

A NEW HISTORY OF THE STOWE MISSAL:
TOWARDS AN EDITION OF THE STOWE JOHN
AND THE IRISH TRACT ON THE MASS

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Wie het kleine niet eert, is het grote niet weerd.

Abstract

The Stowe Missal is one of the earliest surviving documents of the Early Irish church and is a key witness to the Early Irish liturgy, as well as one of the few manuscripts dating back to the Old Irish period to contain a number of continuous texts in the Irish language. This thesis investigates the origins and history of the Stowe Missal by means of a close study of the manuscript and its scribes. Chapter 1 sets out the manuscript's contents and the makeup of its quires, and offers a detailed discussion of the Stowe Missal's scribes. The relative order of their activities is of particular concern and it is shown that the manuscript's Irish language texts were added to the Stowe Missal by (one of) its original scribe(s). The original purpose for which the manuscript was made is also considered. Chapter 2 examines the available evidence for the Stowe Missal's dating and its place of origin, before considering the manuscript's early travels. It is argued that the manuscript's traditional dating must be reconsidered and that there are strong signs that the manuscript did not long remain where it was made. In Chapter 3, the circumstances of the Stowe Missal's early nineteenth century rediscovery are explored by reviewing both the contemporary evidence and the more recent hypotheses for the manuscript's history in the centuries leading up to its rediscovery. Basic editions consisting of a diplomatic transcription and normalised text of the Stowe Missal's incomplete copy of the Gospel of John, as well as the manuscript's Irish Tract on the Mass are presented in Appendix 1 and Appendix 2, respectively. For the latter, a new translation and full vocabulary are also included. A third appendix contains an overview of the abbreviations found in these texts.

Abbreviations

AC	<i>Annála Connacht</i>
AFM	Annals of the Four Masters
AI	Annals of Inisfallen
AU	Annals of Ulster
ChronHib	<i>Chronologicon Hibernicum</i>
CLA	<i>Codices Latini Antiquiores</i>
ISOS	Irish Script on Screen
RIA	Royal Irish Academy, Dublin
<i>Thesaurus</i>	<i>Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus</i>

Introduction

The manuscript now known as the Stowe Missal, or more specifically as Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS D ii 3 (Cat. No. 1238),¹ is an unusual manuscript. For while we are usually forced to depend on the testimony of later sources for our understanding of the Early Irish period, the Stowe Missal is generally considered to have originated around 800 AD. The Stowe Missal is, perhaps, most immediately important from a liturgical point of view, for it is one of the most substantial direct witnesses to the Early Irish liturgy and one of the earliest surviving documents of the Early Irish church. Moreover, the Stowe Missal's Order and Canon of the Mass was revised early in its history, meaning that the manuscript effectively contains two independent witnesses to the Early Irish Mass. The manuscript is also of interest as an object, in and of itself, both from a codicological and art historical perspective. For the former, it may be noted that the Stowe Missal is a composite manuscript with a complicated composition history, and for the latter, it may be said that while the Stowe Missal itself is largely devoid of decorations, a highly ornamented shrine was furnished to house the manuscript in the early eleventh century. A palaeographical point of interest may be found in the script of the Stowe Missal's various scribes, which not only includes examples of an unusually angular kind of Insular hybrid minuscule, but also allows us to link the manuscript with a number of other, Early Irish manuscripts, such as the Book of Dimma and the St Gall Gospels. The Stowe Missal is also of linguistic interest, for it is one of the few manuscripts dating back to the Old Irish period² to include a number of continuous Irish-language texts, the most substantial of which is its Irish Tract on the Mass.³ In addition, the latter constitutes a rare example of an Old Irish text attested both in a contemporary Old Irish manuscript and in a manuscript dating to the Early Modern

¹ CLA vol. 2, no. 267 and no. 268.

² The Old Irish period is defined as having lasted from the beginning of the eighth to the end of the ninth century for the purposes of this thesis. See Stifter, David, "Early Irish", in Ball, Martin J. and Nicole Müller (eds.), *The Celtic Languages*, Routledge Language Family Descriptions (London, New York 2009) 55-116: 55. Within the *Chronologicon Hibernicum* project (see p. 2 below) on the whole, the Early Irish linguistic period was studied more broadly, covering what has traditionally been defined as the Early Old Irish, Old Irish and Early Middle Irish periods (roughly 550 × 950 AD; see Qiu, Fangzhe, et al., "Chronologicon Hibernicum: A Probabilistic Chronological Framework for Dating Early Irish Language Developments and Literature", in Ioannides, Marinos et al. (eds.), *Digital Heritage: Progress in Cultural Heritage: Documentation, Preservation and Protection*, Lecture Notes in Computer Science 11196 (2018) 731-740: 732).

³ The larger and better-known contemporary sources of Old Irish are the major glossed manuscripts, such as the Würzburg Glosses (i.e. the Irish glosses on the Latin text of the Pauline Epistles in the mid-8th century *Codex Paulinus Wirziburgensis* (Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, MS M. p. th. f. 12)) and the Milan Glosses (i.e. the Irish glosses on a Latin commentary on the psalms contained in the early 9th century *Codex Ambrosianus C 301 inf* (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS C 301 inf)), in which the Irish-language material takes the form of largely interlinear glosses on a Latin main text.

Irish period, for another version of the Tract is found in the early fourteenth-century *Leabhar Breac*.⁴

This dissertation was written as part of the *Chronologicon Hibernicum* (ChronHib) research project at Maynooth University. The stated aim of this project is to further our understanding of both the relative and absolute dating of linguistic change during the Old Irish period by analysing Old Irish texts from various sources and genres, and the original attraction for studying the Stowe Missal was therefore of a linguistic nature. In particular, the manuscript's relatively close dating and localisation on non-linguistic grounds⁵ offered the tantalising possibility of establishing the nature of the language of one particular speaker of Old Irish at the turn of the ninth century.

However, what had been intended as a brief, preliminary investigation into the grounds for the established dating and provenance of the Stowe Missal, ahead of writing a new edition of the Stowe Missal's Irish Tract on the Mass,⁶ turned out to be vastly more complicated than had originally been suspected. The aforementioned grounds for the dating and localisation of the Stowe Missal proved to be considerably less secure than might have been hoped, and most of the Stowe Missal's history, from its origins up to its scholarly rediscovery in the early nineteenth century, turned out to be the subject of various academic disputes. Unfortunately, this debate has so far, for understandable reasons, largely been confined to a host of publications touching upon individual issues, and has not been fully integrated in the established scholarly opinion on the Stowe Missal. In light of this, and given the importance of the Stowe Missal for a variety of different fields, it was decided to instead devote this thesis largely to a manuscript-based study of the Stowe Missal, in order both to incorporate all insights garnered over the last century into a new synthesis and, by means of a number of novel observations, to better our understanding of the Stowe Missal's origins and history in general.⁷ The emphasis of this thesis has therefore

⁴ 'The Speckled Book', formally known as Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS 23 P 16 (Cat. No. 1230). It is also sometimes called the *Leabhar Mór Dúna Doighre*, 'the Great Book of Dun Doighre', but will generally be referred to as the *Leabhar Breac* for the purposes of this dissertation.

⁵ A more specific date of 792 × 812 AD is often cited, based largely on hagiographical and palaeographical evidence. Moreover, the manuscript has generally been regarded as a product of the monastery of Tallaght, again largely on hagiographical grounds.

⁶ The Stowe Missal's three Irish charms were deliberately excluded from the start, in light of David Stifter's ongoing work and planned edition of these texts.

⁷ This decision was, in part, influenced by the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic, which limited access to library resources at an unfortunate juncture.

shifted from a traditional edition to an investigation of the manuscript and its history, which now takes centre stage, while the edition itself has been relegated to the appendix.

0.1. Scope

This dissertation seeks to answer a number of different questions relating to the origin and history of the Stowe Missal. First of all, it seeks to establish when and where the manuscript originated, how this may be determined and what uncertainties are involved in the matter. In addition, we must ask for what purpose the Stowe Missal was created, for this may tell us something about its original context. In the same vein, we will examine the relative order in which the manuscript's constituent parts were made, so that we may better understand the Stowe Missal's composition history.

Following this, we will investigate the Stowe Missal's *cumtach*, or shrine, and ask how its origin relates to that of the manuscript which it was designed to contain. Moreover, given that the Stowe Missal is a composite manuscript, and given that its shrine is believed to have been made in Lorrha, Co. Tipperary, we will investigate the manuscript's early travels, in order to establish its provenance in greater detail.

Finally, this thesis seeks to determine how the Stowe Missal came to be rediscovered at Stowe House, Buckinghamshire in the early nineteenth century, thus rounding out the history of the manuscript. On the whole, this dissertation is thus centred around the questions of when and where the Stowe Missal was throughout its history.

Apart from these main questions, a basic edition of the Stowe Missal's incomplete copy of the Gospel of John, as well as a new, basic edition of the Stowe Missal's Irish Tract on the Mass are included. The former has not been edited before, and the latter reflects the original linguistic focus of this thesis.

0.2. Structure

The main body of the thesis is divided into three parts. The first chapter offers a detailed description of the manuscript, its quires and its scribes. Efforts were made to get a clearer sense both of the number of scribes, which is disputed, as well as the scope and relative order of their

activities, in order to establish the composition history of the Stowe Missal. Moreover, the script of the scribes was compared both within and without the manuscript, in order to determine whether the Stowe Missal was ever moved from its place of origin to another centre, and to link the Stowe Missal to a number of other Early Irish manuscripts, thus providing a context for the Stowe Missal's creation. Finally, the contents and physical aspects of the manuscript were used to determine the original purpose of the Stowe Missal, and the nature of its original scribe(s).

In the second chapter, the Stowe Missal's dating and place of origin are considered. Building on the evidence provided by the relative order of the activities of the scribes in the preceding chapter, this chapter seeks to determine the *terminus post* and *terminus ante quem* for the various parts of this composite manuscript. In order to do so, the existing dating criteria for the Stowe Missal are reviewed and supplemented by a number of new arguments, drawn primarily from a linguistic analysis of the Irish Tract on the Mass. Following this, an attempt is made to determine the Stowe Missal's place of origin by considering the available evidence for the two primary candidates raised in previous scholarship, namely the monasteries of Tallaght and Lorrha, before considering the possibility of a third alternative.

The third chapter looks into the later history of the manuscript, starting with its rediscovery at Stowe, and seeks to determine how the Stowe Missal arrived at Stowe by evaluating the disputed evidence of a key witness, the Stowe librarian Charles O'Connor, and by considering whether the manuscript may be identified with an O'Kennedy manuscript referred to in a number of eighteenth-century sources. Following this, we will finish this history of the Stowe Missal by discussing its whereabouts from the early nineteenth century up to the present, and briefly consider the various alternative modern names which have been suggested for the manuscript over the years.

Finally, the aforementioned basic editions of the Stowe Missal's Gospel of John and the Stowe Missal's Irish Tract on the Mass constitute the first and second appendices to this thesis, respectively. For the Gospel of John both a diplomatic transcription and a normalised version of the text are provided, and for the first Chapter of the Gospel, these are supplemented by readings from the Book of Dimma's Gospel of John. For the Irish Tract on the Mass, a translation and a full vocabulary are also provided,⁸ and a basic transcription of the *Leabhar Breac* version of the

⁸ The Vocabulary is comprehensive and includes direct references to both folio and line number, as well as paragraph and sentence number for each and every word in the Stowe Missal's Irish Tract on the Mass.

Irish Tract of the Mass is included. A basic commentary is provided in footnotes throughout. For each text, the diplomatic transcription makes a determined effort to render the manuscript readings as accurately as possible, making use of special characters to approximate medieval abbreviations, while these are expanded in the normalised version of the text. For ease of reference, a comprehensive list of the abbreviations found in these texts, as well as the characters used to represent them, is provided in a third appendix. It is hoped that such a rendition of the manuscript forms may help the reader to appreciate the layout of the manuscript page, as well as the uncertainties involved in the orthographies of expanded abbreviations in the normalised texts.

0.3. Editorial Policy and a Note on the Translation

Within the main body of this dissertation, a very basic editorial policy is observed, whereby all non-English words are fundamentally written using italics. The only exceptions to this rule are personal names, expanded abbreviations, and the text of inscriptions. The latter are cited using small-caps, whereas abbreviations are expanded using ordinary script.

A different policy is found in the first two appendices, where a distinction is made between diplomatic transcriptions and normalised versions of the text. In both cases, text in Latin and Irish is generally written in ordinary script, but in the normalised versions abbreviations are expanded using italics.⁹ Moreover, for the normalised versions, punctuation and the use of capital letters are adapted to modern standards, although bold script is used to indicate the presence of enlarged initials in the manuscript,¹⁰ and a combination of bold script and underlining is used for punctuation whenever extended stops were used in the manuscript.¹¹

For the Gospel of John, the text was organised according to the modern division of the text into chapters and verses. For the Irish Tract on the Mass, a novel scheme was developed for dividing

All attested forms are cited, both in their diplomatic and normalised forms, and each word is morphologically analysed. Headwords are cited in an idealised form and a translation is provided.

⁹ The only exceptions are abbreviations used in both Latin and Irish when found in bilingual contexts, e.g. *7 et / ocus* between a word in Irish and a word in Latin, where the abbreviation could plausibly have been rendered in either language, and *.i. id est / ed ón*, which is never expanded.

¹⁰ With the exception of majuscule *r* in non-initial position in the Irish Tract on the Mass. For more on this, see pp. 20-37 below.

¹¹ That is to say, whenever forms such as *ː~* or *ː·* are found in the manuscript, rather than the more common single dot.

the text into paragraphs. These divisions are based loosely on those found in the *Thesaurus*,¹² but with the addition of a few new paragraphs, in order to more uniformly break up the text into thematic units.¹³ Moreover, for reference purposes, longer paragraphs have been subdivided into consecutively numbered sentences.¹⁴

For the diplomatic transcriptions, all text is given in ordinary script, but special characters from the Unicode set of characters are used to render the abbreviations used in the manuscript. Similarly, punctuation is approximated using special symbols, so that the various extended stops may be distinguished both from each other and from the more common single dot.¹⁵ Both Tironian notes and punctuation are always transcribed with spaces around them, except when punctuation is used in the abbreviations for *id est* and numerals.¹⁶ Otherwise the spacing of the manuscript is preserved. Capital letters are used to indicate that enlarged initials are found in the manuscript. Subscript vowels are transcribed as such when they are found far below the baseline, but not when they are placed but slightly below in combinations such as *si* and *ei*. Wholly illegible letters are represented by *, with the number of asterisks indicating the estimated number of lost letters, while letters which are still legible but difficult to read are transcribed with a subscript dot underneath. Exceptionally, for the diplomatic transcription of the *Leabhar Breac* Tract, italics are employed to indicate the use of rubrication in the manuscript.

Throughout the diplomatic transcriptions, reference is made to the page or folio number, the line number and, when the text is in double columns, the column.

In the third appendix, both the listed abbreviations and their expanded solutions are written using italics.

All translations, both within and without the main body of the thesis, are my own, unless specifically marked to the contrary by means of a reference to an earlier publication. For the

¹² Stokes, Whitley and John Strachan (eds.), *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus: a Collection of Old-Irish Glosses, Scholia, Prose and Verse*, vol. 2 (Cambridge 1901-1903) 252-255.

¹³ For example, the *Thesaurus*' first paragraph is here divided into two separate units. Both address different aspects of the Mass, the symbolical meaning of which is separately explained.

¹⁴ This is used in particular for the references in the Vocabulary to the Stowe Tract.

¹⁵ No distinction is made between low, middle and high single dots in these transcriptions, because there does not appear to be any meaningful distinction between the height of these dots in the manuscript.

¹⁶ E.g. for .i. *id est / ed ón* and .uii. *septem / secht*.

translation of the Stowe Missal's Irish Tract on the Mass, the existing translations of the *Thesaurus* and MacCarthy were consulted.¹⁷ For the translation of the Tract, italics are used for words originally in Latin, so that they may be visually distinguished from the Irish-language parts of the text.

0.4. Outreach

As a side-project during the first lockdown of the Covid-19 pandemic, an early version of this thesis was presented on Twitter over the month of May, 2020.¹⁸ The tweets gained a fair amount of attention,¹⁹ including from the generous modern-day custodians of the Stowe Missal at the Royal Irish Academy Library,²⁰ and led to a number of lively scholarly discussions on various aspects of the Stowe Missal. Following this, a collaboration with the Royal Irish Academy Library resulted in an online illustrated video on the origins of the Stowe Missal for the Dublin Festival of History, aimed at a general audience.²¹

A paper entitled 'The Irish Material in the Stowe Missal Revisited' on various aspects of this thesis was awarded with the Mícheál Ó Cléirigh Prize 2017 for best graduate paper presented at the Irish Conference of Medievalists. The paper was published as an article in *Peritia*.²²

¹⁷ Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, vol. 2 (1901-1903): 252-255, and MacCarthy, Bartholomew, "On the Stowe Missal", *The Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* 27 (1877-1886) 135-268: 245-258.

¹⁸ The tweets have been collected in a Twitter event, which may be accessed via <https://twitter.com/i/events/1258770542255050754> (accessed 26-02-2021). The series ran for a full thirty days and finally included 664 tweets, or about 30.000 words in total.

¹⁹ In total, the tweets gained over 235.000 impressions on Twitter, were liked roughly 1400 times, were shared about 200 times and received over a hundred replies. Moreover, the series inspired a blog post by the Local Studies section at the South Dublin County Council's County Library in Tallaght, entitled 'The Book of Tallaght?', accessible via <https://localstudies.wordpress.com/2020/06/04/the-book-of-tallaght/> (accessed 26-02-2021).

²⁰ The series was featured on the Royal Irish Academy Library Blog. The post may be found via <https://www.ria.ie/news/library-library-blog/bringing-stowe-missal-life> (accessed 26-02-2021).

²¹ The talk was somewhat provocatively titled 'Made in Tallaght' and may be found on <https://www.ria.ie/made-tallaght-investigation-origins-early-medieval-irish-manuscript-known-stowe-missal> (accessed 26-02-2021).

²² Nooij, Lars B., "The Irish Material in the Stowe Missal Revisited", *Peritia* 29 (2018) 101-109.

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Chapter 1: The Stowe Missal Manuscript

In spite of its modern importance and in stark contrast to the richly decorated, metal *cumtach*, or bookshrine, in which it was long held, the Stowe Missal must originally have been a relatively inexpensive manuscript. Its 67 vellum leaves are of varying quality, but never measure more than some 14 by 11 centimetres. There are signs that the leaves were trimmed at some stage after the original copying,²³ but whatever the case may be, the Stowe Missal was never a large manuscript. Moreover, with the notable exceptions of the *incipit* to both the first (fo. 1r) and the second quire (fo. 12r), as well as a portrait of John the Evangelist (fo. 11v), the manuscript is almost entirely devoid of decoration.²⁴ In light of its inexpensive make and its eminently portable nature, the Stowe Missal is nowadays generally taken to be either a private service book, or that of a travelling priest, rather than a prestigious display codex of an important centre.²⁵

This first chapter aims to introduce the reader to the Stowe Missal in a general sense by setting out the material aspects of the manuscript. To start off, overviews will be given of both the Stowe Missal's contents and of the makeup of its five gatherings. Following this, the manuscript's various scribes, the number of which is disputed, will be discussed in detail and overviews of their contributions throughout the Stowe Missal, as well as the relative order of their activities will be provided. The latter will be a major focus of this chapter, and attempts will be made to identify the relative order in which the scribes made their contributions to the manuscript whenever possible. Alongside this, the other manuscripts and manuscript fragments which are considered to be related to (parts of) the Stowe Missal on account of the similarity of their script are discussed. Having thus met the scribes, the individual gatherings will be considered in detail, in order to establish both the intended layout of the various quires, as well as the irregularities found therein, and the ways in which the manuscript has been altered from

²³ See pp. 85-86 below for a discussion of the evidence for trimming.

²⁴ The knotted-wire decorations found in several of the enlarged initials near the beginning of the second and the fourth quires (on ff. 12v-13v and 47r, 48r-51r respectively) have been taken to be later additions to what must originally have been plain capitals. However, see pp. 24-25 and 49 below for a more detailed discussion of these decorations.

²⁵ It should nevertheless be noted that the Stowe Missal, in spite of its otherwise humble appearance, does in fact have a number of high status traits, such as the use of double horizontal ruling of the lines in large parts of the manuscript (otherwise found, for example, in *de luxe* manuscripts such as the Lindisfarne (CLA vol. 2, no. 187; London, British Library, Cotton Nero D. IV) and the Mac Regol Gospels (CLA vol. 2, no. 231; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Auct. D. 2. 19)) and the use of formal hybrid minuscule script in large parts of the manuscript. For more on these features, see the discussion of Scribes A and A1, as well as the paragraphs on the second through to the fifth gathering below.

its original state. The chapter closes with a consideration of the original intended purpose of the manuscript, linking this chapter with the second, in which the origins and early history of the Stowe Missal are considered.

1.1. Contents and Gatherings

1.1.1. Overview of the Contents

The Stowe Missal contains a number of different texts, each of which is listed in the overview below in the order of its occurrence in the manuscript. The page span of each item is given first, followed by the title(s) assigned to the text by rubrics in the manuscript (if any). The *incipit* and *explicit* are provided next. Both for these and the titles, normalised versions of the manuscript readings are used and abbreviations are expanded, following the editorial policy set out briefly in the general introduction to this thesis. Finally, modern titles are provided for these texts.

1. ff. 1r-11v.²⁶ *In principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum... Sanus sit qui scripsit et cui scriptum est. Amen.*
The Gospel of John (incomplete)²⁷, Vulgate mixed with *Vetus Latina* readings.
2. ff. 12r-38r4. *Letania apostolorum ac martirum sanctorum [con]fessorum et uirginum incipit, Deus in adiutorium meum, reliqua. Peccauimus domine... missa acta est in pace.*
The Ordinary and Canon of the Mass.
3. ff. 38r5-41v14. *Missa apostolorum et martirum et sanctorum et sanctarum uirginum. Deum patrem, deum filium, deum spiritum sanctum, unum et solum dominum dominantium... præsta, quæsumus, ut quod temporaliter gerimus æternis gaudis consequamur. per.*
A special Mass for the apostles, martyrs, saints and virgins.
4. ff. 41v15-44v6. *Incipit missa pro penitentibus uiuis / Pro penitentibus uiuis. Exultatio diuina, paterna pietas, immensa maestus, té supplices trementes deprecamur pro famulis tuis... per dominum nostrum.*
A special Mass for living penitents.

²⁶ The text runs to fo. 11r; fo. 11v contains a portrait of John the Evangelist.

²⁷ The Stowe Missal contains the following parts of the Gospel of John: 1:1-6:30, 7:45-8:13, 8:19-8:33, 8:53-8:59, 12:9-12:39, 17:11-18:1, 18:4-18:13, 18:15-18:23, 19:40-20:23, 20:26-21:25. See pp. 67-73 for a discussion of the gaps in the text.

5. ff. 44v6-46r. *Misa pro mortuís pluribus. Præsta quæsumus omnipotens et missericors deus... et spiritu oris sui eos refrigerare dignetur. per.*

A special Mass for the dead.

6. ff. 46v-60r11.²⁸ *Incipit ordo baptismi. Deus qui adam de limo terræ fecisti... qui iudicaturus est saeculum per ignem in spiritu sancto. Amen.*

The Order of Baptism.

7. ff. 60r12-65r. *Oremus, fratres dominum deum nostrum pro fratæ nostro... Páx tecum in uitam æternam et respondit amen. Finit ordo communis.*

The Anointing of the Sick, including Communion.²⁹

8. ff. 65v-67v. *Ind altōir, fiugor ind ingrimme imma-ber... hi figuir nan coir rosaegeth for rūna Dé na-forberther heres ñ-oco. Finit. Amen. Deo gratias.*

The Irish Tract on the Mass.³⁰

9. fo. 67v1-67v8. *Aron d[e]rc suil. Ad-munniur epsc[o]p nIbar ĩccas... abiit ergo et lauit et uenit uidens.*

The first of three Old Irish charms: ‘Against a red eye’.³¹

10. fo. 67v8-67v12. *Ar delc. Mo saele án to-fāsci delc... fris-ben att, benith galar.*

The second of three Old Irish charms: ‘Against a thorn’.³²

²⁸ The text on fo. 46v was added to what was originally a blank page by a later interpolator, called Móel Caích. The earlier *incipit* in the original hand (A) is found on fo. 47r, after a rubric (*ordo baptismi*) added by a later scribe identified here as scribe C and reads: *Domine, sanctæ pater, omnipotens æterne deus.*

²⁹ The beginning of this item, i.e. ff. 60r12-61v12, has an almost verbatim counterpart at the start of the Book of Dimma’s Anointing of the Sick (pp. 99b20-103) on pp. 99b20-100 of that manuscript. This part of the Book of Dimma was added by a later scribe to space originally left blank, in between the end of the Gospel of Luke and the beginning of the Gospel of John. Best dated the hand to the late tenth or early eleventh century (Best, Richard Irvine, “On the *subscriptions* in the “Book of Dimma””, *Hermathena* 44 (1926) 84-100: 97-98), but this has since been disputed. See pp. 110-111 below for a more detailed discussion of this part of the Book of Dimma.

³⁰ This text has also been referred to more specifically as the ‘Old Irish Tract on the Mass’ in a number of previous publications, e.g. in a chapter by Francis Byrne (Byrne, Francis J., “The Stowe Missal”, in *Great Books of Ireland: Thomas Davis Lectures* (Dublin, London 1967) 38-50: 41) and in an article by Pádraig Ó Néill (Ó Néill, Pádraig, “The Old Irish Tract on the Mass in the Stowe Missal: Some Observations on its Origins and Textual History”, in Smyth, Alfred P. (ed.), *Seanchas* (Dublin 2000) 199-204: 199). For the purposes of this thesis, a more general title was preferred, in light of the occurrence of a later version of the same Tract in the *Leabhar Breac*. The Tract has received a fair amount of scholarly attention over the years, see for example: Sims-Williams, Patrick, “Thought, Word and Deed: An Irish Triad”, *Ériu* 29 (1978) 78-111, and O’Donoghue, Neil Xavier, *The Eucharist in Pre-Norman Ireland* (Notre Dame 2011) 203-218.

³¹ Both the readings of the text of these charms, in particular that of the first, and the translation of the titles owe much to David Stifter’s forthcoming edition of these charms, access to an early version of which is gratefully acknowledged.

³² For more on this charm, see: Borsje, Jacqueline, “The Second Spell in the Stowe Missal”, in Hambro, Cathinka and Lars Ivar Widerøe (eds.), *Lochmann: Festskrift til Jan Erik Rekdal på 60-årsdagen / Aistí in ómós do Jan Erik Rekdal ar a 60ú lá breithe* (Oslo 2013) 12-26: esp. 22-26.

11. fo. 67v12-67v16. *Ar galar fuel. Suil suiles camull... rot-icca ic slane.*

The third of three Old Irish charms: ‘Against urinary disease’.

As is the case for most early Irish manuscripts, the vast majority of the contents of the Stowe Missal (items 1-7) is in Latin, albeit with some Irish-language rubrics and two scribal colophons. It is only towards the very end of the manuscript (items 8-11) that Irish predominates, although even there it should be noted that only the final two charms (items 10-11) are entirely in Irish: the Tract and the first charm (items 8-9) feature a fair number of switches into Latin. As it stands, the manuscript was clearly intended for use in a bilingual environment.³³

1.1.2. Overview of the Gatherings³⁴

The division of the Stowe Missal’s leaves into five quires, or gatherings, is complicated by a number of interventions by an interpolator who signed off as Móel Caích, who both added a number of leaves to the second and third quire, and erased and replaced text in the same two quires. However, even before his activities the gatherings were decidedly uneven. Briefly, the collation is as follows:³⁵

³³ Michael Clarke recently suggested that there was a functional contrast between the use of Latin and Old Irish in the Stowe Missal (Clarke, Michael, “Merger and Contrast between Latin and Medieval Irish”, in Ó Flaithearta, Mícheál (ed.) and Lars B. Nooij (ass. ed.), *Code-Switching in Medieval Ireland and England: Proceedings of a Workshop on Code-Switching in the Medieval Classroom, Utrecht 29th May, 2015*, *Münchener Forschungen zur historischen Sprachwissenschaft* 18 (Bremen 2018) 1-31: 16-17). Furthermore, Tom ter Horst, who compared the Stowe Missal’s Irish Tract on the Mass with its counterpart in the *Leabhar Breac*, has argued on the basis of the nature of the code-switches in both versions of this text that “[a]s a whole, the linguistic fluency and flexibility of both codices point to a parallel status in society” for both Irish and Latin (Horst, Tom ter, “Typology and Spectrum of Latin-Irish and Latin-English Code-Switches in Medieval Sermon Literature”, *Medieval Worlds* 12 (2020) 234-254: 246).

³⁴ It should be stressed from the outset that the following discussion of the gatherings is not based on a direct, physical examination of the manuscript. Unfortunately, a planned visit to the Royal Irish Academy was rendered impossible due to the restrictions imposed by the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic. The present discussion is therefore instead based on a close study of images of the manuscript available through the ISOS project (*Irish Script on Screen*, https://www.isos.dias.ie/master.html?https://www.isos.dias.ie/libraries/RIA/RIA_MS_D_ii_3/english/catalogue.html?ref= (accessed 03-02-2021)), supplemented by the earlier descriptions found in the editions by George Frederic Warner (Warner, George F., *The Stowe Missal: MS. D. II. 3 in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin*, Henry Bradshaw Society 31-32, vol. 2 (London 1906-1915) x-xi), Bartholomew MacCarthy (MacCarthy, “On the Stowe Missal” (1877-1886): 136-143) and Frederick E. Warren (Warren, Frederick E. and Jane Stevenson (ed.), *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, *Studies in Celtic History* 9 (2nd edition, Woodbridge 1987) 198-201).

³⁵ Where Roman numbers refer to the quire number, the amount of original leaves is given in superscript Arabic numbers, missing leaves are noted between round brackets and added leaves are indicated after the plus-sign, with reference to the original leaf after which they were placed.

ff. 1-11:	I ¹² (wants 1)
ff. 12-28:	II ¹⁰ + 1 after 2 + 2 after 5 + 4 after 7
ff. 29-46:	III ¹⁴ + 2 after 1 + 2 after 4
ff. 47-58:	IV ¹²
ff. 59-67:	V ¹⁰ (10 pasted to cover)

As was mentioned in passing before, the Stowe Missal now contains 67 leaves, excluding its unnumbered final leaf, which was pasted to the back cover of the codex.³⁶ Before Móel Caích added his twelve leaves to the manuscript, but after the loss of its first leaf, the Stowe Missal would almost certainly have consisted of 54 leaves, again excluding the aforementioned final leaf.³⁷ One final leaf (fo. 19) was added by another later scribe.

A number of the divisions between the manuscript's five gatherings coincide with a change in content. Most notably, the Stowe Missal's incomplete copy of the Gospel of John (the first item in the overview of the contents above) makes up the entirety of the first quire. The second and third quires together contain the Stowe Missal's liturgical core: the Ordinary and Canon of the Mass, as well as the manuscript's three special Masses (items 2-5). In its present form, the Order of Baptism (item 6) opens on the verso side of the final page of the third quire (fo. 46v) but the text of this opening page was added by Móel Caích to a page which had originally been left blank, as was already noted above. As such, the end of the third quire would originally have coincided with the end of the last of the manuscript's three votive Masses, and the beginning of the fourth quire would at first have coincided with the beginning of the Order of Baptism. The latter is also reflected by the presence of the rubric reading *ordo baptismi* in the upper margin of fo. 47r. In general, it would thus seem that while only the first gathering was fully suited for independent use in that it is entirely self-contained, with no material crossing over across the quires, the remainder of the manuscript, if unbound, could easily have been split up into two functional halves, with the second and third quires forming one pair, and the fourth and fifth another.

³⁶ The final leaf has been left blank except for a minor addition in a modern hand (for more on which see pp. 56-59 below).

³⁷ It has been suggested that an original *bifolium* was cancelled when Móel Caích made his alterations, but there is little evidence for such a removal. See p. 75 below for a more detailed discussion of this matter.

1.2. The Scribes³⁸

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the number of hands which may be distinguished within the Stowe Missal's five quires is disputed. A complicating factor arises from the fact that exceedingly few scholars have investigated the Stowe Missal in its entirety, with most scholarship being concerned only with individual parts of the manuscript. In particular, the first quire, containing the Stowe Missal's copy of the Gospel of John, and the Irish language items at the very end of the fifth gathering have generally received less attention than the Missal proper and the Order of Baptism. Moreover, while a fair amount of work has been done to distinguish the hands of the manuscript's main text scribes, a full study of the activities of its various rubricators and glossators is lacking. In the following, an attempt will be made to bring together and improve upon the various divisions of the hands which have been suggested over the years by offering a comprehensive study of the entire manuscript, and offer a clear overview of the activities of these scribes.

Let us begin by considering the divisions which are beyond dispute. From the beginning, it has been agreed that the entire first gathering was written by a (pair of) hand(s) found nowhere else in the manuscript, which differ(s) considerably from those of the remaining four quires. Moreover, it is generally agreed that the script of this quire bears a close resemblance to that of the Book of Dimma's Gospel of John.³⁹ For the main text of the Stowe Missal's later four quires, one major division in the script is generally accepted, namely that between the hand(s) of the original scribe(s) of these quires and that of the aforementioned interpolator Móel Caích. Beyond this, agreement is limited to the observation that these quires also contain rubrics and glosses added by a number of other scribes. The latter were certainly active after the main, original phase of copying, but little else has been established about the manuscript's minor scribes thus far.

³⁸ Although the text of the remainder of this chapter is intended to stand on its own, the reader is advised to freely consult the images of the manuscript available on ISOS in order to gain a more direct perspective on the layout and script of the Stowe Missal. (https://www.isos.dias.ie/master.html?https://www.isos.dias.ie/libraries/RIA/RIA_MS_D_ii_3/english/catalogue.html?ref= (accessed 03-02-2021))

³⁹ CLA vol. 2, no. 275; Dublin, Trinity College, MS A.IV.23, pp. 104-148.

1.2.1. Scribes J and Sonid / Dinos

The script of the Stowe Missal's first quire has been described as beginning as a neat and careful Insular minuscule,⁴⁰ but rapidly becoming ruder and less tidy overall, both as regards the letter forms themselves and the page layout. On the final page of the quire which contains text (fo. 11r), a colophon is found in which the scribe signs off, his name itself being written in the *ogam* alphabet.⁴¹ The colophon reads:

*Rogo quicumque hunc librum legeris, ut memineris mei peccatoris scriptoris, id est
Sonid / Dinos, peregrinus. Amen. Sanus sit qui scripsit et cui scriptum est. Amen.*⁴²

“I ask whoever may read this book to remember me, a sinner, the writer, namely ‘Sonid / Dinos’, the pilgrim. Amen. May he who wrote it and he for which it was written be well. Amen.”

Unfortunately, little can be established with any degree of certainty on the basis of this colophon. As O’Loughlin stated in a recent article, the ‘one for whom it was written’ is most likely a reference to the present reader, to whom the statement is addressed, rather than to an unnamed benefactor who had commissioned the book.⁴³ Moreover, the name Sonid / Dinos, is obscure. Neither name is recorded in any other Early Irish sources, and due to the peculiarities of the *ogam* script it is not even certain whether it should be read left-to-right or the other way around.⁴⁴ At present, it is generally assumed that the intended reading was ‘Sonid’. This hypothesis is based primarily on the hypothesis that the name Sonid is somehow related to the Irish word *sonaide*, an adjective the meaning of which is given as ‘prosperous, fortunate, happy,

⁴⁰ Specifically, Julian Brown described it as a “hybrid minuscule of Phase I” (Brown, Julian, *A Palaeographer’s View: The Selected Writings of Julian Brown*, Batley, Janet, Michelle Brown and Jane Roberts (eds.) (London 1993) 211.

⁴¹ The colophon is briefly discussed for its *ogam* signature in McManus, Damian, *A Guide to Ogam*, Maynooth Monographs 4 (Maynooth 1991) 133.

⁴² For a closer transcription of the manuscript reading, see p. 195 in Appendix 1 below.

⁴³ O’Loughlin, Thomas “Division Systems for the Gospels: the Case of the Stowe St John (Dublin, RIA, D.II.3)”, *Scriptorium* 61 (2007) 150-164: 152. O’Loughlin’s case for the Stowe John to have nevertheless been made on commission rather than for personal use on the grounds that he made “very competent use of abbreviations throughout the text” and because of the “glaring gap between [John] 18:23 and 19:40” (O’Loughlin, “Division Systems for the Gospels” (2007): 151-152) seems uncertain at best, given that there is no *a priori* reason that a trained scribe would fail to use abbreviations in a personal document, and that a glaring gap would probably be no less offensive to a patron. See pp. 67-73 below for a more detailed discussion of the matter.

