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The Insular Reception of the Eusebian Canon Tables:

Exegesis and Iconography

2 Volumes: Volume 2

A thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the
Department of History, University College Cork
by Elizabeth Mullins

Dr. Jennifer O'Reilly
Department of History
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Prefatory Note to Appendices

Appendices A, C, D, E and I-N document patristic and Hiberno-Latin references to the Eusebian series. The texts included here have been taken from published material, which is referenced in the appendices' footnotes. The exceptions to this are the transcriptions of sections relating to the canons in Vienna 940 and the Paris manuscript of the Irish Reference Bible, Paris, B.N. lat. 11561 (Appendices M and N). For these texts, letters in italics signify expanded abbreviations. I have not attempted to edit the texts, except on one occasion in Appendix N. In this case, round brackets are used to indicate superfluous letters, while square brackets include letters which have been omitted.

The other appendices cover a variety of topics: Appendix B provides an example of a canon parallel; Appendix F supplies the text of *Plures Fuisse*; Appendix G discusses the layout of Clm. 6235 and Paris, B. N. lat. 1841; Appendix H examines the prefatory material in Vienna 940; Appendix O describes the layout of Insular manuscripts with canon tables; Appendix P contains an English synopsis of *Die Spätantiken Kanontafeln*.

Appendix A

Eusebius' *Letter to Carpianus*

Greek Original[684]

C ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΣ ΚΑΡΠΙΑΝΩ ΑΓΑΠΗΤΩ ΑΔΕΛΦΩ ΕΝ ΚΥΡΙΩ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ.

Ἀμμώνιος μὲν ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, πολλὴν ὡς εἰκὸς φιλοπονίαν καὶ σπουδὴν εἰσαγηοχὼς, τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων ἡμῖν καταλέλοιπεν Εὐαγγέλιον, τῷ κατὰ Ματθαῖον τὰς ὁμοφώνους τῶν λοιπῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν περικοπὰς παραθείς, ὡς ἐξ ἀνάγκης συμβῆναι τὸν τῆς ἀκολουθίας εἱρμὸν τῶν τριῶν διαῤῥαγῆναι, ὅσον ἐπὶ τῷ ὕφει τῆς ἀναγνώσεως. Ἵνα δὲ σωζομένου καὶ τοῦ τῶν λοιπῶν δι' ὅλου σώματός τε καὶ εἱρμοῦ, εἰδέναι ἔχοις τοὺς οἰκείους ἑκάστου εὐαγγελιστοῦ τόπους, ἐν οἷς κατὰ τῶν [αὐτῶν] ἠνέχθησαν φιλαλήθως εἰπεῖν, ἐκ τοῦ πονήματος τοῦ προειρημένου ἀνδρὸς εἰλημμένας ἀφορμὰς, καθ' ἑτέραν μέθοδον κανόνας δέκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν διεχάραξά σοι τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους· ὧν ὁ μὲν πρῶ-
D τος περιέχει ἀριθμοὺς ἐν οἷς τὰ παραπλήσια εἰρήκασιν οἱ τέσσαρες, Ματθαῖος, Μάρκος, Λουκᾶς, Ἰωάννης. Ὁ δεύτερος, ἐν ᾧ οἱ τρεῖς, Ματθαῖος, Μάρκος, Λουκᾶς. Ὁ τρίτος, ἐν ᾧ οἱ τρεῖς, Ματθαῖος, Λουκᾶς. Ἰωάννης. Ὁ τέταρτος, ἐν ᾧ οἱ τρεῖς, Ματθαῖος, Μάρκος, Ἰωάννης. Ὁ πέμπτος, ἐν ᾧ οἱ δύο, Ματθαῖος, Λουκᾶς. Ὁ ἕκτος, ἐν ᾧ οἱ δύο, Ματθαῖος, Μάρκος. Ὁ ἕβδομος, ἐν ᾧ οἱ δύο, Ματθαῖος. Ἰωάννης. Ὁ ὄγδοος, ἐν ᾧ οἱ δύο, Μάρκος, Λουκᾶς. Ὁ ἔννατος, ἐν ᾧ οἱ δύο, Λουκᾶς, Ἰωάννης. Ὁ δέκατος, ἐν ᾧ περί τινων ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἰδίως ἀνέγραψεν. Αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἡ τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων κανόνων ὑπόθεσις· ἡ δὲ σαφὴς αὐτῶν διήγησις, ἔστιν ἥδε. Ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ τῶν τεσσάρων Εὐαγγελίων ἀριθμός τις πρόκειται κατὰ μέρος, ἀρχόμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου, εἶτα δευτέρου, καὶ τρίτου, καὶ καθεξῆς προϊὼν δι' ὅλου μέχρι τοῦ τέλους τοῦ βιβλίου. Καθ' ἕκαστον δὲ ἀριθμὸν ὑποσημείωσις διὰ κινναβάρεως πρόκειται, δηλοῦσα ἐν ποίῳ τῶν δέκα κανόνων κείμενος ὁ ἀριθμὸς τυγχάνει. Οἷον εἰ μὲν α', δῆλον ὡς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ· εἰ δὲ β', ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ· καὶ οὕτω καθεξῆς μέχρι τῶν δέκα. Εἰ οὖν ἀναπτύξας ἓν τι τῶν τεσσάρων Εὐαγγελίων ὁποιονδήποτε, βουληθείης ἐπιστῆναί τινι ᾧ βούλει κεφαλαίῳ, καὶ γνῶναι τίνες τὰ παραπλήσια εἰρήκασι, καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους ἐν ἑκάστῳ τόπους εὑρεῖν, ἐν οἷς κατὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἠνέχθησαν, ἧς ἐπέχεις περικοπῆς ἀναλαβὼν τὸν προκείμενον ἀριθμὸν, ἐπιζητήσας τε αὐτὸν ἔνδον ἐν τῷ κανόνι, ὃν ἡ διὰ τοῦ κινναβάρεως ὑποσημείωσις ὑποδέδληκεν, εἶτα μὲν εὐθὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ μετώπου τοῦ κανόνος προγραφῶν, ὁπόσοι καὶ τίνες τὰ παραπλήσια εἰρήκασιν. Ἐπιστήσας δὲ καὶ τοῖς τῶν λοιπῶν Εὐαγγελίων ἀριθμοῖς τοῖς ἐν τῷ κανόνι ᾧ ἐπέχεις ἀριθμῷ παρακειμένοις, ἐπιζητήσας τε αὐτοὺς ἔνδον ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις ἑκάστου Εὐαγγελίου τόποις, τὰ παραπλήσια λέγοντας εὑρήσεις.

[684] J. P. Migne, PG 22, 1276-78.

Latin Version

The Lindisfarne Gospels, London, British Library, Cotton Nero, D. IV, 8r-9r.[685]

INCIPIT PRAEFATIO EUSEBII

EUSEbius carpiano fratri in d*omi*no salutem
Ammonius quidem alexandrinus magno studio atq*ue* industria unum nobis pro quattuor euangeliis dereliquit. Namq*ue* trium euangeliorum sensus exceptos similies contentusq*ue* matthei euangelio quasi ad unum congestos adnexuit, ita ut eor*u*mdem quantum ad tenore*m* pertinet lectionis sequens iam stilus interruptus esse uideantur. Verum ut salvo corpore siue texto ceterorum hoc est euangelium propria et familiaria loca in quib*us* eadem similiterque dixerunt scire possis ac uere disserere, accepta occasione ex praediciti uiri studio alia ratione decem numero tibi titulos designaui .

Quorum primus quattuor in se continet numeros in quib*us* similia ab uniuersis dicta sunt mattheo marco luca iohanne. Secundus in quib*us* tres mattheus marcus lucas. Tertius in quib*us* tres mattheus lucas iohannes. Quartus in quib*us* tres mattheus marcus iohan*nes*. Quintus in quib*us* duo mattheus lucas. Sextus in quib*us* duo mattheus iohannes. Septimus in quib*us* duo mat*theus* ioh*annes*. Octauus in quib*us* duo marcus lucas. Nonus in quib*us* duo lucas iohannes. Decimus in quib*us* singuli de quib*us*dam proprie scribserunt. E quidem subiectorum titulor*um* id est argumentum.

Clara uero eorum narratio haec est. Etenim per singula loca euangeliorum quidam numerus uidetur adpositus, paulatim incipiens a primo, dein[de] secundo, postremo tres, et per ordinem librorum finem usq*ue* progrediens. Itaq*ue* per singulos numeros supputatio, per minei distinctione*m* inuenitur inserta, significans cui de decim titulis
adpositus numerus dinoscitur ,ueluti siquidem primum certum est in primo, si

[685] This is the oldest surviving Latin version of the *Letter to Carpianus*, see 24, n. 74 and 35 for further discussion of this. Punctuation and paragraphing my own.

uero secundo et eodem modo usq*ue* ad decem. Si igitur euoluto uno qualicumq*ue* e quattuor euangeliis, cuilibet capitulo uelis insistere, et rescire qui similia dixerunt,et loca propria agnoscere singulorum in quib*us* eadem sunt prolocuti eiusdem sensus quemquem tenes, relegens propositum numerum, quaesitumq*ue* eum in titulo quem demonstrat tituli subnotatio, continuo scire poteris ex super scribtionib*us*, quas in fronte notatas inuenies, qui aut quot de his quae inquires, similia dixerint ueniens etia*m* ad reliqua euangelia per eundem numerum quem continens, uidebis adpositos per singulos numeros atq*ue* eos in suis propriisque locis similia dixisse repperies.

EXPLICIT PRAEFATIO EUSEBII

English Translation[686]

Eusebius to Carpianus, Brother Beloved in the Lord

Ammonius, the Alexandrian, having employed much industry and effort (as was proper), has left us the fourfold Gospel, placing the corresponding passages of the other Evangelists beside the Gospel of Matthew, so that the continuous thread of the other three is necessarily broken, preventing a consecutive reading. So that you may know the individual passages of each Evangelist, in which they were led to speak truthfully on the same subject, with the whole context and order of the other three still preserved, I have taken my point of departure from the work of the man already mentioned, but proceeded by a different method, and have produced canons for you, ten in number, which follow-

The first contains numbers in which the four, Matthew, Mark, Luke and John have said similar things. The second in which three, Matthew, Mark and Luke. The third in which three, Matthew, Luke and John. The fourth in which three, Matthew, Mark and John. The fifth in which the two, Matthew and Luke. The sixth in which the two, Matthew and Mark. The seventh in which the two, Matthew and John. The eighth in which the two Luke and Mark.[687] The ninth in which the two Luke and John. The tenth in which each of them wrote about something in an individual manner.

This then is the underlying purpose of the following canons; their clear application is as follows: Before each section of the four Gospels stands a number in the margin, beginning with the first, then the second and third, and proceeding in order throughout until the end of the books. And underneath each number is marked a note in red, indicating in which of the ten canons the number occurs. (For example, if it is 1, it is clear that it is in the first canon; if 2, in the second; and so on as far as 10). Hence if you were to open any one of the four Gospels, and wish to light upon any chapter whatever, to know who

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[686] Timothy D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge MA 1981) 119-20.

has said similar things and to find the relevant passages in each, in which they treated of the same things, then find the number marked against the passage which you have before you, look for it in the canon which the note in red has suggested, and you will immediately learn from the headings at the start of the canon how many and which have said similar things. If you then find the numbers of the other Gospels which lie parallel with the number which you have before you in the canon, and look for them in appropriate places in each Gospel, you will find those passages which say similar things.

[687] This slightly alters Barnes, who has Mark and Luke here. Eusebius included Luke before Mark because of the longer number of sections in his Gospel. See C. Nordenfalk (1938) 48.

Appendix B

Sample Parallel from Canon III

INCIPIT CANON .III IN QUO TRES

MATTH.	LUC.	IOH.
I	**XIIII**	**I**
I	**XIIII**	**III**
I	**XIIII**	**V**
VII	VI	II
VII	VI	XXV

Matthew, Section I (Mt. 1,1-16)

The Book of the Generation of Jesus Christ, the Son of David The son of Abraham.
2 Abraham begot Isaac. And Isaac begot Jacob. And Jacob begot Judas and his brethren;
3 And Judas begot Phares and Zara of Thamar. And Phares begot Esron. And Esron begot Aram
4. And Aram begot Aminadab. And Aminadab begot Naason. And Naason begot Salmon.
5 And Salmon begot Booz of Rahab. And Booz begot Obed of Ruth. And Obed begot Jesse.
6 And Jesse begot David the king. And David the king begot Solomon, Of her that had been the wife of Urias.
7 And Solomon begot Roboam. And Roboam begot Abia. And Abia begot Asa:
8 And Asa begot Josaphat. And Josaphat begot Joram. And Joram begot Ozias.
9 And Ozias begot Joatham. And Joatham begot Achaz. And Achaz begot Ezechias.
10. And Ezechias begot Manasses And Manasses begot Amon. And Amon begot Josias.
11 And Josias begot Jechonias and his brethren in the trans-migration of Babylon.
12 And after the transmigration of Babylon, Jechonias begot Salathiel. And Salathiel begot Zorobabel.
13 And Zorobabel begot Abiud. And Abiud begot Eliacim. And Eliacim begot Azor.
14 And Azor begot Sadoc. And Sadoc begot Achim. And Achim begot Eliud.
15 And Eliud begot Eleazar. And Eleazar begot Mathan. And Mathan begot Jacob.
16 And Jacob begot Joseph the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, who is called Christ.

Luke, Section XIIII (Lk. 3, 23-38)

23 And Jesus himself was beginning about the age of: thirty years: being (as it was supposed) the Son of Joseph, who was of Heli, who was of Mathat,
24 Who was of Levi, who was of Melchi, who was of Janne, who was of Joseph.
25 Who was of Mathatias, who was of Amos, who was of Nathum, who was of Hesli, who Was of Nagge,
26 Who was of Mahath, who was of Mathathias, who was of Semei, who was of Joseph, who was of Juda.
27 Who was of Joanna, who was of Reza, who was of Zoro Babel, who was of Salathiel, who was of Neri.
28 Who was of Melchi, who was of Addi, who was of Cosan, who was of Helmadan, who was of Her,
29 Who was of Jesus, who was of Eliezer, who was of Jorim, who was of Mathat, who was of Levi,
30 Who was of Simeon, who was of Judas, who was of Joseph, who was of Jona, who was of Eliakim,
31. Who was of Melea, who was of Menna, who was of Mathatha, who was of Nathan, who was of David.
32 Who was of Jesse, who was of Obed, who was of Booz, who was of Salmon, who was of Naason,
33 Who was of Aminadab, who was of Aram, who was of Esron, who was of Phares, who was of Judas .
34 Who was of Jacob, who was of Isaac, who was of Abraham, who was of Thare, who was of Nachor,
35 Who was of Sarug, who was of Ragau, who was of Phaleg, who was of Heber, who was of Sale,
36 Who was of Cainan, who was of Araphaxad, who was of Sem, who was of Noe, who was of Lamech,
37 Who was of Mathusale, who was of Henoch, who was of Jared, who was of Malaleel, who was of Cainan.
38 Who was of Henos, who was of Seth, who was of Adam, who was of God.

John, Section I (Jn1, 1-5)

In the beginning was the Word and the word was with God, and the Word was God.
2The same was in the beginning with God.
3 All things were made by him: and without him was made nothing that was made.
4 In him was life, and the life was the light of men;
5 And the light shineth in the darkness, and the darkness did not comprehend it.

John: Section III (Jn 1, 9-10)

9 That was the true light, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world.
10 He was in the world, and the world knew him not.

John: Section V (Jn 1, 14)

14 And the word was made flesh and dwelt among us (and we saw his glory, the glory as it were of the only-begotten of the Father) full of grace and truth.

Appendix C

Jerome's *Novum Opus* Preface[688]

INCIPIT PRAEFATIO SANCTI HIERONYMI PRESBYTERI IN EVANGELIO

Beato papae Damaso Hieronymus,

Nouum opus facere me cogis ex ueteri, ut post exemplaria Scripturarum toto orbe dispersa quasi quidam arbiter sedeam et, quia inter se uariant, quae sint illa, quae cum graeca consentiant ueritate decernam. Pius labor, sed periculosa praesumptio, iudicare de ceteris ipsum ab omnibus iudicandum, senis mutare linguam et canescentem mundum ad initia retrahere paruulorum.Quis enim doctus pariter uel indoctus, cum in manus uolumen adsumpserit et a saliua quam semel inbibit uiderit discrepare quod lectitat, non statim erumpat in uocem, me falsarium me clamans esse sacrilegum, qui audeam aliquid in ueteribus libris addere, mutare, corrigere? Aduersum quam inuidiam duplex causa me consolatur: quod et tu qui summus sacerdos es fieri iubes, et uerum non esse quod uariat etiam maledicorum testimonio conprobatur. Si enim latinis exemplaribus fides est adhibenda, respondeant quibus; tot sunt paene quot codices. Sin autem ueritas est quaerenda de pluribus, cur non ad graecam originem reuertentes ea quae uel a uitiosis interpretibus male edita uel a praesumptoribus inperitis emendata peruersius uel a librariis dormitantibus aut addita sunt aut mutata corrigimus? Neque uero ego de Veteri disputo Testamento, quod a septuaginta senioribus in graecam linguam uersum tertio gradu ad nos usque peruenit. Non quaero quid Aquila quid Symmachus sapiant, quare Therodotion inter novos et ueteres medius incedat; sit illa uera interpretatio quam Apostloi probauerunt. De Nouo nunc loquor Testamento, quod graecam esse non dubium est, excepto Apostolo Mattheo qui primus in Iudaea euangelium Christi hebraeis litteris edidit. Hoc certe cum in nostro sermone discordat et diuersos riuulorum tramites ducit unio, de fonte quaerendum est. Praetermitto eos codices quos a Luciano et Hesychio nun cupatos paucorum hominum adserit peruersa contentio, quibus utique nec in Veteri instrumento post septuaginta interpetes emendare quid licuit nec in Nouo profuit emendasse, cum multarum gentium linguis Scriptura ante translata doceat falsa esse quae addita sunt.

Igitur haec praesens praefatiuncula pollicetur quattuor tantum euangelia, quorum ordo iste est Mattheus Marcus Lucas Iohannes, codicum graecorum emendata con latione sed ueterum. Quae ne multum a lectionis latinae consuetudine discreparent, ita calamo imperauimus ut, his tantum quae sensum uidebantur mutare correctis, reliqua manere pateremur ut fuerunt.

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[688] This edition is that of Robert Weber, *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem* (Stuttgart 1983) 1515-6.

Canones quoque, quos Eusebius caesariensis episcopus alexandrinum secutus Ammonium in decem numeros ordinauit, sicut in Graeco habentur expressimus, quo si quis de curiosis uoluerit nosse quae in euangeliis uel eadem uel uicina uel sola sint, eorum distinctione cognoscat. Magnus siquidem hic in nostris codicibus error inoleuit, dum quod in eadem re alius euangelista plus dixit, in alio quia minus putauerint addiderunt; uel dum eundem sensum alius aliter expressit, ille qui unum e quattuor primum legerat, ad eius exemplum ceteros quoque aestimauerit emendandos. Unde accidit ut apud nos mixta sint omnia, et in Marco plura Lucae atque Matthei, rursum in Matheo Iohannis et Marci, et in ceteris reliquorum quae aliis propria sunt inueniantur. Cum itaque canones legeris qui subiecti sunt, confusionis errore sublato, et similia omnium scies et singulis sua quaeque restitues. In canone primo concordant quattuor, Mattheus Marcus Lucas Iohannes; in secundo tres, Mattheus Marcus Lucas; in tertio tres, Mattheus Lucas Iohannes; in quarto tres, Mattheus Marcus Iohannes; in quinto duo, Mattheus Lucas; in sexto duo, Mattheus Marcus; in septimo duo, Mattheus Iohannes; in octavo duo, Lucas Marcus; in nono duo, Lucas Iohannes; in decimo propria unusquisque, quae non habentur in aliis, ediderunt. Singulis evangeliis ab uno incipiens usque ad finem librorum dispar numerus increscit. Hic nigro colore praescriptus sub se habet alium ex minio numerum discolorem, qui ad decem usque procedens indicat, prior numerus in quo sit canone requirendus. Cum igitur aperto codice uerbi gratia illud siue illud capitulum scire uolueris cuius canonis sit, statim ex subiecto numero doceberis, et recurrens ad principia in quibus canonum est distincta congeries, eodemque statim canone ex titulo frontis inuento, illum quem quaerebas numerum eiusdem euangelistae qui et ipse ex inscriptione signatur inuenies, atque e uicina ceterorum tramitibus inspectis, quos numeros e regione habeant adnotabis; et cum scieris, recurres ad uolumina singulorum et sine mora, reppertis numeris quos ante signaueras, repperies et loca in quibus uel eadem uel uicina dixerunt.

Opto ut in Christo ualeas et memineris mei, papa beatissime.

EXPLICIT PRAEFATIO

English Translation[689]

Jerome to the Blessed Pope Damasus

*You urge me to revise the old Latin version, and, as it were, to sit in judgement on the copies of the Scriptures which are now scattered throughout the whole world; and in as much as they differ from one another, you would have me decide which of them agree with the Greek original. The labour is one of love, but at the same time both perilous and presumptuous; for in judging others I must be content to be judged by all; and how can I dare to change the language of the world in its hoary old age, and carry it back to the early days of its infancy? Is there a man, learned or unlearned, who will not, when he takes the volume into his hands, and perceives what he reads does not suit his settled tastes, break out immediately into violent language, and call me a forger and a profane person for having the audacity to add anything to the ancient books, or to make any changes or corrections therein? Now there are two consoling reflections which enable me to bear the odium - in the first place, the command is given by you who are the supreme bishop; and secondly, even on the showing of those who revile us, readings at variance with the early copies cannot be right. For if we are to pin our faith to the Latin texts, it is for our opponents to tell us which; for there are almost as many forms of text as there are copies. If, on the other hand, we are to glean the truth from a comparison of many, why not go back to the original Greek and correct the mistakes introduced by inaccurate translators, and the blundering alterations of confident but ignorant critics, and, further, all that has been inserted or changed by copyists more asleep than awake? I am not discussing the Old Testament, which was turned into Greek by the Seventy elders, and has reached us by a descent of three steps. I do not ask what Aquila and Symmachus think, or why Theodotion takes a middle course between the ancients and the moderns. I am willing to let that be the true translation which has apostolic approval. I am now speaking of the New Testament. This was undoubtedly composed in Greek, with the exception of

[689] The section marked out with asterisks at its beginning and end is that translated by W.H. Freemantle in *St. Jerome: Letters and Select Works*, NPNF 6, 2nd series (repr. Grand Rapids 1989) 487-488. The unmarked section is my own translation.

the work of Matthew the Apostle, who was the first to commit to writing the Gospel of Christ, and who published his work in Judea in Hebrew characters. We must confess that as we have it in our language it is marked by discrepancies, and now that the stream is distributed into different channels we must go back to the fountainhead. I pass over those manuscripts which are associated with the names of Lucian and Hesychius, and the authority of which is perversely maintained by a handful of disputatious persons. It is obvious that these writers could not amend anything in the Old Testament after the labours of the Seventy; and it was useless to correct the New, for versions of Scripture which already exist in the languages of many nations show that their additions are false.

I therefore promise in this short Preface the four Gospels only, which are to be taken in the following order, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, as they have been revised by a comparison of the Greek manuscripts. Only early ones have been used. But to avoid any great divergences from the Latin which we are accustomed to read, I have used my pen with some restraint, and while I have corrected only such passages as seemed to convey a different meaning, I have allowed the rest to remain as they are.*

The canons also which Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, arranged in ten numbers following Ammonius the Alexandrian, we have expressed just as they are in Greek, whereby if anyone of the curious wished to know, what in the Gospels are either the same or similar or unique, he could learn through the divisions of these. This great error grew such in our books, until what one Evangelist said more on the same thing was added to the other, because it was thought less; or rather while the other expressed the same sense in another way, he, who had read first one of the four would judge against its example also that which was to be corrected in the others. Whence it happened that with us everything was mixed up, and in Mark more of Luke and of Matthew can be found, and the other way round in Matthew more of John and Mark, and in the remaining, various things which are particular to the others. When therefore you have read the canons which have been placed underneath, the error of confusion having been removed, you will know both the similarities

of them all and will also restore to them each everything which belongs to them. In the first canon the four Matthew, Mark, Luke and John are in harmony. In the second three, Matthew, Mark, Luke. In the third three, Matthew, Luke, John. In the fourth three, Matthew, Mark, John. In the fifth two, Matthew, Luke. In the sixth two, Matthew, Mark. In the seventh two, Matthew, John. In the eighth two, Luke, Mark. In the ninth two, Luke, John. In the tenth are published every single particular thing, which is not had in the others. A different number increases in the individual Gospels beginning from one up to the end of the books. This number, written first in black ink, has under it another different coloured number in minim, which, proceeding up to ten, indicates in which canon the previous number may be found. When therefore having opened up the codex, you wished to know, for example, of which canon is one or the other chapter, you will have learned from the number placed below and, returning to the beginning into which a mass of canons has been divided, coming always to the same canon from the title at the front, that number which you will be looking for of the same Evangelist, and who himself you will find from the title inscribed, by going through the neighboring sections of the others, you will note which numbers they have from the line. And when you have learned, you will go back to the volumes of each without delay, having found the numbers which you had previously marked, you will find the places in which they said the same or something similar.

I wish, most Holy Father, that you will avail for and remember me in Christ.

Appendix D

Isidore's Treatment of the Canons in the *Etymologiae*, VI, xv:[690]

DE CANONIBUS EVANGELIORUM. Canones Evangeliorum Ammonius Alexandriae primus excogitavit, quem postea Eusebius Casariensis secutus plenius conposuit. Qui ideo facti sunt, ut per eos invenire et scire possimus qui reliquorum Evangelistarum similia et propria dixerunt. Sunt autem numero decem, quorum primus continet numeros in quibus quattuor eadem dixerunt: Matthaeus, Marcus, Lucas, Iohannes. Secundus, in quibus tres: Matthaeus, Marcus, Lucas. Tertius, in quibus tres: Matthaeus, Lucas, Iohannes. Quartus, in quibus tres: Matthaeus, Marcus, Iohannes. Quintus, in quibus duo: Matthaeus, Lucas. Sextus, in quibus duo: Matthaeus, Marcus. Septimus in quibus duo: Matthaeus, Iohannes. Octavus, in quibus duo: Lucas, Marcus. Nonus in quibus duo: Lucas Iohannes. Decimus in quibus singuli eorum propria quaedem dixerunt. Quorum expositio haec est. Per singulos enim Evangelistas numeras quidam capitulis adfixus adiacet, quibus numerus subdita est aera quaedam mineo notata, quae indicat in quoto canone positus sit numerus, cui subiecta est aera. Verbi gratia: Si est aera . I., in primo canone; si secunda, in secundo; si tertia, in tertio; et sic per ordinem usque ad decimum perveniens. Si igitur, aperto quolibet Evangelio, placuerit scire qui reliquorum Evangelistarum similia dixerunt, adsumes adiacentem numerum capituli, et requires ipsum numerum in suo canone quem indicat, ibique invenies quot et qui dixerint; et ita demum in corpore inquisita loca, quae ex ipsis numeris indicantur, per singula Evangelia de eisdem dixisse invenies.

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[690] This edition is that of W.M. Lindsay, *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum Sive Originum Libri XX, Tomus* I (Oxford 1911).

Appendix E

Victor of Capua's Preface to his *Diatessaron*[691]

.....Hoc igitur euangelium, cum absque numeris repperissem, quos ammonius mirabili studio repperit; Eusebius uero caesareae episcopus palestinae - ab eo accipiens exemplum diligenter excoluit - quibus communiter ab euangelistis dicta uel propria sunt notulis declarata - domino iuuante, studium laboris inpendi, ut memoratos numeros per loca congrua diligenter adfigerem . quodsi dubitatio alicuius uerbi fortasse prouenerit ex appositis numeris ad plenarium recurrens quilibet euangelii lectionem an et ibidem ita se sermo habeat de quo ambiguitas prouenerat incunctanter inueniat . et absque scrupulo studiosi mens secura hoc possit . uti uolumine . quod etsi a compositi huius auctore uoluminis cum numeris editum fuit sed transcribentium desidia omissi putantur . nos tamen in eo sumus labore uersati quo opera solet nouella praesumi . sciendum sane quod hic numerus canonicus usque ad denarium perueniat quantitatem . neque scribentis uoluntate horum numerorum summa defixa est . sed ratione et regula naturali . ab ammonio est inuenta sagaciter.

Neque enim aut infra denarium aut ultra poterit ullo modo alius numerus repperiri . qui quattuor euangelistarum dicta communia aut propria ualeat explicare . quod praesenti facile potest exemplo probari . nam aut omnes quattuor sibi concordare necesse est . aut mattheus . marcus . lucasque sibi conueniunt; aut mattheus iohanni consentit . aut mattheus lucae concordat . aut mattheus cum marco eadem loquitur . aut marcus cum luca et iohanne paria loquitur . aut marcus cum iohanne similibus loquitur . aut marcus cum luca eadem narrat . aut lucas cum iohanne non discrepantia referunt . aut singuli propria inuenitur exponere . In quattuor igitur euangelistis euidenti numerorum ratione monstratum est quod non ualeat communis propriaque relatio ultra progredi . aut intra denarium contrahi quantitatem . quos tamen canones breuiter supter adnexui, ut manifestius fiat in quo canone euangelistae communia uel propria dixerint . ordinem uero quem in canonum ratione digessimus . ad hoc exeruimus ut sola probatio fieret . rationabiliter denarii summam fuisse conscriptam . nam quae sit eorum positio, breuiter ut diximus infra notari curauimus . ipsos quoque numeros

in unum pariter congregatos in modum quo eos sanctus hieronymus digessit curaui describere . iuxta seriem dumtaxat qua totius euangelii huius lectio explicatur ut qui eadem uel alia aut ubi propria . euangelistae protulerint memoratos numeros prius curiosus lector si uelit, inspiciens facile ex nota numeri reperta comprobet lectione . sanctam et beatissimam trinitatem praecantes . ut nos in ueritate scripturarum suarum erudire dignetur . et discretionis gratiam tribuat . quatenus ut optimi trapezitae . omnia probemus secundum apostolum et quae sunt bona sectemur.

[691] Edition from Ernst Ranke, *Codex Fuldensis* (Marburg 1868) 2-3.

Appendix F

Jerome's *Plures Fuisse* Preface[692]

Plures fuisse qui euangelia scripserunt et Lucas euangelista testatur dicens: *Quoniam quidem multi conati sunt ordinare narrationem rerum quae in nobis completae sunt, sicut tradiderunt nobis qui ab initio ipsi viderunt sermonem et ministra uerunt ei*; et perseuerantia usque in praesens tempus monu menta declarant quae a diuersis auctoribus edita diuersarum hereseon fuere principia, ut est illud iuxta Aegyptios et Thoman et Mathian et Bartholomeum, duodecim quoque apostolorum et Basilidis atque Apellis ac reliquorum quos enumerare longissimum est, cum hoc tantum inpraesentiarum necesse sit dicere existitisse quosdam qui sine spiritu et gratia Dei conati sunt magis ordinare narrationem quam historiae texere ueritatem; quibus iure potest illud propheticum coaptari: *Vae qui prophetant de corde suo, qui ambulant post spiritum suum, qui dicunt: Dicit Dominus, et Dominus non misit eos*; de quibus et Saluator in euangelio Iohannis loquitur: *Omnes qui ante mei uenerunt fures fuerunt et latrones. Qui uenerunt*, non qui missi sunt; ipse enim ait: *Veniebant et ego non mittebam eos*, in uenientibus praesumptio temeritatis, in missis obsequium seruitutis est. Ecclesia autem, quae supra petram Domini uoce fundata est quam introduxit rex in cubiculum suum et ad quam per foramen descensionis occultae misit manuam suum similis dammulae hinuloque ceruorum, quattuor flumina paradisi instar eructans, quattuor et angulos et anulos habet, per quos quasi arca testamenti et custos legis Domini lignis inmobilibus uehitur. Primus omnium

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[692] This is the edition of D. Hurst and M Adriaen, Jerome *Commentariorum in Matheum*, CCSL 77 (Turnhout 1969) 1-4. Following this edition, I have italicized scriptural citations, which appear in the text. As I have omitted the CCSL *apparatus criticus*, readers should consult the original for exact references and notes, a number of the references are also included in parentheses in the English translation, which follows. I have included also only the first part of the preface in the appendix, this was the normal form of the preface later medieval Gospel books. The full preface again can be found in the Hurst, Adriaen edition.

Matheus est, publicanus cognomine Leui, qui euangelium in Iudaea hebreo sermone edidit ob eorum uel maxime causam qui in Iesum crediderant ex Iudaeis et nequaquam legis umbram succedente euangelii ueritate seruabant; secundus Marcus interpres apostoli Petri et Alexandrinae ecclesiae primus episcopus, qui Dominum quidem Saluatorem ipse non uidit sed ea quae magistrum audierat praedicantem iuxta fidem magis gestorum narrauit quam ordinem; tertius Lucas medicus natione Syrus Antiochensis, cuius laus in euangelio, qui et ipse discipulus apostoli Pauli in Achaiae Boetiaque partibus uolumen condidit quaedam altius repetens et ut ipse in proemio confitetur audita magis quam uisa describens; ultimus Iohannes apostolus et euangelista, quem Iesus amauit plurimum, qui super pectus Domini recumbens purissima doctrinarum fluenta potauit, et qui solus de cruce meruit audire: *Ecce mater tua*; is cum esset in Asia et iam tunc hereticorum semina pullularent Cerinti, Hebionis et ceterorum qui negant Christum in carne uenisse, quos et ipse in epistula sua antichristos uocat et apostolus Paulus frequenter percutit, coactus est ab omnibus paene tunc Asiae epis copis et multarum ecclesiarum legationibus de diuinitate Saluatoris altius scribere et ad ipsum ut ita dicam Dei uerbum non tam audaci quam felici temeritate prorumpere. Vnde et ecclesiastica narrat historia cum a fratribus cogeretur ut scriberet, ita facturum se respondisse si indicto ieiunio in commune omnes Dominum precarentur; quo expleto reuelatione saturatus in illud proemium caelo ueniens eructauit: *In principio erat Verbum et Verbum erat apud Deum et Deus erat Verbum, hoc erat in principio apud Deum.* Haec igitur quattuor euangelia multo ante praedicta Hiezechielis quoque uolumen probat in quo prima uisio ita contexitur: *Et in medio sicut similitudo quattuor animalium, et uultus eorum facies hominis et facies leonis et facies uituli et facies aquilae.* Prima hominis facies Matheum significat qui quasi de homine exorsus

est scribere: *Liber generationis Iesu Christi filii David filii Abraham*; secunda Marcum in quo uox leonis in heremo rugientis auditur: *Uox clamantis in deserto: Parate viam Domini, rectas facite semitas eius*; Tertia uituli qua euangelistam Lucam a Zacharia sacerdote sumpsisse initium praefigu rat; quarta Iohannem euangelistam qui adsumptis pinnis aquilae et ad altiora festinans de uerbo Dei disputat. Cetera quae sequuntur in eundem sensum proficiunt, crura eorum recta, et pinnati pedes, et quocumque spiritus ibat, ibant et non reuertebantur, et dorsa eorum plena oculis, et scintillae ac lampades in medio discurrentes, et rota in rota, et in singulis quattuor facies. Vnde et Apocalypsis Iohannis post expositionem uiginti quattuor seniorum qui tenentes citharas et fialas adorant agnum Dei, introducit fulgora et tonitrua et septem spiritus discurrentes et mare uitreum et quattuor animalia plena oculis dicens: *Animal primum simile leoni et secundum simile uitulo et tertium simile homini et quartum simile aquilae uolanti*; et post paululum: *Plena*, inquit, *erant oculis et requiem non habebant die ac nocte dicentia: Sanctus sanctus sanctus Dominus Deus omnipotens qui erat et qui est et qui uenturus est*. Quibus cunctis perspicue ostenditur quattuor tantum debere euangelia suscipi et omnes apocriphorum nenias mortuis magis hereticis quam ecclesiasticis uiuis canendas.

English Translation[693]

There were many who wrote Gospels and this was testified to by Luke the Evangelist in saying: 'For as much as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a narration of the things that have been accomplished among us. According as they have delivered them unto us, who from the beginning were eye witnesses and ministers of the word' (Lk. 1:5). And there persist still to the present day works, written by many different authors, which began the spreading of diverse heresies, such as the Gospels by the Egyptians, and by Thomas, Mathias, Bartholemew, by the twelve apostles, Basilides and Apellis and the remaining, which it would be too lengthy to enumerate. At present it is merely necessary to say, that there were many, who tried, without the inspiration or grace of God, more to set forth in order narration than to compose true history. One can justly apply to them the saying of the prophet: 'Woe to those who prophesize from their own heart, who work from their own inspiration who say God says, when he hasn't sent them' (Ez. 13: 3). And of whom the Saviour speaks in the Gospel of John: 'All others as many as have come are thieves and robbers. Who came', who were not sent (Jn. 10: 8). He also said: "they came and I sent them not" (Jer. 14: 14). In those who come there is the presumption of boldness, in those sent the obedience of service.

But the church, which was, by the saying of the Saviour, founded on rock (Mt. 16: 18), which the king brought into his storerooms (Cant. 1: 3, 2: 4), and to whom through the opening of his hidden descent he put out his hand (Cant. 5: 4), he who is like the gazelle or fawn of deer (Cant. 2: 9, 8:14) - this church, like Paradise, makes gush forth from her four rivers (Gen. 2: 10). She possesses four corners and four rings, by which, like the Ark of the Covenant, the guardian of the Law, she is carried on immovable wooden poles (Ex. 25: 10-12).

*The first of all is Matthew, the publican surnamed Levi. He wrote his

[693] The section between asterisks * signifies the translation of W.H. Freemantle in NPNF 6. The

Gospel in Judea in the Hebrew language, principally for the sake of Jewish believers in Christ, who adhered in vain to the shadow of the law, although the substance of the Gospel had come. The second is Mark, the interpreter of the apostle Peter and the first bishop of Alexandria. He indeed did not himself see Christ the Saviour, but he related the matter of this Master's preaching with more regard to minute detail than to historical sequence. The third is Luke, a physician, in nationality a Syrian of Antioch, whose praise is in the Gospel. Himself a disciple of the apostle Paul, he wrote his book in Achaia and Boethia. He thoroughly investigates certain particulars and, as he confesses himself in his preface, he describes what he had heard rather than what he had seen. The last is John, Apostle and Evangelist, whom Jesus loved most (Jn. 13: 25), who reclining on Jesus' bosom drunk heavily of the waters of purest doctrine (Jn. 21: 15) , and who was the only one thought worthy of the word from the cross , 'Behold thy mother' (Jn. 19: 27). When he was in Asia - where already the seeds of heresies were springing up, of Cerinthus, the Ebionites, and others, who denied that Christ had come in the flesh, whom he in his own epistle calls Antichrists (II Jn. 7), and whom the Apostle Paul frequently assails (Rom. 3: 20) - He was urged by almost all the bishops of Asia then living, and by deputations from many churches to write more profoundly concerning the divinity of the Saviour, and to break through all obstacles so as to attain to the very Word of God (if I may so speak) with a boldness as successful as it appears audacious. Ecclesiastical History relates that: pressed to write by his brothers, he responded that he would do so if a fast was prescribed and if all would offer up prayer to God. And when the fast was over, the narrative goes on to say, being filled with revelation, he burst into the heaven-sent preface: 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God and the Word was God' (Jn. 1: 1).*

These therefore the four Gospels, previously predicted by many, shown also in the Book of Ezechiel, in which the first vision is so formed: 'And in the midst thereof the likeness of four living creatures and the faces of them

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other sections are my own translation.

the face of a man and the face of a lion and the face of a calf and the face of an eagle' (Ez. 1: 5-10). The first face of a man signifies Matthew, who (as it were) writes at the beginning of a man: "The Book of the Generation of Jesus Christ, the son of Abraham, the son of David" (Mt. 1: 1). The second [signifies] Mark, in whom the voice of the lion roaring in the desert is heard: 'A voice of one crying in the desart, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight his paths' (Mk. 1: 3). The third of the calf, which prefigures that the Evangelist Luke chose to begin with the priest Zacharias (Lk. 1: 5). The fourth is the Evangelist John, who after taking up the wings of an eagle and ascending to the heights, treats of the word of God (Jn. 1: 1). The others who attended advanced in the same way, their legs straight, their winged feet, and through whatever spirit it moved, they moved and didn't turn around, their backs full of eyes and flaming coals and torches going to and fro and wheel in wheel and the four faces in each (Ez. 1: 7-10, 10: 10). And whence the Apocalypse of John, after the exposition of the 24 elders who holding harps and bowls adore the Lamb of God, introduces thunder and lightning and the seven flickering spirits and the sea of glass (Rev. 4: 4-6) and four beasts full of eyes saying: 'The first beast was like a lion, the second like a calf, the third like a man, and the fourth like an eagle in flight' (Rev. 4: 7). And after a little 'Full', he says, 'of eyes and they rested not day and night, saying: Holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, who was, and who is, and who is to come' (Rev. 4: 8). By all these is clearly shown that one must admit only the four Gospels and all the dirges of the apocryphies are to be sung more by dead heretics, than by the living men of the Church.

Appendix G

Clm. 6235/ Paris B.N. lat. 1841

Introduction

This appendix discusses more fully the contents of two manuscripts Clm. 6235 and Paris B.N. lat. 1841. Both manuscripts have been dated to the mid-ninth century with a suggested Northern Italian provenance.[694] They are significant in preserving a unique series of evangelical texts. Four of these texts: *Pauca de libris catholicorum scriptorum in euangelia excerpta*, the *Praefacio secundum Marcum*, Ps.-Jerome's *Expositio IV euangeliorum* and the *Historica inuestigatio euangelii secundum Lucam* have been described as Hiberno-Latin. This appendix discusses other features of these manuscripts which have been so far unnoticed. Its main objective is to provide a full description of each manuscript's contents. It is hoped that this will serve to highlight the significance of this evangelical series and also contribute to the broader discussion of its origins.

Context

Each manuscript preserves the evangelical series in a different context. Clm. 6235 can be divided into two parts. The first part (fols. 1v-31v) contains the commentary on the Pauline Epistles recently edited by Seán de Paor.[695] The series of evangelical texts takes up the second part, running from fols. 32r-71v.[696] Clm. 6235 ends after the conclusion of Ps.-Jerome's Commentary on John. Paris B.N. lat. 1841 begins with a copy of Jerome's *Commentariorum in Mattheum*, fols.1v-105v. The evangelical series follows, fols. 106r-168r. The Paris manuscript concludes with a fragment of *Alexander's Letter to Aristotle about*

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[694] See Chapter 4, 70-72, for further discussion of these manuscripts' palaeography and provenance.

[695] Seán (John Liam) de Paor, 'A Study of the Irish Commentary on St. Paul contained in the Freising MS Clm. 6235', unpublished D. Phil Thesis (Trinity College Dublin 1999) 2 volumes and also S. de Paor, 'Adam's Grave, Adam's Grave and Our Souls, the Doctrine of the Three Letters and Clm. 6235' in T. O' Loughlin (ed) (1999) 95-108.

[696] See the table on 237-8 for these manuscripts' layout.

India. This takes up 5 folios, running from 168v-170v. The presence of this text has not been noticed in previous scholarship and deserves some further comment.[697]

Alexander's Letter to Aristotle about India is the longest and most detailed of a series of miracle letters which document the marvels Alexander encountered on his journey to the 'unknown places of India'.[698] The Latin version of this letter, dating probably to the second or third century AD, derives from an older Greek text, preserved now only in shortened form in Ps.-Callisthenes' *Alexander Romance* III, 17. The fragment in Paris B.N. lat. 1841 contains the opening of Alexander's text (Plates 1 and 2 reproduce fol. 168v and 170v).[699] It describes the victory over the Fasian King Porus and part of the subsequent journey into the Indian interior, including the account of the invincible hippopotami. It breaks off at the opening of the first long episode which tells of the bivouac by the stagnant pool. The last words of the fragment, at the end of 170v, read, *Hec prodigia insecuta sunt inmensa uiscera statarum humidarumque serpentiuum variis distincta coloribus* (Plate 2).

In the context of this thesis it must be asked if the presence of this fragment helps to identify any further the scriptorium which produced Paris B.N. lat 1841. Some initial remarks can be made here. The Latin version of *Alexander's Letter* is currently known to be preserved in 114 manuscripts, ranging in date from the ninth to the seventeenth century.[700] The dating of Paris B.N. lat. 1841 to the middle of the ninth century thus implies it is one of the earliest known copies. A

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[697] See the description of the manuscript in P. H. Lower, *Catalogue Générale des Manuscrits Latins*, II (Paris 1940) 143.

[698] For a general introduction see James S. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought* (Princeton 1992) 109-16 and Lloyd L. Gunderson, *Alexander's Letter to Aristotle about India* (Meisenheim am Glan 1980), which also contains an English translation. The letter was edited by W.W. Boer, *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem ad Codicum Fidem Edita* (The Hague 1953). On p. 7 of Boer's edition Alexander writes of being led, *per ignota Indiae loca*. The letter has also been edited by M. Feldbusch, *Der Brief Artistoteles über die Wunder Indiens*, *Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie* 78, (Meisenheim am Glan 1976). This edition also contains parallel passages from Ps.-Callisthenes.

[699] This runs to from 1,1-17, 5 of Boer's edition.

[700] 113 of these manuscripts are listed in D.J.A. Ross, 'A Checklist of Manuscripts of Three Alexander Texts: The Julius Valerius Epitome, the *Epistola ad Aristotelem* and the *Collatio cum Didimo*', *Scriptorium* 10 (1956) 127-32. Another fragment was discovered by Otto Mazal in Vienna, Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1631. See O. Mazal, 'Zwei Neue Fragmentfunde zur Lateinischen Romanhaften Literatur', *Scriptorium* 18 (1964) 210-218.

collation of this text with Boer's edition of the *Letter*, based on a comparison of 67 manuscripts, shows it to belong to his second family.[701] It has links with the fragmentary version of the *Epistola* in another manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris B.N. lat. 7561, dated to saec. IX-X.[702] It is most closely related to an eleventh century manuscript, Bruxellis, Bibliotheca Regia 5354-5361. Neither of these manuscripts is known to contain Hiberno-Latin material.[703] Further research on the contents of these related manuscripts and the transmission of the Boer's second family may thus shed light on where Paris. B.N. lat. 1841 was produced.

The Evangelical Series

Future research on other texts contained within the evangelical series may also provide clues regarding provenance. The following table contains the layout of each manuscript:

Clm. 6235	Evangelical Series	Paris. B.N. Lat. 1841
Commentary on the Pauline Epistles		Jerome: Commentary on Matthew
	Novum Opus	
	Pauca de libris catholicorum scriptorum	
	Incipit de genelogia saluatoris...	
	Incipit interpretatio paucorum de euangelio sermonum	
	Ps. Jerome, *Expositio IV euangeliorum* Prologue,	

[701] W.W. Boer (ed) (1953) describes the second family on pp. xxiv-xxvi.
[702] The fragment in Paris B.N. lat. 7561 is longer than that in B.N. lat. 1841, running up to the equivalent of Boer 38, 2. He dates this manuscript to the tenth century, a ninth century dating was suggested by Paul van de Woestijne, 'A Propos de L'«Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem»', *L'Antiquité Classique* 7 (1938) 67-76.
[703] W. Boer (1953) xviii, vi describes Paris B.N. lat. 7561 to contain fragments from diverse centuries, among which is a copy of Marcus Aurelius Nemesien's *Cynegeticon*. Brussels, Bibliotheca Regia 5354-5361 contains a copy of the *Carmina* of Venantius Fortunatus.

	Commentaries on Mt. and Mk	
	Praefacio secundum Marcum	
	Historical Commentary on Luke	
	Mt. Hebrew Names	
	Iudex Iniquus and other extracts from Augustine, Ambrose re. Jn	
	Ps. Jerome on Jn.	
		Alexander's Letter to Aristotle about India

A collation of the text of *Novum Opus*, which opens the series, with those of other early medieval Gospel books may be fruitful. The preface on Matthew's genealogy entitled *Incipiunt Pauca a sancto Hieronimo et agustino et ab aliis scriptoribus katholicis de genelogia salvatorem secundum carnem dicta*, has been so far untouched by scholarship. Current work on the evangelical glossary, which is placed directly before the Ps-Jerome prologue, has revealed that while its main source is Isidore, it also has a number of Hiberno-Latin connections.[704] In the same way, while the interpretation of the names of Christ's ancestors in Matthew's genealogy seem largely Hieronymian, a trace of influence from Ailerán's *Interpretatio mystica et moralis progenitorum Domini Iesu Christi* may be found in the interpretation of *Zara* as *coccineus*.[705]

Research on the first recension of Ps.-Jerome's *Expositio IV euangeliorum* is also necessary. Griesser, unaware of the existence of the Paris manuscript, highlighted Clm. 6235's unique position in the transmission of this text because of its unusual Lucan commentary.[706] He saw its version of the *Expositio* to

[704] For example it parallels the *Expositio Euangelii Secundum Marcum* in confusing the interpretation of *Bethsaida* and *Bethemec*.
[705] This is commented on by Aidan Breen (1995) 69.
[706] Bruno Griesser ,'Die Handschriftliche Überlieferung der *Expositio IV Euangeliorum*', *Revue Bénédictine* 49 (1937) 279-321, 283-4, 314. For recent research on Recension II of this

represent a transitional stage between the text's oldest witnesses (α-family of North Italian origin) and the later form in which it was most widely transmitted (β-family). He remarks on the 'auffallende Verwandtschaft' which exists between the *Iudex iniquus* extract in Clm. 6235 and in Clm. 14446 b, a codex from St. Emmeram dated saec. viii-ix, which shows signs of being copied from an Insular model. Griesser thinks, at least for this extract, both manuscripts must have used a common model.[707]

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commentary see Ann K. Kavanagh, 'The *Expositio IV euangeliorum* (*Recension* II): A Critical Edition and Analysis of Text', unpublished PhD Thesis (Trinity College Dublin 1996) She mentions Clm. 6235 on 98-9.

[707] B. Griesser (1937) 304-6.

Appendix H

The Prefatory Series in Vienna 940 fol. 1r-13r[708]

Layout

fol. 1r-2r: *Novum Opus*

fol. 2v-9v: Canon Tables

fol. 10r-10v: Mt. *Argumentum*

fol. 10v: Mk.*Capitulum*

fol. 10r-11r: Mk. *Argumentum*

fol. 11r: Lk. *Capitulum*

fol. 11r-11v: Lk. *Argumentum*

fol. 11v-12r: Jn. *Argumentum*

fol. 12v: Lk. Hebrew Names

fol. 13r: Jn. Hebrew Names

fol. 13r- : Commentary preface *Quaeritur quod cooperantur....*

Commentary

Research on Vienna 940's prefatory texts sheds light on the wide range of influences in its place of production. The series' layout, the format of its canon tables and the presence of a particular set of Hebrew Name lists all point towards Irish influence. The text of the *argumenta* have both Irish and Continental features. The single *capitulum* included for Mark and Luke's Gospels belong to a family confined to the Continent. An interesting aspect of the following discussion is the extent to which it points towards links between the scriptoria at Salzburg and Echternach.

