

The Eusebian Apparatus in Irish Pocket Gospel Books: Absence, Presence and Addition

Abstract: This paper focuses on the presence of the different elements of Eusebius's system of gospel concordance in a series of pocket gospel books associated with early medieval Ireland. It provides a brief overview of the pocket gospel book series as a whole and discusses the appearance of parts of the Eusebian system in the Book of Armagh and in the MacDurnan gospels. The addition of the Eusebian apparatus to the Book of Mulling is then examined. The paper demonstrates how the way the apparatus was included in Mulling echoes the close attention to the series that is evident in contemporary Hiberno-Latin texts. It highlights how the marginal references to the Eusebian system included in these gospels provide hitherto neglected evidence for their transmission and for the ways that the gospel may have been read in the Irish medieval context.

This paper focuses on evidence of the Eusebian apparatus in a series of gospel books, the so-called pocket gospels, which are closely associated with medieval Ireland. While Carl Nordenfalk, whom this volume honours, commented on aspects of these books, particularly their author portraits, they did not feature in his scholarship on the Eusebian system.¹ The reasons for this are clear. Pocket gospel books are generally distinguished by the absence of prefatory material; the two instances of Eusebian tables which feature in the series, one part of an original book and the second an addition, are without significant decoration. While thus falling outside the ambit of Nordenfalk's scholarship, evidence of the Eusebian apparatus in these books has much to reveal about the ways in which the system was transmitted and used in eighth- and ninth-century Ireland. This paper will initially provide a brief introduction to the pocket gospel book series. It will discuss the

tables and the general preface in the Book of Armagh, the marginal notation in the MacDurnan gospels and the traces of the Eusebian system that remain in the text of many of the other books. The addition of the Eusebian apparatus to the Book of Mulling is then examined. There is discussion of the model which underlies the apparatus in Mulling and consideration of the reasons the Eusebian system was added to this manuscript within a hundred or so years of its original production.

1 The Irish Pocket Gospel Book corpus

The Irish pocket gospel book group forms a relatively distinct set of manuscripts within the larger corpus of Insular gospel books. The existence of the group was highlighted as early as 1956 by Patrick McGurk in a seminal article in *Sacris Erudiri* 8.² In this article and subsequent work McGurk identified eight books which directly belong to the pocket gospel book tradition.³ These are listed in Table 1.

The pocket gospel books are distinguished firstly by their size. The smallest of these books is the Cadmug Gospels, the largest is the Book of Armagh, with the Book of Mulling coming somewhere in the middle. Another distinctive feature of the pocket gospel books is their codicology. Frequently, each gospel is found either on a separate set of quires or on a single large quire. The Book of Mulling provides an example of the former practice, with the original manuscript containing Matthew's gospel on 22 leaves, Mark on 18, Luke on 30 and John on 14. The later additional material is included on a single quire at the opening of the book.⁴

This paper is based on my contribution to the conference '80 years since Nordenfalk' which took place in Hamburg in May 2018. I would like to thank Bruno Reudenbach, Hanna Wimmer and Alessandro Bausi for the invitation to speak at this event. I am grateful to Hugh Houghton, Martin MacNamara, Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, Terence O'Reilly and Dermot Roantree for their help at various stages in the research. I would like to thank Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin and Catherine Cox, colleagues in the School of History, for their practical support. UCD College of Arts and Humanities Research Fund provided financial support for purchase of the images and rights associated with this paper.

1 Nordenfalk 1977, 126.

2 McGurk 1956; McGurk 1987. For a more recent discussion of the pocket gospel book series, see Meehan 2015.

3 McGurk 1987, 166–167.

4 McGurk 1961, 83; Houghton 2016, 227. A full digital edition of the Book of Mulling is available at https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/home/index.php?folder_id=1648&pidtopage=MS60_001&entry_point=1 (last accessed 13/04/2020).

Tab. 1: The Irish Pocket Gospel Book Corpus.

Manuscript	Name	Date	Size (mm)
Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, D.II.3 (fols 1–11) ⁵	Stowe St John	VIII–IX	145 × 114
Dublin, Trinity College Library, 59 ⁶	Book of Dimma	VIII ²	175 × 142
Dublin, Trinity College Library, 60 ⁷	Book of Mulling	VIII ² –IX	165 × 120
Dublin, Trinity College Library, 60, fols 95–98 ⁸	Mulling Fragments	VIII ² –IX	c.155 × 120
Fulda, Landesbibliothek, Bonif. 3 ⁹	Cadmug Gospels	VIII–IX	125 × 112
London, British Library, Add. 40618 ¹⁰	Irish Gospels	VIII–IX	132 × 103
London, Lambeth Palace Library, 1370 ¹¹	MacDurnan Gospels	IX	157 × 110
Dublin, Trinity College Library, 52 ¹²	Book of Armagh New Testament	c.807	195 × 145

Pocket gospel books, in general, simply contain the gospel texts without any paratextual material. The books present the gospels in the Vulgate order, Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. In common with many Insular gospel books, the type of gospel text contained in these books is mixed. Mulling, the most mixed of all the texts, has been seen to drawn on a Vulgate text, an Irish mixed text and an Old Latin text.¹³ Some passages, particularly towards the start of Luke's gospel (Chapters 4–9), have a much higher concentration of Old Latin readings. Research carried out on the Old Latin text of Luke's gospel has seen it as relating, in particular, to the type of Old Latin text found in r1 Usse-rianus, the earliest surviving gospel book in Irish script, together with a text of the Old Latin b (Veronensis) kind.

Pocket gospel books are illustrated in a recognizably Insular manner. While some of the books are incomplete, each gospel seems to have opened with an enlarged incipit preceded by the standing portrait of the relevant evangelist or evangelist symbol. In Mulling, three of these evangelists and incipit pages survive. A variation on this pattern is evident in two books. In the MacDurnan Gospels, a four symbols page is included before the opening of Matthew's

gospel, providing a frontispiece for Matthew 1:1–1:17, while the Matthew evangelist portrait is included subsequently, facing the opening of Matthew 1:18.¹⁴ The gospel book contained in the New Testament Book of Armagh features a four-symbols page before the Gospel of Matthew and an evangelist symbol before or as part of the first page of the Gospels of Mark, Luke and John, with the symbols for the final two gospels incorporating allusions to the other evangelical beasts.¹⁵ All of these illustrative features are present in larger gospel books associated with Ireland at the time, such as the Books of Durrow and Kells, the Echternach Gospels and the Irish Gospel Book, St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 51.¹⁶

Art historical research on these images, by Jennifer O'Reilly, Bernard Meehan and others, has demonstrated the sophistication of these books' visual exegesis and how they reflect aspects of patristic and Insular textual commentary on the harmony and distinctiveness of the four-fold text.¹⁷ Art-historical appreciation of these books has been supported by contemporary scientific work, which has highlighted, for example in the case of Mulling, the deliberate combination and juxtaposition of opaque and translucent pigments on illuminated pages.¹⁸

5 CLA II, 267, <https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/586> (last accessed 13/04/2020); McGurk 1961, 78.

6 CLA II, 275, <https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/594> (last accessed 13/04/2020); McGurk 1961, 82–83.

7 CLA II, 276, <https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/595> (last accessed 13/04/2020); McGurk 1961, 83.

8 CLA II, 277, <https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/596> (last accessed 13/04/2020); McGurk 1961, 84.

9 CLA VIII, 1198, <https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/1674> (last accessed 13/04/2020); McGurk 1961, 67–68.

10 CLA II, 179, See <https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/494> (last accessed 13/04/2020); McGurk 1961, 32–33.

11 See the catalogue entry at <http://archives.lambethpalacelibrary.org.uk/CalmView> (last accessed 13/04/2020).

12 CLA II, 270, <https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/589> (last accessed 13/04/2020).

13 For this and what follows see Doyle 1973, 177–200; Houghton 2016, 76, 227.

14 Alexander 1978, 86–87. For discussion of the significance of Mt 1,18 in the Insular context see, for example, O'Reilly 1998.