⁴⁴ The manuscript lacks the directional arrow sometimes found in manuscript *ogam*.

lucky’ in eDIL.⁴⁵ The hypothesis was advanced perhaps the furthest by David Howlett, who took Sonid to be a deliberate play on Latin *sanus*.⁴⁶ Although there is certainly a semantic correlation between Irish *sonaide* and Latin *sanus*, there is no regular way of relating *sonaide* to the proposed name Sonid itself, and this hypothesis therefore remains unproven.

The alternative, reverse reading *Dinos*, has not been seriously considered since the late 19th century, when Graves took it to be a play on *Dimma*.⁴⁷ Graves made his case based on the mistaken belief that a person’s *ogam* name was usually different from one’s actual, everyday name, a hypothesis which has since been dismissed.⁴⁸ Although Graves’ theory is certainly untenable, there is nothing in itself against taking the intended reading to be ‘Dinos’. The name certainly lacks ready identification in Irish, but the same holds for Sonid. At this point, we might recall that the scribe identified himself further as *peregrinus* ‘a pilgrim’.⁴⁹ It is difficult to determine exactly what this identifier is meant to convey in its present context, but apart from ‘pilgrim’ its meanings include ‘foreigner’ and ‘traveller’.⁵⁰ Given that it is difficult to explain his name in Irish, the possibility that this particular scribe was in fact not an Irishman himself is at least plausible. Although neither Sonid nor Dinos lend themselves to ready identification with likely names in either the British Celtic languages, Old English, or Old Norse, Dinos does offer a close match with the Greek word *δεινός* ‘terrible, astounding; marvellous, mighty; skilful’, which would have been pronounced /ði`nos/ at the time.⁵¹ Unfortunately, there is no sure evidence that *δεινός* was ever used on its own as a Greek personal name, although the word was

⁴⁵ eDIL s.v. *sonaide* (<http://dil.ie/38464>, accessed 9-12-2020).

⁴⁶ Howlett, David, “Sonid’s Ogam Signature”, in Henley, Georgia and Paul Russell (eds.), *Rhetoric and Reality in Medieval Celtic Literature: Studies in Honor of Daniel F. Melia*, CSANA Yearbook 11-12 (Hamilton NY 2014) 94-97. Earlier proponents of linking *Sonid* to Irish *sonaide* and Latin *sanus* include for example MacCarthy (MacCarthy, “On the Stowe Missal” (1877-1886): 139) and Warner (Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): xliii). These early advocates of the theory supposed there to have been an Old Irish word *sonad* (MacCarthy) or *sonaid* (Warner), meaning “happy, fortunate”, offering a close parallel to the *ogam* reading Sonid, but sure evidence for the existence of such forms with the required meaning is lacking.

⁴⁷ Graves, Charles, “On the Ogam Beith Luis Nin”, *Hermathena* 3 (1879) 208-244: 242. Graves advanced this theory largely because of the palaeographic link between the Stowe John and the Book of Dimma’s Gospel of John.

⁴⁸ McManus, *A Guide to Ogam* (1991): 154-155.

⁴⁹ The other identifiers, i.e. *peccatoris* ‘a sinner’ and *scriptoris* ‘the writer’, or ‘copyist’ are of lesser significance, for the latter merely states what was already known from the fact that he was the scribe of this part of the manuscript, and the former is an ecclesiastical commonplace, the presence of which is unsurprising given that an Insular, early medieval copy of the Gospel of John would almost certainly have been produced at the *scriptorium* of a religious centre.

⁵⁰ Note that in the context of early medieval Ireland *peregrinus* could as easily apply to an Irishman living in (voluntary) exile from his own people as to someone born outside of the island of Ireland (Charles-Edwards, Thomas, “The Social Background to Irish *Peregrinatio*”, *Celtica* 11 (1976) 43-59: 43-44).

⁵¹ A suggestion to this effect by David Stifter, personal communication, is gratefully acknowledged.

certainly used as an element in several Greek compound names, such as the male given names Δείναρχος, Δεινοκράτης, Δεινόστρατος and the female name Δεινομάχη. If our scribe intended for his *ogam* name to be read as *Dinos*, it may be more likely that he was showing off his knowledge of Greek, rather than that he was actually Greek himself.

We are thus faced with a riddle. The Stowe John must either have been copied by an otherwise ordinary Irish scribe, who signed off using an obscure name that is unattested in the entire corpus of the Early Irish language, possibly in an attempt to show off a basic understanding of Greek, and who called himself *peregrinus* for obscure reasons, or the text was copied by a foreigner, possibly bearing a Greek word for a name, who had nevertheless clearly been trained at an Irish *scriptorium*, for his script is Insular minuscule and he was obviously familiar with the *ogam* alphabet.⁵² The matter cannot be solved at present, and seems likely to remain obscure unless a better explanation or context for the name can be found. For the purposes of this dissertation the scribe will be referred to as Sonid / Dinos.

Until recently, Sonid / Dinos had been universally regarded as the sole scribe of the first quire, although it has been noted that his script is decidedly uneven, starting off careful and neat, before rapidly turning uneven and careless, as was mentioned above. The change is, in fact, remarkably clear-cut, for only fo. 1r is in the former, careful script, whereas the lettering of all later pages (ff. 1v-11r) is uniformly less even. Bart Jaski, in a forthcoming publication,⁵³ argues briefly that this marked shift must indicate a change of scribe. In the absence of considerable differences in the basic shapes of the letters, it is generally hard to decide whether such differences may not merely reflect a different degree of attention, especially when the formal script occurs on a decorated first page, which is in itself a marked part of the gathering. However, although there is a fair degree of overlap in the general shape of the letters, there are also clear differences. For example, whereas the letter *d* on fo. 1r is always written with a straight stem with a bold serif on top and a slight, rightward flick at the bottom, on the later leaves the letter is often found in its rounded, uncial form, written slanted to the left. Even when the stem is straight, the stem does not descend all the way to the base line in these latter parts of

⁵² If the scribe were indeed foreign, it should be noted that there appear to be no other signs of foreign influence in the text of the Stowe John, which for all its flaws seems to be a faithful copy of an earlier Irish gospel book. See pp. 67-73 below for a more detailed discussion of the lost exemplar of the Stowe John.

⁵³ Jaski, Bart, "Dianchríde and the Book of Dimma" (forthcoming), access to an early copy of which was kindly provided.

the quire, instead ending where it connects to the body of the letter. Another major difference is found in the shape of the letter *i*, which is almost always a straight minim with a serif on top on the first page of the quire,⁵⁴ while it has a strongly slanted by-form, which extends both above the head- and beneath the baseline in the following pages. Moreover, as was said before, it is notable that the script of fo. 1r is in general more carefully rounded, whereas that of the later parts has a much less careful aspect. Finally, it may be noted that the serifs in the two parts are unlike: not only are serifs almost universally present on fo. 1r, while they are often missing on the later pages, but they also differ in their basic shape, for whereas the serifs of fo. 1r are bold and triangular, those of the later pages rarely consist of more than a slight flick.

In light of this, it seems best to conclude that the Stowe John was the work of two separate scribes, the first of whom worked exclusively on the first page of the quire (fo. 1r), and the second of whom added the remainder, including the scribal colophon in which he referred to himself as Sonid / Dinos. The earlier, more accomplished scribe will henceforward be referred to as J, on account of his having added part of the Gospel of John. Given that J's work is restricted to the decorated first page of the quire, it seems possible that he was the illuminator.

Jaski, whose article is primarily concerned with the makeup and history of the Book of Dimma, further states that only the careful script of the Stowe John's first page (fo. 1r) may be compared with that of the Book of Dimma's Gospel of John. While it is certainly true that the more formal script of the first page of the Stowe Missal offers a closer match to that of the Book of Dimma John, which is written in a careful and even hand, the differences are not absolute, and the basic shape of the letters of the three scribes is roughly similar. Notably, in some respects Sonid / Dinos may even be said to agree more closely with the Dimma scribe than either of them does with scribe J, for the two share their frequent use of the slanted, uncial *d*. Moreover, both differ from J in having two variants of *r*, one with and one without a marked descender, whereas J only ever writes this letter without much of a descender.⁵⁵ It therefore seems reasonable to conclude that all three scribes had been trained at the same *scriptorium* and, one presumes, at roughly the same time. Two of them, namely the scribe of the Dimma John and J, were highly

⁵⁴ The one exception being the first *i* of fo. 1r9, where the letter extends below the baseline, presumably on account of its being found at the beginning of a line.

⁵⁵ It should be noted that we only have a small sample of J's writing and it cannot be ruled out that his script would have shown more variety if we had access to a larger amount of text in his hand, especially if one of the two variants was considered more formal than the other, given the inherently high status of the decorated first page. However, it should also be said that such considerations did not influence the scribe of the Dimma John, who used both forms of *r* on the decorated first page of his copy of the Gospel.

accomplished, at least by the relatively low standards of small, portable Gospel books. The scribe who called himself Sonid / Dinos *peregrinus* was less able. All three nevertheless appear to have been professionally trained scribes, making frequent use of abbreviations.⁵⁶

Although the script of both the Stowe Missal's and the Book of Dimma's copies of the Gospel of John is thus related, and may presumably be traced to (the influence of) a single *scriptorium*, the page layout and the preparation of the leaves does show that there are also considerable differences between the two manuscripts. At 175 x 142 mm, the Book of Dimma is somewhat larger than the Stowe Missal (ca. 142 x 110 mm) and, apart from its first page, the text of the Dimma John is written in two columns to a page, whereas the Stowe John is written in a single column throughout. Although the Dimma John is not a *de luxe* Gospel book, the evangelist's portrait (p. 104, featuring John's eagle) was made to a higher standard than that of its counterpart in the Stowe John (fo. 11v),⁵⁷ and the red and yellow pigment of the Dimma John's portrait and *incipit* are also used on the following pages for decorating the larger initials, which signify major transitions in the text. No such decoration is found in the Stowe John, which is undecorated apart from its *incipit* and its evangelist's portrait. Additionally, the prickings differ between the two manuscripts. In the Stowe John, highly visible prickings are found immediately surrounding the written area on both sides throughout the quire. In the Dimma John, prickings are instead found far into the margin. Moreover, in the latter case, the prickings consist only of faint slits and appear to have been made using the tip of a blade,⁵⁸ whereas the prickings are wider in the Stowe John, having left visible holes in the parchment. Apart from these codicological differences, it should also be noted that, even apart from the fact that the Dimma John is essentially complete while the Stowe John exhibits major gaps, there are numerous textual differences between the Stowe and Dimma versions of the Gospel of John, and that there is variation in the use of abbreviations.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Scribe J uses somewhat fewer abbreviations than the scribe of the Dimma John and Sonid / Dinos. For a direct comparison, see the transcription of the first books of both the Stowe and Dimma John on pp. 202-208 in Appendix 1 below. For an overview of the abbreviations used in the Stowe John on the whole and in the first chapter of the Gospel of John in the Book of Dimma, see pp. 271-274 in Appendix 3.

⁵⁷ See pp. 51-5656 below for a detailed discussion of the Stowe Missal's portrait of John the Evangelist.

⁵⁸ Gillis, John and Bernard Meehan, "Examining the Book of Dimma, the scribe Dianchrade and the Gospel of John", in Moss, Rachel, Felicity O'Mahony and Jane Maxwell (eds.), *An Insular Odyssey: Manuscript Culture in Early Christian Ireland and Beyond* (Dublin 2017) 86-113: 103.

⁵⁹ Compare for example the beginning of John 1:4:

Stowe Missal (fo. 1r15) *in eo uita est*
Book of Dimma (p. 105 line 7-8) *in ipso uita est*

In spite of the affinity of their script, the Stowe and Dimma Johns cannot be said to be particularly close copies. Their scribes evidently worked to a different plan, and almost certainly made use of different exemplars. Whether this should be taken to suggest that the two Gospel books were produced at different times, or indeed places,⁶⁰ or whether it simply reflects the use of a different exemplar, cannot be established with any degree of certainty.

The full implications of the link between the Stowe Missal's first quire and the Book of Dimma's Gospel of John for the provenance of the Stowe Missal on the whole will be considered in the second chapter below.⁶¹ For now, we may simply conclude that the Stowe John was copied by two distinct scribes. No other hands, barring an early modern hand responsible for adding Arabic numerals in pencil,⁶² can be distinguished within the first quire, and neither Sonid / Dinos nor J wrote any of the text in the final four quires of the Stowe Missal.

1.2.2. Scribes A and A1

There is a major break between the end of the first quire and the beginning of the second, the most notable sign of which is the aforementioned complete change of scribes. As was stated before, within the manuscript's later four quires the main distinction is generally agreed to be between the original hand(s) of these gatherings and the hands who made further additions to the manuscript sometime after the original stage of copying was done.

1.2.2.1. General Features

The general aspect of the script of the original scribe(s) has attracted a fair amount of scholarly attention over the years. There is some disagreement as to whether the script should be

and John 1:40:

Stowe Missal (fo. 2r7-9) *Erat autem Andrias, frater Simonis Petri, qui audierunt qui ab Iohanne et secuti fuerant eum.*

Book of Dimma (p. 107a line 5-8) *Erat autem Andreas, frater Simonis Petri, unus ex duobus qui audierunt ab Iohanne et secuti fuerant eum.*

See also Appendices 1 and 3 below.

⁶⁰ It would, after all, certainly be possible for scribes trained at the same *scriptorium* to have moved to a different centre during their professional lifetimes, without ever changing the aspect of their script.

⁶¹ See pp. 110-111 and pp. 124-139.

⁶² See pp. 56-59 below for a discussion of the early modern hands found in the Stowe Missal.

considered a particularly large and formal minuscule,⁶³ a rare, angular kind of Insular majuscule,⁶⁴ or in a class of its own.⁶⁵ What is certain is that the letters of the original parts of the Latin main text of the Stowe Missal's final four quires are unusually angular, as well comparatively formal and large. Nevertheless, the script is still fundamentally minuscule and Brown's classification of the hand as a hybrid minuscule (phase two)⁶⁶ is here adopted, for the ascenders and descenders of letters such as *b*, *d*, *g*, *l* and *p* extend well above the head- or below the baseline, rather than being reduced.⁶⁷ The only exception to this rule is that the letter *r* is notable for almost always being found as a clear majuscule.⁶⁸

The fundamental shape of the letters of the original hand(s) remains much the same throughout the final four quires of the Stowe Missal, albeit with some marked differences in, for example, the breadth of the strokes.⁶⁹ Although the text of this hand / these hands forms the original part of these quires and must therefore have once been connected, later additions now intervene and the original parts are found scattered across the following folios and lines:⁷⁰

ff. 12r-12v, 13r6-13v, 15r7-17v4, 20r-21r7, 26v8-29v, 32r-34v3, 37v-46r, 47r-65r.⁷¹

⁶³ E.g. Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): xii, Gwynn, Edward J. "The Stowe Missal", *Irish Church Quarterly* 9 (1916) 119-133: 131 and, more recently, Dumville, David, *A Palaeographer's Review: The Insular System of Scripts in the Early Middle Ages* (Osaka 1999) 121, who labeled the hand as a 'set minuscule', using Brown's terminology. Brown himself classified the hand as an angular kind of 'hybrid minuscule Phase II' (Brown, *A Palaeographer's View* (1993) 211 and 218-219).

⁶⁴ E.g. O'Sullivan, William, "Manuscripts and Palaeography", in Ó Cróinín, Dáibhí (ed.), *A New History of Ireland, vol. 1: Prehistoric and Early Ireland* (Oxford 2008) 511-548: 533 and O'Neill, Timothy, *The Irish Hand: Scribes and their Manuscripts from the Earliest Times* (Cork 2014): 80.

⁶⁵ The latter view was advanced by MacCarthy, who proposed considering this script as the only surviving example of an angular, Irish semi-majuscule or mediuscule (MacCarthy, "On the Stowe Missal" (1877-1886): 143-146).

⁶⁶ Brown, *A Palaeographer's View* (1993) 211 and 218-219.

⁶⁷ Timothy O'Neill, who prefers describing the hand as a majuscule, notes that "minuscule forms of *d*, *n* and *s* are used" (O'Neill, *The Irish Hand* (2014): 81).

⁶⁸ There are a few instances where *r* appears in its minuscule form, e.g. fo. 33v1 *depraecamur*, fo. 33v5 *donare* and fo. 65r13 *ordo* (Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): xii).

⁶⁹ These differences are discussed in detail below.

⁷⁰ In general only lines of the main text, in whatever hand, are counted for the purposes of this dissertation. Rubrics and other *marginalia* are usually left uncounted, except when the main text scribe of any given page had purposefully left space for them in copying the main text, or added them himself.

⁷¹ A small and informal variant of this angular type of script is found on the final leaves of the manuscript, i.e. on ff. 65v-67v. See pp. 29-34 below for a discussion of these leaves.

1.2.2.2. Variations

The aforementioned variations in the aspect of the script led Warner, who made the most careful study of these hands,⁷² to believe that these parts of the Stowe Missal had been the work of five distinct, but similar hands. It should be noted that he appears to have had some difficulty distinguishing their activities. In his view, the first hand (A¹) was responsible for the original parts of the text from fo. 12r up to fo. 28v, the latter of which coincides with the end of the second quire. With the start of the third quire on fo. 29r, a second hand (A²) took over and added the original text up to the end of that quire on fo. 46. Things were less clear for the fourth and fifth gatherings: a third hand (A³) copied ff. 47r-51v and fo. 52 was “perhaps written by A¹”. Warner then proposed with some uncertainty that ff. 53r-64r had been copied by a fourth hand (A⁴) and a fifth (A⁵) “certainly” began on fo. 64v, continuing to the end of the Latin parts of these quires on fo. 65r.⁷³ Apart from indicating the breaks between his proposed divisions, Warner offered few ways to distinguish between these hands. The third hand (A³) was supposed to have had “more ornamental initials” and, in discussing the general aspect of the letter *a*, Warner noted that “the second stroke... is often higher than the other and sharply pointed” *especially* in the text by the second hand (A²).⁷⁴

The latter is a minor observation, for both the pointed variant of the letter *a* mentioned by Warner and its ordinary counterpart (which does not differ from the extended version apart from its ending in a flat top) may be found throughout the original parts of the later four quires. Even if there is a slight increase of the extended variant in the third quire, as Warner stated, this in itself seems to be insufficient grounds for establishing the existence of a separate scribe.

Apart from Warner, MacCarthy offered brief remarks on the division of the hands, stating simply that “two scribes were employed in the transcription of the older portion of the MS.”⁷⁵ He believed the second of these to have copied the text from “26 a to the end of the Missal (44a)” as well as “64b and 65 a b”.⁷⁶ MacCarthy left the smaller of the interpolated leaves (our ff. 14 and 19) out of his folio count, and we should therefore read his statement to say that the

⁷² Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): xii-xiv.

⁷³ *Ibid.*: xii.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ MacCarthy, “On the Stowe Missal” (1877-1886): 143. MacCarthy did not comment on the hands of the remainder of the manuscript, such as the Stowe John and the Tract.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

second of his two original scribes began on fo. 28r, at the beginning of the third quire, in our present count and continued to the end of that quire on fo. 46r.⁷⁷ So far, MacCarthy is in full agreement with Warner. The two scholars diverge when it comes to the remainder, for whereas Warner, as we have seen, believed the fourth and fifth quires to have been the work of four scribes, albeit with a short stint by his A¹, MacCarthy believed these parts to have been copied almost entirely by the first scribe. MacCarthy noted that there were no major differences in the nature of the script and believed both scribes to date to the same time, with the second hand being simply “the work of the bolder and the heavier hand,— nothing more.”⁷⁸

Beyond Warner and MacCarthy only the editors of the *Thesaurus* offered a brief overview of the divisions of the hands in the Latin main text throughout the later four quires, for which they appear to have relied on the views of Frederic Kenyon, who investigated the manuscript on their behalf.⁷⁹ Like Warner and MacCarthy, they believed there to be two hands in the text of the Missal proper, the first of which (A¹) copied the text of the second quire (ff. 12-28) and the second of which (A²) copied that of the third (ff. 29-46r). They expressed some uncertainty as to whether A² continued after fo. 38r4, where the Order and Canon of the Mass ends, but considered it likely that he also copied the special Masses which fill up the remainder of the quire. For the fourth and fifth quire, their views are largely in agreement with Warner’s subsequent analysis, for they believed it to be the work of several hands. They were no more certain about the exact divisions, stating that the fourth quire “begins in a hand (B) akin to A¹, but probably not the same” and “...it is impossible to determine exactly the points of change, or how far the differences are due to the progressive deterioration on the part of a single scribe.”⁸⁰

In all, we may therefore conclude that the early editors of (parts of) the Stowe Missal, in so far as they expressed an opinion on the matter, seem to have agreed that there was a change of hand

⁷⁷ It is difficult to determine which folios MacCarthy was referring to in stating that the second scribe was also responsible for the text on “64 b and 65 a b”. If we include the two inserted folios 14 and 19, MacCarthy would appear to have referred to ff. 66v and 67, but this makes little sense, for fo. 66v is halfway into the Irish Tract on the Mass, the end of which is found on fo. 67r, with the spells coming on the verso side of that page, and MacCarthy was otherwise certainly referring only to the large-script, Latin parts of the manuscript. It therefore seems altogether more likely that MacCarthy miscounted and was rather referring to some late part of the Latin text of the fifth quire, although probably not to the very final pages of that text, given that this ends on the recto side of fo. 65, whereas MacCarthy refers to a segment ending on a verso side.

⁷⁸ MacCarthy, “On the Stowe Missal” (1877-1886): 143.

⁷⁹ Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, vol. 2 (1901-1903): xxv-xxvi. For the mention of Kenyon, see p. xxv n. 4 in particular.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*: xxv-xxvi.

at the beginning of the third quire and that various changes, albeit of a minor nature, may be observed in the fourth and fifth quire. Moreover, they all agreed that these hands of the original, Latin parts of the Missal are strongly similar and that the variation need not reflect any difference in time.

More recently, the matter was touched upon by Timothy O'Neill, who used digital images to compare a number of instances of the same word occurring in various parts of the manuscript in order to compare the shape of their letters in detail. O'Neill concluded that "what were formerly thought to be different hands... is the same hand using differently cut quills",⁸¹ referring to Warner. Going solely by this brief statement and given the fact that the examples offered by O'Neill in support of his argument are drawn from only two pages of the manuscript (i.e. fo. 12v and fo. 32r, in the second and third quires respectively, and thus involving Warner's, MacCarthy's and the *Thesaurus*' A¹ and A²), it might have remained unclear whether O'Neill had meant to say that all of Warner's five hands are one and the same, or whether this held only for scribes A¹ and A². Fortunately, O'Neill was less ambiguous in the second edition of *The Irish Hand*, in which he stated plainly that "the script appears to be in the hand of one scribe, although the varying widths of his pen may create a different impression."⁸² This finding accords well with the observed minor differences in the aspect of the script, as well as the difficulty the early editors had in offering clear distinguishing features between his five hands.

O'Neill also addressed the matter of the ornamental initials of (parts of) the fourth quire, namely those written by Warner's A³. Observing that the underlying, basic shape of these enlarged initials is identical to those of the plain initials found elsewhere in the original parts of the later four quires of the Stowe Missal, O'Neill concluded that the decorations were not original to the copying of the text, but had been added by a later artist. That is to say, O'Neill suggests that a later artist embellished a number of existing, plain initials, rather than that the space for these initials had been left blank up to then. Moreover, he noted that the "style of these decorations is similar to that popular in the eleventh and twelfth centuries".⁸³ Curiously, the presence of a

⁸¹ O'Neill, Timothy, "Quills, Inks and Vellums", in Cunningham, Bernadette and Siobhán Fitzpatrick (eds.), *Treasures of the Royal Irish Academy Library* (Dublin 2009) 45-49: 45-46.

⁸² O'Neill, Timothy, *The Irish Hand* (2014) 18.

⁸³ O'Neill, "Quills, Inks and Vellums" (2009): 46.

number of similarly ornamented enlarged initials at the beginning of the second quire was left unmentioned by Warner.⁸⁴

If O'Neill is correct in identifying the style to belong to the eleventh and twelfth century, these decorations would be of a considerably later date than the copying of the remainder of the manuscript. However, at that stage, perhaps some three centuries after the creation of the Stowe Missal, we may wonder why anyone would have made the effort to embellish a relatively small amount of the initials of a manuscript which must by then almost certainly have been liturgically obsolescent.⁸⁵ In fact, as we will see in the second chapter,⁸⁶ this would then have happened only shortly before the manuscript was enshrined as a relic.

Moreover, while O'Neill is right to point out that these knotted-wire initials are reminiscent of those found in eleventh and twelfth century Irish manuscripts, similar initials are already found in earlier sources, such as the ninth century Book of Kells⁸⁷ and St Gallen Priscian.⁸⁸ The latter in particular contains a number of forms that are very similar to those found in the Stowe Missal.⁸⁹ It therefore seems likely that the Stowe Missal's decorated initials were added closer to the main copying of the manuscript, either by scribe A himself, or by some unknown, later scribe. However, given that the underlying shape of these initials is, as O'Neill established, identical to those found elsewhere in the manuscript, it seems unlikely that we should use their presence or absence to distinguish between various main text hands, as Warner did.

1.2.2.3. Rubrics

Apart from the aforementioned parts of the main text of the second through fifth quires of the Stowe Missal, scribe A, or a scribe with a very similar hand, added a number of rubrics to the text of the fourth quire. These may be found on:

ff. 48r, 49r, 52v, 57v, 58r, 58v.

⁸⁴ We may wonder whether it was the shared feature of having some decorated initials led MacCarthy to believe that his 'first scribe' had also copied the original parts of the fourth quire.

⁸⁵ For an overview of the locations of these initials within the manuscript, see p. 49 below.

⁸⁶ See pp. 96-108 below in particular.

⁸⁷ CLA vol. 2, no. 274; Dublin, Trinity College Dublin, MS 58.

⁸⁸ St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 904.

⁸⁹ Compare, for example, the *D* of the Stowe Missal's fo. 47r1 with that of the St Gallen Priscian's p. 50, line 1.

In all but the first few cases, the scribe is writing in a compressed, smaller version of the angular script found in the main text. Only in the first two instances, on fo. 48r and fo. 49r, does the script approach that of the main text itself. Nevertheless the shape of the letters is largely identical to those of the main text, including marked features such as the frequent use of capital *r* and the occasional occurrence of scribe A's distinctive, open *q*, which has a notable hook extending above the headline over the first stroke of the letter. On the other hand, in each of these rubrics there is a tendency to use the uncial form of *d*, slanted to the left, as opposed to its straight form, which is the more common variant in A's main text.⁹⁰ Moreover, it should be noted that the ascenders of the slanted *d*'s of these rubrics regularly extend somewhat further than those of other letters, and occasionally end with a rightward flick at the top – features for which there is no parallel in the main text. It may also be observed that the aforementioned extended, or, as Warner put it, “sharply pointed” form of *a* is absent from these additions.

Given the otherwise near identity of the script, it is hard to decide whether we are here faced with scribe A using a compressed and less formal style in writing outside of the main text, or whether these rubrics were added by a different scribe instead.⁹¹ In either case, the similarity is such that it seems certain that if there was indeed a change of hands, the scribe had at least been trained at the same *scriptorium* and in the same style as that of scribe A, and there is every reason to believe that these additions were made at a time and place very near to that of the main text, if they were not added simultaneously. The latter view is further supported by the fact that scribe A left room for many of these rubrics when he copied the main text. For although the rubrics on ff. 48r and 49r, and the shorter rubrics on ff. 57v and 58r seem to fit into spaces left naturally in the text, the same cannot be true for the longer rubrics on ff. 52v, 57v and 58v, which are too extensive to be explained in that fashion. This is especially certain in the case of the first and longest of the rubrics on fo. 57v, which occupies the upper part of that page and includes the space usually reserved for the first two lines of the main text in this part of the

⁹⁰ The straight form of the letter is but rarely found in these additions, e.g. fo. 49r *dorsum*.

⁹¹ Warner seems to have considered each of these additions to have been by the main text scribes. He did not comment on a change of scribe for the rubrics on fo. 49r (Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): 27). For the rubric on fo. 52v, he noted that the text was in “smaller characters than the text, but apparently by the same hand” (ibid.: 28 n. 7). He left a similar note for the rubrics on fo. 57v (ibid.: 31 n. 2). Finally, Warner again left no comment on the rubrics on fo. 58r (ibid.: 31) and fo. 58v (ibid.: 32), suggesting that he did not consider there to have been a change of hands.

manuscript. It would simply be unprecedented for A to have left the first two lines blank and have started his text so low on the page for no reason.⁹²

The compressed form of these rubrics raises the question why scribe A, or his hypothetical close associate, whom we will refer to as A1 from here on out, preferred to add most of them in this marked fashion rather than as part of the main text itself, given that he would have been able to determine the layout of his text to suit his needs. Apart from the possibility that the scribe simply followed a practice found in his exemplar, the best solution seems to be that he wished to mark the different status of the rubrics relative to that of the main text.⁹³

In itself, the very presence of these rubrics is surprising, given the absence of any such additions by scribe A, or any scribe with a similar script, in the preceding and following quires. The additions are not only found exclusively within the fourth quire, but more specifically are contained entirely within the Order of Baptism, which, as we have seen, must originally have begun at the beginning of the fourth quire and ended near the start of the fifth and final gathering of the manuscript. In light of this, the unusual presence of glosses and rubrics copied alongside the main text may well suggest that there was a change of exemplar for this part of the Stowe Missal.

If we are right to assume that rubrics were an integral part of the exemplar out of which the Order of Baptism was copied, rather than that they simply happened to coincide with the change of topic, the absence of rubrics in the original hand(s) in the Stowe Missal's fifth and final quire might suggest that there was another change of exemplar *after* the Order of Baptism. Moreover, if scribe A simply copied (or left space for) any rubrics he came across in his exemplars, this would also imply that the manuscript(s) out of which all but the Order of Baptism were copied contained clean, rather than glossed copies of the texts.⁹⁴ Finally, these changes of exemplar would also suggest that scribe A consciously selected a number of texts from various sources

⁹² The only other example of A having deliberately left the first line of a page empty is found on fo. 64v, on the penultimate page of the Latin parts of the manuscript. At this late stage the scribe must have been well aware that he would have some space left when he finished his text on fo. 65r – something which may also be seen from the concomitant increase in the use of enlarged letters, as well as the playful extension of the descenders in the final line of the page for decorative purposes – and the layout of fo. 64v can therefore not readily be compared with that of fo. 57v.

⁹³ A similar practice is sometimes found for the rubrics added by Mól Caích to interpolated pages in his own hand. For more on this, see the discussion of that scribe below on pp. 37-40.

⁹⁴ Given that liturgical texts were not normally glossed, it is the Stowe Missal's Order of Baptism that is out of the ordinary, rather than the remainder of the manuscript.

when he composed the Stowe Missal, rather than simply copying out the contents of a single exemplar. If this hypothesis is correct, an analysis of the Stowe Missal's contents should also give us an idea of the intended purpose of the later four quires of this composite manuscript.

1.2.2.4. Corrections to the Creed

It is somewhat more difficult to determine whether the four brief correctional glosses on the Creed on fo. 20v were also added by scribe A (or A1). These glosses differ considerably from the rubrics on the Order of Baptism in that they are both brief and strictly interlinear, rather than space having been left for them on the ruled lines themselves. Warner suggested that the first of these glosses was perhaps added by the interpolator Mól Caích,⁹⁵ and, with unusual diffidence, left the matter open for the remainder of the glosses on this page.⁹⁶ In a more recent publication, Aidan Breen argued that these additions are in fact in the hand of the main text scribe, that is to say scribe A.⁹⁷ Breen directly compared these interlinear glosses with the aforementioned rubric on fo. 52v, which he considered to be in scribe A's "glossing hand".⁹⁸ Breen based his identification on the similarity between the abbreviations for *pro* in the main text and in the gloss *filioque procedit*, and the form of the letter *q* in this phrase, which he described as "a narrower angular type where the 'round' of the letter is formed by three straight strokes of the pen."⁹⁹ He was certainly correct in stating that the notably angular *q* of the gloss on fo. 20v offers a close match to the closed *q* of the second occurrence of the word *usque* in the rubric on fo. 52v, as well as to various examples throughout the main text, but it should be noted that this variant of *q* is less uniquely typical of scribes A and A1 than their horned *q*, found for example in the main text on fo. 20v1 *qui* and in the first instance of the word *usque* in the aforementioned rubric on fo. 52v, for the latter is the more marked variant of the letter. The basic angularity of the letters nevertheless supports the idea that the *filioque* gloss, as well as the briefer *qui* on the same line, was added by scribe A (or A1), rather than by Mól Caích, who used much more rounded letters throughout. The identification on the basis of the *pro*-abbreviation is less sound, for although the basic shape of this segment in the gloss is similar to such abbreviations in the main text, scribe A usually ends the abbreviation stroke appended to the descender of the *p* with

⁹⁵ "...*etiam*" interlined by Moelcaich (?)" (Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): 8 n. 6).

⁹⁶ "It is doubtful whether these alterations were made by Moelcaich or another." (ibid. n. 7).

⁹⁷ Breen, Aidan, "The Text of the Constantinopolitan Creed in the Stowe Missal", *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy: C* 90 (1990) 107-121: 119-121.

⁹⁸ Ibid.: 119.

⁹⁹ Ibid.: 121.

a downward slant (e.g. fo. 20v1 *propter* and fo. 20v4 *pro*), whereas said stroke here consists of a short upwards curve instead.

Breen was nevertheless likely correct to identify the glossator of (most of) these glosses with main text scribe A (or A1), for the shape of the letters *f* and the markedly angular *c* are essentially identical to those found in the surrounding main text, while they do not allow for ready identification with the script of any of the other hands of the manuscript. Moreover, it must be noted that the glossator's use of the uncial, slanted *d* found so often in the rubrics in the Order of Baptism, suggests that if A1 is indeed separate from scribe A these glosses should be assigned to the former.

It is harder still to determine whether Warner was right to suppose that the first correctional gloss on the page was added by Mól Caích. The correction, which reads *etiam* (gl. *autem*), is not only brief but also particularly densely compressed, and assigning it to scribe A (or A1) mainly follows from the assumption that the other glosses on the page appear to be his, as well as the absence of any features directly contradicting this notion. The strongest positive hint that the gloss should be assigned to A (or A1) is found in the shape of the *t*, the stem of which is hooked and consists of two distinct strokes, rather than forming a single, curved line. This feature is relatively frequent in A's Latin main text, especially in the immediately surrounding pages. In a somewhat reduced form, this feature is also found in the rubrics on the Order of Baptism, as well as in the *flioque procedit* gloss further down on fo. 20v. This variant of *t* is only rarely even approximated by Mól Caích, or any other later scribe, and this, along with the inherent possibility that these correctional glosses were added in a single go, suggests that this gloss was also added by A (or A1).

1.2.2.5. The Irish Tract on the Mass

There are no other instances of scribe A (or A1) adding rubrics or glosses to his own Latin main text, and no examples at all of his adding anything to the main text of others elsewhere in the manuscript. What remains are the Stowe Missal's four Irish-language texts, the relation of which to the rest of the manuscript has received relatively little scholarly attention.¹⁰⁰ With regard to the Irish Tract on the Mass, Warner stated that the hand "has a rather striking resemblance to

¹⁰⁰ The editors of the *Thesaurus*, for example, merely stated that "the Irish treatise on the Eucharist and the Spells are written in different rough hands" (xxviii).

that of the rubrics on ff. 57v-58v”,¹⁰¹ at the very end of the fourth quire, which, as we have seen, he considered to have been written by one of the original, main text scribes (his A⁴, to be exact). Warner noted that the script of the Tract has both a general similarity to that of scribe A elsewhere, but also shows “the same majuscule *r* and the horned open *q* in addition to the ordinary form, which is also the commoner in the rubrics”.¹⁰² Based on these shared features, as well as the scribe’s practice of adding the abbreviation stroke of *-rum* to the right of the *r*, rather than over the letter, he concluded that the Tract was copied at the same time, or shortly after, the remaining original parts of the Stowe Missal’s later four quires. Warner’s arguments are sound and, although he shied away from identifying the scribe of the Irish Tract with any of his original hands, the general angularity of the script of the Tract, as well as the presence of both majuscule *r* (throughout) and the horned *q* (once, as an enlarged initial on fo. 65v24) are in fact strong indications that the Tract was written by scribe A (or A1). Other shared features include the similar curve of the *g* and the near identity of the letter *f*.