It seems likely that this series was copied from a Gospel book which bunched all its prefaces before the beginning of Matthew's Gospel. This parallels the practice of Insular manuscripts such as the Book of Durrow.[709] McGurk writes, 'As so many of the earliest books, so far as can be told, did not have these prefaces, and as they seem absent from so many Irish books, it is reasonable to

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[708] I am grateful to Dr. Olivier Szerwiniack who read this appendix and made many helpful suggestions and comments.

suppose that the exemplars of many Gospels in Ireland were originally free from accessory texts, and that .....the books of Durrow, Armagh and Mulling, by consolidating accessory texts at the beginning, adopted one method of combining accessories with Gospels...'.[710]

Another Irish feature is the inclusion of only one general introductory text, *Novum Opus*. Only the Books of Durrow, Armagh, Mulling, the second Poitiers series, the Echternach Gospels and possibly the Book of Kells limited their general prefaces in this way. McGurk states: 'It would seem that, among surviving manuscripts, this restriction to *Novum Opus* is an Irish feature though it almost certainly went back to an ancient imported exemplar'.[711]

The evidence from these manuscripts suggests that the ancient exemplar, which confined its general prefaces to *Novum Opus,* did not put its canons under arcades.[712] Vienna 940 reflects this tendency with simply framed canon tables on fols. 2v-9v (Pl. 3). Unlike the Book of Durrow and the final pages of the Kells series which present their canons as grids (Pls. 28-9, 64), Vienna 940 has only vertical dividers enclosing the columns of numbers. In this it resembles the layout of the tables in the Echternach Gospels, whose plainly framed series also excludes horizontal dividers (Pl. 30)

According to McGurk, the accuracy of Vienna 940's canon text distinguishes it from other Irish sets.[713] The series does not contain the variant 97 sections in Canon X John, which appears in many books with Irish associations.[714] The inclusion of the number ccxxxiiii at the end of Canon X Mark may point towards these tables' origin. A peculiarity of Vienna 940's canon text is that although it omits the parallels cxvi xxv clxv and cxvi xxv clxxvii from Canon II and so presents the usual 109 sections, it does not include the Matthew Luke parallels

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[709] On this see P. McGurk (1961) 12-13, (1987) 170-1 and (1990) 37-8.
[710] P. McGurk (1990) 37.
[711] Ibid. 38. See also P. McGurk (1961) 12-13 and 110.
[712] P. McGurk (1990) 58.
[713] P. McGurk (1993) 253 fn. 13 reads, 'The Salzburg copy of the Irish commentaries on the Gospel prefaces (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibl. lat. 940) has a set of simply framed canons but they are unlike the other 'Irish' sets in their accuracy'.
[714] P. McGurk (1990) 56.

for this sequence in Canon V. Hence the series' fifth canon contains 81 sections as opposed to the normal 83. This omission is not paralleled in any other book of Irish provenance. Similarly, the distribution of the series over 15 pages is without an Insular parallel.

Analysis of the *argumenta* and chapter list entries, which are contained on fols.10r-12r, shows Vienna 940 to draw on both Irish and Continental sources. The single entry from the *capitula* of Mark and Luke, on fols.10v and 11r, belong to the A set which appears only in Continental manuscripts, its earliest witness being in the seventh-eighth century Italian (?) manuscript, Paris B.N. lat. 17226.[715] The inclusion of the openings of these chapter lists in Vienna 940 links its production to that of the Cutbercht Gospels, an eighth-century illustrated Gospel book thought to have been made in the Salzburg area by an Anglo-Saxon scribe.[716] It includes A set chapter lists for Luke and John before each of their Gospels. Textual divisions in Mark's Gospel have, in addition, been seen to reflect either the A or B Sets.[717]

It is interesting to note that the Cutbercht Gospels contain another set of chapter lists, grouped at the beginning of the codex. These offer a unique combination of sets from the families Pi D D D. While the Pi family is quite common, the D set is very rare, appearing first in the Trier Gospels. The inclusion of these chapter lists in the Cutbercht Gospels seems to signify links between the Salzburg and Echternach scriptoria.[718] This impression is supported by evidence from other items in the prefatory series.

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[715] For a description of this family see P. McGurk (1961) 113-7.
[716] P. McGurk (1961) No. 42, 43-4; J. Alexander (1978) No. 37, 62-3, Ills. 180-7. For a detailed study see Susan E. Von Daum Tholl 'The Vienna Cutbercht Gospels (Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 1224)' unpublished PhD Dissertation (Columbia 1985) 2 volumes.
[717] The Cutbercht Chapter lists are discussed by S. Von Daum Tholl (1985). 102-05. See also N. Netzer (1994) 17-21.
[718] N. Netzer (1994) 21 writes 'Trier's dependence on exemplars with different sets of summaries had direct bearing on the origin of the summaries in the Cutbercht Gospels comprising the unique series, pi DDD. The series shows the same combination of texts from different families as the Trier Gospels. That the same combination of exemplars took place independently in two scriptoria is unlikely. The extra series in the Cutbercht Gospels, therefore, probably derives from the scriptorium at which the Trier Gospels was written'.

The Vienna 940 *argumenta* contain a mixed text, showing the influence of both Irish and Continental families.[719] Continental influence is most pronounced in Matthew's prologue, Irish influence in John's, with Mark and Luke's *argumenta* occupying a middle ground. Further, it must be noted that the prologues were corrected, often at the expense of an Irish reading. This is most clearly evident in the case of word order, e.g. where the corrector inserts the sign % to show how an Irish reading should be changed.

A comparison with Regul's edition, reveals that Vienna 940's prologues share particular readings with the Livinius Gospels, from St. Amand, and with the Cutbercht Gospels, among other I-group manuscripts. A later Salzburg Gospel book, now New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library M. 781, which preserves the Court school version of the text also offers parallels. Variants are shared with most of the manuscripts in Regul's Irish family. Among these the parallels with H4, the Echternach Gospels, should be noted.

The Hebrew Name lists in Vienna 940 fol. 12v-13r

The final part of the Gospel book prefatory series in Vienna 940 contains Hebrew Name lists for Luke and John (Pls. 4-5). These have received no previous scholarly attention. The following discussion shows these lists to belong to a uniquely Irish set. It offers clear evidence that this manuscript was produced in a centre under Irish influence.

Description

Folio 12v, devoted to the names in Luke's Gospel, is divided into three columns (Pl. 4). These are of varying lengths: Column A, which begins *Agusti* and ends with *Phasech* runs for 22 lines. Column B, *Philippus – Sadocaei,* runs for 28 lines. Column C runs for 21 lines, *Os lampadis- Nomen*, breaks and begins again at line 25, *Lolium*, running to line 28, *Iustificati*. Although this list has no *incipit*,

[719] Jürgen Regul, *Die Antimarcionistischen Evangelienprologe* (Freiburg 1969), See especially 40-50 for editions of the prologues with variants and his chapter on 'Die Textüberlieferung in den Handschriften' 50-68.

an *explicit* takes up a single line at the end of fol. 12v. This reads, *FINIUNT NOMINA INTERPRAETATIONUM LUCAE EUANGELISTAE.*

Fol. 13v laid out in two columns contains interpretations for the Hebrew names in John's Gospel (Pl. 5). Like the other members of the series, this list, apparently devoted to John, also contains after its fifteenth entry a repeat of the Marcan list and a number of terms which appear in neither Gospel.[720] Column A runs for 20 lines *Enom - Istrahel*, Column B for 19 lines *Fons – Princeps cum deo.* The list is preceded by an *incipit* which takes up the first two lines of the page: *INCIPIUNT CATHA IOHANNEM HEBREORUM*

VOCABULA IN HOC TRAHENDA SUNT

There is no explicit. A space of three lines is left before its final entry and the beginning of the Matthew prologue on line 26 (*Quaeritur quod cooperantur circa agnitionem*). This prologue, written in long lines, continues to the end of the page (line 30).

These lists contain a large number of errors which make their practical use difficult. This is especially true of the entries for Luke. On fol. 12v the original scribe omitted the interpretations which accompany Column A, hence the appearance of three columns as opposed to four. The rubricator made some attempt to rectify this situation, inserting the interpretations for *Agusti-Anna* and for *Capharnaum* in the space between Columns A and B. The difference in size between his hand and that of the original scribe and limited space means that these four interpretations occupy the equivalent of 11 lines of normal text.

Another problem in the layout of the columns for both the Luke and the John lists is that occasionally two lemmata are included on one line. This occurs twice on fol. 12v Column A, *Helisabeth . Heli* and *Helmadi . Her,* and six times in Column B, e.g. *Gabrihelgalilea* and *Marthamarr.*[721] It occurs just once on fol. 13r, Column A, line 19 reading, *Paulus . Israhel.* The reverse of this situation

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[720] This amalgamated list is discussed by P. McGurk (1990) 48-9, (1994) 104-5 and by O. Szerwiniack (1994) 212-3.

[721] Others in Column B are: *Iori Ioarim* (line 6), *pontiuspilatus* (line 19), *salmal salem* (line 21) and *sem . sareptha* (line 22). The two entries are sometimes separated by a medial point or by a space. At other times they appear as one word. See below, 248, for further discussion of this point.

also occurs, with a single interpretation spreading over two lines, although this is much less frequent. I have found just one example on fol. 12v, Column C, where the interpretation for *Lisaniae*, *natiuitas temptationis* is broken up and written on lines 9-10.

The inclusion of more than one lemma on a line leads either to the omission of one of the corresponding interpretations, or to misalignment. In the case of *Gabrihelgalilea*, only *galilea* is glossed. In the case of *Marthamaar* (Column B, line 16) its interpretation takes up two lines of Column C, *prouocans* and *pulchra*, with *pulchra* opposed to a new lemma *Nineve* which is not glossed.[722] In the same way, the spreading of the interpretation for *Lisaniae* over two lines leads to the misalignment of four subsequent entries. A total of ten entries on fol. 12v Column B are not matched by a corresponding interpretation. The gap which occurs towards the end of Column C testifies to this. Interpretations for lemma *Salmal Salem* and *Sem* (Column B, lines 21 and 22) occur on three lines of Column C, (lines 19-21). The explanation of the names *Susanna*, *Samaritae*, *Sabaa* and *Sadocaei* (Column B, lines 24-5 and 27-28) appear after the break, Column C, lines 25-29.

One misalignment occurs in the list for John's Gospel on fol. 13r. The interpretation for *Messia* (Column B, line 7) which should read *unctus id est Christus* is omitted from Column C. It is replaced by *conclusio*, the interpretation for the following entry *Sicha* (Column B, line 8). Each subsequent entry in Column C is moved up one place. A further problem in alignment occurs at the end of this list. The interpretation for *Setha* (line 20) is omitted and the glosses for *Paulus* . *Isr*ahel and *Istrahel* (lines 21 and 22) are on lines 19-21. A different kind of mistake occurs on line 14 of the John list. The interpretation of *Abba* as *sirum pater* has been split up with *Abba sirum* and *pater* appearing in Columns A and B respectively.

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[722] Some recognition of the misalignment may be seen in the fact that *pulchra* is slightly indented and is preceded by a medial point. This is the only time in these lists such indentation occurs even though there is much misalignment. Vienna 940 should be contrasted with London, British Library, Royal I. A. XVIII, where the scribe indicated alignment problems in the lists by the use of a variety of signs. On this see O. Szerwiniack (1996) 117,119 fn. 9.

It should be noted finally that coupled with the attempt of the rubricator to rectify the omission of interpretations for fol. 12v, Column A, there is some evidence of the correction of three obvious orthographic errors. These are in a same or similar hand to that of the scribe. Two occur on fol. 12v. On line 2 of Column B the *li* in *galilea* is inserted above the word *galea*. On line 14 of Column C *x* is inserted to create the gloss *rex meus*. The third correction is on fol 13r, line 6 where an additional *r* is included above the word *Baraba*. This does not in fact correct the spelling, the gloss should read *Barabba(s)*.

Comparison with Manuscripts of the Irish Set

An analysis of the contents of fols. 12v-13r of Vienna 940 shows its Hebrew Name lists to be closely related to similar lists in a group of manuscripts with Irish connections. Eight members of this group were identified by Patrick McGurk in 1961.[723] Since then four other manuscripts have been added.[724] The following comparison is based on Oliver Szerwiniack's study of these lists in two recent *Scriptorium* articles and on Patrick McGurk's edition of the Hebrew Name List in the Book of Kells.[725]

The twelve manuscripts so far identified as containing this set of Hebrew Names are:

Dublin, Trinity College, MS 52 (The Book of Armagh) [A]

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb.Lat. 570 (The Barberini Gospels) [B]

Dublin, Trinity College, MS 57 (The Book of Durrow) [D]

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 9389 (The Echternach Gospels) [E]

London, British Library, Harley 1802 (The Gospels of Máel Brigte) [H]

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[723] P. McGurk (1961) 13.

[724] See O. Szerwiniack (1994) for 11 of these. A twelfth manuscript, which contains the Luke list, was identified by Jennifer O' Reilly in London, British Library, Royal I. A. XVIII. See J. O' Reilly (1994) 216-227, 224-5. This was then discussed by O. Szerwiniack and P. McGurk (1996) 117-122.

[725] Szerwiniack's articles entitled 'Des Recueils d'Interprétations de Noms Hébreux chez les Irlandais et le Wisigoth Théodulf' and 'Des Recueils d'Interprétations des Noms Hébreux (suite)' appeared in *Scriptorium* 48 (1994) 187-258 and with Patrick McGurk in *Scriptorium* 50 (1996) 117-122. I have used his sigla for manuscripts and his comparative tables for the basis of the

Dublin, Trinity College, MS 58 (The Book of Kells) [K]

London, British Library, Royal I. A. XVIII [L]

London, British Library, Cotton Otho C. V [O]

Poitiers, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 17 [P]

Durham, Cathedral Library, MS A. II. 17 [R]

Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Biblia 2° 44 [S]

Dublin, Trinity College, MS 55 (*Codex Usserianus Primus*) [U]

Nine of these manuscripts have been dated between the seventh and the ninth century. The exceptions are London, British Library, Royal I. A. XVIII [L], a Breton Gospel Book made before 939, the Stuttgart manuscript [S], dated to Lorsch in the eleventh century, and the Gospels of Máel Brigte [H] produced in Armagh in 1138. It has not been possible to establish a general stemma for the series because most manuscripts do not preserve all four lists. In addition, the surviving lists contain many and varied corrupt readings.[726] Apart from its appearance in Vienna 940, this set has been preserved solely in Gospel books.

In common with other members of the Irish set, neither the *explicit* on fol. 12v of Vienna 940 nor the *incipit* on fol. 13r refer to Jerome. The wording of these titles is not found in any of the other manuscripts. This is not unusual. Szerwiniack, who compares the *incipt* and *explicit* in eleven members of the set, writes 'La variété de formulation dans les intitulés semble indiquer qu'ils sont du cru des copistes...On constate la même variété pour les explicits, plus souvent absents cependant que les incipits'.[727]

While no direct parallels can be found, there are some similarities between the titles in Vienna 940 and in the other manuscripts of the series. Luke's *explicit*, *Finiunt nomina interpraetationum Lucae euangelistae*, is similar to that in Poitiers MS 17, whose Lucan list ends with the words *Finiunt nomina*

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following discussion. McGurk's, 'An edition of the abbreviated and selective set of Hebrew Name found in the Book of Kells', appears in F. O' Mahoney (ed) (1994) 102-32.

[726] See P. McGurk (1994) 106-7. He identifies three separate strands however. The eleventh century Gospels at Stuttgart; the Book of Armagh and the remaining witnesses which he describes as forming 'an amorphous group'. Vienna 940 belongs to this latter group.

[727] O. Szerwiniack (1994) 203. Titles from the other manuscripts are drawn from his table on 202 and for the Breton book from O. Szerwiniack (1996) 119.

hebreorum. The *explicit* to its Matthew list is a little closer again reading, *Finiunt nomina hebreorum euangelii matthei*. A parallel can also be found in the eleventh century Breton Gospel book, London B.L. Royal I. A. XVIII. Its explicit for Luke reads, *Expliciunt Hebrea nomina interpraetata de Luca aeuangelista…*

The Vienna 940 *incipit* for John, *Incipiunt catha iohannem hebreorum / vocabula in hoc trahenda sunt*, does not resemble any of the other surviving Johannine *incipits*. The use of *catha* is paralleled in some of the *incipits* for other Evangelists. The Matthew *incipit* in the Echternach Gospels reads, *Incipit interpraetatio cata mattheum hebreorum nominum atque uerborum interpraetatio*. Similar formulae are used to open Matthew's list in the Barberini Gospels and in Poitiers MS. 17.

In terms of layout, the tendency of Vienna 940 to include more than one lemma per line finds some parallel in the Book of Durrow. McGurk sees the way this manuscript blends the entries for *Martha Naa* and *Elmadadi Er* as the result of the misreading of an exemplar with closely packed and perhaps also misaligned columns.[728] The occurrence of a large number of such errors in Vienna 940 makes it likely it was originally copied from a similar kind of model. Another point of comparison is the difficulty of containing longer etymologies on one line, which McGurk identifies in Durrow and in the *Codex Usserianus Primus*.[729] Vienna 940 also has problems with this, with the gloss on *Lisaniae* a good example. On fol. 13r this difficulty is bypassed - only the first two words of longer entries are included e.g. *Belzebub* is just glossed as *habens muscas* in comparison to the standard *habens muscas aut deuorans aut uir muscarum*.[730] In addition, it may be possible that some of the interpretations in Column C of fol. 12v were originally omitted because of their length. The gloss on *Satan*, which McGurk uses to exemplify this problem in Durrow and Ussher I, is simply left out of Vienna 940.

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[728] P. McGurk (1990) 49, (1994) 106. It should be noted that Durrow and Vienna 940 are the only two manuscripts to contain the confusion of both these terms in the Luke list.
[729] P. McGurk (1990) 49.

The following two tables compare the lists in Vienna 940 with those in other manuscripts of the Irish set as they are presented by Szerwiniack. Seven of the manuscripts (A, D, E, K partially, P, U mutilated and L) contain a copy of the list for Luke. A, B, D, E and P contain the list for John. The list for Luke omits two terms *Pam* and *Sicera*, included in all of the other manuscripts, and leaves out the interpretation of 30 terms. The John list is more complete. All 21 lemmata are included and only two are without interpretations.

As with the most recently discovered member of this series, London, B.L. Royal I. A. XVIII, the lists in Vienna 940 are evidently not copied from any one of the other witnesses.[731] They agree sometimes with one, sometimes with others of the series. They share most readings with the lists in Poitiers MS 17 and the Echternach Gospels. Next in order of affinity for the Luke list is the Breton Gospel book, for the John series, the Barberini Gospels. In the context of the other members of this prefatory series, further research on the links between this manuscript and the Echternach Gospels may prove fruitful.

The corrupted nature of the lists in Vienna 940, especially of that for Luke's Gospel, tie in with Bischoff's impression of the Matthew commentary as full of grammatical errors.[732] It is difficult to gauge the extent to which the folios, which contain these Hebrew Names, faithfully reflect the mistakes of an older model, or result from this scribe's unfamiliarity with the kind of text which lay before him. Of most significance in the context of this thesis, is that the presence of these lists clearly testifies to this manuscript's Irish associations.

The Tables:

Numbers in Column 1 refer to the line each entry appears on fols. 12v-13r. A number is repeated when more than one entry is included on a line. Column 2 contains the lemmata as they appear in the manuscript. Column 3 contains their interpretation. When no interpretation is included, it is because the term is not glossed in the manuscript. The numbers in parentheses in Column 3 also refer to

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[730] This kind of abbreviation occurs a total of five times in the John/Mark list.
[731] O. Szerwiniack (1996) 119-20.
[732] B. Bischoff (1966) 246. See 72-74 for fuller discussion of this manuscript.

line number. They are used to show when entries are misaligned. The capital letters in Columns 4 and 5 refer to parallels in the other Irish sets listed above. When this parallel is not exact the sign //, indicates the nearest witness(es). Parallels are included in Column 5 only when these differ from the manuscripts referred to in Column 4. In most cases, the whole entry is paralleled and the list in Column 4 refers to both Hebrew Name and Interpretation. The term 'abb.' indicates that an entry has been abbreviated in Vienna 940. The manuscripts then listed contain full entries, which begin with the words on fol. 13r. Finally the * included on three occasions signifies a corrected reading.

The Hebrew Name List for Luke, fol. 12v				
Vienna 940			Parallels in Other Irish Sets	
	Column A	Rubricator		
Line	Hebrew Name	Interpretation	Hebrew Name	Interpretation
1	Agusti	(1-3)Sollem/niter/ stans	ADEKL	// stantes DL
2	Aaron	(4-5) mons/ eorum	ADEKPL	
3	Anna	(6-7)gratia/ eius	AEPL	
4	Aser		DEKPL	
5	Amos		ADEKPL	
6	Addai		ADEKPL	
7	Arfaxad		A	
8	Adam		ADEKPL	
9	Ammauus		ADEKP	
10	Caesar		DEKP	
11	Caereneu		DK	
12	Cossam		AEP	
13	Cainan		AP	
14	Capharnaum	(13-16) ager/ con/sula/tionis	E	
15	Cheber		DEK	
16	Herodis		ADEKUL	
17	Helisabeth.		PL	
17	Heli		ADEKPL	
18	Helmadi		// AUL helmadadi	
18	Her		AEPL	
19	Henam		APL	
20	Helisae		D	
21	Fanuhel		// fanuel ADKEU	
			Phanuhel PL	
22	Phasech		// phasec E	
	Column B	Column C		
1	Philippus	os lampadis	EP	
2	Gabrihel		P	
2	Galilea*	uolubilitas	E	
3	Gerasenorum	salus bona	DEP	
4	Ituraec	montanaec	AEP	
5	Iordanes	discensus	P	
6	Iori		DEPKL	
6	Ioarim	domi nus exultans	P	
7	Iohanna	domi nus gratia eius	ADEKPL	
8	Iairus	Inluminans	DEKPL	
9	Lisaniae	natiuitas	D	
10		temptationis		
10	Lamech	(11) humilis	AEPLU	
11	Lazarus	(12) adiutus	DELU	
12	Mathathia	(13) donum dei	A	EPLU
13	Melchi	(14) rex* meus	ADEPLU	
14	Matusalem		// mathusale A	
15	Maleleel	laudans deum	// malaleel L	ADEPLU
16	Martha	prouocans	LU	
16	Marr	(17) pulchra	// naar EP	EPLU
17	Nineue		// nineuitae EP	
18	Petrus	agnuscens	ADEPLU	// agnoscens
19	Pontius		ADEPLU	

19	Pilatus		PLU	
20	Fosshi		// phos AEPL	
21	Salmal	(19) pax	L	
21	Salem	(20) mesit	ADEPLU	// misit DEPLU
22	Sem	(21) nomen	ADEPLU	
22	Sareptha		EPLU	
23	Symeon		// simeon L	
24	Susanna	(25) lolium	EPL	// lilium ADEPLU
25	Samaritae	(26) custodies	ADEPL	// custodes ADEPL
26	Satan		DEKPU	
27	Sabaa	captivitas	AEP	
28	Sadocaei	iustificati	// sadducaei DEPL	ADEPLU

The Hebrew Name List for John, fol. 13r				
Vienna 940			Parallels in Other Irish Sets	
	Column A	Column B		
Line	Hebrew Name	Interpretation	Hebrew Name	Interpretation
3	Enom	fons	BDEP	
4	Banerem	filii tonitrui	E	
5	Belzebub	habens muscas	ADP	abb. //ABDEP
6	Barraba*	filius patris	// barabba BDEP	BDEP
7	Caephas	petrus	A	
8	Effraim	fertilis	BDEP	
9	Messia		BEP	
10	Sicha	(9) conclusio	// sichar ABDEP	BDEP
11	Siloae	(10) missus	// siloe BEP	AP
12	Agius	(11) sine terra	BDEP	
13	Osanna	(12) saluifica	BEP	
14	Abba sirum	(13) pater	BP	
15	Idumea	(14) rosa siue terres	BEP	abb. //BDP
16	Salom*a* e	(15) pax siue pacifica	DP	
17	Tyro	(16) angustiae	ADEP	
18	Tabitacum	(17) sirum puella	B	abb. // B
19	Trachonitidis	(18) negotiatio	// DEP	abb. // BDEP
			trachonitidis	
20	Setha		BDEP	
21	Paulus	(19) mirabilis siue	BDPE	abb. //ABDEP
21	Isr*ahe* l	(20) anima videns de*u* m	ABDEP	
22	Istrahel	(21) princeps cum de o	P	

Appendix I

AILERANI SAPIENTIS *CANON EVANGELIORUM*[733]

1

i Quam in primo speciosa quadriga
homo leo vitulus et aquila
lxxi septuaginta unum per capitula
de Domino conloquuntur paria

2

ii IN secundo subsequente protinus
homo leo loquitur et vitulus
quibus inest ordinate positus
cviiii centum in se atque novem numerus

3

iii Tum deinde tertio in ordine
homo et bos loquitur cum volucre
xxii numero in quo consistunt antiquae
alphabeti Hebraeorum litterae

4

iiii Quarto loco fatentur aequalia
una homo leo et aquila
xxvi uno ore loquentes capitula
Verbi summi sena atque vicena

5

v Quinta vice concordant in loquella
homo prudens atque mitis hostia
lxxxiii Iesu Christi emicantes agmina
Iuda sine Salvatori credula

6

vi Ecce sexto pari sonant clamore
natus Adam cum clamoso leone
conputata traditis pro munere
xlviii sacerdotum oppidis in honore

7

vii EN loquuntur septies in septimo
vii homo avis consona de Domino

8

viii IN octavo nunc leonis catulus
Dei verba profert atque vitulus
xiii quorum simul conputatur numerus
adiecto Paulo apostolicus

9

viiii Nonus ordo in quod duo pariter
conloquuntur vitulus et volucer
xxi inspirati sensu spiritaliter
proloquuntur ternum septempliciter

10

x Homo nempe verbum profert proprium
lxii sexaginta et per duo numerum
Rugientemque leonem audies
xviiii solum sane decies et novies
Bovem solum fatentem invenies
lxxii verba Dei bis et septuagies
Subvolantem ad astra reperies
xcvii nonagies loqui atque septies.

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[733] David Howlett (ed), 'Seven Studies in Seventh Century Texts', *Peritia* 10 (1996) 12-14.

English Translation[734]

THE CANON OF THE GOSPELS OF AILERÁN THE WISE

1

How in the first [canon] a beautiful four-part team,
a man, a lion, a calf, and an eagle,
through seventy-one chapters
together speak comparable things about the Lord!

2

In the second, following directly after,
there speaks a man, a lion, and a calf,
among which there is placed in order
ten [multiplied] into itself and the number nine.

3

Then thereafter in the third order
a man and a cow speaks with a winged creature
in the number in which the ancient
letters of the alphabet of the Hebrews consist.

4

In the fourth place there utter equal things
at once [or 'in concert'] a man, a lion, and an eagle,
with one mouth speaking chapters
six and twenty of the highest Word.

5

In the fifth part there accord together in speech
a prudent man and a gentle sacrificial victim,
the outstanding throngs of Jesus Christ

[734] David Howlett (trans), 'Seven Studies in Seventh Century Texts', *Peritia* 10 (1996) 15-16.

believing the Saviour, without Judas.

6

Behold, in the sixth there sound with comparable clamour
a son of Adam and a clamorous lion
things computed from towns handed over as a gift
in honour of priests.

7

Lo, seven times in the seventh
a man, a bird, speak consonant things about the Lord.

8

In the eighth now a lion's cub
brings forth the words of God, and a calf
whose apostolic number is computed together
with Paul added as a colleague.

9

The ninth order in which two comparably
speak together, a calf and a winged creature,
inspired spiritually with sense
they speak forth three times sevenfold.

10

A man, doubtless, brings forth his own word
through the number sixty and two,
and the roaring lion you will hear
but, certainly, ten and nine times,
but the cow you will find uttering
the words of God twice and seventy times,
the one flying upwards towards the stars you will discover
to speak ninety and seven times.

Appendix J

The Treatment of the Canons in *Pauca de libris catholicorum scriptorum in euangelia excerpta*[735]

[20] De qualitatibus euangelii:

IIII sunt qualitates euangelii, id est precepta, mandata, testimonia, exempla. In preceptis iustitia, ut est: *In uiam gentium ne abieritis*; in mandatis [qualitas] caritas, ut est: *Mandatum nouum do uobis*, reliqua; in testimoniis fides, ut: *Opera quae ego facio testimonium perhibent de me*; in exemplis perfectio consistit, ut est: *Discite a me quia mitis sum*.

[21] De numero euangeliorum:

Sex numeri continentur in euangelio. i. Numerus euangelistarum, ut sunt iiii: Matheus, Marcus, Lucas, Iohannes. ii. Numerus canonum, ut sunt decim. iii. Numerus capitulorum, ut sunt in Matheo ccclv; in Marco ccxxxiii, in Luca ccclxi; in Iohanne ccxxxiii. In quattuor euangeliis capitula ICXLIII sunt. iiii. Numerus breuium causarum: in Matheo lxxiiii; in Marco liii; in Luca lxxviii; in Iohanne lxii. [v]. Numerus uersuum in Matheo IIDC; in Marco IDCII; in Luca IIDCCCC; in Iohanne ICCC. [vi]. Numerus concentuum iiii uel iii uel ii uel propria uniuscuiusque, quae non habentur in aliis, in Matheo lvi, in Marco xx, in Luca liiii.

[22] Haec exempla de singulis canonibus sunt. De primo canone ut: *Non est propheta sine honere nisi in patria sua*. De secundo canone ut: *Amen dico, sunt quidam de hic stantibus qui non gustabant mortem*, reliqua. De iii ut: *Non est discipulus super magistrum*. De iiii [ut]: *Omnia quaecumque petieritis in oratione credentes accipietis*. De v ut: *Non sum missus nisi ad oues domus Israel quae perierunt*. De vi ut: *Quecumque ligaue ritis super terram*, et reliqua. De vii ut: *Postquam crucifixerunt eum, diuiserunt sibi uestimenta eius*. De viii ut: *Discendit Iesus*

in Capharnaum in ciuitate Galilea ibique docebat eos sabbatis. De viiii ut: *Intrauit satanas in Iudam qui nominatur Scarioth unus de xii.* De x ut secundum Matheum: *Beati mitis*, reliqua secundum Marcum: *Seorsum autem deserebat discipulis suis omnia.* Secundum Lucam ut: *Exi a me, quia homo peccator sum, Domine.* Secundum Iohannem: *Si quis mihi ministrauerit, me sequatur.*

[23] De diuisione canonum:

Sunt iiii, id est iiii uel iii uel ii uel i. Singulariter loquitur de proprietate numeri euangelii in decim canonibus. Dicit Isidorus: *Canones iii euangeliorum Ammonius* Alexandrinus *primus excogitauit*, quos *postea Eusebius Cesariensis plenius conposuit. Qui ideo* inuenti *sunt, ut per eos* inueniri possumus *et scire* quae sunt *euangelistarum similia* uel quae *propria dixerunt. Sunt* enim *numero decim.* In primo numero iiii continentur qui eadem dixerunt: *Matheus, Marcus, Lucas, Iohannes.* In ii *tres: Mattheus, Marcus, Lucas.* In iii *tres: Matheus Lucas, Iohannes.* In iiii *tres: Matheus, Marcus, Iohannes.* In v *duo: Matheus, Lucas.* In vi duo: *Matheus, Marcus.* In vii *duo: Matheus, Iohannes.* In viii *duo: Lucas, Marcus.* In viiii *duo: Lucas, Iohannes.* In x *singuli* eorundem sua *dixerunt propria.*

[24] De documentis iiii euangelistarum:

In euangelio iiii continentur documenta: speciale documentum, ut est: *Venite post me et faciam uos fieri piscatores* hominum; generale documentum, ut est: *Venite ad me omnes*, reliqua: primitiuum documentum, ut est: *Beati pauperes spiritu*, et reliqua; diriuatiuum documentum, ut est: *Nolite putare quia ueni soluere legem*, et reliqua. Haereat[t] enim ad praedictam sententiam: *Beati pauperes spiritu*, et reliqua.

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[735] R. McNally (ed), CCSL 108 B (Turnhout 1973) 217-19. As in the case of *Plures Fuisse*, I have italicized scriptural citations. Readers should refer to McNally for full *apparatus criticus*.

Appendix K

The Treatment of the Canons in the *Praefacio secundum Marcum*[736]

[6] Marcus initium euangelii sui ab Iohanne Baptista, Domini precursore, deduxit, qui testimonio Madathie angelus uocatur. Et Esaias [eum] uocem [dicentem in] uerbis pronuntiantis nominat, ut ait: *Vox clamantis in deserto*, et reliqua. Et a baptismo Christi, fortiore exemplo, incipit.

[7] Marcus cum Matheo communiter in xlvii capitulis narrat. Luce uero in xiii coniungitur. Propria uero Marci sunt in capitulis xviii. Marcus totum suum euangelium in capitulis ccxxxii exponit. In primo canone Matheus, Marcus, Lucas; Iohannes; in secundo canone Matheus, Marcus, Lucas; in tertio canone Matheus, Lucas, Iohannes; in quarto canone Matheus, Marcus, Iohannes; in quinto canone Matheus, Lucas; in sexto Matheus, Marcus; in septimo Matheus, Iohannes; in octauo Lucas, Marcus; in nono canone Lucas, Iohannes; in decimo canone, id est propria uniuscuiusque, quae non habentur in aliis, narra[n]t[ur].

[8] Matheus genelogiam ab Abraham usque ad Ioseph per uiros xliiii duxit. Lucas uero ab Ioseph per uiros lxxvii usque ad Adam ducit. Iohannes non deduxit terrenam sed caelestem in breui conprehendit. Marcus uero terrenam numerauit, dicens: *Iesu Christi*. Sed breuiter caelestem numerauit, cum dicit: *Dei*. Sed in breue haec omnia conprehendit.

[9] Marcus dicit: *Initium euangelii Iesu Christi Filii Dei. Sicut scriptum est in Esaia propheta: Ecce mitto angelum meum*, Et reliqua.

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[736] R. McNally (ed), CCSL 108 B, 221.

Appendix L

The Treatment of the Canons in the *Expositio euangelii secundum Marcum*[737]

Quem cur euangelia tractantes intactum ut puto praetereunt? Quia eadem paene ut Mattheus narrat, licet in propriis quibusdam sunt disiuncti testimoniis ut ala alterius alam alteram protegat "animalis"; et "rota" rotam eadem sequatur uia; et ut "uersis" inuicem "uultibus" sese sancta contuantur "animalia".

In primo canone Marcus cum Mattheo Lucaque comitatur et Iohanne; in secundo cum Matheo et Luca; in quarto cum Mattheo et Iohanne; in sexto canone uelut in una uecte duo anuli, Mattheus semper coniungitur et Marcus, id est in xlviii capitulis. In octauo canone hic cum Luca comitatur, id est in xiii capitulis, in propriis uero, quae maxime utcumque explanare dispono, xviii incedit speciatim capitulis; quae simul omnia ccxxxiii sunt capitula.

'Marcus, euangelista Dei, Petri discipulus, leuiticus genere et sacerdos, in Italia hoc scripsit euangelium'. Qui 'initium' euangelii sui 'de uocibus prophetarum' praesumens, praecursorem Christi Iohannem, Malachi, id est, angeli, testimonio conprobans, 'uerbum caro factum' uoce Esaiae designans, principium 'euangelicae praedicationis' instituit. Et 'inuenit in uerbo uocis quod in consonantibus', id est in genealogiis Dei et hominis, perdiderat. Unde 'totus in primis' a perfectione Christi aetatis praedicare inchoat, nec laborat in natiuitate infantuli qui loquitur de perfectione filii Dei, sed 'ieiunium numeri' legalis, repulsum 'diaboli, ministerium angelorum proferens', magna 'in breui' comprehendit.

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[737] M. Cahill (ed), CCSL 82 (Turnhout 1997) 1-2. Consult Cahill's edition for full *apparatus criticus*.

Appendix M

The Treatment of the Canons in (*Commentarius in Mattheum*), Vienna 940

18v

Quare q*uo*d s*unt* doctrinæ currunt euangelii quin dubium . liil .
sunt principales numerus . et p*ro*prium documentum et doctri
na crescens ab alia et doctrina unius qualitatis . Proprium autem
documentum cui non . e*st* . primitiuum[738] documentum documentum
ab altero crescens . cui non . e*st* . diriuatiuum documentum . Qua
re q*uo*d numeri currunt euangelii quin dubium . iii . s*unt*. id est nume
rus breuium causarum et numerum capitulorum . cui non est
numerus locorum . et numerus canonum . Quare quomodo
sup*er* mittunt euangelii . iii. Qua*m* numerauimus quin dubium
suplet numerum canonum numerum capitulorum suplet
numerum capitulorum . numerum breuium causarum euan
gelii uero ipsa . e*st* . Quare q*uo*d sunt numeri breuium causarum
secundum . liil . euangelia quin dubium . si secundum matheum
lxxxviii . si se*cun*d*u*m marcum . lx . si se*cun*d*um* lucam . lxxxvi . si
se*cun*d*um*
iohannem . xxxviiii . si uero numerus unatus fuerit secundum
iii . eu*an*gelis quin dubium . cclxxiii . simul s*unt* . Quare numeri capi
tulorum q*uo*d s*unt* . se*cun*d*u*m . iiii . euangelia . secundu*m* matheum .
ccclv
si se*cun*d*um* marcum . ccx . si secund*um* lucam . cccxlii . si secund*um*
iohanne*m*
ccxxx . si uero numerus capitulorum unatus fuerit se*cun*d*u*m. iiii .
euangelia . mille . cxxxvii[739] . Inuenitur ibidem . Quare
quomodo longitudinem capitulorum mensurauit . quo dum
longioris uel breuiores s*unt* . quam breuis cause quin dubium
mensurauit concantus sp*iritus* sa*nc*ti p*er* uiros . liil . uel iii . uel duos . uel
i

[738] Second u superscript

29 Quare quomodo longitudinem breuium causarum mensuratur
30 quin dubium res . Quare q*uo*d sunt numeri canonum quin du

19r

1 bium . x . id primus canon . ii . canon . iii . canon . reliq*ua* quare quod
2 cantatores canonum[740] unumquemq*ue* quin dubium primum canonem .
3 liil . canunt . ii . canon non canon Iohannis . iii . canon non canon
4 marcus . iiii . canon non canon lucas . v . canon non matheus
5 et lucas . vi canon math*eus* et marc*us* . vii . canon math*eus* et ioh*annes* .
viii .
6 canon . lucas et marcus . viiii canon lucas et iohannes . x canon
7 p*ro*prium uniuscuiusq*ue* turi . Quare quis primus hanc sententi*am*
8 repperet . id canon quin dubium amoenius scriba quidam in a
9 lexandria in regione gregorum secundum ordinem . et numer*um* .
10 et hic scientiae nomen uel indedit . Quare quis primus nomen
11 et ordine dedit . et hic scientiae quin dubium eusebius . caesa
12 riensis . amoeni alexandrini alumnus . Quur quis . id prestauit
13 quin dubium hieronimus . qua causa postulationis . quis postu
14 lauit . quin dubium damasus ep*iscopu*s urbis romæ . qua causa postu
15 lauit quin dubio nedeceperetur evangelii p*er* mala interprætis .
16 Quare quomodo mensurauit nume rum canonitionis
17 ut infra nec extra numerum de numero . e*st* . quin dubium
18 natura . quare q*uo*d ordinem canonib*us* dedit . ll . id scrib
19 tio et principatus . Principatus uero in tres partes diui
20 ditur . Id pricipatus numeri et uerbi et apostolatus

[739] A third i at the end of this number has been crossed out.
[740] no superscript

Appendix N

The Treatment of *Numerus / Canones* in *Pauca problesmata de enigmatibus ex tomis canonicis* (The Irish Reference Bible), Paris B.N. Lat. 11561

130r/b

. VIIII .

De numero quaeritur quis uel qua
lis numerus . uel in quantis rebus
sit requirendus . ad quod respon
dendum quod numerus in euan
gelio . in vi . rebus consistit . Id e*st*
numerus euangelistaru*m* numerus
canonum . numerus capitulor*um* .
Numerus . concentum . Numerus
breuium causarum . numerus
uersuum . De numero euangelis
tarum primitus requiritur cur
maior minor ue non fuit . Agus
tinus dicit . Isti igitur . iiii . euan
geliste omni terrrar*um* orbe notis
simi . et ob hoc fortasse . iiii . q*uoniam*
iiii . sunt partes terre per cuius
uniuersitatem ecclesia xpi dilatari
ipso suo numero sacra declarauer*unt*
Haec agustinus siue quia lapis
quadrangulus non fluctuat sta
bilitas indicatur euangelica om

130v/a

nibus peruersis resistens documen
tis . uel quia . ii . uel . iii . testium nume
rus in lege commendat ueritatem
eorum . que . iii . reliquis utitur
x . De numero canonum . Numerus
canonum . usque ad . x . progredit
Nec plus inuenitur . numerus aut*em*
capitulorum in singulis euange
liis . ab uno usque ad finem librorum
increscit hic nigro colore prescriptus
sub se habet alium ex minio numero
discolorem quia ad x progrediens
indicat prior numerus . in quo sit
canone requirendus . Quaeritur
quantus sit numerus capitulorum
in singulis evangeliis . In matheo
autem sunt . ccclvi . In marco . cc
xxxiii . In luca . ccc . xli . In iohan*ne*
ccxxxiii . reperiuntur . Omnes
capitulorum numeros . iiii . euange
liorum . I . clvi . Item quis mensu
rauit magnitudinem capitulorum
aliud quippe capitulum breue ali
ud longum inuenitur ad quæ[744] res
pondendum quod diuturnitas . uel
breuitas concentuum . iiii . uel . iii .
uel . ii . euangelistarum uel unius
cuiusque proprium mensurauit
magnitudinem capitulorum .
Nam ubi uerbi gratia primus ca
non desinit ibi . uel . ii . incipit
uel . iii . uel . proprium . cuiuslibet
euangelistae sic et *reliqua* quod inue
nire facile e*st* . Id e*st* numerus breuium
causarum sic inuenitur in matheo
lxxvii . uel . iiii . Item in marco . liii .

130v/b

in. iiii. euangeliis. HIERONIM*US*
DICIT . Matheus uersus[741] habet
II . dcccc . Iohannes . I . ccc uersus[742] . iiii
euangeliorum simul omnes nu
mero . VIII . ccc . huc usq*ue* hieron
De numero canonum . Quaeritur
cui lingua canon . Isidorus dicit
canon aut greci dicitur . latine
regula . Regula autem dicta
quod recte ducit ne aliquando
aliorsum trahit . Alii dixerunt
dictam regulam . uel quod regat
uel quod norma*m* recte uiuendi
praebeat . uel quod distortum
prauum quid corregat . Isidorus
Hoc[743] manifestum e*st* testimoniu*m*
quod ideo canones euangeliorum
dicte sunt . uel quod recte ducunt
ad concentu*m* . iiii . uel . iii . uel . ii .
uel . i . significandum . uel quod
prauitatem . commixtionis qui
prius in euangeliis . apud inpe
ritis . fuerat corrigunt . Unde
hieronimus dicit . Cum igitur
canones legeris qui subiecti sunt
confussionis errore sublato et
similia omnia scies et singulis
quaeq*ue* sua restitues . Quis pri
mus hoc canones inuenit . Isido
rus dicit . Canones euangeliorum
Ammonius . Alexandrinus . primus
excogitauit quem postea heuse
bius plenius conposuit . qui ideo
facti sunt ut per eos inuenire
et scire possimus qui reliquorum
euangelistarum . similia aut[745] propria

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[741] e written over o
[742] e written over o
[743] o written over ae

37. In luca . lxxviii. In iohanne . lx . ii . re
38. periuntur . Item numerus versuum[746]

131r/a

1. cordant . iiii . euangelistae . In . ii
2. canon . cviiii . matheus . marcus . lucas
3. In . iii . canon . xx . matheus . lucas .
4. iohannes . In . iiii . canon . xxvii .
5. matheus . marcus . iohannes . In . v . canon .
6. lxxiii . matheus . lucas . In . vi . canon
7. xlviii . matheus . marcus . In vii . ca
8. non . vii . matheus . iohannes . In . viii .
9. canon . xvi . lucas . marcus
10. In viiii . canon . xxi . lucas . iohannes
11. In . x . canon . propria uniuscu
12. iusque quae non habentur in
13. aliis . In matheus . Lxvii . In marcus
14. xx . In lucas . Lxxiii . In iohannes . xcv .
15. Quaeritur quae sunt exempla
16. de singulis . Primus canon . Uox
17. clamantis in deserto . reliqua . De . ii
18. canon . post baptismum . cum fe
19. rebatur a spiritu . De . iii . canon
20. Non est discipulus super magistrum
21. reliqua . De . iiii . canon . omnia
22. quaecumque petieritis in oratio
23. ne credenter . De . v . canon . ut
24. non sum missus . nisi ad oues reliqua
25. De . vi . canon . ut est si autem
26. manus . vel pes tuus scandali
27. zatte reliqua . De . vii . canon . ut est
28. quicumque ligaueritis super terram
29. reliqua . De . viii . canon . ut est . des
30. cendit ihs in capharnaum . in ci
31. uitate galileae . ibique docebat
32. eos sabbato . De . viiii . canon .
33. ut est intrauit autem satanas .

dixerunt sunt autem numero
x . In primo . canone lxxi . con

131r/b

care et diffamare sermonem . In luca
quod cum uideret . simon petrus
procedit ad genua ihu dicens . ro
go te exi a me quia homo peccator . reliqua
in iohannes ut est haec in bethania
facta sunt trans iordanem ubi erat
iohannes . baptista . Deuissionis canonum
sunt . iiii . nam . aut . iiii . euange
liste . concordant . aut . iii . aut . ii . aut . i .
singulariter loquitur . Item que
ritur quot sunt modi . quibus hæ
iiii. diuisionis in semet ipsis uari
antur . uel mutantur . Responsio
iii . Prima species . id est concentus
iiii . non uariatur sed uno modo
inuenitur semper . ii . id est terniter
uariatur . iii . quod singulorum
narratio . uno tantum inuenitur
quia non plus uariatur . Quaeri
tur quot sunt ordines canonum
Id est . ii . sunt . Primus ordo discen
sionis . Intendes principatui . nu
merorum . Nam primo quaterni
ii . terni . iii . bini . iiii . singularis
sunt positi . Secundus ordo discre
tionis est . siue inter ternos . uel in
ter binos . In uicem in quo queritur
cur isti terni . uel bini speci alius
praecedunt . uel quare alios alii
speci alios sub secuntur cuius rei
ratio in prologo canonum est redden
da . Item quaeritur quot sunt qua
litates canonum in his quae signifi

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[744] æ written over o.
[745] ut superscript
[746] e written over o

34. in iudam qui cognominatur sca
35. riothis . unus de xii . De . x . canon
36. ut e*st* in matheus beati mitis q*uoniam*
37. ipsi possidebunt terra*m* . In marco .
38. ut e*st* ad ille egressus . cepit praedi

131v/a

1. et superficie simul eadem sunt . a*ut* sen
2. su sola . et superficie sola . Haec exem
3. plis ostendenda sunt . Eadem sunt
4. sensu . et superficie ut e*st* in matheo
5. ihs autem dixit eis . Non e*st* propheta
6. sine honore . nisi in patria sua . Item
7. in luca dicitur . Amen dico uobis
8. quia nemo propheta acceptus e*st* in
9. patria sua . Item in ioh*anne* . Ipse e*st* ihs
10. qui testimoniu*m* perhibuit quia pro
11. pheta in sua patria honore*m* non habe*t*
12. Eadem sensu . sola superficie ubi in
13. luc*a* dicit d*ominus* petro . et tu aliquando
14. conuersus confirma fratres tuos
15. Et in ioh*anne* dicit d*omin*us petro . si diligis
16. me pasce oues meas . Haec desimi
17. lia superficia sunt sed eadem sen
18. su . et idcirco uno . id e*st* viii[i] . canon
19. (n)[c]oniunguntur . Uicina ite*m* . ii .
20. modis fiunt . A*ut* enim uicina sunt
21. superficie sola sensu . a*ut* uicini
22. a sensu sola superficie . Ergo super
23. ficie . similia sunt ut e*st* in luca
24. ad illi obtulerunt ei piscis assi par
25. tem et fauum mellis . et cu*m* mandu
26. casset coram eis sumens reliquias
27. dedit eis . Item in ioh*anne* et uenit ihs
28. et accepit panem . et dedit eis pisce*m*
29. similiter . Haec superficie tantum
30. similia sunt et dissimilia sensu .
31. quia nec eadem historiae e*st* nec eo
32. dem tempore gesta . et tamen in
33. euangelio . in viiii . canon coniun
cantur . iii . sunt . a*ut* eadem sunt .
a*ut* uicina quo uno canone congluti
nantur . a*ut* etiam . que sola sunt . x .
canon significant . Eadem quod
modis fiunt duabus . Na*m* a*ut* sensu

131v/b

loco ubi dicit liber generationis
ihu xpi . r*eliqua* usque dum dicitur de
qua natus e*st* ihs qui uocatur xps
Et illut in ioh*anne* . erat lux uera quae
inluminat omnem hominem ue
nientem in hunc mundum r*eliqua* usq*ue*
non cognouit . uel illud in princi
pio erat uerbum . r*eliqua* . In his capi
tulis quaedam uicinitas sensum
depraehenditur et tamen nec ea
dem e*sse* sensu possunt . Superficie
autem longe dissimilia sunt . et
tamen initio canon . In euangelio
et in antecedente . canonum . con
gere omnia uidentur . huc usq*ue*
modi . ii . et . iii . modus additur
ut quibusdam uidetur . Id e*st* ut
quidam uicina sensu et superfi
cie dicantur quorum hoc e*st* gene
logia . In matheo et altera in luca
similis sunt in superficie . Id est
in seriae generationum . In sensu
similis . quia unius eadem familia
id generis dauid successio in uti
que genelogia texitur et tamen
In multis differunt . Unde nec
eadem dici possunt . Sola autem
Sunt quae in singulis euangeliis
x canone significantur . Haec
de qualitatibus canonum . Id
autem species canonum . deforis
ostendere euangelium dicitur
quia nihil de qualitate interna

guntur quia uicinitas quaedam
similitudines in eis est et tamen nec
minor diuersitas . Item uicina sen
su . sola superficie . ut est in matheus
primum capitulum genealogie ab eo
doctrina significat nisi tantum
concentum euangelistarum . Huc
usque de canonibus. Nunc de
praecedentibus euangelii.

Appendix O

Insular Manuscripts with Canon Tables

This appendix describes the layout of the prefatory material in Insular manuscripts which include the Eusebian canon tables. Each of the manuscripts listed in the appendix's table is dated to before 800 AD. The exception to this is Royal I. E. vi which is dated to the late-eighth or early ninth-century.[747] I have not described the Book of Mulling, as its prefatory material is dated to the ninth-century.[748]

As well as the table's entries, fragmentary canons are preserved in two other Insular manuscripts: London, B. L. Royal, 7. C. xii and Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek MSS Rep. I, 58a and Rep. 2, 35a.[749] A number of other books attest to the presence of now lost canon series. The Codex Bigotianus preserves offsets of canon arches on fols. 4v - 5r and contains marginal Eusebian references throughout its Gospel text.[750] Marginal references also appear in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 197B / London, B. L, Cotton MS Otho C. V, Durham, A. II. 16 and Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek Cod. Memb. 1. 18.[751] Eusebian references are also evident in the margins of St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 60. In this instance, it seems likely that the references are copied from this manuscript's model, as the codex contains only John's Gospel.[752]

The table on the following page is based on Appendix I of Patrick McGurk's *Latin Gospel Books 400-800*.[753] I have expanded McGurk's work by including reference to prefatory illustrations as well as texts. The table also lists the layout

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[747] See M. Budny (1985) and (1999).
[748] P. McGurk (1961) 83, J. Alexander (1978) 67-8.
[749] On Royal 7. C. xii see P. McGurk (1955), (1961) 39 and (2001). E. A. Lowe CLA II, 271 suggested the Royal tables belong to the fragmentary book now preserved as Cambridge CCC MS 197B / London, B. L, Cotton MS Otho C. V. Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek MSS Rep. I, 58a and Rep. 2, 35a is described by J. Alexander (1978) 45, Pls. 67, 86.
[750] P. McGurk (1961) 59, J. Alexander (1978) 60, Pls. 166-8. It was noted in Chapter 9, how this book's marginal references are unusual in excluding references to parallels in the other Gospels. The margins of the Book of Mulling contain similar references.
[751] P. McGurk (1961) 24-5, 27-9, 68 and J. Alexander (1978) 44, 45-6.
[752] P. McGurk (1961) 98 and J. Alexander (1978) 80, Pls. 283, 284.
[753] P. McGurk (1961) 110-112.

of the Gospel-openings in two Insular bibles, the Codex Amiatinus and Royal I. E. vi. These are marked with an asterisk. The sign .... indicates the fragmentary beginning of some of the manuscripts. (R) implies that the prefaces' sequence is based on a modern reconstruction. The bunching together of preliminary texts in books like Durrow and Kells means that they form the table's longest entries. Shorter entries appear for books which include prefatory material for individual Evangelists before their respective Gospels. Readers should consult *Latin Gospel Books* for fuller information on each manuscript's layout.

