII	X	XXVIII	CCCX	CLXXXIII	CCXC	CLXX
XIIII	V	XIII	XV	CCCXIII	CLXXXIII	CCXC	CLXII
XIII	XXVII	XII	XLVI	CCCXIII	CLXXXVII	CC[XCII]	CLXXIIII
LXX	XXVII	XLV	XLVI	CCCXIII	CLXXXVII	CCXCIII	LXVIII
XCVIII	XXVII	XLV	XLVI	CCCXV	CXCI	CCXCI	CLXII
XCVIII	XXVII	XLV	XLVI	CCCXVIII	CXCIII	CCXCI	CLXVIII
XCVIII	XX	XXXVII	XXXVIII	CCCXX	CXCV	CCXCI	CLXVII

¹⁷ Cf. W. Semkowicz, *Paleografia*, p. 134.

¹⁸ Cf. T. Mroczko, *Czerwińsk romański*, pp. 49-50.

Mt	Mk	Lk	J		Mt	Mk	Lk	J
XCVIII	XCVI	CXVI	CXX		CCCXXVI	CXCVI	CCC[III]	CLXXV
XCVIII	XCVI	CXVI	CXI		CCCXXVI	CXCVI	CCCII	CLXXVI
XCVIII	XCVI	CXVI	CXL		CCCXXVI	CXCIX	CCCX	CLXXVIII
CXXXIII	XCVI	CXVI	CXLIII ^A		CCCXXVIII	CC	CCCXI	CLXXXIII
CXLI	XCVI	CXVI	CXXVIII		CCCXXXI	CCIII	CCC[III]	CLXXXVIII
CXLII	XCVI	CXVI	CXXXI		CCCXXXII	CCV	CCCXVIII	CXCIII
CXLVII	XXVII	LXXVI	CIX		CCCXXXIII	CCVI	CCCXV	CXCVI
C[X]LXVI ^B	L	XIX	LIX		CCCXXXV	CCIX	CCCXIX	CXCVII
CLXVI	LI	XXI	XXXV		CCCXXXVI	CCX	CCCXXI	CXCVIII
CCVIII	LXIV	XCIII	XLIX		CCCXXXVI	CCXII	CCCXXIII	CCI
CCXI	LXXXII	XCIII	LXIII		CCCXLIII	CCXIII	CCCXVII	CCXC[III]
CCXX	LXXII	XCIII	XVII		CCCXLVIII	CCXV	CCCXIX	CCXCVIII
CCXX	CXIX	CCXXXIII	C		CCCXLIX	CCXVI	CCCXXIX	CCIII
CCXX	CXXI	CCXXXVIII	XXI		CCCXLI	CCXVII	CCCXXII	CCVI
CCXLIII	CXXI ^C	CCXXXIX ^D	LXXXV		CCCXLII	CCXXIX	CCCXXXIII	CCVIII
CCXLIII	CCXXXIX	CCXLII	LXXXVIII			CCXXXI	CCCXXXVI	CCIX
CCXLIII	CCXXXIX	CCLXI ^E	LXXVII			CCXXXI	CCCXXXVI	CC[X]
CCLXXIV	CLVI	CCL	CLXVI ^F					
CCLXXIV	CLVI	CCL	CXLI					
CCLXXIV	CLVI	CCLX	XX					
CCLXVI	CLVIII	CCLX	XLVIII					
CCLXXX	CLXII	CCLX	XCVI					
CCLXXXIV	CLXV	CCLXIII	XCVIII					
CCLXXXIV	CLXV	CCLXIX	CXXII					
CCLXXXIV	CLXV	CCLXVI	LV					
CCLXXXIV	CLXV	CCLXVI	LXIII					
CCLXXXIX	CLXX	CCLX[VI]	LXV					
CCXCI	CLXXII	CCLX ^{???} ^G	LXVII					
CCXCIII	CLXXII	CCLXV	CXXVI					
CCXCV.								
CCXCV[I]	CLXXV	CCLXXIX	CLV					
CCC	CLXXVI	CCLXXXI	CLXI					
CCC	CLXXVI	CCLXXXI	LVII					

^A A clear mistake made by the copyist. The canons of the *Bible of Plock* include: 98, 96, 116 and 144. As a result each subsequent line was also shifted.