The differences consist largely in the much smaller size of the script, as well as its generally uneven and careless nature,¹⁰³ which may, for example, be seen from the shape of the *t*. As was discussed above, in scribe A’s Latin main text, the stem of this letter is often hooked and connected to the bar by a separate upward stroke. In the Tract this downstroke is both slanted and connected directly to the top line. It may moreover be noted that the Tract does not feature the pointed variant of *a*. The latter supports Warner’s suggestion that the hand of the Tract is close to that of the rubrics on the Order of Baptism (the hypothetical scribe A1), for we have seen that this pointed variant of *a* does not appear in these segments either. Moreover, as in those rubrics, the scribe of the Tract generally uses the uncial form of *d* (alongside a few examples of its straight counterpart), with its slanted ascender again regularly extending well over the ascenders of other letters in the same line, and sometimes ending in a playful flick to the right.

In light of the presence of these marked features, it seems certain that Warner was correct when he suggested that the Tract was at the very least copied by a scribe trained at the same

¹⁰¹ Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): xxxvii.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ Or as it was put by Edward Gwynn: “the Latin script is large (for a minuscule), formal, and laborious; the Irish hand is small, irregular, and roughly executed: it is evidently the work of a scribe who is not doing his best.” (Gwynn, “The Stowe Missal” (1916): 131).

scriptorium and at much the same time as scribe A, and his possible associate A1. There is in fact nothing barring us from identifying the latter with the scribe of the Tract.

1.2.2.6. The Irish Charms

Warner was less certain of the scribe(s) of the three Irish charms on the very last page of the manuscript, which he described simply as “rougher” and did not assign even a relative date, although he did include them in his general statement that in his opinion the entirety of the Stowe Missal “contains nothing later than the ninth century”.¹⁰⁴ Gwynn, however, although primarily concerned with the Irish Tract, noted that the features of the script which link the Tract to scribe A’s Latin text also occur in the charms, and that we should therefore consider these to belong to the same time and place.¹⁰⁵ Warner’s notable diffidence may well have originated in that he appears mainly to have been concerned with addressing the suggestion by the palaeographer Frederic Kenyon, who had tentatively suggested that the Latin parts of the manuscript dated to the tenth or late ninth century at the earliest and that the hands of the Irish parts could “hardly be earlier than the eleventh century”.¹⁰⁶

Although the page on which the charms are found is badly weathered and partly illegible, close examination demonstrates that Gwynn was correct. The charms share many of the same palaeographical features with the Tract and the Latin texts by scribe A (and A1), most particularly the frequent use of majuscule *r*¹⁰⁷ and the generally angular aspect of the script. There is, in fact, no fundamental difference between the script of the Tract and that of the charms, and we may note that the enlarged initials used at the beginning of the three charms offer a close match to those used in the Latin parts of the Missal and, to a lesser extent, in the Tract. The first charm opens with an open enlarged *a*, with a curved hook extending outwards from both the first and second downward strokes of the letter (fo. 67v1 *Ad-munniur*). Although this particular variant of the capital letter is not found in the Tract, it is identical to a number of

¹⁰⁴ Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): xxxix.

¹⁰⁵ Gwynn, “The Stowe Missal” (1915): 132. Gwynn considered these features to consist of the general use of majuscule *r*, the infrequent but non-trivial use of non-uncial *d*, the “narrow, eel-like tail” of the *g*, the slightly inclined shaft of *b* and the angularity of the letter *o*.

¹⁰⁶ Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, vol. 2 (1901-1903): xxviii. For a full discussion of the dating of the various parts of the manuscript, see pp. 91-124 in chapter 2 below.

¹⁰⁷ There is at least one notable example of the more ordinary, minuscule *r* in the charms, namely in the rubric on the third charm, *ar galar fuel* (fo. 67v12), where the first *r* is majuscule, but the second minuscule.

capital letters in the Latin main text (e.g. fo. 59v *Alleluia* and 64r1 *Accepto*), albeit that the example in the charms is somewhat smaller. Notably, the Latin texts also feature a closed variant of this enlarged initial *a* (e.g. fo. 64r7 *Agimus*, fo. 27v13 *Accipit* and fo. 32r1 *Ablis*), which in turn offers a close match to the enlarged *a*'s of the Tract (fo. 65v12 *A canar*, fo. 65v22 *A ocbál*, fo. 66r10 *A combag* and fo. 66r24 *A .xi. di obli*). Whether the enlarged initial *m* of the second charm is similarly close to those of the Latin texts in hand A is less clear due to the fading of the manuscript, but the initial *s* of the third charm (fo. 67v13 *Suil*) is again like those of the original Latin parts of the Stowe Missal (e.g. fo. 12va5, fo. 55v10 and fo. 55v13 *Sit*),¹⁰⁸ which have been called 'split' initials,¹⁰⁹ albeit that the letter is somewhat less carefully executed in the charms. The shape of this 'split' initial *s* in the charms may be of some further significance, for it is very similar to that used for the enlarged initial *p* (e.g. fo. 17r1 *Pro* and fo. 34r2 *Per*) and *f* (e.g. fo. 34r10 *Fiat* and fo. 41r5 *Fidem*) throughout the Latin texts by hand A,¹¹⁰ and we may therefore safely say that the enlarged *s* of the third charm is of a kind with a group of initials typical of scribe A.

That the charms may again, like the Tract, be connected especially to the more compressed script of the rubrics in the Order of Baptism may be seen from the frequent use of the slanted, uncial *d*. Although there are no certain examples of the decorative rightward flick at the top of the ascenders of these letters on the final page of the manuscript, the ascenders themselves do extend further than those of other letters in the same line. The two occurrences of the letter in the first line of the third charm (fo. 67v13 *lind lindas*) offer examples of the latter. It may also be noted that in the charms the stem of the letter *t* is, on occasion, written in the hooked variant mentioned above, which is sometimes found in scribe A's Latin main text, as well as in the

¹⁰⁸ The *s* of *Suil* in the third Charm has previously also been read as an *f* (*Fuil*), e.g. by the editors of the *Thesaurus* (Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, vol. 2 (1901-1903): 250), but this has no bearing on the present argument, except that comparison should then be made with the Latin forms *Fiat* (fo. 34r10) and *Fidem* (fo. 41r5) mentioned below instead. The reading *s* is the more likely, given the absence of any trace of the crossbar of *f* in this instance. The two letters are otherwise identical; see the enlarged initials on fo. 16r11-12 for a direct comparison.

¹⁰⁹ O'Neill, Timothy, "Initial Wanderings: Continuity and Development of the Smaller Initials in Irish Manuscripts, c. 500-c. 1500", in Moss, Rachel, Felicity O'Mahony and Jane Maxwell (eds.), *An Insular Odyssey: Manuscript Culture in Early Christian Ireland and Beyond* (Dublin 2017) 283-301: 289-291. Carol Farr has compared the 'split' initial *s* of the Stowe Missal with that of St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 1395, p. 427 (Farr, Carol A., "Reused, Rescued, Recycled: The Art Historical and Palaeographical Contexts of the Irish Fragments, St Gallen Codex 1395", in Moss, Rachel, Felicity O'Mahony and Jane Maxwell (eds.), *An Insular Odyssey: Manuscript Culture in Early Christian Ireland and Beyond* (Dublin 2017) 175-193: 178-181).

¹¹⁰ This style may be described as having an decorative slanted line with a curved hook on top to the left of the main descender of the letter.

glosses on fo. 20v, but which is rare in the Tract. An example of this variant of *t* may found in the second line of the third charm in *teora* (fo. 67v14).

The differences between the script of the charms and that of the manuscript's original Latin texts, much like for the Tract, consist of a general looseness and informal style, as well as the small and compressed nature of the script. Gwynn suggested that these differences between the original Irish and Latin parts of the Stowe Missal may have been the result of a difference in care,¹¹¹ and this seems a likely explanation for the observed facts. In this, we should recall that the nature of the Latin and the Irish texts in the Stowe Missal differs. The Latin texts of the manuscript's final four quires (i.e. the Order of the Mass, a number of special, votive Masses, the Order of Baptism and the Anointing of the Sick) are performative in nature, and were almost certainly meant to be read during the performance of holy rituals.¹¹² The Irish Tract is a theological treatise, presumably intended for private reflection, rather than for public reading. Given the importance of the correct wording and order during the performance of the sacraments, and the many physical acts required, it is easy to imagine the need for these Latin parts of the manuscript to be written in a highly legible hand, which could be read reasonably well from a slight distance. In light of the expense involved in using bigger script and more generous spacing due to the need for more parchment, as well as the extra time required to copy out such stylised letters, one might expect that in a primarily functional, rather than a *de luxe* manuscript such large and formal script would only have been used when it was required by the practical needs of the text, and would have given way to a compressed, small and less careful hand everywhere else.

That the charms, which were also of a performative nature, were nevertheless written in small script may perhaps reflect the more private and almost certainly less formal setting in which they were likely to be performed, although the very practical matter of having to fit the charms onto the very final leaf of the manuscript must also have played a part in opting for compressed script. Whether the relative status of the texts came into the matter is harder to say, for while an Irish charm would not have been regarded in the same way as the Latin text of one of the sacraments, the distinction between charms and the sacraments is far from clear-cut, with charms often incorporating elements of the liturgy, prayers and other (Latin) religious material.

¹¹¹ Gwynn, "The Stowe Missal" (1916): 133.

¹¹² See pp. 87-90 below for further discussion of the intended purpose of the Stowe Missal and its various parts.

Within the Stowe charms, such material may, for example, be found in the invocation of bishop Ibar as well as the extended quotation from John (John 9:6-7) in the first charm. Moreover, while the second charm is entirely in Irish, Jaqueline Borsje has argued that it is open to a fully Christian interpretation,¹¹³ and is therefore not out of place in a liturgical document.¹¹⁴ In light of this, the decision to enter the charms using a small, informal script may, much like for the Tract, have depended more on pragmatic concerns, rather than necessarily reflecting a supposed low standing of the texts themselves.

Returning once more to the script of the charms we must note that, unlike the Tract, which is clearly the work of a single hand, there are differences in the thickness of the strokes, as well as the colour of the ink between the three charms. In particular, the first charm is written in considerably broader strokes than either of the other two, and the ink is darker. Such differences are smaller between the second and third charms, but the spacing of the lines is wider for the second charm. These differences are almost certainly the reason why there was always considered to have been more than one hand in the charms in earlier scholarship, even though there is no fundamental difference in the shape of the letters themselves. However, given that we have already seen that O'Neill argued that such differences in the breadth of the strokes elsewhere in the Stowe Missal do not in fact reflect a change of scribe, but rather a single scribe who did not always keep a consistently sized quill nib, it is certainly possible that we are faced with the same thing for the charms, and that they are all three the work of a single scribe. The differences in the colour of the ink, the size of the letters and the spacing of the lines may then be taken to suggest that some time passed between the copying of the three charms, rather than that they had been written in a single sitting. If this hypothesis is correct, it implies that the scribe of the charms must have had access to the Stowe Missal for an extended period of time, and may therefore well have been the owner of the manuscript.

To sum up, we may conclude that the original parts of the Latin main text of the final four quires of the Stowe Missal were the work of a single scribe who wrote in a formal hand, but did not

¹¹³ Borsje, "The Second Spell" (2013) 22-26.

¹¹⁴ For the inclusion of (seemingly obscure) charms in ecclesiastical documents in another early vernacular tradition, see, for example, Arthur, Ciaran, "The Gift of the Gab in Post-Conquest Canterbury: Mystical "Gibberish" in London, British Library, MS Cotton Caligula A. xv.," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 118 (2019) 177-210. Similarly, we should note the occurrence of a number of Old Irish charms (in a hand which has, in fact, been compared with that of scribe A) on the back of an image of St Matthew in the fragment known as Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 1395, p. 419 (Farr, "Reused, Rescued, Recycled" (2017): 189-190).

always maintain a consistently sized quill nib. This scribe, whom we have designated as A, or a close associate of his (A1), was also responsible for adding most of the rubrics to the Order of Baptism. In all likelihood the same scribe (A1, if the rubrics were not the work of A himself) also added the Irish Tract on the Mass, as well as the three medical charms on the final pages of the manuscript. Moreover, if the differences in the colour of the ink, the size of the strokes and the spacing of the lines between the three charms may be taken to reflect that these charms were added at different times, it may well be that whoever added them was the manuscript's owner. If this theory is correct, it follows that either scribe A or A1 may have been not only (one of the) original scribe(s) and creator(s) of the manuscript, but also the original and intended owner of the Stowe Missal's final four quires. Should this hypothesis prove to be incorrect in some fashion, we may nevertheless safely say that the similarity of the script is such that all of these texts were copied by scribes trained at the same *scriptorium*, and most likely at about the same time.

1.2.2.7. Comparison with St Gallen 51 and Frag. Aug. 20

As was mentioned in passing before, the large and angular script of the Latin texts by hand A has received relatively much scholarly attention over the years, due to the comparative rarity of this angular type of hybrid minuscule in the attested corpus of medieval Irish manuscripts. William O'Sullivan, who considered the angular script of the original parts of the later four quires of the Stowe Missal a subdivision of Irish majuscule script, noted that he knew but three examples of this type of script.¹¹⁵ Apart from the Stowe Missal itself, these were the St Gall Gospels (Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 51)¹¹⁶ and a fragment of a monastic rule now preserved in the Badische Landesbibliothek, but believed to have come from the monastery of Reichenau (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Aug. CCXXIII, also known as Fragmentum Augiense 20).¹¹⁷ In a separate publication O'Sullivan noted that the script of the latter bears the closer relationship to that of the Stowe Missal,¹¹⁸ a view which has since been

¹¹⁵ O'Sullivan, "Manuscripts and Palaeography" (2008): 533.

¹¹⁶ CLA vol. 7, no. 901. Images of the St Gall Gospels are available through the *e-codices* website, <https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0051> (accessed 30-12-2020).

¹¹⁷ CLA vol. 8, no. 1118. The fragment may be viewed through the website of the Badische Landesbibliothek, <https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbhs/content/titleinfo/21701> (accessed 30-12-2020). For the Reichenau provenance, see e.g. O'Sullivan, "Manuscripts and Palaeography" (2008): 533. The similarities between the Stowe Missal's scribe A and the hand of the fragment were first noted by Bernard Bischoff (CLA vol. 8, no. 1118).

¹¹⁸ O'Sullivan, William, "Insular Calligraphy: Current State and Problems", *Peritia* 4 (1985) 346-359: 355.

adopted by O’Neill.¹¹⁹ In this, the two find themselves in agreement with both Brown and Lowe.¹²⁰ Upon examination, the script of the St Gall Gospels may be said to more properly resemble a compressed majuscule than is true for the Stowe Missal, for in these Gospels the ascenders and descenders are extremely short, lending a notably even and block-like appearance to the letters. Apart from this difference, the script of the Gospels is indeed similar to that of the Stowe Missal in many ways, sharing for example the frequent use of majuscule *r* (although there are numerous examples of its more properly minuscule counterpart in the Gospels), having a similarly shaped *g*, as well as the frequent, but again not universal, use of the straight, rather than the slanted, uncial *d*, and the general angularity of the script. However, there are also some further differences, such as the lack of the horned, or pointed variants of *q* and *a* in the Gospels. In all, the resulting mixture of shared features and notable differences is not unlike what we saw earlier when we compared the hands of the Stowe and Dimma Gospel of John. In light of the general rarity of this angular kind of Insular script in the surviving manuscripts, it seems warranted to suggest that both the Stowe Missal and the St Gall Gospels were copied by scribes trained at the same *scriptorium*, albeit perhaps at slightly different times.¹²¹

The Karlsruhe fragment offers a much closer match to the script of scribe A. In fact, one may go so far as to deem it very nearly identical, a possibility entertained by both Lowe and Brown.¹²² Unlike the St Gall Gospels, the fragment shows clear ascenders and descenders, similar to those found in the Stowe Missal, except that the descender of the *s* is usually very short in the fragment. Moreover, we find the use of majuscule *r* throughout, as well as the consistent use of the straight, non-uncial form of *d*. Remarkably similar enlarged initials are used, including the distinctive ‘split’ initials of *p* and *s*, which we previously used to link the script of the charms with that of the Stowe Missal’s Latin parts. Additionally, the ‘horned’ variant of *q* is found a number of times in the fragment. Minor differences may, for example, be noted in the absence of the open, horned variant of *a* in the fragment, as well as a general, slight difference in the shape of that letter. For the thin stroke connecting the tops of the two downward strokes of this letter is both more carefully made to connect and is more sharply diagonal in the fragment, due to the second stroke generally being somewhat taller than is usual in the Stowe Missal.

¹¹⁹ O’Neill, *The Irish Hand* (2014): 80.

¹²⁰ Brown, *A Palaeographer’s View* (London 1993) and CLA vol. 8, no. 1118.

¹²¹ Given that the script of the St Gallen Gospels has been compared with the relatively recently recovered mid- to late eighth-century Faddan More Psalter, this manuscript might, at a slight remove, perhaps also share some connection with the Stowe Missal (Farr, “Reused, Rescued, Recycled” (2017): 183-184).

¹²² Brown, *A Palaeographer’s View* (London 1993).

Moreover, the characteristic ligatured *ti* found in the fragment¹²³ is missing in the Stowe Missal. Although these minor differences stand in the way of asserting that the Karlsruhe fragment was definitely copied by the Stowe Missal's scribe A himself, the possibility that both texts were copied by the same scribe cannot be ruled out, for the fragment is certainly the work of a hand that is remarkably similar to that of A. If the two are identical, it adds an interesting dimension to the identity of scribe A as someone who was familiar not only with the liturgy (as well as with the Gospel of John and a number of Charms), but also with an Irish monastic customary. In addition, it would then seem that A was at least a somewhat prolific scribe, who copied a number of different texts. If there are two scribes, the similarities are such that they must still have been contemporaries, who were trained and most likely active at the same *scriptorium*, indirectly telling us something of the (monastic) context in which the Stowe Missal originated.

As was true for the Stowe Missal's first quire, where the Stowe John and its counterpart in the Book of Dimma have to be taken into account when considering the origins of that gathering, so must the Karlsruhe fragment and the St Gall Gospels be taken into account when the origins of the Stowe Missal's later four quires are considered in the second chapter of this dissertation.

1.2.3. Móel Caích

The Stowe Missal's final major scribe, along with scribes Sonid / Dinos and A, and one of only three or four scribes to have added parts of the main text of the final four quires of the manuscript,¹²⁴ is the interpolator who calls himself Móel Caích. The nature of his work, which includes the erasure and replacement of text originally added by scribe A, as well as various rubrics and correctional and liturgical glosses in the margin of A's text, indicates that he was active after A had finished his contributions. Moreover, the markedly different nature of his script, which constitutes a fairly typical, if somewhat rough, example of cursive Irish minuscule, belies the possibility that Móel Caích was a close associate of scribe A, and instead makes it likely that he was trained at a different monastic centre altogether. Móel Caích's script features a consistent use of the uncial, slanted *d*, as well as the expected minuscule *r*, and never includes the open, horned *q*, or *a* typical of A's script. The interpolator's script also differs strongly from

¹²³ Found, for example, in *mixti* (recto, b11) and *sudantibus* (verso, a7).

¹²⁴ The other scribes, apart from A, being the hand here designated as E (for more on which see the discussion of that particular scribe below, on pp. 43-44) and scribe A1, for if the latter is a separate scribe, he was almost certainly responsible for adding the Irish texts.

that of scribes Sonid / Dinos and J, and his contributions can generally be distinguished easily from those of the other, later scribes,¹²⁵ as well as those of the original scribe A. A further aid in this matter is the fact that Móel Caích used a relatively dark, often very nearly black ink, rendering his additions visually striking on pages where his hand occurs alongside text by other scribes.

Móel Caích's contributions are restricted to the second and third quires of the Stowe Missal and, with one major exception,¹²⁶ are entirely concerned with the Order and Canon of the Mass.¹²⁷ It may be noted that the brief colophon in which he mentions himself by name comes at the very end of Móel Caích's changes to the text of the Order and Canon of the Mass on fo. 37r13-14,¹²⁸ just ahead of the end of that text on fo. 38r4, in the hand of scribe A. After that, Móel Caích only added text to one further page, namely fo. 46v. Within the two quires, Móel Caích's contribution is significant, for his hand is found on 20 of their 35 folios:

ff. 13r, 14r-15r, 16, 17v-18, 21r-26v, 28, 30r-31v, 34r-37r and 46v.

As we have seen, Warner's attribution of the first interlinear gloss on fo. 20v to Móel Caích, mentioned above in the discussion on scribe A (and A1), is doubtful and should most likely be discounted.¹²⁹

In a few instances Móel Caích's additions are limited to (mainly Latin) rubrics to scribe A's main text, but in most cases Móel Caích directly altered the main text,¹³⁰ writing either *in rasura*, undoubtedly over original text by scribe A, or on interpolated leaves.¹³¹ Apart from his rubrics and glosses, Móel Caích only rarely wrote on space which had originally been left blank

¹²⁵ The only hand which is hard to distinguish from Móel Caích's is that of scribe D, discussed immediately below.

¹²⁶ Namely providing an alternative opening for the Order of Baptism on fo. 46v.

¹²⁷ Móel Caích's emendations have generally been said to have made the Stowe Missal more Gallican in nature, for more on which see e.g. Ryan, John, "The Mass in the Early Irish Church", *Studies: an Irish Quarterly Review* 50 (1961) 371-384 and O'Donoghue, Neil X., *The Eucharist in Pre-Norman Ireland: Liturgy, Practice, and Society* (unpublished PhD thesis: St. Patrick's College Maynooth 2006): 174-187.

¹²⁸ The colophon reads: *moél caích scripsit*.

¹²⁹ See the discussion on pp. 28-29 above.

¹³⁰ On all but ff. 16, 28 and 34r Móel Caích's contributions include at least part of the main text of those pages. See also the overview of the scribes of the main text on pp. 59-61 below for the folios on which Móel Caích wrote (part of) the main text.

¹³¹ The latter is the case on ff. 14, 18, 22-25, 30-31 and 35-36.

on the manuscript's original leaves.¹³² Although the vast majority of his work is in Latin, as may be expected for the text of the Mass, Mól Caích is also notable for having added seven Irish-language contributions (mainly rubrics) to the Stowe Missal. These may be found on:

ff. 18r10, 21r3, 23r10-11, 23v4-5, 34r9, 34r12 and 37r13-14.¹³³

Apart from the rubrics on fo. 34r, which are in a notably compressed, lower register minuscule than the others, these Irish-language contributions are written in the same script as Mól Caích's Latin interventions. Similarly, the decision to use a compressed minuscule on fo. 34r does not seem to have arisen out of any desire to mark these rubrics as being in the vernacular, but rather reflects a lack of available space, especially for the first rubric (fo. 34r9).

Curiously, given both the extent of Mól Caích's alterations and the fact that a good number of other scribes added rubrics and a few glosses to text by hand A, just two scribes – designated here as scribes D and E – can positively be shown to have engaged with any of the text in Mól Caích's hand. Despite the possibility that this (in part) reflects the varying interest and concerns of the minor scribes, it is nevertheless likely that this lack of engagement implies that Mól Caích was active relatively late in the Stowe Missal's overall composition history.¹³⁴

Unlike scribe A, Mól Caích does not appear to have been overly concerned with the particulars of the layout of his text. When writing *in rasura*, he usually adhered to the original layout, following the ruling of these pages. However, when he was writing on interpolated leaves, Mól Caích observed various rulings and numbers of lines, although he generally left slightly less space between the lines, wrote in a somewhat smaller script and in general managed to fit more words onto a given page than was the case for scribe A's more uniform layout.¹³⁵

¹³² The only certain case is that of fo. 46v, which originally formed the third quire's blank final leaf.

¹³³ For the rubrics, see Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, vol. 2 (1901-1903): 251. The final contribution listed here is not a rubric, but is the aforementioned bilingual scribal colophon, *Mól Caích scripsit*.

¹³⁴ The matter is complicated by the unknown factor of whether Mól Caích erased any rubrics and glosses alongside scribe A's main text.

¹³⁵ For a more detailed description of the layout of the folios, see the discussion of the individual quires below, see pp. 64-86.

In earlier scholarship, attempts were made to establish the identity of Móel Caích by linking him to persons mentioned in the Irish Annals or in the Irish genealogies.¹³⁶ Most notable was the attempt by MacCarthy to associate our scribe with one Móel Caích, son of Flann, of the Dál Cáis, who is supposed to have passed away around the year 750 AD.¹³⁷ MacCarthy developed his hypothesis by further suggesting that the manuscript's later enshrinement in a *cumtach*, on which mention was made of Donnchad, son of Brian Boru, reflected the manuscript's association with the aforementioned Móel Caích. According to MacCarthy, the manuscript would have been retained as an heirloom of the Dál Cáis, because it would have constituted "the relic of a family saint" (i.e. Móel Caích himself). The argument fell through when Warner pointed out that a litany in the hand of scribe A includes a saint postdating the aforementioned Móel Caích, son of Flann.¹³⁸ We may therefore conclude that, although Móel Caích's name is not as obscure as that of Sonid / Dinos, we are nevertheless unable to positively identify him with anyone mentioned in any other Irish sources. This is, of course, hardly surprising given the inherently low likelihood of any particular scribe having been sufficiently well-known to have merited inclusion in the Annals or Genealogies.

MacCarthy's argument that Móel Caích was "not unlikely" to have been a bishop, because "nobody, except a person entitled to use it, could have had any motive to re-arrange the Missal"¹³⁹ is unproven. Although it is reasonable to assume that only someone familiar with the Mass would have altered the text of the Missal, such practical knowledge was not restricted to bishops and other high clerics. Moreover, we would do well to remember that the Stowe Missal was, before its eventual enshrinement, a small and largely unadorned manuscript, and that a number of scribes other than Móel Caích saw fit to make some changes to the Missal proper. It is exceedingly unlikely that these were all high-ranking clerics, and there is no reason to suppose that Móel Caích was anything other than a monk or priest himself.

¹³⁶ Warner provides an overview of the various arguments (Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): xxiii-xxxiii).

¹³⁷ MacCarthy, "On the Stowe Missal" (1877-1886): 167-168.

¹³⁸ Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): xxvi-xxxiii. The matter is discussed in detail in the second chapter below, see pp. 92-95 in particular.

¹³⁹ MacCarthy, "On the Stowe Missal" (1877-1886): 168.

1.2.4. Scribe D¹⁴⁰

Thus far, the scribes of the final four quires have been discussed in the chronological order of their work, with scribe A being the original scribe of the later part of the manuscript, and, if the Irish Tract, charms and the original rubrics in the fourth quire are not in his hand, being followed shortly thereafter by his close associate A1, while Móel Caích's interpolations must needs postdate scribe A's activities, as well as those of any close associate of his. In turning to the minor scribes, who may be defined simply as having added considerably less to the text than either A or Móel Caích, this order is replaced by the order of their appearance in the manuscript, with the one exception of our present scribe D.¹⁴¹ For like scribe A1, whose existence separate of A is uncertain, it is not clear whether D should actually be considered a separate hand. D's script is highly similar to that of Móel Caích, although D may be said to have a slight tendency towards a set, rather than a cursive minuscule. We should nevertheless keep in mind that the correctional glosses and rubrics listed below could, perhaps, also have been added by Móel Caích, rather than by a separate scribe D.

The relevant interventions (six in total) are all interlinear and are found on the following folios, on text of both A and Móel Caích:

ff. 13r, 15v, 31v.¹⁴²

These correctional glosses are found only in the two quires in which Móel Caích was active, namely the second and third. In two cases the glosses are found on pages on which text was certainly added by Móel Caích, for the latter was the main scribe of the interpolated fo. 31 and added the first five lines of fo. 13r *in rasura*. MacCarthy considered all of these correctional glosses to be the work of Móel Caích,¹⁴³ but did not argue his case. Warner considered MacCarthy's assessment "somewhat doubtful" and considered the glosses on fo. 13r to have been added by "perhaps a third hand",¹⁴⁴ and later noted that he believed the glosses on fo. 15v

¹⁴⁰ The *sigla* assigned to these scribes is based on the relative order of their activities in the Stowe Missal. See the overview on p. 61 below.

¹⁴¹ Móel Caích himself appears to have been active after some of the minor scribes, but was discussed ahead of them in light of the sheer scale of his contributions to the manuscript. See p. 61 below for an overview of the relative order of the scribes.

¹⁴² More specifically, these are the interlinear glosses on ff. 13r13, 13r14, 15v4, 15v6, 15v7 and 31v6.

¹⁴³ MacCarthy, "On the Stowe Missal" (1877-1886): 195 n. d., 198 n. a-c, and 194 n. b.

¹⁴⁴ Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): 4 n. 7.

and the gloss on fo. 31v be “by the same hand as the interlineation on f. 13.”¹⁴⁵ Warner described the hand, which he referred to as *c*, in his introduction as being a relatively rough hand (compared to both Mól Caích and the scribe which is here called scribe E), which was either “yet another corrector (*c*), or possibly... Moelcaich himself, the fact that he was writing under cramped conditions between the lines being accountable for any apparent difference of hand.”¹⁴⁶

Although the glosses share relatively few letters between them, they do appear to be by one and the same scribe, sharing for example a variant of *i*, in which the serif is reduced and the letter is curved, as well as a minuscule *r* with a long upward flick after the second downstroke. The latter is also a marked feature of Mól Caích’s script. In general there are no fundamental differences between the script of D and Mól Caích, whose rubrics offer several good examples of the latter writing under compressed circumstances, the script of none of which appears much different from that of these glosses. Instead one of the most significant differences between the two scribes consists of the colour of the ink itself, for while Mól Caích used a very dark ink, these glosses were written in a somewhat lighter brown. Although this affords but poor evidence for the existence of a separate scribe, it does suggest that these glosses may at least have been entered on a separate occasion. Whether they were the work of a separate scribe D, or were in fact by Mól Caích, this phase must certainly postdate Mól Caích’s main activities, because the correctional gloss on fo. 31v is on that scribe’s main text. Furthermore, the close similarity of the script of these glosses to that of Mól Caích suggests that even if they were not his, they were certainly entered but shortly after Mól Caích’s (other) work, and presumably at the same place.

A final contribution which might belong to this phase may be found in the fourteenth and final line of fo. 33v, where a few minor changes were made to A’s main text. The line originally read *non estimatis meritis sed uenia*, but the second word was changed by the addition of a superscript *m* over the first *t*, the blotting out of the top of the *t* in order to make this letter resemble a *u* when taken together with the following *i*, and the addition of a slanted hook down to the baseline to the *s*, which makes it resemble a minuscule *r*. The resulting word reads *estimamur*.¹⁴⁷ The corrector also added a hooked *m*-stroke over *uenia*, turning it into *ueniam*.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.: 5 n. 8 and 15 n. 1.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.: xxii.

¹⁴⁷ This new reading appears to be relatively rare, but agrees, for example, with that of the *Gelasianum Vetus* (Rome, Vatican Library, MS Reginensis Latinus 316) and with the original reading of the

The extensive upward flick at the end of the *s* closely resembles that of both M^oel Caích and scribe D, but it is otherwise hard to identify the hand due to the extremely limited nature of these corrections. The assumption that they may nevertheless belong to D rests largely on the proximity of these corrections to the interlinear gloss on fo. 31v, together with the fact that such correctional glosses are in themselves relatively infrequent in the Stowe Missal. However, while the colour of the ink is again a relatively light brown, it is lighter than that of D's other contributions and it is possible that the correction was made by another scribe altogether. It should be noted that whoever added these corrections may also have been responsible for adding a faint *i* in the lower margin of this page, although its faded nature and lack of any clear function prevents a positive identification.

1.2.5. Scribe E

Scribe E is the only minor scribe to have added anything to the main text of the later four quires of the Stowe Missal. His distinctive hand is found only within the second quire, namely on:

ff. 12r, 13r, 13v, 15r, 15v, 19r.¹⁴⁸

Warner noted that E's hand (which he referred to as *b*) is "very much alike in type" with that of M^oel Caích, but added that E's "characteristic forms of *t* and *u*" help distinguish between the two of them.¹⁴⁹ We may add to this that E used a relatively broad-tipped quill, resulting in generally splayed strokes and relatively large script, occasionally approaching that of scribe A's main text in size, as well as giving a somewhat angular appearance to the script. Moreover, scribe E's ink is a very light shade of brown, which is perhaps the most easily recognisable feature of his script, for it makes each of his rubrics stand out relative to the text by other hands. In addition, we may note that E's *r* frequently does not have much of a descender and that his *s* is sharp, with a short hook, and somewhat resembles a modern *y* in shape. Scribe E's *s* is also notable for having its first down-stroke beginning lower than the second. Whether Warner was correct in identifying E's *t* as a characteristic feature is somewhat doubtful, for it is in fact quite

Angoulême Sacramentary (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Latin 816); see Bishop, Edmund, "On the Early Texts of the Roman Canon", *The Journal of Theological Studies* 4 (1903) 555-578: 562-563.

¹⁴⁸ More specifically, his contributions consist of a rubric in the upper margin of fo. 12r, the rubric in the upper margin of fo. 13r, the three rubrics on fo. 13v, the two upper rubrics on fo. 15r, a prayer in the lower margin of fo. 15v, and a prayer on fo. 19r.

¹⁴⁹ Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): xxii.

close to that of Mól Caích. However, Warner was certainly right to point out E's *u*, which is notable for having its first downstroke descending less far, and often considerably so, than its second downward stroke. In the more extreme cases, such as that of *immulata* (fo. 19r5-6), the *u* closely resembles the Arabic numeral 4.

Scribe E must certainly have postdated Mól Caích. This may, for example, be seen in the rubrics on fo. 15r, the first of which concerns a prayer added by Mól Caích *in rasura*,¹⁵⁰ and the second of which appears to be written over text erased and left blank by that scribe. The latter example occurs on the two ruled lines underneath the end of the aforementioned prayer. Traces of the erased text are still vaguely visible.

Further evidence that E's activities postdate those of Mól Caích may also be found in the main text prayer which E copied on fo. 19r. For although E was the only scribe to have added text to this interpolated leaf, the leaf itself cannot have been present in the manuscript before Mól Caích inserted fo. 18. Folio 19 is an unusually shaped, composite leaf, which must originally have consisted only of a narrow stub extending from the margin on the other side of the originally singleton fo. 18, with a major hole starting about halfway down the page, further restricting its potential usefulness as a page. Later on, a small, rectangular sheet of parchment was sewn onto the upper half of this stub, thus creating a small composite leaf, about a third of the size of a regular page. Given that only scribe E made use of the resulting folio, it seems reasonable to assume that he was the one who added the rectangular sheet to the manuscript in order to make room for the *oratio gregorii super euangelium* now found on the recto side of the leaf. Its verso side was left blank but for an ink-like smudge in its lower margin. If this blot once consisted of letters, as seems likely, it is now wholly illegible. Whatever the case may be, the ink appears to be slightly darker than that used by scribe E and this brief 'text' thus appears to reflect the work of an unidentified, further scribe.

Although E must certainly have been active after Mól Caích made his changes to the Stowe Missal, the similarity between his script and that of Mól Caích renders it likely that E was active only slightly later and probably at the same place as Mól Caích and D.

¹⁵⁰ The prayer continues from the text on the interpolated leaf fo. 31v (Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): 3, n. 10).

1.2.6. Scribe C

The next hand to make an appearance in the manuscript was responsible for adding just two rubrics to the manuscript, one in the third and one in the fourth quire. The rubrics may be found on:

ff. 38r and 47r.¹⁵¹

The second rubric, reading *ordo baptismi*, comes at the very beginning of the original opening of the Order of Baptism in the hand of scribe A, on the first leaf of the fourth quire. This is of some interest, for we have seen that in its present form the Order of Baptism begins with a prayer in the hand of Móel Caích on the preceding, facing leaf (fo. 46v), over which the latter scribe added the rubric *incipit ordo baptismi*. It seems unlikely that scribe C would have felt the need to write his rubric if Móel Caích had already written much the same phrase on the facing page and we may therefore tentatively conclude that scribe C added the rubric at a time when fo. 46v was still blank, and before Móel Caích made his changes.

Although C's script is not of a kind with the angular hybrid minuscule of scribe A, C's script is nevertheless notably careful and even, and should perhaps be described as a particularly accomplished cursive minuscule. In spite of the small size of the letters, the script is well accomplished, with serifs appearing consistently, even on the minims. Moreover, the script is notable for approaching a majuscule script in that the ascenders and descenders of a number of letters are relatively reduced, especially for the *r*, which, on first glance, might easily be mistaken for a majuscule *R*.¹⁵² It should also be noted that the sole example of the letter *d* is of the straight, rather than the uncial type, although the small amount of text available to us in C's hand means that it cannot be said whether this is representative, or whether, like most other scribes in the Stowe Missal, C would have used both variants if his writings had been more extensive. All in all, scribe C's script cannot be said to be particularly close to that of any of the other hands of the Stowe Missal.

¹⁵¹ More specifically, they are found in the gap between the fourth and fifth lines on fo. 38r, and in the upper margin of fo. 47r.

¹⁵² The illusion results from the letter's generally short descender and the scribe's habit of connecting the loop of the *r* to the shaft of the first downward stroke. That the letter is nevertheless a minuscule may most readily be seen from those examples where the descender is relatively long, e.g. *sanctorum* (fo. 38r) and *ordo* (fo. 47r).