15 Alexander 1978, 76–77. For digital reproduction of the Book of Armagh see https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/home/index.php#folder_id=26&pidtopage=MS52_01&entry_point=1 (last accessed 30/08/2018).

16 Digital edition of the Book of Kells is available at https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/home/index.php?DRIS_ID=MS58_003v (last accessed 13/04/2020); Digital Edition of the Book of Durrow is available at https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/home/index.php?folder_id=1685&pidtopage=MS55_001&entry_point=1#folder_id=1845&pidtopage=MS57_178&entry_point=1 (last accessed 13/04/2020). Digital Edition of the Echternach Gospels is available at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b530193948> (last accessed 13/04/2020); digital edition of St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 51 is available at <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/list/one/csg/0051> (last accessed 13/04/2020).

17 O'Reilly 1998a; Meehan 2014.

18 Bioletti/Smith 2017, 123.

While the pocket gospel books reflect some of the illustrations of the Insular tradition, they omit others, such as carpet pages, and, of course, Eusebian canon tables. When canon tables appear in larger Insular gospel books, they have been seen to reinforce themes of evangelical harmony and distinctiveness. This is dramatically exemplified by the Christological symbolism and shape-shifting evangelical beasts decorating many of the tables in the Book of Kells.¹⁹ Similarly, recent research on the Lindisfarne Gospels has demonstrated how the restrained decoration of its canon series is based on a complex numerical and ornamental scheme alluding to the harmony of the Eusebian text.²⁰ In addition to these examples of arcaded series, larger Insular gospel books also bear witness to a second contemporary tradition of non-architectural tables. This tradition is evident in the final two tables included in the Book of Kells, and in the Durrow and Echternach manuscripts (Figs 1–2). It reappears in the set of tables spread across fifteen pages that are included before the Hiberno-Latin commentary on Matthew in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 940 (Fig. 3).²¹ While pocket gospel books generally omit the apparatus, it is this second tradition which is reflected in the two examples of tables which survive in the pocket gospel book series, in the New Testament portion of the Book of Armagh (Fig. 4) and in the Book of Mulling (Fig. 5).

2 The Eusebian apparatus in the Pocket Gospel Book corpus

The unframed tables in the Book of Armagh are the only instance of the inclusion of this part of the apparatus in the original planning of a member of the pocket gospel book group.²² The gospel sections in Armagh begin with one general preface, *Novum Opus*. This is succeeded by a set of unframed canons that spread across seven pages and chapter lists for each of the four gospels. Each of the gospels is then introduced by an appropriate preface

(*argumentum*) and by a set of Hebrew names. McGurk connected Armagh's prefatory series to that in a number of other gospel books with Irish associations including the Books of Durrow, Kells, and Mulling and the Echternach Gospels. This connection was based on several common features: confining the general prefaces to *Novum Opus*, including unframed canons and the bunching of prefaces normally dispersed before the individual gospels, in the case of Armagh its chapter lists, at the beginning or end of the manuscript. In addition to these features, the type of Hebrew name list and *argumentum* included in Armagh belong textually to a set which shows Irish influence.²³ While the Book of Armagh includes the first two elements of the Eusebian apparatus, it does not feature the third element, the marginal notation, nor are the Eusebian sections consistently marked out within the text. This reflects the reception of the system in some of the larger Insular gospel books such as, for example, the Book of Kells, which probably also had *Novum Opus* and includes a set of tables, but famously features marginal notation only on one double opening in John's Gospel (fols 292v–293r).

The other pocket gospel book that features an element of the Eusebian system as part of its original design is the MacDurnan Gospels, thought to have been written in Armagh in the second half of the ninth century.²⁴ Although not containing any prefatory material, the entire gospel text is beautifully laid out and consistently gives its Eusebian sections separate paragraphs, though, as McGurk notes, chapters are ignored, and verses only occasionally indicated.²⁵ The paragraphs corresponding to the Eusebian sections are marked with large initials and are accompanied by the appropriate marginal notation (Fig. 6). The general appearance and occasional framing of this notation by an orange cartouche is reminiscent of that of the Echternach gospels.²⁶ Although the individual marginal entries in MacDurnan differ from Echternach in the order in which the canon and section numbers are written, further research is needed to explore their respective notation, particularly in the light of the already established link between their gospel texts.²⁷

The MacDurnan Gospels include the extended system of marginal notation, an early 'improvement' in the trans-

¹⁹ O'Reilly 1998, 71; Mullins 2001, 188–198; See also Endres 2017; Neuman de Vegvar 2007.

²⁰ Pulliam 2017.

²¹ Mullins 2014. Digital edition is available at http://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_5897339&order=1&view=SINGLE (last accessed 13/04/2020).

²² The gospel sections in the Book of Armagh are part of a manuscript containing a New Testament and texts relating to St Patrick. The fact that the gospel sections in this book are on separate quires led McGurk to consider them in the context of the pocket gospel book series. On this see McGurk 1987, 166–167.

²³ McGurk 1987, 170–172.

²⁴ See Alexander 1978, 86–87. An earlier date has more recently been proposed by Farr 2011.

²⁵ McGurk 1987, 173.

²⁶ Full digital reproduction of the Echternach Gospels is available at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b530193948> (last accessed 13/04/2020).

²⁷ McNamara 1990, 102–111. This is the subject of ongoing work by the author.