^B The copyist made a mistake and initially wrote CXL, and then crossed out the first X writing further CLXVI.

^C In the *Bible of Plock* 122.

^D In the *Bible of Plock* 239.

^E In the *Bible of Plock* 241.

^F In the *Bible of Plock*, a strange CXLXVI record appeared at this place, and thanks to the current canon we can clearly see that it was the copyist's mistake, in that case the same number was meant as well.

^G The last number was illegible.

The bottom part of the columns includes the inscription: *Finit canon in quo IIII*.

Canon II was inscribed on the card 6v: *Canon II in q[u]o III: Matheus, Marc[us], Lucas*, which includes parallel sections of the three Gospels: Matthew, Mark, Luke.

Canon II: Matthew, Mark, Luke

Mt	Mk	Lk		Mt	Mk	Lk
XV	VI	XV		CLXXIX	CVI	CXCVII
XXI	X	XXII		CXC	CVII	CXCV
XXXI	CII	CLXXXV		CXCII	CVII	CCXVI
XXXII	XXXIX	CLXXXIII		CXC	CVIII	CCXXI
V	XXXIX	LXXIX		CXCIII	CVIII	CCXVIII
LXII	XLI	LV		CXCIII	CIX	CCLII
LXII	XIII	IIII		CXCIII	CX	CCXVIII
LXIII	XIII	XXIII		CXCIII	CXI	CCXX
LXVII	XVIII	XXV		CXCV	CXII	CCXXI
LXIX	XV	LXXXIII		CXCVIII	CXIII	CCXXVIII
LXXV	XLVII	XXXIX		CXCVIII	CXV	CCXXII
LXXII	XXVI	XXXIX		CCI	CXVI	CCLI
LXXII	XXII	CLXXXVI		CCIII	CXIX	CCXLIII
LXXIII	XXII	XLVI		CCV	CXXVII	CCXLV
LXXIII	XXIII	LXXV		CCVI	CXIX	CCXLIII
LXXVII	XLVIII	CLXIX		CCVIII	CXXXIII	CCXXXVII
LXXVIII	LII	LXXXVI		CCXV	CXXXV	CCXLVIII
LXXX	XXIX	XLVI		CCXVI		
LXXXI	XXX	LXXXV		CCXXIX	CXXXV	CCXL[IX]
LXXXII	LIII	CX		CCXLII	CXXXVI	CCIX
LXXXIII	LIII	LXXXVIII		CCXLII	CXXXVII	CLIII
LXXXIII	LV	CXIII		CCXLIII	CXXXVIII	CLIII
LXXXV	LV	CXIII		CCXLVIII	CXLIII	CLV
LXXXV	CXLI	LXXXIX		CCXLIX	CXLIII	CIII
LXXXVIII	XL	CXLVIII		CCLI	CXLVI	CLVII
LXXXVIII	LXXXVI	CCLI		CCLIII	CL	CLVIII
XCII	LXXXVI	LXXX		CCLVIII	CLI	CLVIII
XCIII	L	XCVII		CCLIX	CLV	CLVI
XCIII	XXVII	CXLVI		CCLXIII	CLIII	CCXXVIII
CXII	XXV	LXX		CCL???	CL[I]	CCXXX
CXIII	XXXIII	XLI		CCLXXI	CXL	CCXLIII
CXVI	XXX[III]	XLII		CCLXXIX	CXLIII	CCXLIX
CXXI	XXXIII	CXXVII		CCLXXXI	CLXVI	CCLXV
CXXI	XXXV	CXXIX		CCLXXXV	CLXVI	CCLXVII
CXXIII	XXXVI	CXXVI		CCLXXXV	CLXVII	CCLXXX
CXXXIII	XXXVIII	LXXVI		CCXXVI	CLXVII	CCLXXXIII[I]
CXXXV	XLIII	LXVIII		CCXXVI	CLXXXII	CCLXXXVI
CXXXVII	LVII	CLXVI		CCCI	CLXXXIII	CCCV
CXLIII	LIX	XC		CCCVIII	CXCIII	CCCXX[IX]
CXLIII	LXI	XII		CCCII	CXCVII	CCCXCV
CXLIX	LXIX	XLIII		CCCXVI	CXCVIII	CCC[IX]
CXLIX	LXIX	XXXV		CCCXVII	CCII	CCCXXII