Scribe C's first rubric (fo. 38r) is also of interest. This rubric marks the transition from the Order and Canon of the Mass to the beginning of the special, votive Mass for the apostles, martyrs, saints and virgins, and therefore again occurs at a critical point in the text. Uniquely within the Stowe Missal, this rubric appears to have been a group effort, for C was not the only hand to have written part of the rubric, which now reads:

*Mísa :· apostolorum et martirum et
sanctorum et sanctatarum uirginum.*

Although most of the rubric is undoubtedly his, the first word – *Mísa* – is in a very different hand. For this one word, the spacing between the letters is considerably wider than what is otherwise found in either of C's rubrics and although one might be inclined to relate this to the *diminuendo* here used, the fact that the wider spacing is consistent throughout the word renders this less likely. Moreover, the shape of the letters themselves makes it hard to believe that *Mísa* could have been written by scribe C. The *m* does not lend itself to comparison due to its being an enlarged initial, but the *i* lacks a proper serif and the *s* has a wide loop, stopping just short of the following *a*, whereas the loops of the other examples of this letter in C's two rubrics are both highly compressed and are consistently conjoined with the following letters (admittedly, there are no other examples of the sequence *sa* in these rubrics). The *a* is itself problematic for it features a rightward flick on top of its second downstroke, whereas all other instances of this letter by scribe C have a flat top, and his script in general does not otherwise show any sign of such decorative flicks. Moreover, the presence of punctuation marks immediately after *mísa* is unusual, for such elaborate use of punctuation tends to mark a significant break in the text in the Stowe Missal, and its use after a single word is therefore unexpected. Taken together, the differences in the script and the indication of a break combine to make it likely that the rubric was copied by two separate scribes, whose script differed considerably from one another.

It is somewhat difficult to say which one of these scribes was the earlier, largely because a single word rubric *mísa* would be decidedly limited in nature. On the other hand, the genitives of the remainder of the combined rubric imply the presence of the noun, and we should note that the beginning of the second line of the rubric (*sanctorum*) was written directly underneath *Mísa*. If D was the earlier scribe, we would therefore have to assume that the first word of his part of the rubric (*apostolorum*) was inexplicably indented to the right, coincidentally leaving space for

mísa. In conclusion, it seems more logical to assume that *mísa* was the earlier part of the rubric, which was later expanded by D.

The meaning of the original rubric would presumably have been much the same, indicating the start of the special, votive Mass underneath. Alternatively, the gloss might have served to highlight the end of the Order and Canon of the Mass by repeating the key word of the final phrase of that text: *misa acta est in pace* (fo. 38r4). If the latter is correct, it would help explain the marked use of punctuation after *Mísa*, for the gloss would then have served to mark a major break in the text.

1.2.7. Scribe B

The aforementioned word *mísa* in the rubric of fo. 38r is not the only contribution made by scribe B to the Stowe Missal, for what appears to be the same hand is found in three further rubrics in the third quire on:

ff. 41v, 42r and 44v.¹⁵³

Two of these instances, on fo. 41v and on fo. 44v even happen to include the word *misa*, and although the word is not found at the beginning of the line in either of these two instances (and therefore lacks the enlarged initial of the previous example), the segment *-isa* may readily be compared with that of the rubric on fo. 38r. In the rubric on fo. 44v the script of that segment is identical to that of fo. 38r, for we find the same imperfect serif on the *i*, the same wide-hooked *s*, which does not connect with the following *a*, which in turn features a playful flick on top of its second stroke. The sequence is similar but not identical on fo. 41v, for the serifs are clear throughout this rubric, and although the *s* is wide and of a similar shape, it does touch the *a*, which, although certainly not flat, has only a slight extension on top of its second stroke.

In general, however, it is clear that all three of these rubrics, as well as the first word of the rubric on fo. 38r are by one and the same scribe. The script of this scribe B is a somewhat careless, set minuscule, very much unlike the angular script of scribe A, and shows the usual

¹⁵³ More specifically, these are the rubrics in the lower margin of fo. 41v, in the upper margin of fo. 42r, and in line 6 of fo. 44v.

ascenders and descenders. The scribe made use of a small nib, resulting in relatively sharp letters throughout.

In light of the aforementioned use of punctuation in the rubric on fo. 38r, it is interesting to note that B also makes extensive use of punctuation markings in two of his other rubrics. This is unexpected, for punctuation is otherwise largely absent outside of the main text in the Stowe Missal, especially in short rubrics such as these. Apart from the extended stop, consisting of three dots, after *mísa* on fo. 38r, scribe B used a single dot in the rubric on fo. 41v, which reads:

Incipit misa pro penitentibus . uiuís

And there are two further examples in the rubric on fo. 44v:

misa pro mortuís . pluribus .

A final point of interest may be found in that the rubric in the lower margin of fo. 41v, cited in full above, and the rubric in the upper margin of the facing page fo. 42r are repetitious. The latter reads:

pro penitentibus uiuis

Although the second rubric is less well executed, possibly on account of the lack of space, the two rubrics are undoubtedly by the same hand. The second one is in the more usual position, directly over the beginning of the text, whereas the first is unusual for being found in the lower margin of the preceding page, just below the end of the previous. One can only guess as to why the scribe opted to include two separate rubrics.

1.2.8. Scribe F

The final medieval hand to have entered text into the Stowe Missal added two rubrics to the manuscript. Scribe F, as he is here designated, is unusual among the later scribes both for the fact that his rubrics are found on the text of the Order of Baptism in the fourth quire, on which

otherwise only the rubrics by A (or A1) are found, rather than on the text of the Missal proper, and that they are both in Irish.¹⁵⁴ The rubrics are found on:

ff. 51r and 58r.¹⁵⁵

The script of this scribe may readily be described as Irish minuscule, but is very different from that of any of the other scribes in this manuscript, and may perhaps be taken as a set minuscule, in which the pen was lifted at those points where the letters are ordinarily linked in cursive script.¹⁵⁶ F's script has a slanted appearance overall, being written at a slight rightward angle. Other identifying features include the consistent use of open *a*, the reduced descenders of *r*, and the frequent use of an unusual variant of uncial *d*. The latter is notable for the fact that its slanted shaft soon turns into a horizontal line, extending far to the left over the preceding letter. Given the unusual traits of his script we may assume that scribe F was active at a different time and / or place from any of the other scribes featured in the Stowe Missal.

1.2.9. Other Features

1.2.9.1. Knotted-wire Decorations

As was mentioned in passing before,¹⁵⁷ a limited number of scribe A's enlarged initials were embellished with penwork, knotted-wire decorations. While A was no doubt responsible for adding the initials in the first place, it is unknown whether he also decorated them, or whether some later artist embellished what would then have been a number of the plain, undecorated initials, such as are still found elsewhere in the Stowe Missal. If the embellishments were not the work of scribe A himself, they cannot be readily dated, except in so far as that they must postdate that scribe's activities.

The decorations consist of a mixture of penwork drawings and the thickening of the lines of a number of existing initials using a dark ink.¹⁵⁸ As far as can be determined this artist, if separate

¹⁵⁴ For these rubrics, see Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, vol. 2 (1901-1903): 251.

¹⁵⁵ More specifically, they are found in the blank space between lines 10 and 11 on fo. 51r and in the upper margin of fo. 58r respectively.

¹⁵⁶ Brown, Michelle and Patricia Lovett, *The Historical Source Book for Scribes* (London 1999) 60.

¹⁵⁷ See pp. 24-25 above.

¹⁵⁸ In a number of cases, such as that of the initial on fo. 13r, only the latter is found.

from A, does not appear to have left any writing in the manuscript, and his range of activities does not coincide with that of any other known scribe, apart from A himself. The decorations are found on:

ff. 12vb9, 13r6, 13v1, 13v4, 13v10, 47r1, 47r13, 48r5, 48r12, 48v1, 49r2, 49r6-8, 49r11, 49v1, 50r1, 50r9, 50v6, 50v13 and 51r11.

1.2.9.2. Highlights

An obscure set of medieval additions to the manuscript consists of a number of jagged lines found occasionally in the right or left margin of the pages. The markings are found on:

ff. 13r, 43v and 55v-57r.¹⁵⁹

In each of these cases the markings consist of a series of jagged, zigzagging lines. The beginning of each series is connected to the first or final (depending on whether the markings are found in the left or the right margin) letter of the line above. Although there are some slight differences in the style of these markings, with the one in the left margin of fo. 56r being particularly poorly executed, their overall similarity suggests that they were the work of a single user of the manuscript. The colour of the ink suggests that these markings could have been added by scribe A himself, either alongside the copying of the main text, or while making use of the manuscript, but there is no certain way to confirm the identity of this scribe.

The exact function of these markings is unclear, but they must certainly have served to highlight specific passages. Warren believed them to have had various purposes, for example serving to indicate a passage which could be omitted for brevity's sake (fo. 13r),¹⁶⁰ or to indicate that a passage had already occurred elsewhere in the manuscript (fo. 55v).¹⁶¹

Whatever purpose they may ultimately have served, it is notable that these markings are found across the manuscript, with the first occurring towards the beginning of A's Order and Canon of

¹⁵⁹ More specifically they extend in the margin alongside: ff. 13r9-11, 43v3-5, 55v5-7, 56r8-12, 56r10-12, and 56v5-8.

¹⁶⁰ Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual* (2nd edition, 1987): 250 n. 8.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*: 241 n. 5.

the Mass, the second being found in the votive Mass for living penitents and the final ones all occurring in the last third of the Order of Baptism. In light of this, we may conclude that if these highlights were not added by scribe A, they were at least added by someone who made use of large parts of the manuscript.

1.2.9.3. The Evangelist's Portrait

The final non-textual medieval addition to the manuscript consists of the portrait of John the Evangelist found on fo. 11v. As we have seen, there was a major change in the script between the first and the second quire, with none of the hands of the first quire being found outside of the quire, and *vice versa*. Moreover, while the script of the Stowe John can be linked to that of the Book of Dimma's Gospel of John, the script of the original hand(s) of the Stowe Missal's second through fifth quires has very different relations. These differences, along with some further material aspects which are covered in the general discussion of the first quire below,¹⁶² render it certain that the Stowe Missal's Gospel of John had a different origin from the Stowe Missal's final four quires.¹⁶³

In determining which part of the Stowe Missal is older, the portrait of John the Evangelist on the final page of the first quire on fo. 11v constitutes an important piece of evidence. Although such portraits are a common feature of copies of the Gospel, they are usually found at the beginning of the Gospel, facing the *incipit* of that text. It is therefore unexpected that the Stowe Missal's

¹⁶² See pp. 65-74.

¹⁶³ This difference has been noted almost from the earliest scholarship on the manuscript. The first clear statement on the matter was by James Todd (Todd, James H., "On the Ancient Irish Missal, and its Silver Box, Described by dr. O'Connor in his Catalogue of the Stowe MSS., and Now the Property of the Earl of Ashburnham", *The Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* 23 (1856) 3-37: 17), who was only the second scholar to investigate the manuscript, and who stated that the two parts of the manuscript were "written in different hands, and at different periods." The Stowe Librarian Charles O'Connor, who first noted the existence of the manuscript, had, in fact, already noted that "this part of the MS." was written in a different hand, noting that the "ancient Irish Missal", was "written in larger Irish characters than those of the preceding Gospel of St. John", in his description of the Stowe Missal (O'Connor, Charles, *Bibliotheca MS. Stowensis: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Stowe Library*, appendix to vol. 1 (Buckingham 1818-1819) 40-41).

Notably, barring a mention in their respective introductions, the Stowe John was consciously excluded from the three major editions of the Stowe Missal, i.e. those of Warner (Warner, *The Stowe Missal* (1906-1915)), MacCarthy (MacCarthy, "On the Stowe Missal" (1877-1886)) and Warren (Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual* (2nd edition, 1987)), on the grounds, as Warner put it, that the 'extracts' of the Gospel "clearly have nothing to do with the Missal and other liturgical matter." (Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): xxxix).

portrait instead faces the *incipit* to the Missal proper on fo. 12r at the beginning of the second quire.

Intriguingly, a fragmentary strip of parchment, running the full length of a page, but extending no more than 15 mm from the margin at the widest, may be seen extending from the spine at the beginning of the first quire. Its recto side is blank, apart from a slight greyish black stripe in the upper margin, accompanied by a touch of red. Although the greyish stripe appears to be meaningless,¹⁶⁴ the red closely resembles that of the strips of reddish kid-skin, which were used to cover the three outer edges (both inside and out) of the wooden boards between which the codex is bound.¹⁶⁵ Similar traces may be found at the very end of the manuscript, in the lower right corner of the Stowe Missal's last numbered folio (fo. 67v), and it would therefore seem that these reddish traces are simply the result of some of the kid-skin having come to adhere to the vellum, rather than their having been consciously added to the page by a scribe.¹⁶⁶ The lower third of the fragment is worn to such an extent that its upper layer is entirely gone; it cannot now be established whether it ever contained any markings. Although somewhat disappointing, we may safely say that the recto side of the fragment at the beginning of the first quire offers no clues as to its significance.

Fortunately, the same does not hold for the verso side of the fragment, which shows a clear trace of a yellow-coloured border, of the kind used to frame the decorations on an ornamented page. Only little of the border survives, but enough remains to determine that it must once have closely resembled the decorative border found on its facing page (fo. 1r), which contains the Gospel's *incipit*. Both the border's position on the page, relative to the margins, and the thickness of the border itself offer an almost exact match with that of its purple-coloured

¹⁶⁴ If it can be said to resemble anything at all, it might be taken to look somewhat like the Arabic number 1 and one might suspect it to have been added by a modern hand. However, if this should be the case, the number is particularly poorly executed. Moreover, it must be noted that it does not fit into either of the two page numbering systems found in the manuscript (see the discussion of the manuscript's modern hands immediately below on pp. 56-59 for a full treatment of these numbers).

¹⁶⁵ The lower strip of kid skin on the outside of the front cover of the codex is now missing. Note that such red leather may also once have covered the board of the Cathach (CLA vol. 2, no. 266; Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, RIA MS 12 R; see Lawlor, Hugh Jackson, "The Cathach of St Columba", *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 33 C (1916) 241-443: 244-245) and red goat skin was certainly used to cover the wooden boards of the St Cuthbert Gospel (London, British Library, Add MS 89000).

¹⁶⁶ A minor point of interest may be found in that in both instances the traces of red on the leaves are found far into the inner margin of their respective pages and are not actually directly touching any of the strips of kid-skin on the inner faces of the boards at present, for these strips do not now extend all the way to the spine. It would therefore seem that these strips were cut back at some indeterminate point in the past, but not before the leather had come to adhere to the parchment.

counterpart on fo. 1r. At first glance, the fragmentary border may be taken to end as it reaches the lower third of the page, about nine centimetres in, unlike its counterpart on fo. 1r, which continues until it nears the page's lower margin. However, this apparent discrepancy is only due to damage to the vellum, for the break occurs exactly where the upper layer of the vellum was lost on the recto side of the leaf, as was mentioned above, and the verso side suffers from the same defect. Moreover, this lower edge of the border does not end in a clear line, but rather fades away, which would not be expected in its original state. As such, it seems certain that the border must originally have extended beyond this point. Similarly, although little of it remains, we may safely assume that the border must once have extended across the page to the left, extending across the point where the page was cut away. In addition, it should be noted that the decoration on the fragment starts at about 10 mm from the top of the page, which agrees with the dimensions of the decorations on fo. 1r. It would thus seem that, in so far as it can be determined, the decorations of the fragment would originally have matched the dimensions of their counterparts on their facing page.

The close resemblance between the mutilated decorations on the fragment and the decorations on fo. 1r is further confirmed by a minute detail in the sole part of the fragment where something of the decoration contained within the border has been preserved. For at the very top right corner of the fragmentary border, a faint line can yet be seen, running parallel to the inner edge of the border, somewhat less than a millimetre into the enclosed area. Although it is hard to see, this faint line offers a close match to the vertical and sloping lines that make up the lozenge design of the outer rim of the frame found on fo. 1r. In conclusion, it would thus seem that the manuscript's fragmentary first page once contained decorations matching those of the Gospel *incipit*.

In light of this, it has in the past been suggested that the Stowe Missal's Gospel of John may originally have formed part of a larger gospel book. In this view, the fragment may have once contained an image of St Luke, and the unusual placement of the evangelist's portrait at the end of the Gospel might then have been standard within this particular codex, with the portrait of Luke, like John's, being found at the very end of his gospel.¹⁶⁷ This hypothesis would also

¹⁶⁷ This theory appears to have been first suggested by Bernard, John H., "On the Stowe St. John, and on the Citations from Scripture in the Leabhar Breac", *The Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* 30 (1892-1896) 313-324: 314, and was taken up by Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): xl. It was later developed by Patrick McGurk (McGurk, Patrick, "The Irish Pocket Gospel Book", *Sacris Erudiri: Jaarboek voor Godsdienstwetenschappen* 8 (1956) 249-270: 258-259), who compared this practice with

explain why the fragment was cut away when the first quire was incorporated into the Stowe Missal, for an image of St Luke would have served little purpose in a manuscript where his gospel was missing.

Although attractive, there are a number of significant issues with this hypothesis, and for this we must take a closer look at the portrait of John on fo. 11v. It has recently been noted by Eleanor Jackson that the dimensions of the frame to this portrait, which measures ca. 98 x 76 mm, do not match those of the frame of the Gospel *incipit* on fo. 1r at ca. 107 x 81 mm.¹⁶⁸ Moreover, there are differences in the colours used in both decorations, for the portrait was made using only yellow and brown-red pigments, whereas the Gospel *incipit* is in various shades of purple, yellow, pink and white. The portrait of the evangelist and the Gospel *incipit* must therefore be said to have been made to a different standard. This difference is the more striking for the aforementioned close similarity of the decorations on the fragmentary strip at the beginning of the quire and the frame of the Gospel *incipit*. If the fragment once contained an image of Luke, which was one of a series with the portrait of John on fo. 11v, it would certainly be unexpected for the two portraits to differ so strongly in style.

By comparison, Jackson argued that the evangelist's portrait on fo. 11v does match the decorations to the *incipit* of the Missal proper on its facing fo. 12r, for the decorations of both pages share approximately the same dimensions and make use of the same two colours (yellow and brown-red).¹⁶⁹ However, while the portrait may be said to approximate the style of the *incipit* on fo. 12r, there are some differences. Notably, the knotwork designs within the framed border of the portrait were left uncoloured, while their counterparts on fo. 12r were given vibrant colours. As a result, the portrait has a cruder appearance than the *incipit*. This impression is further reinforced by the general fading of the portrait, for fo. 11v is comparatively worn, suggesting that it suffered from more exposure than its facing page.

that of a number of Armenian gospel books, and contrasted it with the Merovingian Gundohinus Gospels (Autun, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 3), where the portraits of all four of the evangelists are found grouped together at the very end of the manuscript.

¹⁶⁸ Jackson, Eleanor, *To Hold Infinity in the Palm of your Hand: The Insular Pocket Gospel Books Re-evaluated* (unpublished PhD thesis, University of York 2017) 84-85. It should also be noted that the frame of the portrait begins considerably further into the page than the decorations of the fragment and fo. 1r.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid. As regards the colour, it should be noted that the decorations on fo. 12r are supplemented by the liberal use of black ink for contrast, a practice for which there are only slight parallels on fo. 11v, but this may be due to the fading of that page, for which see the discussion immediately below.

The simplest and, perhaps, likeliest explanation for such a difference would be to assume that the portrait predates the *incipit* on fo. 12r, in which case the portrait would have formed the outer page of the then still independent first quire, before it was joined with the remainder of the Stowe Missal. Jackson, who did not touch upon this issue, suggested that both the portrait and its facing page were added during “the same production phase”, namely when the Stowe Missal’s final four quires were being copied.¹⁷⁰ While she is almost certainly correct that the portrait was not made when the Gospel *incipit* on fo. 1r and the decorations on the fragmentary page were added, it seems difficult to account for the relative fading of the portrait, as well as its somewhat less refined overall appearance if it was indeed made alongside fo. 12r, and presumably by the same artist. Although somewhat uneconomical, it may, perhaps, be best to assume that the portrait was added at a third stage, independent of both the Gospel and the Missal *incipit*.

If this is correct, it is still worth noting that the frames of both the portrait and the decorations on fo. 12r share approximately the same dimensions and it seems fair to conclude, as Jackson did, that they were deliberately designed to match one another. Assuming, in light of its worn appearance, that the portrait was the older, the Missal *incipit* may then have been made to offer a visual bridge between the formerly independent first quire and the remainder of the Stowe Missal, connecting both parts of the newly united manuscript.¹⁷¹

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ We may wonder why the creator of the Stowe Missal (presumably scribe A) went to such lengths to incorporate the Gospel of John into the manuscript, for there is no positive evidence that the gospel quire played a direct role in the liturgical part of the Stowe Missal. It has been argued that the Stowe Missal may have served as a *vade mecum*, in which case the gospel quire may have been included to provide an officiating priest with some material to draw upon in preparing mass (but see the discussion on pp. 87-90 below). However, if so, the question remains why the Gospel of John in particular was chosen. In this, we may recall that this Gospel, with its logocentric emphasis, appears to have occupied a special place in Insular monastic culture. Moreover, this importance is, perhaps, stressed by a number of references to John in the remainder of the Stowe Missal, such as in the first Irish charm on fo. 67v (see the discussion on pp. 31-35 above) and within the Mass itself, where a lesson from the Gospel of John (John 6:51-57) begins on fo. 18v and continues on fo. 20r1-7 (for more on this, see the discussion on pp. 75-75 below). Direct citations from the other Gospels are otherwise rare in the manuscript. Moreover, in a more general sense, we should note that, for example, in England, St Cuthbert is said to have been given a special series of classes on the Gospel of John by his mentor Boisil shortly before the latter’s death (Bede, *Vita Sancti Cuthberti*, chapter 8) and Bede himself was working on a vernacular translation of John shortly before his own passing. Moreover, the monastic rule set out in the ‘Teaching of Máel Rúain’ (chapter 17) enjoins that the followers of St Máel Rúain should read or recite the Gospel of John each night for a week, stressing the significance of this particular text in an Irish context.

Returning briefly to the fragment, we may now tentatively conclude that it once contained a portrait of John in its ordinary place, facing the *incipit* of his gospel, and that there is no positive evidence that the Stowe John ever formed part of a larger gospel book. Although we cannot know why the original portrait was cut away, it is at least possible that it had suffered damage,¹⁷² perhaps of a kind with the loss of the upper layer of the vellum now visible on both sides of the lower third of the fragment. Similarly, while it is impossible to determine quite when the fragment was cut away, it seems likely that it was done either before or at the time when the portrait was added to fo. 11v, for it would be quite unprecedented for the gospel to have ever had flanking portraits.

Whatever the case may ultimately be, the likelihood that the Missal *incipit* was made to match the design of the Stowe John's surviving evangelist's portrait would seem to suggest that the Stowe John not only had a period of independent existence before it was joined to the remainder of the Stowe Missal, but also that it predates the remainder of the manuscript.

1.2.10. Modern hands

With that, we have reached the end of our discussion of the Stowe Missal's medieval hands, and it is time to turn to the two modern hands which may be distinguished within the manuscript. Both were responsible for adding Arabic numbers to the pages, although both did so in a different manner.

The most comprehensive of the two begins on the first full page of the first quire, that is to say on fo. 1r, and continues up to the final full leaf fo. 67r, offering a folio count for the entire manuscript, including even the smallest of the interpolated leaves (ff. 14 and 19), which, as we have seen, were for example left uncounted by MacCarthy in his edition.¹⁷³ The numbers are always found roughly in the upper-right margin of the recto side of each folio, although they are sometimes found somewhat further to the left and middle of the upper margin, or slightly down in the right margin of the page when the top-right corner of the page is particularly worn, or when there is writing on that part of the page. Unlike all medieval contributions to the

¹⁷² If the Stowe John originated as a single-quire manuscript, the potential for such damage would certainly have existed, given that the fragmentary leaf would then have constituted the outer leaf of the quire.

¹⁷³ MacCarthy, "On the Stowe Missal" (1877-1886).

manuscript, these numbers are written in silver-grey pencil, rather than ink. A faded note on the blank (and unnumbered) final page of the manuscript allows us to date this hand, for it reads:

67 folios . Dec. 1903 .

Given that the Stowe Missal had already been transferred to the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin at this stage, we may suppose that it was one of the librarians of that institution who added these folio numbers to the manuscript. Whether this step was occasioned by any particular event, such as a rebinding, or the preparation of the manuscript for the collotype edition published by Warner in 1906,¹⁷⁴ is unknown, although at least the former seems unlikely, given that the manuscript was sent off to the British Museum for rebinding and repairs relatively shortly thereafter in the 1920s.¹⁷⁵

That these folio numbers are the later of the two numbering systems found in the manuscript may be seen from the fact that many of the older numbers were crossed out using the very silver-grey pencil in which the folio numbers themselves were noted. Moreover, although the older numbers are consistently crossed out on the recto sides of the folios, where they occur alongside the later folio numbers, they are left unaltered on the verso sides. This implies that the older numbers were crossed out at the time when their younger counterparts were added.

Unfortunately, no date was left to indicate when the older numbers were added, but the idiosyncrasies of that system may help point us in the right direction. First of all, the older numbers count the pages, rather than the folios. Secondly, the older numbers do not cover the manuscript in its entirety, but instead start only with the beginning of the second quire.¹⁷⁶ That is to say, they do not include the Stowe John. The older numbers are usually found on both the recto and verso sides of the folios, but the system breaks down towards the end of the manuscript, with page numbers only being found on the recto sides of the leaves from fo. 59r onwards. The numbers are written using a variety of different inks and writing implements, with the earlier and later numbers being written in red ink, while those in between were largely added

¹⁷⁴ Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 1 (1906-1915).

¹⁷⁵ Fitzpatrick, Siobhán, “The Stowe Missal: its Provenance and Recent History”, in Cunningham, George (ed.), *The Roscrea Conference: Commemorating Forty Conferences 1987-2007 at Mount St Joseph Abbey* (Roscrea 2007) 1-6: 6.

¹⁷⁶ The numbers are extremely faded up to number 23 (on fo. 23r), but traces can be seen on most pages down to the beginning on fo. 12r and it is safe to assume that the page numbers were once found on each of these pages.

in black ink, and a few appear to have been written using a pencil. Further variation is found in that the number 34 (fo. 28v) is marked out with a half-circle.¹⁷⁷ There is no sign of a change of hand and these differences should most likely rather be taken to reflect that the older numbers were added over an extended period of time, rather than all at once. Their haphazard nature would also suggest that whoever added them felt confident in his right to use and alter the manuscript, presumably ruling out that they were added when the Stowe Missal was in the possession of the 4th Earl of Ashburnham,¹⁷⁸ who was known for jealously guarding access to his collection.¹⁷⁹ Although the numbers could theoretically have been added in the brief period of time between the manuscript's purchase by the British government in 1883 and when the younger folio numbers were entered into the manuscript in 1903, this happens to coincide with the main phase of early scholarly interest in the Stowe Missal and there is no sign of any scholar using this page numbering system at that time. Instead, all early editors of (parts of) the Stowe Missal preferred to refer to the folios instead, making it exceedingly unlikely that the page numbers were added by a scholar such as Warren, MacCarthy, or Stokes. In fact, the only scholar to have ever used a page numbering system for the Stowe Missal appears to have been Charles O'Connor (1764-1828), the librarian at Stowe House in the late 18th and early 19th century, who devoted a long entry to the manuscript in the appendix to his privately printed catalogue of the Stowe collection.¹⁸⁰ Moreover, O'Connor is the only scholar to have counted the pages of the first quire separately from those of the later four quires, and his page numbers consistently offer an exact match with the older numbers in the manuscript.¹⁸¹ It would therefore seem almost certain that the older numbers were already present in the manuscript when O'Connor wrote his piece, given that he made ample use of them. Moreover, in light of the fact

¹⁷⁷ Given that this is one of the few page numbers to occur in close proximity to a marginal rubric, it may tentatively be suggested that the half-circle served to emphasize the distinction between the number and the rubric.

¹⁷⁸ i.e. from 1849 until the Earl's death in 1878.

¹⁷⁹ Todd, the only scholar to have been allowed to see the Stowe Missal following its move from Stowe House to Ashburnham Place and before the death of the 4th Earl of Ashburnham, recorded that he was not allowed to transcribe any parts of the manuscript during his visit to the Earl's library (Todd, "On the Ancient Irish Missal" (1856): 17). It would seem unlikely that the Earl, who did not let any other scholar so much as see the Stowe Missal, would have permitted anyone to write in the manuscript.

¹⁸⁰ O'Connor, *Bibliotheca MS. Stowensis*, appendix to volume 1 (Buckingham 1818-1819): 1-51.

¹⁸¹ O'Connor mentions that the Gospel of John occupies the first 21 pages of the manuscript (O'Connor, *Bibliotheca MS. Stowensis*, appendix to vol. 1 (1818-1819): 40). Later on he refers to one of Mól Caích's Irish-language rubrics, which is found on fo. 23r10-11, as being on *page* 23, referring not to the folio number, which happens to coincide, but rather to the page number counted from the start of the second quire on fo. 12r (ibid.: 47). Two further references are found towards the end of his publication (ibid.: 49). In the first of these O'Connor notes that the Order and Canon of the Mass ends and the Votive masses begin on p. 53 (fo. 38r) and in the second he notes that the Missal proper ends on p. 70 with the start of the Order of Baptism (fo. 46r).

that O’Conor is the only scholar known to have had free access to the Stowe Missal before it was moved to Ashburnham Place, as well as the fact that he appears to have spent a considerable amount of time investigating the manuscript,¹⁸² it seems probable, if unprovable, that it was O’Conor himself who added these numbers in or shortly before the year 1819, when he was working on the appendix to the first volume of his catalogue.

1.2.11. Overviews of the Scribes

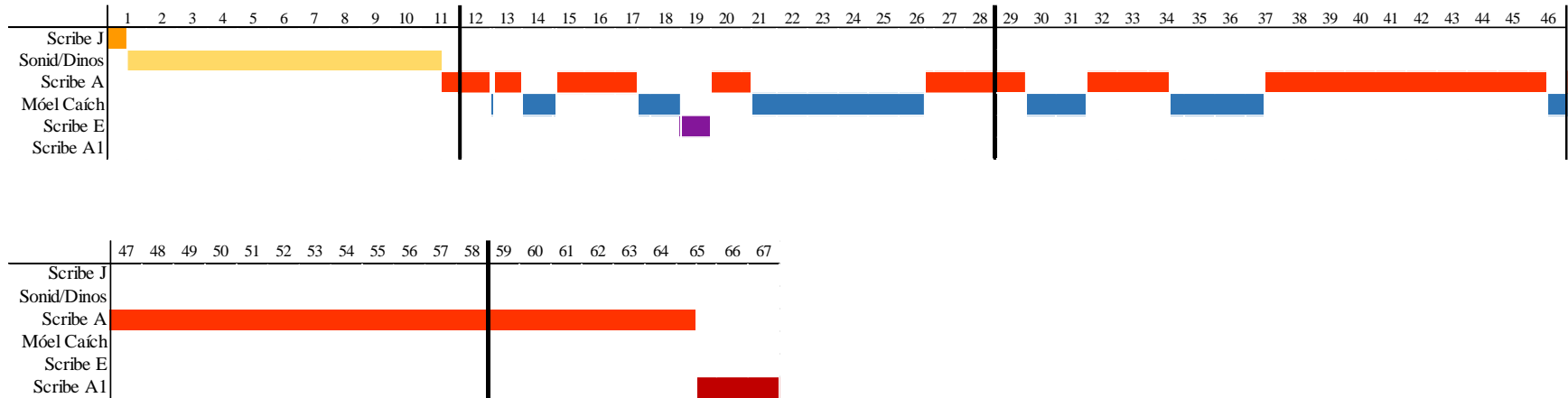
This ends our discussion of the individual scribes of the Stowe Missal. For the sake of convenience, three overviews are now provided. The first overview lists the main text scribes of each of the manuscript’s folios from start to finish, broken up into the Stowe Missal’s five quires. Although there is some uncertainty as to whether scribe A1 should actually be treated separately from scribe A, they are distinguished in this overview for the sake of completeness.

The second overview provides a comprehensive list of the activities of the various scribes. This overview essentially constitutes a simplified compilation of the lists given for each of the scribes in the individual discussions above, with the difference that there are no references to line numbers here, because the main aim of this overview is to list the folios on which these scribes were active. The overview is in the order of appearance of the scribes in the manuscript and includes the more or less hypothetical scribes A1 and D.

The third and final overview features the likely relative chronological order in which the scribes made their contributions to the Stowe Missal, based upon the discussions above. Whenever absolute dates are known these are listed between brackets. More so than in the previous overviews, this relative chronology is based on observations of varying degrees of certainty and likelihood. In light of this, each of the numbered items is also discussed briefly directly underneath the overview.

¹⁸² The entry on the Stowe Missal is one of the longest and most extensive in the entire catalogue and occupies two-thirds of the appendix in which it is found.

1.2.11.1. Overview of the Main Text Scribes



first quire (ff. 1-11)

fo. 1r Scribe J
ff. 1v-11r Sonid / Dinos
fo. 11v Portraitist

second quire (ff. 12-28)

fo. 12 Scribe A
ff. 13r-13r5 Móel Caích

ff. 13r6-13v Scribe A

ff. 14r-15r6 Móel Caích
ff. 15r7-17v4 Scribe A
ff. 17v5-18v Móel Caích
fo. 19r Scribe E
ff. 20r-21r7 Scribe A
ff. 21r8-26v7 Móel Caích
ff. 26v8-28v Scribe A

third quire (ff. 29-46)

fo. 29 Scribe A
ff. 30r-31v Móel Caích
ff. 32r-34v3 Scribe A
ff. 34v4-37r Móel Caích
ff. 37v-46r Scribe A
fo. 46v Móel Caích

fourth quire (ff. 47-58)

ff. 47r-58v Scribe A

fifth quire (ff. 59-67)

ff. 59r-65r Scribe A
ff. 65v-67v Scribe A1

1.2.11.2. Overview of the Activities of Each of the Scribes

Scribe J	fo. 1r
Sonid / Dinos	ff. 1v-11r
Portraitist	fo. 11v
Scribe A	ff. 12r-13v, 15r-17v, 20r-21r, 26v-29v, 32r-34v, 37v-46r, 47r-65r.
Scribe A1	ff. 49r, 52v, 57v, 58r, 58v.
Móel Caích	ff. 13r, 14r-15r, 16, 17v, 18, 21r-26v, 28, 30r-31v, 34v-37r and 46v.
Scribe B	ff. 38r, 41v, 42r, 44v.
Scribe C	ff. 38r, 47r.
Scribe D	ff. 13r, 15v, 20v, 31v.
Scribe E	ff. 12r, 13r, 13v, 15r, 15v, 19r.
Scribe F	ff. 51r, 58r.
Highlights	ff. 13r, 43v, 55v-57r.
Penwork artist	ff. 12v-13v, 47r, 48r-51r.
Modern 1	ff. 12r-59r, 60r, 61r, 62r, 63r, 64r, 65r, 66r, 67r.
Modern 2	ff. 1r-67r (excluding the verso sides), the page pasted to the back cover.

1.2.11.3. Overview of the Relative Order of the Activities of the Scribes

1. Scribe J
2. Sonid / Dinos
3. Portraitist
4. Scribe A [after 7 July 792]
5. Scribe A1
6. Scribe B
- 6.b. Scribe F
7. Scribe C
8. Móel Caích
9. Scribe D
10. Scribe E
11. Modern 1 [before ca. 1819]
12. Modern 2 [December 1903]

1 & 2. Scribe J must have completed the first page of the first quire (fo. 1r) before Sonid / Dinos started to copy the remainder of the Stowe John, because it would otherwise have been impossible for the latter to have known to start his part of the Gospel of John where J left off.

3. The Portraitist who was responsible for adding the portrait of John the Evangelist to fo. 11v must almost certainly have been active after J and Sonid / Dinos had finished their work, for his style does not match that of the original decorations of the first quire.

4. Scribe A most likely began his work on the Stowe Missal after the portrait was added to fo. 11v, for it is otherwise hard to account for the fact that the *incipit* to the Order and Canon of the Mass on fo. 12r was made to match the dimensions and to approximate the style of the portrait. Scribe A must have been active after 7 July 792, because a litany in his hand includes St Máel Rúain of Tallaght, who died on that day. It is possible that scribe A was also responsible for adding the jagged markings serving as highlights at various points in the manuscript. If they were instead added by another scribe, there does not appear to be any way to date these markings relative to the remainder of the manuscript, except in so far as that they were added after A finished his work, because they are all found on parts of the main text added by this scribe. Similarly, it is possible that scribe A was himself responsible for decorating a number of the initials in the manuscript in a knotted-wire style. If these embellishments were instead added by another scribe, it is again impossible to date them other than that they must postdate A.