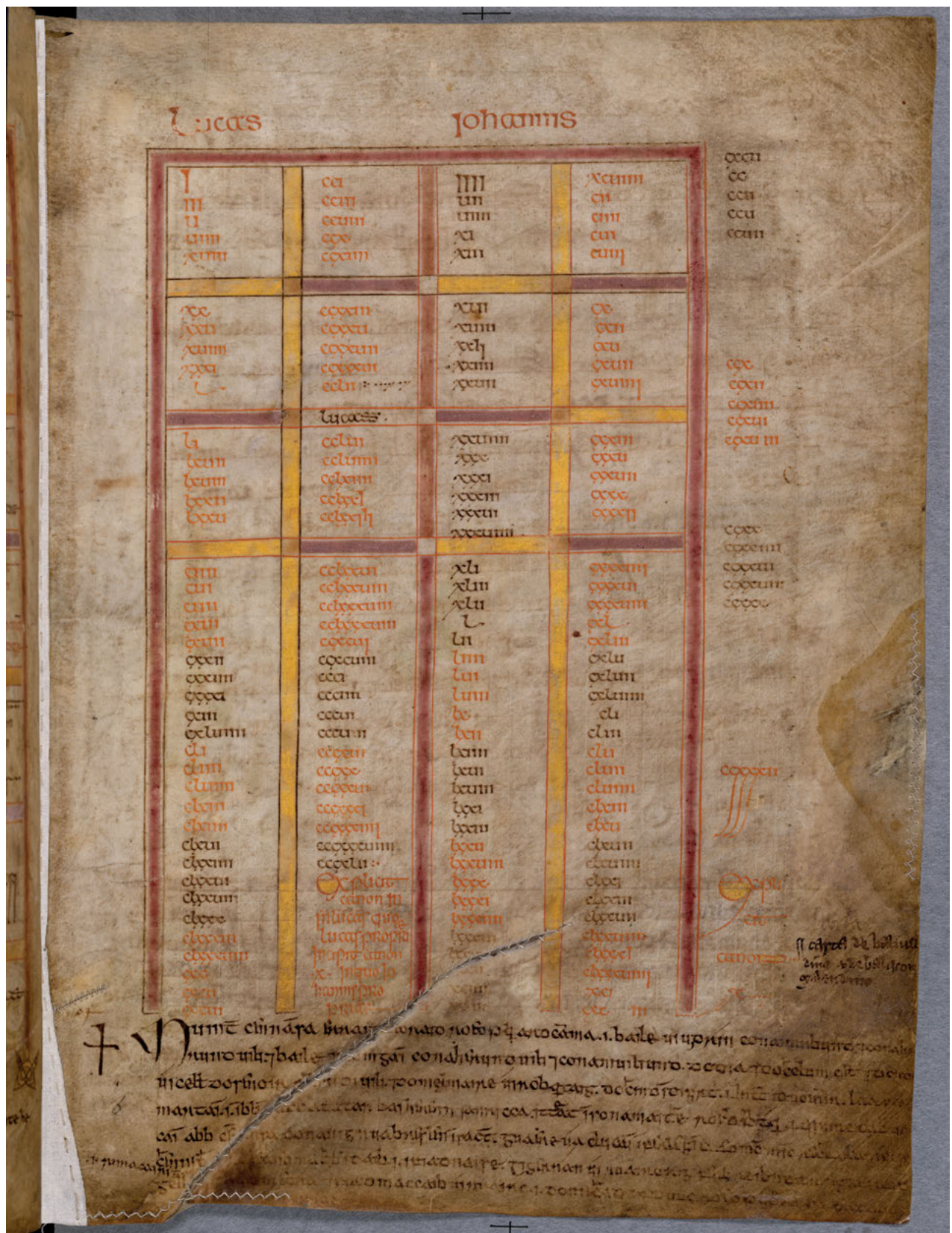


Fig. 1: Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 58, Book of Kells, fol. 6r. Canon X Lk, Canon X Jn. Image reproduced courtesy of The Board of Trinity College Dublin.

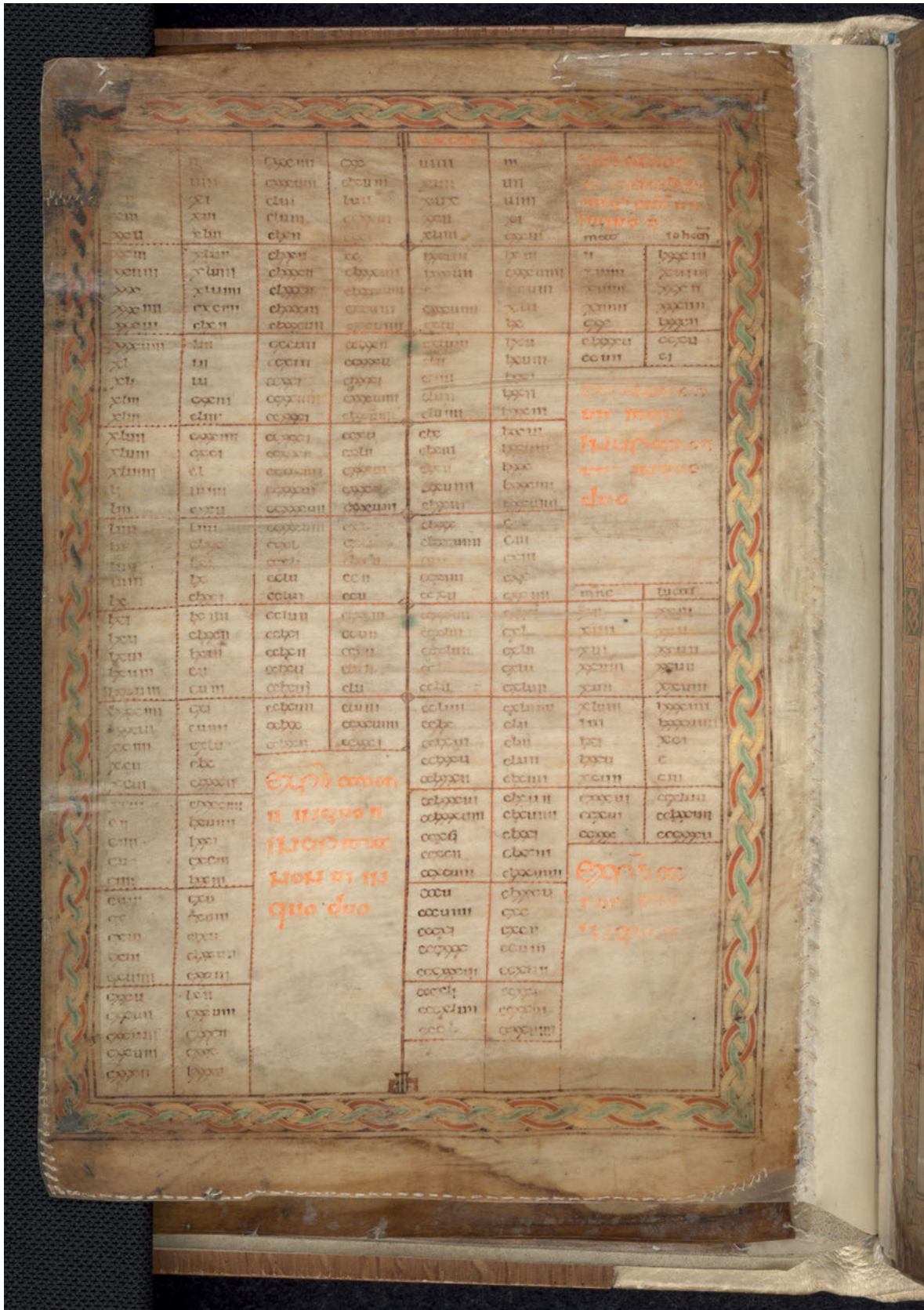


Fig. 2: Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 57, Book of Durrow, fol. 9v. Canons V–VIII. Image reproduced courtesy of The Board of Trinity College Dublin.

8.

ic

Incipit can. vii. inq. dno. Incipit can. viii. inq. dno.

math	Johann	Luc	Joñ.
v	Lxxxiii	xxx	ccxcviii
xviii	xxviii	xxx	ccxxii
xviii	xxxiii	ccLxi	cxiii
xviii	xxxiiii	ccLxii	ccxxiiii
cx	Lxxxii	ccLxxiii	ccxxvii
clxxxv	ccxv	ccLxxiiii	ccxxxi
ccvii	ci	ccLxxv	cx
EXPLICIT	CAN. VII.	ccvii	cx
Incipit can. viii. inq. ii.	MARCE	ccvii	cx
Luc	xxii	ccvii	clxxxvi
xxv	xxiii	ccvii	clxxxvi
xxvii	xvi	ccvii	clxxxvii
xxvii	xxviii	ccvii	clxxxvii
xxvii	xvii	ccvii	clxxxvii
Lxxxvii	xlvi	ccvii	ccxii
Lxxxviii	lvi	ccvii	ccxvii
xcii	lxi	ccvii	ccxxi
c	Lxxv	ccvii	ccxxiii
ci	xcvii	ccvii	ccxxv
ccLxvii	ccxxvi	ccvii	
ccLxxvii	ccxvi	ccvii	
ccxxv	ccxxx	ccvii	
EXPLICIT	CAN. VIII.	ccvii	
CANON	INQ. DVO.	ccvii	
		ccvii	

Fig. 3: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 940, fol. 8r. Canon VII, Canon VIII, Canon VIII. Image reproduced courtesy of Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