Mt	Mk	Lk		Mt	Mk	Lk
CLIII	LXXXIII	XXVI		CCCXXII	CCXVIII	CCCXXV
CLXIII	LXXXIII	CXLIII		CCCXXXVIII	CCXIX	CCCXXXVII
CLXVIII	LXXXV	XCV		CCCXXXIX	CCXX	CCCXXIII
CLXVIII	LXXXVII	CCVI		CCCXL	CCXXII	CCCXXVIII
CLXX	XCI	XCVI		CCCXLII	CCXXIII	CCCXXX
CLXXII	XCIII	XCVIII		CCCXLIII	CCXXV	CCCXXXVII
CLXXIII	XC[V]	XCIX		CCCXLVI	CCXXXII	CCCXXXVIII
CLXXVI	XCV	C		CCCLIII	CCXXXIII	
CLXXVIII	XCVIII	CH		CCCLIII		
CLXXVIII	CV	CVII				

The inscription at the bottom reads: *Finit canon in quo tres*, even though the next card 7r contains a continuation of the same canon II.

There are several canons placed together at card 7r from III to VI. The top left margin of the card contains a continuation of canon II, the middle left margin of the card includes canon III and the bottom left margin of the card displays canon IIII. However, starting from the top right side of the card we can find canon V and next to it canon VI. In the middle part of the card 7r we can read: *Canon III[us] in q[uo] III: Math[eu]s, Luca[s], Ioh[ann]es*. The indicated canon was presented in three columns separated from one another by pilasters without arcades at the top.

Canon III: Matthew, Luke, John

Mt	Lk	J		Mt	Lk	J
I	XIII	I		CXI	CXIX	XXX
I	XIII	III		CXI	CXIX	CXIII
I	VI	V		CXII	CXIX	LXXXVI
VII	LXIII	II		CXII	CXIX	XLIII
VII	LXV	XXV		CXII	CXIX	LXI
LIX	LVIII	CXVI		CXII	CXIX	VIII
XLIII	LVIII	CXXXVII		CXII	CXIX	LXXVI
XC	CCXI	CXVIII		CXII	CXIX	XC
XC	C[C]XIX	CXXXIX		CXII	CXIX	CLIII
XCVII	CXIX	CV		CXII	CXIX	CXLIII
CXI	CXIX	CXLVIII		CXLVI	CL	CXLVII

There is not any inscription closing canon III, and below there appears canon IIII: *Canon IIII in q[uo] III: Math[eu]s, Marcus, Iohannes*.

Canon IIII: Matthew, Mark, John

Mt	Mk	J		Mt	Mk	J
XVIII	VIII	XXVI		CCXVI	CLIX	CXLIII
CXVII	XXVI	XCIII		CCXVI	C[?]LXI	CLXXX
CXVII	XXVI	XCV		CCLXXVII	CLX	CXXII
CL	LXVII	LI		CCLXXVII	CLXIX	CLXXXIII
CLXI	LXXVII	XXIII		CCCXXI	CLXXIII	CLXXX[V]
CLXI	LXXVII	CX[X]I		CCCXXIII	CCLXXXVIII	CLXXXVII

Mt	Mk	J		Mt	Mk	J
CCIII	CXV	CLI		CCCXXIX	CCIII	CCIII
CCIII	CXV	CVI		CCCXXIX	CCVII	
CCXVI	CXV	LXX		CCCXXXIII	CCVII	
CCXVI	CXV	CIII			CCXI	

A typical closing entry is missing under the canon.

The same card 7R contains canon V and VI on its right side. The upper part of the card is very dirty and difficult to read. The left column reads: *Canon V in q[uo] II: Math[eu]s, Luca[s].*