5. If A1 is indeed a separate scribe, rather than one and the same with A, he must have collaborated closely with A, because A1 added rubrics in space intentionally left open by A, a practice not found elsewhere in the manuscript. A1's activities must nevertheless postdate those of A, for he would not otherwise have known *where* to add those rubrics, or been able to add the Irish Tract on the Mass, or the three Irish charms, right after A's Anointing of the Sick. However, given the evidence for their close association, as well as the strong similarity of their script, A1 must have been active only very shortly after A.

6. & 7. From here on, it becomes difficult to determine the relative order in which the various scribes made their contributions to the Stowe Missal and the level of uncertainty increases. Scribe B's work most likely predates that of C, for it would seem that C expanded a brief gloss by B into a longer rubric on fo. 48r. Both scribes must certainly postdate A (and A1), because their rubrics and glosses are all on A's main text. Given that there is reason to believe that C's

rubric on fo. 47r predates Móel Caích's new opening prayer for the Order of Baptism on fo. 46v, scribes C and B are both likely to predate Móel Caích.

6.b. Scribe F added his two rubrics to the main text of scribe A, so his work must also necessarily postdate that of A. Although F's script is remarkably different from that of all other hands found in the manuscript, the lack of any direct interaction between F and any of the other later scribes makes it impossible to further establish his place in the relative order of these scribes.

8. Móel Caích must certainly have been active *after* A finished his work, for he regularly wrote *in rasura* over the text of that scribe, and added a fair number of rubrics to A's text. Based on the aforementioned likelihood that scribe C may have finished his work before Móel Caích made his changes to the manuscript, as well as the notable lack of interaction of most of the non-original scribes with the extensive parts of the main text written by Móel Caích, it seems likely that Móel Caích was a relatively late scribe, coming after both C and B.

9. Much like was the case for A1, if scribe D was indeed a separate scribe, he must have been active shortly after Móel Caích in light of the (near) identity of their script. If D should instead be considered the same as Móel Caích, these correctional glosses are nevertheless likely to represent a secondary, later phase of activities, for they were all written using a lighter shade of ink and they include an interlinear gloss to Móel Caích's main text on fo. 31v.

10. It is certain that E was active sometime after Móel Caích (and presumably D) because E, whose script is similar but not identical to that of Móel Caích, added rubrics to text added by the latter and attached a small additional leaf (fo. 19) to a stub extending from one of the interpolated leaves (fo. 18) added by Móel Caích.

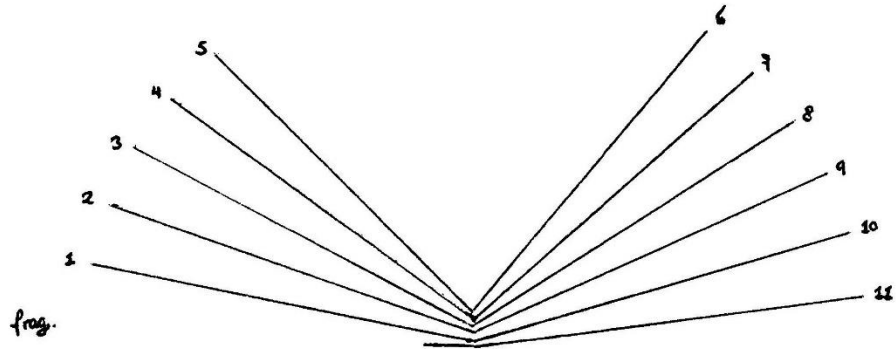
11 & 12. There is no doubt that both modern hands which added Arabic numerals to the Stowe Missal were later than those of the medieval scribes. It is certain that the page numbers recorded somewhat haphazardly in the later four quires were earlier than the folio numbers found throughout the manuscript, which were entered into the manuscript in December 1903, because the scribe who added the folio numbers crossed out the page numbers whenever they occurred on the same page. It seems likely that the older numbers were present in the manuscript when the Stowe librarian Charles O'Connor worked on the manuscript in 1819, and it is possible that he added them himself.

1.3. The Gatherings

We now turn to the individual quires in more detail. In the following, the makeup of each of the quires will be considered in detail. An overview will be given of the original and interpolated leaves, as well as the (mostly slight) differences in the dimensions of the leaves, along with a similar description of the written area.¹⁸³ The size of the latter is here defined as extending horizontally from the headline of the first line (i.e. the top of the minims in the first line), to the baseline of the final line and spanning vertically from the left to the right edge of the textual column on a given page; enlarged initials placed in the leftward margin outside of the main textual column are excluded. Beyond this, the number of lines and the manner of ruling and pricking are noted for each of the gatherings. In those quires in which there is a significant amount of interpolated material, the makeup and layout of the original material is considered separately from that of the interpolations. Unique or problematic features of the individual quires will also be discussed. Finally, some general traits of the gatherings will be discussed in a separate paragraph.

¹⁸³ These measurements were obtained using the digital images of the manuscript by digitally measuring the relevant parts of the image relative to the ruler included in each image, thus allowing for exact measurements.

1.3.1. Gathering 1 (ff. 1-11)



The leaves of the Stowe Missal's first quire are all original to the first copying of the quire. The leaves measure roughly 142 x 110 mm throughout and the written area measures about 112.5 x 84 mm for ff. 1v-9v. The writing space differs on the first page due to the presence of a decorated initial. On the final leaves (ff. 10r-11r) the written area is slightly reduced to ca. 108 x 84 mm. The latter reduction only weakly relates to the steady drop in the number of lines per page, which goes down from 31 lines (ff. 1v-7v) to 30 (fo. 8r), 28 (ff. 8v-9r), 27 (fo. 9v), 26 (ff. 10r-10v), and finally 23 (fo. 11r) as the scribe reaches the end of his text. For the most part the reduction in the number of lines rather results in an increase in the amount of space between the lines. The decorated first page of the quire (fo. 1r) is an outlier, featuring but 18 lines, spaced relatively generously compared to the immediately following pages. Prickings are found in both the inner and outer margins of each page, indicating that pricking and ruling occurred separately for each individual leaf after they had been folded into a quire.¹⁸⁴ The prickings are always 31 in number. Taken together with the fact that there are also 31 lines each on ff. 1v-7v, this suggests that 31 was the intended, basic number of lines for each page. The ruling is in dry-point and was largely ignored by the scribe, the ruled line often appearing either in the middle, or even at the headline of a given written line. Enlarged capitals are regularly, though not exclusively, found in

¹⁸⁴ This is in accordance with the common, early medieval Insular practice, cf. Clemens, Raymond and Timothy Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* (Ithaca and London 2007) 16. The practice was also observed in the original parts of the Stowe Missal's later four quires.

the margin to the left of the written area in this quire,¹⁸⁵ unlike elsewhere in the remainder of the manuscript. Similarly unlike elsewhere in the Stowe Missal, the scribe of ff. 1v-11r had a penchant for adding or significantly extending the descenders of the letters on the final line of a page for decorative purposes.¹⁸⁶ Towards the end of the quire, as the amount of space between the lines increases, such decorative descenders are also sometimes found within the main body of the text. The first and final pages (fo. 1r and 11v, respectively) are notably dirty and smudged, further supporting the notion that this quire had been used independently prior to its inclusion in the Stowe Missal. Rather than having been part of another, larger manuscript (for example, a Gospel Book), it seems likely that the first quire may have been kept as a single quire, perhaps contained in a satchel, before it was joined to the remainder of the Stowe Missal.

One of the more unusual material aspects of the first quire, namely the fact that the evangelist's portrait is found at the end, rather than at the beginning of the gospel, has already been discussed in detail above.¹⁸⁷ As was stated there, this, together with the evidence of the script and the aforementioned smudging of the quire's first and final leaves, firmly establishes both that the Stowe John had a different origin from the remainder of the manuscript and that the first quire predates the remainder of the Stowe Missal, to which it was deliberately joined.

In terms of its contents, the first gathering is unusual within the manuscript for containing the entirety of one single item, namely the Stowe Missal's incomplete copy of the Gospel of John, within its leaves, for all other gatherings either have texts continuing in the following, or from the preceding quire. The fact that the Stowe John fits into a single quire is also unusual in a broader sense, for it goes against the Early Irish practice of copying the Gospel of John into two quires.¹⁸⁸ However, the latter probably reflects the incomplete nature of the Stowe Missal's copy of the Gospel, rather than having any deeper significance.

¹⁸⁵ This observation goes slightly against O'Loughlin's statement (O'Loughlin, "Division Systems for the Gospels" (2007): 152) that *all* enlarged initials of the quire are found in the margin.

¹⁸⁶ The only examples of this practice outside of the first quire are found on the very last two pages of the Anointing of the Sick, the final large-script, Latin text included in the manuscript.

¹⁸⁷ See pp. 51-56.

¹⁸⁸ Gillis and Meehan, "Examining the Book of Dimma" (2017): 88.

The Stowe John includes the following parts of the Gospel:¹⁸⁹

1:1–6:30, 7:45–8:14 (*dixit*), (*neque*) 8:19–8:33 (*umquam*), (*qui*) 8:53–8:59, 12:9–12:39 (*credere*), (*Pater sancte*) 17:11–18:1, 18:4–18:13, (*discipulus*) 18:15–18:23, 19:40–20:23, 20:26–21:6, 21:9–21:25.

The text finishes with a scribal colophon, which has already been discussed for the scribe's *ogam* signature above.¹⁹⁰

1.3.1.1. The Gaps in the Stowe John

The Stowe John has received relatively little scholarly attention over the years, and it is generally only referred to briefly as containing 'extracts' from the Gospel of John. Only rarely is any explanation offered for the unusual selection, which, as we may see for ourselves, consists of what is essentially a full copy of the first five and a half chapters of the gospel, down to John 6:30, before breaking down into smaller segments, with the largest gap being that between the first half of John 12:39 and the second half of John 17:11. In total, there are ten major breaks in the text, in four of which at least one of the two verses involved is only attested in part, the text being broken off halfway into a verse, or being taken up again halfway into another.

It was largely on account of the seemingly random nature of the gaps that Bernard, who was the first to study the gathering in its own right, suggested that the omissions must have been due to the scribe's reliance on a defective exemplar.¹⁹¹ Bernard assumed that the exemplar would originally have made up a complete copy of the Gospel, which had lost several leaves by the time the Stowe John was copied, and he proceeded to make a number of suppositions as to the nature of the exemplar. Building upon a suggestion made to him by Edward Gwynn, he argued that if the exemplar had had thirty lines of about thirty-one letters each to a page, the entire gospel could have been contained in a manuscript of forty-three folios. The present gaps would then accord more or less with the loss of ff. 13-16, 19, 21-26, 29-35 and 38-40 of the exemplar, along with the supposition that ff. 37 and 42 were partially torn and ff. 20 and 28 part illegible.

¹⁸⁹ A full transcription and diplomatic edition of the Stowe John may be found as appendix 1 to this dissertation.

¹⁹⁰ See pp. 14-17.

¹⁹¹ Bernard, "On the Stowe St. John" (1892-1896): 316.

Bernard concluded by stating that “the verification of this is a mere question of arithmetic”,¹⁹² and it may at this stage be helpful to compare his hypothetical exemplar to the attested text of the Stowe Missal:

Stowe Missal		Bernard’s damaged exemplar	
1:1-6:30	ff. 1-6r21	1:1-6:30	ff. 1-12
...	...	6:31-7:44	ff. 13-16 (lost)
7:45-8:14	ff. 6r22-6v18	7:45-8:14	ff. 17-18
...	...	8:14-8:19	fo. 19 (lost)
8:19-8:33	ff. 6v18-7r7	8:19-8:33	fo. 20 (partially illegible)
...	...	8:33-8:53	fo. 20 (partially illegible)
8:53-8:59	fo. 7r7-7r18	8:53-8:59	fo. 20 (partially illegible)
...	...	9:1-12:8	ff. 21-26 (lost)
12:9-12:39	ff. 7r19-8r10	12:9-12:39	ff. 27-28 (partially illegible)
...	...	12:39-17:11	ff. 29-35 (lost)
17:11-18:1	ff. 8r10-8v11	17:11-18:1	ff. 36-37 (partially torn)
...	...	18:2-:18:3	fo. 37 (partially torn)
18:4-18:13	fo. 8v12-9r1	18:4-18:13	fo. 37 (partially torn)
...	...	18:13-18:15	fo. 37 (partially torn)
18:15-18:23	fo. 9r2-9r15	18:15-18:23	fo. 37 (partially torn)
...	...	18:24-19:39	ff. 38-40 (lost)
19:40-20:23	ff. 9r15-10r9	19:40-20:23	ff. 41-42 (partially torn)
...	...	20:24-20:25	fo. 42 (partially torn)
20:26-21:6	ff. 10r10-10v7	20:26-21:6	fo. 42 (partially torn)
...	...	21:7-21:8	fo. 42 (partially torn)
21:9-21:25	ff. 10v8-11r19	21:9-21:25	fo. 43

Bernard’s theory of a damaged exemplar thus offers a basic explanation for the various gaps in the text of the Stowe John, but this does not in itself constitute evidence. Given that we have no direct access to the exemplar, it seems impossible to maintain his proposed distinctions between cases where the folios had been “torn” or were “in part illegible”. Bernard offered no arguments

¹⁹² Ibid.

to support these distinctions and in both cases we seem to be faced with similar, relatively minor gaps, where only a few verses are missing. Furthermore, it should be noted that if the exemplar's Gospel of John were to have taken up a full 43 leaves, it would almost certainly have extended over at least three separate quires, which goes against the usual practice mentioned above.

Whatever the case may be, it should be noted that Bernard's proposed exemplar would have been a very different sort of manuscript compared to the first gathering of the Stowe Missal. For one, there would appear to have been far fewer characters to a line: thirty-one for the exemplar, versus anywhere between some forty and sixty characters in the Stowe John. Given that the Stowe Missal is itself a small manuscript, the exemplar would probably either have had to have been written in double columns, or to have made use of considerably larger script. Although it seems reasonable to doubt whether Bernard's theory was correct, he did advance a solid argument to support the idea that there were about 31 characters to a line in the exemplar. For he pointed out two copying errors in the Stowe John which appear to have arisen out of *homoioteleuton*, or *Augensprung*. The first of these concerns a small omission in John 8:31, on fo. 7r5-7r6, where the Stowe John reads:

[8:31] Dicebat ergo ad eos Iesus, ad eos *qui crediderunt* ei, Iudeos: si uos *permanseritis*
[8:32] *et cognoscetis ueritatem, et ueritas liberauit uos.*

The Vulgate reads:

[8:31] Dicebat ergo Iesus ad eos, qui crediderunt ei, Judæos: Si vos manseritis in sermone meo, vere discipuli mei eritis, [8:32] et cognoscetis ueritatem, et ueritas liberabit uos.

The scribe thus left out *in sermone meo, vere discipuli mei eritis* by accident, and an *Augensprung* from *mans-eritis* to *eritis*, seems an eminently plausible explanation for the gap. Given that such skips are most common when the second instance of the form is in approximately the same position within the line below as the first, it seems likely for *eritis* to have been written almost directly below *manseritis* in the exemplar. As such, the number of characters in the missing phrase may give us a fair estimate of the length of a line in the exemplar. Fully written out in the modern fashion, the line contains 34 characters; allowing for

the use of some medieval abbreviations, this example suggests that the exemplar may indeed have had lines of some 30 characters, which accords well with Bernard's estimate.

Bernard's second example is found in John 4:9, on fo. 3v9-3v10, where the Stowe John reads:

[4.9] *Dicit ergo ei mulier illa Samaritana: Non enim coutuntur Iudei Samaritanis.*

The Vulgate reading is as follows:

[4.9] *Dicit ergo ei mulier illa Samaritana: Quomodo tu, Judæus cum sis, bibere a me poscis, quæ sum mulier Samaritana? non enim coutuntur Judæi Samaritanis.*

In this instance the missing text – *Quomodo tu, Judæus cum sis, bibere a me poscis, quæ sum mulier Samaritana?* – makes up 58 characters in the modern fashion, and the gap appears to involve an *Augensprung* between the first and second instances of *Samaritana*. In light of the omission in John 8:31, we would here seem to be dealing with two lines in the exemplar.

Another example, not mentioned by Bernard, involves John 4:23-4:24, on fo. 3v26-3v29, where we find:

[4:23] *Sed uenit hora et nunc est, quando ueri adoratores adorabunt Patrem in Spiritu et ueritate. Nam et pater tales quærit* [4:24] *eos qui adorent eum in Spiritu et ueritate oportet adorare.*

For these verses the Vulgate reads:

[4:23] *Sed uenit hora, et nunc est, quando ueri adoratores adorabunt Patrem in spiritu et ueritate. Nam et Pater tales quærit, qui adorent eum.* [4:24] *Spiritus est Deus: et eos qui adorant eum, in spiritu et ueritate oportet adorare.*

The Stowe John thus leaves out the ending of John 4:23 and the opening words of John 4:24 – *qui adorent eum. Spiritus est Deus: et*. The resulting gap consists of some 30 characters. If we are again dealing with an *Augensprung*, the scribe's mistake must have been triggered by the two instances of *qui*.

Taken together, the evidence of these three likely examples of *Augensprünge* suggests that Bernard's hypothesis may well have been correct in so far as that the lines of the exemplar contained some 30 characters each, at least in these particular instances. If the exemplar was not written using large script, it then seems likely that the exemplar was written in double columns, and the whole might have fit in somewhat over 20 folios: a reasonable amount to fit into two quires. Apart from this, we may also note that the scribe of the Stowe John did not copy the layout of his exemplar directly.

After Bernard, only Thomas O'Loughlin, in a recent and insightful publication,¹⁹³ has advanced an alternative hypothesis to explain the breaks in the Stowe John. O'Loughlin starts off by making the useful point that it is "unhelpful" to think of the Stowe John as a collection of excerpts from the Gospel.¹⁹⁴ Instead he argues that "the decorated initial... on fol. 1r, the picture of the evangelist on fol. 11v" and the "influence of a division system" for the text of the Gospels – the latter being the main focus of his article – as well as the fact that the text does ultimately run from John 1:1 to 21:25, together imply that the scribe had intended to copy the entire Gospel of John.¹⁹⁵ Although we have seen that the evangelist's portrait on fo. 11v was almost certainly added after the copying of the Stowe John and should therefore not be taken to reflect the intentions of the quire's original scribes,¹⁹⁶ the presence of the fragment makes it likely that the Stowe John contained an evangelist's portrait. O'Loughlin's arguments are otherwise sound. One might also add that the scribe successfully copied the entirety of the first five and a half chapters of the gospel, lending further credence to the idea that he was not so much excerpting specific verses of John, but was rather engaged in an – ultimately unsuccessful – attempt at making a full copy of the text.

O'Loughlin generally appears to be convinced that the Stowe John was added to the Stowe Missal when the remainder of the manuscript was already in existence. This assumption led him to suggest among other things "that Sonid was a scribe commissioned to write the gospel for this codex rather than himself the owner of the codex".¹⁹⁷ If we are correct in assuming the Stowe John to predate the remainder of the Stowe Missal, such notions cannot hold.

¹⁹³ O'Loughlin, "Division Systems for the Gospels" (2007).

¹⁹⁴ In this, O'Loughlin seems to build upon his view in an earlier publication, in which he referred to the Stowe John as "a (defective) text of St John's Gospel" (O'Loughlin, Thomas, *Celtic Theology: Humanity, World and God in Early Irish Writings* (New York, London 2000) 131).

¹⁹⁵ O'Loughlin, "Division Systems for the Gospels" (2007): 152.

¹⁹⁶ See pp. 51-56 above.

¹⁹⁷ O'Loughlin, "Division Systems for the Gospels" (2007): 151-152.

Returning to the defective nature of the Gospel, O'Loughlin advanced a very different theory to explain the gaps. Much of O'Loughlin's article is concerned with the evidence for traces of the Eusebian apparatus in the Stowe Missal, and he demonstrated in detail that many of the enlarged initials as well as the breaks in the Stowe John coincide with Eusebian sections.¹⁹⁸ Moreover, O'Loughlin made a persuasive argument based on some of the section breaks in the Stowe John to suggest that the quire's immediate exemplar must have been laid out *per cola et commata*.¹⁹⁹ If correct, the number of characters on each line must have varied considerably, and the evidence of the *Augensprünge* cited above may only reflect their particular lines, rather than reflecting a general feature of the exemplar. O'Loughlin finally concluded that while the position of the gaps in the Stowe John within their respective verses ultimately reflects the divisions of the Eusebian apparatus, their actual occurrence results from extreme carelessness on the part of Sonid / Dinos, for O'Loughlin believed that this scribe "never checked that he resumed copying from the same point at which he had earlier stopped".²⁰⁰

Although O'Loughlin's arguments are generally sound, the latter conclusion appears to be unwarranted. It certainly seems unlikely *a priori* for a scribe who supposedly never checked to see whether he resumed copying in the correct place to have successfully managed to copy the first five and a half books of the Gospel in order, before suddenly losing track. Even if it could somehow be explained why Sonid / Dinos was particularly careless only in the later parts of the Stowe John, where the most troubling gaps are found, such a haphazard manner of copying does not accord well with the observation that Sonid / Dinos started to reduce the number of lines on each page and increase the space between the lines from fo. 8r onwards. This change presumably reflects a desire on his part to have the text end on the recto side of the final leaf of the quire and must therefore reflect an awareness on the part of the scribe that he was nearing the end of the text with room to spare. At the beginning of fo. 8r Sonid / Dinos was still copying part of the twelfth chapter of the Gospel, reaching the middle of the seventeenth book by the end of that page, owing to the presence of a major gap. Even with the gap, it seems unlikely for any scribe to have assumed that he was running out of text to copy by the middle of the seventeenth chapter of the Gospel, *unless* his exemplar featured similar gaps to those found in the Stowe John, which for example left out half of the eighteenth and almost the entirety of the nineteenth chapter of the Gospel.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.: 152-164.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.: 153.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.: 157.

In light of all this, it would rather seem that while there are good reasons to believe that the Stowe John was copied out of an exemplar laid out *per cola et commata* and organised by means of the Eusebian apparatus, this exemplar was itself defective. If not, Sonid / Dinos must have had yet another, still unknown reason for making his selection.

1.3.1.2. Further Indications of an Independent Origin

Before turning to the second quire, a final few further indications of the separate origin of the Stowe John from the remainder of the Stowe Missal should be mentioned.²⁰¹ Jackson raised a number of additional arguments for this relating to the parchment itself, stating that the parchment of the Stowe John is both “thinner and of noticeably better quality”. She argued for the latter by noting that she “could not find a single hole in the parchment of the Gospel of John, while in the Missal there are many”.²⁰² The thickness of the *vellum* of the Stowe Missal has been remarked upon in general terms before,²⁰³ but Jackson is the first to point out this useful distinction between the parchment of the first quire and the remainder of the manuscript.

It is more difficult to determine whether the presence or absence of the holes in both parts of the Stowe Missal is equally significant. For while it is certainly true that there is a large number of holes in the parchment of the final four quires of the manuscript, many of these seem to occur on the leaves where Móel Caích had scraped off the original text and was writing *in rasura* in the second and third quires, and it is possible that the leaves were damaged in the process.²⁰⁴ Moreover, from fo. 41 in the third quire onwards to the very end of the manuscript, the deepest of the considerable number of holes, which resulted from nails being driven through the back

²⁰¹ See the discussion on scribes J and Sonid / Dinos on pp. 14-20 and the Evangelist’s portrait on pp. 51-56 above for other signs of the separate origin for the Stowe Missal’s first quire.

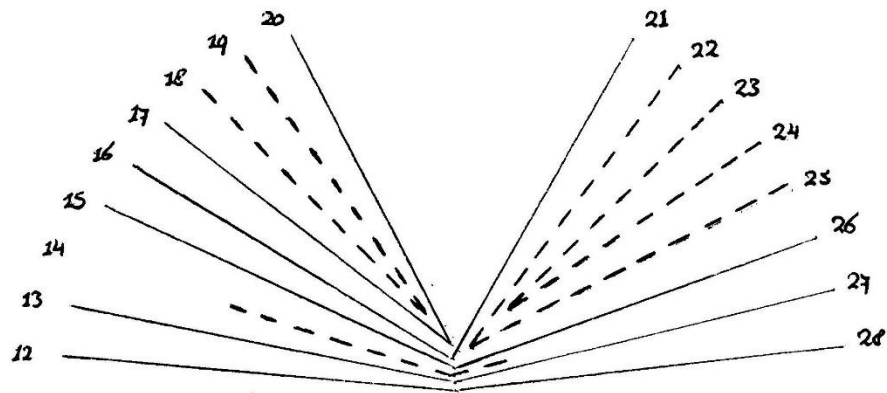
²⁰² Jackson, *To Hold Infinity* (2017): 84.

²⁰³ E.g. by Warner, who stated that “the vellum is normally rather thick” (Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): ix) and by O’Loughlin, who described the Stowe Missal as “consisting of 67 leaves of coarse parchment” (O’Loughlin, *Celtic Theology* (2000): 130).

²⁰⁴ A likely example of this may be found on fo. 37, where a sizeable hole is found in line 9 of the recto and line 8 of the verso side of the leaf. Móel Caích had erased all of the original text on the recto side, replacing it with his own, whereas the verso side remains entirely in hand A. Significantly, the hole does not affect the text on the recto side, for Móel Caích indented the beginning of his line to the right, clearly in order to avoid the hole. On the verso side, the hole occurs at the beginning of the word *misericordiam*, causing significant damage to its first three letters. In this case, we must therefore be dealing with a hole which had not been present when the original scribe wrote his text, but which was there by the time Móel Caích added his. Given that the interpolator was writing *in rasura*, it seems quite possible to assume that the damage was caused when he scraped off the original text on fo. 37r, rather than that the hole resulted from damage from an unknown third source sometime in between the activities of A and Móel Caích.

cover of the codex when the shrine in which the manuscript was stored from the eleventh century onwards was nailed shut, may be seen. As such, although the absence of any original blemishes in the parchment of the Stowe John may be significant in light of the fact that there are indeed a few original holes in the later four quires, the relatively rough treatment suffered by the manuscript's later quires must be taken into account when making a distinction between the two parts of the Stowe Missal.

1.3.2. Gathering 2 (ff. 12-28)



Unlike the first quire, the makeup of the second gathering is complicated considerably by the interventions of Mól Caích, who added a number of new leaves. The quire now consists of 17 leaves, but only ten of these, namely ff. 12-13, 15-17, 20-21 and 26-28 are original to the quire. Six further leaves, namely ff. 14, 18 and 22-25, were added by Mól Caích.²⁰⁵ Folio 18 was originally a singleton leaf, but is now connected to folio 19 as a result of the addition of a small, rectangular leaf to the stub extending fo. 18 by scribe E.

²⁰⁵ Both in this diagram and in what follows, dotted lines indicate the presence of interpolated leaves.

Warner suggested that two original leaves were likely replaced between folios 17 and 20, but did not offer any arguments to support this hypothesis.²⁰⁶ More recently, however, Marc Schneiders stated that there is no reason to suppose that any material was in fact lost.²⁰⁷ Warner's claim may well have stemmed from the fact that A's text on fo. 20r continues from Móel Caích's text on fo. 18v, albeit with the repetition of the final word of the latter. The text is John 6:51-57, with the beginning of the lesson nearly up to the end of John 6:54 occupying the entirety of fo. 18v and the conclusion being found on fo. 20r1-7. The Stowe Missal must therefore originally have included the beginning of the lesson in A's hand. This leaves two options: A's missing verses must either have been found on leaves now cut away and replaced by the present ff. 18-19, as per Warner's suggestion, or they must have been found on the lower half of fo. 17v, where only the first four lines are in A's hand, with the remainder being in that of Móel Caích, writing *in rasura*. As we have seen, Móel Caích generally used a somewhat smaller script than A and thus managed to fit more lines onto a given page. On its own, this reduces the likelihood that A would have been able to squeeze what took Móel Caích a full page to copy into the final 9 lines of fo. 17v. However, we should note that the interpolated fo. 18 is somewhat smaller than the original leaves of the quire and that the written area is similarly reduced on this leaf (ca. 103 x 70 mm for fo. 18v versus ca. 109 x 88 mm for fo. 17r). Moreover, Móel Caích used the first two lines of his text to add a rubric,²⁰⁸ whereas there is no evidence that A ever added rubrics to this part of the manuscript,²⁰⁹ and we may therefore suppose that no such rubric had originally been present. Taken together, it would seem to have been just about possible for A to have included the beginning of the lesson in the final seven lines of fo. 17v, and there is no pressing need to suppose that Móel Caích cut away any original leaves from the quire. Since this is the only part of the manuscript for which it has ever been suggested that the interpolator removed original leaves, rather than simply erasing and replacing text, we may safely say that Móel Caích does not appear to have removed any original leaves, and that the Stowe Missal therefore remains essentially complete in terms of its leaves, with only the fragment at the start of its first quire providing evidence for the loss of a leaf.

²⁰⁶ Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): x. The view is repeated, for example, by Sven Meeder (Meeder, Sven, "The Early Irish Stowe Missal's Destination and Function", *Early Medieval Europe* 13 (2005) 179-194: 181).

²⁰⁷ "[T]here is no necessity to assume that there ever was a bifolium since there is no evidence that Móel Caích removed anything elsewhere in the Missal", Schneiders, Marc, "The Origins of the Early Irish Liturgy", in Ní Chatháin, Próinséas and Micheal Richter (eds.), *Irland und Europa im früheren Mittelalter* (Stuttgart 1996) 76-98: 95 n. 80. See also *ibid.*: 89.

²⁰⁸ The rubric reads *lectio euangilii secundum iohannem incipit* (fo. 18v1-2).

²⁰⁹ See the discussion of scribe A1 on pp. 25-28 above for a discussion of the few rubrics which may have been written by scribe A himself.

In order to give a fair account of the makeup of the quire, the original and interpolated leaves will be considered separately in terms of their layout, with the original ones coming first and those added by Móel Caích after. Moreover, those sides of any original leaves on which nothing of the original text remains due to its being erased and replaced by text by Móel Caích will be considered alongside these interpolated leaves.²¹⁰ A brief third part will consider fo. 19, which was, as we have seen, in all likelihood added by scribe E. Throughout the following descriptions, and also in the remaining quires of the manuscript, the descriptions of the number of lines and the size of the written area will exclude any marginal rubrics or other glosses which may be found on the page, but will include any rubrics added by the main text scribe of that page. The aim is to provide an overview of the general layout of each page as it was originally intended by its main text scribe(s), and this purpose would be severely disrupted if every minor variation arising out of the presence or absence of later, marginal additions were marked.²¹¹

1.3.2.1. Original Leaves (ff. 12-13, 15-17, 20-21r, 26v-28)

Although Warner was essentially correct in stating that there are thirteen lines to a page in the original parts of the second quire,²¹² the matter is obscured by Móel Caích's alterations. For on some of the pages (ff. 13r, 15r, 26v and 28v) where Móel Caích erased part of A's text and replaced it with his own, the number of lines varies, there being 14 lines on ff. 13r and 12 on ff. 15r, 26v and 28v. The line count is unchanged on ff. 17r and 21r, where Móel Caích stuck more closely to the original ruling in making his changes. Moreover, an original exception to the regular number of lines in this quire may be found on fo. 12r, which contains the decorated *incipit* to the Missal and the quire, and which contains but 9 lines.

The original leaves are heavily ruled, and although the ruling was made on but one side of each leaf, it is nevertheless easily observable even on images of the manuscript. There are 13 ruled lines to each page, supporting the idea that this was the basic intended number of lines to each page. Each ruled line consists of two horizontal lines, marking both the intended base- and headline of the letters. There is generally a single vertical bounding line on each side of the written area, but there are two on ff. 21 and 26. Scribe A closely observed both the horizontal

²¹⁰ This is the case for folios 21v and 26r.

²¹¹ These additions may instead be found by means of the overviews of the activities of the various scribes of the Stowe Missal on pp. 59-61 above.

²¹² Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): xi-xii.

ruling and the leftward bounding line(s) in this quire, giving an even appearance to each page, but regularly ran over on the right. The quire's first folio (fo. 12) is again exceptional, for in addition to the usual ruling, an elaborate additional set of ruled lines, which may best be observed on the undecorated verso side of the page, was added to lay out the decorations of the *incipit*.

Prickings are found on both the left and right sides of each page, surrounding the written area and coinciding with the vertical bounding lines as well as the lower of the two horizontal lines of each ruled line. The prickings are slit-like and are not always easy to distinguish, especially on the right, due to the scribe's tendency to write over them. The leaves measure roughly 140 x 104 mm and the written area covers about 110 x 88 mm.

1.3.2.2. Móel Caích's Interpolated Leaves (ff. 14, 18, 21v-26r)

The first of the leaves which were interpolated by Móel Caích (fo. 18) is slightly smaller than those of the original manuscript, measuring ca. 138 x 94,5 mm. The later interpolated leaves are roughly the same size as the original leaves, measuring about 138 x 100 mm for ff. 22-25. The written area is reduced, measuring roughly 103 x 70 mm on fo. 18, and measuring about 102 x 76 mm on ff. 22-25. Things are rather different for fo. 14, which is significantly smaller, measuring only about half the size of an ordinary page at ca. 69 x 98 mm. The written area on its recto side extends over 42 x 83 mm, while it is smaller still on the verso side at 19,5 x 83 mm, due to most of this side having been left blank.

On fo. 21v, where Móel Caích was writing *in rasura*, the written space is identical to that of the original layout by scribe A. The written space is slightly reduced to ca. 98,5 x 70 mm on the similarly treated fo. 26r due to the general brevity of the lines and due to a line being left blank at the end. In both cases, Móel Caích stuck closely to A's original ruling.

There is considerable variation in the number of lines in Móel Caích's parts of the quire. There are 7 lines on fo. 14r, 3 on fo. 14v, 16 on fo. 18r, 17 on fo. 18v, 13 on fo. 21v, 16 on fo. 22r, 17 on ff. 22v-23r, 16 on fo. 23v, 15 on ff. 24r-25r, 17 on fo. 25v and 12 on fo. 26r. We may fairly conclude that Móel Caích did not keep an even layout, for the number of lines varies even when he was writing on a set of similarly sized leaves which he had himself interpolated (ff. 22-25).

It is perhaps surprising to note that Mól Caích generally adhered more closely to A's ruling when writing *in rasura* than he did to his own, fainter ruling, on the interpolated leaves. The basic scheme of his manner of ruling can best be seen on fo. 18v in this quire. The ruling, which is again in drypoint, consists of a single horizontal line for each ruled line, of which there appear to be 16 to the page,²¹³ as well as two vertical bounding lines. Of all these only the leftward vertical bounding line was generally observed. There is no sign of prickings and the spacing between the ruled lines is uneven.

Finally, we may note that on fo. 18r parts of the text of the facing page fo. 17v, which is part written by Mól Caích and part written by A, have come to adhere to the interpolated leaf due to some kind of damage. The resulting traces of writing give the false impression that Mól Caích was also writing *in rasura* on the interpolated leaf.²¹⁴ What caused the ink of scribe A's part of the fo. 17v to adhere to the interpolated leaf is unclear.

1.3.2.3 Scribe E's Interpolated Leaf (fo. 19)

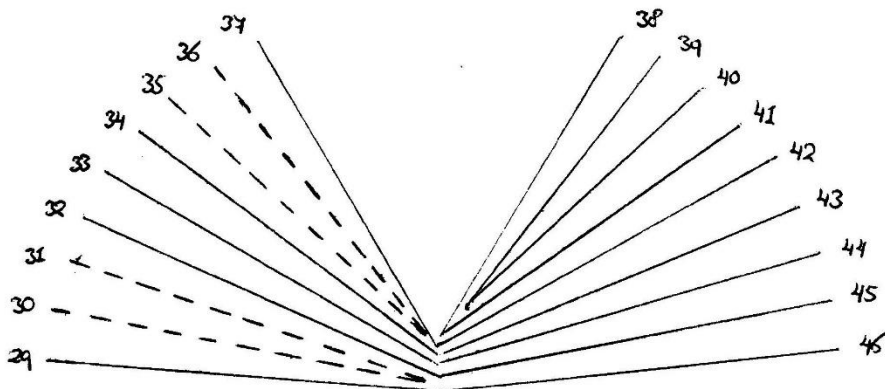
The main text additions by scribe E are limited to the composite interpolated fo. 19r, the verso side of which is blank. The effective size of the leaf, excluding the blank lower part of the stub extending from fo. 18, measures roughly 62 x 65 mm. The written area measures ca. 60 x 51 mm. There are 9 main text lines on the page; two more if one includes the rubric written directly above, for a total of 11 lines.²¹⁵ The page is ruled in drypoint with a single horizontal line to each ruled line. There is only a single vertical bounding line, located in the inner margin of the page. There is again no sign of prickings, but the line spacing is fairly regular. The ruling can easily be seen from the blank verso side of the page.