Key to table entries:

Texts

1: *Novum Opus*

2: *Sciendum Etiam*[754]

3: *Plures Fuisse*

4:*Eusebius-Carpianus*

5: Canon Tables

6: *Argumentum* (a: Mt, b: Mk, c: Lk, d: Jn)

7: Chapter Lists (a: Mt, b: Mk, c: Lk, d: Jn)

F: Neopolitan Feats (a: Mt.)

H: Hebrew Names (a: Mt, b: Mk, c: Lk, d: Jn)

9: Ailerán, *Canon Euangeliorum*

Illustrations

A: Archangels' incipit page

CCP: Cross-Carpet page

ES: Evangelist symbol(a:Mt)

EV: *Euangelia ueritatis*

4S: Four-Symbols page

FR: Frontispiece (a: Mt)

I: Inscription page (a: Mt)

IN: *Incipit* page (a: Mt.)

MD: *Maiestas Domini*

P: Evangelist portrait (a: Mt)

QI: *Quadriga* inscription

SCP: Spirals Carpet page

T: Tetramorph

VC: Virgin and Child page

Xpi: Chi-Rho page

[754] The *Sciendum etiam* text appears in a number of these manuscripts as part of the *Novum Opus* preface. Hence the appearance of the entry 1(2).

Layout of Prefatory Material in Insular Manuscripts with Canon Tables																
Dublin TC 57 (Book of Durrow)	CCP	4S	SCP	1	Ha	5	7a	6a	7b	6b	6c	6d	Hd	ESa	INa	
Florence, Amiatinus 1* (Codex Amiatinus)	MD	1	5													
Cotton Nero D. IV (Lindisfarne Gospels)	CCP	1	3	4	5	6a	7a	Fa	Pa	CCP	INa					
Paris Lat. 9389 (Echternach Gospels)	1	5	7a	Ha	6a	Pa	INa									
Royal I. B. vii	1	3	4	6a	7a	Fa	5	INa								
Trier 61 / 134 (Trier Gospels) (R)	4S	3	T	1 (2)	5	A	6a	7a	Ha	Pa	INa					
Maeseyck Gospels	5	3	1(2)	7a	6a	INa										
Maeseyck Gospel Fragment	P	5														
Schloss Harburg (Augsburg Gospels)	9	EV	3	1(2)	5	6a	7a	INa								
Stockholm (Stockholm Codex Aureus)	1	3	7a	5	Pa	INa										
Barb. Lat. 570 (Barberini Gospels)	5	1	7a	Ha	6a	Pa	INa									
Vienna Lat. 1224 (Cutbercht Gospels)	3	1	7a	7b	7c	7d	6a	Mt. 1: 1-17		Pa	5	Xpi				
Leningrad F.v. 1.8	1	3	4	6a	7a	5	INa									
Dublin TC 58 (Book of Kells)	....	Ha	5	VC	7a	6a	7b	6b	6c	6d	7c	7d	Hc	4S	Pa	INa
Royal I. E. vi* (R)	....	QI	1	7a	FRa	Ia	5	INa								

Appendix P

Synopsis of Carl Nordenfalk's *Die Spätantiken Kanontafeln* (Goteborg 1938)

Introduction

This appendix contains an English synopsis of Carl Nordenfalk's *Die Spätantiken Kanontafeln*. This work has been significant in establishing a language and methodology for the study of Late Antique canon tables. It features little discussion of the tables' iconography. Nordenfalk's suggestion that the canons form an entrance to the sacred text and his comments on the significance of the tables' number appear in a series of articles from 1951-84. These are referred to in footnotes throughout the thesis and are listed in full in the bibliography. A glossary at the end of the appendix explains the main technical terms used by Nordenfalk.

Synopsis

Die Spätantiken Kanontafeln aims to establish a method for the study of Late Antique canon tables. While the work's timeframe is set at c.330-700 A.D., the lack of surviving contemporary examples means there is also discussion of a range of medieval material which is seen as preserving earlier features.

Nordenfalk adopts a three-fold approach:
- Existing series are classified on the basis of page and column distribution and are used to reconstruct the archetypal layout of the tables' Greek, Latin and Syrian versions.
- Results on this technical level lay the basis for a secondary art-historical examination. The framing and decoration of the archetype are posited.
- The final step in the approach relates extant Late Antique series to the reconstructed model.

The first half of Nordenfalk's study is taken up with the reconstruction of the original Greek or 'Eusebian' archetype. Chapters Two and Three treat of the

concordance's Latin and Syrian versions. There is a brief discussion of the marginal tables in extant Gothic manuscripts contained in Chapter Four. The following synopsis focuses on the method Nordenfalk develops for the discussion of the canon tables of Late Antiquity. While Chapter One provides the basis for this, the non-Greek versions of the tables will also be referred to. The reconstruction of their models often presented Nordenfalk with different methodological problems. They serve thus to clarify certain aspects of his approach.[755]

I. The Textual Distribution of the Late Antique Archetypes

The reconstruction of each archetype begins with the classification of selected manuscripts' tables according to page and column distribution. As many of these manuscripts are of medieval provenance, it is then necessary to establish the Late Antique origin of the various groups. Thus, for example, in Chapter One Nordenfalk classifies the canons in extant Greek manuscripts into two groups on the basis of their table distribution and labels these the 'larger' and 'smaller Greek series'. The 'larger Greek series' which is spread over 10 pages, comprises only of manuscripts dated to tenth-century Constantinople. As no extant Late Antique forebearer can be identified, the series is seen as a medieval innovation and excluded from the archetypal reconstruction.

The validity of the inclusion of the smaller 7-page group in the study is based on its links to a surviving Late Antique fragment, London, British Museum, Add. 5111. On one occasion in the book the results of this initial step are not taken up. The 'first larger Latin series' is reconstructed, with extensive qualification, on the basis only of medieval evidence. London, British Museum, Harley 1775, a sixth century Italian manuscript, provides a variant example from Late Antiquity.

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[755] Plates 12, 14a and b and 15 present the nearest extant reflections of the Greek, Latin and Syrian archetypes. Two different manuscripts are included for the Latin type (Pls. 14a and b) as they each reflect different archetypal features.

The Eusebian archtype as reconstructed by Nordenfalk distributed its canons over 7 pages. The series was preceded by 2 pages containing Eusebius' *Letter to Carpianus*, and was followed by a sanctuarium representation (Pl. 13).
The original Latin and Syrian versions (dated to the late fourth and early fifth century) spread their canons over a much larger number of pages: 12 and 19 respectively. They were without the final page illustration. The more dispersed distribution of the non-Greek versions can by explained by the fact that they contain a maximum of 4 figure lists per page, whereas the Greek archetype could contain up to 9.

In the Latin and Syrian versions each inter-columniation contains one figure list. In the Eusebian archetype inter-columniations framed text columns which contained the individual tables (composed thus of 1-4 figure lists). The longer length of the Syrian series compared to the Latin one is due to the fact that in the former no page contains more than one table. Thus one whole page is reserved for X Mk, although it takes up one list only.

Nordenfalk is unable to produce a Gothic archetype in the same way as with the other versions. The two Gothic fragments are included in the study as evidence for the framing of a concordance contained at the foot of each page. This foot-concordance, which appears unframed in Syrian manuscripts, may be of either Syrian or Greek origin.

The study also documents later changes to the archetypal forms during Late Antiquity. The most significant changes to the Greek archetype's textual distribution occurred in Constantinople during the sixth century. The prologue was spread over 3 pages and the 8-page variant of the 'smaller Greek series' was developed. This was without a sanctuarium representation, but may have included a wreathed title page. In the history of the Latin archetype, a similar kind of change is seen in the development of the larger series spread over 16 pages and dated to sixth-century Ravenna.

II. The Framing and Decoration of the Tables- The Canon Arch

Nordenfalk considers the framing of Late Antique canon tables on two different levels: Outline and Elevation Forms ('Grundriβ'- and 'Aufriβform').

1. Outline Form

The reconstruction of the Outline Form of the tables' archetypes is based on a number of criteria:
- Each element of the outline must serve to frame a specific element of the table's text or 'Schriftbild'- i.e. a figure list / text column or their titles.
- The type of enframing arch used must agree with evidence of media, i.e architecture and the plastic arts, contemporary to the archetype.
- The archetypal arches are seen as those which present the most balanced overall composition. They strive to present uniform arch proportions in spite of varying table width.
- The extent to which the arch form shows an awareness of the book page is finally considered. *Die Spätantiken Kanontafeln* charts the growing consciousness of the form of the book page in canon table design.

Following these lines, the tables of the Eusebian archetype are seen to have been framed immediately by a linear grid (Pl. 12). The text columns, each containing a table, were separated vertically into their individual figure lists. Horizontal lines divided them into groups of 3-4 figures to aid reading. Semi-circular arches framed the list titles. The tables were separated from one another by columns. Their adjoining arches framed the table titles. Nordenfalk sees these arches as being horseshoe shaped, thereby enabling the impression of uniform arch proportions throughout the series.

Among the manuscripts of the 'smaller Greek series' Nordenfalk identified three types of larger enframing arches based on their number of axes: m-, n- and m-n types. The m-type is seen as archetypal with reference to the kind of formal relationships described above: each of its elements serves a specific framing

function, it is the oldest type of arch evident from other media and it preserves the closest affinity with the stylistics of the roll.

Latin and Syrian versions (Pls. 14a and 15) differ from the outline form of the Eusebian archetype in some respects. As they separate the individual figure lists by columns, they do not preserve the vertical grid-lines of the Greek archetype. The horizontal grid-lines were retained in the Latin archetype to break up the number lists (usually into groups of 4-5 figures), but these are also lacking in the Syrian version.

The second component of the Eusebian Outline form, the horseshoe-shaped m-arch, is preserved in the Syrian model (Pl. 15). Because each inter-columniation contained an individual figure list in the Syrian version, it was the lists' titles which were framed by the columns' arches. The title for the table as a whole was written unframed across the top of the book page, above the arch structure. The columns of the Syrian version were brittle and stood on double bases and thus represent, according to Nordenfalk, a weakening of the tectonic impression of the arch.

Compared to this, the Latin archetype is seen strengthening the arch's tectonic character (Pls. 14a and b). It is reconstructed as an entablature type, drawing for its model on contemporary Roman *scenae frons*. Its architrave, which sets it apart from the m-arch forms of the other versions, is seen as a response to the changes in the shape of the Latin tables' text. Two factors made this text more uniform. Firstly the tables' titles were included as an *incipit-explicit* inscription written at the base of the columns. Secondly the titles to the individual lists headed the columns themselves. The inclusion of the architrave above the column heads filled thus the space formerly occupied by the table title.

The Latin entablature type found an alternative solution to the problem of balanced arch proportioning than the horseshoe-shaped arches of the other versions. On tables with four inter-columniations each column was crowned by an alternate arch or a triangular roof (Pl. 14b). On tables containing three inter-

columniations, one large overriding arch or roof was placed on the architrave structure (Pl. 14a).

As with textual distribution, Nordenfalk considers Late Antique changes to the form of the archetype's outline frame. Primary among these is the development of the m-n arch. In this the m-arch is enclosed by an over-riding n-arch (Pl. 16). Justinianic architecture offers the first examples of this type of arch in other media. This leads the change in arch design to be dated to sixth-century Constantinople. The development of the m-n arch is seen as having been very influential in the form of Latin canons, but represented only a transient phase in the Syrian world. Nordenfalk sees the m-n arch as marking a further step in the recognition of the book-page in canon table design. It should be noted however that it did not replace the older m-, and n- arch types, but existed alongside them.

2. The Elevation Form

The arch is considered secondly as an elevation or facade. In the extant versions, and by extension the archetype, the combination of a primary outline form with a secondary elevated one is evident. This combination sees the vertical stripes at either side of the text being articulated as columns and the larger semi-circular arch as an archivolte. The consideration of the archetypal forms on this level focuses mainly on how they relate text and elevation. The reconstructed archetypes offer three different examples. In the Greek archetype the linear grid hangs within the arch structure like a curtain (Pl. 12). In the Latin version the horizontal lines dividing the text are linked to the columns like a ladder (Pl. 14a). The lack of linear dividing lines in the original Syrian model means no static relationship was established between text and elevation (Pl. 15). These relationships were independent of the type of larger arch which enframed the tables.

The Framing of the Prologue Pages

In the Greek archetype, the prologue page which introduced the canon series was also framed by a decorated n-arch. Although its text did not make this formally necessary, framing it in this way created a decorative unity between prologue and concordance. This unity extended to include the final-page sanctuarium representation which also derives from the arch form (Pl. 13). The framing of the prologue pages did not carry over to the non-Greek archetypes. Both Latin and Syrian models are seen to have undecorated opening pages for the introductory letter. The sixth century witnessed, along with the development of the m-n arch, a change in prologue framing. Greek manuscripts from this period like the Rossano Gospels show the adoption of a simple rectangular form, more suited to that of the prologue text. This later framing was picked up in non-Greek manuscripts such as Rabbula (Pl. 19).

Decoration of the Canon Arches

The decoration of the canon arches is treated of in two categories: filling and edging ornament. The filling ornament of the tables' archetypal versions is identified with reference to contemporary stylistics. Nordenfalk reconstructs a range of colourized patterns in 'Massenornamentik' as those of the original Greek version (Pl. 12). While the filling ornament of the Latin entablature archetype is taken directly from contemporary Roman architecture, that of the sixth-century m-n type is similar in style to that of the original Greek model (Pl. 16). The archetypal filling ornament of the Syrian tables is difficult to reconstruct. It seems to have been quite modest, working mainly on colour alternation as a means of patterning. From Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, syr.33, Nordenfalk suggests that the Syrian filling ornament was in 'Inkrustationsstil' (Pl. 15). This style, composed of discrete line and dot patterns, is evident in early fifth-century Syrian wall-painting.

The edging ornament of the Greek archetype was made up of a combination of bird, leaf and flowering bush forms (Pl. 12). These appear much more sparsely in the Latin archetypal versions. The arched 'smaller Latin series' only has such

decoration at arch corners (Pl. 14). The 'first larger Latin series' is characterized, in fact, by its complete lack of edging ornament. The Syrian archetype forewent the immediate edging ornament, as reconstructed for the Greek archetype, in favour of looser marginal illustrations (Pl. 15). These depicted narrative scenes from Christ's life alternating with symbolic Christological representations. Nordenfalk suggests an illustrated *Diatessaron* provided the model for this decoration.

One of the formal criteria Nordenfalk brings to his examination of the decoration of the canon table arches is the extent to which facing pages were treated of as a decorative pair. This was the case in the original Eusebian archetype with regard to both filling and edging ornament. The 12-page arched Latin archetype decorated each page with different filling ornament, while retaining paired edging ornament. It is difficult to make a judgement regarding this aspect of Syrian filling ornament, but its marginal illustrations did work on the principle of paired composition.

III. Extant Late Antique Examples

Only a limited number of Late Antique canon tables have survived: two Greek, three Latin, five Syrian and two Gothic. The final part of Nordenfalk's approach locates these fragments in relation to the reconstructed model and thus, by extension, to one another. The extant examples are considered on the familiar grounds of textual distribution, arch-framing and decoration. The distance which they are placed from the archetype show up the extent their series reflect formal developments during Late Antiquity.

London, B.M., Add.5111 is a good example of this (Pls. 17-18). Its series is reconstructed by Nordenfalk as having occupied 8 pages following a 3-page prologue. Each page contained uniform biaxial m-arches. This fragment's tables are thus seen as part of the effort to make the tables conform to the unity of the book page.

The manuscript's ornament, made up of abstract polychromous forms, differs strikingly from that posited for the archetype. It finds parallels in other media only from the seventh-century onwards. That many of these parallels have been connected to Constantinople, coupled with London Add. 5111's sumptuous nature, suggests it has similar provenance. This is also supported by the inclusion of apostolic medallions as a decorative feature. Special reverence was accorded to the Apostles in the capital of the Byzantine world. Nordenfalk suggests the Fragment's ornament presents a Greek parallel to the 'neuarchaischen Stilstufe' described in western art as 'pre-Carolingian'. One of the factors supporting an earlier date for Vienna 847, the other surviving Greek example, is the less abstract nature of its decoration.

One of the most interesting features to emerge in the discussion of extant fragments is the extent to which they reflect the interplay between the various archetypes. Much of this interplay is seen in manuscripts located in sixth-century Ravenna. Thus, Vienna 847 displays some Latin symptoms, e.g. It spreads its canons over a larger number of pages and contains n-arches. Harley 1775, a variant of the 'larger Latin group' also located in sixth-century Ravenna, shows evidence of Greek influence in the omission of the internal columns dividing the figure lists and in the inclusion of a literal translation of the *Letter to Carpianus*. Such interplay was not confined to the Greek and Latin worlds. The Rabbula Gospels, a sixth-century Syrian manuscript, is seen by Nordenfalk as reflecting a Greek model in the adoption of the m-n type arch. This model was filtered first through the Antiochene school, explaining the type of Evangelist portrait included in the Rabbula canon frames.

Conclusion

It seems valuable in conclusion to summarize the study's method. *Die Spätantiken Kanontafeln* proceeds on the basis of a 'polyphonic' or 'many-voiced' transmission. The archetypes are reconstructed with reference to a series of manuscripts each of which partially reflects the form of the original model. It is assumed that this form's textual distribution, framing and decoration were logical and balanced. The 'logical' archetypal feature is that which agrees with

the evidence of other contemporary media, especially in architecture and the plastic arts. The most logical form may not therefore always be the most balanced one. This is evident from the selection of the m-arch as archetypal although both London and the Vienna fragments show a simpler, more uniform system of arches. The method retains a continual awareness of the move from roll to codex. This comes across most clearly in the treatment of the varying arch-types' relation to the page.

The work has very clear perimeters within which Late Antique canon tables are discussed. There is a formal art-historical focus. The study develops a descriptive language to facilitate this. There is little attempt made to interpret the significance of the tables' form or decoration. The inclusion of the Apostolic medallions in the arches of London, B.M., Add. 5111 (Pl. 18) is seen thus as another decorative feature without iconographic significance (p.134).

Nordenfalk makes comments pertaining to 'meaning' only on a few occasions. The first such occasion concerns the inclusion of the sanctuarium representation. On p.108 he writes that it seems 'not improbable', based on the evidence of other media, that the sanctuarium is a representation of the Holy Sepulchre. It is 'sensible' 'sinnvoll', that the final page of the canons, which represent a summary of Christ's life and teachings, should commemorate Christ's earthly end and with that the kernel of Christian hope and redemption.

The second 'iconographic' reference concerns the arch structure itself. Nordenfalk sees the system as innovative in adopting for the first time in book art a monumental form. He rejects however the iconographic interpretation of this form proposed by Strzygowski, i.e. that the arch, like a halo, denotes divinity. Referring to the function of the triumphal arch in Late Antiquity, the framing and decoration of the tables is seen as a compensatory device. It seeks to redress the discrepancy between the content of the opening pages (a scientific figural concordance) and of the sacred text which follows (pp.125-6).

The final speculative comments concern the marginal illustrations reconstructed for the Syrian archetype. Nordenfalk sees these not as illustrating the tables'

text, but as complementing it. The drawings present a chronological illustration of Christ's life drawing on the Gospel texts. The tables, in contrast to this, present a summary of the Gospels independent of their temporal structure. They work on a different ordering principle, namely the concordance of the varying evangelical accounts.

Glossary

Architrave: main beam resting immediately on the abacus or capital of a column.

Archivolte: lowest member of arch from impost to impost.

Edging Ornament: The ornament attached to the outside of a frame extending into the arch spandrels.

Elevation Form: The framing of the tables viewed as an arch facade.

Entablature: The part of an order above the column including the architrave, frieze and cornice.

Figure List: The list of numbers from an individual Gospel which forms part of a table, i.e. Canon I which parallels the four Gospels contains four figure lists.

Filling Ornament: The ornament contained within the table's frame - arch, column and base.

'Inkrustationsstil' [Incrustation Style] : A type of filling ornament consisting of discrete line and dot patterns. Evident on early fifth-century Syrian wall-painting and seen as archetypal for the Syrian version of the concordance.

Inter-columniation: The space between two columns.

'Massenornamentik' [Mass Ornamentation]: Filling ornament comprising of a mass of small similar forms which combine to give a unified collective impression. The normal gap between background and ornament becomes blurred as the former itself becomes patternized.

m-type arch: comprises of two or more arches joined to each other forming an m- shape.

n-type arch: a single arch with one axis.

m-n-type arch:a combination of the two primary arch types in which the multi-axial m-arch is enclosed by a larger overriding n-arChapter

Outline Form: The immediate framing of the shape, or outline, of a text.

Text Column: Refers to the text (table) contained within an intercolumniation in Greek manuscripts which comprises of a varying number of figure lists according to the table.

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Plates

Plate 1: Beginning of Alexander's Letter to Aristotle about India.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1841, fol. 168v.

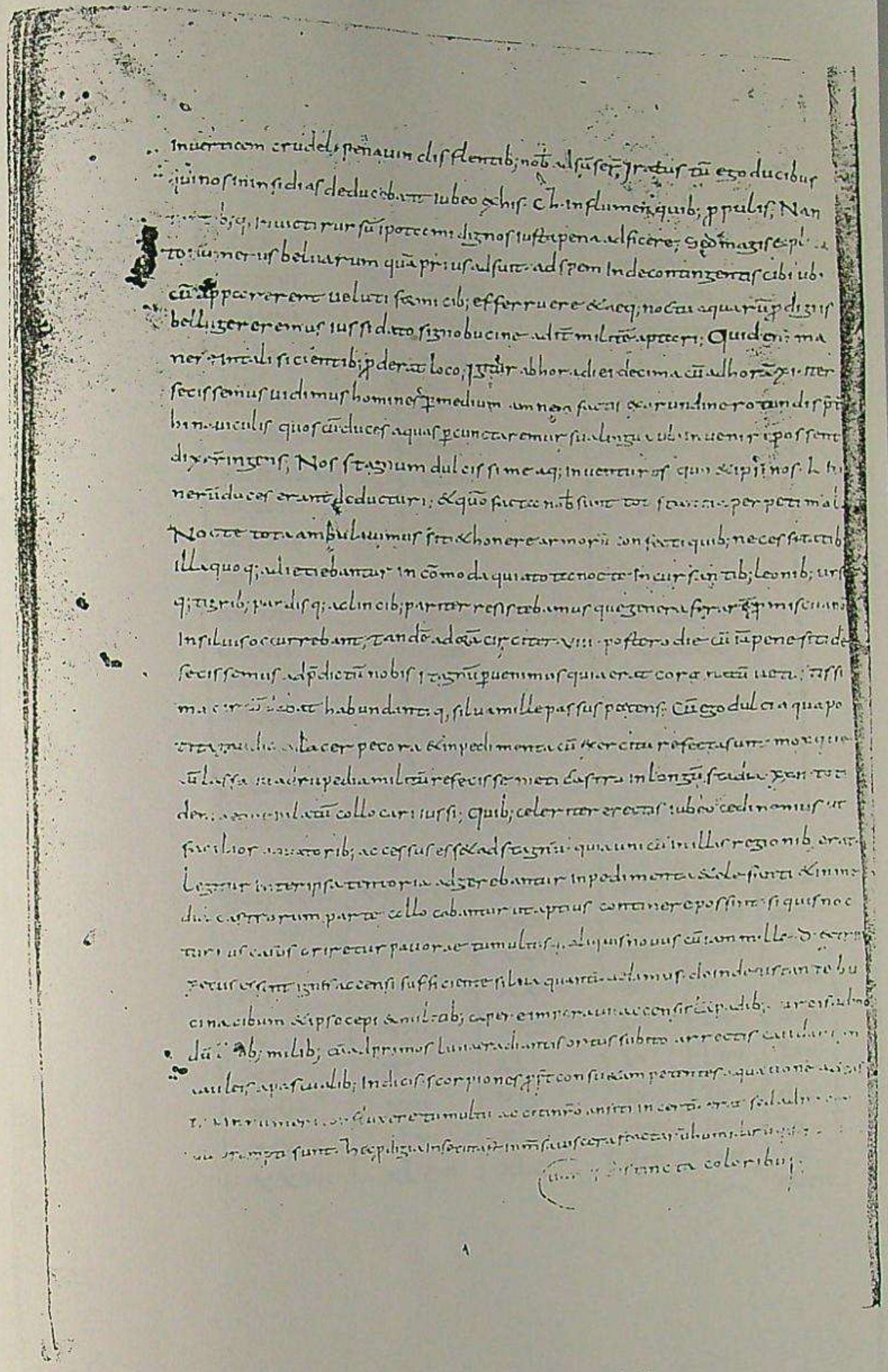


Plate 2: Final Page of Alexander's Letter to Aristotle about India.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1841, fol. 170v.

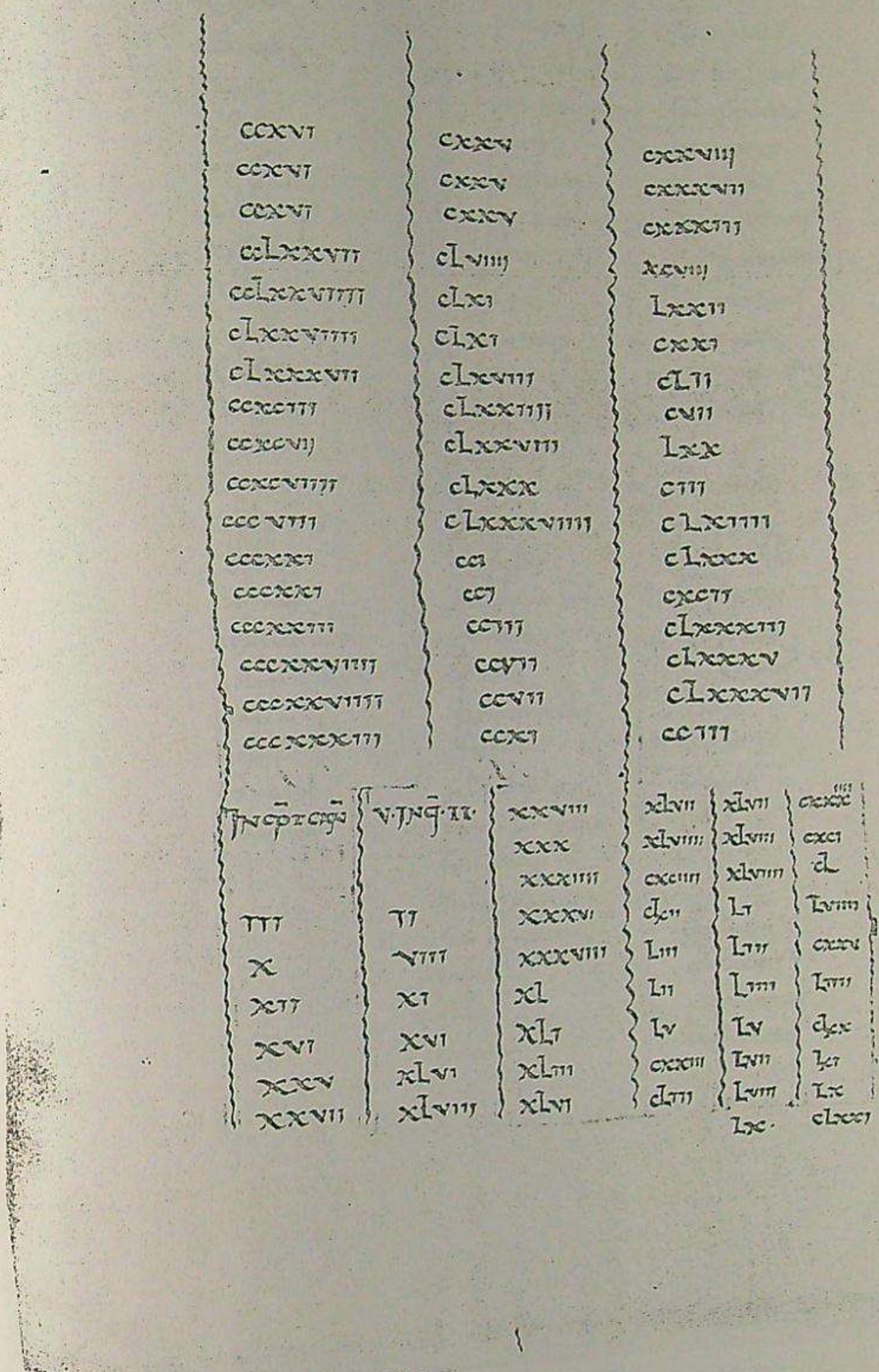


Plate 3: Canon IIII-V. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 940, fol. 6v.

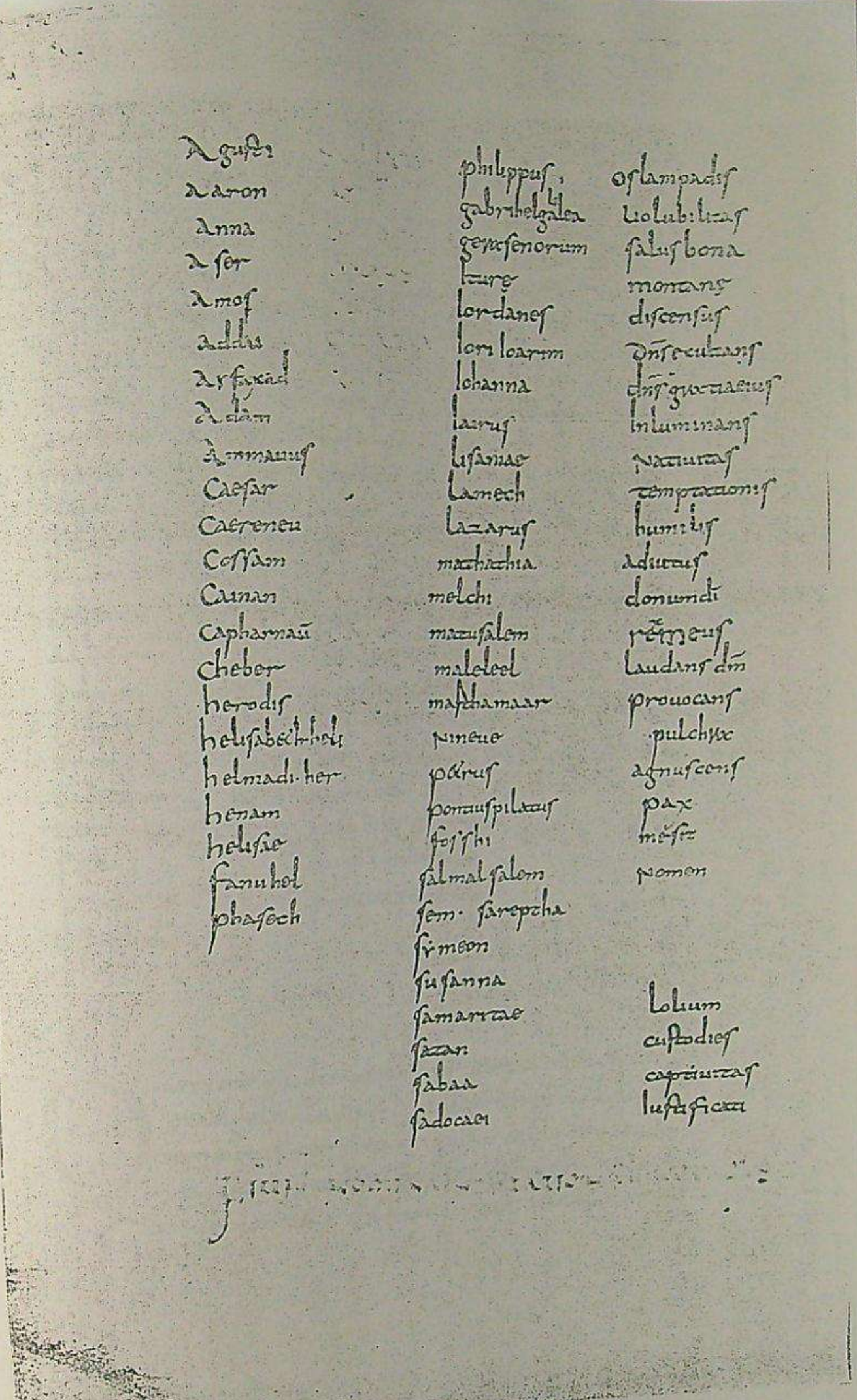


Plate 4: Luke Hebrew Names. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 940, fol. 12v.

Enon	fons
Banorem	filiorum
belzebub	habens muscas.
bãrba	filius patris
Caephas	petrus
effrem	fetalis
messia	conclusio
siloe	missus
agius	saluifica
Osanna	pater
abbasirum	ros siue terres
Idumea	pax siue pacifica
salomy	angustiae
Tyro	sirum puella
tabrnacum	negotiatio
Trachonitidis	miserabilis siue
secha	animauidensdm
paulus. ist	princeps cumdo.
Ifrochel.	

Quaeritur quod coopeiantur circa agnitionem
euangelii non difficile decem innro: Loco
tem poris persona lingua regula ordo auctor
rtas causa pphetia figura demonstratiua
conuenientia: & haec sunt quasi coopeiantur.

Plate 5: John Hebrew Names. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 940, fol. 13r.

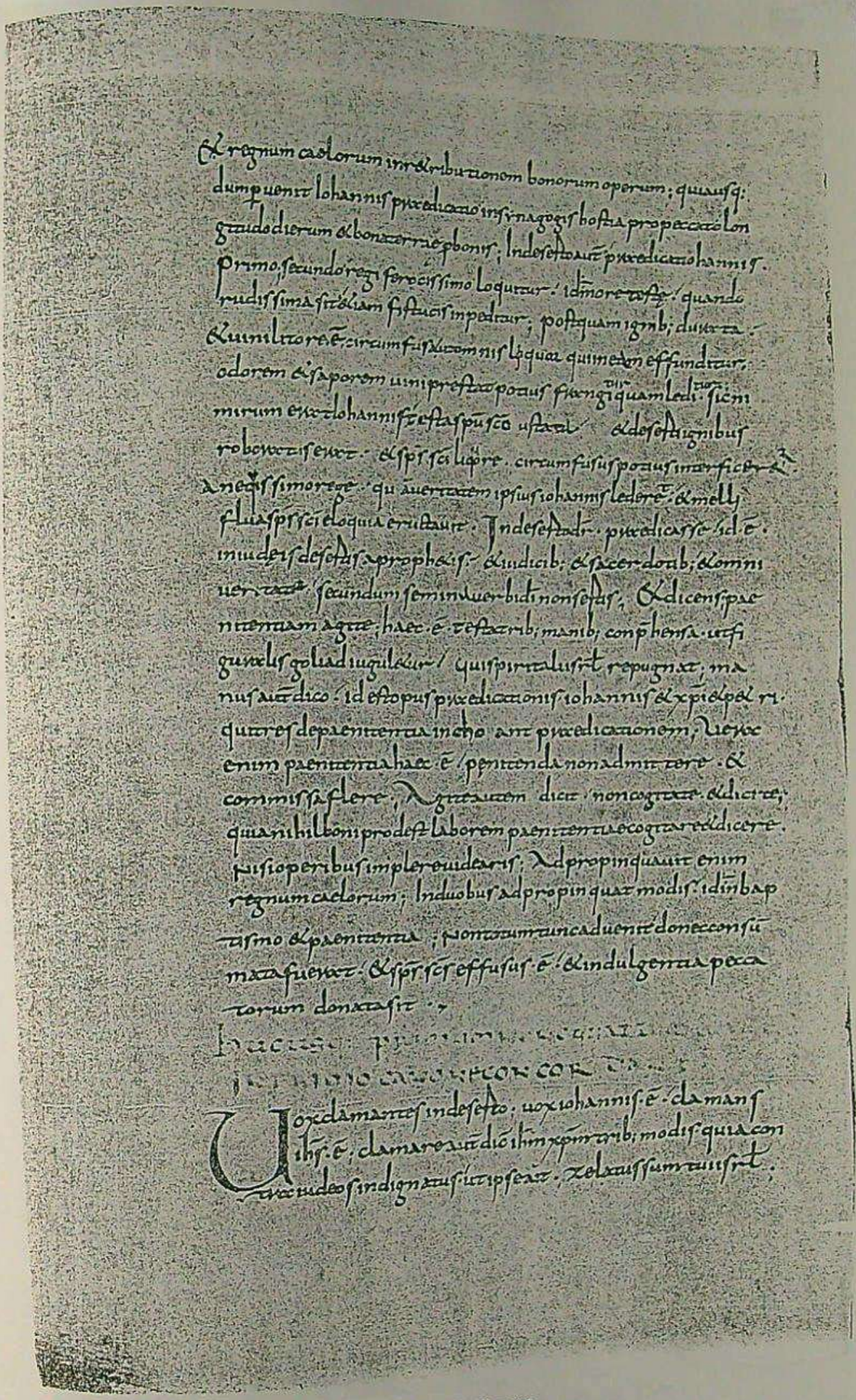


Plate 6: First Uncial Title relating to the Canons.
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 940, fol. 12v.

celabitur nisi pater solus. quasi solus in maiestate trinitas
omnia facit dicens. faciamus hominem &rtq. Ipse conscius. eo.
quando diluvium quod fecit; huc usq; VI NUNC V;
Sicut enim in diebus noe. Idest praeconem iustitiae non actum
dentes & omnes uoluptatis luxoriae pficientes & insecurita
ambulantes. sicut in aduentu filii hominis. quando di
cent pax & securitas superueniet illis interitus.
IUBILATIO;
Tunc erunt duo in agro. Idest in euangelii praedicatione
Unus assumitur. id in uitam aeternam. & alius relinquitur.
id praedestinationem. & secundum historiam. unus assumitur
in mortem. & unus relinquitur in uitam. duobus laborantibus
in agro. duae molentes in mola. id duae animae in unoci
catu praesentis uitae laborantes. una assumitur. & altera
relinquitur. sed supple. nunc dicimus;
huc usq; VI NUNC VI.
Uigilate ergo quia nescitis qua hora dns uester uenturus sit.
quasi abhanc causam occultare uoluit iudicium ut maiores
uigilate. Idest diligentia adesse omnes homines nescientes
quando tempus sit; huc usq; VI NUNC V;
Qm si sciret pater familias. iste autem pater familias mo
dulus intellegentia intelligibilis sensus mentis & conscientia
fur autem inuisibilis dr domus autem quae perfoditur cor
pus unius cuiusq; ad animam quaerendam.
huc usq; VI NUNC V;
Quis putas eo. seruus fidelis. quasi unum adloquitur dr.
Idest a uanimae infidelem apostolicum populum. in quo
sunt omnes spirales doctores. & omnium ecclesiarum xpi
principes quos admonet dr fidelis. eo. Inse ipsi intentus
confessione. & prudentes eo. inser pentanis uestigiis

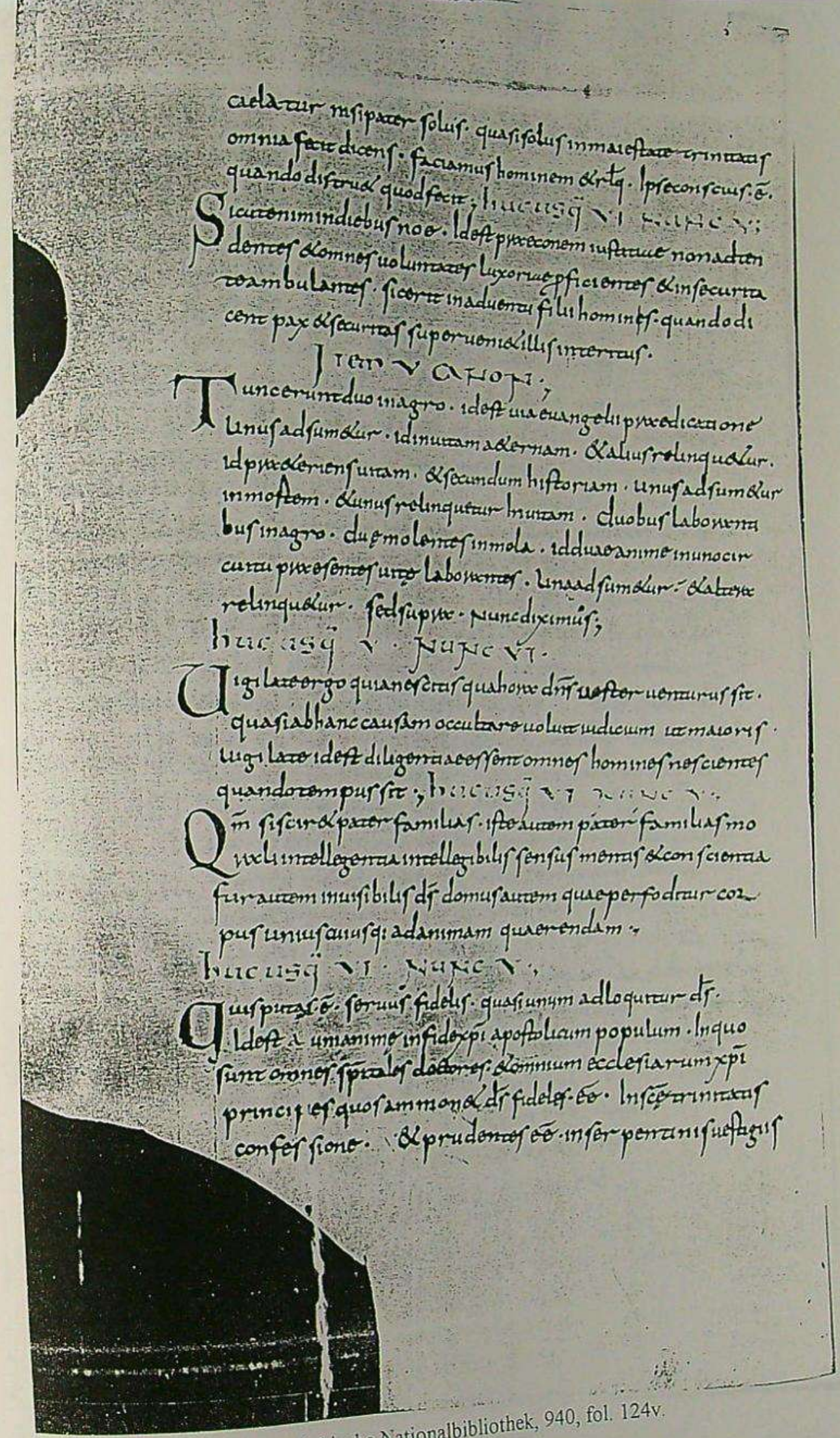


Plate 7: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 940, fol. 124v.

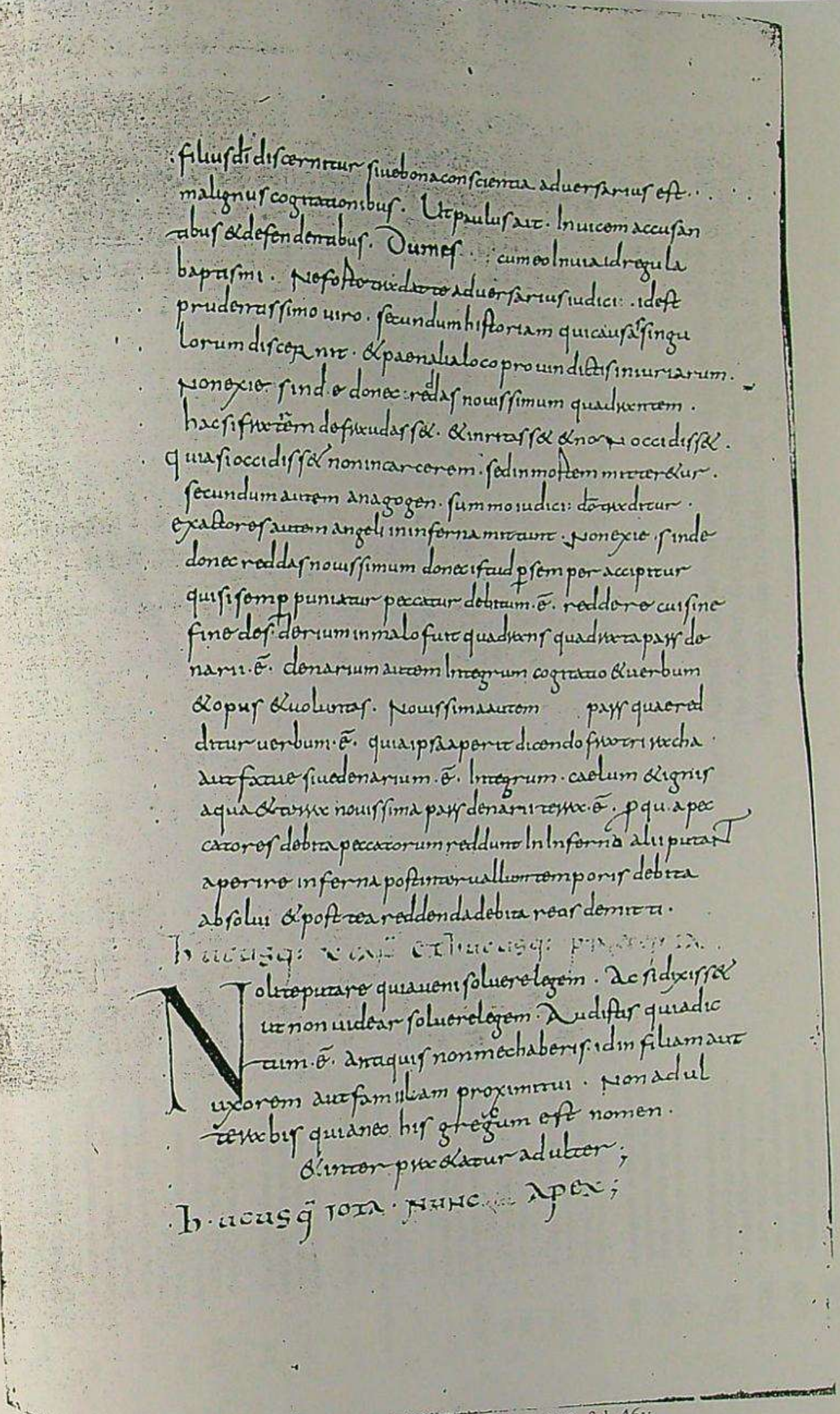


Plate 8: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 940, fol. 46v.

I	*Quam in primo speciosa quadriga*
	homo leo uitulus et aquila
LXXI	LXX unum per capitula
	de Domino conloquuntur paria.
II	IN secundo subsequente protinus
	homo leo loquitur et uitulus
	quibus inest ordinate positus
CVIIII	centum in se atque VIIII numerus.
III	Tum diende tertio in ordine
	homo et bos loquitur cum uolucre
XXII	numero quo consistunt antiquae
	alphabeti ebreorum litterae.
IIII	Quarto loco fatentur aequalia
	una leo homo atque aquila
XXVI	uno ore loquentes kapitula
	uerbi summi sena atque uicena.
V	Quinta uice concordant in loquella
	homo prudens atque mitis hostia
LXXXIII	ihesu Christi emicantes agmina
	iuda sine saluatori credula.
VI	Ecce sexto pari sonant clamore
	natus adam cum clamoso leone
	computata traditis pro munere
XLVIII	sacerdotum oppidis in honore.
VII	EN loquntur septies in septimo
VII	homo auis consona de domino.
VIII	In octauo nunc leonis catulus
	dei uerba profert atque uitulus
XIII	quorum simul conputatur numerus
	adiecto paulo apostolicus.
VIIII	Nonus ordo in quod duo pariter
	conloquntur, uitulus et uolucer
XXI	inspirati sensu spiritaliter
	proloquntur ternum septipliciter.
X	Homo nimpe uerbum profert proprium
LXII	sexaginta et per duo numerum.
	Rugientemque leonem audies
XVIIII	solum sane decies et noies.
	Bouem solum fatentem inuenies
LXXII	uerba dei bis et septuagies.
	Subuolantem ad astra repperies
CXVII	nonagies loqui atque septies.

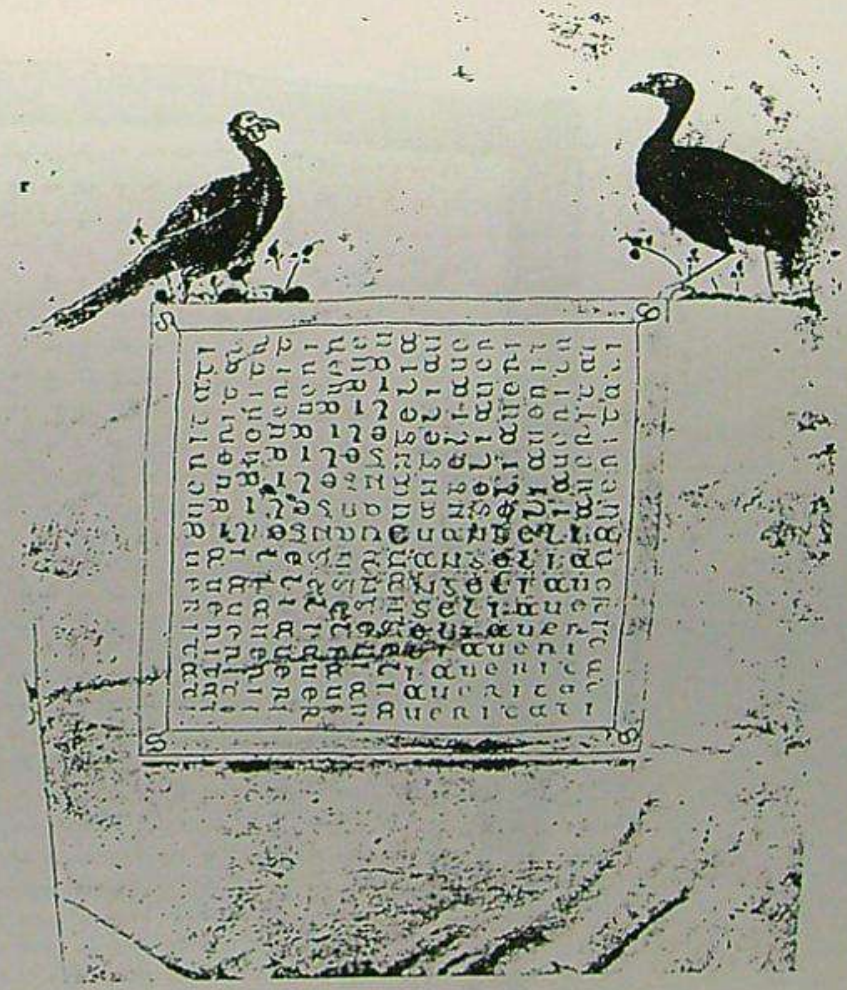


Plate 9: Ailerán's *Canon Evangeliorum* and the *Evangelia veritatis* page. The Augsburg Gospels, olim Schloss Harburg, Fürstlich Öttingen-Wallerstein'sche Bibliothek, Cod. I. 2. 4°. 2, fols. 1v-2r.