Canon V: Matthew, Luke

Mt	Lk		Mt	Lk		Mt	Lk
III	II		CIII	LXVI		CCXXXIII	CXXXVI
X	VIII		CV	CV		CCXXXVI	CXXXV
XII	XI		CVII	CVIII		CCXXXVII	CXXXVIII
XXVI	XVI		CVIII	CXI		CCXXXVIII	CXL
XXV	XLVI		CX	CXIX		CCXL	CXL
XXVI	XLVII		CXVI	CLXV		CCXLI	CLXXXV
XXVIII	XLVIII		CXVIII	XLX		CCXLV	CCII
XL	XL[VII]		CXXV	CLXXII		CCXLVI	CCV
XLI	CXCIII		CXXVII	CLXXXIII		CCLXXVI	CCXIII
XLIII	CLXXII		CXXVIII	LXX[IX]		CCLXXI	CCVII
XLVI	LIII		CXXIX	LXXX		CCLXXII	CCXII
XLVII	LII		CXXXII	CXX[X]II		CCLV	CCLVII
XLVIII	LV		CXXXVIII	CXV		CCLXVI	CLV
XLIX	CXXIII		CLVII	CXIX		CCLXVII	CLVIII
LI	CLIII		CLVIII	CLXV		CCLXX	CCXXIX
LIII	CXXXIII		CLXI	CLXXVII		CCLXXII	CCXXXI
LIII	CXCI		CLXX	CXXVI			
LV	CL		CLXXXII	LXII			
LVII	LIX		CLXXXII	CLXXVIII			
LX	CXXV		CLXXXII	CXXXII			
LXI	LIII		CLXXXVI	CXXX			
CV	CLXX		CXCVII	CXXXI			
LVI	CLXI		CXIII	CXC			
XCV	CLX		CXXI	CLXVIII			
CCCVI	CLXXI		CCXXVIII	LVII			
CCCVI	LXXIII		CXXXI	CCXVI			
CII	CLXXII		CCXXXII	CCXLI			

There is the following inscription: *Finit canon V* under the columns.

Canon VI is placed on the outside of card 7r. The upper part of the parchment is so dirty that the title is practically impossible to read. One can only guess that there is an inscription there: *Canon in q[uo] II: Math[eu]s, Marcu[s]*. However, there is no doubt that this is about canon VI, since we can find the following inscription: *Finit canon VI* under the column.

Canon VI: Matthew, Mark

Mt	Mk		Mt	Mk		Mt	Mk
IX	III		CLXV	C		CCLXXXII	CLXXI
[XVI]	VII		CLIX	CIII		CCLXXXVI	CLXXXIII
[XX]	[IX]		CLXXXIII	CXIII		CCLXXXVIII	CLXXXIX
[XXII]	XI		CLXXX	CXX		CCXX	CLXXXV
[XCIII]	CXXVI		CLXXXIX	CXXIII		CCXC	CLXXXV
LXXVII	LXIII		CCH	CXXXI		CCXCII	CXC
LXXXVII	CXXXIX		CCXLIII	CXL		CCXCVIII	CXCII
C	XXVIII		CCXV	CXLII		CCCV	CCVIII
CXXXIX	XLV		CCXXV	CXLV		CCCIX	CCXVII
CXLV	LX		CCXLVI	CXLVIII		CCCXI	CCXXI
CXLVIII	L[XV]		CCXLVI	CXLIX		CCCXXX	CCXXVI
CLII	LXIX		CCL	CLII		CCCXXXVII	CCXX[IX]
CLIII	LXXI		CCLII	CLIII		CCCXLI	
CLVII	LXXII		CCLIII	CLVII		CCCXLVII	
CLVIII	LXXX		CCLX	CLXXIII		CCCL	
CLX	LXXXVIII		CCLXIII	CLXX[VII]			
CLXIII	LXXXIX		CCLXV	CLXIX			

There is the following inscription: *Finit canon VI* under the table.

The same canons which are found on card 7r are repeated on card 7v, i.e. we have the continuation of canon II, the whole canon III, IIII, V i VI. However, it is difficult to decide about the motives of the indicated repetition.

The top left corner of the card 8r includes the inscription: *Canon VI[us] in quo duo: Math[eu]s, Joh[anne]s*, but it is a clear mistake made by the copyist because canon VI appeared earlier and also because he himself wrote at its end: *Finit canon VII[us]*. There are no columns here but we can see only two simple arches at the top.

Canon VII: Matthew, John

Mt	J		Mt	J		Mt	J
V	LXXXIII		XXX	XXXIII		CLXXV	CXV
XVIII	LXIX		CXX	LXXXI		CVII	CI
XIX	XXII						

We can read below: *Finit canon VII[us]*.

There is canon VIII on the left side of the same card: *Canon VIII[us] in quo duo Lucas, Marcus*.

We can find the following inscription: *Finit canon decimus* under the canon. Due to the fact that canon X is constituted, according to Eusebius, by own places of the four gospels, so there will be four of them in total.