²¹³ A perfect assessment cannot be made on the basis of the images and it remains unknown whether the number of lines varies across the pages.

²¹⁴ In the upper-right margin of fo. 18r the mirror image of the distinctive enlarged initial *s* of *Sacrificium* at the beginning of fo. 17v1 can be seen, as well as faint traces of the remainder of the line. Further down the page a trace of part of the enlarged *a* of *Ante* in 17r5 in Mól Caích's hand can also be distinguished.

²¹⁵ Over the rubric the letters *om* can be seen in the upper margin of the page. The significance of this word, if anything, is unknown.

1.3.3. Gathering 3 (ff. 29-46)



Much like the second gathering, the makeup of the Stowe Missal's third quire is complicated by Móel Caích's interventions, which again include the interpolation of a number of leaves, as well as the erasure and rewriting of some of the text on the original leaves of the quire. At present, the quire contains 18 leaves, making it the largest quire of the manuscript, albeit just by a single leaf (the second quire contains 17 leaves). Of these, 14 are original, while the pairs ff. 30-31 and 35-36 were interpolated by Móel Caích. Even before Móel Caích's alterations, the third quire would still have made up the Stowe Missal's largest quire (the second gathering originally contained but 10 leaves, while the fourth contains 12). As with the previous quire, we will first consider the layout of the original leaves, before turning to those which were interpolated. Those original leaves on which either all original text was erased and replaced by Móel Caích (fo. 37r), or which had originally been left blank but now contain that scribe's writings (fo. 46v) will again be considered along with the latter.

The fact that the – fairly smudged – final page of the quire (fo. 46v) had originally been left blank is of interest, because it suggests that the outer page may have been intended to protect the text when and if the quire was used independently. The contents of the quire would have made such independent use of the quire as part of a loosely bound manuscript quite plausible, because the ending of this quire originally coincided with a major break in the text, with the final special Mass ending on fo. 46r and the Order of Baptism originally having started at the beginning of

the fourth quire. The potential for independent use was reduced when Móel Caích added his alternative opening to the Order of Baptism on fo. 46v.

1.3.3.1. Original Leaves (ff. 29, 32-34, 37-46r)

From the very beginning it is immediately apparent that the leaves of the third quire were prepared for writing in a different fashion from those of the preceding quire, for there are 14 rather than 13 lines to a page in the original parts of this quire. This change was noted by Warner, who associated it with a change of scribe,²¹⁶ but this notion has, as we have seen, since been refuted. There is some minor variation in the number of lines on some of the pages, which largely result from the scribe going over the usual amount by running over on the last line of a page, preferring to write the second half of a given word on an extra line on the same page, rather than breaking it off between two pages. In these cases, which may be found on ff. 34r and 44r, there are 15 lines to a page.²¹⁷ There are two examples of folios having fewer lines, namely on fo. 38r where a line was left blank between the end of the Order and Canon of the Mass and the beginning of the special Mass for the apostles, martyrs, saints and virgins and there are 13 lines, and on fo. 46r, at the end of the special Mass for the dead, where there are but 4. Rubrics added by anyone other than the main text scribes of these leaves have again been left out of these counts.

The leaves are of a similar size to those of the second quire, and in spite of the increased number of lines the written space also remains roughly the same. In light of the latter, it is no surprise to note that the amount of space between the lines has decreased.

Apart from the addition of an extra line, the ruling is of a kind with that found in the preceding quire. There are 14 ruled lines to a page, with each ruled line consisting of two horizontal lines and one or two vertical bounding lines in the left and right margins of the page. A slight modification to this basic scheme may be observed on fo. 32, where three additional vertical lines were added at roughly regular intervals within the written area to aid the scribe in dividing each of these two pages into four columns each. Admittedly, it should be noted that the scribe regularly went over these internal bounding lines on both sides, presumably because of the fact that they frequently did not offer enough space to fit in the names of the saints listed in the litany

²¹⁶ Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): xi-xii.

²¹⁷ In the case of fo. 34r it is actually Móel Caích who is going over the usual number of lines *in rasura*.

on these pages, but the intent is clear. There are no such additional vertical lines on fo. 33, where the text is divided into three columns on the recto side. In general scribe A seems to have stuck less closely to the ruling in writing out the text of this quire, relative to his remarkably close adherence to it in the second quire. The letters are still found roughly on the lines, but the baseline is frequently found slightly below the lower ruled line and the headline often extends somewhat above the upper ruled line.

A further difference may be found in that the prickings appear to have been done either with more force, or using a different implement, for although they are still slit-like, the prickings are now clearly visible on most pages.²¹⁸ Moreover, while the ruling still depends on the prickings, the text only rarely extends over the prickings, with the first letter of each line being found slightly to the right of the prickings and the final word crossing over the vertical bounding line on the right only occasionally rather than regularly.

1.3.3.2. Móel Caích's additions (ff. 30-31, 35-37r, 46v)

The first interpolated *bifolium* (ff. 30-31) within the quire is lightly ruled in the same fashion as the interpolated leaves of the second quire, with a single ruled line to each line of text and a vertical bounding line on each side. The ruling consists of 16 lines on fo. 30 and of 15 on fo. 31, matching the number of lines written on these pages. The leaves are slightly smaller than the original leaves of the quire, measuring about 135 x 102 mm. At ca. 101 x 80 mm the written area is again somewhat smaller than on the original leaves. Although each line of the litany on fo. 30 is especially widely spaced, with every word of the fixed phrase 'sancte X ora pronobis' being written on a fixed point in the line to give a faint impression of four columns on the page, there is no sign of any additional vertical bounding lines, such as were used by A on fo. 32, on this leaf.

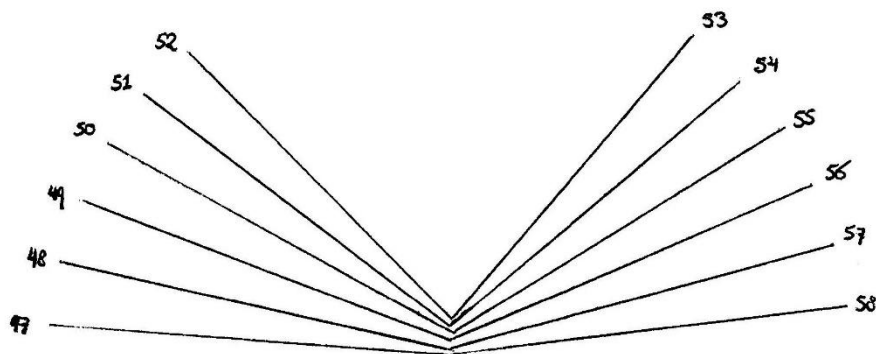
For the final interpolated leaves ff. 35-36, which measure about 135 x 93,5 mm, the ruling is again faint. There are 14 ruled lines on fo. 35, corresponding to 14 lines of text on fo. 35v and 15 on fo. 35r, due to the scribe running over slightly in the final line. There are 13 ruled and written lines on both sides of fo. 36, and 14 on fo. 37r, where Móel Caích was writing *in rasura*

²¹⁸ Alternatively, the prickings may have been done on the individual pages, which would be a rather unusual feature for an Irish manuscript, but this cannot be determined on the basis of the images alone.

and made use of the original ruling. The written area differs slightly from page to page, but measures roughly 100 x 73 mm in general, in spite of the variation in the number of lines.

On the final leaf entirely in Mól Caích's hand, the originally blank fo. 46v, there are 15 lines, including the opening rubric, which again occupies a ruled line. However, in this instance Mól Caích does not follow A's ruling beyond the fourth line, which is where A's text ended on the recto side of the leaf, instead adopting a fairly compressed spacing. We may wonder why he did not spread out his text more generously after this, in order to fill the full page, especially given that Mól Caích's rubric seems to indicate that he wished to join his opening prayer firmly to the remainder of the Order of Baptism, which originally began on the following page. Given that the spacing is fairly uneven, it may be that the relatively compressed layout simply reflects a lack of attention, rather than a conscious decision on Mól Caích's part. Whatever the case may be, the text on fo. 46v ends well short of the lower margin and is notably compressed.

1.3.4. Gathering 4 (ff. 47-58)



Starting with the fourth quire, matters become less complex as Mól Caích's hand is not found in this gathering at all and there are no interpolated leaves. As such, barring the addition of a few rubrics, things remain much as scribe A had originally intended. All leaves of the fourth quire are of a similar size to the original leaves of the previous two quires.

Curiously, the number of ruled lines is once again reduced to 13, which was the usual number in the second quire, but not in the third. Moreover, the prickings are again fainter and the first and

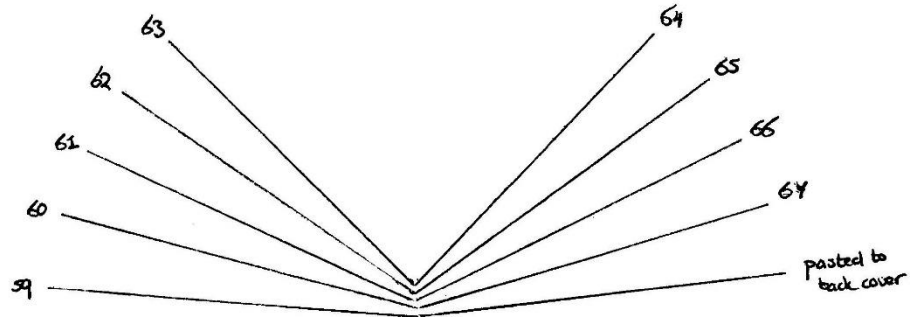
final words of a line tend to go across the prickings, as was often seen in the second quire. In light of this, we can conclude that the leaves of the fourth gathering were prepared much like those of the second, with the third quire forming an outlier. The written space is similar to that of the original leaves of the last two quires.

Notably, the ruling, which still consists of two horizontal lines to a line of text, as well as one or two vertical bounding lines to the left and right, is much lighter than was the case in the previous two quires. The ruling was observed much as it was in the directly preceding, third quire, that is to say: quite closely, but with the base- and headlines of the letters tending to extend slightly beyond the ruled lines.

Although there appear to be 13 ruled lines on each page,²¹⁹ and this matches the number of written lines on most pages, there are a few minor irregularities in the actual number of lines on some of the pages of this quire. In some cases this is due to the presence of a number of rubrics which were copied into the manuscript along with the main text and which must, as we have seen, have either been the work of scribe A himself or that of a close associate of his (A1). Due to the presence of these rubrics, there are but 10 lines of main text on fo. 57v (or 18 lines, if one includes the rubrics), and there are 11 lines on fo. 52v (16, including the rubric) and on fo. 58v (18, including the rubrics). Moreover, there are only 12 lines on ff. 49v, 50r, 54r and 56r. There is no apparent reason for this reduction on the first two of these pages, but for the latter two the reason is simply that A left a line blank to indicate a break in the text. There are also 12 main text lines on fo. 58r, but this is due to the presence of two blank lines, the latter of which was used to include a rubric (there are 13 lines when one includes the rubric). Finally, there are 14 lines on fo. 48r due to the scribe running over for half a line at the end of the page.

²¹⁹ The ruling is harder to make out in this quire than in the preceding quires, due its relative faintness.

1.3.5. Gathering 5 (ff. 59-67)



The makeup of the Stowe Missal's fifth and final quire is again not overly complicated, as apart from the Arabic numerals added in modern hands, the gathering only contains work by hands A and, if they are separate, scribe A1, and all leaves are again original. The leaves are of a similar size to those of the preceding quires and the same holds for the written area of most of the quire. The written area is reduced to 47 x 88 mm on fo. 67r, as the scribe reached the end of the Tract and the lower half of the page was left blank. On the final page of the manuscript the written area measures ca. 100 x 90 mm.

The number of lines varies across the quire, largely due to the major differences in the layout and the size of the script between the Latin and Irish-language parts of the gathering. In the Latin parts (up to and including fo. 65r), there are 13 ruled lines to a page and the ruling follows the same, elaborate scheme seen throughout the original parts of the later four quires of the Stowe Missal, albeit that the ruling is of the fainter kind previously seen in the fourth quire. Due to the presence of lines intentionally left blank there are but 12 lines on ff. 62v, 63r and 64v. There are 14 on ff. 59r, 61r and 62r due to the scribe running over in the final line of the page.

In the Irish-language parts of the quire, there are 26 lines each on ff. 65v-66v, 9 on fo. 67r as we reach the end of the Tract, and finally 16 on fo. 67v, on which the three Irish charms are located. Folios 66 and 67 were ruled in a different manner, with just a single horizontal line to each written line of the text, although the details are hard to make out due to the general smudging and staining of the final leaves of the manuscript. The ruling was largely observed in the Latin

parts of the quire, albeit not as strictly as in the second quire and with noticeably less effort on fo. 65r, as the scribe reached the end of his text. In the Irish parts, the ruling is also generally observed, except on the final leaf of the Tract and for the charms, where the spacing between the lines as well as their general steadiness is markedly less even.

1.3.6. General Features

Taking a wider view of the Stowe Missal's quires, we may say that all of the manuscript's original leaves throughout its five quires are similarly sized, whereas the size of the leaves interpolated by Móel Caích and scribe E varies, with the latter being (somewhat) smaller overall. Similarly, although there is a clear, if not quite uniformly applied rationale behind the number of lines found throughout the segments of Sonid / Dinos, A and A1, the number of lines on Móel Caích's leaves varies depending on whether he was writing *in rasura*, where he tended to adhere to A's original ruling of the page, or whether he was writing on interpolated leaves, where there is considerable variation. There is no clear explanation as to why A included an extra ruled line throughout the third quire.

A more significant general point concerns the old supposition that the only reason why the Stowe Missal's later four quires were bound up with the Stowe John is that their leaves were of a similar size. This notion has already been disputed indirectly above, where it was argued that the nature of the Stowe Missal's portrait of John the Evangelist offers strong evidence that the formerly independent first quire was consciously, rather than haphazardly, united with the remainder of the manuscript when the later four quires were being copied.²²⁰ A further counterargument may be found in the fact that there are in fact some indications that the manuscript's leaves were trimmed at some point. The clearest of these is found on fo. 1r, where a long sequence of short lines can be seen extending from the very upper margin of the page. This sequence can best be explained as representing a mutilated marginal rubric or gloss, the upper half of which was cut away when the leaf was trimmed. Moreover, the final enlarged initial on fo. 10v is found touching the leftward margin of the page, raising the question whether the leaf once extended further to the left. This hypothesis finds further support in that many of the first quire's enlarged initials are found remarkably far into the margin of the page, although

²²⁰ Further evidence to support the deliberate joining of the two parts of the manuscript may be found directly below on pp. 87-90, where it is argued that the Stowe Missal's mixed contents fit its original intended purpose.

there are no other examples of one touching the edge. In the later four quires the evidence is less certain. Two of the rubrics by scribe E were written right up to the upper edge of leaves 12r and 15r. Similarly, scribe B's rubric on fo. 42r is found close to the upper margin, with the stained shaft of the *b* of *penitentibus* in particular appearing to reach to the very edge of the page. Although nothing was cut away from these rubrics, one might nevertheless expect the scribes to have added these rubrics somewhat closer to the main written area of their respective pages if the margins had always been this close. A final hint may, perhaps, be found in that while the slightly smaller leaves added by Mól Caích generally have somewhat rounded edges, the original leaves of both the Stowe Missal's first and final four quires are remarkably and similarly square. Given the varied origins of the first and the final four quires, this striking similarity might more easily have resulted from a later trimming of the leaves, rather than from mere coincidence.

In summary, it seems certain that the leaves of at least the Stowe John were cut back slightly at some point in its history. Given the likelihood that the remainder of the manuscript underwent the same treatment, the similar shape of the leaves suggests that this happened after the Stowe John was incorporated into the Stowe Missal. If the aforementioned marginal rubrics by scribes E and B may indeed be taken to imply that the leaves were trimmed only after these scribes added their rubrics to the manuscript, the trimming must have happened after all glosses and rubrics had been added to the Stowe Missal and the leaves may have reached their present dimensions only fairly late in the composition history of the manuscript. Although this does not in itself disprove that the leaves of the Stowe John and the original parts of the remainder of the manuscript had always been of a similar size, it does mean that we should be careful not to simply assume that the present size of the leaves reflects their original state, especially in the case of the Stowe John.

1.4. Intended Purpose

As we reach the end of the first chapter of this dissertation, in which the palaeographical and codicological aspects of the Stowe Missal have been central, we have yet to consider the intended purpose for which the manuscript was originally made. This matter was largely left aside by the earlier scholars who worked on the Stowe Missal, but in so far as they expressed an opinion on the matter, most of them seem to have perhaps overestimated the significance of the Stowe Missal in its original setting. For example, Warner stated that he was “inclined to believe [that] its primary object was to provide the monastery of Tallaght... with an authoritative ritual”, supposing that the original parts of the later four quires reflect “a first draft”, whereas the present manuscript, including Móel Caích’s revisions on the basis of “a second archetype” reflect the intended new Tallaght rite.²²¹ Moreover, we have already seen that MacCarthy contended that the interpolator Móel Caích must have been a bishop for him to have felt at liberty to alter a missal.²²² A similar statement is found later on in an article by John Ryan, who believed that the “self-confidence with which” Móel Caích made his changes “suggests that he was either abbot... or that he worked on the orders of a new abbot.”²²³

A notable exception among the earlier scholars comes in the person of James Kenney, who early on suggested that this inexpensive little manuscript was “not produced as the official missal of an important church, or high ecclesiastic, but rather as a private service-book which a priest could easily carry with him and find therein the minimum ritual necessary for the performance of his functions.”²²⁴ However, while it is now generally agreed that the Stowe Missal was a relatively basic production, with for example Timothy O’Neill suggesting that the original parts of the later four quires of the Stowe Missal “could have been completed within a week to ten days”, rendering it a “relatively inexpensive book”,²²⁵ there has been considerable disagreement as to its intended purpose. Although it has suffered a reverse in recent years, until recently the majority opinion was that the Stowe Missal had been intended for private use in a monastic

²²¹ Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): xxxvi-xxxvii. See pp. 124-140 in the second chapter below for a discussion of the Stowe Missal’s place of origin.

²²² MacCarthy, “On the Stowe Missal” (1877-1886): 168.

²²³ Ryan, “The Mass” (1961): 377.

²²⁴ Kenney, James, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: 1 Ecclesiastical* (New York 1927), 692-699 (no. 555).

²²⁵ Such was reported by Meeder (Meeder, “Destination and Function” (2005): 182) as having been said by O’Neill during the Roscrea Conference held in May 2002 in a lecture on “The Stowe Missal and Other Treasures from Lorrha”.

context. This view appears to have originated with Willibrord Godel, who held that both the Stowe and Bobbio Missals were “nichts anderes als *libelli* für die private Zelebration” without the presence of even a small congregation.²²⁶ Although Godel offered few specific grounds for his views apart from a general belief in the widespread nature of such private masses in the Early Irish church, his main argument appears to have consisted of “the perceived absence of diaconal assistance in the mass service”, as Sven Meeder, who opposed Godel’s reasoning, later summed up the argument.²²⁷ Godel’s views were taken up by Próinséas Ní Chatháin, who briefly stated that “the Stowe Missal was for private use and it was most likely in use in a monastery”,²²⁸ and was mentioned by Jane Stevenson in her introduction to the 2nd edition of Warren’s *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*.²²⁹

The start of the new millennium saw a number of publications going against this belief. The first of these may be found in the seventh chapter of O’Loughlin’s *Celtic Theology*,²³⁰ for although O’Loughlin did not outright reject Godel’s argument, and he accepted the manuscript’s monastic context, O’Loughlin offered a very different view of the use of the Stowe Missal, suggesting that Móel Caích’s additions to the original Missal “made [the manuscript] all the more valuable to a busy priest”, and that the whole manuscript “taken as a ‘pastoral package’ ... gives us an insight into the working life of a monk-priest where the practical problems of serving the people were paramount”, suggesting that “we should look at Stowe less as a monument to the ancient liturgy, than as a testimony to pastoral labour focused on the Eucharist.”²³¹ O’Loughlin’s emphasis on this composite manuscript’s deeply pastoral function seems to belie a view that it was primarily intended for private functions.

A more direct counter to Godel’s argument may be found in the aforementioned article by Sven Meeder and his views bear going over in detail.²³² Meeder first countered Godel’s observation that there was no mention of diaconal assistance in the Stowe Missal’s Order of the Mass by noting that there is “explicit mention of a deacon” in the Stowe Missal’s Order of Baptism.²³³ He

²²⁶ Godel, Willibrord, “Irisches Beten im frühen Mittelalter, eine liturgie- und frömmigkeitsgeschichtliche Untersuchung”, *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 85 (1963) 261-321: 266.

²²⁷ Meeder, “Destination and Function” (2005): 179-180.

²²⁸ Ní Chatháin, Próinséas, “The Liturgical Background of the Derrynavlan Altar Service”, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 110 (1980) 123-148: 132.

²²⁹ Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual* (2nd edition, 1987): lxi.

²³⁰ O’Loughlin, *Celtic Theology* (2000): 128-146.

²³¹ O’Loughlin, *Celtic Theology* (2000): 131-132.

²³² Meeder, “Destination and Function” (2005).

²³³ *Ibid.*: 179-180.

then proceeded to review Kenney's earlier arguments for regarding the Stowe Missal as a *vade mecum* on the basis of its physical aspects, namely its small size and its relatively inexpensive make, which include its being largely devoid of decoration, and the view that Móel Caích's strong alterations "suggest that this was a book whose principal purpose was a functional one".²³⁴ The latter certainly seems an altogether likelier hypothesis than that these revisions reflect Móel Caích's own high standing.

Following this, Meeder brought forward a number of new arguments, based primarily on a set of criteria set out by Niels Rasmussen²³⁵ and later developed by Yitzhak Hen for determining the function of liturgical manuscripts on the basis of their contents.²³⁶ Although Meeder states that the Stowe Missal cannot be said to convincingly meet Hen's first criterion for determining that a manuscript had a "presbyterial destination", namely that of combining several liturgical books in a single volume, he tentatively suggests that the Stowe Missal's inclusion of the Gospel of John and the Irish Tract on the Mass does meet Hen's second criterion, that is to say the inclusion of texts from different religious genres in a single manuscript.²³⁷ Meeder's slight hesitation regarding the latter arose from the fact that the Gospel and Tract are palaeographically distinct from the Missal proper, which left him uncertain as to whether they could be taken to reflect the original state and purpose of the entire manuscript. However, as we have seen, the Gospel must have been united with the Missal when the latter was being copied, and if the Tract is not in fact in the same hand as that of the scribe who copied the Missal (A), it is certainly in that of a close associate of his (A1). As such, its addition, as well as that of the charms, must reflect a very early stage in the existence of the Stowe Missal. In terms of its contents, the Stowe Missal therefore seems to accord with Hen's second criterion for establishing that a manuscript had a presbyterial function.

Meeder went on to draw a number of additional arguments from the text of the liturgy in the Stowe Missal itself, which he takes to be suggestive of the congregation being small but

²³⁴ Ibid: 181-182.

²³⁵ Ibid: 182-183, where Meeder refers to Rasmussen, Niels Krogh, "Célébration épiscopale et celebration presbytérale, un essai de typologie", *Segni et riti nella chiesa altomedievale occidentale*, Settimane di studi del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 33 (Spoleto 1987) 581-603.

²³⁶ Ibid: 183, where Meeder refers to Hen, Yitzhak, "Liturgical Handbook for the Use of a Rural Priest (Brussels, BR 1000127-100144)", in Mostert, Marco (ed.), *Organising the Written Word: Scripts, Manuscripts and Texts: Proceedings of the First Utrecht Symposium on Medieval Literacy, Utrecht 5-7 June 1997*, which appears to be forthcoming still, or the title of which has changed since.

²³⁷ Ibid: 183-184.

consisting largely of lay men and women, stating that direct references to monastic clerics “are notably absent from the Stowe Missal’s prayers”.²³⁸ In addition, Meeder points out that in some of the prayers added by Móel Caích, there seems to be a distinction between the congregation and its travelling clergy, with the wording showing that the celebrant belongs to the latter group.

However, we should note that at least in Móel Caích’s hand there is, in fact, a reference in the Stowe Missal’s prayers to *seniores*, that is to say the elders of a monastery, namely on fo. 24v10-11.²³⁹ Furthermore, Móel Caích once refers to *abbate nostro .n. episcopo* (fo. 24v1-2), and while the exact significance of this statement is not entirely clear,²⁴⁰ this dual dignity seems to most easily accord with a monastic context.

Returning to scribe A, we have already seen that there is in fact a good chance that he may also have copied the fragment of a monastic rule now known as *Fragmentum Augiense* 20. The very nature of this text would, of course, suggest that scribe A was active in a monastic context. Moreover, if the differences in the colour of the ink, the size of the quill nib and the spacing of the lines that can be seen in the three Irish charms may indeed be taken to indicate that the charms were added by a single scribe over an extended period of time, as was argued for above, scribe A (or A1) must have had continued access to the manuscript for some time after its creation, suggesting that he may actually have been both the creator and the first intended user of the Stowe Missal. Taken together, this implies that the Stowe Missal may have both originated and remained in a monastery for some time after its creation.

While Kenney and Meeder are certainly right to point out the Stowe Missal’s primarily practical function and its eminently portable nature, these aspects do not in themselves rule out that the manuscript may (also) have been used in a monastic context. And although the Stowe Missal may well have seen use as a *vade mecum* over the years, O’Loughlin’s suggestion that it belonged to a monk-priest may well be the most accurate description of its original intended purpose.

²³⁸ Ibid: 186-192.

²³⁹ The relevant part of the line reads: *pro stratu seniorum suorum*, where *stratu* is presumably a Hiberno-Latin usage (MacCarthy suggested taking it as ‘body, congregation’; MacCarthy, “On the Stowe Missal” (1877-1886): 208).

²⁴⁰ Meeder, for example, argues that it may reflect little more than the flexible nature of the Stowe Missal, with the celebrant being supposed to choose whichever title was appropriate under the circumstances, in light of the rarity of a single person holding both offices (Meeder, “Destination and Function” (2005): 192).

Chapter 2: The Origins and Early History of the Stowe Missal

Armed with an understanding of the physical aspects of the Stowe Missal, the nature of its script, the links between it and other Early Irish manuscripts, as well as the manuscript's contents and original intended purpose, we may now turn to the question of the origin and early travels of this manuscript. In this chapter, the earlier part of the history of the Stowe Missal will be considered. That is to say, we will consider when and where the Stowe Missal was created, and attempt to trace its travels up to the end of the Medieval period. The manuscript's later history, leading up to its scholarly rediscovery in the Early Modern period and ultimately up to the present, forms the subject of the third chapter of this thesis.

2.1. Dating the Stowe Missal

When modern scholars first engaged with the Stowe Missal in the nineteenth century, a wide variety of different dates was suggested for its various constituent parts,²⁴¹ ranging from the sixth to the twelfth century.²⁴² Although some of the arguments were, for example, of a liturgical nature, most dating criteria were based on the script. In particular, scribe A's unusual, angular hybrid minuscule script, found throughout much of the manuscript, was considered a sign of great antiquity, while the compressed minuscule of the Stowe Missal's Irish-language texts was taken to be considerably later. Another avenue for dating the Stowe Missal was found by investigating the death dates of the saints mentioned in the litanies contained in the manuscript, which led MacCarthy to believe that the original parts of the Missal had been copied in the second quarter of the seventh century.²⁴³ Further arguments concerned the person of Móel Caích, whom, as was mentioned before, MacCarthy attempted to identify with a person who passed away ca. 750 AD.²⁴⁴ Additionally, linguistic arguments, drawn from the manuscript's

²⁴¹ Namely the Stowe John, the Latin parts of the later four quires, the Irish Tract and the Irish charms. No dates were offered for the non-main text parts of the manuscript.

²⁴² Todd suggested that scribe A's script, which he referred to as "the older or Lombardic hand", was "certainly not later than the sixth century", while he believed Móel Caích's "more recent hand" to belong to the tenth century (Todd, "On the Ancient Irish Missal" (1856): 17-18). Kenyon held the opposite view, believing scribe A's script to be no earlier than the end of the ninth century, while the script of the Irish texts could "hardly be earlier than the eleventh century, and... might well be later" (Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, vol. 2 (1901-1903): xxviii; see also n. 248 on p. 92 below).

²⁴³ MacCarthy, "On the Stowe Missal" (1877-1886): 165.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*: 167-168. Todd had also attempted to identify Móel Caích with someone in the historical record, but frankly admitted that his one candidate, "Maelcaich, son of Aedh Bennan, King of West Munster, who may have lived to about the year 700... could not have been the scribe of our MS.", because he believed

Irish language texts, were raised by Stokes in his edition of that text,²⁴⁵ initially leading him to conclude that the Tract and the charms could not “have been written before the tenth century, and were probably transcribed in the eleventh or twelfth”, citing a number of “Middle-Irish corruptions”, although he did note that the language was in fact largely Old Irish and “may therefore have [been] copied from an Old-Irish codex”.²⁴⁶

Stokes’ arguments were forcefully countered by MacCarthy, who cited forms in other early sources (including the Milan, Würzburg and St Gall glosses, as well as the Book of Armagh and the Cambrai Homily) showing similar forms appearing in manuscripts of which the Old Irish origins were beyond dispute.²⁴⁷ Moreover, MacCarthy pointed out that the manuscript was enshrined in the eleventh century, rendering it highly unlikely for any texts to have been entered into the manuscript after that date. Stokes was to reverse his position by the early twentieth century, when he published the *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* together with John Strachan, in which it was instead argued that if the palaeographical view that the Stowe Missal’s Irish texts could not have been written before the eleventh century was correct, the language of these texts provides evidence that they must “have been transcribed from a much older original.”²⁴⁸

2.1.1. St Máel Rúain of Tallaght

Matters became more settled with the publication of the second volume of Warner’s edition in 1915, in which it was noted that one of the litanies by scribe A makes mention of St Máel Rúain of Tallaght, who died in 792 AD and whose feast day is 7 July.²⁴⁹ The litany, which constitutes

the scribe to have lived “a century, or perhaps two, later” (Todd, “On the Ancient Irish Missal” (1856): 18).

²⁴⁵ This edition was privately printed as a booklet at first (Stokes, Whitley, *The Irish Passages in the Stowe Missal: with Some Notes on the Orleans Glosses* (Calcutta 1881)), before it was published as an article (Stokes, Whitley, “The Irish Passages in the Stowe Missal”, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen* 26 (1883) 497-519).

²⁴⁶ Stokes, “The Irish Passages” (1883): 498.

²⁴⁷ MacCarthy, “On the Stowe Missal” (1877-1886): 172-173. MacCarthy’s fierce challenge of Stokes’ views foreshadowed the acrimonious exchanges between these two scholars, as well as Warren, in various issues of *The Academy* in 1887 (see the bibliography, under MacCarthy, Stokes, and Warren, respectively).

²⁴⁸ Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, vol. 2 (1901-1903): xxviii. For the palaeographical argument they depended on the hesitant views of Frederic Kenyon, who investigated the manuscript on their behalf, as mentioned in n. 79 on p. 23 above. See pp. 112-120 below for a discussion of these linguistic features.

²⁴⁹ Warner, *The Stowe Missal* vol. 2 (1906-1915): xxx-xxxiv. Although the litany is highly legible, prior to Warner opinion was divided as to the identity of this particular saint, in part because his name is found written on two separate lines, with *Maile* being found in the first and *ruen* in the second line of the page.

the longest saints' list in the Stowe Missal, is found on ff. 32r-33r. Apart from Máel Rúain, the Irish saints included in the litany are all of considerably earlier dates, with the vast majority of these saints dating back to the sixth and early seventh centuries, and the earliest saints having passed away in the second half of the fifth.²⁵⁰ In spite of the substantial difference in time, Máel Rúain was included in the litany's main text, rather than, for example, having been included only in a gloss. The litany is divided into various parts, each featuring a subset of saints, and we may further note that Máel Rúain's name was entered in its proper place at the very end of the list of bishops, ahead of the litany's final subsection, that of priests. Moreover, we may note that Máel Rúain is the first saint and the sole bishop included on the third and final page of the litany. If the bishops had originally been intended to fit onto two pages, with only the saintly priests running over onto the third page, Máel Rúain's presence as the only bishop on fo. 33r may further suggest his late inclusion into an existing scheme. In light of this, we may conclude that Máel Rúain was a relatively recent saint, who was added to an older, previously existing list. Although it is impossible to establish with certainty whether scribe A was responsible for adding Máel Rúain to the litany when he copied it into the Stowe Missal, or whether the saint had already been added to A's exemplar at some earlier stage,²⁵¹ the absence of more recent saints might nevertheless be taken to imply that the Stowe Missal was copied relatively shortly after Máel Rúain's passing. More importantly, Máel Rúain's inclusion certainly means that the manuscript must have been copied after his death, providing us with a solid *terminus post quem* of 792 AD.

In spite of the uncertainties surrounding the matter, Warner assumed scribe A to have been responsible for adding the saint to the litany, and used this to argue that the Stowe Missal must have been copied shortly after 792 AD. Warner went on to suggest that the lack of any mention of St Eochaid (d. 812), who was Máel Rúain's immediate successor as bishop of Tallaght and

Not only was it suggested that the two elements of the name should be taken to reflect two separate names, but it was also contended that *ruen* might reflect an abbreviated form of the name *Rúadan*, the patron saint of Lorrha, with which the manuscript was early associated due to the inscriptions on its shrine (see pp. 96-107 below for a discussion of the shrine, and pp. 124-130 for a more detailed discussion of this particular hypothesis). The attempt to take *ruen* as a form of *Rúadan* depends largely on the Modern Irish pronunciation of the lenited *d* and cannot be maintained for the Old Irish period. Accordingly, this hypothesis has long since fallen into disuse.

²⁵⁰ Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): xxvii-xxxiii.

²⁵¹ Although the unusual layout of the litany, relative to that of the remainder of the Stowe Missal, with multiple columns to a page (see also p. 80 above, where the unusual ruling of fo. 32 is discussed) may in itself suggest that both layout and litany were borrowed from the exemplar, rather than having been devised by scribe A, this does not help determine whether Máel Rúain was included in the exemplar, or not.

would eventually also rise to the abbacy, and who is, for example, included in the Martyrology of Tallaght, might constitute “some slight evidence” to suggest that the original parts of the Stowe Missal had been copied before his death.²⁵² In making his case, Warner had reached the conclusion that the Stowe Missal was made in Tallaght, the monastery founded by St Máel Rúain in the second half of the eighth century,²⁵³ and he supposed that if a manuscript produced at a certain centre saw fit to alter an older litany in order to include that centre’s founding saint, it would likely also have added any other recent local saints. Knowing that Máel Rúain’s immediate successor was also venerated as a saint at Tallaght shortly after his death, Warner suggested that his absence might therefore suggest that the Stowe Missal was created while Eochaid was still alive. Warner’s tentative suggestion has frequently been repeated, albeit sometimes perhaps with more confidence than Warner assigned to his hypothesis, and it is not uncommon to find the Stowe Missal being assigned a *terminus ante quem* of 812 AD.²⁵⁴ Occasionally the even earlier date of 803 AD is given, for this is the year in which St Airfinnán / Airendán, who appears to have been Máel Rúain’s second successor as abbot of Tallaght and who was also considered a saint, died.²⁵⁵ In fact, in this context one might also mention St Airerán, Máel Rúain’s immediate successor as abbot, whose death date is unfortunately unknown, but who must have died sometime between 792 and 803 AD.²⁵⁶

While Warner’s *terminus post quem* is sound, his proposed *terminus ante quem* is considerably less certain.²⁵⁷ Not only does it depend entirely on whether he was correct to assume that the manuscript had been written at Tallaght, but it also requires that whoever included Máel Rúain in the litany would have wanted to include any other, more recent local saints in the list. The latter is far from certain. Even if the manuscript was made at Tallaght, Máel Rúain’s high personal standing as both the founding saint of that monastery and as a prominent member of the *céli Dé* could easily have led a scribe to include him, while failing to mention any other recent

²⁵² This is a highly uncertain hypothesis, see the discussion in the paragraph immediately below.

²⁵³ This hypothesis will be discussed at length in the second half of this chapter, in particular see pp. 130-138 below.

²⁵⁴ E.g. Coffey, Brendan, “The Stowe Enigma: Decoding the Mystery”, *Irish Theological Quarterly* 75 (2010) 75-91: 77-78.

²⁵⁵ E.g. Byrne, “The Stowe Missal” (1967): 49. Breen, “The Constantinopolitan Creed” (1990): 121.

²⁵⁶ Dumville, David, “Félire Óengusso: Problems of Dating a Monument of Old Irish”, *Éigse* 33 (2002) 19-48: 26. His feastday is recorded in the Martyrology of Tallaght for 11 August: *Aireráin sapientis et abbatis Tamlachta post Mael Ruain*, i.e. ‘[the commemoration] of Airerán the sage and abbot of Tallaght after Máel Rúain’. (Best, Richard and H. Lawlor, *The Martyrology of Tallaght: from the Book of Leinster and MS. 5100-4 in the Royal Library, Brussels*, Henry Bradshaw Society 68 (London 1931) 16.)