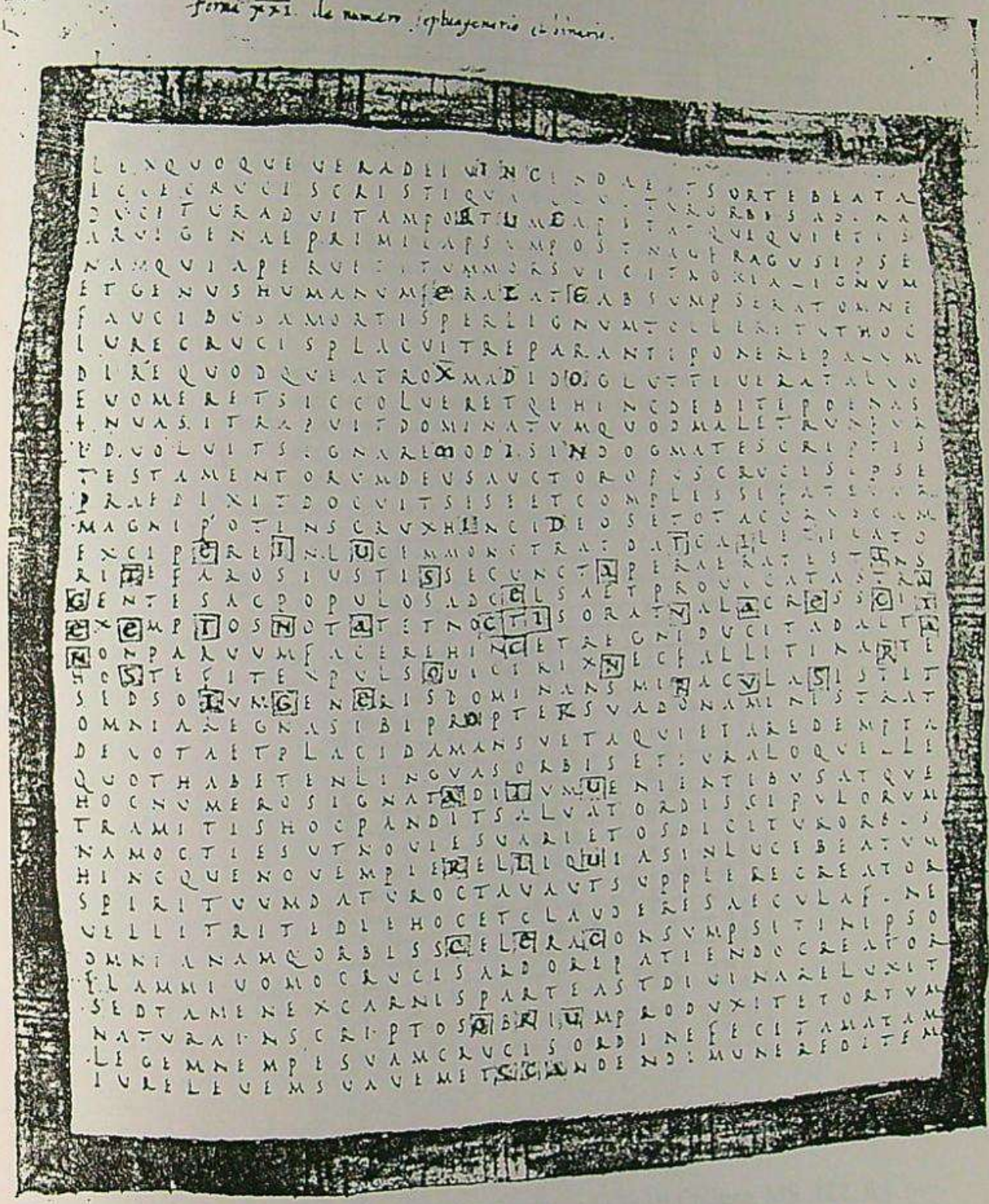


Plate 10:Hrabanus Maurus, *De Laudibus Sanctae Crucis*, Figura XXI.
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 911, fol. 23v.

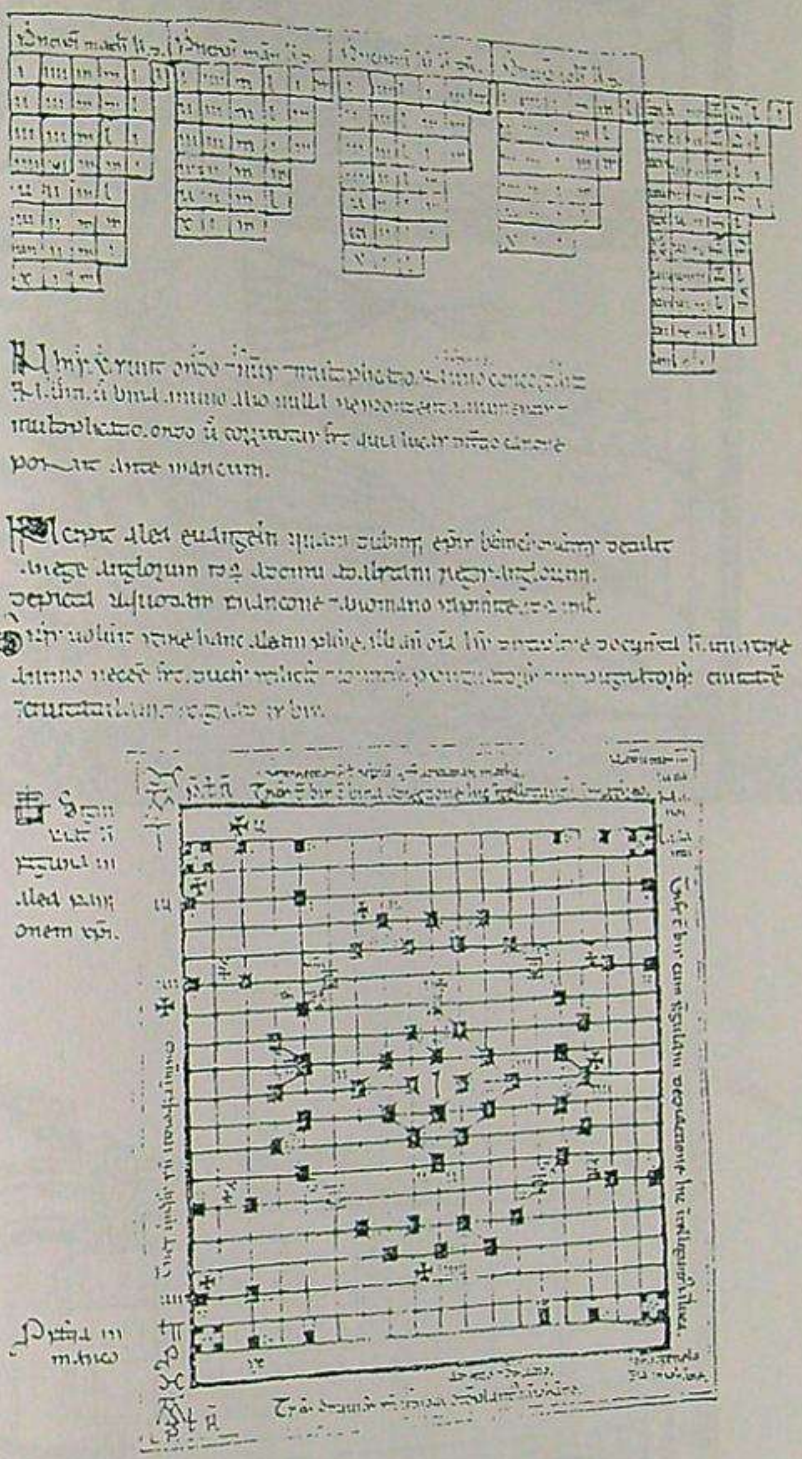


Plate 11: The *Alea Evangelii*. Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS. 122, fol. 5v.

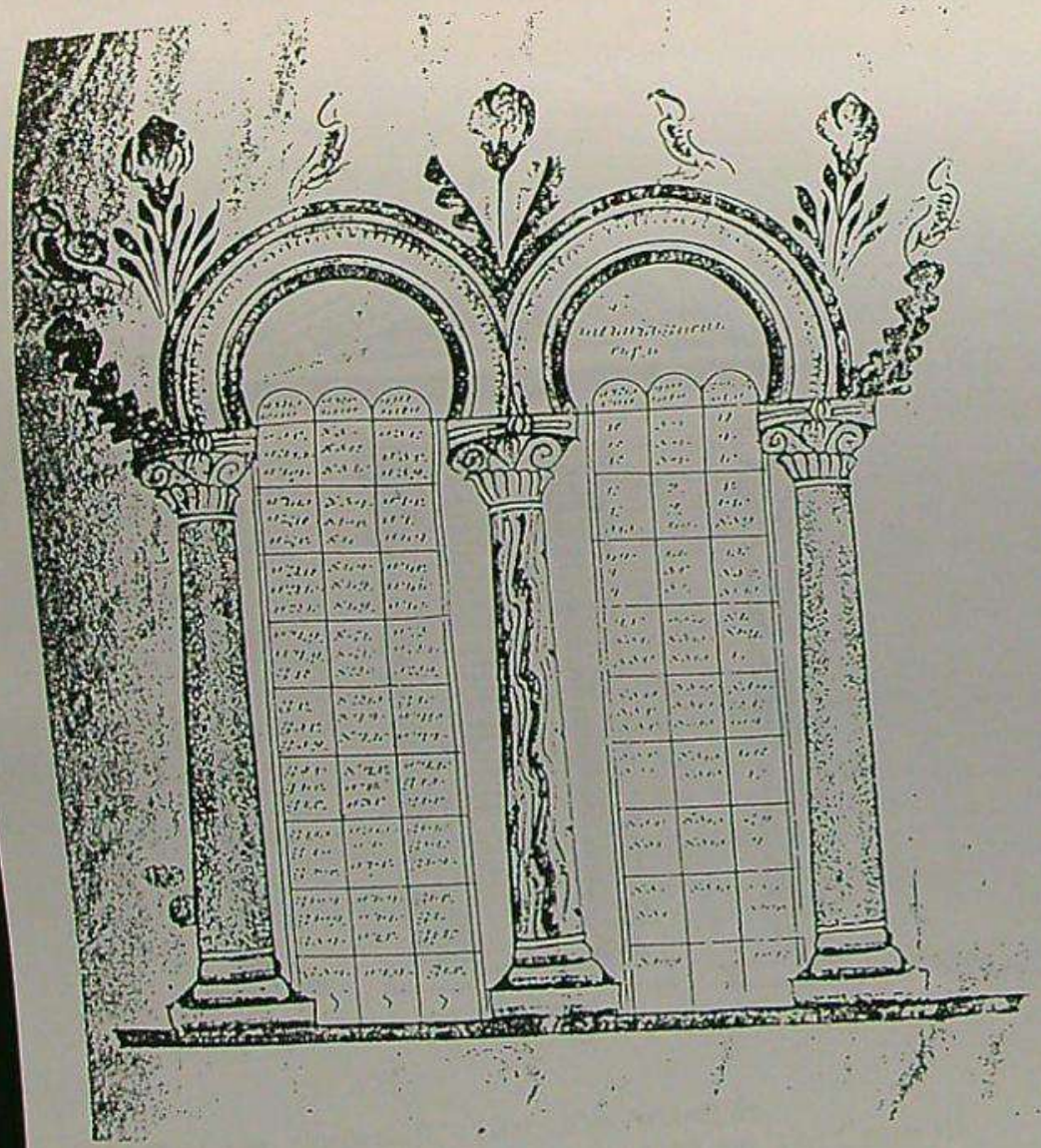


Plate 12: Nordenfalk's Greek Archetype. Etschmiadzin, Patriarchal Library, cod. 229, fol 3r: Canon II(4)-III

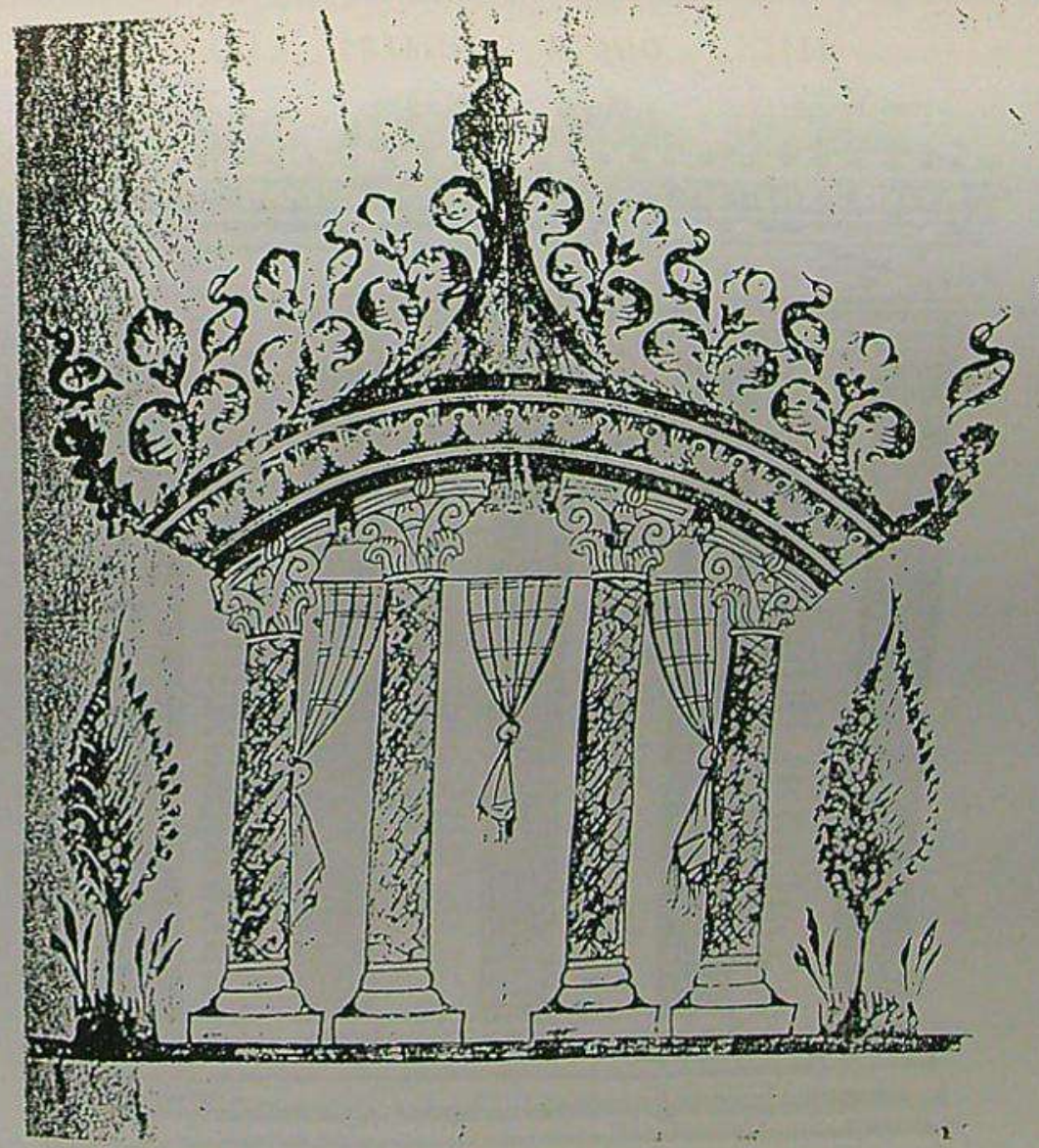


Plate 13: Sanctuarium Representation. Etschmiadzin, Patriarchal Library, cod. 229, fol. 5v

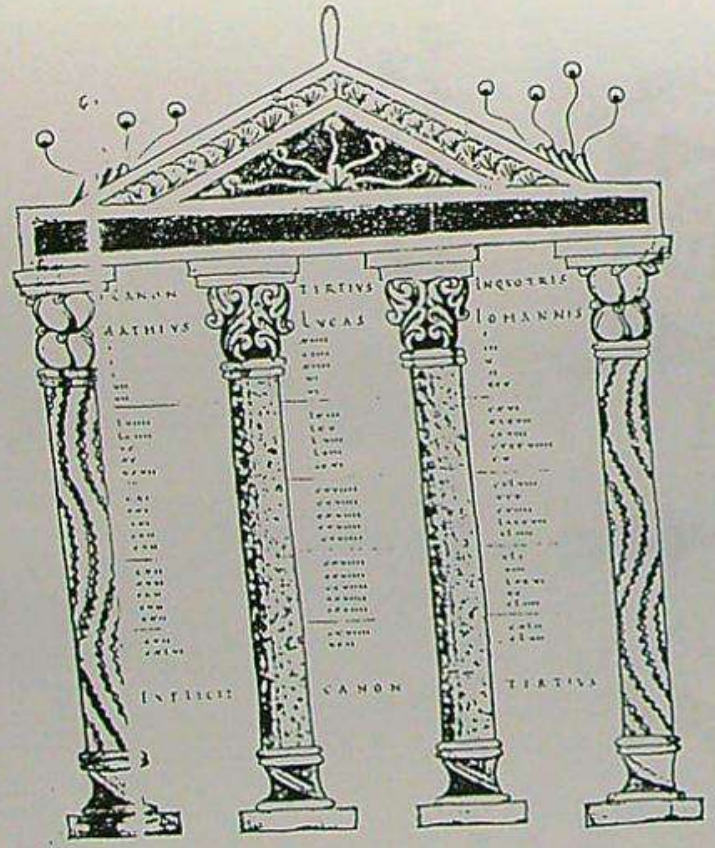


Plate 14a: Nordenfalk's First Latin Archetype.
Cologne, Dombibliothek, cod. 12, fol. 13r, Canon III.

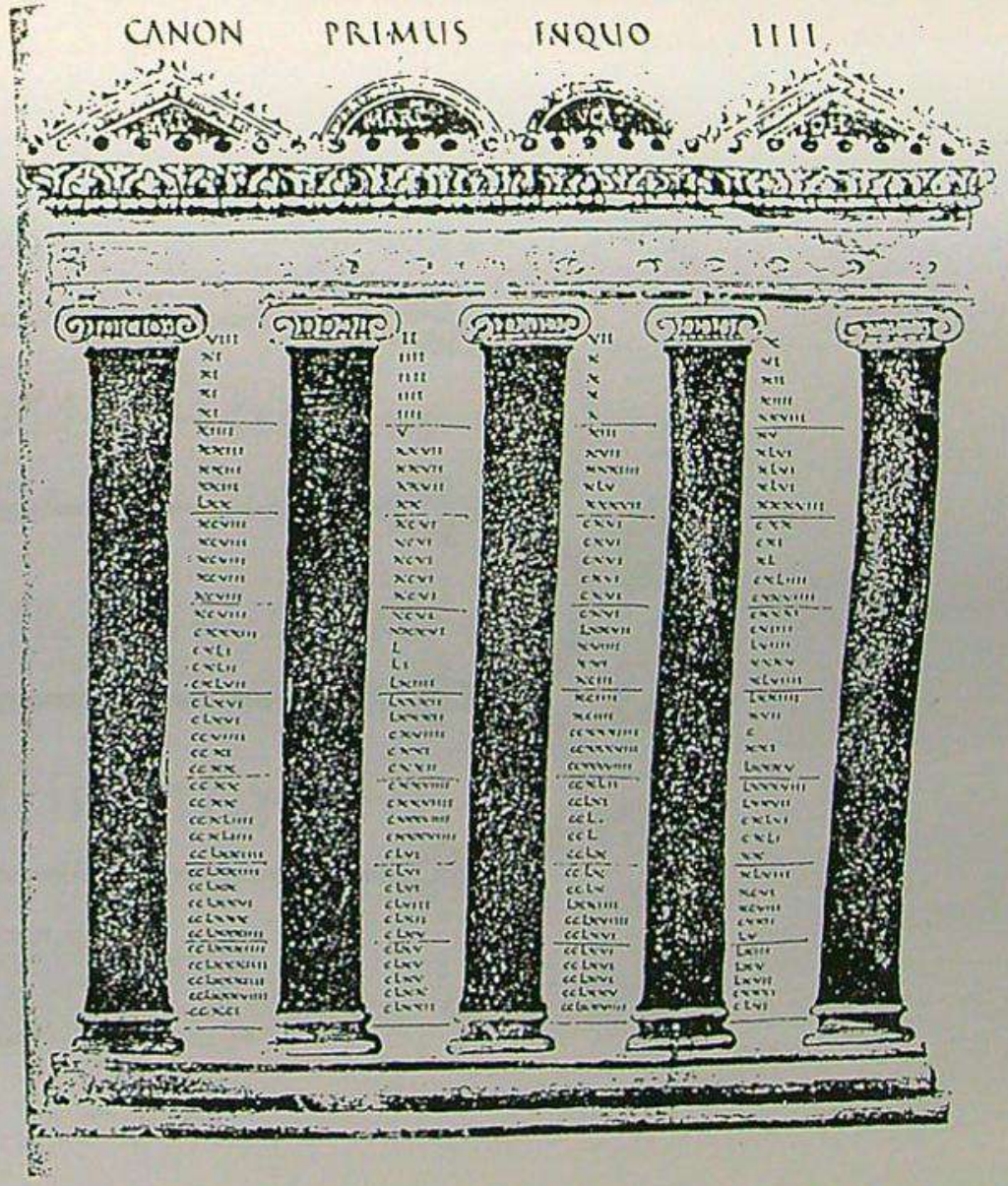


Plate 14b: Nordenfalk's Second Latin Archetype.
Aachen, Domschatz, Evangeliar, fol. 8v, Canon I.

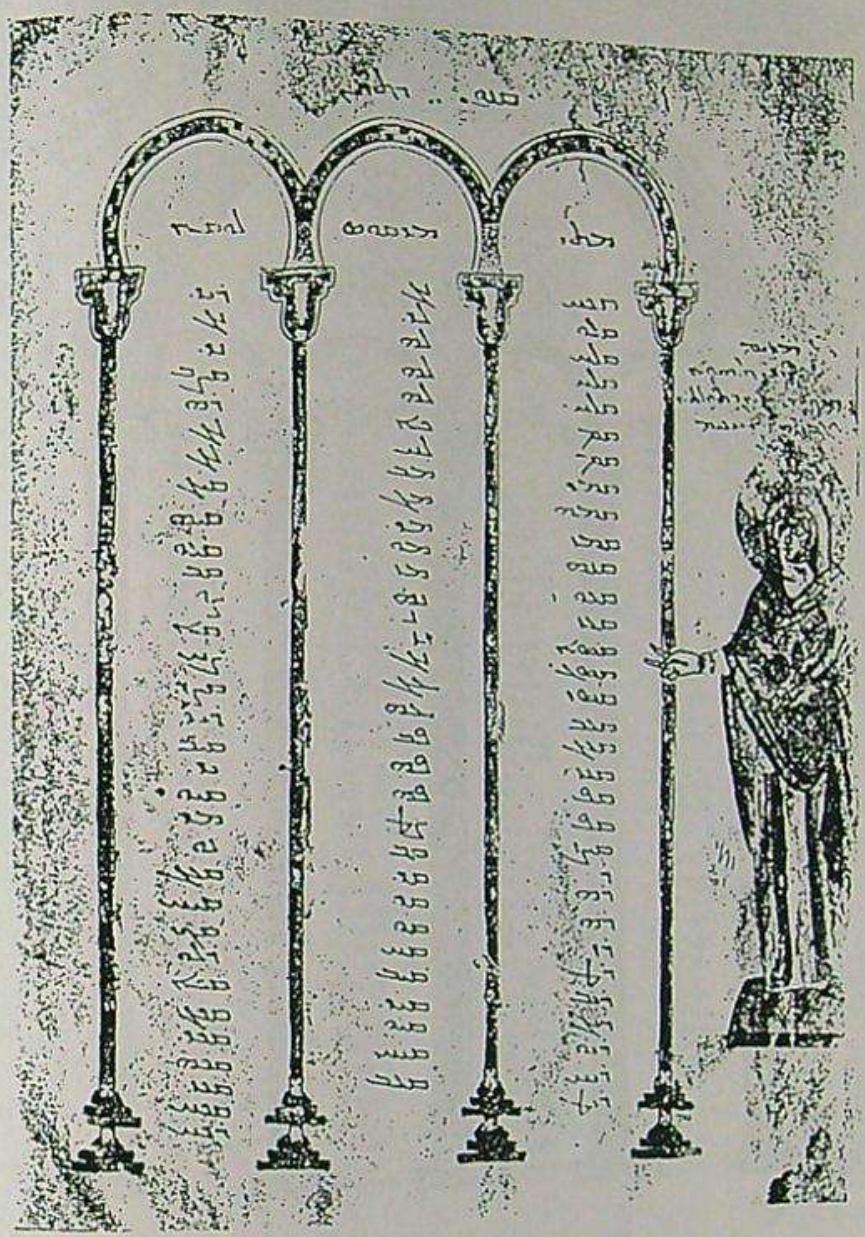


Plate 15: Nordenfalk's Syrian Archetype. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, syr. 33, fol. 3v, Canon II(2)

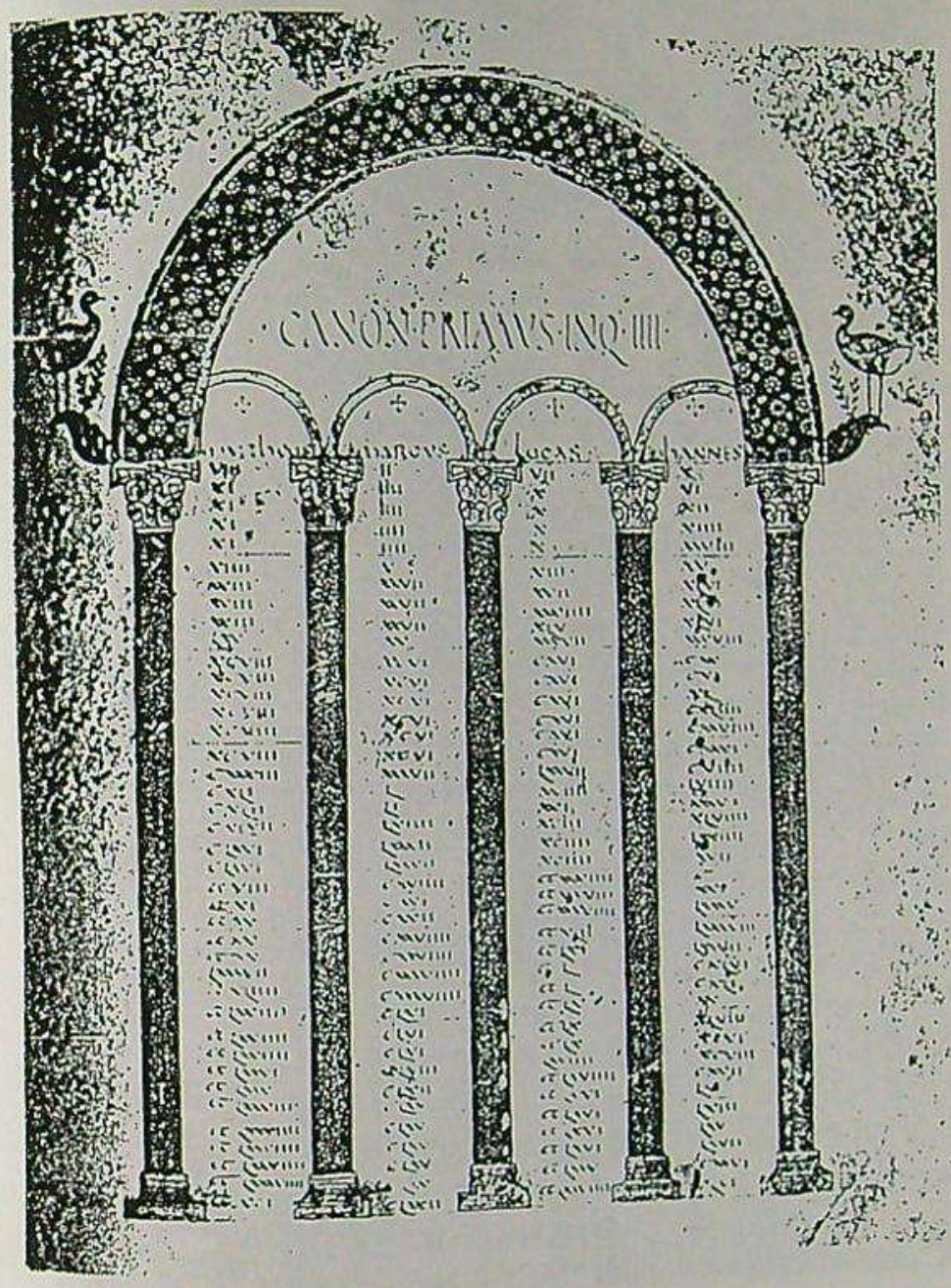


Plate 16: 'M-n' Arch Form. Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Vat. Lat. 3806, fol. 2r, Canon I.

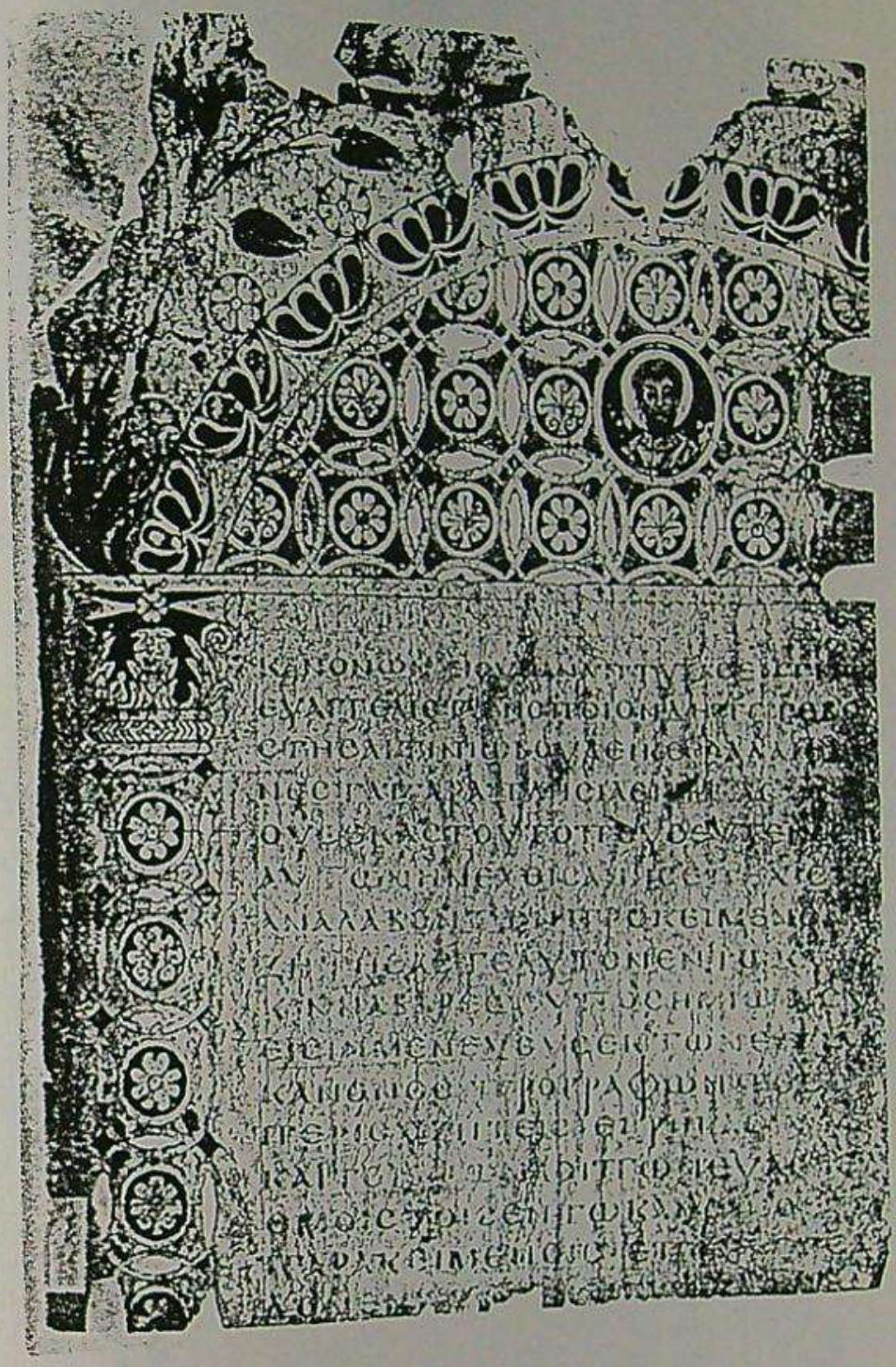


Plate 17: Framed Prologue Page. London, British Library, Add. 5111, fol. 10r.

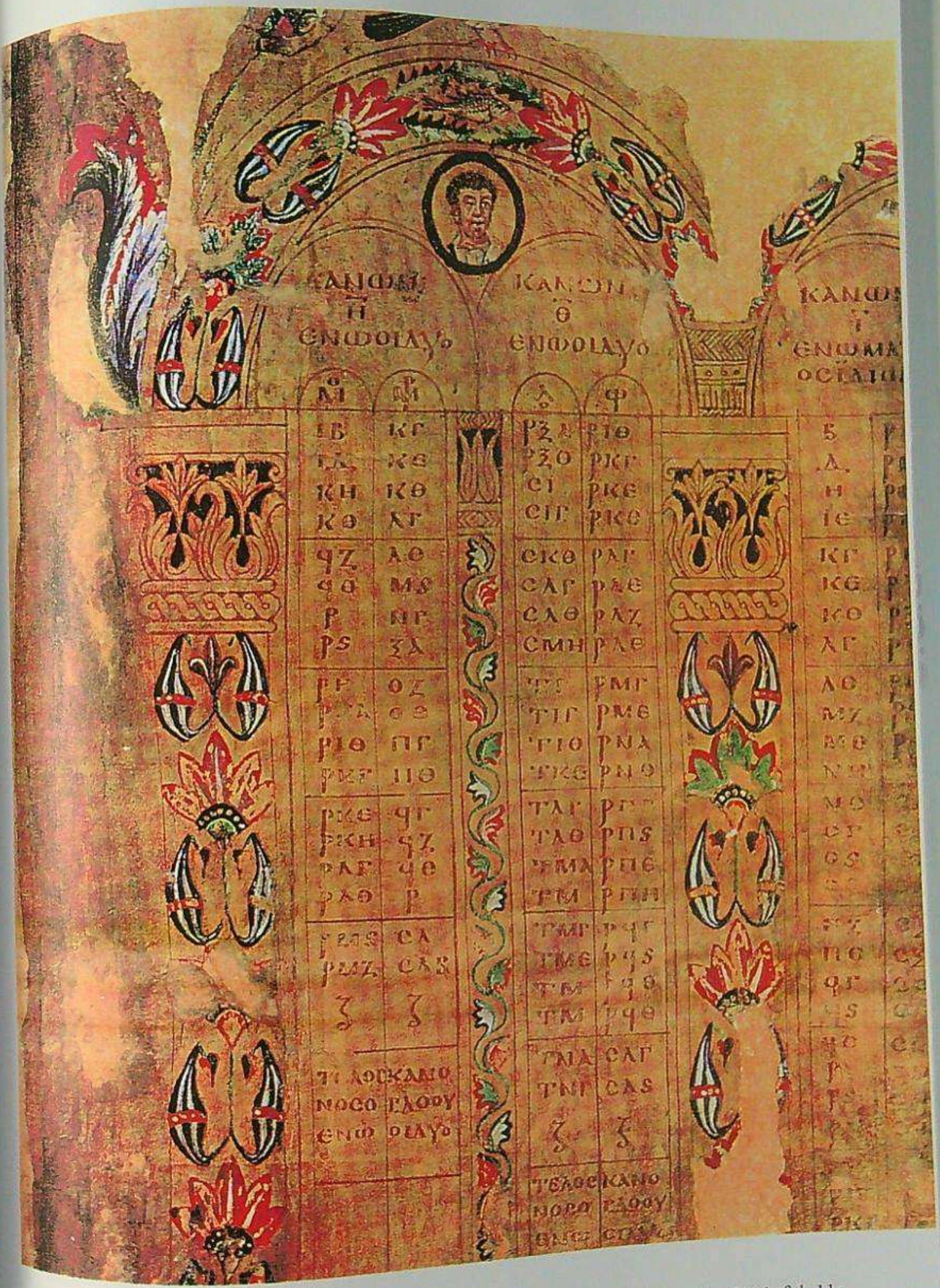


Plate 18: Canon VII, IX, X (Mt). London, British Library, Add. 5111, fol. 11r

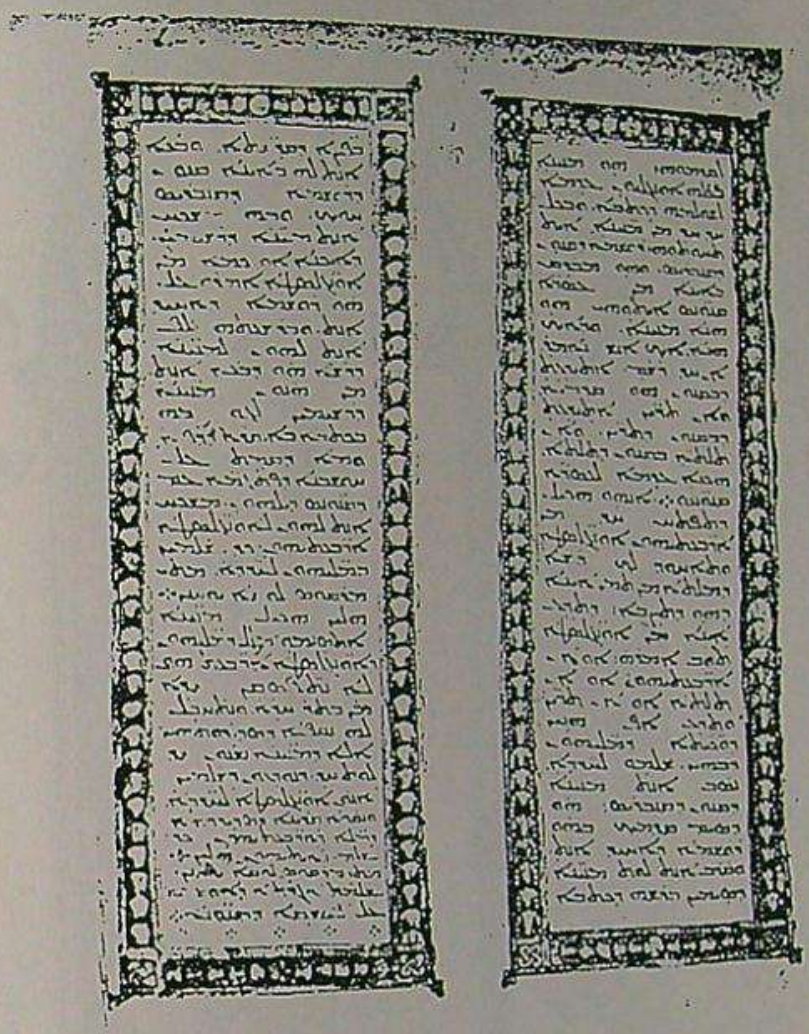


Plate 19: Framed Prologue Page. The Rabbula Gospels. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurentiana, Plut. I 56, fol. 3r.

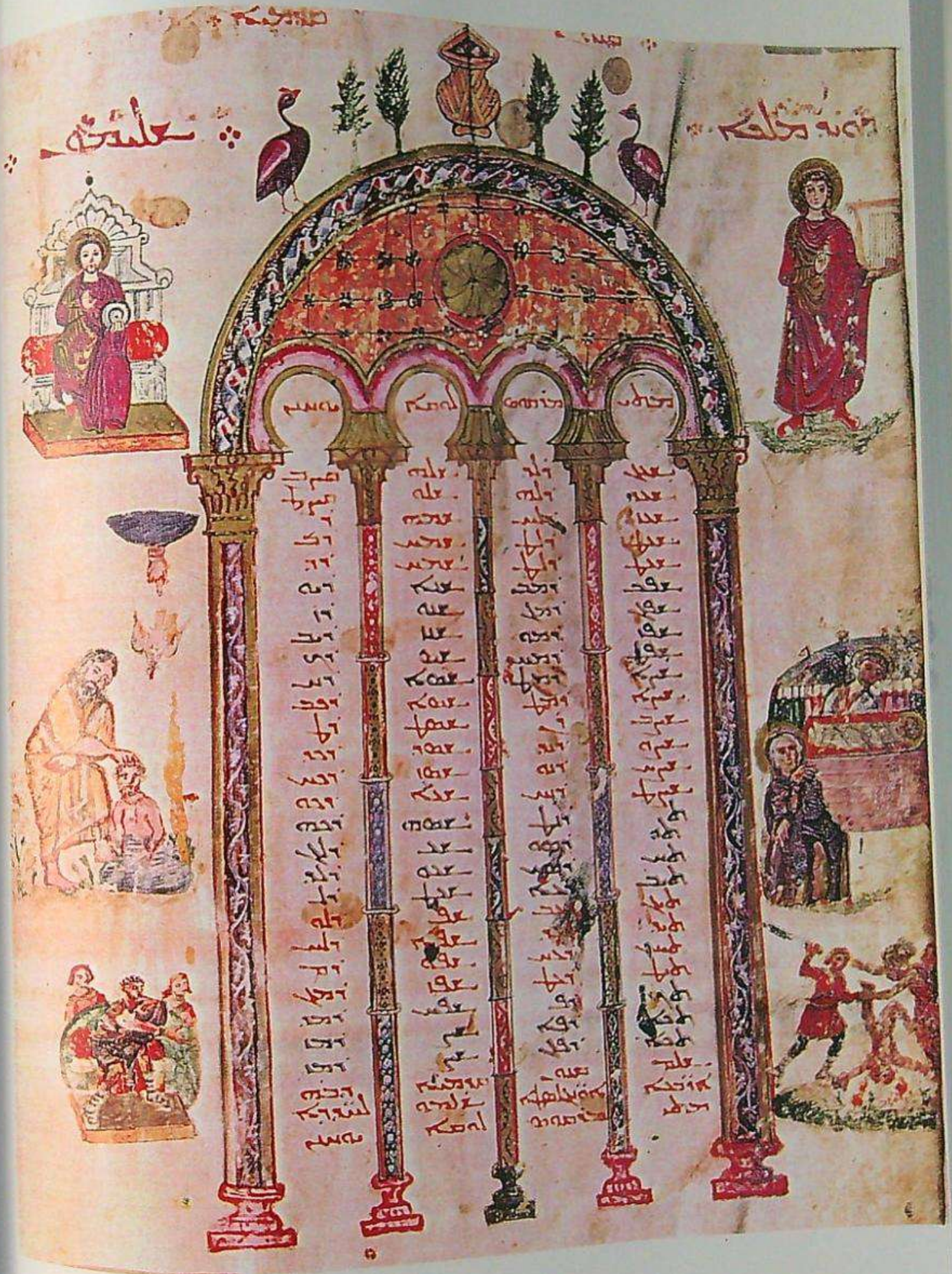


Plate 20: Canon I (3). The Rabbula Gospels. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurentiana, Plut. I. 56, fol. 4v.

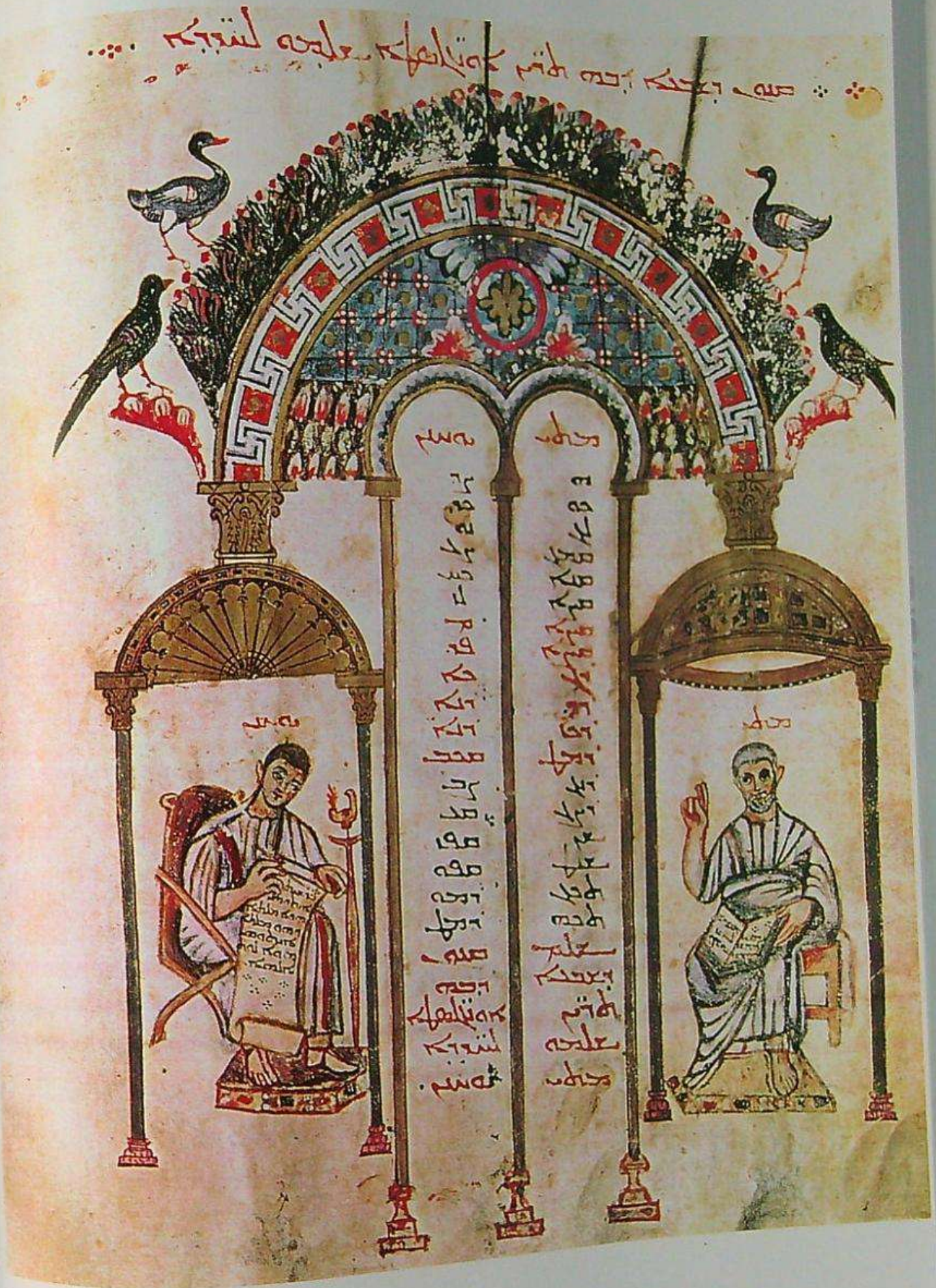


Plate 21. Canon VII. The Rabbula Gospels. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurentiana, Plut. I. 56, fol. 9v.

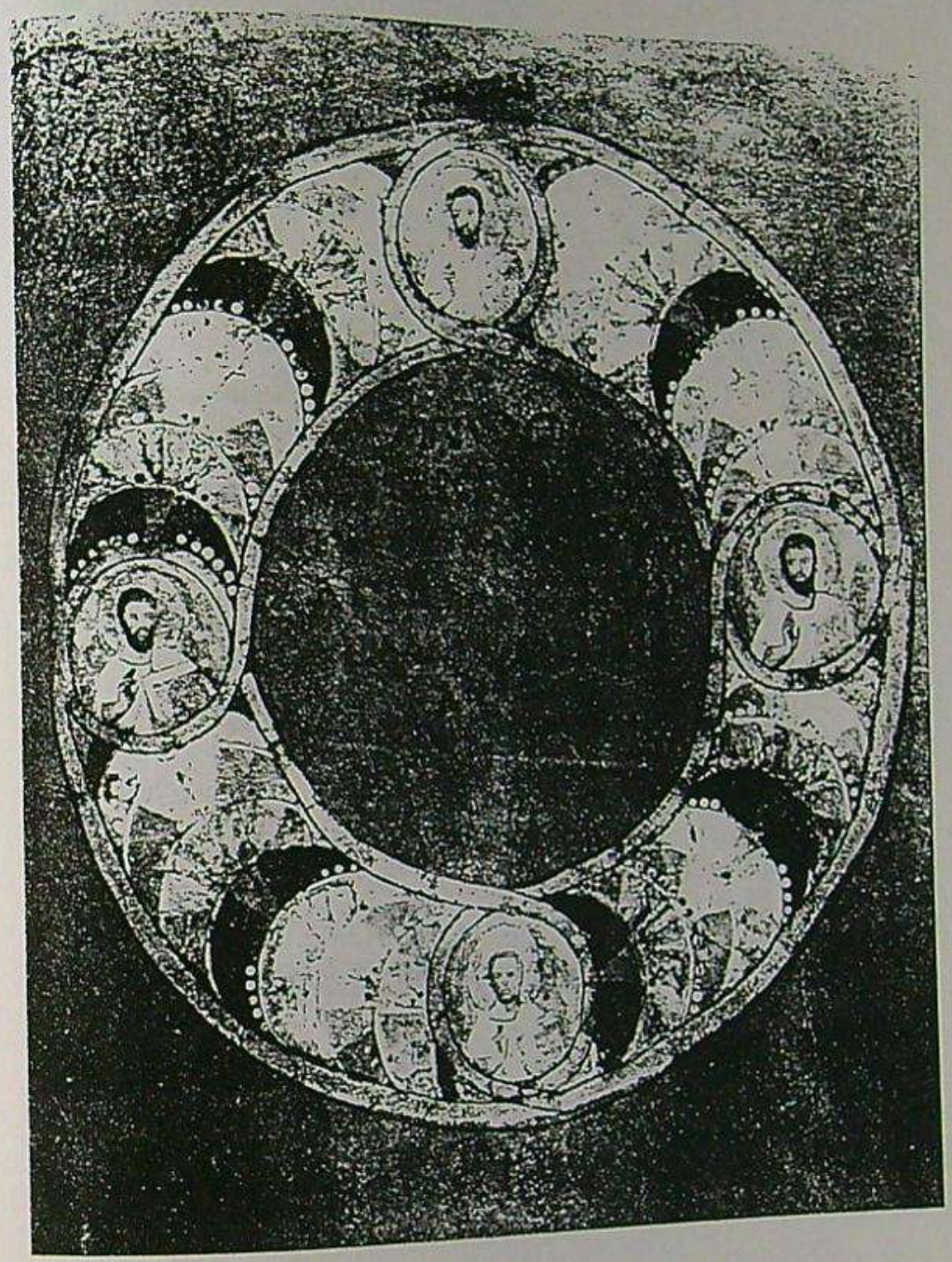


Plate 22: Frontispiece to the Canons. Rossano, Cathedral Treasury, Codex Purpureus, fol. 5r.