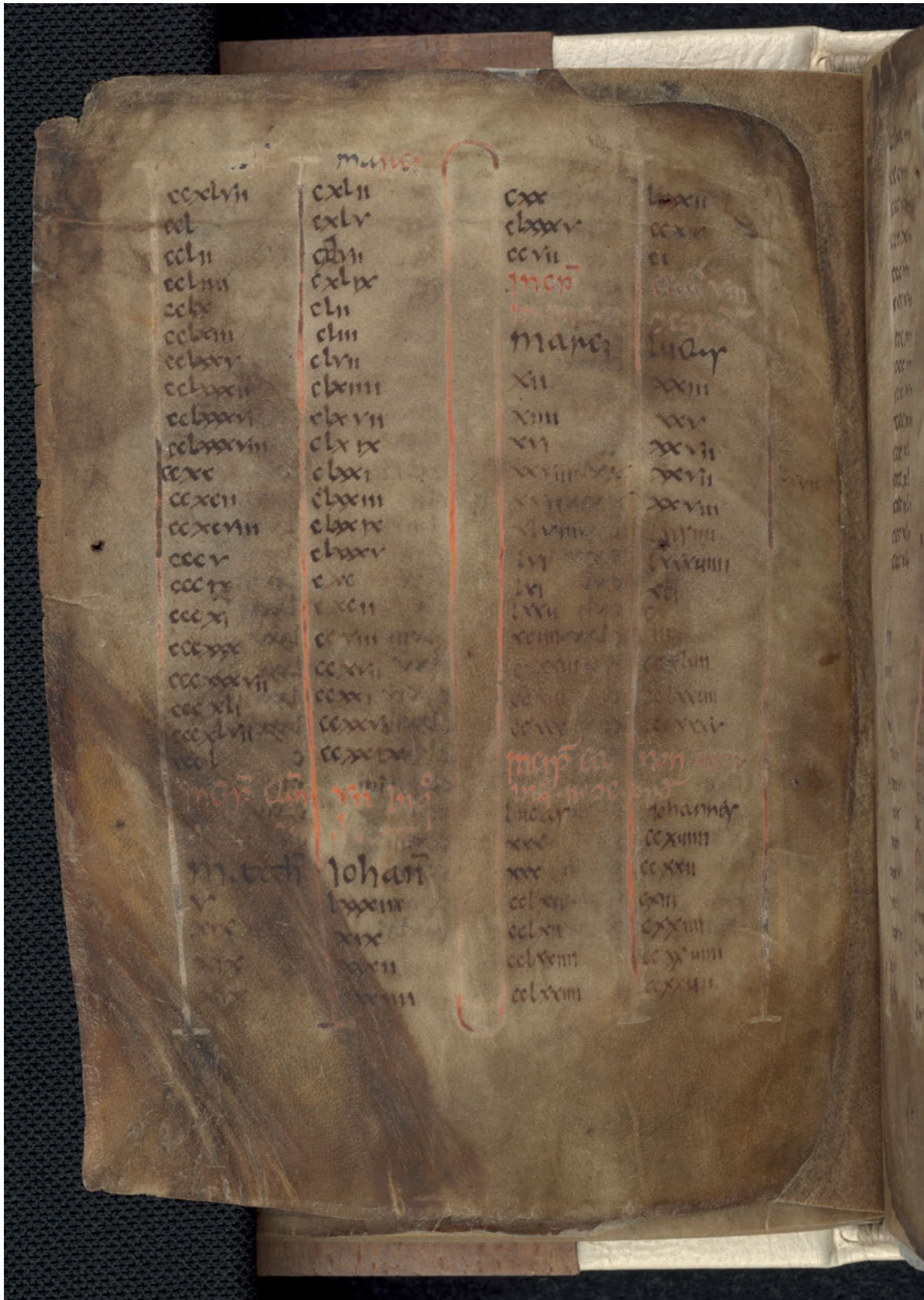


Fig. 5: Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 60, Book of Mulling, fol. 10v. Canons V–VIII. Image reproduced courtesy of The Board of Trinity College Dublin.

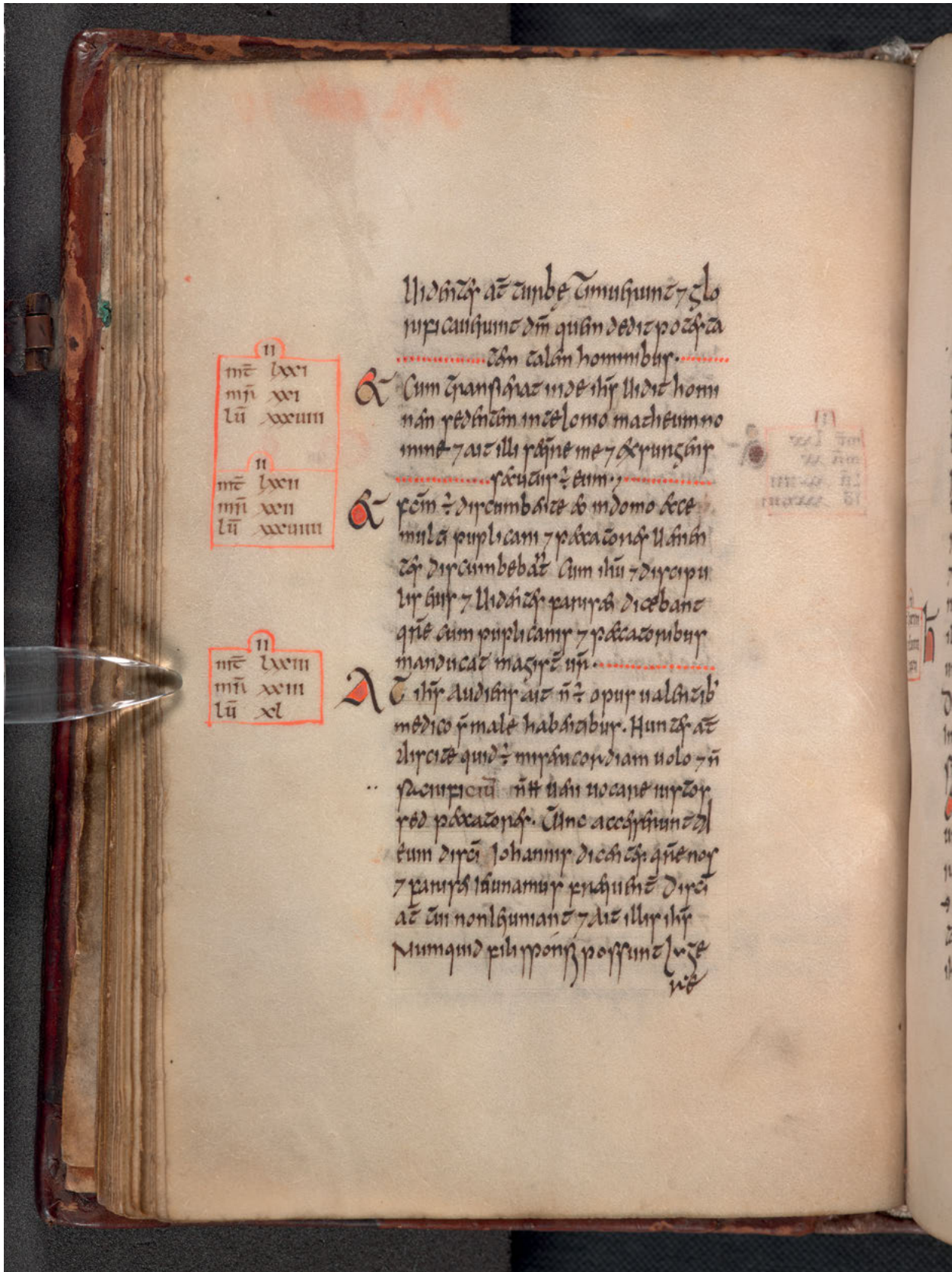


Fig. 6: London, Lambeth Palace Library, 1370, MacDurnan Gospels, fol. 19v. Marginal Entries for Matthew Sections LXXI–LXXIII. Image reproduced courtesy of Lambeth Palace Library.

mission of the Latin version of the Eusebian concordance. This notation, which is common in Insular books featuring the series, contained a reference not just to the number of the section and canon to which a passage belonged, as Eusebius and subsequently Jerome advised, but also a reference or references to the relevant parallel section(s) in the other gospels.²⁸ Including the parallel section(s) in this way, as Tom O'Loughlin has pointed out, obviated the need for readers of the gospel to go back to the tables included at the start of the book.²⁹ MacDurnan's complete omission of the tables has taken this process a step further. Does the inclusion of marginal notation as a standalone element in this book indicate a lack of understanding of the apparatus or an in-depth familiarity with the system? While it is difficult to answer this, it is worth noting in this context that another contemporary Irish manuscript, St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 60, also includes marginal notation as a standalone feature. This Gospel of John, which was copied in Ireland around 800, has no prefatory material but fully extended Eusebian marginal references throughout.³⁰

A different reflection of the same practice occurs in the Hiberno-Latin commentary on Luke in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 997. The presence of marginal references to the Eusebian sections in this commentary manuscript was first noted by Bernhard Bischoff in his original article 'Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter', but the references were omitted from the subsequent edition of the commentary by Joseph Kelly.³¹ Unlike Vienna 940, mentioned above, which includes both *Novum Opus* and a set of canons before a commentary on Matthew that is structured according to Eusebian divisions, this commentary on Luke omits the first two parts of the apparatus but has 79 instances of marginal notation running alongside two-thirds of the text (Fig. 7). This notation accompanies the text in the sense that it directly relates to the passage from Luke's Gospel that is being commented on at the time. The evidence this provides of marginal notation being used independently of the other parts of the system as a tool of exegesis and cross-referencing is also worth considering in the context of MacDurnan.