There is canon X on the right side of card 8r referring to own places in the Gospel of Mark: *Canon X[us] in quo Marcus*.

Canon X: Own sections in the Gospel of Mark

Mk		Mk		Mk		Mk		Mk
XIX		LVIII		LXXXI		XCIII		CXXXI
XXI		LXII		LXXXVII		CI		CLXXXVI
XLIII		LXX		XC		CIII		CCXIII
XLIII		LXXIII		XCI		CXXIII		CCXXXV

There following inscription: *Finit canon decimus* can be found under the column of the text.

However, card 8v includes canon X referring to own places in the Gospel of Luke and John. There is a canon of Luke on the left side of the card: *Canon X[us] in quo Lucas*.

Canon X: Own sections in the Gospel of Luke

Lk		Lk		Lk		Lk		Lk
I		CIII		CLXXIII		CCXXIII		CCXCVIII
III		CVI		CLXXVI		CCXXV		CCCI
V		CVII		CLXVIII		CCXXVII		CCCIII
IX		CXIII		CLXXX		CCXXXVI		CCCVI
XVIII		CXVII		CLXXXI		CCLII		CCCXX
XX		CXXII		CLXXXIX		CCLVI		CCCXVI
XXII		CXXIII		CLXIII		CCLIX		CCCXX
XXIX		CXXXI		CXC		CCLXIII		CCCXXVI
XXXI		CXLIII		CXCII		CCLXI		CCCXXXI
L		CXLVIII		CXCVI		CCLXXIII		CCCXXXIII
LI		CLI		CXCI		CCLXXVI		CCCXXXVIII
LXVII		CLIII		CXCIII		CCLXVIII		CCCXLIII
LXVIII		CLVIII		CCVIII		CCLXXXIII		
LXXII		CLXIII		CCX		CCLXXXVIII		
LXXV		CLXVI		CCXIII		CCXCVI		

There is a final inscription: *Finit Luce p[ro]p[ri]etas* under the table.

The right side of the same card includes canon X referring to the Gospel of John: *Canon X[us] in quo Iohannes*.

Canon X: Own sections in the Gospel of John

J		J		J		J		J
III		LIII		XCIX		CXLVII		CC
VII		LVI		CII		CXLIX		CCII
IX		LVII		CIII		CLI		CCV
XI		LX		CVI		CLIII		CCVII
XIII		LXII		CVIII		CLV		CCX
XVI		LXIII		CX		CLVI		CCXII
XVIII		LXV		CXII		CLIX		CCXIII
XXII		LXVIII		CXV		CLXVIII		CCXVI
XXIII		LXXI		CXVI		CLXV		CCXVIII
XXVII		LXXIII		CXVIII		CLXVII		CCXX
XXIX		LXXV		CXXV		CLXIX		CCXXI
XXXIX		LXXVIII		CXXVII		CLXXI		CCXXIII
XXXIII		LXXX		CXXX		CLXXIII		CCXXVI
XXXVI		LXXXI		CXXXII		CLXXVII		CCXXVII
XXXIX		LXXXIII		CXXXIII		CLXXIX		CCXXX
XL		LXXXVI		CXXXVI		CLXXXI		CCXXXII
XLIII		LXXXIX		CXXXVIII		CXXXIX		
XLV		XCI		CXL		CXCI		
L		XCIII		CXLIII		CXCIII		
LII		XCVII		CXLV		CXCV		

There is the inscription: *Finit ioh[ann]is p[ro]prietas* under the column.

Of course, it is difficult to present any final conclusions about the canons of Eusebius in the medieval Poland exclusively on the basis of the *Evangeliarium Anastasiae* and the *Bible of Plock* since it requires comparative research with other biblical codexes from that period to be made but I will try to present some final remarks of general nature below.