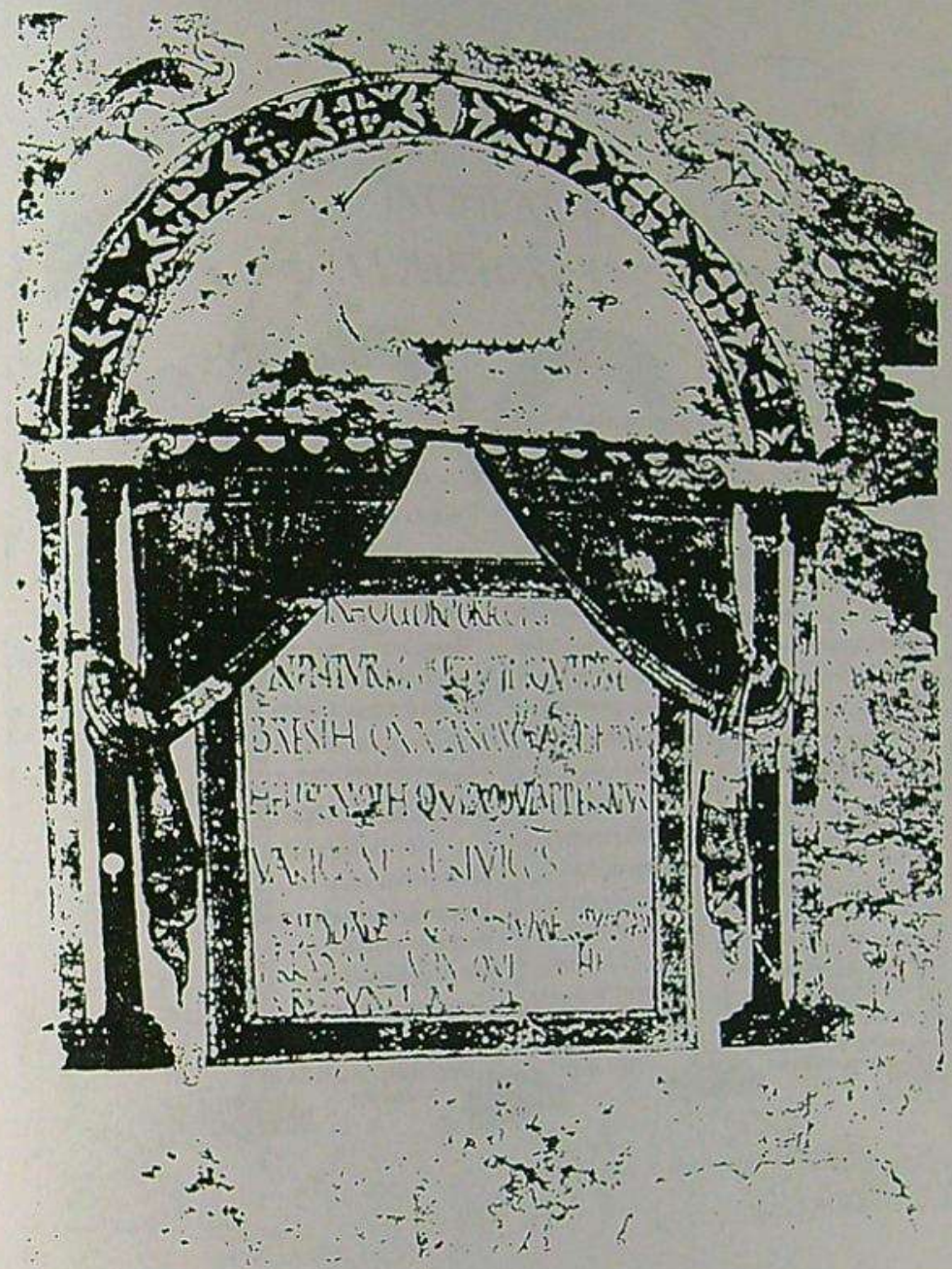


Plate 23: Contents Page. The Ashburnham Penateuch.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. lat. 2334, fol. 2r

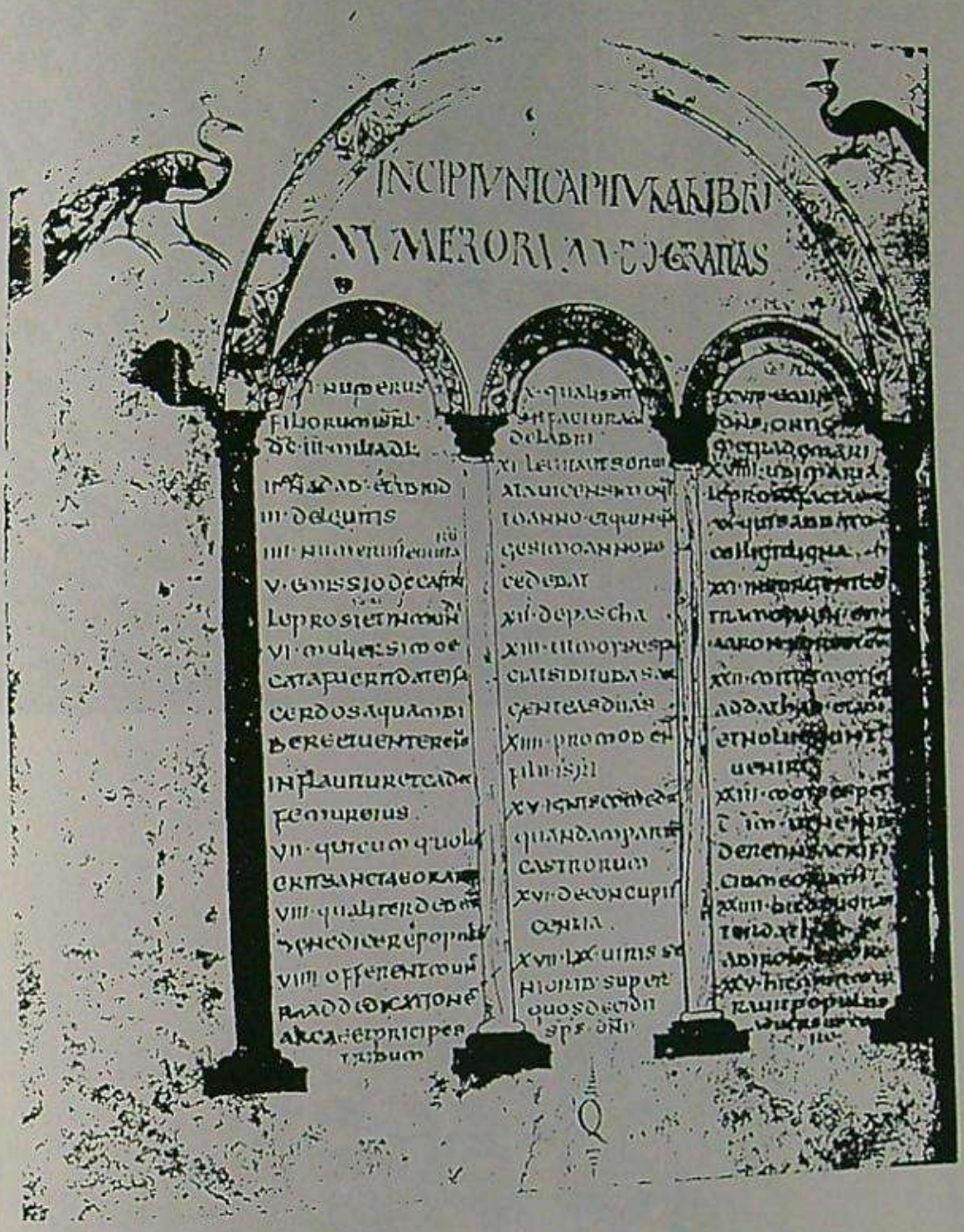


Plate 24. Chapter List to Numbers. The Ashburnham Pentateuch.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. lat. 2334, fol. 115v.



Plate 25a: St. Luke Portrait. St. Augustine Gospels. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 286, fol. 129v.

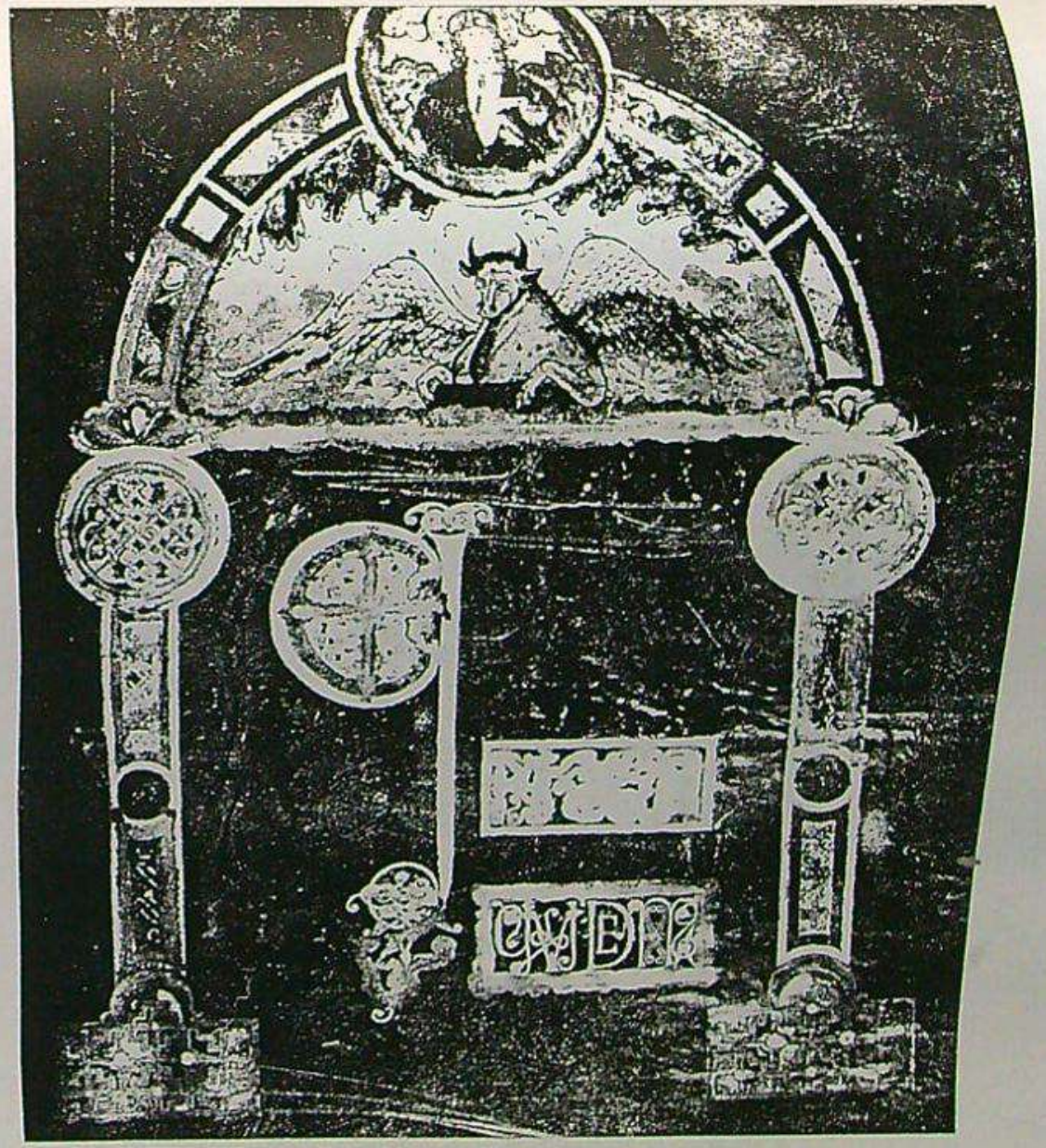


Plate 25b: St. Luke Portrait. London, British Library, Royal, I. E. vi, fol. 43r.

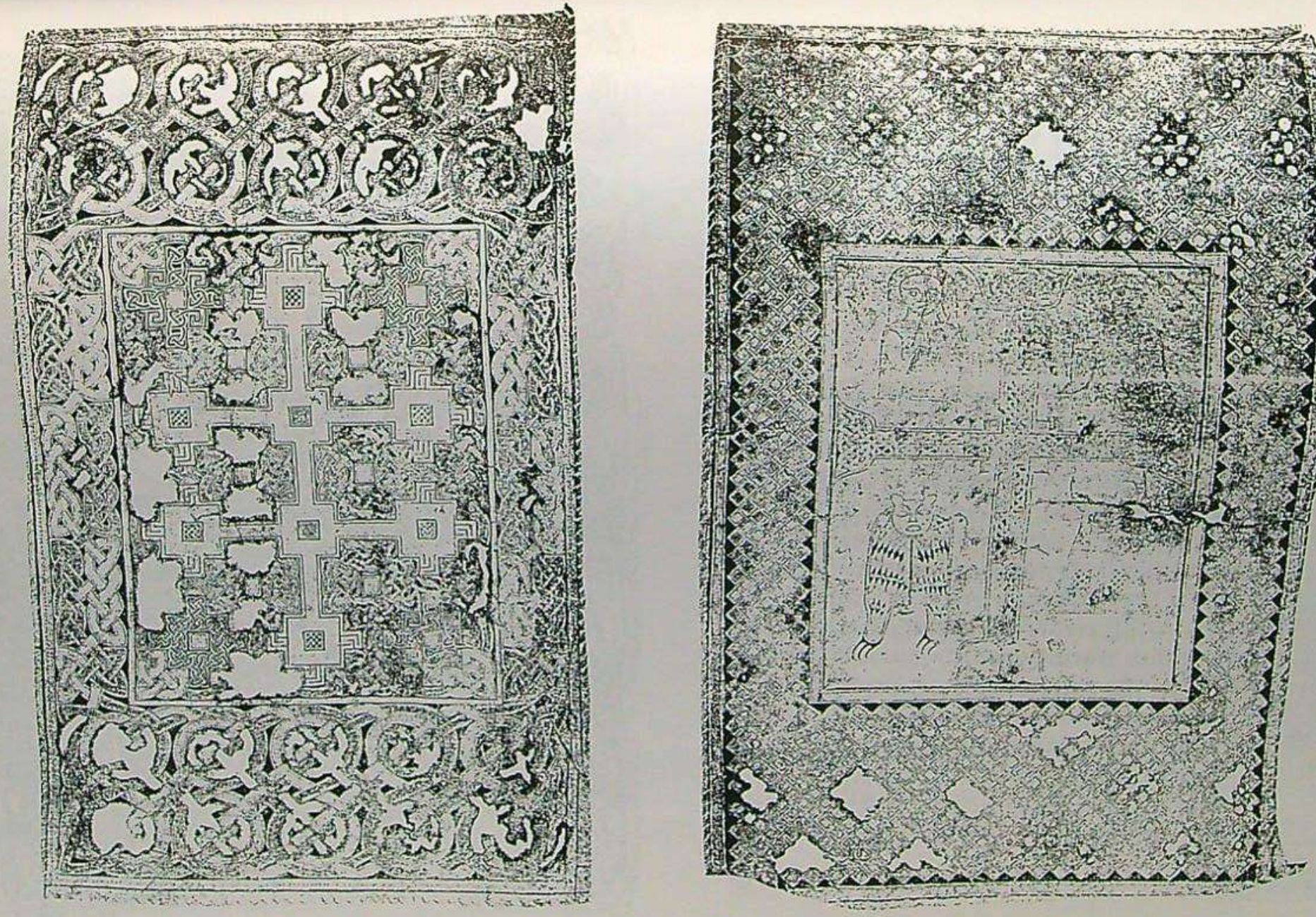


Plate 26: Cross-Carpet and Four-Symbols Pages. The Book of Durrow.
Dublin, Trinity College Library 57 (A. 4. 5), fols. 1v-2r.

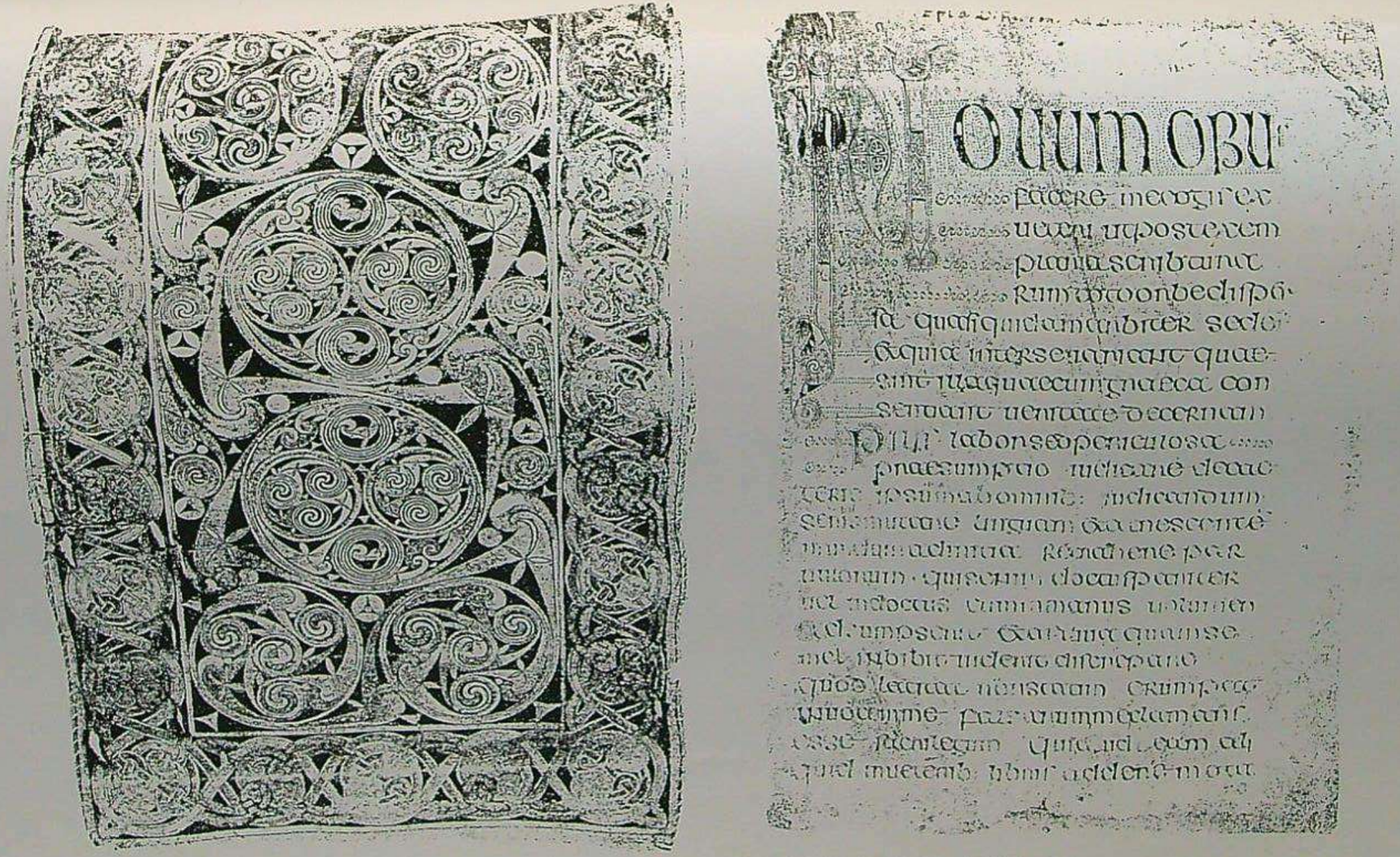


Plate 27: Spirals Carpet page and *Novum Opus*. The Book of Durrow.
Dublin, Trinity College Library 57 (A. 4. 5), fols. 3v-4r.

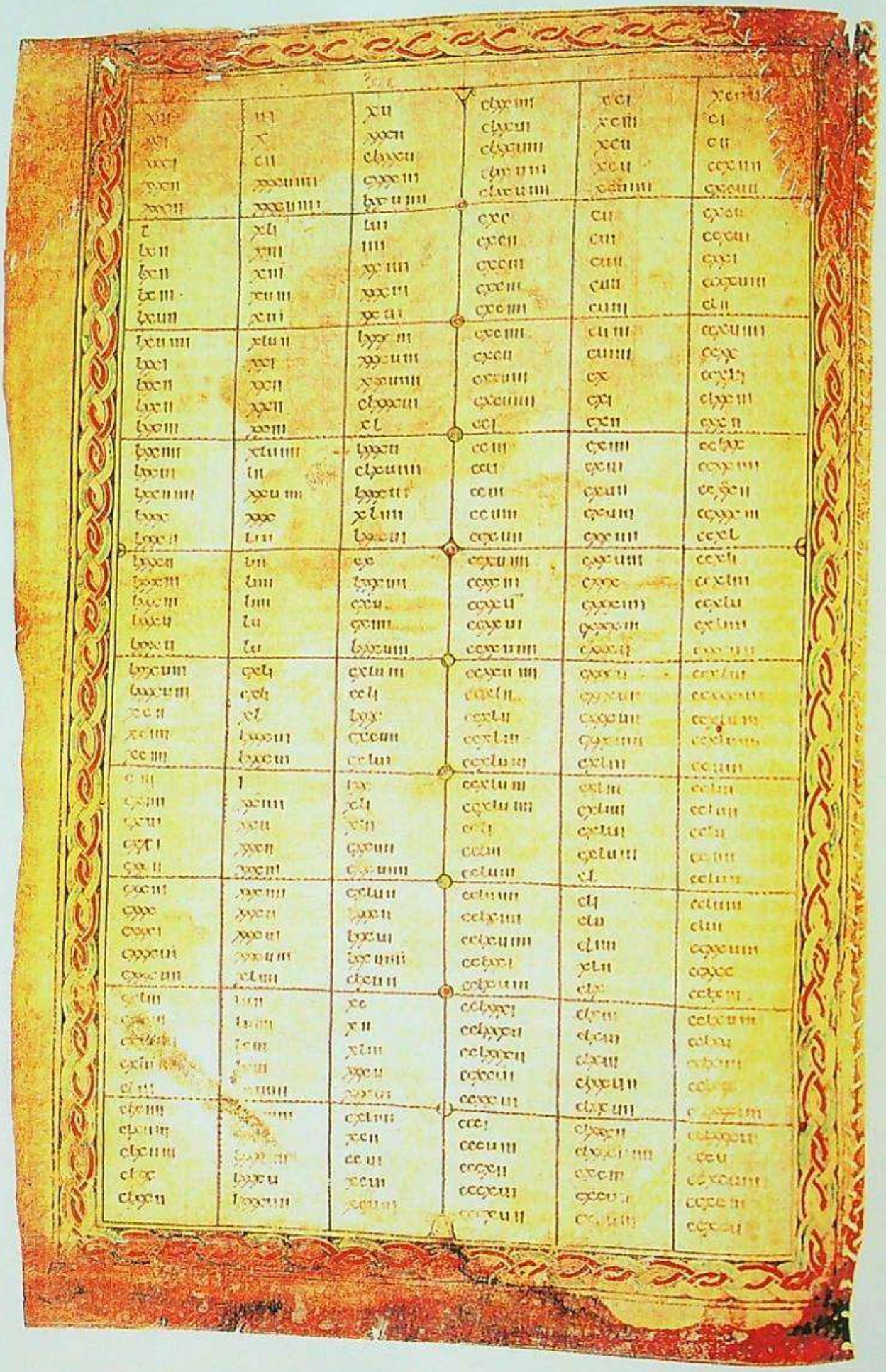


Plate 28. Canon II. The Book of Durrow. Dublin, Trinity College Library 57 (A. 4. 5), fol. 8v.

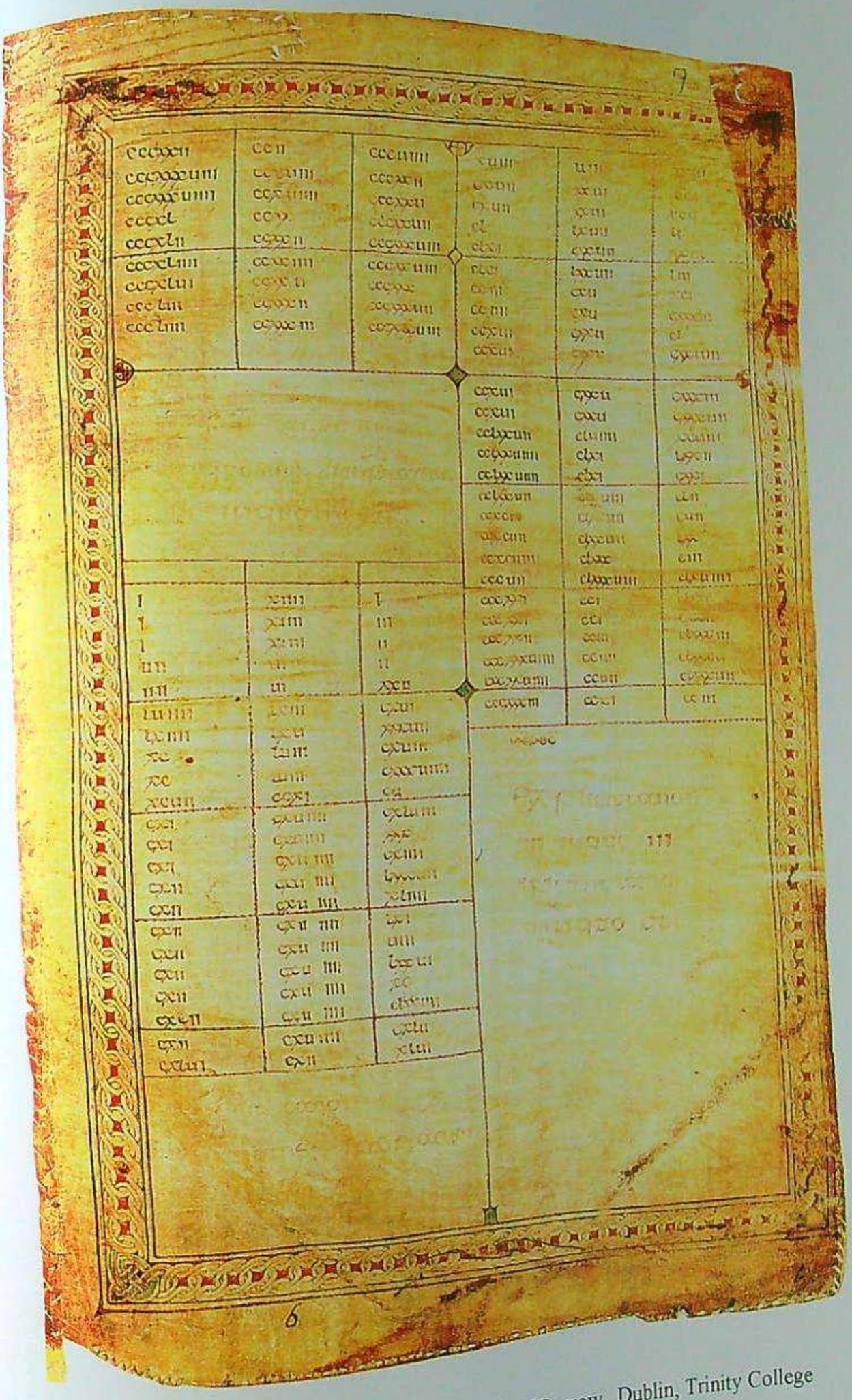


Plate 29: Canon II, III, IV. The Book of Durrow. Dublin, Trinity College Library 57 (A. 4. 5), fol. 9r.

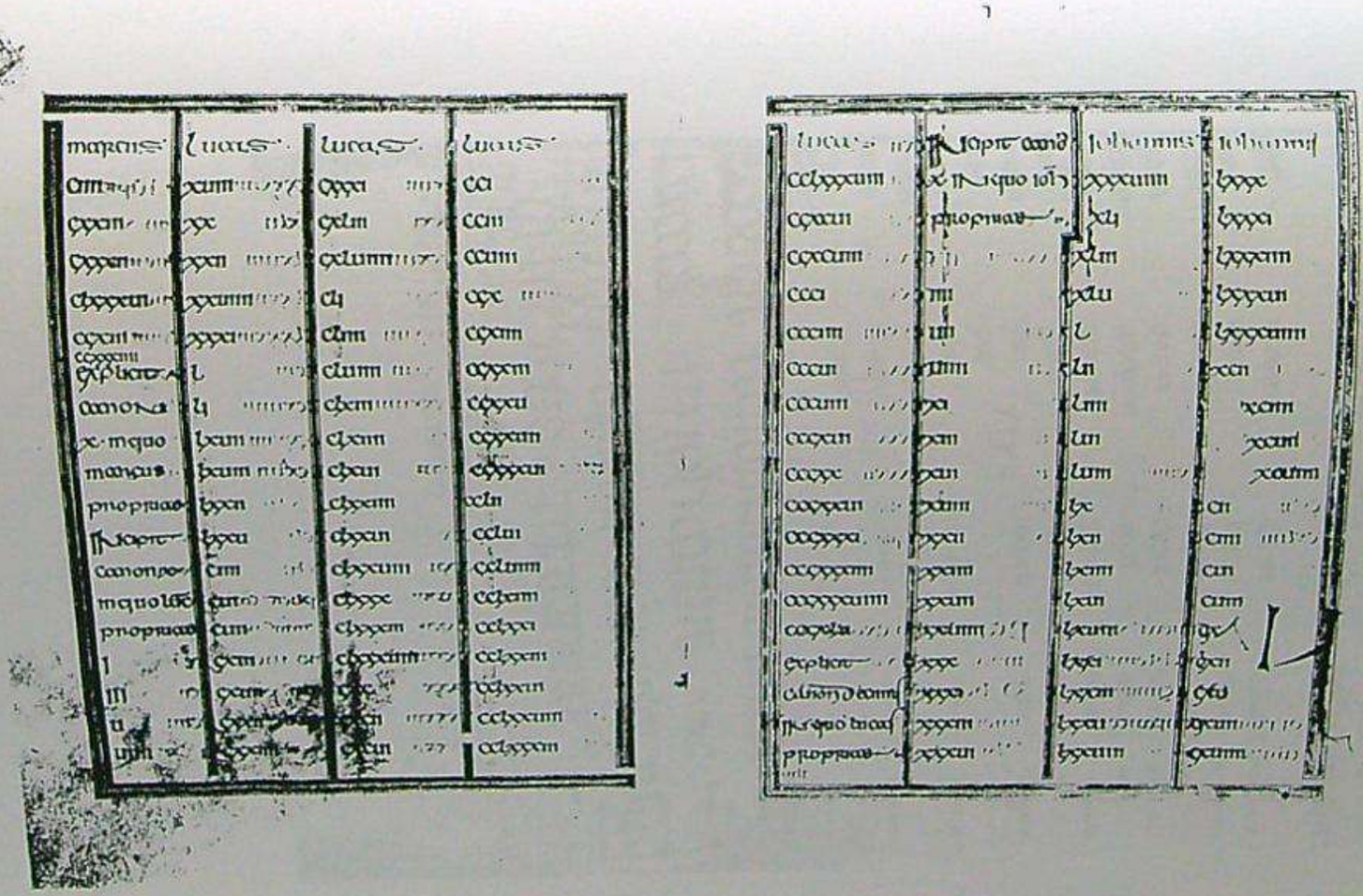


Plate 30: Canon X Mk, Lk, Jn (1). The Echternach Gospels. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 9389, fol. 12v-13r.

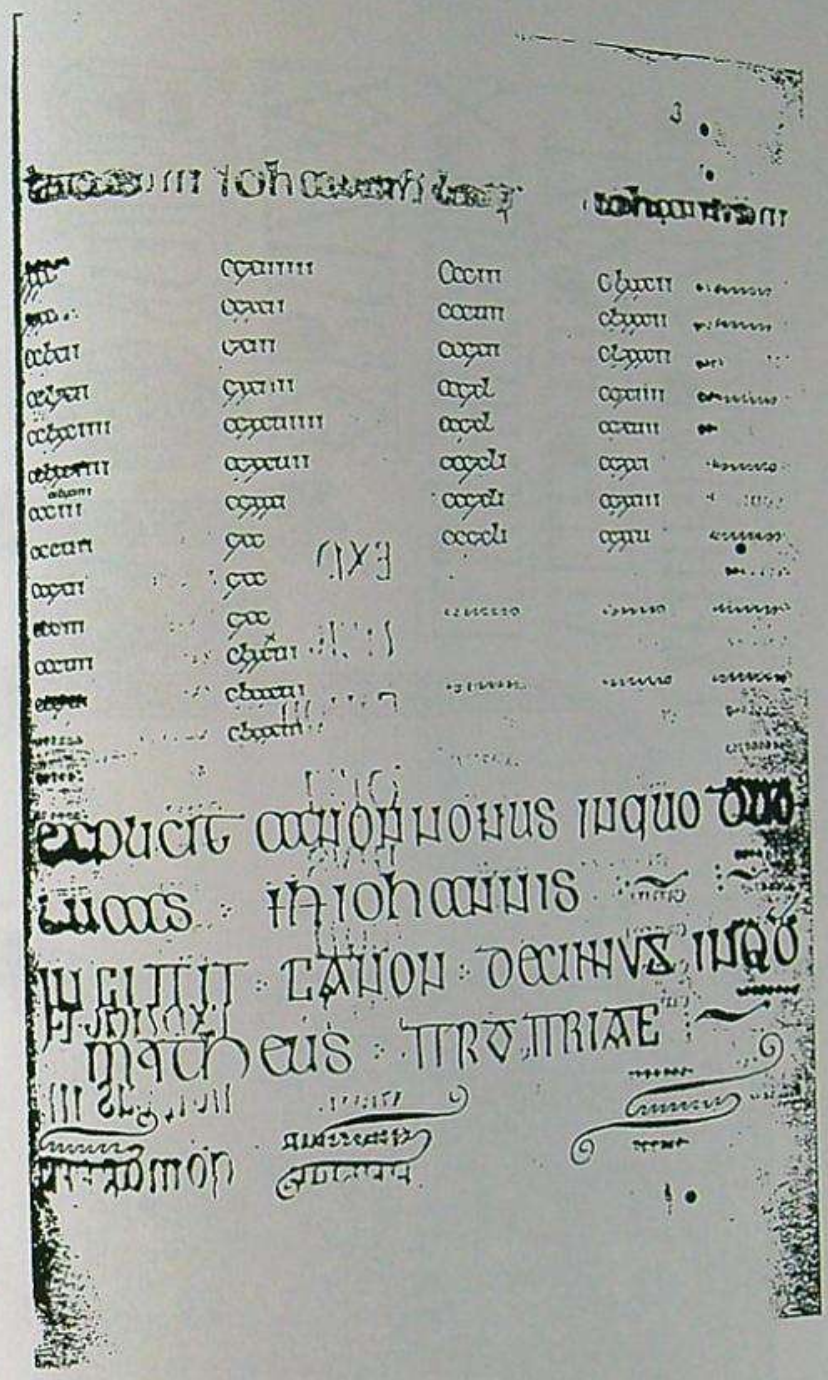


Plate 31: Canon X, Jn. London, British Library, Royal 7, C. xii, fol. 3r.

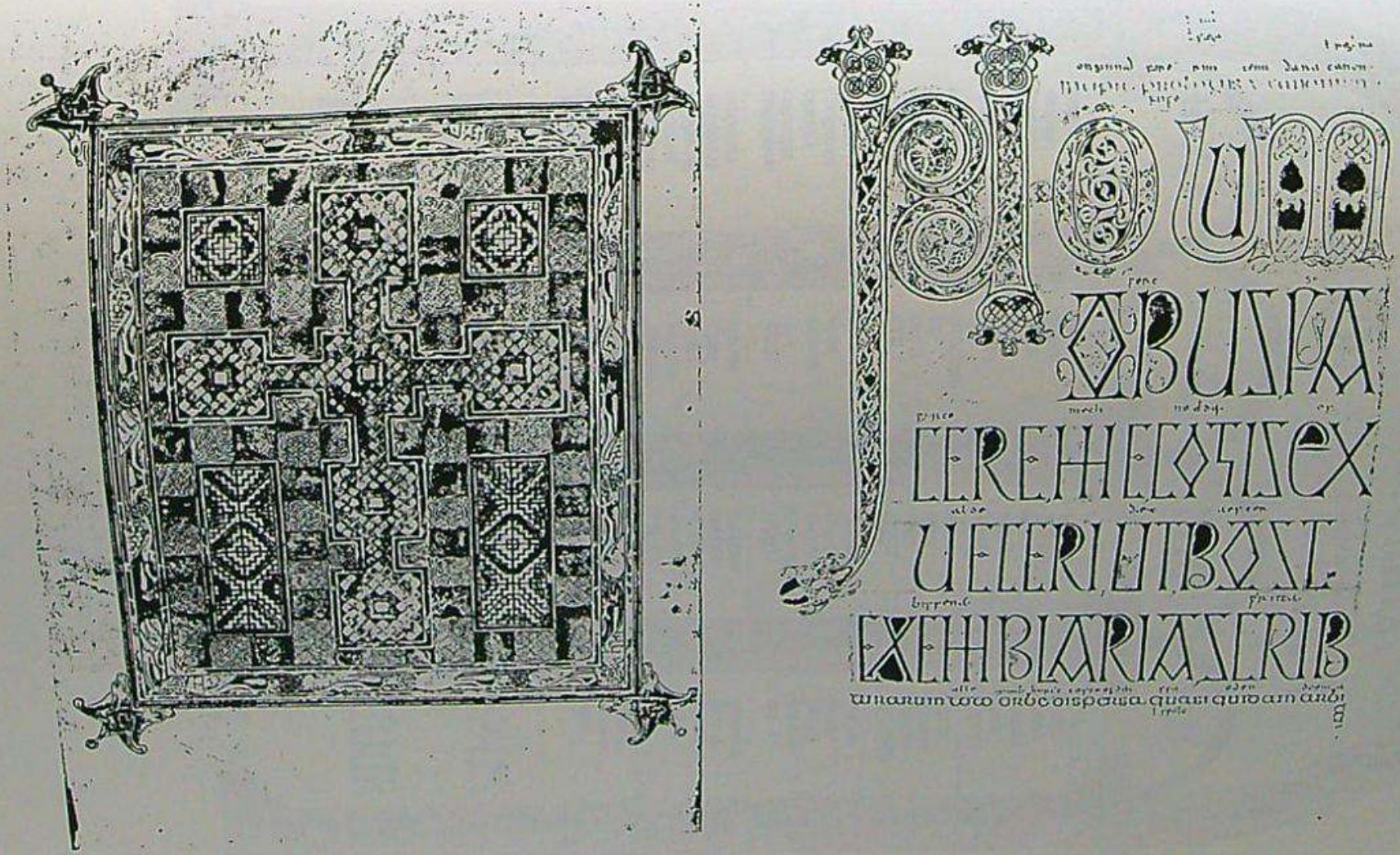


Plate 32: Cross-Carpet Page and *Novum Opus*. The Lindisfarne Gospels.
London, British Library, Cotton Nero, D. IV, fols. 2v-3r.

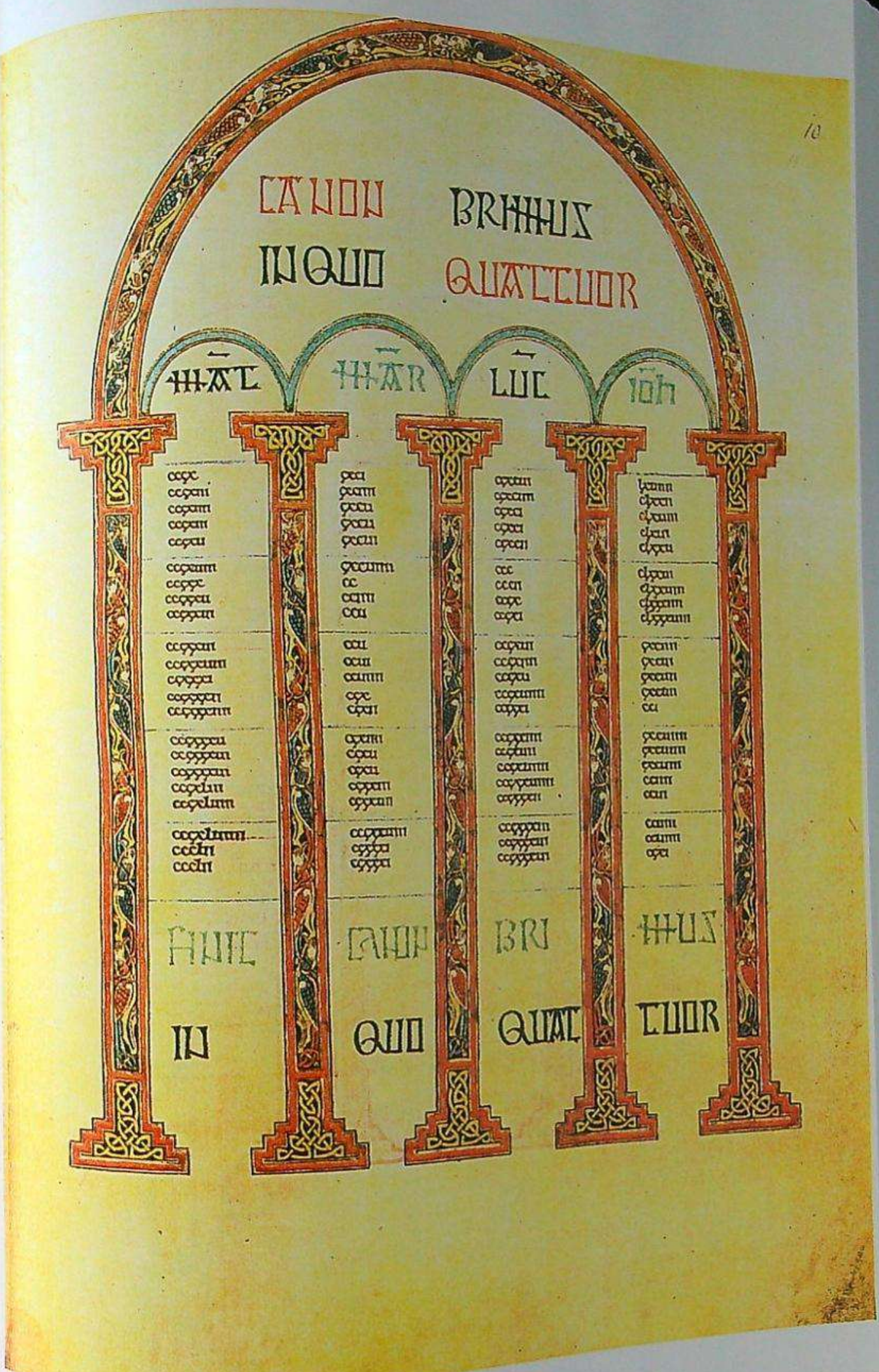


Plate 33: Canon I (3). The Lindisfarne Gospels. London, British Library, Cotton Nero, D. IV, fol. 11r

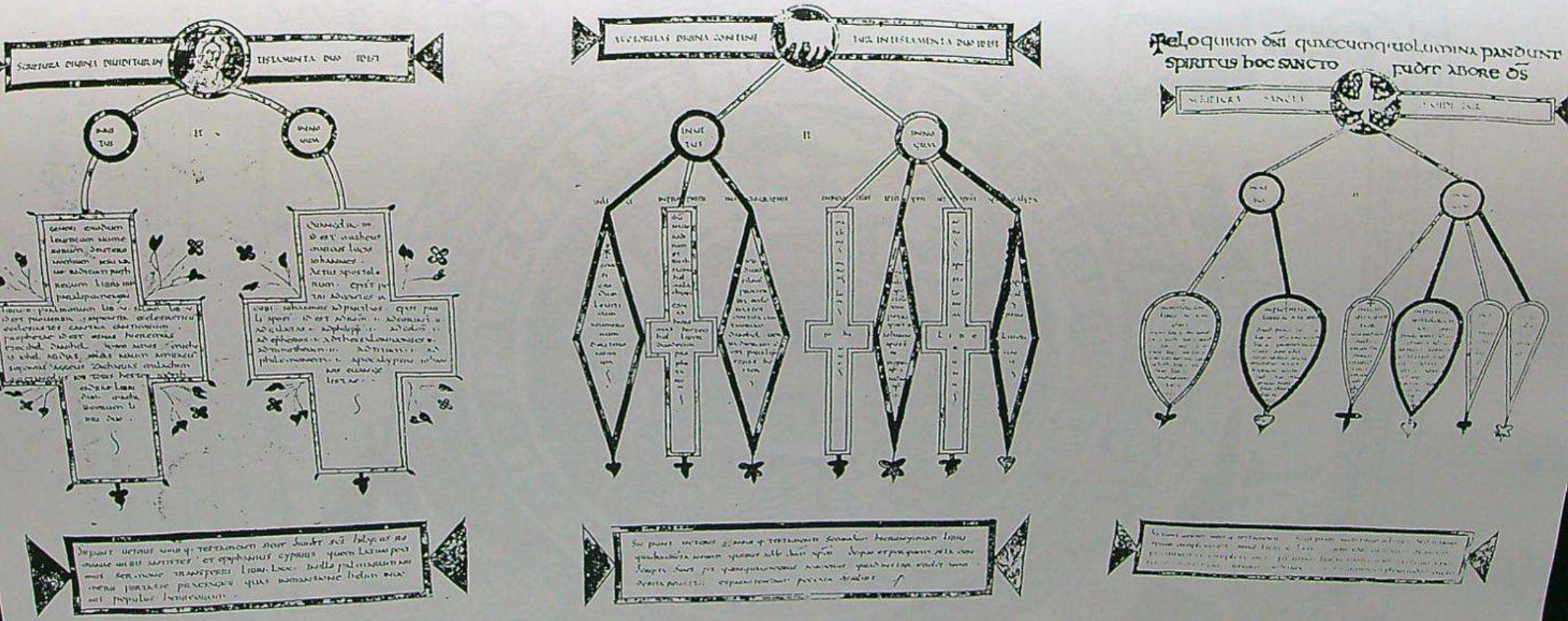


Plate 34: The Divisions of Scripture according to Jerome, Hilary and Augustine.
The Codex Amiatinus. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurentiana,
Amiatinus I, fols. VIr, VIIr, 8r.

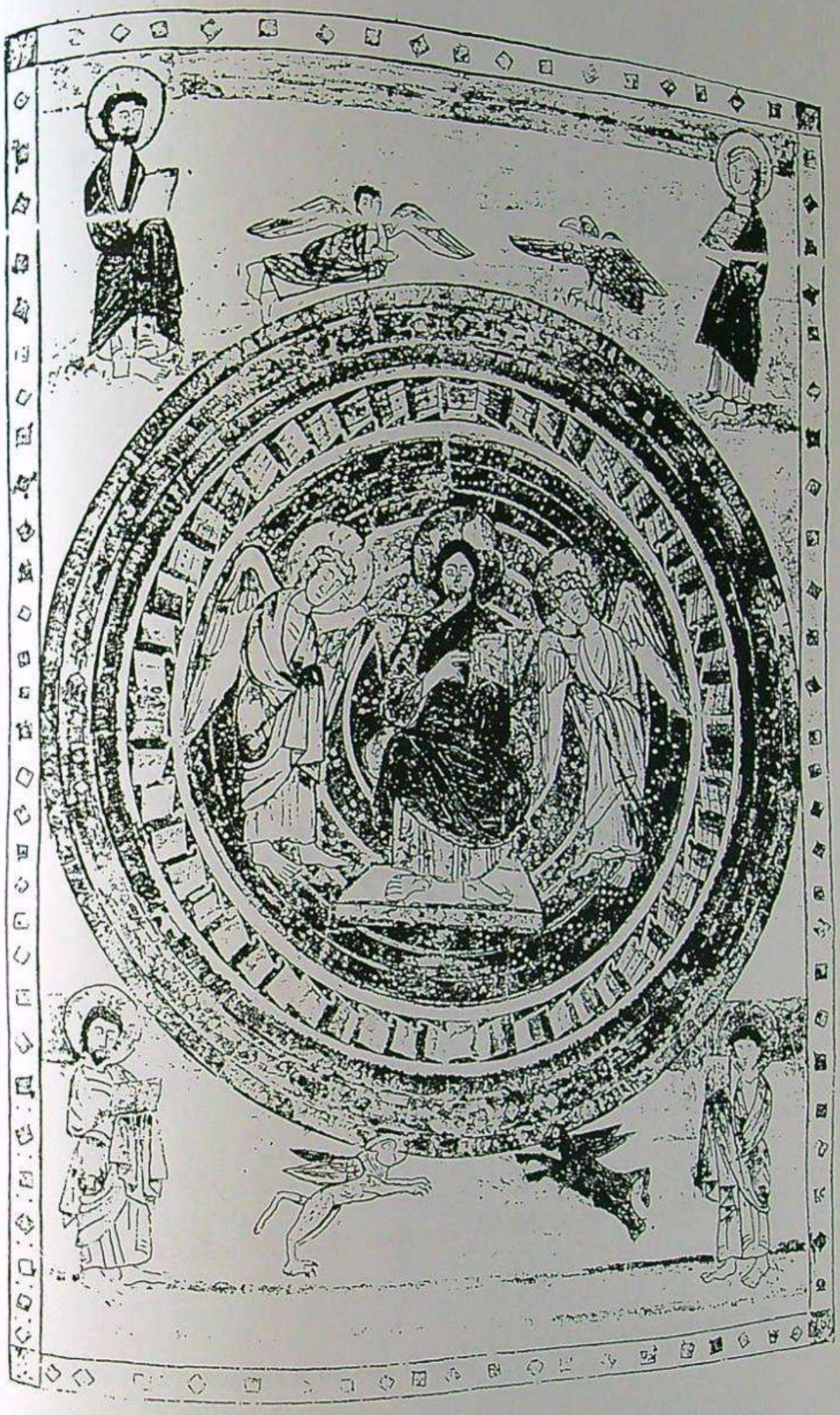


Plate 35: *Maiestas Domini*. The Codex Amiatinus. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurentiana, Amiatinus I, fol. 796v.

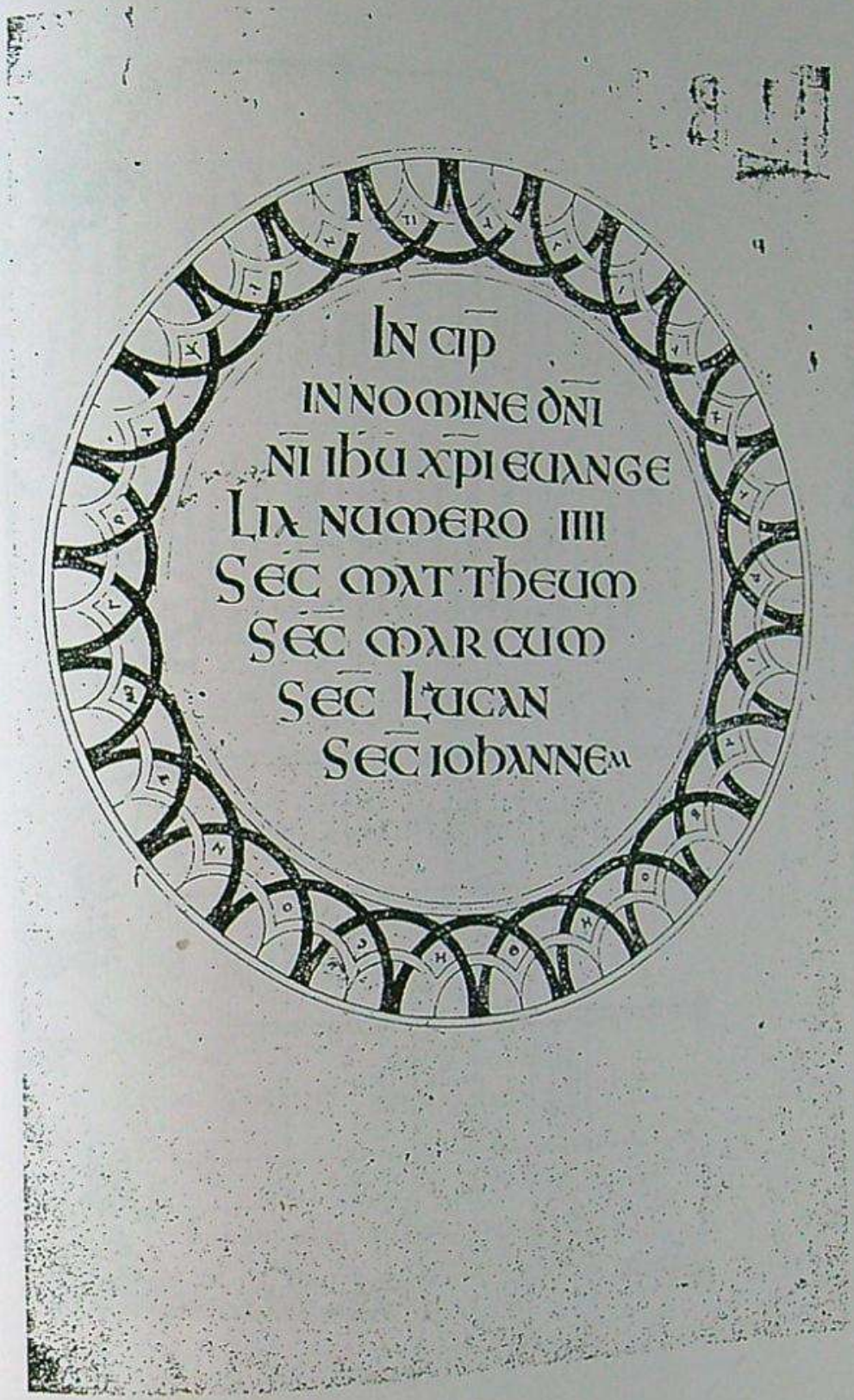


Plate 36: Frontispiece to the Four Gospels. Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliothek, 32, fol. 101v.