Apart from Armagh and MacDurnan, in the other six members of the pocket gospel book series the only traces

of the Eusebian system that remain are within the gospel text, primarily in the decoration of the first letter of particular Eusebian sections. Most of the books (and this, again, reflects the tradition in the larger books) have a relatively inconsistent approach to this—some section initials are marked but these are not the only passages with enlarged initials.³² Much of the explanation for this inconsistent pattern lies in the kinds of models used for these manuscripts and the extent to which they reflected Vulgate or Old Latin section divisions. This fact is borne out by the text in the Book of Mulling. Work carried out by Lawlor at the end of the nineteenth century demonstrated how in its original conception, Mulling contained traces of the Eusebian system only in the parts of its gospel which were closest to the Vulgate, as in the gospel of Mark, while the divisions of St Matthew and St Luke had nothing to do with the Eusebian sections, because they feature a stronger Old Latin element, and John presents a mixed pattern.³³

3 The additions to the book of Mulling

Sometime after its original conception, the Eusebian apparatus was attached to the Book of Mulling as part of a prefatory series. This series contains many of the features of the texts that are included in the Book of Armagh and the other Irish manuscripts mentioned earlier in this paper. Mulling has just one general preface, *Novum Opus*. This is followed by the prefaces (*argumenta*) for the four gospels bunched together as a group. Canon tables in non-architectural frames follow, with plain red vertical lines dividing the tables of numbers (Fig. 5).

Mulling's canon tables are based on a series which was unusually distributed across 15 pages. Mulling includes 14 of these, but is missing the final page for the end of Canon X Jn.³⁴ Mulling's unusual page distribution is paralleled only in the set of tables in Vienna 940. There are differences between the series in the two manuscripts, however, both in their table text and internal distribution. A collation of the Mulling tables with the Vulgate shows a relatively clean text in the Durrow/Amiatinus tradition.³⁵

²⁸ This extended notation is found for example in the Lindisfarne Gospels, the Book of Durrow and the Codex Amiatinus. On this see O'Loughlin 1999.

²⁹ O'Loughlin 1999, 5–6; O'Loughlin 2010, 17–20.

³⁰ McGurk 1961, 98; Houghton 2016, 78–79. Digital reproduction of St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 60 <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/csg/0060/bindingA/0/Sequence-263> (last accessed 13/04/2020).

³¹ Bischoff 1954, 263; *Commentarium in Lucam* 1974.

³² See O'Loughlin 2007.

³³ Lawlor 1897, 37.

³⁴ See Lawlor 1897, 8–9 for a discussion of the contents of the first quire of the manuscript. In addition to the final page of the canon series, the second half of the *Novum Opus* preface and the first part of the *argumentum* for Matthew are also missing.

³⁵ The Mulling tables were collated with the edition which appears

Even if the Mulling series does not appear as clearly laid out as Vienna 940, minimal errors are included, and these are often picked up on. One such correction is evident on the final line of Canon II on fol. 8r, where the parallel for Luke's gospel is corrected from 339 to 338. Similarly, on fol. 9r, Canon III, there is a correction from 77 to 67 in the entry for Mark in the fourth parallel.³⁶

One major change in the Mulling series is in Canon VIII, where the order of the evangelists in the table is reversed from the standard form of Luke Mark to Mark Luke (Fig. 5). Neglected to this point by scholars, this reversal is also evident in the series in Durrow (fol. 9v) and Kells (fol. 5v) (Fig. 2).³⁷ Interestingly, it also appears in the canon series in the fragmentary Anglo-Saxon Bible Royal I. E. VI.³⁸ In this manuscript, unlike in Durrow, it also appears in the listing of the canons in the *Novum Opus* preface (fol. 2v). While the reversal is not discussed in most of the contemporary Hiberno-Latin commentary literature, it is a feature of the way that the table is described in Ailerán's well-known poem on the evangelical canons.³⁹ The stanza on the eighth table ('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') places the symbol for Mark, the lion, before that of Luke's calf. This is the only instance in Ailerán's poem where the order of the canons is reversed, also in keeping with the gospel books mentioned above. It is interesting to note that while Ailerán's poem appears as a preface in several gospel books with Irish associations, such as the Augsburg Gospels and Poitiers 17, their series do not reflect the order of Canon VIII, as described in the poem and presented in Mulling.⁴⁰ It is also worth noting that the reversal of Canon VIII as listed in Ailerán's poem is not a feature of the description of Canon VIII in the other poems on the canons included in De Bruyne's *Préfaces de la Bible Latine*.⁴¹

in *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, ed. Robertus Weder, Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983.

³⁶ There are slightly larger number of errors in the listing of numbers for Mt X.

³⁷ This reversal in the canon series has not been noted in scholarship I have been able to access to this point. It is the subject of current work by the author.

³⁸ Royal I. E. VI is available as a digital edition at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=royal_ms_1_e_vi_fs001ar (last accessed 13/04/2020).

³⁹ Ailerán's poem has been reprinted many times. The earliest edition is in De Bruyne 1920, 185. See also Howlett 1996, 12–16. For the way the order of the tables is explained by Hiberno-Latin commentators see Mullins 2014, 331–332.

⁴⁰ McGurk 1961, 64–66, 68–70.

⁴¹ See De Bruyne 1920, 186.

In keeping with the level of care which is given in Mulling to creating an accurate canon table text, the marginal notation inserted alongside its gospel text is relatively consistent. Because, as mentioned earlier, the manuscript's main text originally reflected only partially the opening of Eusebian sections by the use of enlarged initials, the scribe who added in the tables also strove to both adapt the punctuation and enlarge the initials at the start of sections when this was absent from the original. McGurk provides a good example of this practice on fol. 18r column 2 line 25 which corresponds to Matthew Section 68 Canon V, where two dots and a comma are additions and the following *Et* has been inked over for emphasis (Fig. 8).⁴²

In addition to the level of care with which the gospel text has been made to accommodate the apparatus, the most striking thing about the system in Mulling is the fact that the manuscript's marginal references are simple ones, without the parallel sections in the other gospels. Preliminary comparison of the Mulling notation with that of other contemporary gospel books reveals some interesting results.⁴³ Of the roughly 200 early Latin gospel books which are extant, around 115 have no notation at all. This is largely to be explained by the fact that Old Latin gospel books generally were without paratextual material. At other times, as with a manuscript like Armagh, the manuscript has parts of the apparatus but no notation. There are over 70 manuscripts among the set examined which contain the extended marginal notation, described above in the context of the MacDurnan Gospels. The oldest example of this notation is that in St Gall 1395, which has been discussed by O'Loughlin in relation to the notation in the Book of Durrow.⁴⁴ Another early witness to this extended notation is to be found in Aberdeen, University Library, Papyrus 2a, a papyrus fragment of John's Gospel written in rustic capitals in the fifth century.⁴⁵

⁴² See McGurk 1987, 173 and plates 3 and 9.

⁴³ The set of early Latin gospel books which forms the comparison point here is based on those listed in Hugh Houghton's *Latin New Testament* and McGurk's *Latin Gospel Books* with reference to *Codices Latini Antiquiores*. It has been difficult to determine absolutely exact figures for the survey because of the limited availability of some of these manuscripts as complete digital editions. While this is the subject of ongoing work by the author, the overall results presented here give a valid impression of the relatively limited transmission of the simple system of notation.