At the beginning, it is worth noting that the Canons of Eusebius from the *Evangeliarium Anastasiae* appear in print for the first time. The answer to the question regarding the origin of the indicated canons both from the *Bible of Plock* and the *Evangeliarium Anastasiae* is strictly dependent on the answer to the question of origin of the codexes themselves. It is assumed that they were brought to Plock in the times of Bishop Alexander of Malonne (1129-1156) or Bishop Werner (1156-1170); however, but more thorough codycological paleographic or parchmentological examination of the codexes has not been conducted so far. Fr. R. Knapiński studied the *Bible of Plock* in the field of illumination and he concluded that the indicated number of professional decorations of the codex and traces of at least a few ornaments reveal that the codex could not be entirely created locally in Plock because such a large and professional scriptorium¹⁹ was missing there in the 12th century. At the most, some miniatures could have been added locally but the whole codex was probably made in the country of Meuse (Mozy) at the request of Bishop Alexander of Malonne. If so, one

¹⁹ Cf. R. Knapiński, *Iluminacje romańskiej Biblii Plockiej*, Lublin 1992.

could assume that the canons of Eusebius were also created in the country of Meuse and were brought to Plock together with the codex. However, it is not obvious at all because the canons of Eusebius in the *Bible of Plock* were inscribed on separate cards and added to the entire codex. Thus, they were created later, probably in a local scriptorium in Plock and could be attached to the codex at another time. It is possible that in Middle Ages Canons of Eusebius were written down on separate parchment cards and sewn on to the codexes.

Then, the canons of the *Bible of Plock* could also be created in the country of Meuse and be added to the codex later. Such a hypothesis is unlikely, however, because it is in the *Evangeliarium Anastasiae* that the canons of Eusebius appear on the first pages of the codex constituting its integral part. Everything seems to point to the fact that they were inscribed together with the entire codex.

The comparative analysis between the canons of Eusebius from the *Bible of Plock* and the ones from the *Evangeliarium Anastasiae* provides a possibility to claim that these are the same canons. The differences spotted between them result from the mistakes of the copyist while making the mistake once or twice in one or the other column caused that automatically the sequence of numbers was not consistent with the content found in the *Bible of Plock*. This is confirmed by canons X where own sections of individual Evangelists can be found. The fewest number of mistakes is found there and at that time the conformity with the canons from the Plock Bible is very large and the discrepancies are very few. The basic question that should be asked at this point is the following: Who wrote the canons down and from whom were they transcribed? If the canons of Eusebius present in the *Evangeliarium Anastasiae* are dependent on the canons found in the *Bible of Plock*, the bible was present in Plock in 1148, which is confirmed by the miracle recorded on the card 239v, which might denote that the *Evangeliarium Anastasiae* was also created before 1148. Of course, the indicated consideration should assume that the canons in the *Bible of Plock* were already there in 1148 and were not added later. However, there is no certainty about that. Discussing things further, if the death of Princess Anastasia took place in 1148 and the *Evangeliarium* was written after her death, our canons would be rewritten from the *Bible of Plock* later, around 1150 or even later, if the Princess died in 1158. It is very difficult to resolve the issue of interdependence between the two codexes solely on the basis of such limited data represented by the canons of Eusebius and we should hope that future research concerning the texts included in them will provide an answer to the posed question. It is undeniable, however, that there is a close relationship between the canons of Eusebius from the *Bible of Plock* and the ones from the *Evangeliarium Anastasiae*. If the canons from the *Bible of Plock* were not created in the country of Meuse, but were inscribed locally in Plock and were added to the Bible, then the canons from the *Evangeliarium Anastasiae* would have been created on site as well. Due to the fact that they constitute an integral part of the codex since they appear after St. Jerome's *Prephatio* to the four aforementioned Gospels, then there is his *Prologus*, *Argumentum* and *Capitula*, so, many arguments indicate that the *Evangeliarium Anastasiae* could also be created in the local scriptorium in Plock. The conclusion suggested at this point is of course a preliminary hypothesis which requires further research over the codexes and biblical texts they convey.

The Canons of Eusebius on *Evangeliarium Anastasiae* of XII century Summary

The article publishes for the first time the famous Canons of Eusebius of Caesarea inscribed in medieval codex called *Evangeliarium Anastasiae*. The comparison between the Canons of Eusebius, included in *Evangeliarium Anastasiae* and the ones from the famous *Bible of Płock*, confirm the strict dependance between the two indicated codexes. Thanks to two notes on the miracles which took place in the cathedral of Płock in 1148 and have been described in the Bible of Płock we know that the Bible should have been in Płock at this time, so it seems reasonable to suppose that also *Evangeliarium Anastasiae* would have been transcribed in the local scriptorium in the middle of XII century.

Keywords: the princess Anastasia, biblical codex, medieval, Płock

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