Plate 37: Canon X, Jn and Matthew's Opening. London, British Library, Royal I. B. vii, fols. 14v-15r.

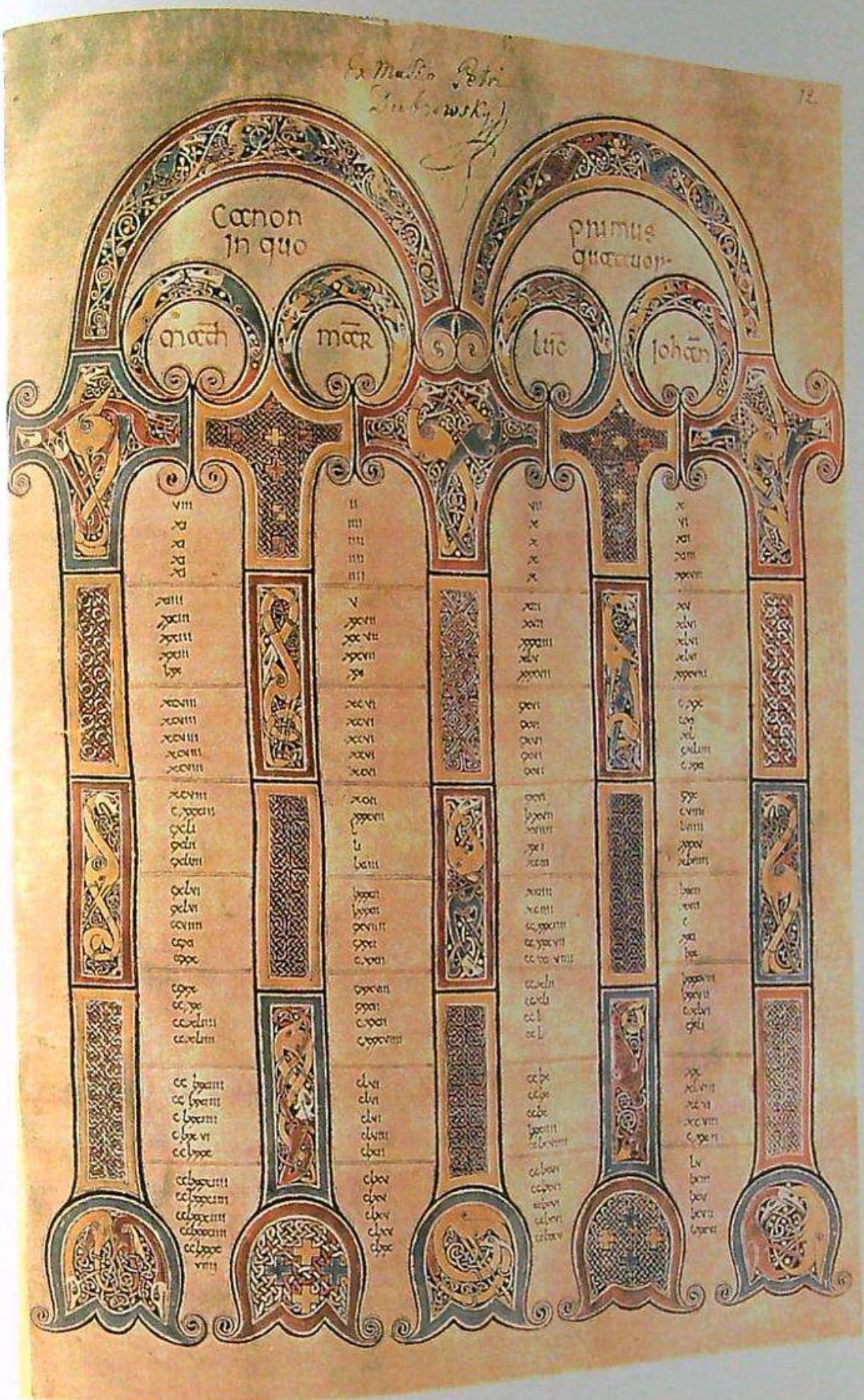


Plate 38: Canon I.(1). Leningrad, Public Library, Cod. F. v. I. 8, fol 12r.

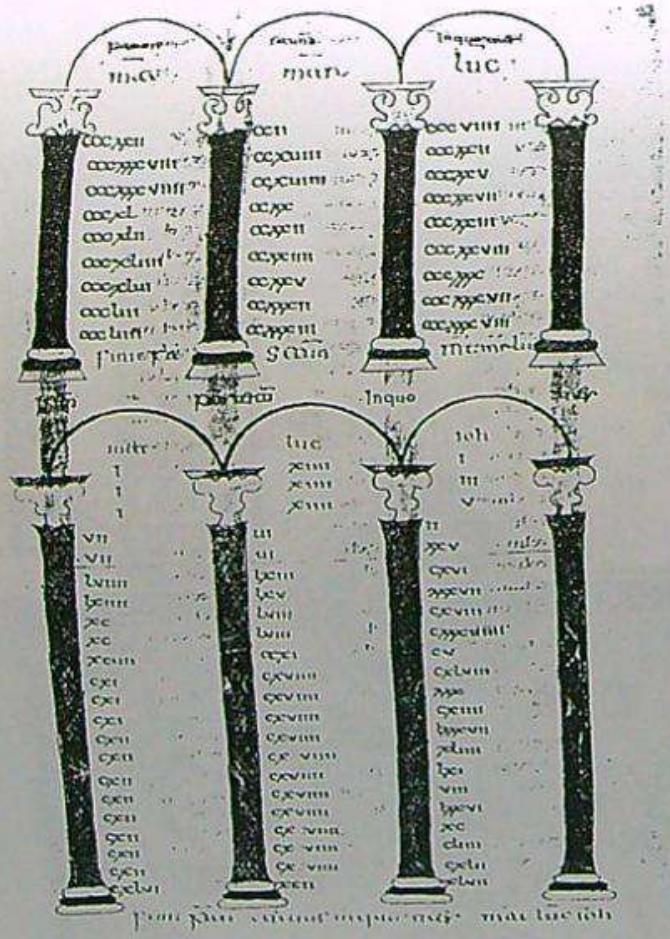


Plate 39: Canon II (4)-III. The Augsburg Gospels, olim Schloss Harburg, Fürstlich Öttingen-Wallerstein'sche Bibliothek, Cod. I. 2. 4°. 2, fol. 9v.

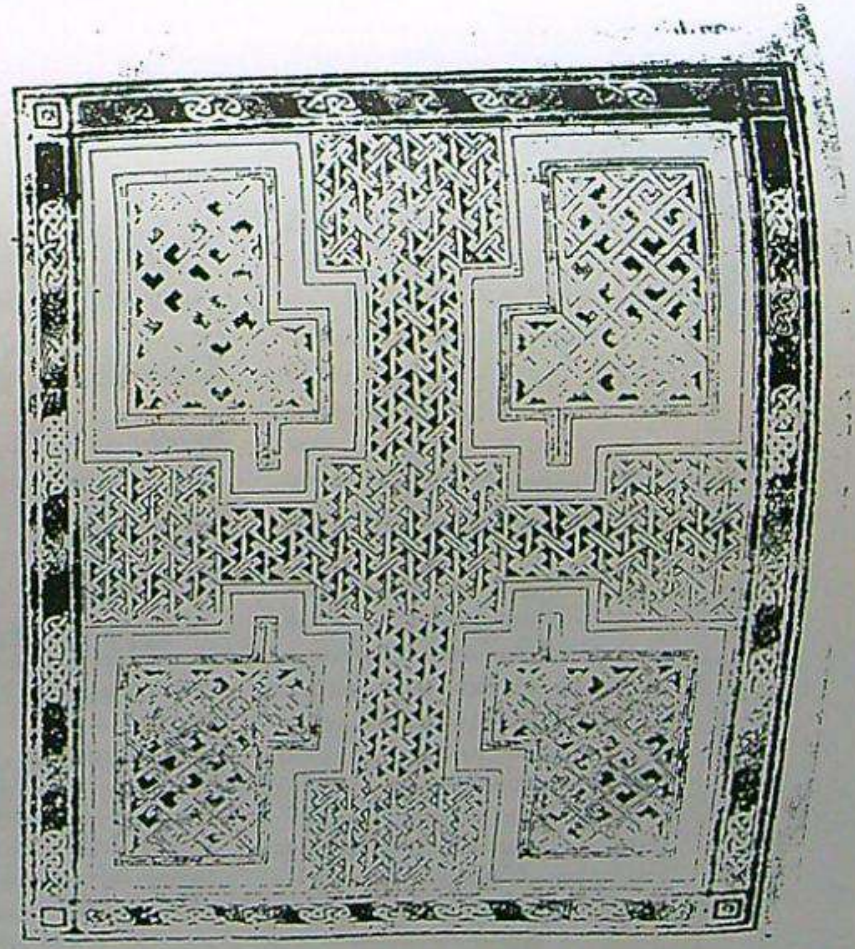


Plate 40: Carpet page before John's Gospel. *The Augsburg Gospels, olim Schloss Harburg, Fürstlich Öttingen-Wallerstein'sche Bibliothek, Cod. I. 2. 4°. 2, fol. 126v.*

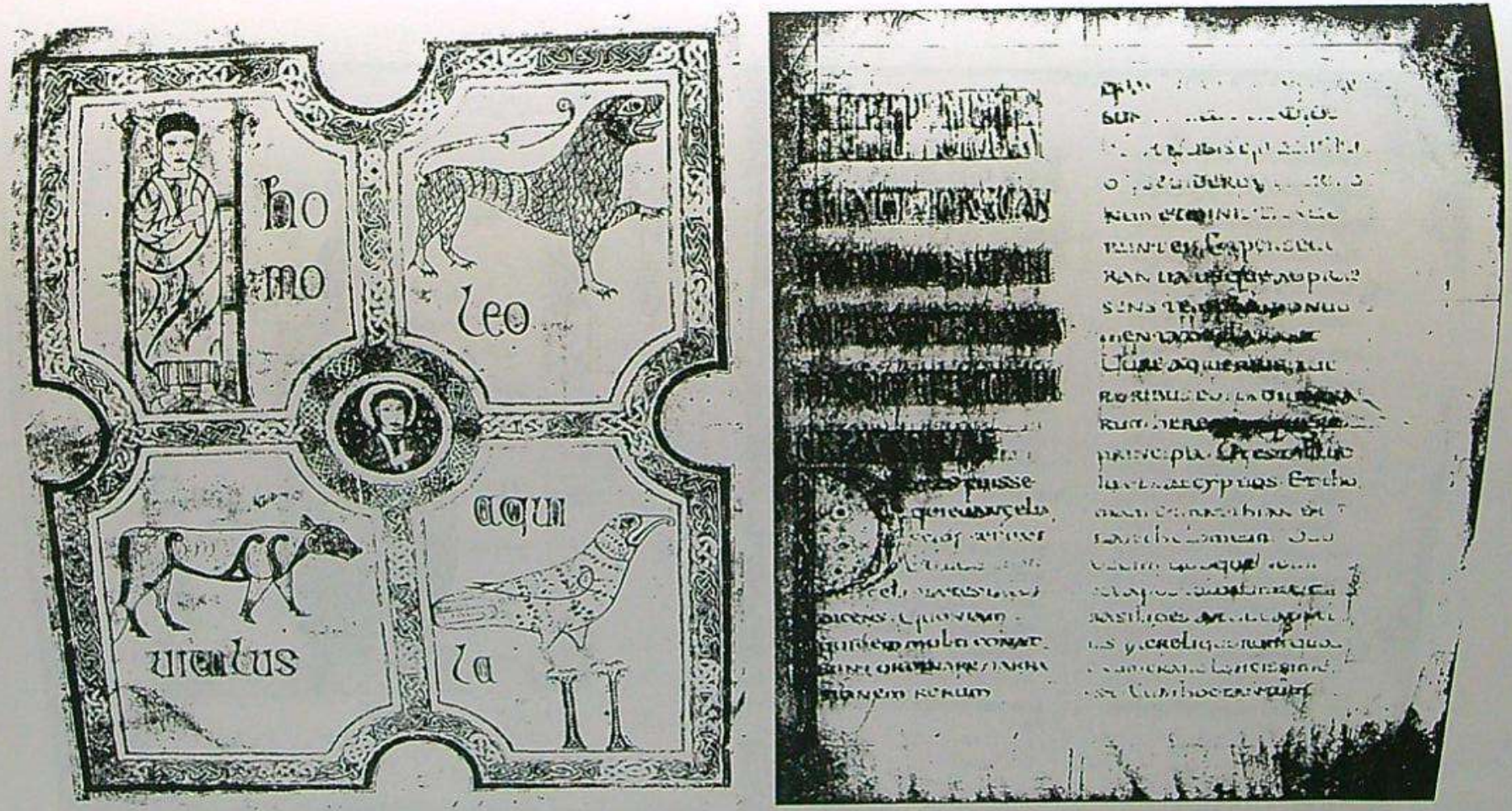


Plate 41: Four-Symbols Page and *Plures Fuisse*. The Trier Gospels.
Trier, Domschatz, Cod. 61 (134), fols. 1v-2r.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE CORK Library



Plate 42: Tetramorph and *Novum Opus*. The Trier Gospels.
Trier, Domschatz, Cod. 61 (134), fols. 5v-6r.

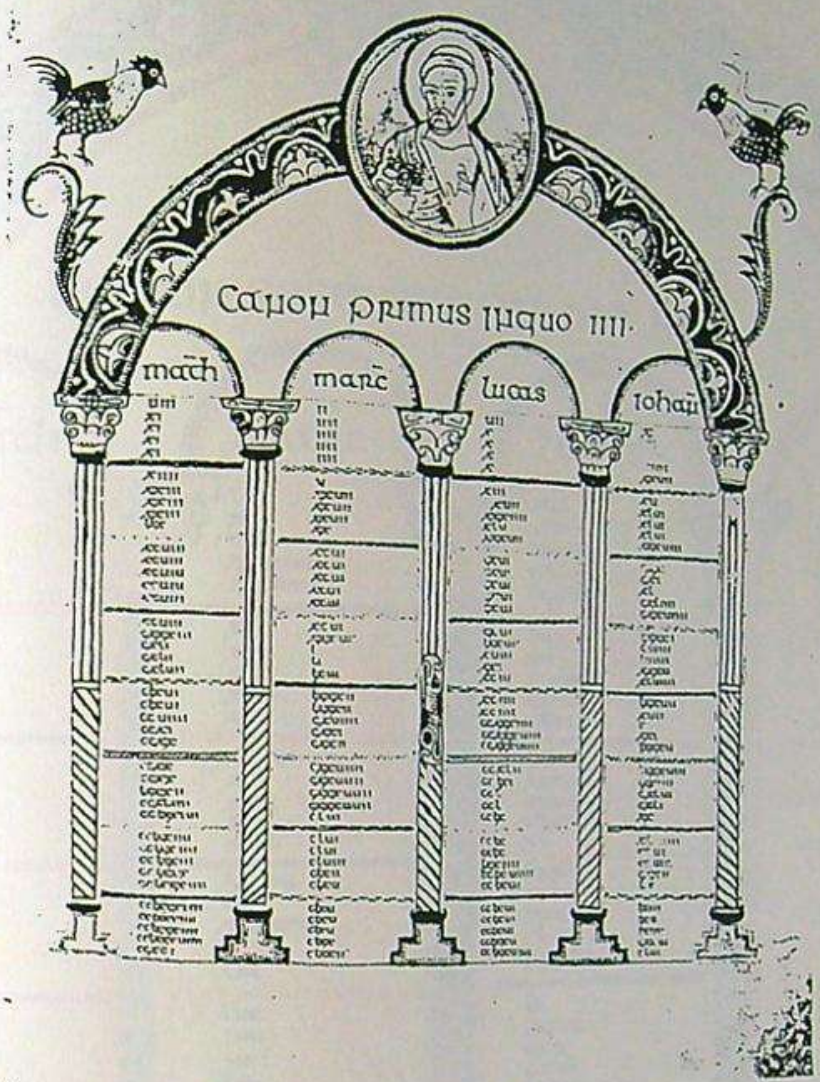


Plate 43: Canon I (1). The Trier Gospels. Trier, Domschatz, Cod. 61 (134), fol. 11r.

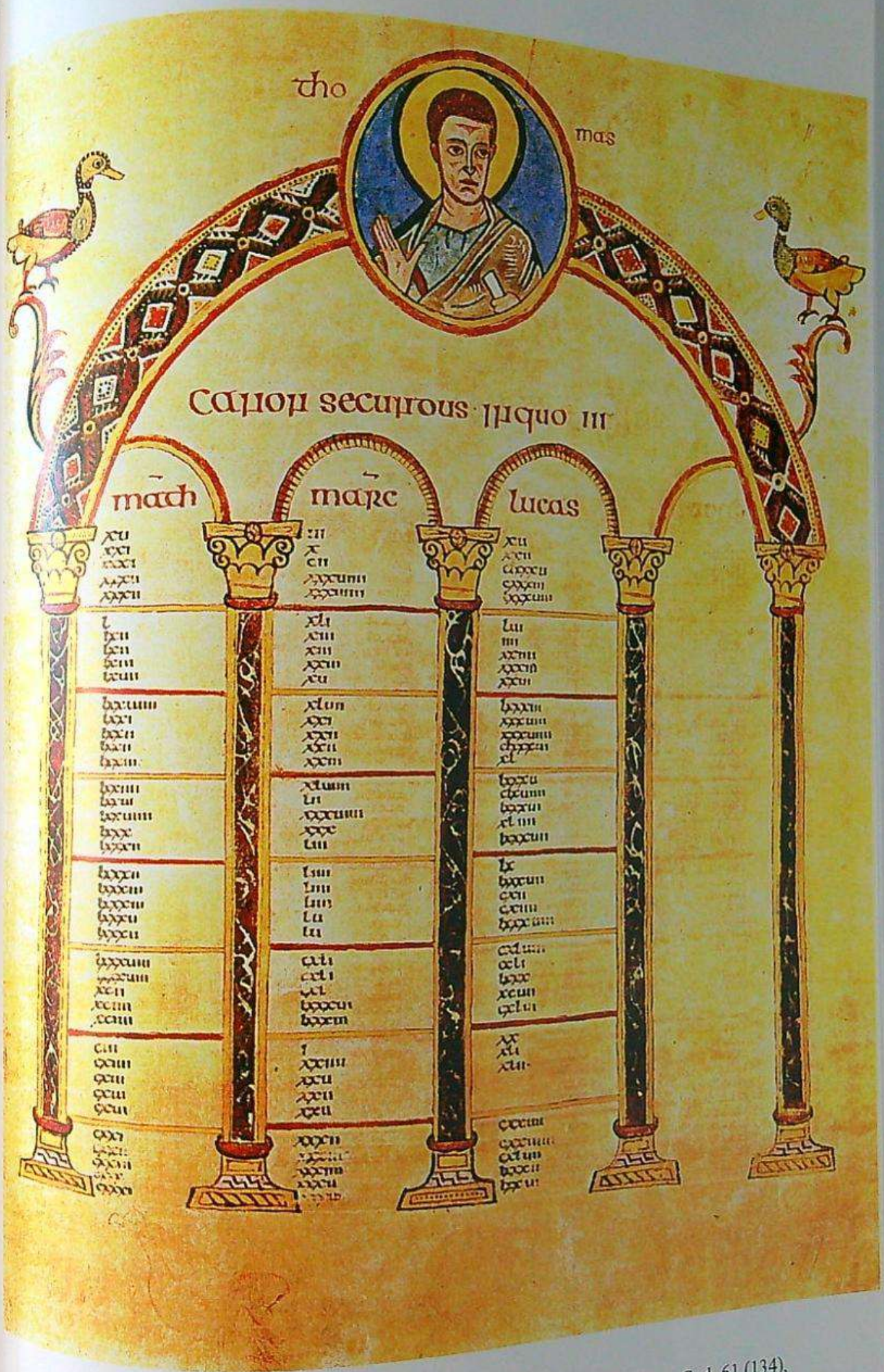


Plate 44: Canon II (1). The Trier Gospels. Trier, Domschatz, Cod. 61 (134), fol. 12r.

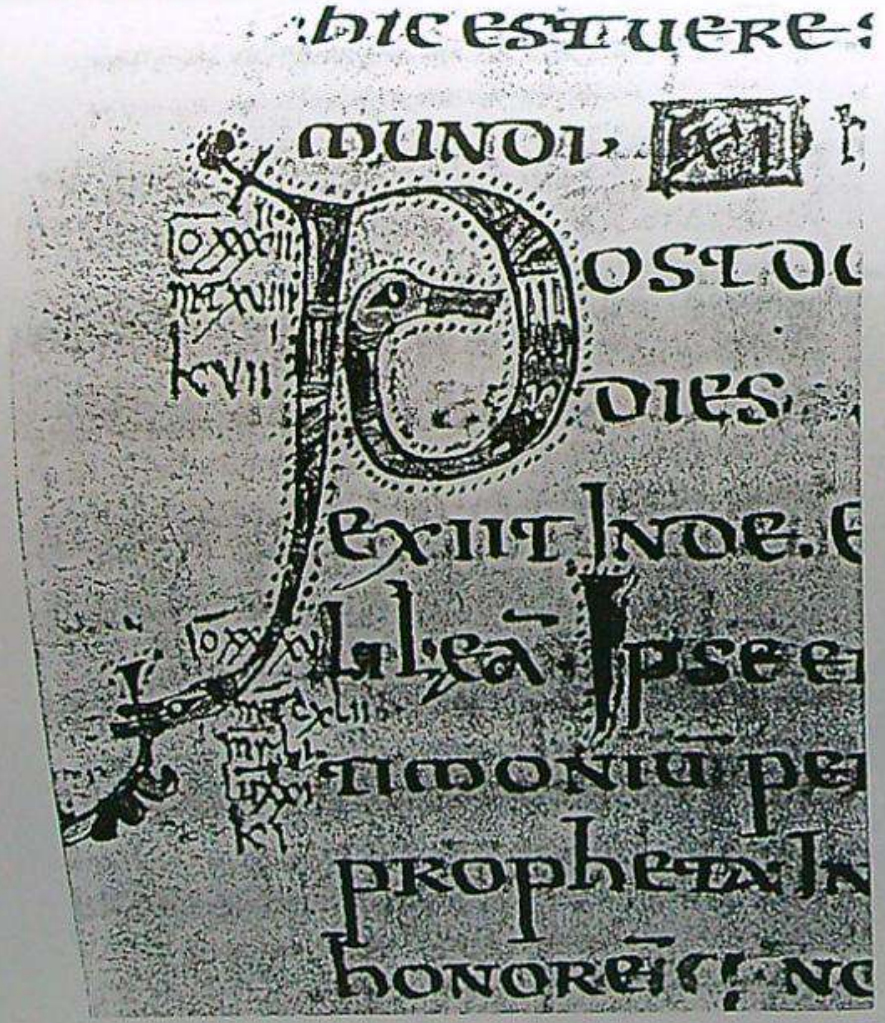


Plate 45a: Marginal Eusebian Entry. The Trier Gospels.
Trier, Domschatz, Cod. 61 (134), fol. 186v.



Plate 45b: Marginal Eusebian Entry. Codex Bigotianus.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 281 +298, fol. 86r.

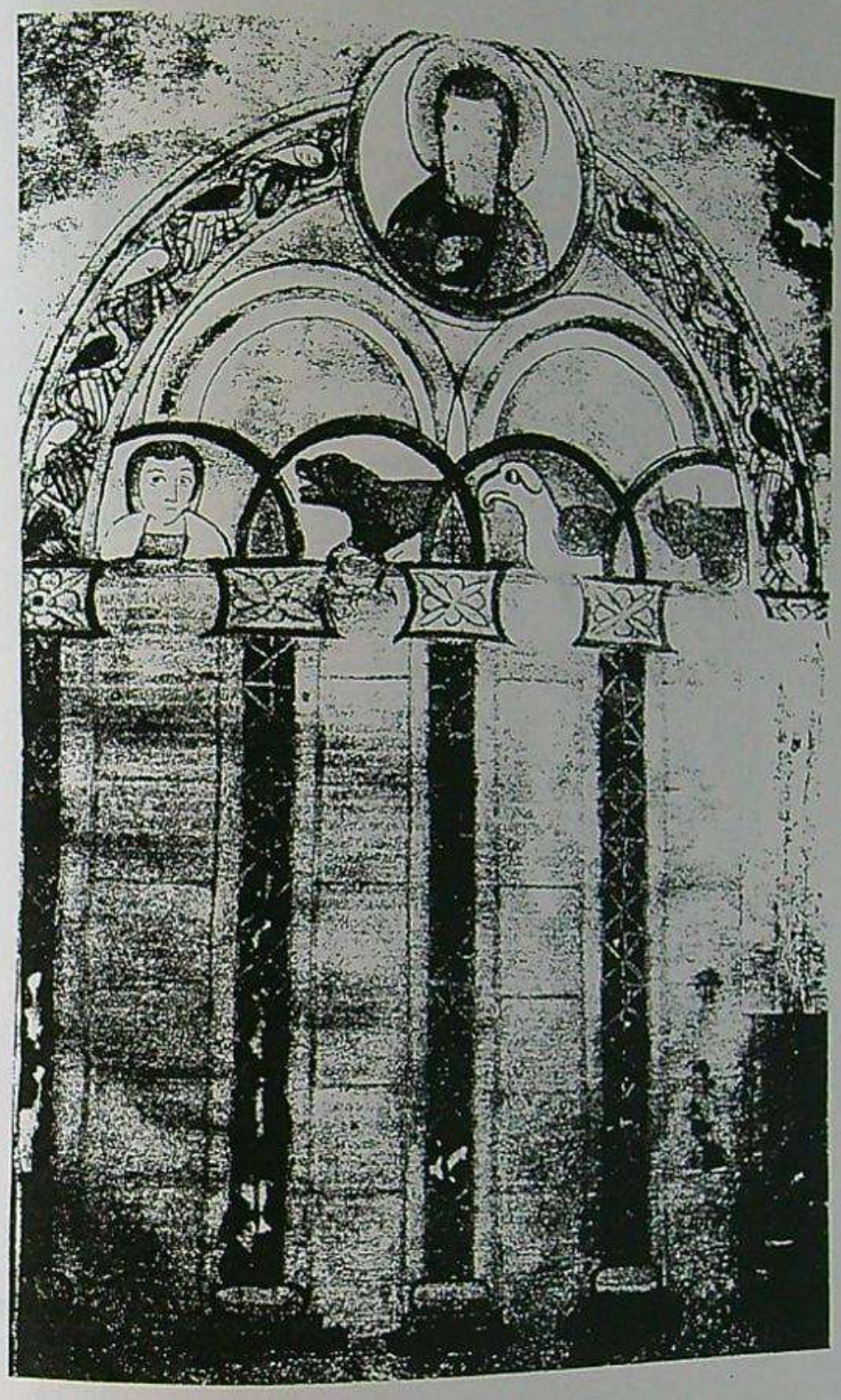


Plate 46: Canon III. The Maeseyck Fragment. Maeseyck, Church of St. Catherine, Trésor, s.n. 22, fol. 2r,

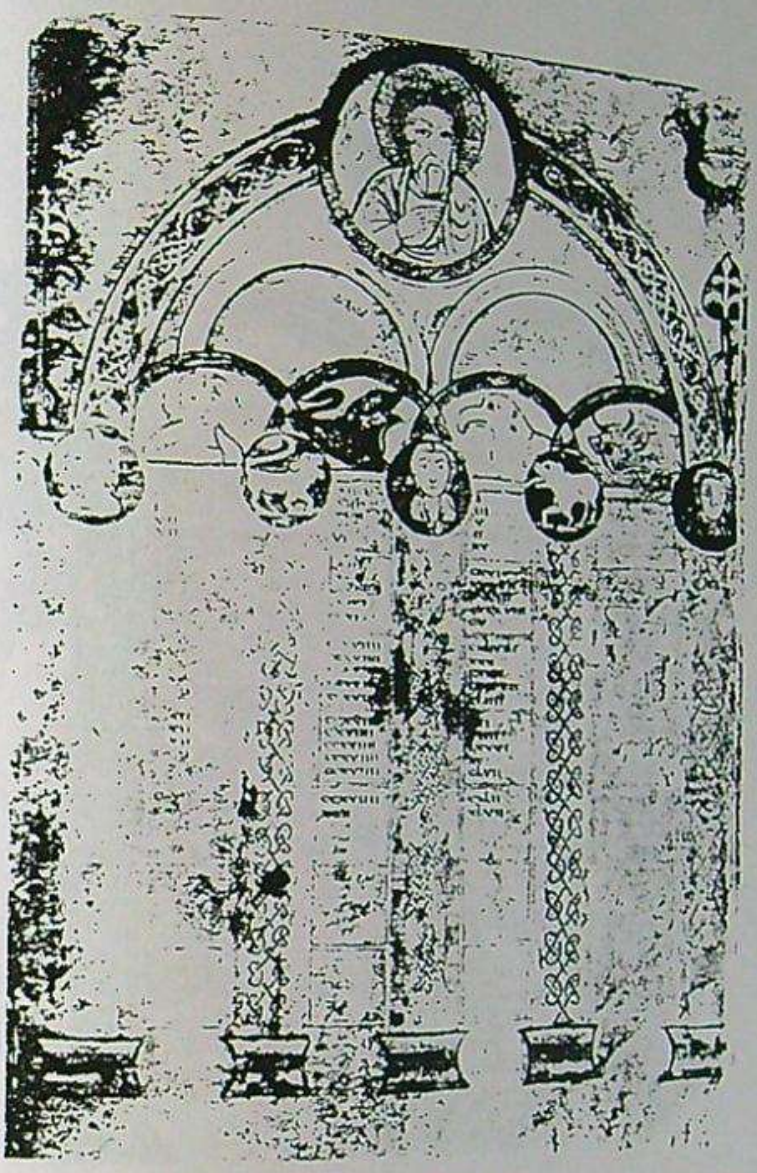


Plate 47: Canon IV. The Maeseyck Fragment. Maeseyck, Church of St. Catherine, Trésor, s.n. 22, fol 5r.

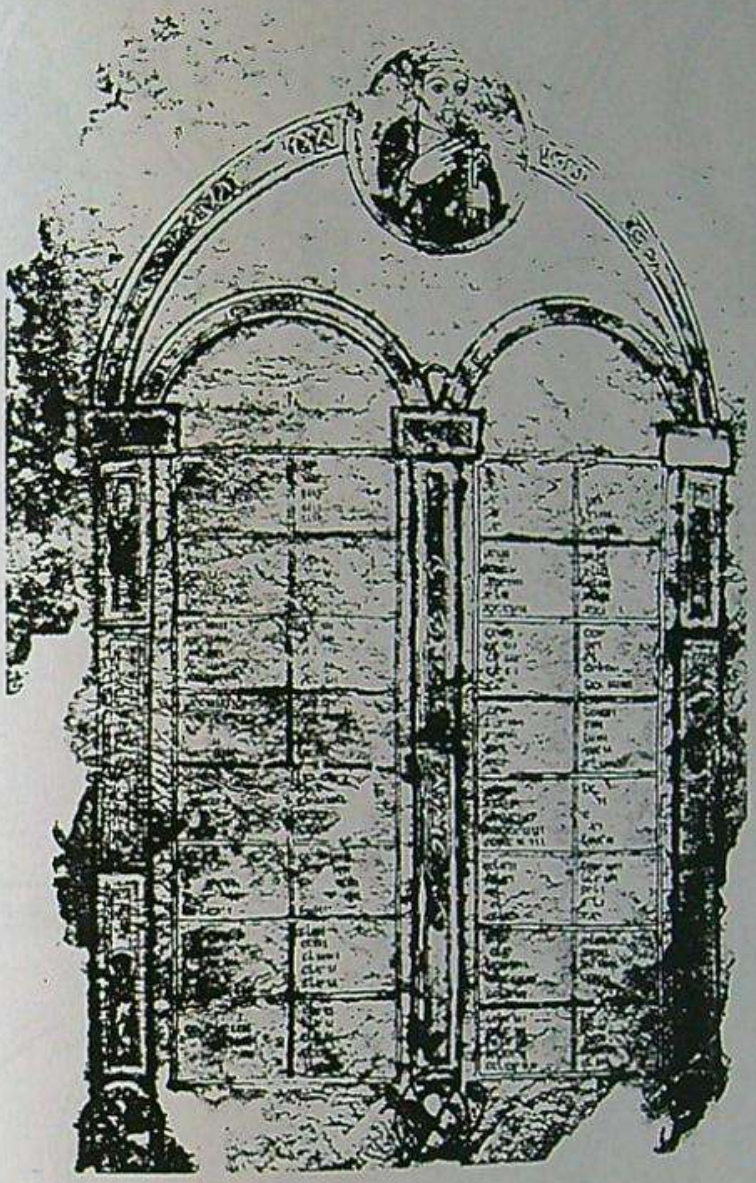


Plate 48: Canon I (1). The Maeseyck Gospels. Maeseyck, Church of St. Catherine, Trésor, s.n. 23, fol. 6v.

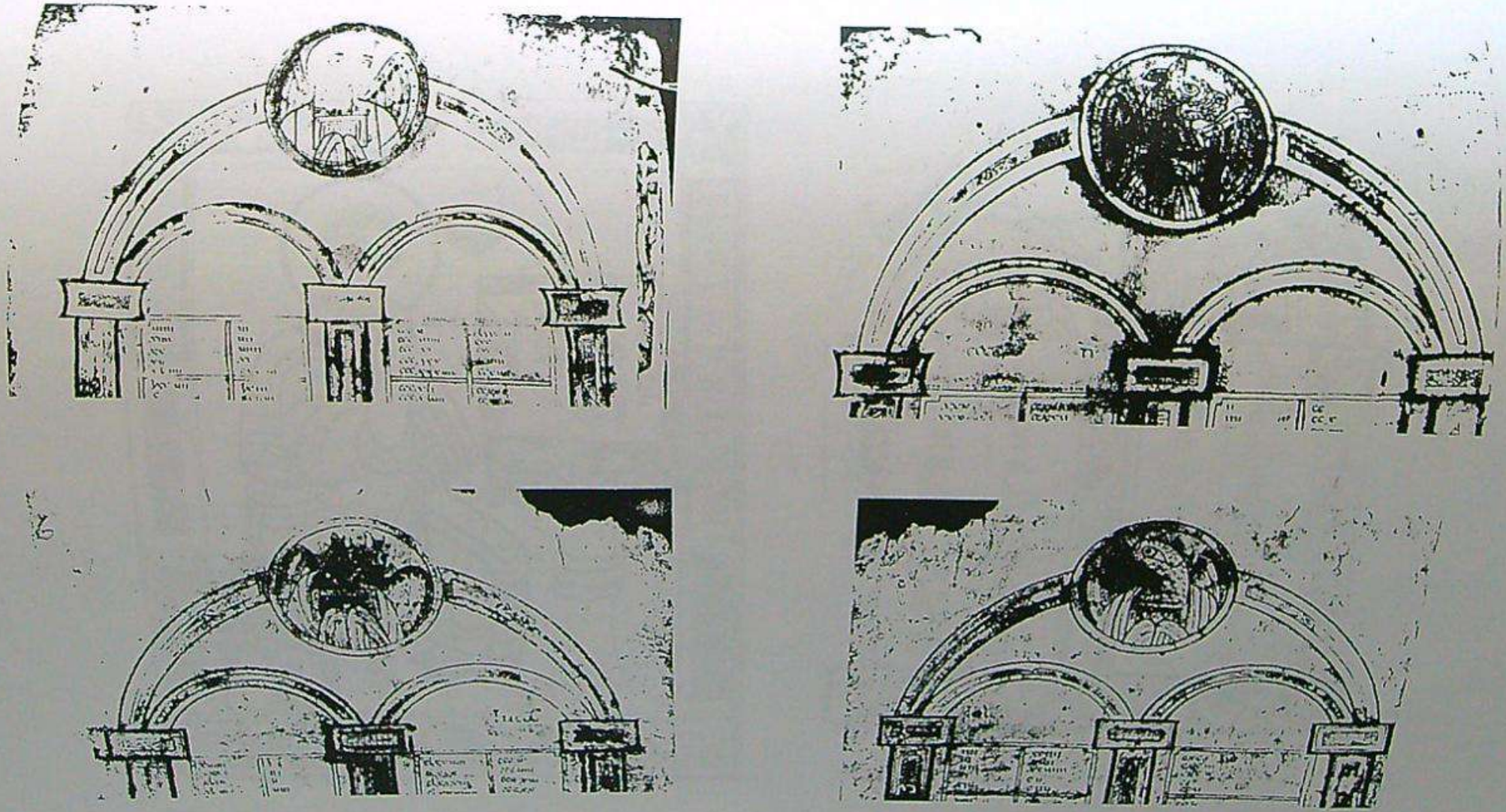


Plate 49: Canon VI-X. The Maeseyck Gospels. Maeseyck, Church of St. Catherine, Trésor, s.n 23, fol. 10r-11v.

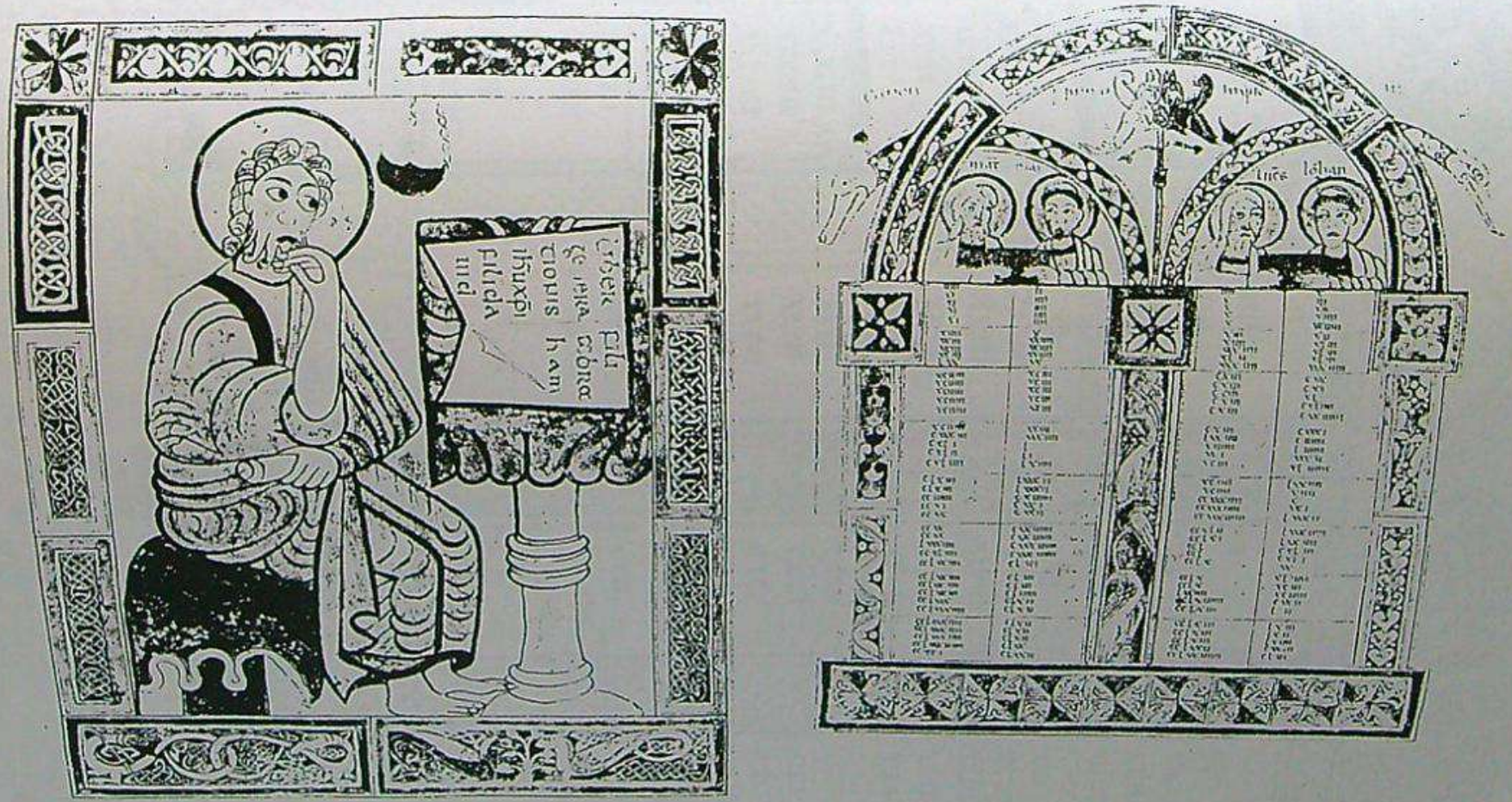


Plate 50: Matthew Portrait and Canon I (1). *The Cutbercht Gospels*.
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1224, fols. 17v-18r.

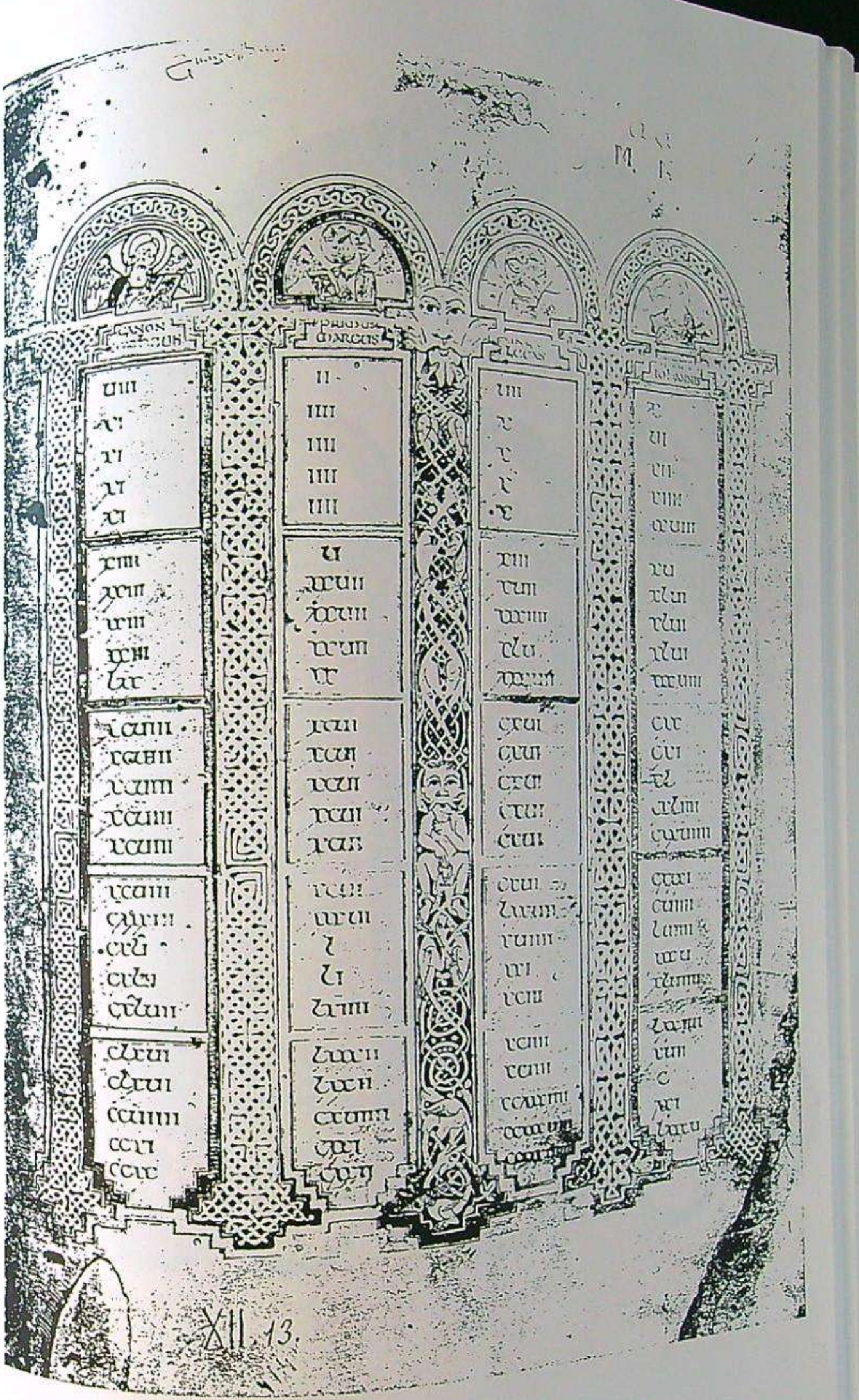


Plate 51: Canon I (1). The Barberini Gospels. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica, Barb. lat. 570, fol. 1r.

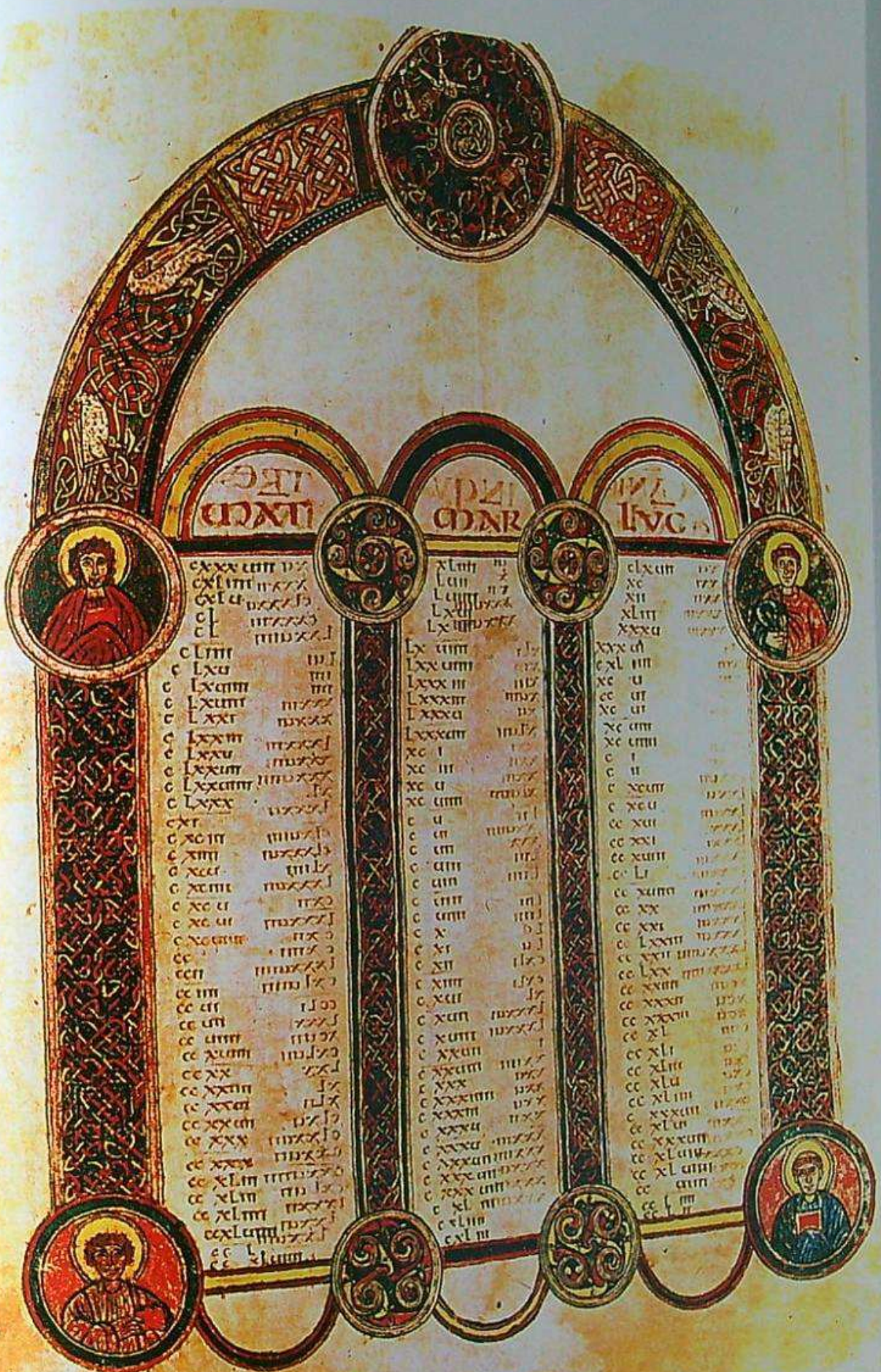


Plate 52: Canon II (2). The Stockholm Codex Aureus. Stockholm, Royal Library, A. 135, fol. 6v.

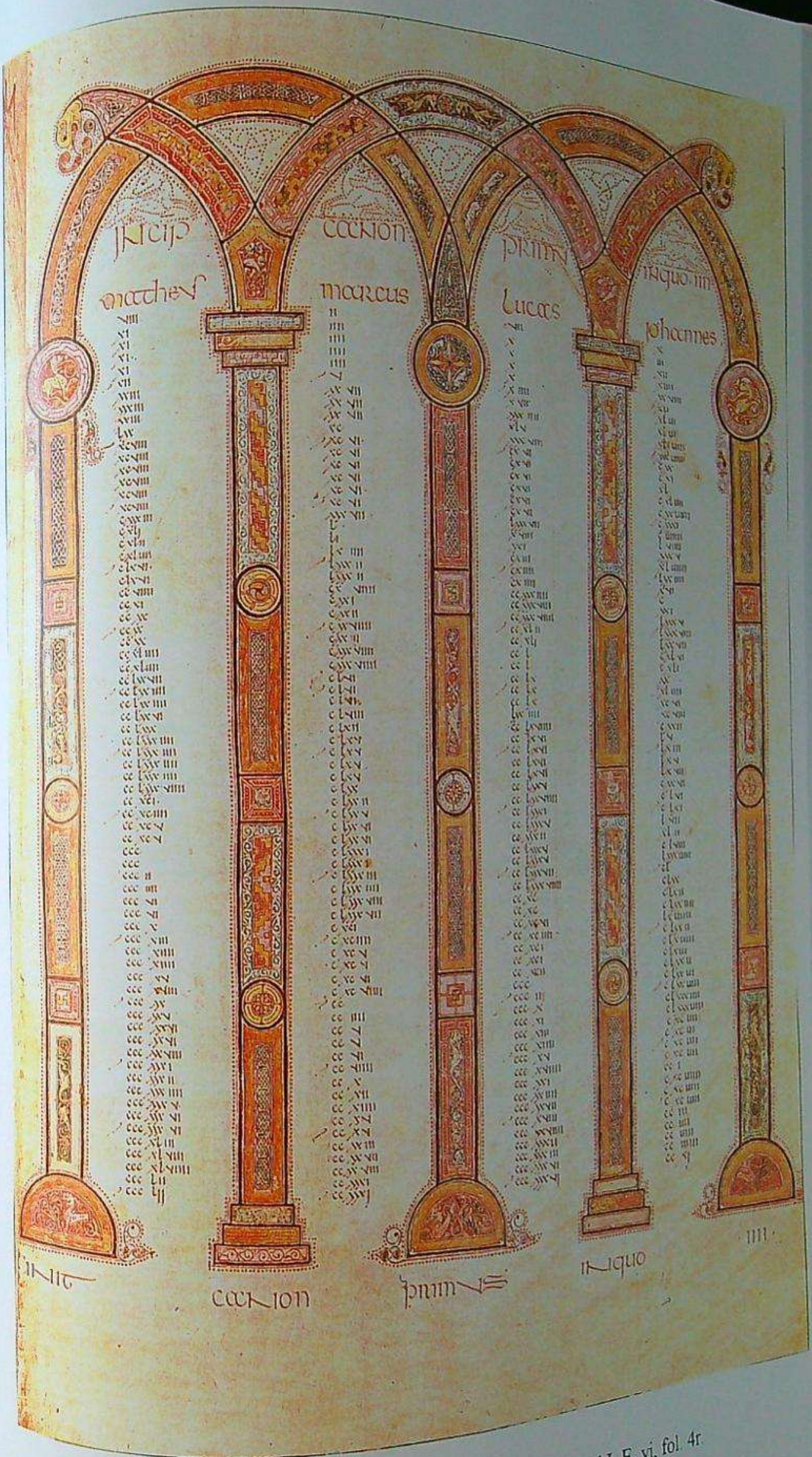


Plate 53: Canon I. London, British Library, Royal I. E. vi, fol. 4r.