²⁵⁷ Warner’s *terminus ante quem* has come under fire in recent years, e.g. Ó Ríain, “The Tallaght Martyrologies, Redated” (1990): 38 n. 72.

saints.²⁵⁸ As such, the absence of the Tallaght saints Eochaid, Airfínnán / Airendán and Airerán should not be considered strong evidence for an early *terminus ante quem*.

2.1.2. The Creed

The Stowe Missal's copy of the Creed (found on fo. 20r8-21r3) was entered into the manuscript by scribe A. The text is of some interest for the purpose of dating the Stowe Missal, for it features a number of correctional glosses which were added either by scribe A himself or his close associate A1, rendering the Creed one of the few original texts in the manuscript which may have been altered by the scribe who wrote it.²⁵⁹ In a detailed study of the Stowe Missal's Creed, which he identified as "a distinctive and unique Latin text of the Constantinopolitan Creed",²⁶⁰ Aidan Breen demonstrated that the interlinear glosses on fo. 20v reflect the version of the Creed "composed by Paulinus II, patriarch of Aquileia, at the council of Foroiulianum (Cividale del Friuli) in 796/7."²⁶¹ Breen went on to state that this version of the Creed became "established in the liturgy of the Carolingian empire" after the Council of Aachen in 798, meaning that the corrected text of Stowe could not have been completed before 796-797 at the earliest, and most likely not before the more general adoption of this version of the Creed after 798 AD, fixing those years as the *terminus post quem* of the correctional glosses on the Stowe Missal's fo. 20v. It is difficult to estimate precisely how much time would have passed between the Councils of Aachen and Friuli and the acceptance of these alterations in Ireland, but given the enormous importance of the Creed, it may well have taken a substantial amount of time, perhaps extending into the first decades of the ninth century.

It is impossible to know whether these glosses were copied alongside the main text, suggesting that they had already been present in the exemplar, or whether they were entered into the manuscript at some later stage, presumably shortly after these changes were accepted. The latter would suggest a scenario wherein the Stowe Missal remained with its original scribe and intended user (either A, or A1, if the latter was separate from the former) for some time after its creation, a hypothesis also supported by the slight palaeographical differences between the

²⁵⁸ Máel Rúain's general fame as a member of the *céli Dé* movement has led a number of scholars to suggest that the mere mention of his name does not warrant assigning the Stowe Missal to the monastery of Tallaght. For more on this, see pp. 124-138 below.

²⁵⁹ The identity of the scribe of these correctional glosses was discussed in detail on pp. 28-29 above.

²⁶⁰ Breen, "The Constantinopolitan Creed" (1990): 116.

²⁶¹ *Ibid*: 118.

manuscript's three Irish charms.²⁶² Alternatively, if the glosses were copied alongside the main text, it seems likely that the Stowe Missal must have been created somewhat later, allowing for sufficient time to have passed between the adoption of these changes to the Creed in mainland Europe and their acceptance in Ireland. Whatever the case may be, the correctional glosses to the Stowe Missal's copy of the Creed mean that the manuscript must either have been copied after 796-798 AD at the earliest (and most likely some years later), or, if the manuscript had already been created between mid-792 and 796-798 AD, that it remained in the possession of (one of) its original scribe(s) until after the latter date.

2.1.3. The Shrine

Having thus established the Stowe Missal's *terminus post quem*, and rejected earlier attempts to fix the manuscript's *terminus ante quem* to 803 or 812 AD as lacking sure evidence, we now turn to the first certainly datable piece of evidence for the manuscript's existence, namely its *cumtach* or shrine. The Stowe Missal shrine, which is now housed (separate from the manuscript) in the National Museum of Ireland – Archaeology,²⁶³ consists of a wooden box covered on all sides by highly ornamented, decorative metalwork.²⁶⁴ Although it is highly unlikely for a practical manuscript like the Stowe Missal to have become a relic only shortly after it was created, the shrine itself is eminently datable and may therefore serve as an (extreme) upper boundary for the *terminus ante quem* of the manuscript it was designed to contain.

The shrine was first examined in detail by Charles O'Connor, who devoted about three quarters of his catalogue entry on the Stowe Missal to a description of the shrine.²⁶⁵ While the majority of his conclusions are flawed, and in spite of the generally dubious reputation of his publication, O'Connor's description of the shrine is tolerably accurate. Moreover, O'Connor provided a service to later scholarship on the shrine by including fairly accurate reproductions of all six of its sides

²⁶² See p. 34 above, where it is argued that these slight differences in the script resulted from the use of differently shaped quill nibs and varying shades of brown ink by a single scribe, suggesting that the charms were added at different times, rather than all at once.

²⁶³ At present the shrine, known simply as "The Shrine of the Stowe Missal", is contained within the National Museum of Ireland – Archaeology's 'Clontarf 1014' exhibition.

²⁶⁴ Images of the shrine may be found alongside the images of the manuscript on the *Irish Script on Screen*-website (https://www.isos.dias.ie/master.html?https://www.isos.dias.ie/libraries/RIA/RIA_MS_D_ii_3/english/index.html?ref=, accessed 06-02-2021).

²⁶⁵ O'Connor, *Bibliotheca MS. Stowensis*, appendix to vol. 1 (1818-1819): 1-39. The entry runs to 51 pages.

at the very end of the second volume of his *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, published a few years after his 1818-1819 catalogue.²⁶⁶ The ornamental shrine has two faces, usually referred to as its upper and lower face, both of which contain inscriptions mentioning various persons involved in the creation of the shrine, and dedicating the work to a number of kings. The inscriptions on both faces have suffered damage: those on the upper face due to the loss of half of two inscribed sheets of silver, presumably due to these half-sheets having broken off and become lost over the years, while two of the inscriptions on the lower face were mutilated when a later metalworker cut them back in order to make room for a gem setting.²⁶⁷ While O’Conor correctly managed to identify two of the kings mentioned on the lower face of the shrine, namely Macc Raith Úa Donnchada,²⁶⁸ who is here referred to as *rī Cassil* or ‘king of Cashel’, and Donnchad macc Briain, referred to as *rī hĒrend* or ‘king of Ireland’,²⁶⁹ he did not manage to identify any of the names on the upper face of the shrines. Donnchad macc Briain is a particularly well-known figure, for he was the son of the famed Brían Bórama (or Boru), high king of Ireland, and both Donnchad and the less famous Macc Raith are mentioned in various entries in the Irish annals.²⁷⁰ Dondchad macc Briain was king of Munster from 1014 to 1064, when he was expelled from the kingship, while Macc Raith was first mentioned in the annals in 1027 and died in 1052. Given that inscriptions such as these were for the living, O’Conor concluded that the shrine must have been furnished in the first half of the 11th century. Unfortunately, while this was certainly correct for the lower face, the same cannot be said for the shrine’s upper face, and O’Conor’s mistaken assumption that both sides date back to the

²⁶⁶ O’Conor, Charles, *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, vol. 2 (Buckingham 1825). The pages on which the plates were included are unnumbered, but are found at the end of the volume. Alongside the images of the shrine, O’Conor included reproductions of the Missal *incipit* on fo. 12r, the portrait of John the Evangelist on fo. 11v, the Gospel *incipit* on fo. 1r, as well as an excerpt of fo. 20v, featuring some of the interlinear glosses on the Creed. These reproductions were only superseded in 1915, with the publication of the second volume of Warner’s edition (Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915)).

²⁶⁷ The gem is now lost, but the fitting is of a kind with that of the central gem on the upper face of the shrine, see also p. 100 below.

²⁶⁸ The inscription, which is found in the right margin of the shrine’s lower face, reads: † OCUS DO MACC RAITH HU DONDCHADA DO RIG CASSIL, i.e. ‘and [a prayer] for Macc Raith Úa Donnchada, for the king of Cashel.’

²⁶⁹ The inscription is found in the lower margin of the lower face of the shrine and reads: OROIT DO DONDCHAD MACC BRIAIN DO RIG HEREND, i.e. ‘a prayer for Donnchad, son of Brían, for the king of Ireland.’

²⁷⁰ Some of the relevant entries are discussed on pp. 101-107 below, when we return to the upper face in greater detail. See also the articles by Todd (Todd, “On the Ancient Irish Missal” (1856): 5-9, O’Rahilly (O’Rahilly, Thomas F., “The History of the Stowe Missal”, *Ériu* 10 (1928) 95-109: 95-97) and Ó Riain (Ó Riain, “The Shrine of the Stowe Missal, Redated”, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy: C* 91 (1991) 285-295: 287-288 and 293-294) for references to and discussions of these entries.

same time period, based entirely on the absence of evidence to the contrary, led him severely astray.²⁷¹

2.1.3.1. The Upper Face of the Shrine

O’Conor’s mistake was pointed out by Todd, who offered a fairly accurate reconstruction of the contents of one of the lost inscribed half-sheets on the upper face of the shrine, which allowed him to reconstruct one of the inscriptions on that face and to identify two of the persons mentioned therein.²⁷² The inscription is the longest found anywhere on the shrine and extends over two different sheets of metal, the first of which is found in the upper margin of the upper face of the shrine, and the second of which is found on the right side of that face. The upper inscription, of which the right half is missing, reads (with Todd’s reconstruction supplied between square brackets):

† ŌROIT DO P ^l LIB U[a Cinnédig]	‘A prayer for Pilib Ó [Ceinnéidigh]
DO RIG · URMU[main lasa c] ²⁷³	For the king of Ormo[nd, by whom was c-]’

The continuation of this inscription on the right side of the face reads:

UMDAIGED · IN MINDSA · 7 DO AINI	‘...-overed this relic. And for Áine, [his]
· DAM	
NAI † DOMNALL · O TOLARI ·	wife. Domhnall Ó Tolaire decorated me.’
DOCORIG MISI :	

The need to reconstruct part of the inscription has resulted in various readings over the years, with for example Warner reconstructing the second half of the first line of the first sheet as *Cinneidig* and the second as *-man lasar c-*.²⁷⁴ Warner’s version is probably to be preferred, in

²⁷¹ For example, his lengthy argument that the image of a bishop portrayed on the upper face of the shrine could, in spite of various difficulties, be considered an accurate portrayal of an eleventh-century Irish bishop (O’Conor, *Bibliotheca MS. Stowensis*, appendix to vol. 1 (1818-1819): 4-8), depended entirely on the dating of the lower face.

²⁷² Todd, “On the Ancient Irish Missal” (1856): 13-14.

²⁷³ The first minim of the final *m* is still visible on what remains of the mutilated second half of the inscribed sheet.

²⁷⁴ Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): lvi. Warner actually seems to have made a mistake in his rendering of the restored inscription, for he gives it as if the sequence *ar c-* is actually attested at the beginning of the second inscribed sheet.

light of the evidence of a further inscription, discussed immediately below,²⁷⁵ on the left side of the upper face, where *U* was used on its own to render *Úa / Ó*, and where an exact match for the phrase *lasar cumdaiged* may be found, confirming Warner’s proposed reconstruction. Moreover, unless *Urmumu* ‘Ormond’ had already lost its *n*-stem inflection, a genitive *Urmuman* rather than *Urmumain* would be expected.²⁷⁶

Turning to the contents of the inscription, there can be no doubt that the shrine refers to Pilib Ó Ceinnéidigh, lord of Ormond, and his wife Áine, daughter of Mac Conmara, the passing of both of whom is recorded in the Annals of the Four Masters for the year 1384 AD.²⁷⁷ In light of this, the upper, younger face of the shrine must have been made sometime during Pilib’s reign as lord of Ormond, which appears to have lasted from 1371 to 1381.²⁷⁸ In addition, the shrine must at that time have been in the lordship of Ormond, which was by then largely comprised of modern Co. Tipperary.

As was mentioned, the inscription appears to have shared a phrase with the inscription found on the left side of the upper face, which mentions the coarb Giolla Ruadháin Ó Macáin.²⁷⁹ Giolla Ruadháin is elsewhere described as being the “coarb of Lorrha and Ruadhán”.²⁸⁰ Taken together and considered within the context of late medieval Ormond, this means that he must have been the prior of the local house of the canons regular of Saint Augustine in Lorrha. The monastery of Lorrha had originally been founded by St Rúadán (d. 584), and although the original foundation was in ruins by the late fourteenth century, it was nevertheless one of the few monasteries in the area to boast a continuous existence (in some form) from pre-Norman times into the later medieval period, allowing its prior a claim to be the successor (*comarbae* ‘coarb’) of St

²⁷⁵ See p. 99 below.

²⁷⁶ The difference between Todd’s *Cinnéidig* and Warner’s *Cinnéidig* simply reflects Warner’s need to add a letter in order to adhere to the number of letters he assumed had been lost on the missing half-sheet, and is therefore less significant.

²⁷⁷ Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): lvi n. 2. The entry reads: *Pilib ua Cinneidig tigearna Urmuman 7 a bean Aine ingean meic Conmara do éec*, i.e. ‘Pilib Ó Ceinnéidigh, lord of Ormond, and his wife Áine, daughter of Mac Conmara, died.’ (AFM 1381; O’Donovan, John (ed.), *Annala Rioghachta Eireann: Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland, by the Four Masters, From the Earliest Period to the Year 1616*, vol. 4 (Dublin 1856): 682-683.)

²⁷⁸ Pilib Ó Ceinnéidigh would almost certainly have become lord of Ormond upon the passing of Brían Ó Cinnéidigh, ‘king of Ormond’, whose death is mentioned in the *Annála Connacht* for 1371. The entry reads: *Brian h. Cennetid ri Urmuman do marbad la Gallaib*, i.e. ‘Brían Ó Ceinnéidigh, king of Ormond, was killed by [the] foreigners’ (AC 1371; Freeman, A. Martin (ed.), *Annála Connacht, A.D. 1224-1544: The Annals of Connacht, A.D. 1224-1544* (Dublin 1944) 340-341).

²⁷⁹ The inscription reads: † ORÓIT ·· DO GILLARUADAN ·· U MACAN · DON COMARBA LASAR CUMDAIGED, i.e. ‘a prayer for Gillaruadán Ó Macáin, for the coarb, by whom it was covered.’

²⁸⁰ Ó Riain, Pádraig (ed.), *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Dublin 1985), xxxiii.

Rúadán.²⁸¹ Ó Riain noted that Giolla Ruadháin is otherwise known for commissioning a largely genealogical manuscript,²⁸² and he must almost certainly have been the custodian of the Stowe Missal and its shrine when it was refurbished and given a new face. Given the near identity of the gem fitting on the younger face and the one for which parts of two inscriptions were cut away on the older face, the alterations to the older, lower face of the shrine likely coincided with the creation of the upper face. The metalworker must have been Domhnall Ó Tolaire, who is mentioned in the aforementioned inscription on the right and who is otherwise unknown.

The upper face's final inscription, found in the lower margin, remains unintelligible to this day, not only due to the loss of half the sheet on which it was once contained, but more particularly due to the use of an unknown letter, or, as seems likely, a combination of letters, possibly a ligature. Although the sheet on which it is contained appears largely identical to those used for the other inscriptions, a slight difference may be observed in that it is the only sheet with a square edge, whereas the sides of all other sheets were cut diagonally. Moreover, it is the only sheet on which the frame surrounding the letters, which consists of double lines, also encloses the text on the inner edge of a half-sheet, rather than continuing without a break across the intervening gem setting, as is the case for all other inscriptions. The letters themselves also differ in shape from those of the other inscriptions,²⁸³ and the letters are less darkly coloured. As such, this final inscription appears to have been made by another metalworker, and presumably has a different (later?) origin from the remainder of the upper face of the shrine. In so far as it can be deciphered, the inscription appears to read:

† ŌRŌIT : **E [...]	‘A prayer [for] ²⁸⁴ ...
C : HU CEΓ [...]	-c Ó Cein[...]

Todd could make no sense of this inscription apart from its first word *oróit*, mistaking the unusual shape of the *c* for *a* and taking *h* for *r*, and suggested that the second line might consist of the second half of the name [Gill]a Ruaein, a supposed abbreviated form of Giolla Ruadháin, attested in the inscription on the left.²⁸⁵ Although Warner also assumed the inscription to have

²⁸¹ O’Rahilly, “The History” (1928): 97.

²⁸² Ó Riain, Pádraig, *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae* (1985): xxxiii. The manuscript now constitutes part of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Rawlinson B 486.

²⁸³ This difference was first noted by Warner (Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): lvii).

²⁸⁴ Notably, one would expect the word *do* to follow *oróit* in the fixed phrase *oróit do X*, but unless the ligature somehow includes that preposition, there seems to be no trace of the word in this instance.

²⁸⁵ Todd, “On the Ancient Irish Missal” (1856): 15.

originally continued unto the missing half-sheet, he nevertheless suggested taking the name as it stands, namely as referring to the Munster family O’Cein.²⁸⁶ This reading was countered by O’Rahilly, who rejected Warner’s hypothesis and instead suggested that *hu cein-* formed the beginning of the name Ó Ceinnéidigh, relating the inscription to another, unidentified member of the O’Kennedy family, also represented by Pilib, ‘king of Ormond’ in the upper inscription.²⁸⁷ Given the uncertain reading of the first line of the inscription, as well as its apparently later origin, it seems impossible to decide the matter. If the manuscript remained at Lorrha for some time after it was refurbished between 1371 and 1384 AD, it does not seem inherently unlikely for a later inscription to have featured another O’Kennedy patron, but there is no way of knowing whether this was the case.

2.1.3.2. The Lower Face of the Shrine

Returning to the lower face of the shrine, which was thus far dated rather loosely to the period between 1014 and 1052 AD,²⁸⁸ we may now add that this older face must have been the original face of the shrine. For although it is now “detached and serves for a lid”,²⁸⁹ Warner was most likely mistaken when he stated that “the other [younger face] is not only the more highly decorated but even in its original state appears to have been the upper face or front, for the figures on the four sides of the Cumdach are so placed that they are upright when it lies with this face uppermost.”²⁹⁰ Warner seems to assume either that the shrine would always have had two decorated faces, or that the upper face was originally unadorned. The latter is, of course, exceedingly unlikely, given that the upper face would have been the most visible part of the shrine. The former is also improbable, for it seems highly unlikely for the mentions of two such prominent persons as the king of Cashel and the king of Ireland, as they are referred to on the

²⁸⁶ Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): lvii.

²⁸⁷ O’Rahilly, “The History” (1928): 97.

²⁸⁸ i.e. from the beginning of the reign of Donnchad mac Briain as king of Munster, to the death of Macc Raith Úa Donnchada. The date was, in fact, narrowed, first by Todd, who argued that Donnchad mac Briain would have been unlikely to have been referred to as ‘king of Ireland’ before the death of his half-brother Tadc in 1023 (Todd, “On the Ancient Irish Missal” (1854): 6-7) and subsequently by O’Rahilly, who argued that the shrine could not have been made before 1045 AD, when Macc Raith Úa Donnchada became king of Cashel, upon the death of Carthach, the previous holder of that title (O’Rahilly, “The History” (1928): 97). However, the latter hypothesis (which was separately argued for by Françoise Henry (Henry, Françoise, *Irish Art in the Romanesque Period, 1020-1170 A.D.* (London 1970) 82) must now be rejected in light of evidence brought forward by O’Riain, for which see the discussion on pp. 102-107 below.

²⁸⁹ Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): xliv.

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

shrine, to have been relegated to its hidden, lower side. As such, it seems better to assume that the older face was once the upper face, but was removed and replaced when the shrine was refurbished in the late fourteenth century.²⁹¹ It is fortunate that the older cover was not cast off, but was instead attached to the bottom of the shrine, thus preserving it into the present. The gem setting, which, as we have seen, appears to have been added to the older face at this time, would then have served to bring the decorations of the older face in line with the more elaborate ornamentations of the younger face.

Apart from Donnchad macc Briain and Macc Raith Úa Donnchada, the older face includes a prayer for Donnchad Úa Taccáin, of the family (*muintir*), or, more particularly, the religious community of Clúain, who was evidently the artisan who made the shrine.²⁹² O’Conor, Todd and Warner each supposed this artificer to have been a member of the monastery of Clonmacnoise, located not far from Lorrha, where we have seen that the shrine was held in the fourteenth century.²⁹³ O’Rahilly, believing the manuscript to have reached Lorrha via Terryglass, suggested that Donnchad Úa Taccáin could also have been a member of the monasteries of Clonfert, Clonenagh, or Clonfertmulloe, stressing the links of each of these three monasteries with Terryglass.²⁹⁴ Although O’Rahilly was right to note the possibility that Donnchad Úa Taccáin could as easily have belonged to any of these three monasteries as to Clonmacnoise, the evidence for O’Rahilly’s hypothesis that the manuscript came by Terryglas has since been disproven,²⁹⁵ and there does not appear to be any way to definitely establish which monastery the artificer was from. However, whichever centre *Clúana* refers to, we may note that none of these monasteries is located especially far from Lorrha.

The final two names on the older face of the shrine are found on the two central inscribed sheets of silver, which together form the shape of the cross. Both suffered severe damage when they

²⁹¹ It might, perhaps, in future be possible to confirm this theory by means of a closer study of the holes on both sides of the shrine, for there are a number of holes punched through the metal of the older face which are no longer in use, while there is also a fair number of holes on parts of the upper face of the shrine in places which are not now covered by any parts of the younger face. If some of these holes were to align with those found on the older face, this might prove that the older face was once attached to the upper side of the shrine.

²⁹² The inscription is found on the left side of the lower face of the shrine and reads: † O̅R̅OIT DO DUNCHAD · HU TACCAIN DO MUINTIR · CLUANA · DORIGNI, i.e. ‘a prayer for Donnchad Úa Taccáin, of the community of Clúain, who made it.’

²⁹³ O’Conor, *Bibliotheca MS. Stowensis*, appendix to vol. 1 (1818-1819): 38-39, Todd, “On the Ancient Irish Missal” (1856): 9, and Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): xlvii.

²⁹⁴ O’Rahilly, “The History” (1928): 100-101.

²⁹⁵ See e.g. Byrne, “The Stowe Missal” (1967): 49.

were cut back to make room for the gem setting, as was mentioned, and, although a few unsuccessful attempts were made to restore these forms,²⁹⁶ the identity of these persons remained unknown until Pádraig Ó Riain, in an important paper, offered highly persuasive reconstructions of both inscriptions.²⁹⁷ The vertical inscription now reads:

† ŌR DO ... MAIN H	‘A prayer for [...] -main Úa
U CATH ... NDERNAD	Cath[...] was made.’

The first gap must evidently have contained the beginning of a personal name, following the fixed phrase *oróit do*, and Ó Riain, having gone through the various attested medieval Irish personal names of which the dative ends in *-main*, plausibly suggested restoring it as Mathgamain.²⁹⁸ The second line must certainly have featured the sequence *las(a)*, as was already suggested by Warner,²⁹⁹ for this is almost universally found ahead of *ndernad* in such inscriptions.³⁰⁰ Given the length of the gap in the first line, this leaves room for but two or three letters following *Cath-*, and given that the inscription requires the resulting whole to have been a personal name in the genitive, Ó Riain persuasively suggested restoring the name as Cathail.³⁰¹ The inscription therefore appears to have originally read:

† ŌR DO [MATHGA]MAIN H	‘A prayer for [Mathga]main Úa
U CATH[AIL LAS(A)] NDERNAD	Cath[ail, at whose behest [it]] was made.’

²⁹⁶ O’Conor’s attempt was deeply flawed, in part because he ignored the estimated size of the gap in his reconstruction (O’Conor, *Bibliotheca MS. Stowensis*, appendix to vol. 1 (1818-1819): 3), while Todd, who came close, went wrong at least in part by mistaking an *m* for an *n* (Todd, “On the Ancient Irish Missal” (1856): 10). Warner offered no new suggestions for the missing names (Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): xlvii-xlviii).

²⁹⁷ Ó Riain, “The Shrine of the Stowe Missal” (1991): 288-293.

²⁹⁸ See *ibid.*: 289 n. 37 for an overview of the various possible names, the vast majority of which does not appear to have ever been used for a historical person. The only plausible alternative, according to Ó Riain, was Follomain, but he noted that this name is considerably rarer than Mathgamain. Moreover, while the sequence *mathga-* accords well with Warner’s estimate that the gap involved some seven letters (Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): xlvii), *follo-* is considerably shorter.

²⁹⁹ Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): xlvii.

³⁰⁰ Ó Riain, “The Shrine of the Stowe Missal” (1991): 289. Ó Riain noted that there are a few instances in which it is preceded by *icon* / *ican*. Even if this were to have been the case for the Stowe Missal Shrine, we may nevertheless note that a preverbal phrase of three or four letters must have preceded *ndernad*.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.* See in particular note 39, where it is argued that all possible alternatives are exceedingly rare by comparison with Cathail.

Ó Riain’s hypothesis is all the more likely, because he managed to back up his restoration by means of an entry in the Annals of Inisfallen for 1037 AD, in which Mathgamain Úa Cathail is mentioned as having been killed alongside Cú Chaille, son of Ceinnéitig, king of Músraige, and his son, “in front of the stone church of Lorrha after he had been forcibly taken from the altar.”³⁰² Although Mathgamain is nowhere referred to specifically as being the abbot of Lorrha, Ó Riain makes a convincing case that he must have been, for the phrase *lasa ndernad* in an inscription such as this typically refers to the name of the owner, or custodian of the object.³⁰³ Given that the Stowe Missal is a religious manuscript, its custodian would most likely have been an abbot or prior, and Mathgamain is the only likely candidate, given that all other persons mentioned on this face of the shrine, barring the metalworker, are kings.

The latter follows from Ó Riain’s proposed restoration for the final mutilated inscription on the older face of the shrine, which now reads:

† OC ... IND	‘an[d] ... -ind
HUD ... LAIG	Ó D-...-laig.’

The restoration is helped by the near certainty that the inscription must once have begun with the phrase *ocus do* ‘and [a prayer] for’ followed by what was clearly a name.³⁰⁴ Moreover, Warner was able to see that *ind* was preceded by either *c* or *f*.³⁰⁵ Additionally, enough of the second line remains to confirm that it must originally have included the genitive singular of a name beginning with a *d* and ending in *-lach*. Ó Riain noted that there are but two possibilities, namely Donngalach or Dúngalach.³⁰⁶ Combining the evidence for both lines, Ó Riain proposed restoring the inscription as reading:

† OC[US DO] FIND	‘and [a prayer] for Find
HU D[UNGA]LAIG	Úa D[únga]laig.

³⁰² Ibid. 289-290. The entry reads: *Cú Chaille mc. Cennetich, rí Músraige, do marbad & a mc. i n-dorus daím liac Lothraí arna thabairt ar ecín asind altóir, & Mathgamain h-Ua Cathail do marbad isind aidchi sin féin*, i.e. ‘Cú Chaille son of Cennéitig, king of Músraige, with his son, was slain in front of the stone church of Lothra after he had been forcibly taken from the altar; and Mathgamain Ua Cathail was slain on that same night.’ (AI 1037; Mac Airt, Seán (ed.), *The Annals of Inisfallen: MS. Rawlinson B. 503*, (Dublin 1951) 203-204.)

³⁰³ Ó Riain, “The Shrine of the Stowe Missal” (1991): 290.

³⁰⁴ Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): xlviii.

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

³⁰⁶ Ó Riain, “The Shrine of the Stowe Missal” (1991): 292.

This reading is confirmed by the mention of just this person in the Annals, where one Find Úa Dúngalaig, ‘lord of Músraige’, is mentioned as having died in 1033 AD.³⁰⁷ Ó Riain’s investigation of this person revealed that he had most likely been lord of Músraige since 991, but whatever the particulars of his reign, his death in 1033 offers a clear *terminus ante quem* for the making of the shrine.³⁰⁸

In his article, Ó Riain offered various possibilities for fixing the shrine’s *terminus post quem*.³⁰⁹ The key dates are:

1015 AD: the probable year for Mathgamain Úa Cathail’s succession to the abbacy of Lorrha, upon the death of what, for want of evidence to the contrary, appears to have been his immediate predecessor, Muirchertach.³¹⁰

1022 AD: the death of Máel Sechnaill mac Domnaill, king of Mide and the strongest claimant to the high kingship of Ireland following the death of Brían Bórama in 1014.³¹¹

1023 AD: the death of Tadc, half-brother to Donnchad mac Briain, securing the latter’s hold over the kingship of Munster.³¹²

³⁰⁷ The entry is found in the Annals of the Four Masters and reads: *Find Ua Dúnghalaigh, tigherna Muscraige Thíre, d’écc*, i.e. ‘Find Úa Dúngalaig, lord of Músraige Tíre, died.’ (AFM 1033; O’Donovan, *Annals of the Four Masters* (1856): 828-829.)

³⁰⁸ Ó Riain, “The Shrine of the Stowe Missal” (1991): 292-293.

³⁰⁹ Ibid: 293-294.

³¹⁰ Muirchertach’s passing is mentioned in the Annals of Inisfallen for the year 1015. The entry reads: *Quies Muirchertaich, comarbai Ruadain*, i.e. ‘The repose of Muirchertach, coarb of Rúadan.’ (AI 1015; Mac Airt, *Annals of Inisfallen* (1951) 184-185.)

³¹¹ Máel Sechnaill’s death is mentioned in the Annals of Ulster for 1022. The beginning of the long entry on his passing reads: *Mael Sechlainn m. Domnaill mc. Donnchada, airdri Erenn, tuir ordain & oirechais iarthair domain, do ecaib isin tres bliadain .xl. regni sui, isin tres bliadain .lxx. etatis sue, in .iiii. nonas Septimbris, die uidelicet Dominico, secunda luna*, i.e. ‘Mael Sechnaill son of Domnall son of Donnchad, high king of Ireland, pillar of the dignity and nobility of the western world, died in the 43rd year of his reign and the 73rd of his age on Sunday the fourth of the Nones 2nd of September, the second of the moon.’ (AU 1022; Mac Airt, Seán and Gearóid Mac Niocaill (ed.), *The Annals of Ulster, to AD 1131* (Dublin 1983) 458-459.)

³¹² Tadc appears to have been killed on the orders of Donnchad, according to the entry in the Annals of the Four Masters, which reads: *Tadhg, mac Briain, mic Cindeittigh, do mharbhadh do Eilibh i fiull, iar na eráil dia bhrathair féin do Dhonnchadh, forrae*, i.e. ‘Tadc, son of Brían, son of Ceinneídig, was treacherously slain by the Eile, at the instigation of his own brother, Donnchad.’ (AFM 1023; O’Donovan, *Annals of the Four Masters* (1856): 804-805.)

1025-1026: Donnchad mac Briain led various expeditions into Connacht and Leinster, strengthening his claim on the kingship of Ireland.³¹³

1027: Donnchad mac Briain marched into Ossory, but was forced to retreat in the face of strong resistance from, among others, Macc Raith Úa Donnchada.³¹⁴

The year 1015 would thus offer the first possible date on which all persons mentioned on the shrine (barring the artificer who made the shrine, for whom no independent dating can be established) were alive and can be said to have been in positions of power. Donnchad mac Briain would, in fact, never hold the kingship of Ireland, such as it was, without opposition, but can be said to have strengthened his claims considerably in the 1020s, following the death of both Máel Sechnaill, his rival, and his half-brother Tadc, and especially after his successful campaigns of 1025 and 1026 AD, suggesting that a shrine referring to Donnchad as ‘king of Ireland’ would most likely date from the mid-1020s at the earliest.

While Macc Raith Úa Donnchada did become ‘king of Cashel’ at some point, both Ó Riain and O’Rahilly noted that this only happened after the death of his first cousin Carthach mac Soerbrethaig, ‘king of the Eóganacht of Caisel’, in 1045.³¹⁵ Obviously, given that both Mathgamain, abbot of Lorrha, (d. 1037) and Find Úa Dúngalaig of Múscraige (d. 1033) had died by then, the Stowe Missal must have been made at a time when Macc Raith was still only a claimant to, rather than the holder of the kingship of Cashel.³¹⁶ Ó Riain’s discovery that the

³¹³ Ó Riain, “The Shrine of the Stowe Missal” (1991); 293-294, citing various events such as those mentioned in the Annals of Inisfallen for 1026 (Mac Airt, *The Annals of Inisfallen* (1951): 192-193).

³¹⁴ The event is mentioned in the Annals of Inisfallen for 1027: *Sluaged la Donnchad mc. m-Briain i n-Osraige co tuc gabala mora as & brait n-imda, & co tarras drem dia muintir & coro h-imred dochraite luirg forro la Mc. Raith h-Ua n-Donnchada ro bui ar cocud i n-Osraige, & la h-Ua n-Gillai Pátraicc, coro marbad and Gadra mc. Dúnadaich, rí h-Ua Mane, & Domnall mc. Sencháin, rígdonna Muman, & Ócán h-Ua Cuirc, & da mc. Cuileáin m. Conchobuir, & Conall mc. Écertaich, rígdonna Cassil*, i.e. ‘A hosting by Donnchadh, son of Brian, into Osraige, and he took great captures and much booty therefrom; and a group of his people was overtaken and suffered loss at the hands of Mac Raith Ua Donnchada who was warring in Osraige, and of Ua Gilla Pátraic, and there were slain there Gadra son of Dúnadach, king of Uí Maine, Domnall, son of Senchán, royal heir of Mumu, Ócán grandson of Core, the two sons of Cuilén son of Conchobar, and Conall son of Écertach, royal heir of Caisel.’ (AI 1027; Mac Airt, *The Annals of Inisfallen* (1951): 194-195.)

³¹⁵ Ó Riain, “The Shrine of the Stowe Missal” (1991): 287, and O’Rahilly, “The History” (1928): 97. The event is related in the Annals of Ulster for 1045, the entry reads: *Carrthach m. Soerbrethaig, rí Eoganachta Caisil, do loscad i tigh theined do h-u Longarcán m. Duinn Cuan cum multis nobilibus ustis*, i.e. ‘Carthach son of Saerbrethach, king of Eóganacht of Caisel, was burned with many nobles in a house set on fire by the grandson of Longarcán son of Donn Cuan.’ (AU 1045; Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill, *The Annals of Ulster* (1983): 482-483.)

³¹⁶ Ó Riain, “The Shrine of the Stowe Missal” (1991): 293.

shrine assigned flattering, rather than actual titles to both Donnchad mac Briain and Macc Raith Úa Donnchada offered an important insight into the nature of the shrine, and, along with the successful reconstruction of the contents of the damaged inscriptions on the older face of the shrine, countered the earlier hypothesis that the shrine had been made between 1045 and 1052 AD.³¹⁷ Building upon his discovery, Ó Riain suggested that the shrine would have likely been created in the context of a power struggle over north Munster between Donnchad and Macc Raith,³¹⁸ and that its creation reflected an attempt by the abbot of Lorrha to maintain good relations with both parties to the conflict.³¹⁹ In light of this, Ó Riain concluded that the shrine “was made sometime between 1026 and 1033—most probably towards the beginning of that period.”³²⁰ While this makes for a likely hypothesis, it should still be noted that there is no way of definitely excluding the possibility that the shrine was made somewhat earlier, although it seems unlikely for Donnchad mac Briain to have been called ‘king of Ireland’ before 1022 AD.

In conclusion, we may therefore state that the shrine of the Stowe Missal must have been made sometime between 1015 and 1033 AD, and most likely in the years after Donnchad mac Briain’s campaigns of 1025-1026. The shrine was created at the behest of the abbot of Lorrha, and appears to have remained in the custody of the prior of that monastery into the fourteenth century, when, sometime between 1371 and 1381 AD, it was refurbished and given a new upper face, with the older face being removed, altered and reattached as the lower face of the shrine. Returning to our previous topic, we may thus establish 1033 as the extreme *terminus ante quem* for the creation of the Stowe Missal, for the manuscript must, of course, have been in existence for it to be enshrined. Moreover, allowing some time for the manuscript to have become a relic and thus worthy of enshrinement,³²¹ we may suppose that the Stowe Missal must almost certainly have been made before the mid-tenth century at the latest.

³¹⁷ As proposed by O’Rahilly, “The History” (1928): 97.

³¹⁸ Reflected in their battle in 1027 AD, mentioned above.

³¹⁹ Ó Riain, “The Shrine of the Stowe Missal” (1991): 293-294.

³²⁰ Ibid: 294.

³²¹ Or, from a more cynical perspective, for the manuscript to have lost all practical purpose and thus to have become a fittingly venerable object to lock away in a shrine.

2.1.4. Abbreviation usage

Obviously, such an extremely late *terminus ante quem* is of little practical use in determining when the manuscript was made, for the wide span of years between 792-798 and 1033 AD (or the mid-tenth century) covers over two centuries. In order to narrow the range, we must investigate a number of other features, the first of which brings us back to the script of the Stowe Missal's various scribes.