⁴⁴ O'Loughlin 1999. For St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 1395 see CLA VII, 984, <https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/157> (last accessed 13/04/2020). A digital edition is available at <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/list/one/csg/1395> (last accessed 13/04/2020).

⁴⁵ See CLA II, 118, <https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/431> (last accessed 13/04/2020); Houghton 2016, 223; McGurk 1961, 24.

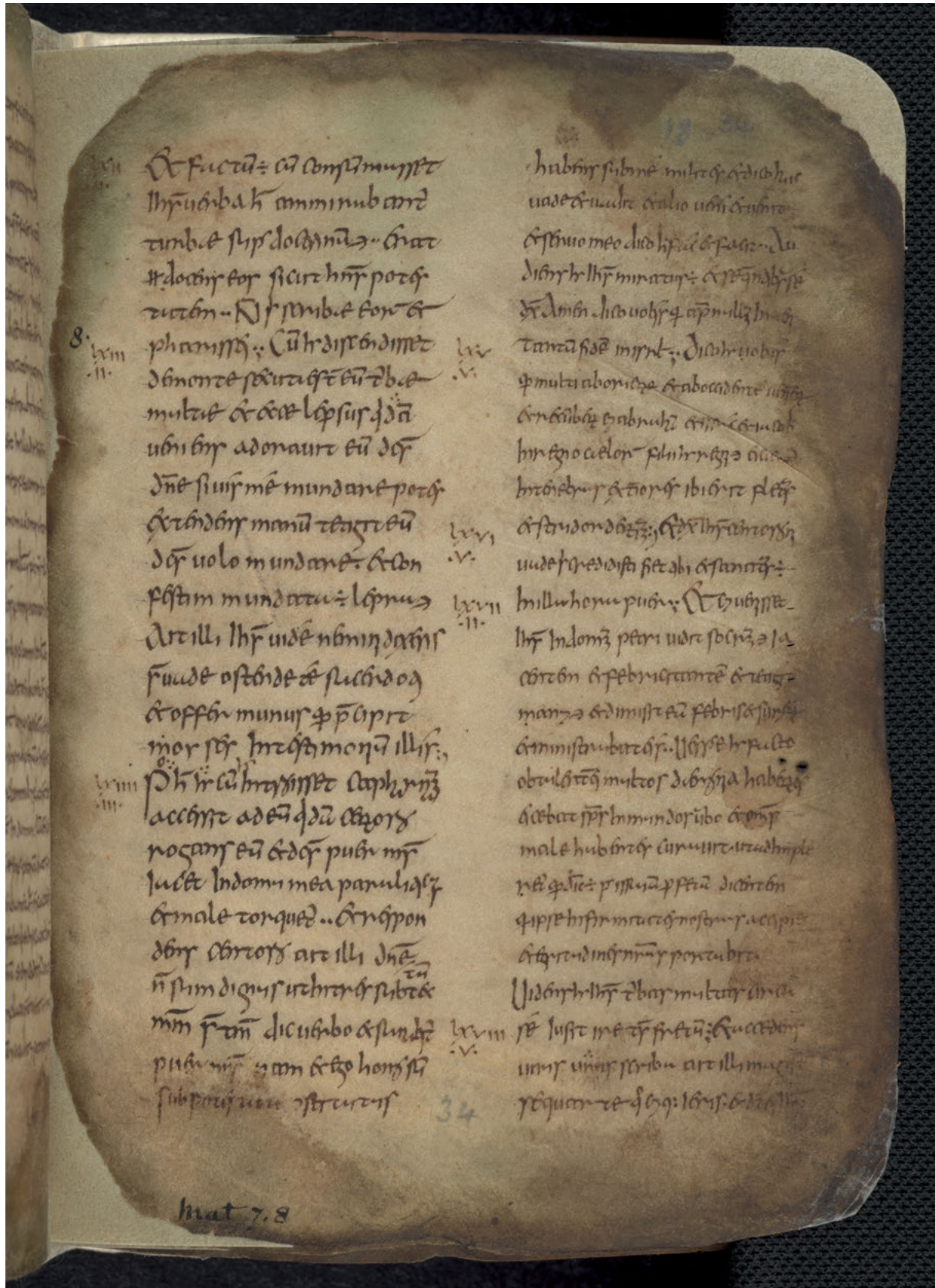


Fig. 8: Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 60, Book of Mulling, fol. 18r. Marginal Entries for Matthew Sections LXIII–LXVIII. Image reproduced courtesy of The Board of Trinity College Dublin.

Tab. 2: Latin Gospel Books with Simple Eusebian Notation.

Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, VI ⁴⁶	Codex Veronensis, Gospel Book	V ^{ex} , Italy
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 11553 ⁴⁷	Codex Sangermanensis primus, Bible	c.810, St Germain-des-Prés
St Petersburg, National Library, F.v. I.8 ⁴⁸	Leningrad Gospels	VIII ^{ex} , England
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 13169 ⁴⁹	Codex Sangermanensis secundus, Gospel Book	X, Brittany
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. lat.1587 ⁵⁰	St Gatien Gospels	c.800, Brittany
Dublin, Trinity College Library, 60 ⁵¹	Book of Mulling, Gospel Book	VIII–IX, Ireland
Paris Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 281 ⁵²	Codex Bigotianus, Gospel Book	VIII ^{ex} , Southern England
Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale, 48 (fols I–II) + 66 (fols I–II) + 71 (fols A–B) + Leningrad O.v.I.1. ⁵³	Gospel Book Fragments	VIII, Northumbria?

Surprisingly, of the 200 manuscripts examined during this research, there are only eight clear examples of the simple version of the notation, either in parts or throughout the manuscript, which have been identified.⁵⁴ These manuscripts are listed in Table 2.

These manuscripts witness the reception of the simple form of the Eusebian marginal notation in different ways. There is a spectrum in this, from the notation in the Veronensis, an original late antique manuscript containing an Old Latin gospel text to which the Eusebian system was added by a corrector, to later manuscripts which reflect late antique models. An example of the latter is found in the Codex Bigotianus made in southern England in the eighth century, which reproduces the *cola et commata*

layout, script and Eusebian sections of a much earlier Italian Vulgate (Fig. 9). Similarly, the Codex Sangermanensis primus, copied in Saint-Germain-des-Prés in 810, has been seen to rely on a pandect assembled in Rome in the fifth century. Other manuscripts in the group reflect a mishmash of models, Vulgate and Old Latin, some of which had full marginal notation, others the simple version, and others no notation at all. This mishmash of different models is evident in the Leningrad Gospels from southern England and the Codex Sangermanensis secundus, which is thought to have been copied in Brittany in the tenth century.⁵⁵ The Avranches fragments present an inconsistent approach: Avranches 71 and 48, which contain a folio from Mark's gospel and some fragments from John respectively, have the initial for the evangelist and section number with no canon reference, although there may be some fading, particularly in the John fragment; Avranches 66, which includes a folio from Luke's gospel, has the initial for the evangelist, section number and canon reference in red on at least three occasions.⁵⁶ The St Gatien Gospels, copied in Brittany around the year 800, is perhaps closest to the kind of book that Mulling may have relied on. While it is laid out as a block as opposed to Mulling's columns, it reflects many Insular features and consistently includes the simple apparatus, although it omits the first two elements of the Eusebian system (Fig. 10).⁵⁷

⁴⁶ CLA IV, 481, <https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/828> (last accessed 13/04/2020); McGurk 1961, 93; Houghton 2016, 212.

⁴⁷ Houghton 2016, 213–214; full digital edition from microfilm is available at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9065958t> (last accessed 13/04/2020).

⁴⁸ CLA 11, 1605, <https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/359> (last accessed 13/04/2020); McGurk 1961, 101; Houghton 2016, 215–216; Alexander 1978, 64. See selected digital reproductions at <http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/series/volumes/09/bleskina/> (last accessed 13/04/2020).