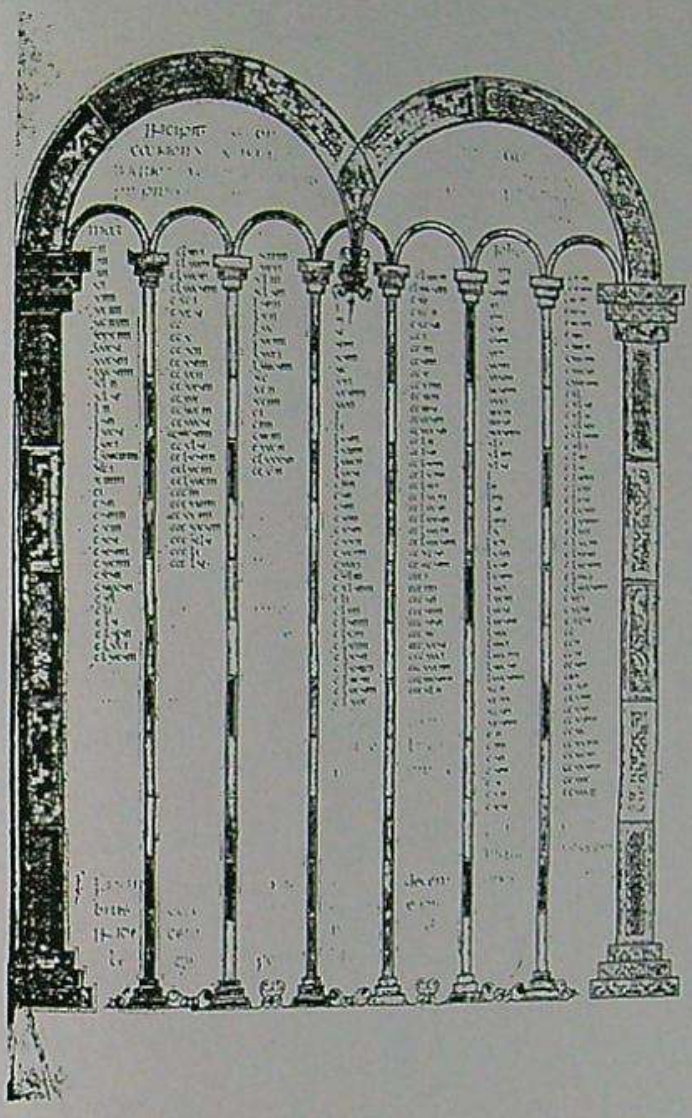


Plate 54: Canon X. London, British Library, Royal I. E. vi, fol. 6r.



Plate 55. Matthew Hebrew Names and Four-Symbols Representation.
The Book of Kells. Dublin, Trinity College Library, 58 (A. I. 6), fol. 1r.

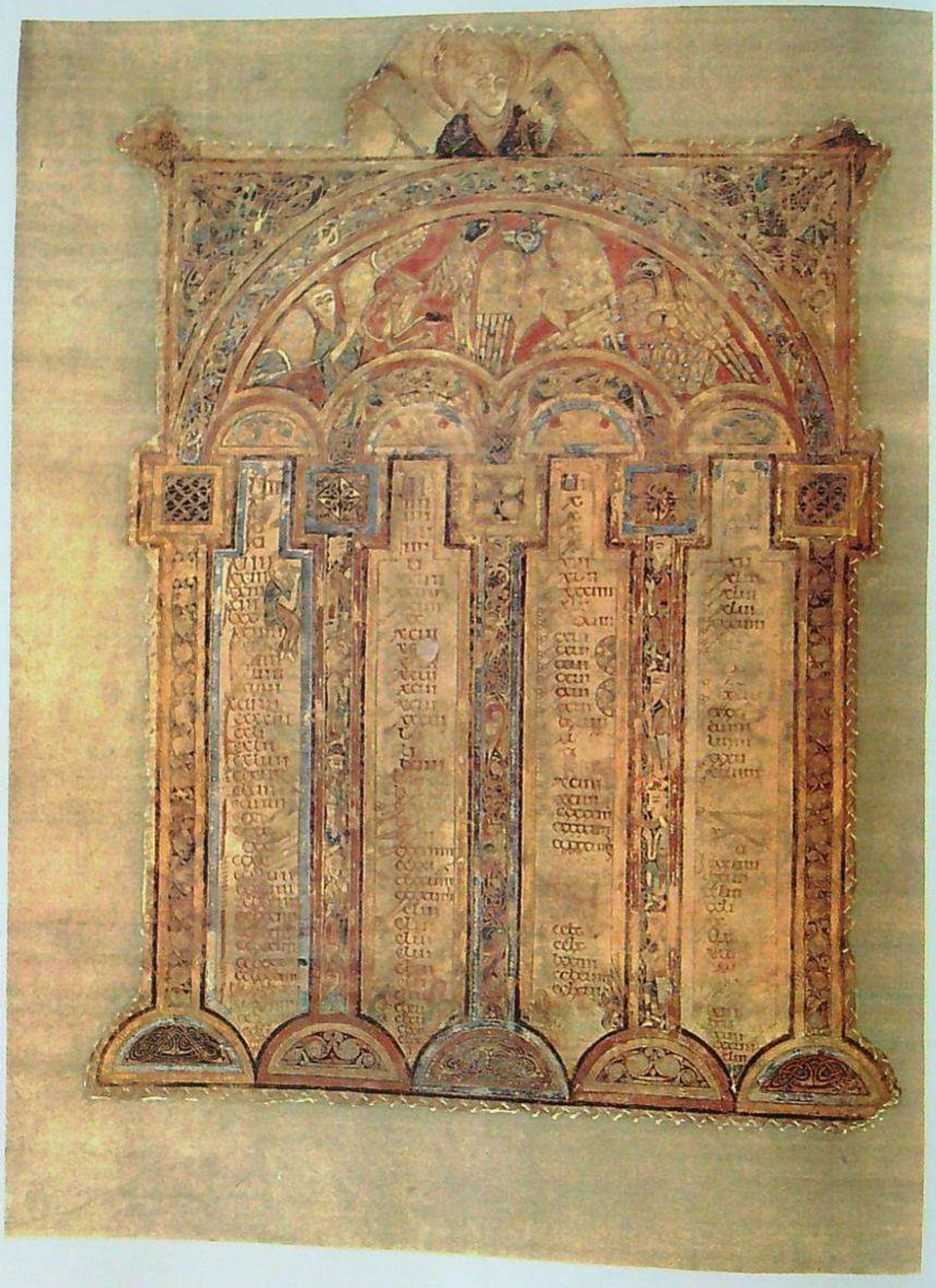


Plate 56: Canon I (1). The Book of Kells. Dublin, Trinity College Library, 58 (A. I. 6), fol. 1v.

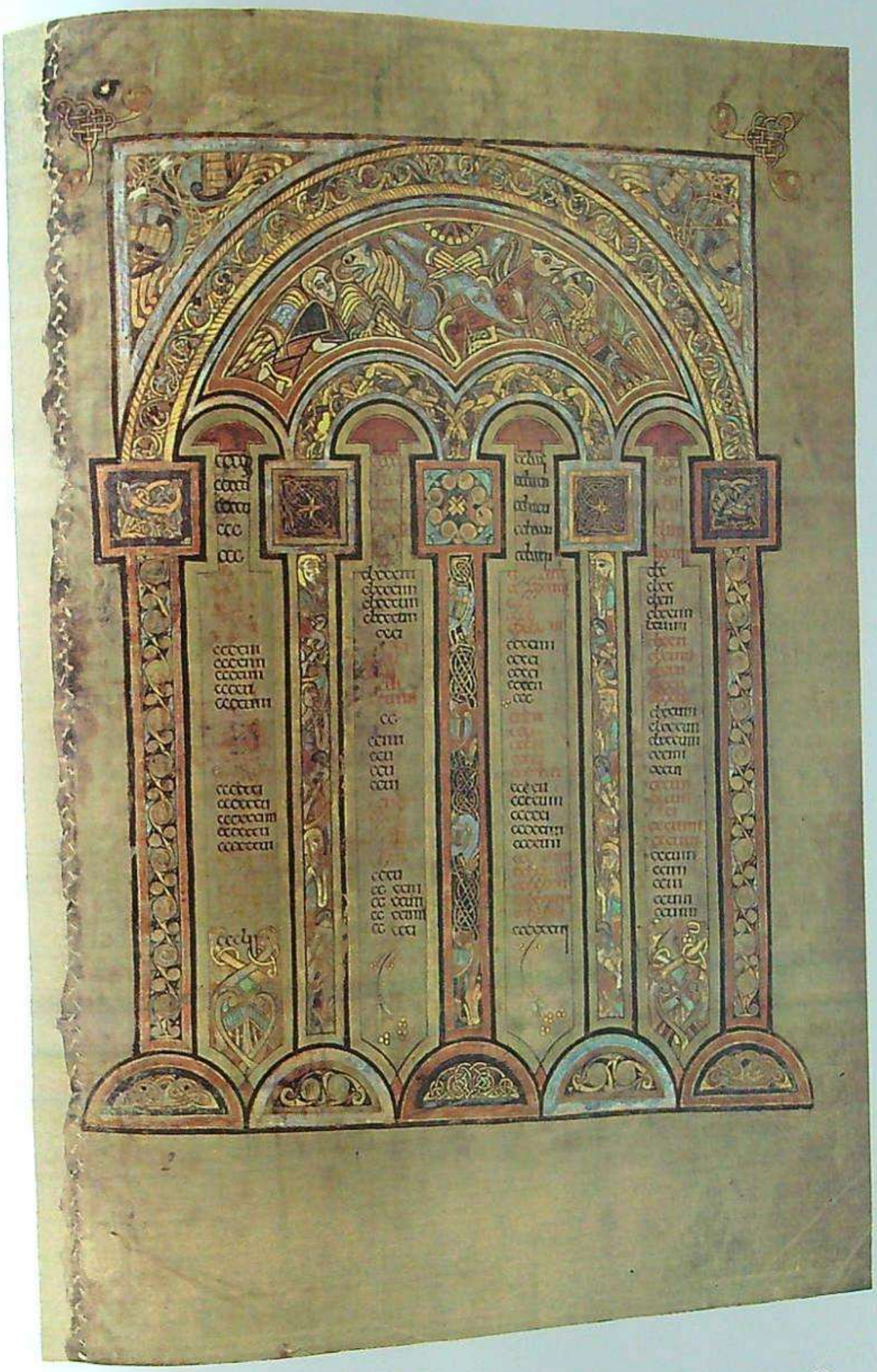


Plate 57: Canon I (2). The Book of Kells. Dublin, Trinity College Library, 58 (A. I. 6), fol. 2r.

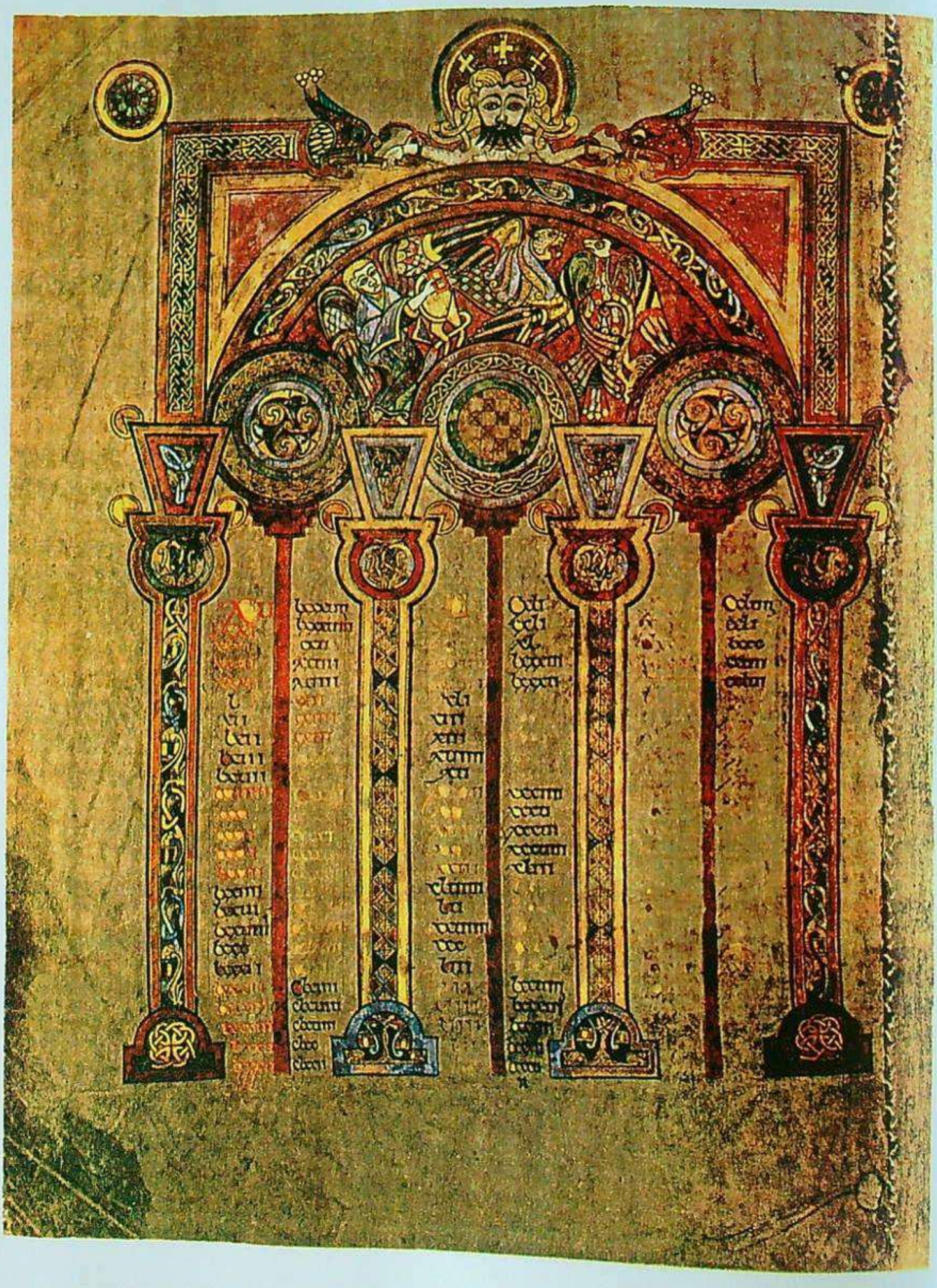


Plate 58: Canon II (1). The Book of Kells. Dublin, Trinity College Library, 58 (A. I. 6), fol. 2v.



Plate 59: Canon II (2). The Book of Kells. Dublin, Trinity College Library, 58 (A. I. 6), fol. 3r.



Plate 60: Canon II (3)-III. The Book of Kells. Dublin, Trinity College Library, 58 (A. I. 6), fol. 3v.

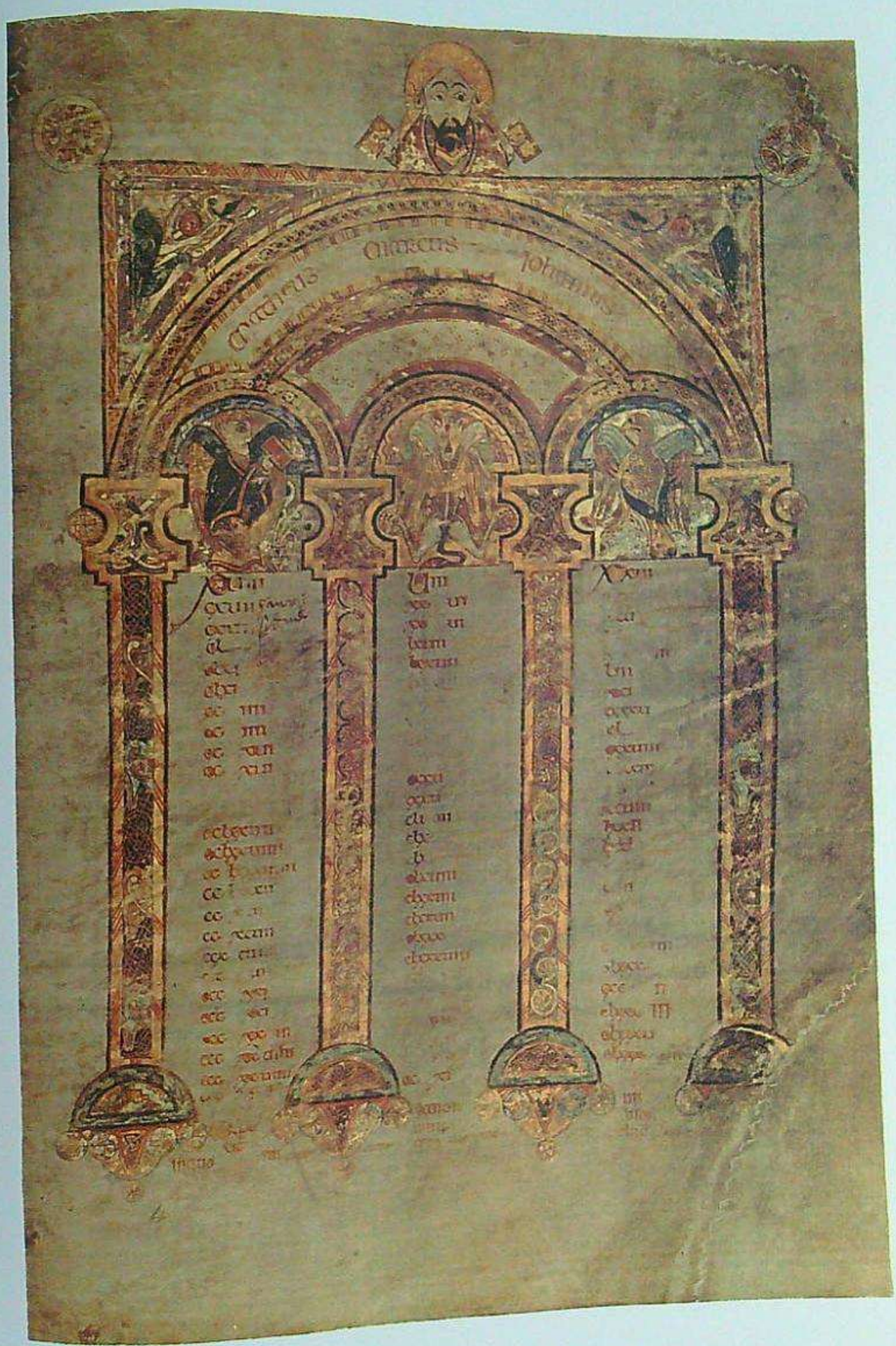


Plate 61: Canon IV. The Book of Kells. Dublin, Trinity College Library, 58 (A. I. 6), fol. 4r.

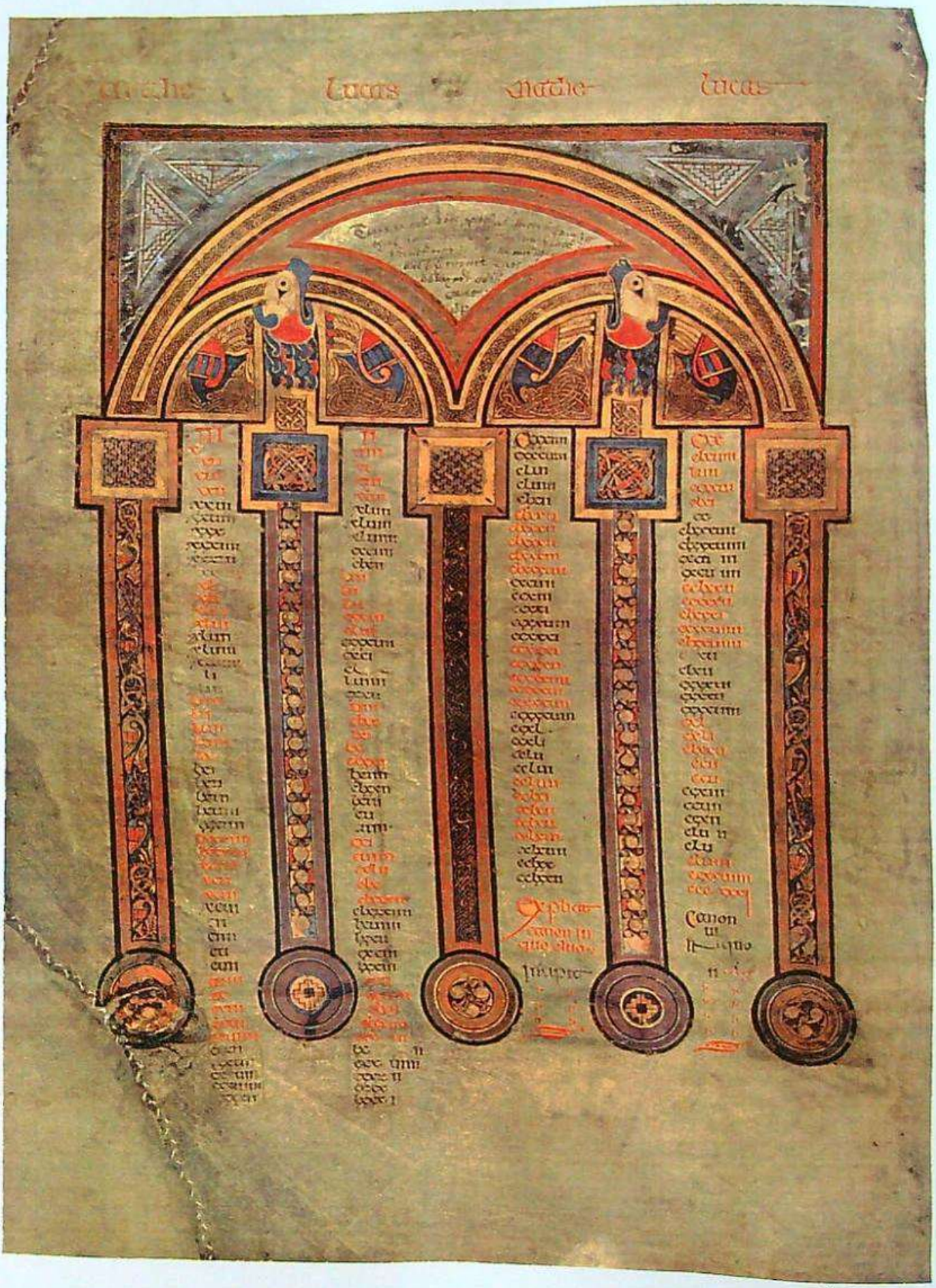


Plate 62: Canon V. The Book of Kells. Dublin, Trinity College Library, 58 (A. I. 6), fol. 4v.

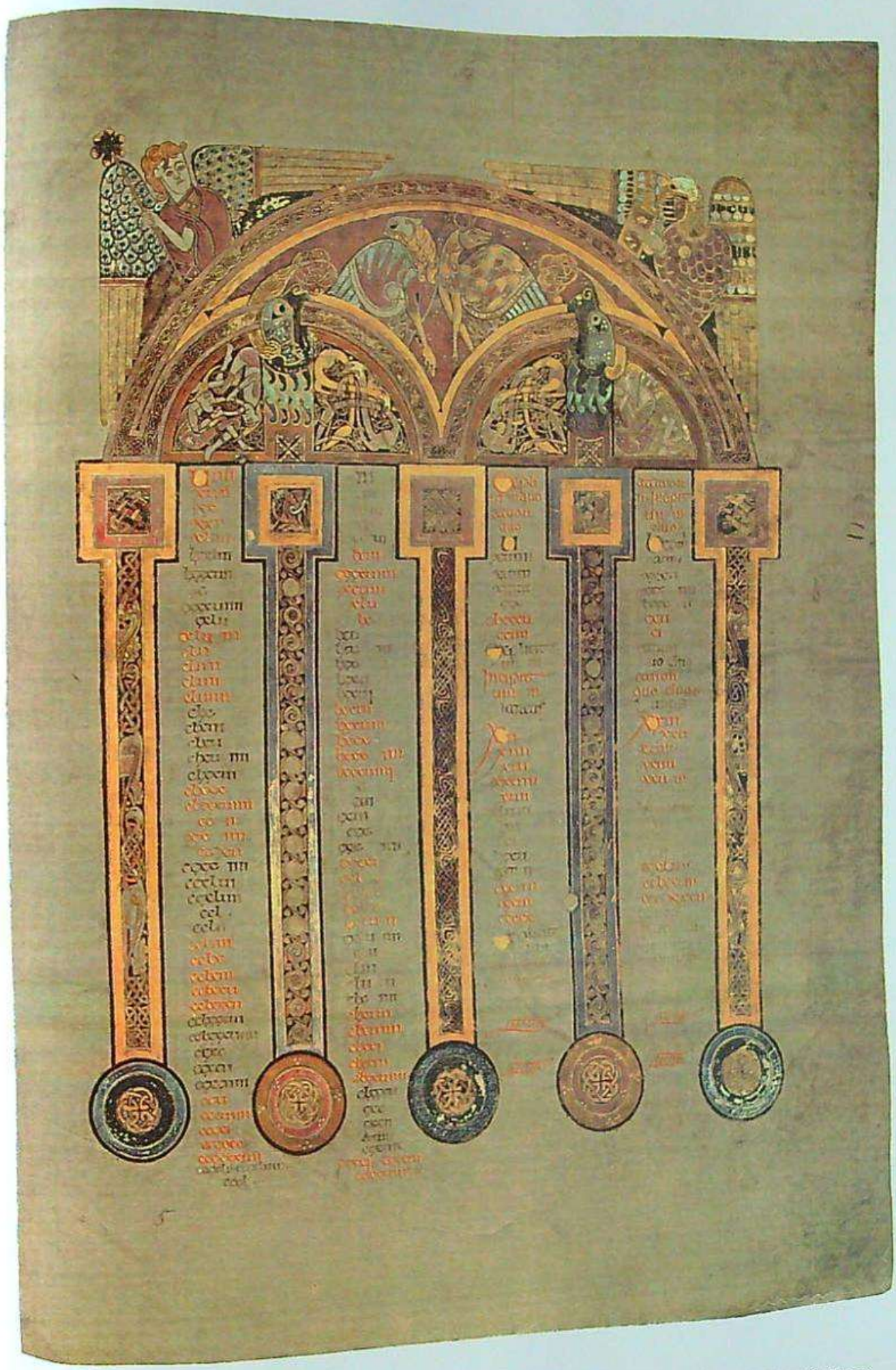


Plate 63: CanonVI, VII, VIII. The Book of Kells. Dublin, Trinity College Library, 58 (A. I. 6), fol. 5r.

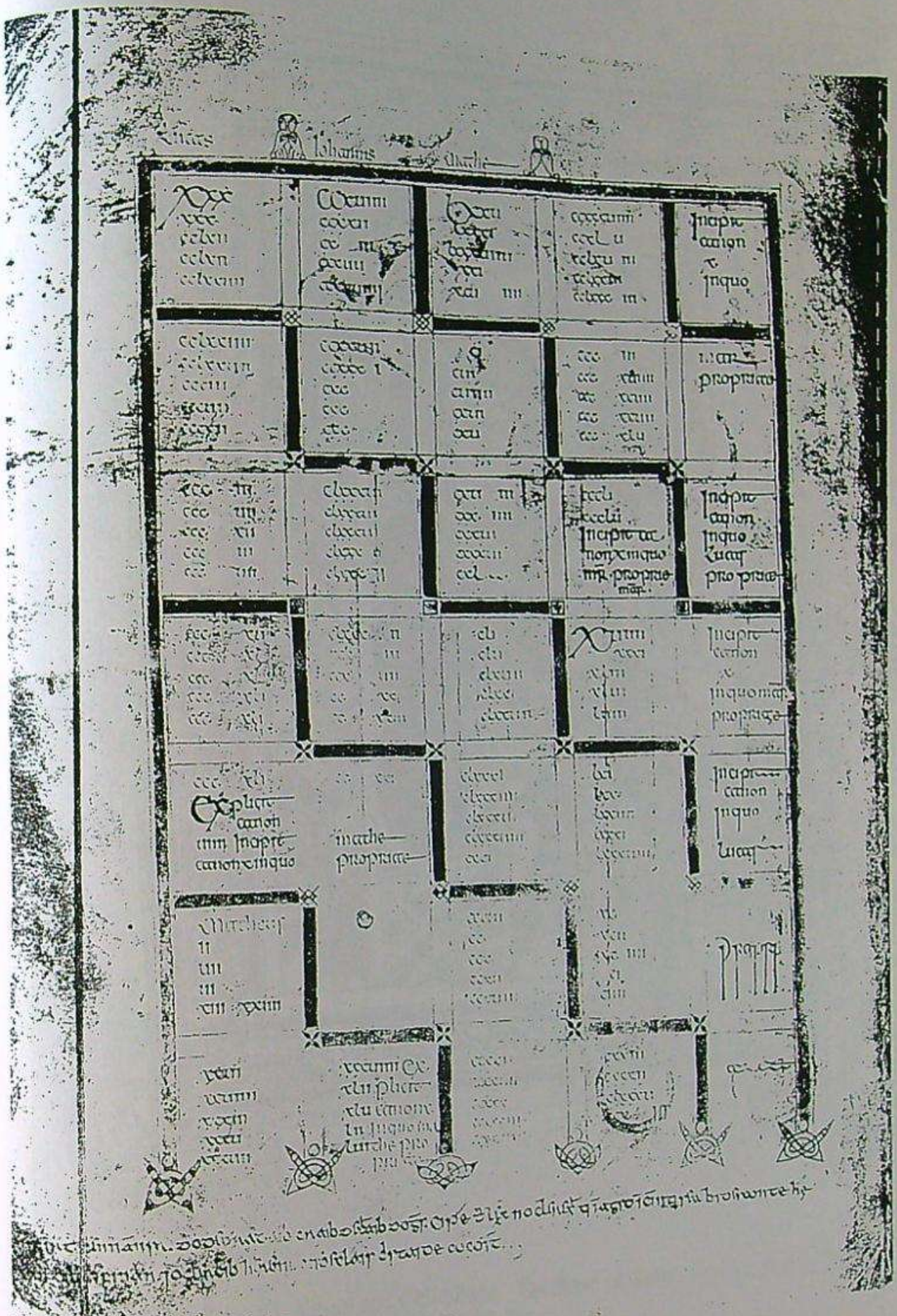


Plate 64: Canon IX, X Mt, Mk. The Book of Kells. Dublin, Trinity College Library, 58 (A. I. 6), fol. 5v.

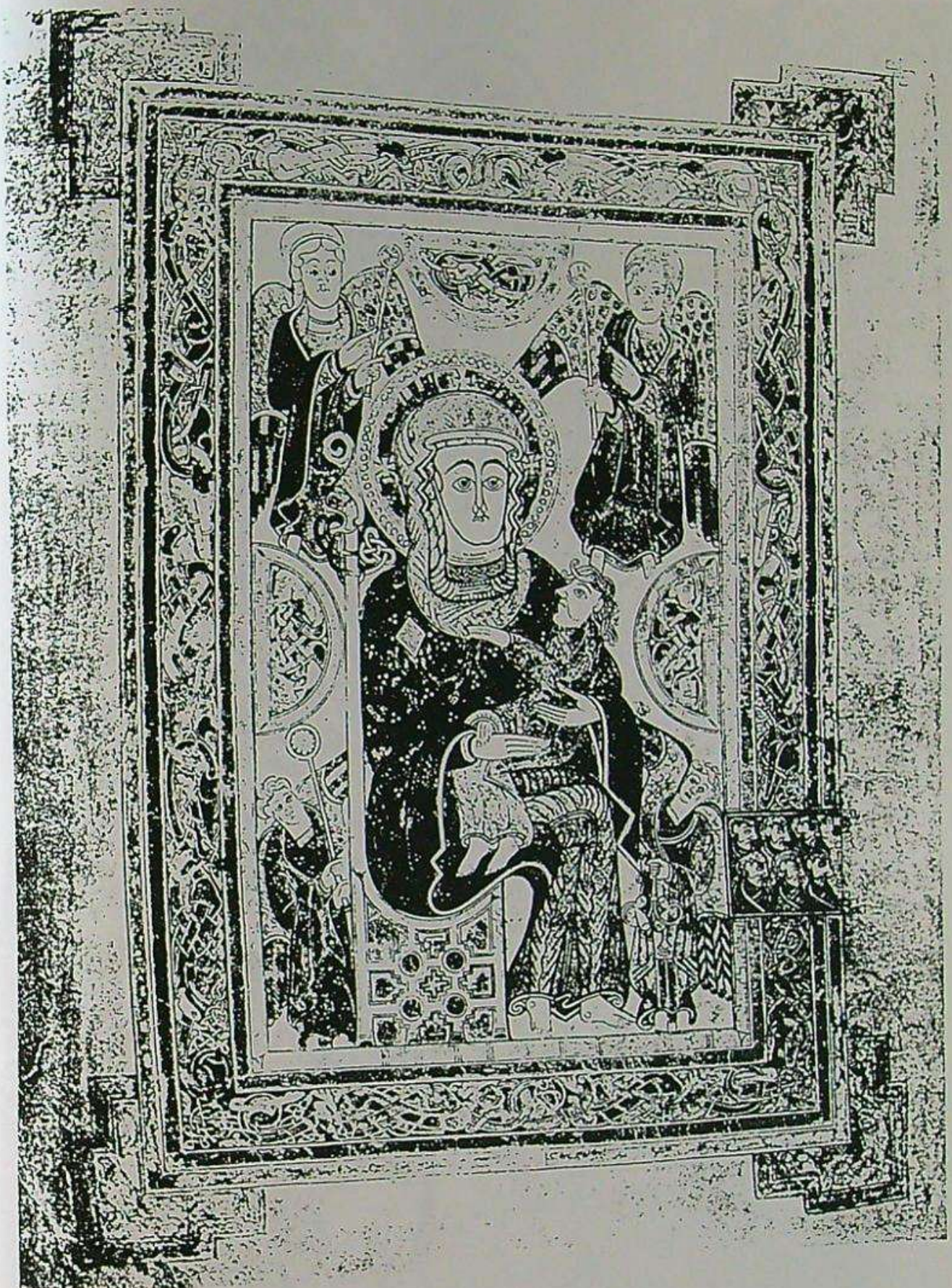


Plate 65. Virgin and Child Page. The Book of Kells. Dublin, Trinity College Library, 58 (A. I. 6), fol. 7v.

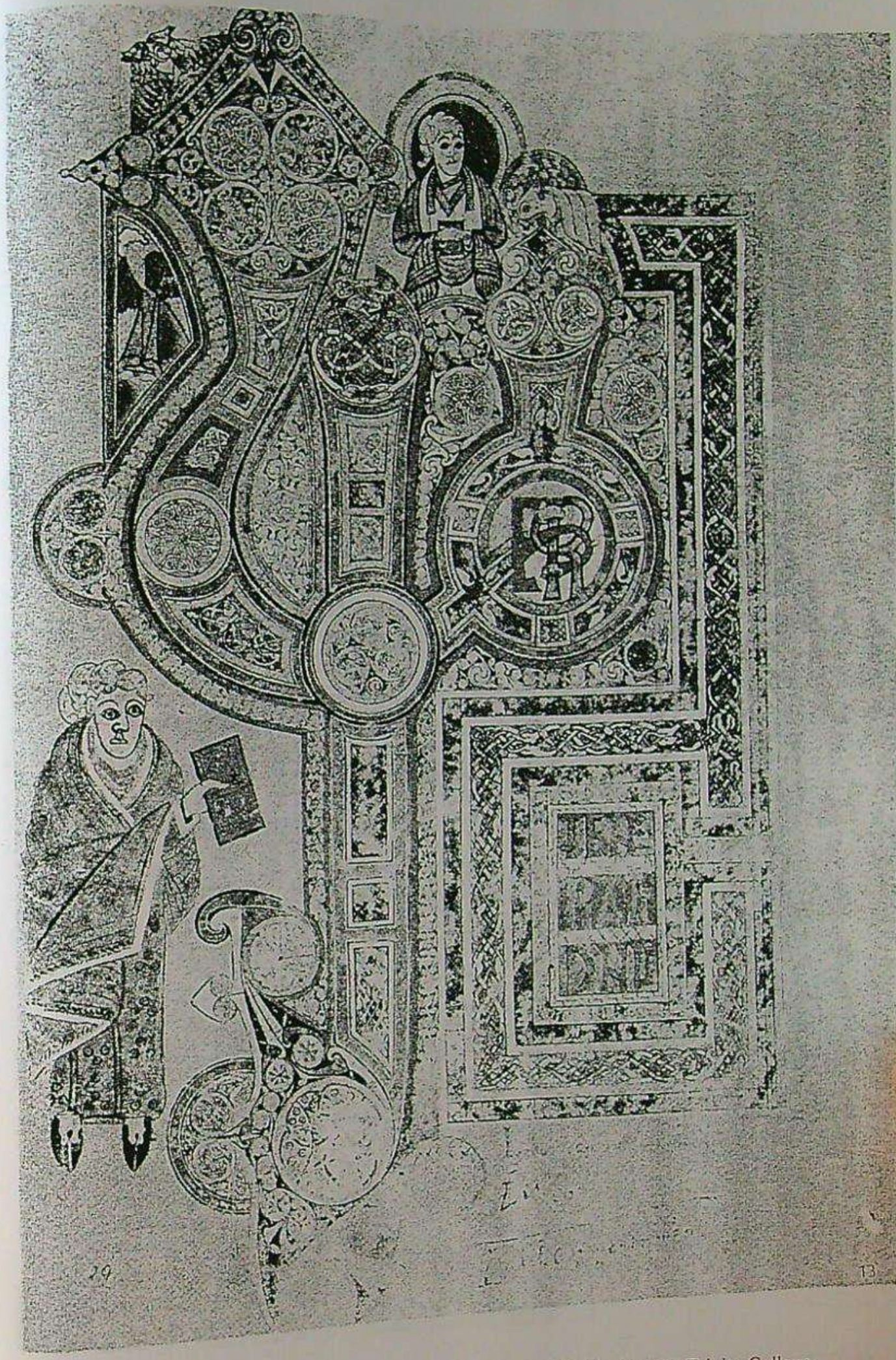


Plate 66 Matthew *Incipit* Page. The Book of Kells. Dublin, Trinity College Library, 58 (A. I. 6), fol 29r.

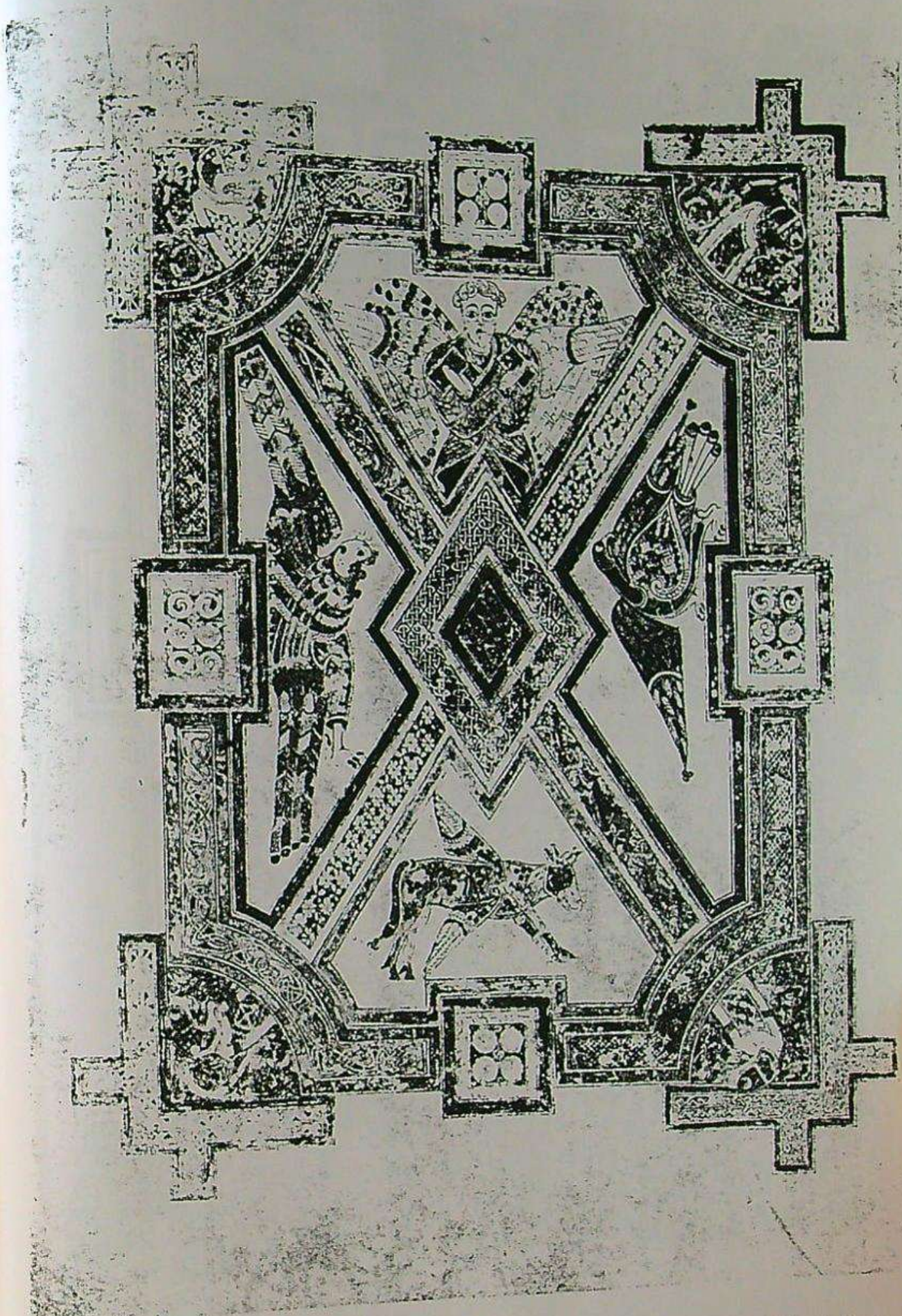


Plate 67: Four-Symbols Page. The Book of Kells. Dublin, Trinity College Library, 58 (A. I. 6), fol 290v.

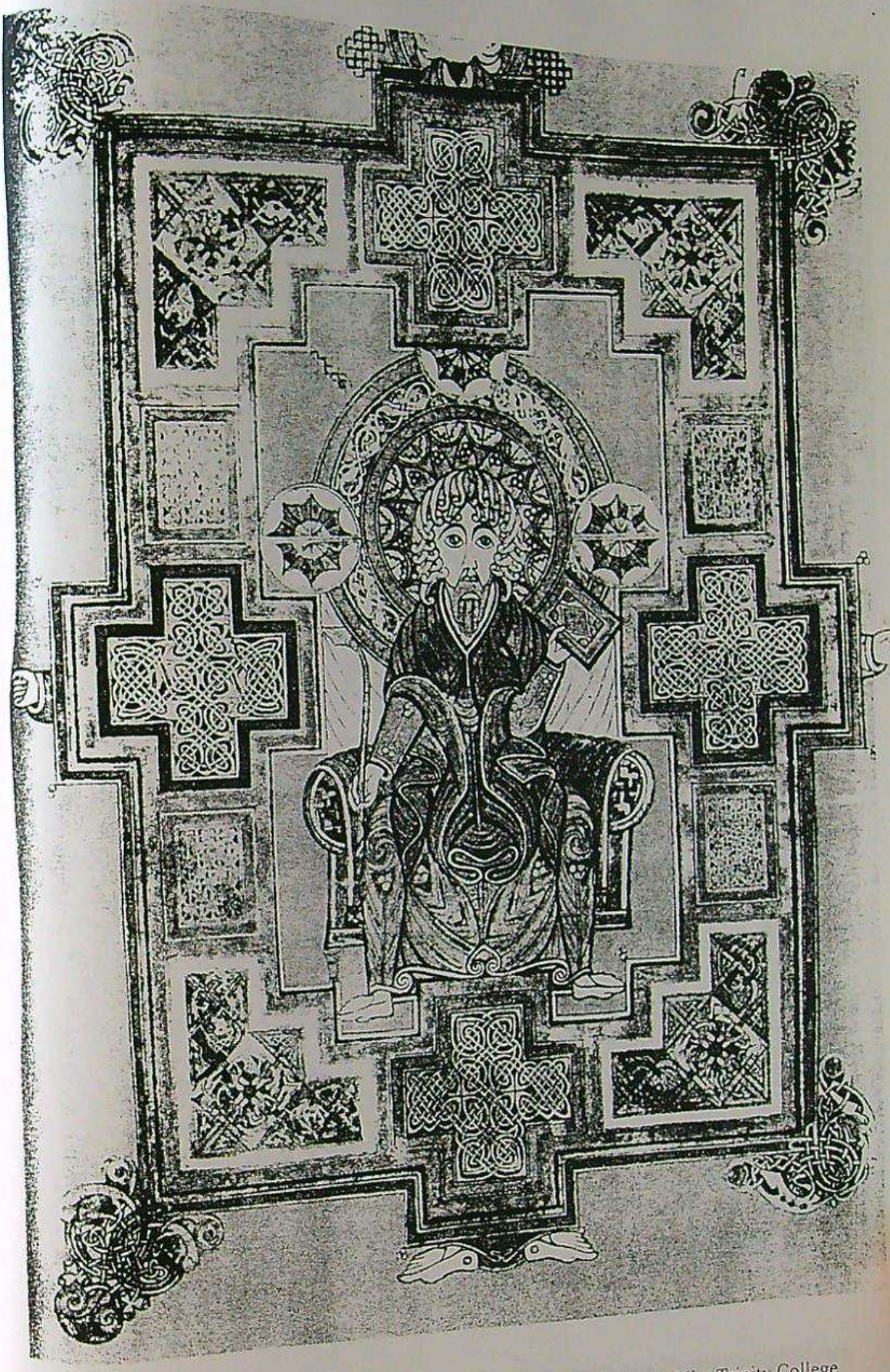


Plate 68: John Portrait Page. The Book of Kells. Dublin, Trinity College Library, 58 (A. I. 6), fol. 291v.

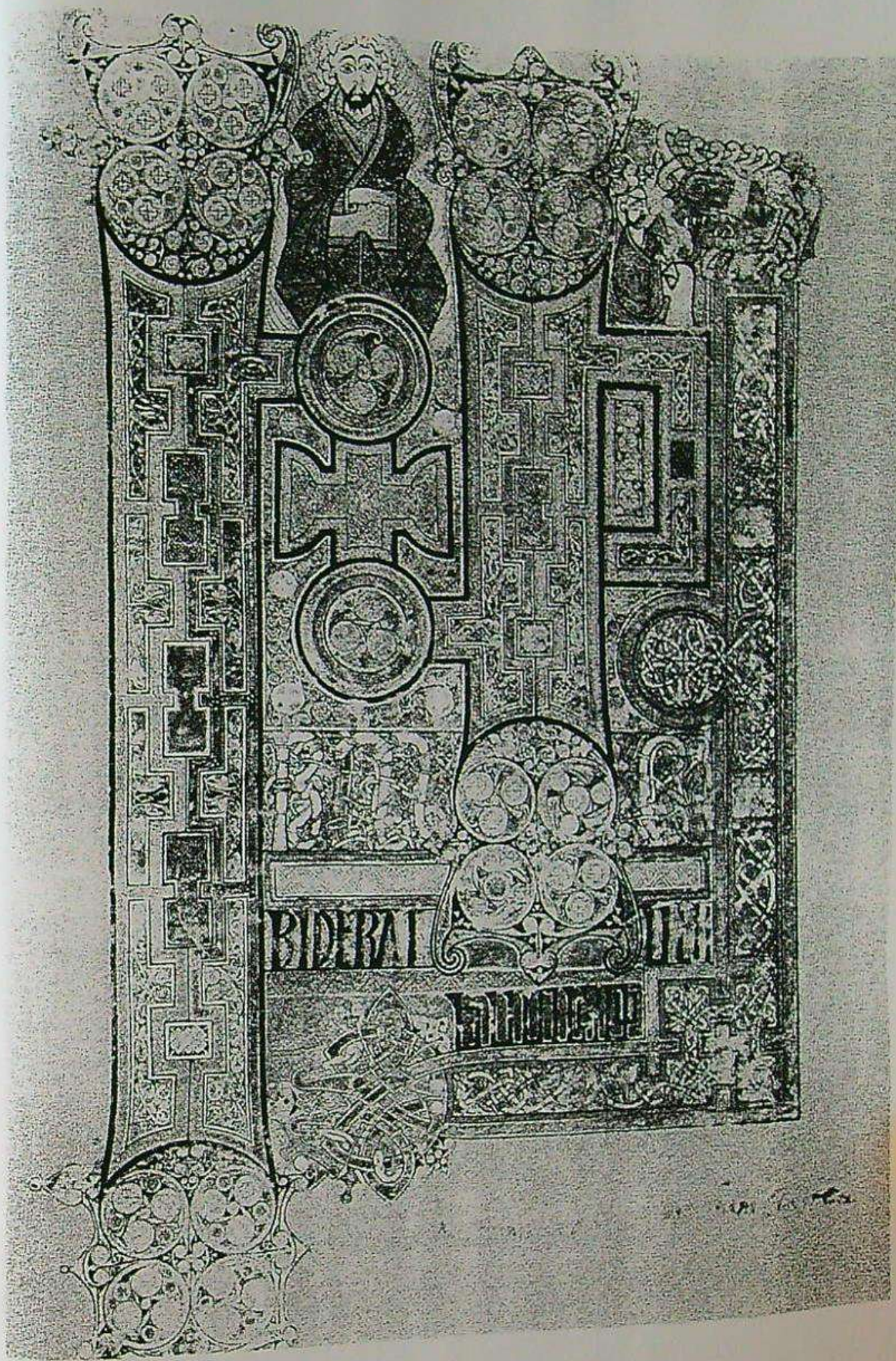


Plate 69: John *Incipit* Page. The Book of Kells. Dublin, Trinity College Library, 58 (A. I. 6), fol. 292r.