⁴⁹ Houghton 2016, 225. Full digital edition available at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10500013s/f33.image> (last accessed 13/04/2020).

⁵⁰ CLA V, 684, <https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/1073> (last accessed 13/04/2020); McGurk 1961, 64; Houghton, 2016, 225–226. Full digital edition available at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8423842n> (last accessed 13/04/2020).

⁵¹ See note 4.

⁵² CLA V, 526, <https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/883> (last accessed 13/04/2020); McGurk 1961, 59–60; Houghton 2016, 267. Full digital edition available at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8492142v> (last accessed 13/04/2020).

⁵³ CLA VI, 730, <https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/1135>; McGurk 1961, 53. Digital reproductions are available at <https://bvmv.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=843> (last accessed 13/04/2020).

⁵⁴ One addition to this set which could be considered is Durham, Cathedral Library, A. II. 10. This fragmentary manuscript includes section numbers for Mark but no reference to the canon to which these sections belong. See CLA II, 147, <https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/460> (last accessed 13/04/2020); Houghton 2016, 221.

⁵⁵ The Leningrad Gospels uses simple notation in Mark, Luke and John's gospel. Matthew's gospel begins with extended notation, but this stops completely after Matthew 16. For discussion see Houghton 2010, 114. The Codex Sangermanensis secundus has no notation in Mark's gospel, simple notation in Matthew and Luke's gospels and extended notation in John.

⁵⁶ These include the references for Luke Sections 31–37. See the reproduction https://bvmv.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?VUE_ID=327527 (last accessed 13/04/2020).

⁵⁷ McGurk 1987, 175–176. On its decorative similarities to Insular books see Alexander 1978, 78–79. He sees it as a 'copy of a very sumptuous, probably Irish, Gospel book'.

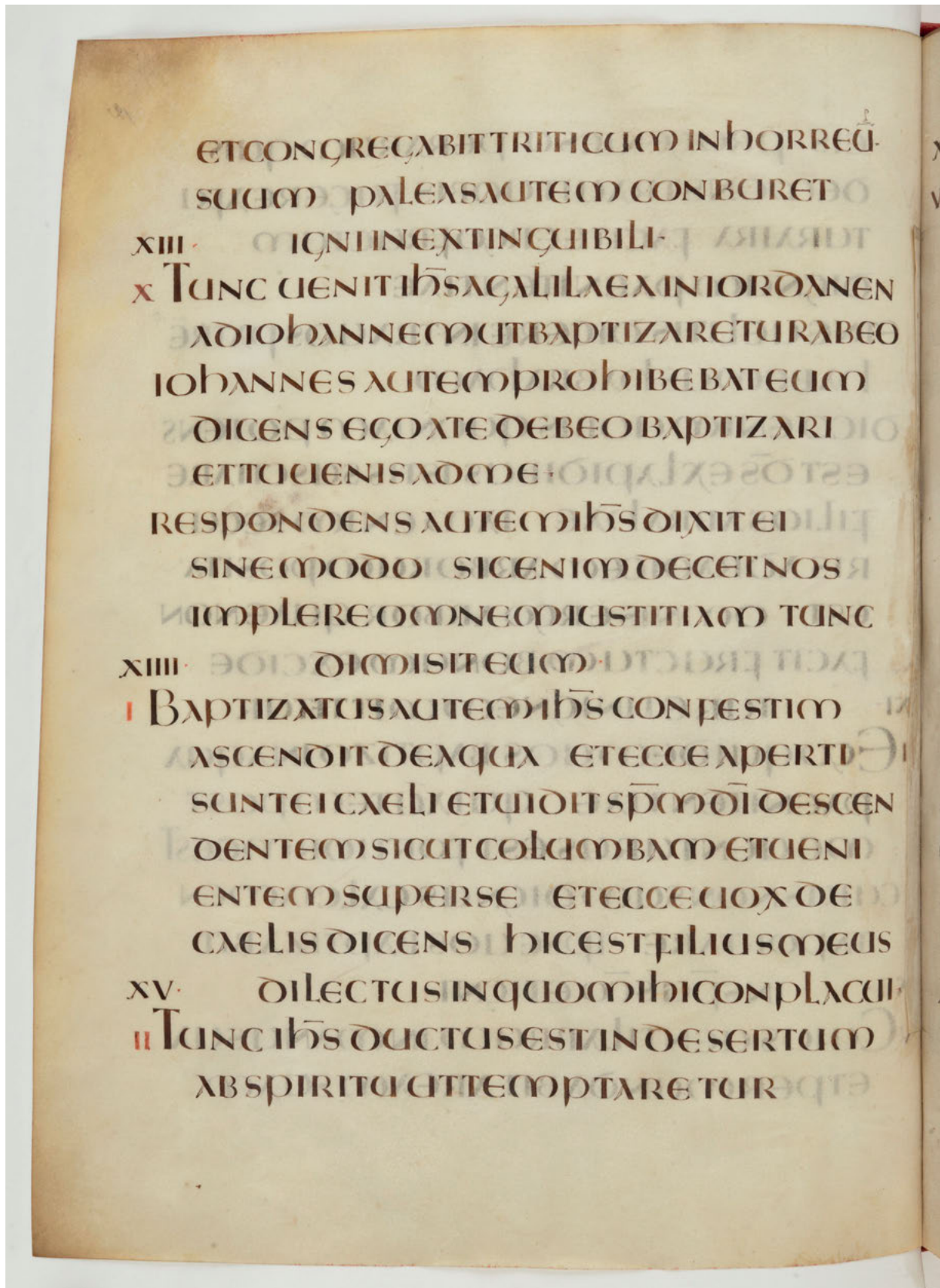


Fig. 9: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 281 + latin 298, Codex Bezae Cantabrigie, fol. 12v. Marginal Entries for Matthew Sections XIII, XIII, XV. Image reproduced courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