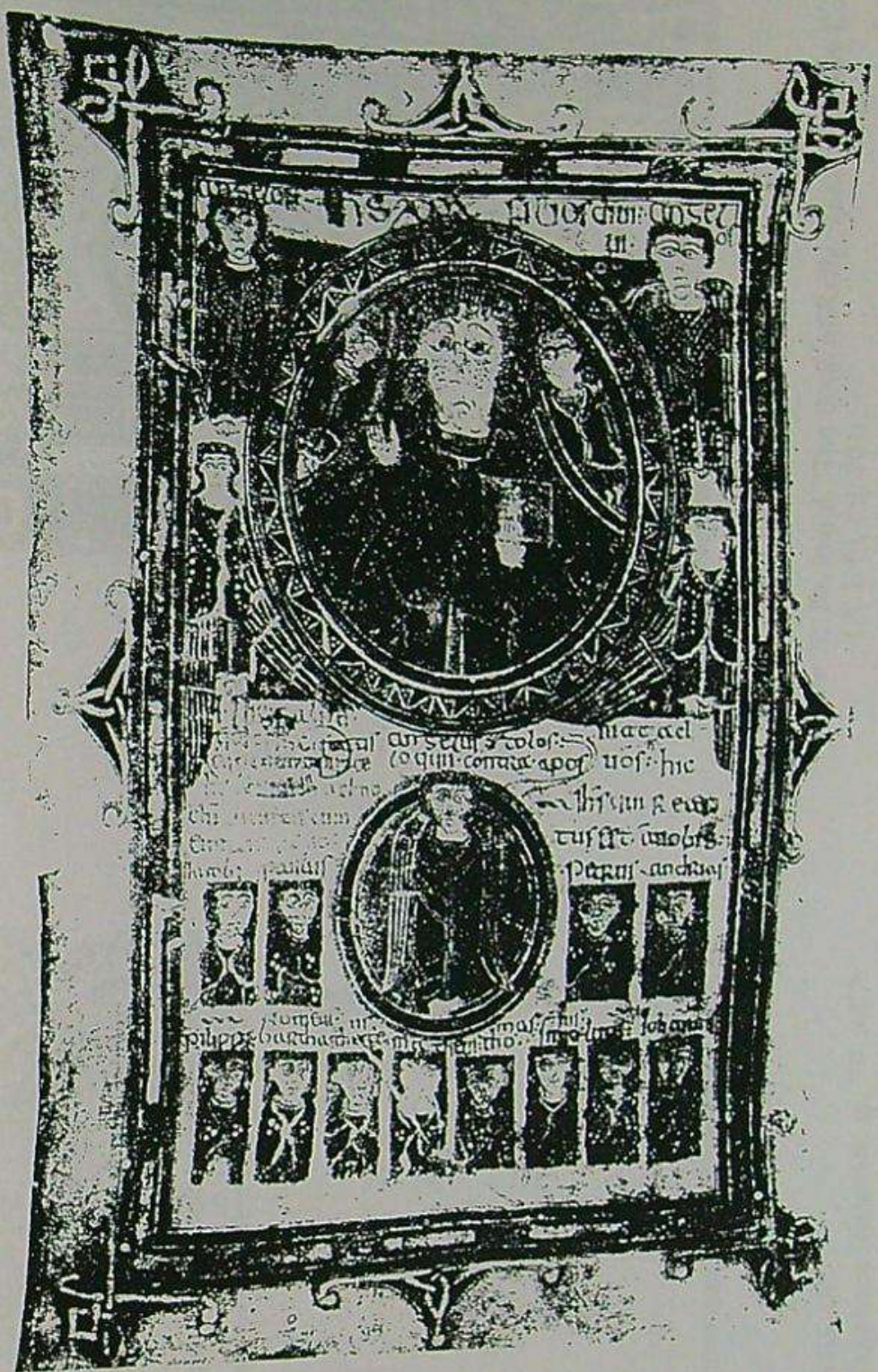


Plate 70: The Ascension. Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, Cod. O. IV. 20, I a/v.

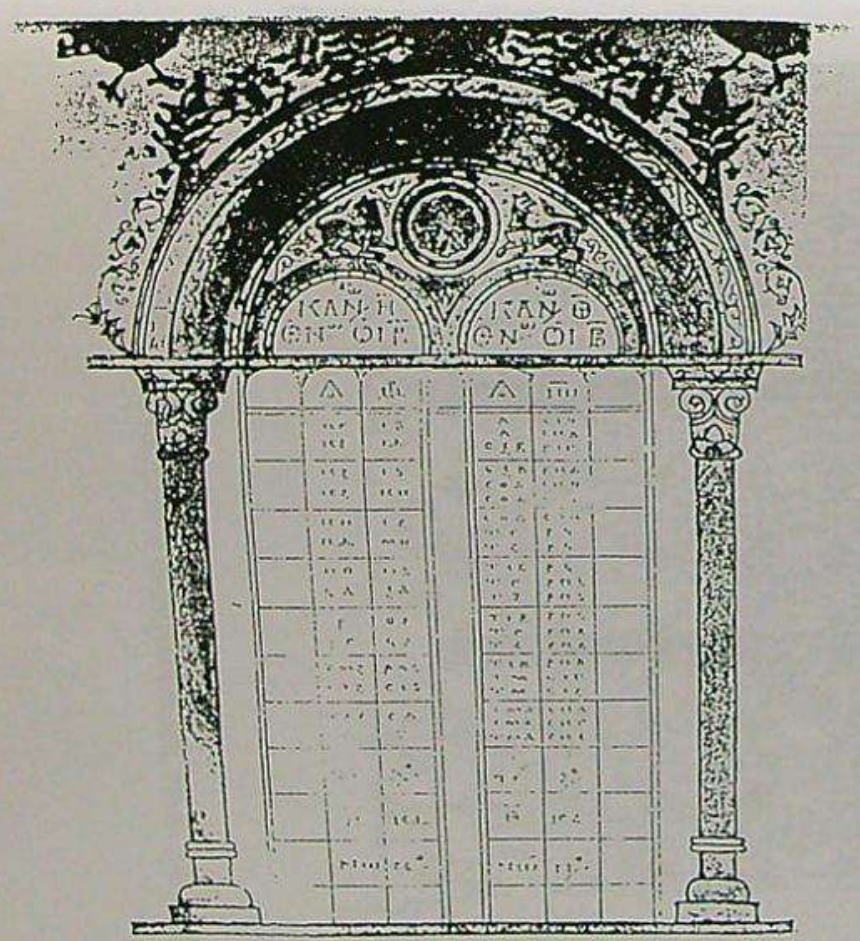


Plate 71: Canon VIII, IX.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 70, fol.7v.

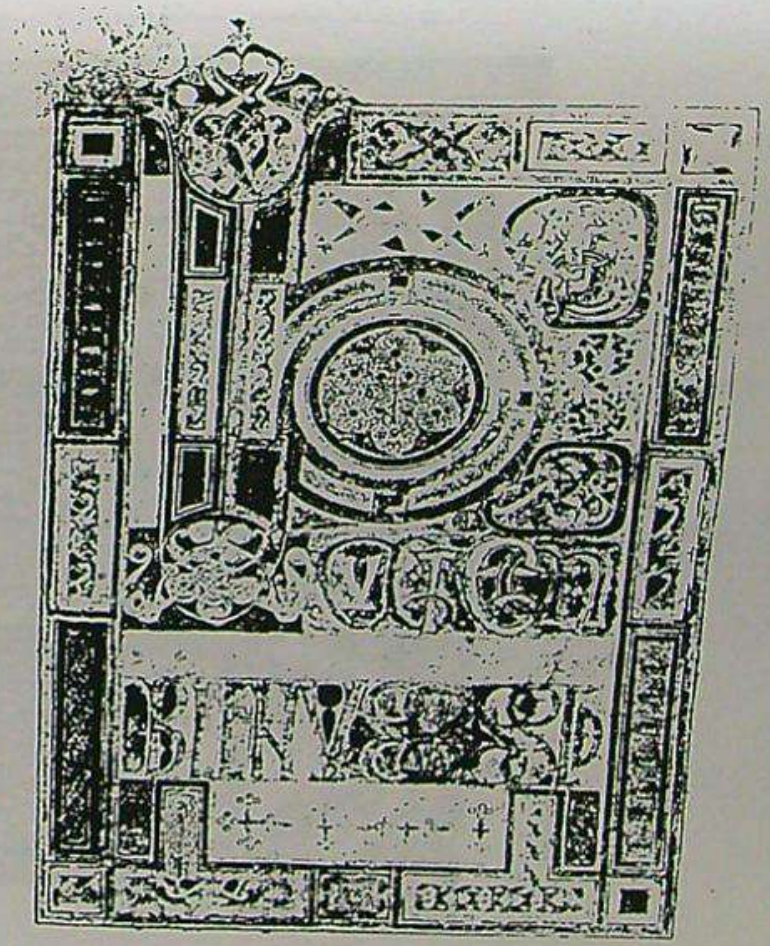


Plate 72: Ihs Initial. The Book of Kells. Dublin, Trinity College Library, 58 (A. I. 6), fol. 203r.

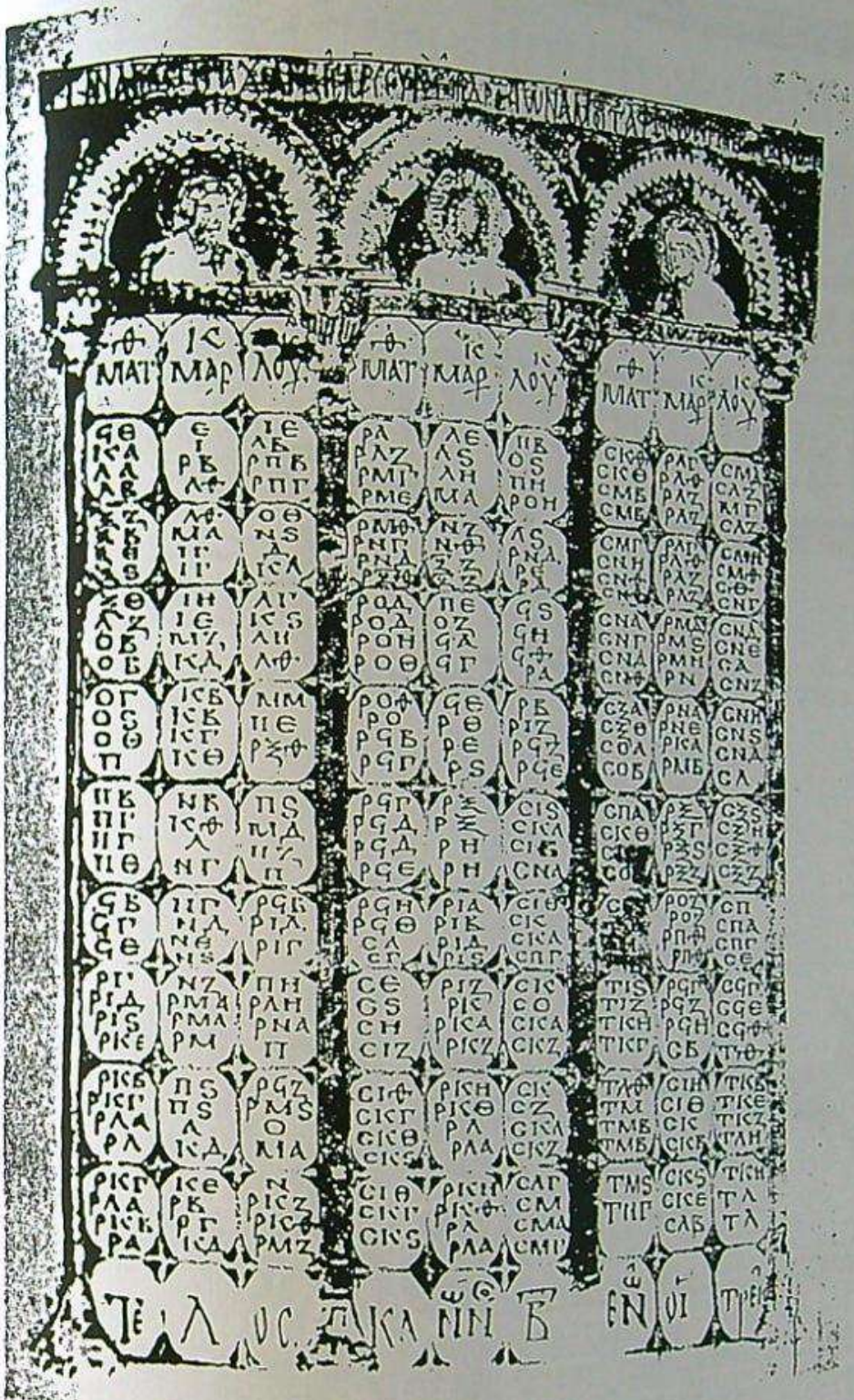


Plate 73: Canon II. Berlin, Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Ham. 246, fol. 2r.

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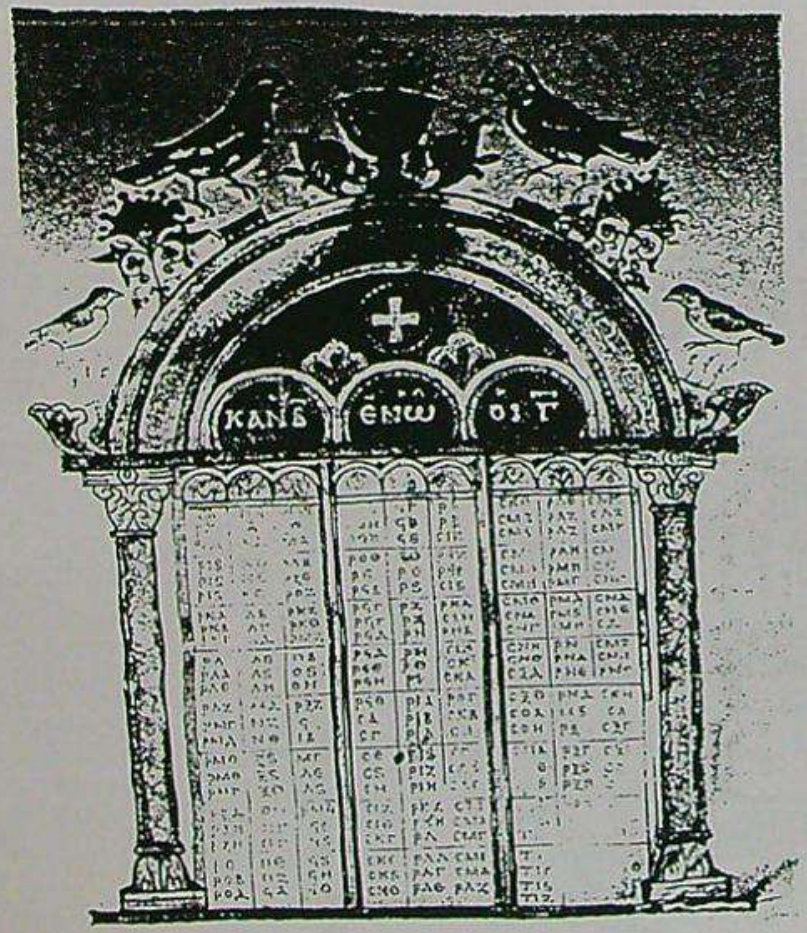


Plate 74: Canon II. Vienna, Biblioteca Marciana, gr. I. 8, fol. 5r.

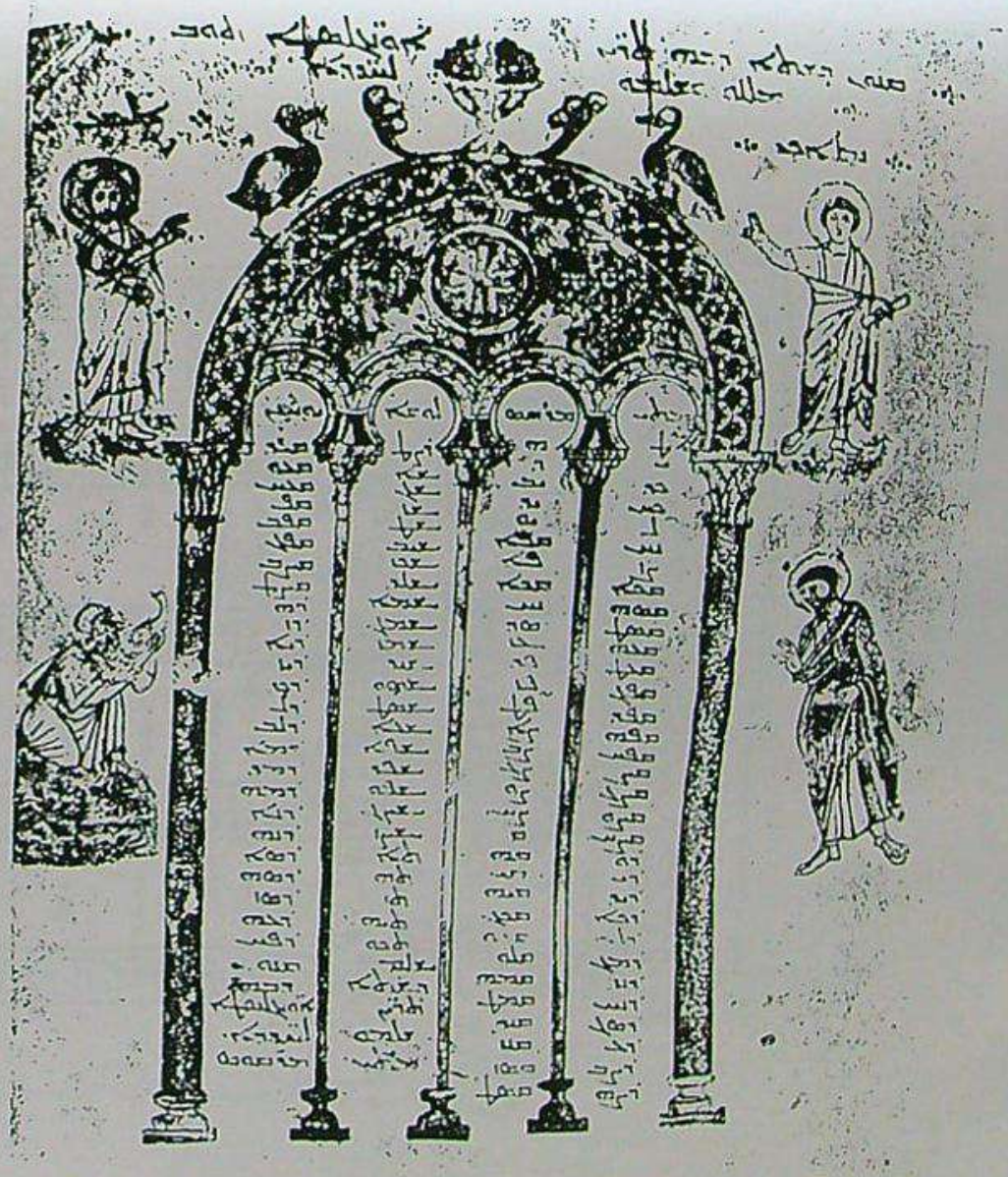


Plate 75: Canon VI. The Rabbula Gospels. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurentiana, Plut. I. 56, fol. 9r.

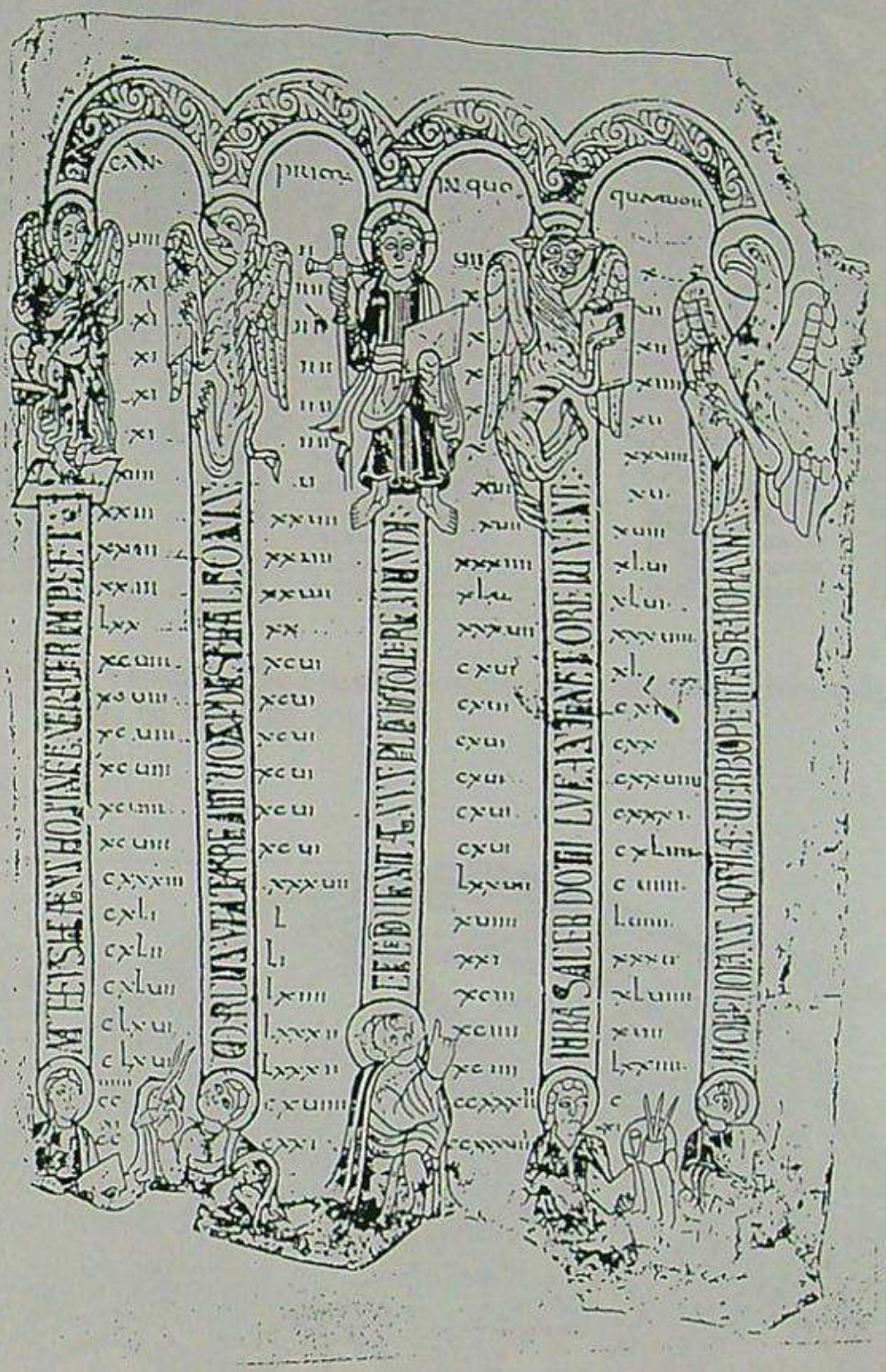


Plate 76: Canon I (1), The Flavigny Gospels. Autun, Municipal Library MS. 4, fol. 8r.

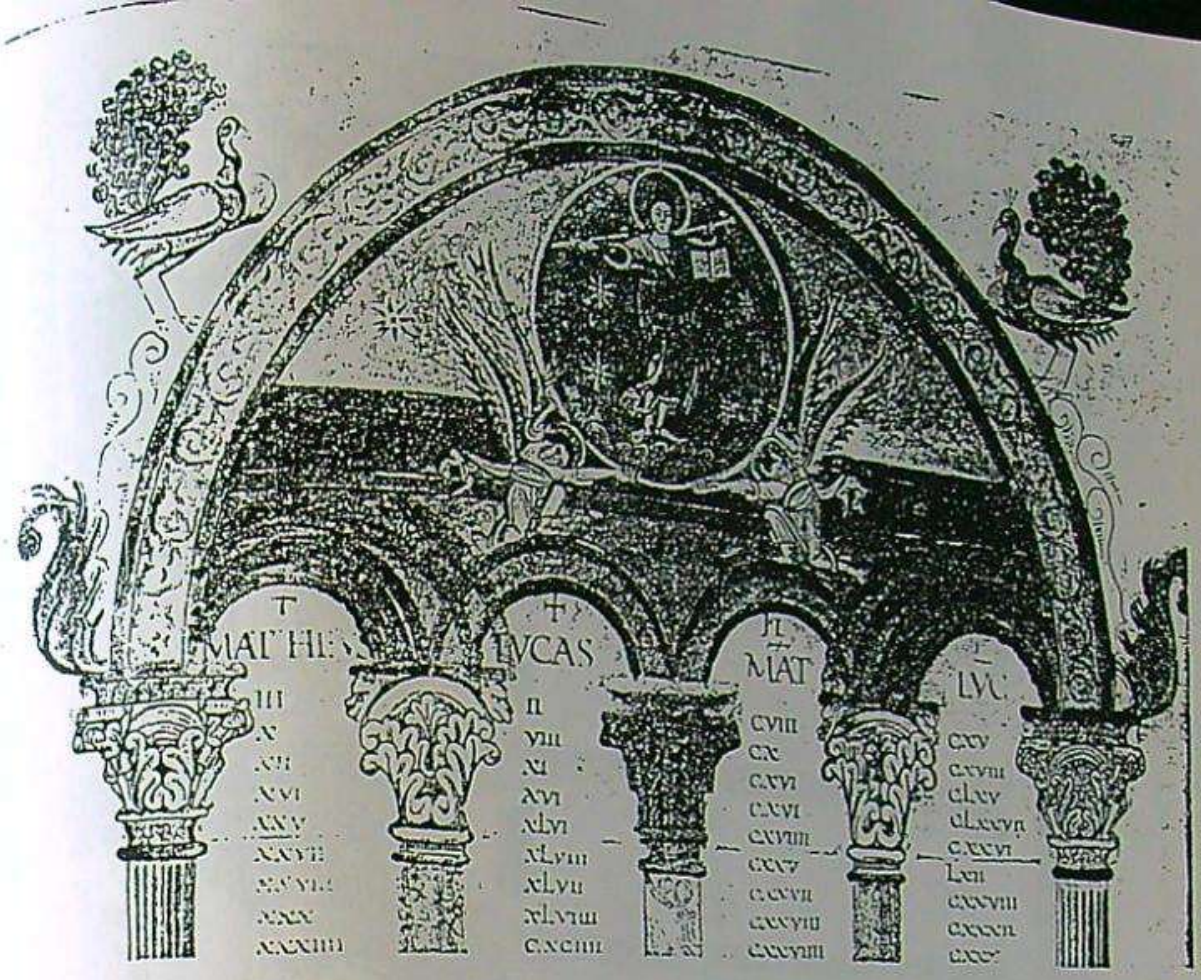


Plate 77: Canon V. The Soissons Gospels. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8859, fol. 10v.

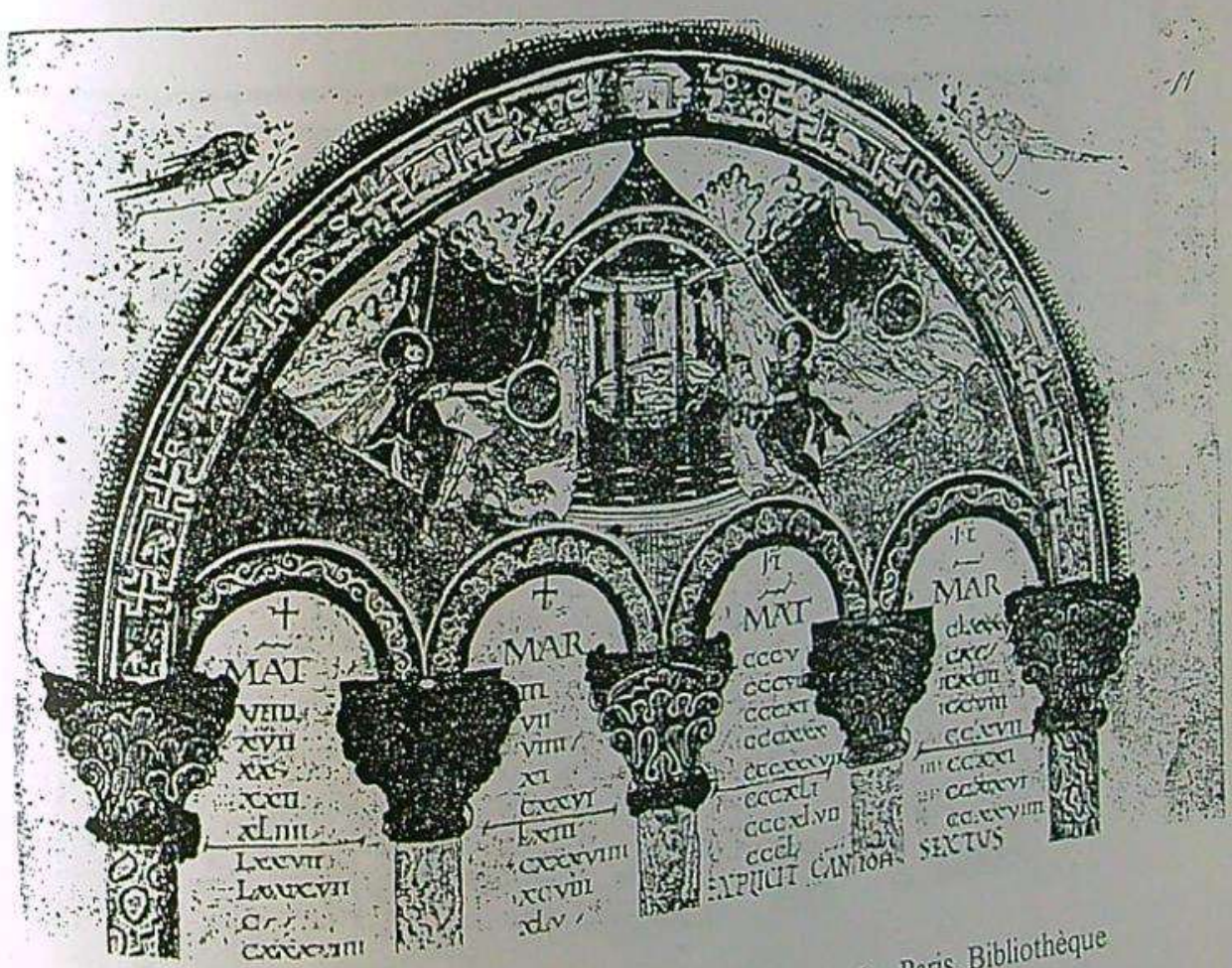


Plate 78: Canon VI, VII, VIII. The Soissons Gospels. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8859, fol. 11r.



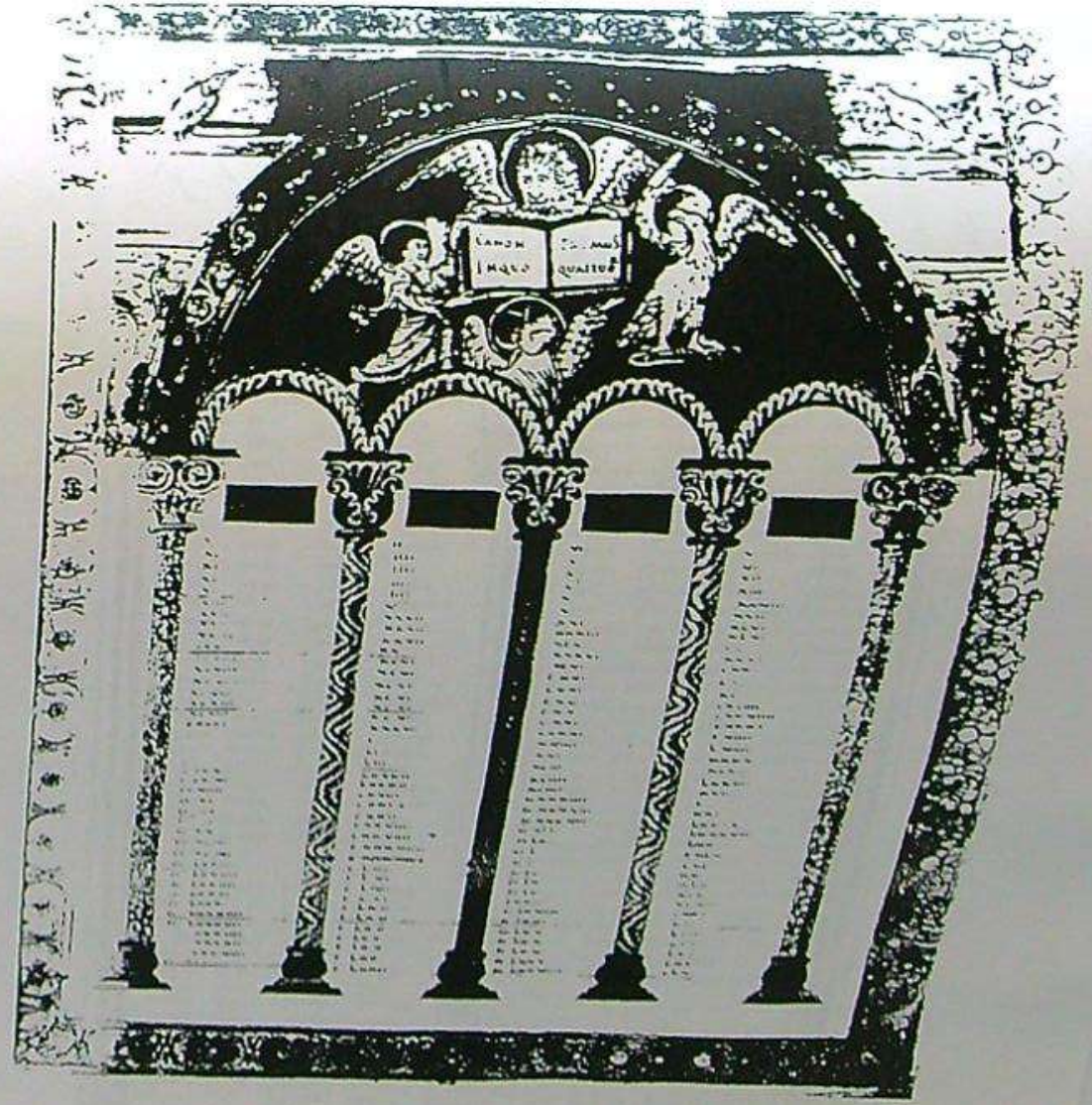
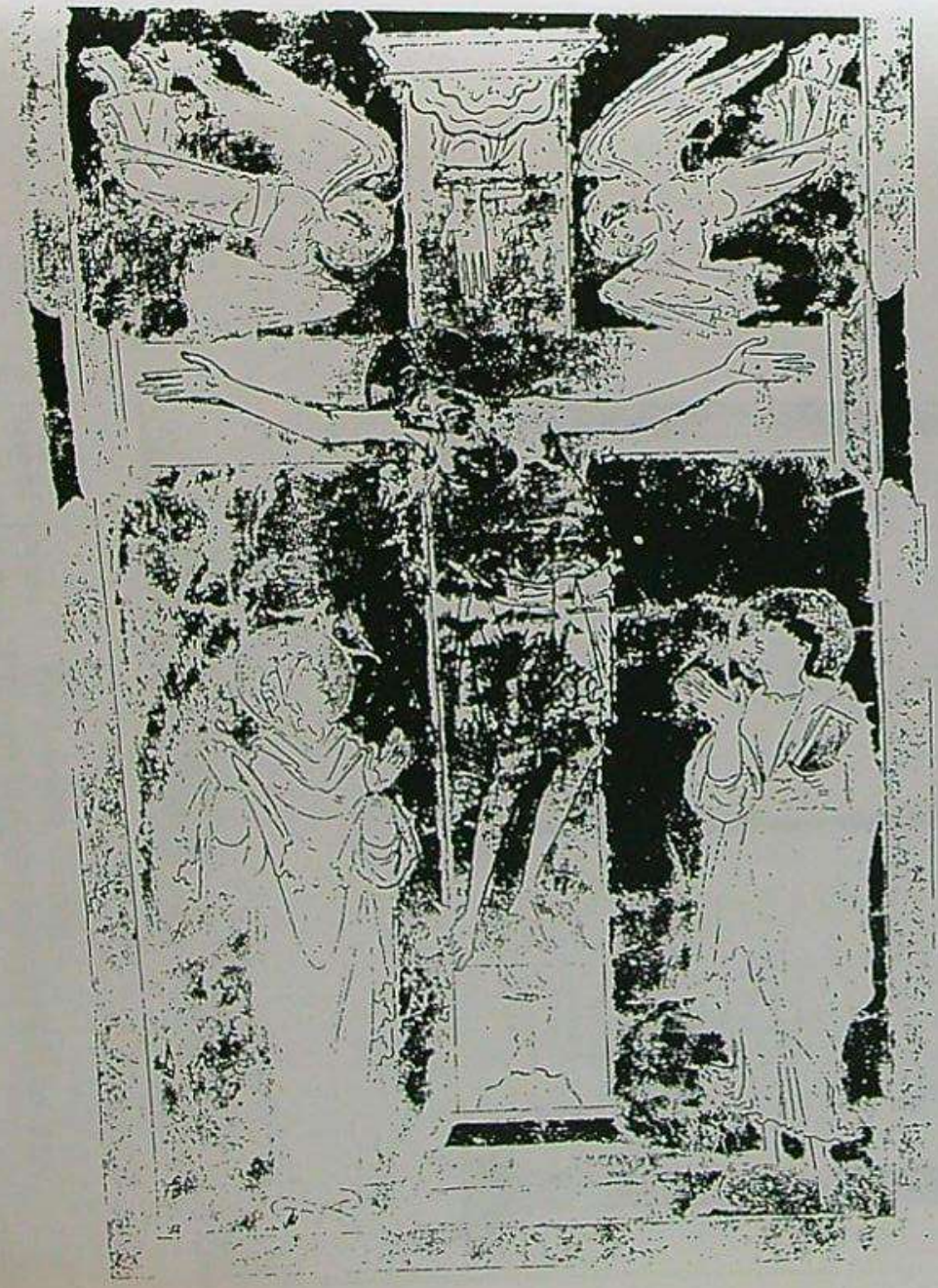


Plate 79: *Maiestas Domini* and Canon I (1). Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram.
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14000, fols. 6v-7r.



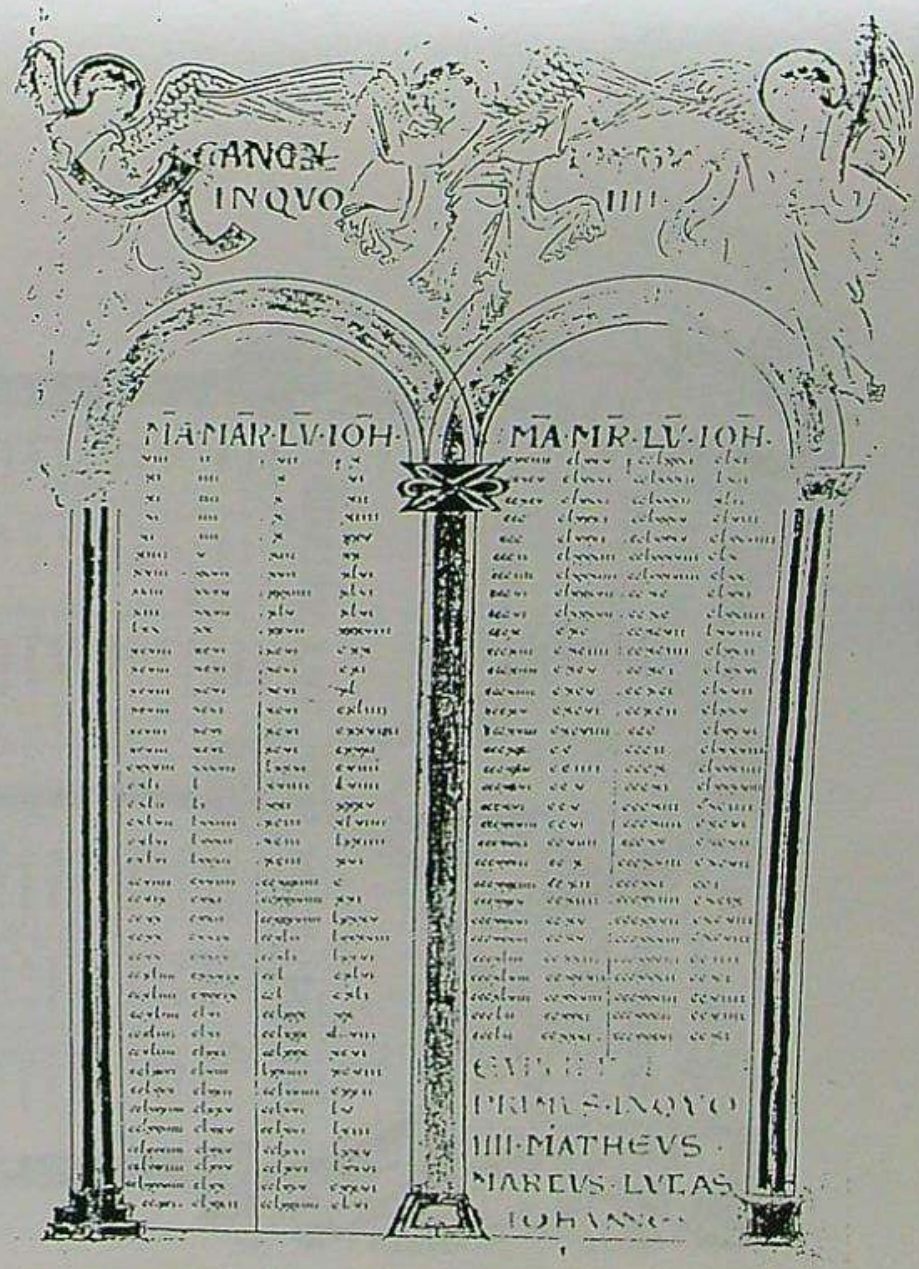


Plate 80: Crucifixion and Canon I. The Arenberg Gospels.

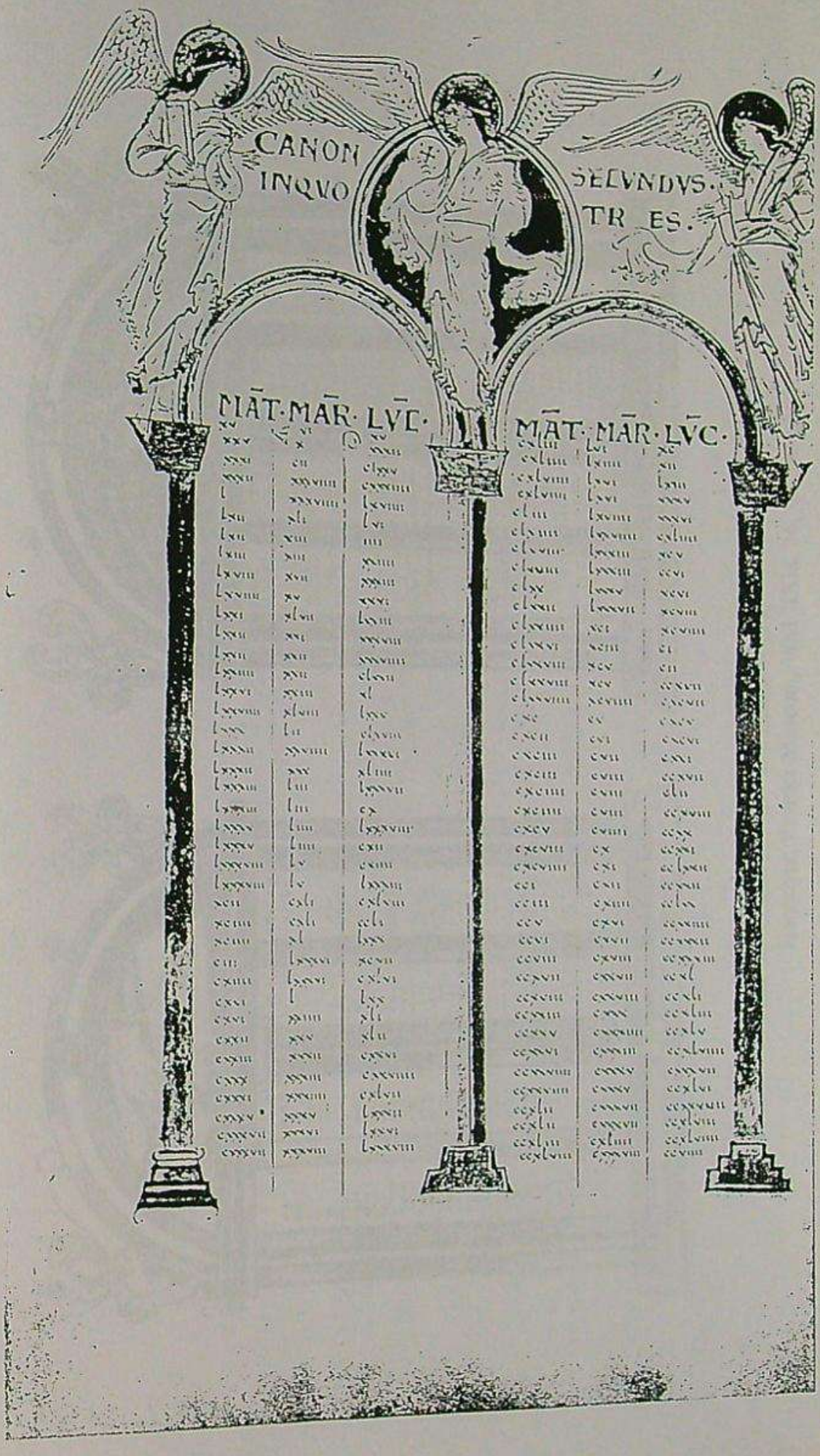


Plate 81: Canon II. The Arenberg Gospels.
New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, M 869, fol. 10v.

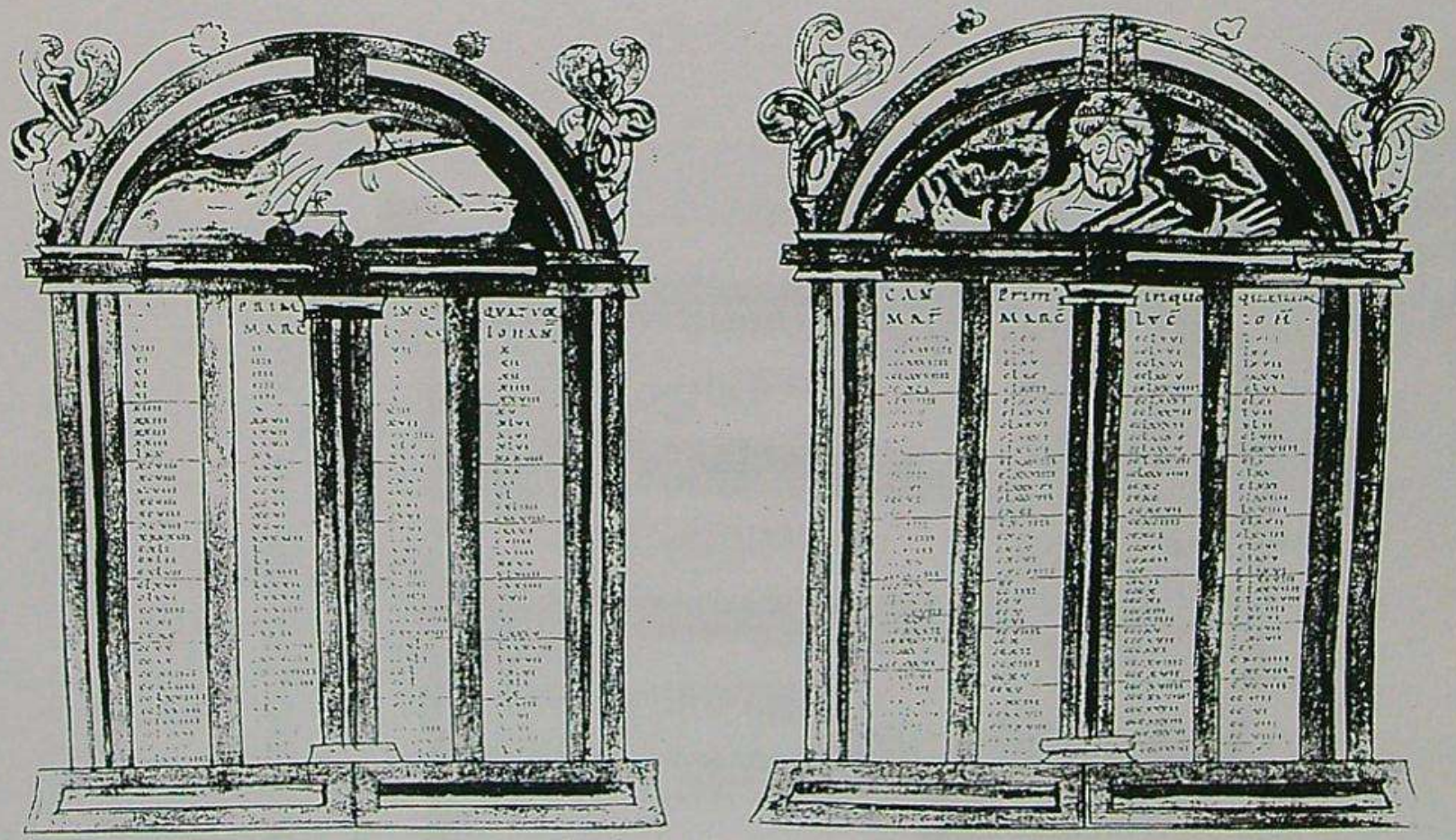


Plate 82: Canon I (1-2). The Eadui Codex.
Hannover, Kestner Museum, WM XXIa, 36, fol. 9v-10r.

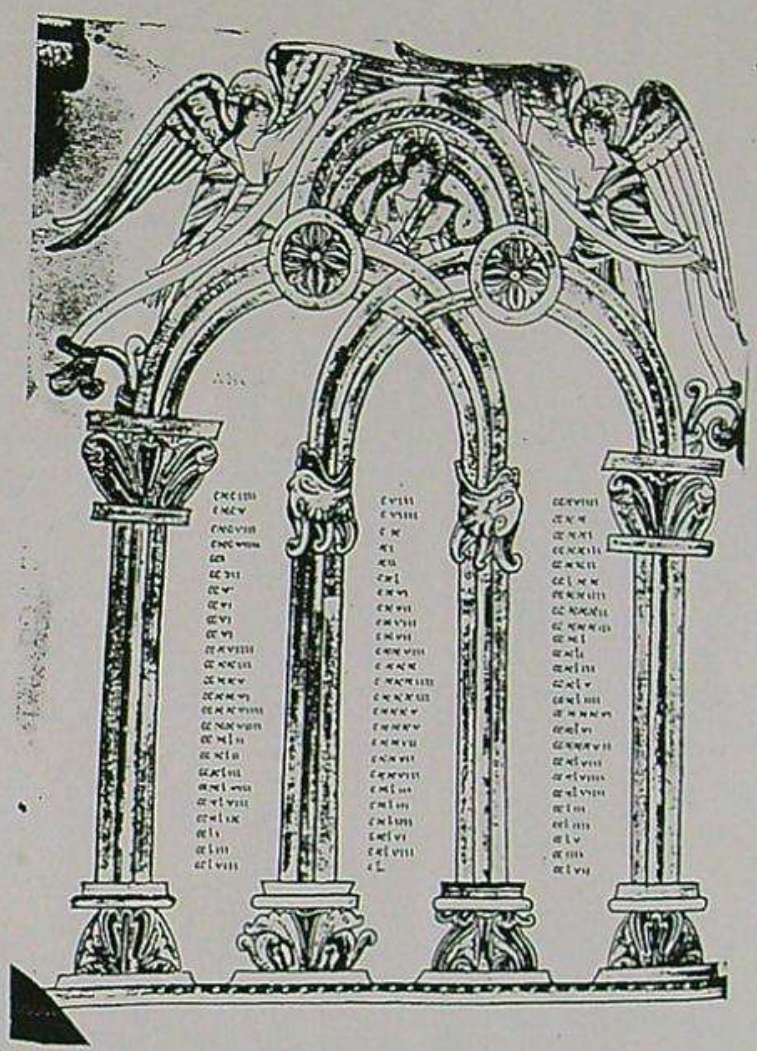


Plate 83: Canon II (2). London, British Library, Harley 76, fol. 8v.