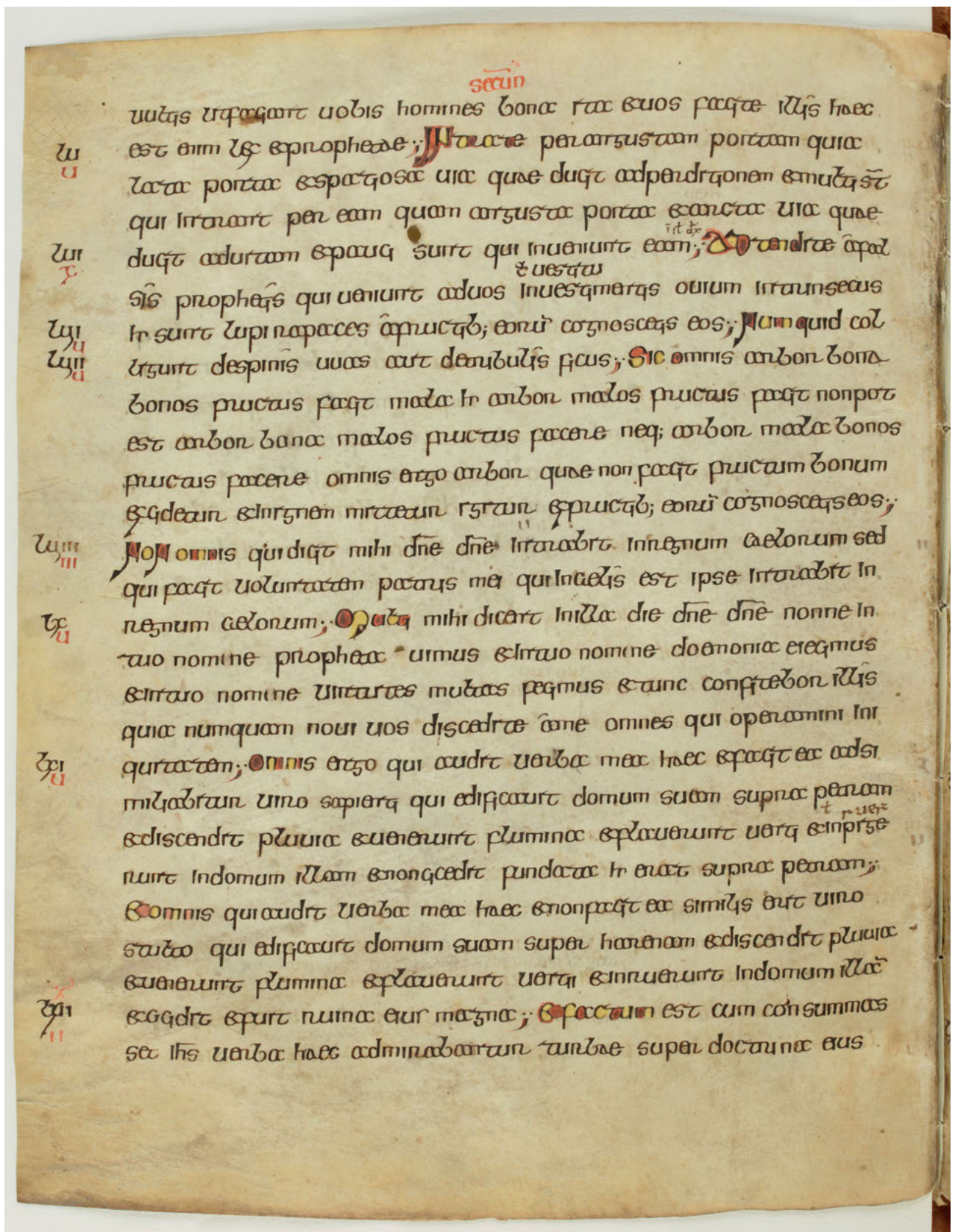


Fig. 10: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 1587, St Gaten Gospels, fol. 7v. Marginal Entries for Matthew Sections LV–LXII. Image reproduced courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

The Insular connections of many of the manuscripts listed here is significant. It supports a point made by Houghton in relation to transmission of the gospel text in the Insular world, where the move from Old Latin to Vulgate was the result of a gradual accretion of readings.⁵⁸ It seems likely that the simple notation may have accompanied either a stage in the original Old Latin or, more likely, early Vulgate transmission of the gospels to Ireland and that the notation in Mulling is reflecting this. Indeed, it is worth considering whether the simple notation present in Mulling is another feature of the ancient imported archetype, posited by McGurk, which restricted its general prefaces to *Novum Opus* and non-architectural tables.⁵⁹

Another perspective on the kind of marginal notation used in early medieval Ireland is provided by the discussion of the tables in the Hiberno-Latin commentary material. While these texts generally avoid commenting on the practical use of the system, their faithfulness to the description of the series in Jerome's *Novum Opus* preface and in Isidore's *Etymologiae* means that only the simple, rather than extended, notation is the basis for the commentary.⁶⁰ In Vienna 940, also, interestingly, the uncial titles which break up the commentary on Matthew do not provide the parallel references in the other gospels, but note purely that a particular section belongs to a particular canon, something else which suggests the use of the simple system. It is difficult to draw firm conclusions in relation to this, however. As the discussion of MacDurnan demonstrated, extended marginal notation is present in gospel books associated with medieval Ireland at this time. Matthew Crawford has also noted the explicit discussion of the extended notation in Sedulius Scottus' commentaries on the apparatus, although these are generally seen as later in date than the Hiberno-Latin texts referred to by Bischoff, and Sedulius himself acknowledges that the extended notation is not what is advised by Jerome.⁶¹

Why was the Eusebian apparatus added to the Book of Mulling after it was created? Contemporary evidence for the addition of prefatory material is provided by a manuscript like the Burchard Gospels, which presents a sixth century Italian text with the addition of prefatory material in either a Northumbrian or Continental context in the seventh or eighth centuries.⁶² This general point aside and turning specifically to Mulling, it is worth noting

that this prefatory material is not the only addition to the manuscript. Possibly contemporary with the insertion of the prefatory series, was the addition on fols 33v–34r of a service for the visitation of the sick, while on fol. 94v, a liturgical text of 13 prayers in Latin and Irish was inserted.⁶³ This was followed by a circular drawing which has most recently been interpreted by Dominique Barbet-Massin as the visual representation of a daily prayer sequence.⁶⁴ The inclusion of this kind of material in the book points perhaps towards a change in the book's function, which allowed for a more personal and more scholarly use of the manuscript, a development which would have lent itself to the introduction of the apparatus.

The broader monastic context needs also to be considered in the discussion of these additions. Barbet-Massin in her work on the drawing and prayers in Mulling noted the similarity between their content and that of the Fleury prayer-book, a manuscript associated with Alcuin, which shows a strong connection to Irish material. Barbet-Massin attributes this Irish influence to Alcuin's association with the Irish monastic centre at Salzburg, particularly because of his friendship with Arno—abbot there in the late eighth century. The addition of the Eusebian apparatus to the manuscript may reinforce the link between Mulling and Salzburg made by Barbet-Massin in the context of the prayers, for it is to the Salzburg/St Amand circle that many of the Hiberno-Latin manuscripts, such as for example, Vienna 940 are attributed. This manuscript, in an original St Amand binding, includes as noted earlier the only other set of non-architectural canon tables distributed across 15 pages, a discussion of the Eusebian system in its introduction, and continual reference to the apparatus throughout its commentary text. The addition of the tables to Mulling in the ninth century may thus reflect the kind of intense interest in the series, which is evident in Vienna 940 and other Hiberno-Latin manuscripts at this time.

4 Conclusion

Scholarship over the last two decades has created a nuanced picture of the reception of the Eusebian apparatus in the Irish pocket gospel book context. The complete absence of the apparatus and the inconsistency of attention to section initials within many of the gospel texts are

⁵⁸ Houghton 2016, 74–77.

⁵⁹ McGurk 1990, 52–57.

⁶⁰ For this and what follows see Mullins 2014.

⁶¹ Crawford 2017, 80.

⁶² McGurk 1961, 75–76.

⁶³ Due to the faded quality of the script on fol. 94v scholars to this point have not been able to precisely date this hand or to conclude whether it is the same as that of the other additions. On this see Barbet-Massin 2017, 161.

⁶⁴ For this and what follows see Barbet-Massin 2017.

evidence of how the system was either not known or was misunderstood at times. The careful addition of the three elements of the Eusebian system to Mulling demonstrates, however, that at other times there was a clear understanding of the apparatus. This understanding is different to that which appears in many of the larger contemporary Insular gospel books, where the numerical tables are used often as a moment for extended visual exegesis, sometimes, as in Kells, to the detriment of the system's practical use. Mulling's use of the apparatus has much more in common with the way the system is treated in contemporary Hiberno-Latin texts. This is reflected in, for example, the care given to inserting correct entries to the apparatus throughout the gospel's text and margins, which parallels the granular attention to the system, evident in a manuscript like Vienna 940. Mulling's use of simple rather than extended marginal notation is in keeping with the sources used for the discussion of the tables in the Hiberno-Latin corpus of manuscripts. It also provides another piece of evidence to support theories about the transmission of the gospel text to early medieval Ireland. Although further research is needed, the reversal of the order of the evangelists in Canon VIII noted here for the first time in Mulling, Durrow and Kells and in Royal I E VI is a new piece of evidence in the history of the transmission and development of the Eusebian system in the Latin West. The extended Eusebian notation included in the MacDurnan gospels adds another layer to the discussion of the system in the pocket gospel book corpus. MacDurnan's approach, which omits the first two elements of the apparatus but includes the extended system of notation, leads to the interesting possibility that this part of the apparatus may have been used as a standalone exegetical tool. This is not something which has been considered in scholarship up to this point and it also requires further investigation, particularly in relation to contemporary Hiberno-Latin exegetical material. While there needs to be further research, it is clear that this notation, both in its simple and extended form, has a role to play in our understanding of the transmission of the gospel text to both Ireland and the Continent in the early medieval era.

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