Alongside his aforementioned (and rejected) hagiographical case for dating the Stowe Missal to before 812 AD, Warner raised a few palaeographic arguments based on the use of certain abbreviations to back up his dating. In this, he relied on the work by Ludwig Traube³²² and Wallace Lindsay,³²³ who both studied the incidence of a number of variants for the abbreviations for the inflected forms of *noster*. They concluded that the shorter forms “*n̄i*, *n̄o*, etc., do not survive later than about 815, by which time they were finally abandoned for the less ambiguous *n̄rī*, *n̄rō*, etc.”³²⁴ Warner observed that both the longer and the shorter forms were used in the Stowe Missal, but that the shorter forms are more common (he counted 37 examples of the two-letter abbreviations versus 17 of the longer). He then argued that the shorter forms, barring two exceptions, always occurred in “the frequently repeated, and, so to say, stereotyped formula *dñi n̄i Iesu Christi* and other cases of the same,” leading Warner to conclude that the shorter forms were probably “copied... mechanically from [the] archetype, while elsewhere, as a rule, they followed the more modern system.”³²⁵ In conclusion, he believed this double usage to mark the transition from the older to the younger system of abbreviation, and placed this change around the turn of the ninth century.

Warner's second criterion involved two variant abbreviations of *quae*, namely *q:·* and *q̄*. Again citing Lindsay, Warner argued that while *q̄* was the older symbol, *q:·* enjoyed a spell of popularity, before “*q̄* reasserted itself”.³²⁶ Noting that only *q:·* was used in the original parts of

³²² Traube, Ludwig, *Nomina Sacra: Versuch einer Geschichte der christlichen Kürzung*, Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters 2 (Munich 1907): 204-237.

³²³ Particularly Lindsay, Wallace, *Notae Latinae: An Account of Abbreviation in Latin Mss. of the Early Minuscule Period, c. 700-850* (Cambridge 1915), an early version of which appears to have been available to Warner, but also Lindsay, Wallace, *Early Irish Minuscule Script*, Saint Andrews University Publications 6 (Oxford 1910).

³²⁴ Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): xxxv.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*

³²⁶ *Ibid.*: xxxvi.

the Stowe Missal's later four quires, Warner concluded that this suggests that the manuscript was written before 850 AD.³²⁷ He then proceeded to argue the same for M^oel Caích and, to a lesser extent, his scribe *b* (our scribe E) both of whom he considered to have been but slightly later than A on account of their use of both the shorter and longer abbreviations of *noster*, albeit coupled with the invariable use of \bar{q} .³²⁸

While abbreviation usage in itself is still sometimes used for dating purposes,³²⁹ the particular criteria raised by Warner do not appear to have been cited in recent times. While this does not disqualify his findings, we should nevertheless take them as suggestive, rather than absolute, in light of both the general improvement of our understanding of the dating of early medieval Irish manuscripts since Warner's time, as well as the relatively restricted sample-size on which such early twentieth century manuscript studies were necessarily based, given the comparatively restricted accessibility of the corpus at that time.

2.1.5. The Script

Although various modern palaeographers have commented on the nature of the Stowe Missal's script (mainly on that of scribe A, but also on that of the Stowe John and M^oel Caích), they have generally made only passing statements on the dating of the manuscript. For example, Timothy O'Neill assigns a date "c.800" to scribe A, while considering M^oel Caích to have been "c.800-850".³³⁰ William O'Sullivan, who believed scribe A's angular script to have been a local, North Tipperary style, seems to have accepted the manuscript's usual dating to around 800 AD.³³¹ In this, O'Sullivan appears to have relied largely on the traditional dating criteria, going back to Warner, but in so far as palaeographical considerations entered into the matter, he seems to have relied on the dating of the two other manuscripts containing examples of this angular subtype of Irish majuscule script, namely the St Gall Gospels and the fragment of a monastic rule now held by the Badische Landesbibliothek (*Fragmentum Augiense* 20).³³² Unfortunately, no independent

³²⁷ Ibid.

³²⁸ Ibid.: xxxvi-xxxvii.

³²⁹ See, for example, Duncan, Elizabeth, "Lebor na hUidre and a Copy of Boethius's *De Re Arithmetica*: A Palaeographical Note", *Ériu* 62 (2012) 1-32: 8-15.

³³⁰ O'Neill, *The Irish Hand* (2014): 80-81.

³³¹ O'Sullivan, "Manuscripts and Palaeography" (2008): 533. See also the footnote in Ó Riain, "The Shrine of the Stowe Missal" (1991): 295 n. 78, which incorporates a note by O'Sullivan.

³³² See p. 35 in chapter 1 above for more detailed references to these manuscripts.

dating of the fragment, the script of which is remarkably close to that of the Stowe Missal,³³³ is available, for it is usually dated only by means of its relation to the Stowe Missal.³³⁴ The St Gall Gospels have been dated to the mid-eighth century,³³⁵ and the possibility has been raised that this Gospel book may have been one of the manuscripts gifted to the monastery of St Gall by the bishop Marcus in the middle of the ninth century.³³⁶ Although the implications of this dating for the Stowe Missal are not altogether clear, the link does offer some support for a relatively early dating of the Stowe Missal.

In conclusion, it appears that the best which may at present be said in relation to the palaeographical dating of the original parts of the Stowe Missal's final four quires is that its original script lacks any features suggesting it to be particularly late, and that its relation to the St Gall Gospels would accord best with a dating somewhere in the second half of the eighth or the first half of the ninth century. Given that the Stowe Missal cannot have been written before 792 – 796 AD at the earliest, the latter is the more likely.

2.1.6. The Stowe John

The only other palaeographical means of dating part of the Stowe Missal concerns the Stowe John, which makes up the entirety of the manuscript's first quire. We have already seen that, apart from the portrait of John the Evangelist on fo. 11v, which appears to have been added when the Stowe John was bound up with the remainder of the Stowe Missal, the Stowe John is almost certainly the older part of the manuscript and must once have existed independently of the manuscript's final four quires. While this allows us to conclude that the Stowe John must have been made some time before the remainder of the manuscript, there is no way to definitely establish how long it had been in existence when it became part of the present manuscript.

As we have seen, the script of the Stowe John is similar to that of the Book of Dimma's Gospel of John, which comprises the fifth and sixth quires of that manuscript, suggesting that the two

³³³ See p. 36 above.

³³⁴ Mac Niocaill, Gearóid, "Fragments d'un coutumier monastique irlandais du VIIIe-IXe siècle", *Scriptorium* 15 (1961) 228-233: 231-233. An earlier dating to the tenth or eleventh century by Alfred Holder (Holder, Alfred, *Die Reichenauer Handschriften II: Die Papierhandschriften, Fragmenta, Nachträge*, Die Handschriften der grossherzoglichen badischen Hof- und Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe 6 (Leipzig 1914) 380) has been rejected.

³³⁵ Henry, Françoise, *Irish Art During the Viking Invasions, 800-1020 A.D.* (London 1967) 196-198.

³³⁶ O'Sullivan, "Manuscripts and Palaeography" (2008): 533 and Kenney, *The Sources* (1927): 596-597.

copies of that Gospel share a similar origin. Much like the Stowe John, the Book of Dimma John is generally agreed to have existed independently of the remainder of the Book of Dimma, before being joined to that manuscript. The remainder of the Book of Dimma is usually dated to the second half of the eighth century,³³⁷ but it is unfortunately less clear when the Dimma John was written. The Dimma John appears to have been joined to the remainder of the manuscript by means of what may be deemed a bridging text, namely a *Missa pro infirmis* which begins straightaway after the end of the Gospel of Luke, continues unto the verso side of that leaf, which had originally been left blank, and across an inserted singleton leaf, before ending on the recto side of the first leaf of the Dimma John, which had also originally been left blank.³³⁸ The *Missa* has traditionally been dated to the late tenth or early eleventh century,³³⁹ and while Gillis and Meehan stated that it was impossible to tell quite when the singleton on which part of it was written was added to the manuscript,³⁴⁰ Jaski argues that the insertion of the leaf makes sense only in the context of the writing of the *Missa*, and suggests that the Dimma John was added to the manuscript at this time.³⁴¹

Unlike the Stowe John, the Dimma John was not bound up with the Book of Dimma when the remainder of that manuscript was being created. As such, we do not know whether the Dimma John is older than the other quires of the Book of Dimma, for both existed independently of one another for some time before they were joined, and the dating of the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke to the second half of the eighth century has no immediate bearing on the John. This is especially true if the John was only added to the manuscript in the late tenth or early eleventh century, as per Best's dating of the *Missa*. However, Jackson noted that the *Missa* may in fact have been copied in the ninth century instead,³⁴² and if this dating is correct, it would suggest that the Dimma John was united with the Book of Dimma sometime in that century. By extension, this would mean that the Dimma John must itself have been created in the ninth century at the latest, and given the likelihood that the Stowe and Dimma John have a similar origin, this would suggest that the Stowe John must also have been created sometime in the eighth or ninth century. Unfortunately, this does not help us all that much.

³³⁷ Best, "The Subscription in the Book of Dimma" (1926): 98, and Gillis and Meehan, "Examining the Book of Dimma" (2017): 86.

³³⁸ See p. 79 in the first chapter above.

³³⁹ Best, "The Subscription in the Book of Dimma" (1926): 97-98.

³⁴⁰ Gillis and Meehan, "Examining the Book of Dimma" (2017): 88.

³⁴¹ Jaski, "Dianchrude and the Book of Dimma" (forthcoming).

³⁴² Jackson, *To Hold Infinity* (2017): 84.

2.1.7. Linguistic Evidence

As we have seen, the Stowe Missal contains a number of texts in the Irish language, namely its Irish Tract on the Mass, three Irish charms and a number of rubrics. Although none of the rubrics are original to the copying of the manuscript – most were added by Móel Caích, and two by scribe F – it has been argued that the other texts were copied by (one of the) original scribe(s) of the Stowe Missal’s final four quires.³⁴³ Given the many changes that occurred in the Irish language over the Old Irish and into the Middle Irish period, a study of the linguistic features of these texts should help us in fixing the date of the Stowe Missal.

At the outset, it should be noted that there are clear signs that the Stowe Missal’s Irish Tract on the Mass, a later version of which is preserved in the early fifteenth century *Leabhar Breac*,³⁴⁴ is not original to the manuscript, but is simply a copy of an older, existing text. The Stowe Tract contains a number of clear copying errors, some of which were later corrected by the original scribe, many of which were noted in the *Thesaurus*,³⁴⁵ and some of which were marked in particular by Pádraig Ó Néill in his article on the Tract.³⁴⁶ The errors include, for example, 1) the loss of a letter in *donacht* (fo. 65v10, §5.1,³⁴⁷ leg. *dóenacht* ‘humanity’), 2) an apparent *Augensprung* in *cha rainne* (fo. 66v15, §19, leg. *catcha rainne* ‘of each part’), 3) the accidental skipping (of part) of words, the missing part of which was later added superscript by the same scribe, presumably when he noticed his mistake, in *ī na^{aur} gabale* (fo. 66r9, §12, leg. *inna aurgabāle* ‘of the seizure’) and in *intām*: (fo. 66r7; §12, leg. *int ammus* ‘the attempt, effort’), 4) and the crossed out instance of the abbreviated form *f̄ḡ* (fo. 66r12, §15.1), which the scribe initially inserted too early into the sentence.³⁴⁸ The example of perhaps the greatest significance concerns a problematic phrase in §17.8 of the Stowe Tract (fo. 66v1-66v2), which reads: *A trí deäc di obli minchāsc ocus f̄le fresgabāle – prius ce fo-dāilter ní bes miniu īarum oc techt do lāim – hí figuir Críst cona dib n-apstalaib deäc*, i.e. ‘Thirteen of the host of Low Sunday and the

³⁴³ See the discussion of scribes A and A1 in chapter 1 above, on pp. 29-34.

³⁴⁴ See also footnote 4 above. The *Leabhar Breac* copy of the Irish Tract on the Mass is found on p. 251a1-251b37.

³⁴⁵ Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, vol. 2 (1901-1903): 253-255.

³⁴⁶ Ó Néill, “The Old Irish Tract on the Mass”(2000): 203.

³⁴⁷ References are to the paragraph divisions used in the basic edition of the Stowe Tract found in Appendix 2 to this thesis.

³⁴⁸ The sentence reads: *In comrac con-recatar in da lleth īarsin chombug, figor ógé chuirp Críst īar n-esérge*, i.e. ‘The joining wherewith the two halves are joined after the fraction [is] a symbol of the wholeness of the body of Christ after [the] resurrection.’ The scribe initially inserted *f̄ḡ* before *īarsin chombug*.

Festival of Ascension – formerly, although thereafter something which is less is distributed at going to communion – as a symbol of Christ with his twelve apostles.’ The problem was first noticed by Charles Plummer,³⁴⁹ subsequently taken up by Heinrich Zimmer,³⁵⁰ and more recently addressed by Pádraig Ó Néill.³⁵¹ As was noted by both Zimmer and Ó Néill, the phrase comes near the end of a long sequence (§17) in which the symbolic meaning of various fractions of the host on a number of different feastdays is given. In each of these lines, a fixed phrase is used, consisting of “the number of particles, the class of feastdays to which it refers, and its mystical interpretation”.³⁵² We may take §17.7 as an example: *A dá deäc de obli cailne* (or: *kalendārum*) *ocus chenlaī hi foraihtmut äirmæ foirbt[h]e inna n-apstal*, i.e. ‘Twelve of the host of [the] calends and Maundy Thursday as a commemoration of the complete number of the apostles.’ It is only in §17.8, which forms the final line of the sequence, that the formula is disrupted by an intervening phrase (*prius ... do láim*).

Plummer suggested that the intervening line had simply been misplaced by the scribe, and although his wording is not entirely clear, it would seem that, based on his suggested translation of the phrase, he believed the line should have occurred after the remainder of the sentence, on its own.³⁵³ Zimmer argued that the intervening line makes no sense in its present context, even if it were moved as per Plummer’s suggestion, and suggested that it had originally been a marginal gloss, either in the Stowe Missal’s exemplar, or in a still earlier manuscript.³⁵⁴ While this seems a plausible explanation, Zimmer’s suggestion that *prius* ‘formerly’ should be taken to imply that the gloss was intended to be inserted somewhat earlier on in the text is less likely. If the problematic line arose as a marginal gloss, the gloss would almost certainly simply have been written in the margin alongside the relevant part of the main text, or some scribal marking would have been used to point the reader to the proper place. The use of an adverb for such purposes would be unexpected, and its vague meaning would probably have rendered it largely

³⁴⁹ Plummer, Charles, “Notes on the Stowe Missal”, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen* 27 (1885) 441-448: 444.

³⁵⁰ Zimmer, Heinrich, “Zum Stowe Missal”, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen* 28 (1887) 376-381: 379-380. Oddly, Zimmer’s suggestion was not taken up in the *Thesaurus*, where the text is left as it stands in the manuscript (Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, vol. 2 (1901-1903): 254, §16).

³⁵¹ Ó Néill, “The Old Irish Tract on the Mass”(2000): 203-204.

³⁵² *Ibid*: 203.

³⁵³ Plummer’s translation, which involved a misreading of *prius ce* as *pace*, reads: “Thirteen of the host of little Easter and the feast of the Ascension, as a figure of Christ with the twelve apostles. (It is) with the pax that is distributed the thing... that is smallest in going to communion.” (Plummer, “Notes on the Stowe Missal” (1885): 444.

³⁵⁴ Zimmer, “Zum Stowe Missal” (1887): 379-380.

ineffective. Ó Néill’s hypothesis, that the adverb could also be taken to have a temporal meaning,³⁵⁵ seems more likely. Zimmer believed the gloss to originally have been a comment on the very beginning of §17,³⁵⁶ while Ó Néill argues that it might rather have been on the beginning of §18, “which discusses the confraction of the Host on the three major festivals of the year, and ends by speaking of their distribution at communion.”³⁵⁷ The latter appears to make best sense in terms of the contents, and has the added advantage that a marginal gloss on the beginning of §18 might more easily have been incorporated into the final line of the long §17 by mistake than would have been the case for a gloss on the beginning of §17. At any rate, if, as seems likely, the hypothesis that this line originated as a gloss is correct, we may note that while the Stowe Missal’s copy of the Irish Tract on the Mass is itself ‘clean’, it was either copied directly out of a glossed exemplar, or at least formed part of a manuscript tradition in which the text was sometimes glossed. In turn, this would suggest that the Irish Tract on the Mass had already been in existence for some time when it was copied into the Stowe Missal. If the gloss had a temporal meaning, as Ó Néill suggests, and should be taken to imply that the practice described in the main text had gone out of use, the Tract might actually have been a somewhat older text.

Returning to our present topic, we may begin by going over Stokes and Strachan’s linguistic dating criteria, as set out in the introduction to the second volume of the *Thesaurus*.³⁵⁸ They begin by listing a number of what they consider to be older forms, the first of which is the one example of gen. sg. *cache* (fo. 66v13, §19) for *cacha*. Next, they noted that “the preposition *to* before verbs remains *to-*”, citing the forms *to-resset* (fo. 65v6, §3.2), *ta-n-aurnat* (fo. 65v24, §10.1) and *to-ciñg* (fo. 66r4, §11.1) in the Tract, as well as *to-tét* (fo. 23r10 and fo. 23v4), which occurs twice in rubrics by Móel Caích, and *to-fásci* in the second charm (fo. 67v10), “while before nouns it has become *do*”.³⁵⁹ Moreover, they observed that *to* ‘your’ occurs both in the Tract (*to menmmæ*, fo. 66v25, §21.1) and in the third charm (*to nert* and *to slane*, fo. 67v17), but they did not know quite what to make of this feature. The fact that these spellings are found so frequently in the Stowe Missal, across various genres and by multiple scribes, who must almost certainly have made use of different exemplars, suggests that we are dealing with a

³⁵⁵ Ó Néill, “The Old Irish Tract on the Mass”(2000): 204.

³⁵⁶ Zimmer, “Zum Stowe Missal” (1887): 380.

³⁵⁷ Ó Néill, “The Old Irish Tract on the Mass”(2000): 204.

³⁵⁸ Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, vol. 2 (1901-1903): xxviii.

³⁵⁹ The preverb *do-* and the preposition *do* are, in fact, two separate, etymologically unrelated words (Stifter, David, “The History of the Old Irish Preverb *to-*”, in Roma, Elisa and David Stifter (eds.), *Linguistic and Philological Studies in Early Irish* (Lewiston NY 2014) 203-246: 237-239).

contemporary orthographical feature, rather than a preserved archaism,³⁶⁰ and this accords well with the evidence of other Early Irish sources, which suggests that, especially for the preverb, *to-* was a valid orthographical variant for most of the Old Irish period and was afterwards retained as a conscious, artificial archaism.³⁶¹ As such, these spellings on their own cannot be taken to reflect an older stage of the language. Following this, Stokes and Strachan remarked that “[t]he preposition *di* before a noun has not yet become *do*”, citing the instances of *di* and *de obli* in §17 of the Tract (there are six instances of *di* and one of *de* in this paragraph). Finally, they noted that “*amail* still appears by *amal*” in §21.1-2 (fo. 67r1 and fo. 67r5).³⁶²

Besides these older forms, Stokes and Strachan argued that the Stowe Missal also contains younger features,³⁶³ such as *dana* for expected *dánae*, the gen. pl. of the *u*-stem m. *dán* (fo. 66r21, §17.3), two instances of *nd* for *n(n)* (*brond* for the gen sg. of the *n*-stem f. *brú*, fo. 65v9, §4.3, and *colind* for the nom. sg. of the *i*-stem f. *colainn*, fo. 66r9, §13). Both the hypercorrect spelling of *nd* for *n(n)*, which shows that the reduction of *nd* to *n(n)* had taken place, and the apparent reduction of unstressed final *-e* to *-a* in *dána* would suggest a date towards the later Old Irish period at the earliest.³⁶⁴ Stokes and Strachan also noted the use of a superscript dot to indicate lenition of *f* and *s*,³⁶⁵ but we should add that this practice is not universal (e.g. *a frithisi*, fo. 66r4, §11.1), and the Stowe Missal should probably be considered to stand close to the beginning of this orthographic practice.

Pádraig Ó Néill added a number of other features to this list, such as the use of double vowels to indicate long vowels, citing the forms *clii* (fo. 66v9, §18) and *int-ii* (fo. 66v16, §20.1).³⁶⁶ It should be noted that this practice is again far from universal in the Stowe Missal: vowel length is more frequently indicated using an acute accent, but is mostly left unmarked, and double vowels are only ever used for long *i*. Another feature noted by Ó Néill is “the predominance of *inna* over *na* for the genitive singular feminine and generalized plural of the definite article”.³⁶⁷

³⁶⁰ The only counterexample is found in a rubric by scribe F, namely *do-berar* (interlinear between fo. 51r10-11).

³⁶¹ Stifter, David, “Towards the Linguistic Dating of Early Irish Law Texts”, in Ahlqvist, Anders and Pamela O’Neill (eds.), *Medieval Irish Law: Text and Context*, Sydney Series in Celtic Studies 12 (Sydney 2013) 163-208: 174-175.

³⁶² Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, vol. 2 (1901-1903): xxviii.

³⁶³ These were also mentioned in Stokes’ earlier edition of the Stowe Tract (Stokes, “The Irish Passages” (1883)).

³⁶⁴ However, see also the discussion on p. 118 below.

³⁶⁵ Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, vol. 2 (1901-1903): xxviii.

³⁶⁶ Ó Néill, “The Old Irish Tract on the Mass”(2000): 204.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

While this is certainly true for the gen. sg. f., where there are four examples of *inna* and none of *na*, it is not as clear for the gen. pl., where there are but two examples of *inna* versus four of *na*.³⁶⁸ David Stifter, in unpublished remarks, argues that the relative frequency of *na* decreased in the early-ninth-century Milan glosses, relative to the eighth-century Würzburg glosses, and suggests that this reflects a learned hypercorrection, rather than a change in the spoken language, diminishing the value of this feature for dating purposes.³⁶⁹ Ó Néill also observed that glide vowels are sometimes missing, citing the forms *colind* (fo. 66r9, §13), *cruche* (fo. 66r10, §13) and *fathe* (fo. 65v20, §8).³⁷⁰ While this happens a number of times in the Stowe Tract, glide vowels are, in fact, generally present, and it is difficult to determine the significance of their occasional absence.³⁷¹

A final feature mentioned by Ó Néill involved two of the dating criteria Stokes had originally used to argue that the language of the Stowe Tract was relatively young (before he reversed his position in the *Thesaurus*), namely that “we find therein the following Middle-Irish corruptions: *-o* for *-u* (*baullo*, *gnimo*, *firto*, *esérge*); *-oth*, *-od* for *-uth*, *-ud* (*suidigoth*, *fobdod*, *slocod*).”³⁷² Ó Néill singled out the use of “final *-o* for *-u* in the genitive (e.g. *gnimo*)”³⁷³ and “*-oth* for *-ud* (e.g. *suidigoth*)”, stating that these forms “would now be considered archaic”.³⁷⁴ Looking more closely at the instances of unstressed *-o* for expected *-u* in absolute *Auslaut*, we find the following examples: the aforementioned *baullo* (acc. pl. of the *o*-stem m. *ball*, fo. 65v15, §6), *gnímo* (acc. pl. of the *u*-stem m. *gním*, fo. 65v15, §6), *firto* (acc. pl. of the *u*-stem m. *fiürt*, fo. 65v24, §9) and *esérge* (dat. sg. of the *io*-stem n. *eséirge*, fo. 66r13, §15.1), to which may be added *tarsno* (dat. sg. of the *io*-stem n. *tarsnae*, fo. 66v19, §20.5), for a total of five examples. The counterexamples, where either *-u* or *-o* are found as expected, are: *cúlu* (acc. pl. of the *o*-stem m. *cúl*, fo. 66r3, §11.1), *aithchumbu* (dat. sg. of the *io*-stem n. *aithchumbae*, fo. 66r14, §15.2), *suidiu* (dat. sg. n. of the *io/iā*-stem *suide*, fo. 65v11, §5.2), *miniu* (comp. of the *o/ā*-stem *min*, fo. 66v2, §17.8) and *liacht-so* (dem. particle *-so*, fo. 66r2, §10.2). The counterexamples therefore also number five in total. Of particular interest are the four examples of the acc. pl.,

³⁶⁸ For an overview of the examples, see under *in* in the Vocabulary to the Stowe Tract in Appendix 2 on p. 258 below.

³⁶⁹ Stifter, David, personal communication.

³⁷⁰ Ó Néill, “The Old Irish Tract on the Mass”(2000): 204.

³⁷¹ Counterexamples include *thuisten* (fo. 65v10-11, §5,1), *oifres* (fo. 66v16, §20.1) and *rainne* (fo. 66v15, §19).

³⁷² Stokes, “The Irish Passages” (1883): 498.

³⁷³ Unfortunately, the genitive of *gním* is not attested in the Stowe Missal, *gnímo* (fo. 65v15, §6) being the accusative plural instead. See also the discussion immediately below.

³⁷⁴ Ó Néill, “The Old Irish Tract on the Mass”(2000): 204.

where the expected ending *-u* is found once, and *-o* is found thrice, for there is no obvious reason why these forms should differ, unless the presence of the stressed *ú* of *cúlu* influenced the scribe. Given the apparently random nature of the distribution of this, admittedly small, sample, we might as easily suppose that the Stowe Tract, rather than preserving an older stage of the language, may have lost the distinction between final unstressed *-o* and *-u*. Such a merger would fit in with the later, ninth-century stages of Old Irish, in which one might expect these rounded vowels to have merged into some kind of rounded *schwa*, as an intermediary stage towards the Middle Irish loss of all distinctions between the unstressed final vowels. While the evidence is less clear for the examples of unstressed *-oth* and *-od* for *-uth* and *-ud*, where the vowel is found in a closed syllable and where only *u* would ordinarily have been distinct from *schwa*, it would seem possible for a scribe who used both *o* and *u* to indicate a rounded *schwa* in absolute *Auslaut* to have used the same letters to spell a similarly reduced sound in unstressed closed final syllables.

The aforementioned forms in *-oth*, *-od*, *-uth* and *-ud* happen to contain examples of another notable feature of the Stowe Tract, namely its apparent lack of distinction between *-th* and *-d* in absolute final position as part of an unstressed syllable. The examples are: *aicnith* (gen. sg. of the *o*-stem n. *aicned*, fo. 65v14, §6), *aiged* (nom. sg. of the *ā*-stem f. *aiged*, fo. 66r17, §16.1) and *aigeth* (the same, fo. 66r17, §16.1), *samlith* (3sg m./n. of *amal*, used as adv., fo. 66v5, §18), *in-ro-aithnuiged* (pass. augm. pret. 3sg. with *i* of the W2 verb *athnuigedar*, fo. 65v14-15, §6), *dīgrád* (both nom. sg. and acc. sg. of the *o/ā*-stem adj. *dígrád*, fo. 65v16, §7, and fo. 65v14, §6, respectively), *dīnochtad* (both nom. sg. and acc. sg. of the *u*-stem m. *dínochtad*, fo. 65v18, §7, and fo. 65v16, §7, respectively), *in-ro-fiugrad* (pass. augm. pret. 3sg. of *fiugraid*, fo. 65v17, §7) and *ro-fiugrad* (the same, fo. 65v18, §7), *fobdod* (nom. sg. of the *u*-stem m. *fobdud*, fo. 66r13, §15.2), *fo-ruirmed* (pass. augm. pret. deut. 3sg. of the W2 verb *fo-ruimi*, fo. 65v2, §2), *ro-fothiged* (pass. augm. pret. conj. 3sg. of the W2? verb *fothaigid*, fo. 65v2, §2), *bith* (past subj. 3sg. of the copula, fo. 67r1, §21.1), *mesad* (nom. sg. of the *u*-stem m. *mesad*, fo. 66r7, §12), *mlaissiuth* (acc. sg. of the *u?*-stem m. *mlaissiud*, fo. 67r5, §21.1), *rosaegeth* (nom. sg. of *i*-stem f. *saigid*, with *ro*, fo. 67r8, §21.3) and *saigith* (acc. sg. of the same, fo. 67r6, §21.2), *slēcht<h>ith* (pres. 3sg. of the W1 verb *sléchtaid*, fo. 65v26, §10.2), *slocod* (nom. sg. of the *u*-stem m. *slucud*, fo. 67r5, §21.2), *ro-suidiged* (pass. augm. pret. 3sg. of the W2 verb *suidigidir*,

fo. 65v8, §4.3), and *suidigoth* (nom. sg. of the *u*-stem m. *suidiugud*, fo. 66v11, §19).³⁷⁵ Of these 23 examples, 9 have *-th*, while 14 show the expected form *-d*. Notably, most of the instances of *-d* are examples of inflected verbs, whereas the majority of the words in *-th* are nouns. This may be significant, for in nouns *-th* could easily be generalised from genitive *-tho/a*, where *-th* was preserved regularly. In addition, the two examples of the nom. sg. of *aiged* (both *aiged* and *aigeth*) are of interest for demonstrating that the scribe must not have regarded the different spellings as significant, further suggesting that this is purely an orthographical feature of the scribe, unrelated to the actual pronunciation of these words.

A more significant feature for dating purposes may, perhaps, be found in the high incidence of *du* for the preposition *do* (16 times versus two examples of *do* in the Tract). Although *o* is found both preverbally and in the possessive pronoun,³⁷⁶ one may wonder whether this prevalence of *u* in the unstressed preposition may reflect the development whereby “*u* apparently encroached more and more upon positions that had previously been held by *o*” over the late 8th and 9th century, as set out by David Stifter in his article on the preverb *to*.³⁷⁷ Given that this change was later reversed³⁷⁸ and that the Stowe Missal cannot have been copied before 792-798 AD, this would then suggest that the Stowe Tract was copied during the first half of the ninth century.

Another sign that the Stowe Tract was written during the Old Irish, rather than during the (early) Middle Irish period may be found in the general preservation of the neuter gender of nouns. This may be seen from the relatively numerous examples of the use of the neuter definite article *a*, such as *a trēde* (fo. 66r4, §11.1), *a tarsno* (fo. 66v17, §20.3),³⁷⁹ *a n-ī* (fo. 66v18, §20.4), and *a n-īcht[a]rthūaiscerdach* (fo. 66v23, §20.8). There are no examples of neuter nouns taking non-neuter definite articles.

On the other hand, we have already seen that there is reason to believe that the Stowe Tract had merged unstressed *-o* and *-u* in absolute *Auslaut*, and that *dána* once occurs for expected *dánae* and *tarsno* for *tarsnae*. The Tract otherwise appears to preserve the distinctions between the

³⁷⁵ The example of *cūairtroth* (dat. sg. of the *o*-stem m. *cūairtroth*, fo. 66v13, §19) was excluded, because it is a compound noun and its spelling may have been influenced by that of the independent noun *roth*, where the sequence is stressed.

³⁷⁶ See, the examples of *to* cited above.

³⁷⁷ Stifter, “The History of the Old Irish Preverb *to*” (2014): 214.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid*: 215.

³⁷⁹ Note that the ending of what can only be the nom. sg. of the *io*-stem n. *tarsnae* is unexpected. See the discussion directly below.

vowels in unstressed final position, which may be illustrated, for example, by means of the *iā*-stem f. *oblae*, the singular case forms of which are relatively well attested in the Stowe Missal:

- nom. sg. *oblæ* (fo. 65v6, §4.1, and fo. 66r9, §13)
- gen. sg. *oblæ* (fo. 65v19, §8)
- dat. sg. *obli* (fo. 66r19, §17.2, and fo. 66r20, §17.3)³⁸⁰
- acc. sg. *obli* (fo. 66r7, §12)

Over the course of the Old Irish period, the original distinctions between unstressed final vowels were gradually lost. On the basis of the evidence afforded by metrical texts, in which the quality of these vowels can sometimes be confirmed by means of rhyme, it would seem that the contrast between unstressed final *-o* and *-a* had been lost by the first half of the ninth century, and that while the historical distinctions between the other final vowels, apart from *-u* and *-iu*, were still recognised in a metrical sense, they had already been reduced in the spoken language.³⁸¹ By the mid-tenth century, the system had well and truly collapsed and all distinctions were finally lost.³⁸² Although the Stowe Missal largely shows the expected forms and may thus be assigned to the Old Irish period,³⁸³ the examples of *tarsno* for *tarsnae* and *dána* for *dánae* suggest that the earlier distinctions between *-o*, *-a*, and *-(a)e* may already have been lost in the spoken language of the scribe.³⁸⁴

Another late feature may be found in the reduction of the dative plural inflection of the definite article, for which there is one example in the Stowe Tract: *cosna rúnaib* (fo. 66v16, §20.1), indicating that this change was already underway when the Stowe Missal was being copied.³⁸⁵ There are no examples of the older *-(s)naib* form of the dative plural of the definite article.

To sum up, we may state that while the Stowe Missal's Tract on the Mass contains a number of younger features, such forms are relatively restricted. That is to say, while they do show that

³⁸⁰ The dat. sg. of *oblae* is attested 9 times in the Stowe Missal. In each of these cases, it is found as *obli*.

³⁸¹ Carney, James, "The Dating of Early Irish Verse Texts, 500-1100", *Éigse* 19 (1982-1983) 177-216: 196-198. In this, Carney relied largely on the evidence of the Féilire Óengusso, which dated to around 800 AD.

³⁸² *Ibid.*: 198.

³⁸³ It should be noted that the Stowe Missal's Irish Tract on the Mass is not a metrical text and we are thus forced to rely on the evidence of orthography alone.

³⁸⁴ Cf. McCone, "The Würzburg and Milan Glosses: Our Earliest Sources of 'Middle Irish'", *Ériu* 36 (1985) 85-106: 87-88.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*: 90.

changes were underway in the scribe's spoken language, they had not yet made much of an impression on the written language, where older norms largely prevailed. In this, the Stowe Missal is not unlike, for example, the Milan glosses (ca. 800 AD), which also contain a number of forms which would be described as 'Middle Irish' in later sources, where they are considerably more frequent.³⁸⁶ Overall, while there is nothing in the language of the Stowe Missal that militates against assigning the manuscript to the closing years of the eighth or to the ninth century, one would expect younger forms to have made more of an appearance if the manuscript had, in fact, been copied in the tenth century.

Finally, we may also conclude that while the Irish Tract on the Mass had clearly been in existence for some time before it was copied into the Stowe Missal, the Stowe Tract does not contain a great many archaic forms and there is little linguistic evidence to suggest that the text itself was particularly old. From a linguistic point of view, the Tract could have been composed at any time in the mid- to late-eighth century, although the former is perhaps more likely, in light of the evidence of the aforementioned incorporated gloss, which seems to hint at an extended transmission history.

2.1.8. The *Céli Dé*

The final, slight piece of evidence for the dating of the Stowe Missal involves the disputed question of the Stowe Missal's place of origin, which has been much debated over the past two centuries and which will be considered in detail in the second half of this chapter.³⁸⁷ To briefly summarise the issue: although the manuscript was in the monastery of Lorrha when it was enshrined in the early eleventh century and a number of scholars believe that the manuscript must have originated at that monastery, it has also long been argued that the Stowe Missal was originally made in Tallaght, and the scholarly consensus has shifted a number of times. Whatever the case may be, it should be noted that *if* the manuscript was made in Tallaght, there would be an interesting parallel for its transfer to Lorrha. This context was noted by Westley

³⁸⁶ For example, Milan 57c1 *dona hisin* and Milan 46c7 *dona hí* 'to those' show the development described above for the Stowe Missal, whereby the dative plural ending of the definite article was reduced from *-(s)naib* to *-(s)na*.

³⁸⁷ See pp. 124-140.

Follett in his study of the *céli Dé*, in which he offered a “manuscript-centred re-evaluation of the works that scholars have at various times associated with *céli Dé*”.³⁸⁸

In order to be able to identify a text as being “a *céli Dé* text”, Follett started out with the generally accepted assumption “that Mael Ruain and his associates at Tallaght were *céli Dé*”, and it follows naturally that any text written by them would therefore be a *céli Dé* text.³⁸⁹ In light of the Stowe Missal’s long-standing association with Tallaght on account of its mention of Máel Rúain, it features in Follett’s discussion, alongside texts such as the Tallaght memoir, the *Féilire Óengusso*, and the Martyrology of Tallaght. Follett eventually concludes that the Stowe Missal was made in Tallaght and was therefore also a “probable product... of the Tallaght community” and a *céli Dé* text.³⁹⁰ Whatever views one may hold on this matter, Follett’s observation that most of these texts “had a manuscript tradition comparable to that of the Tallaght codex and other works associated with Lower Ormond scribes” should be of some interest, given that Lorrha is located in Lower Ormond. More particularly, Follett noted that while nothing is known with any degree of certainty about the Stowe Missal’s proposed transfer from Tallaght to Lorrha (or Lower Ormond in general), “just such a journey has already been proposed for the exemplar to the *Martyrology of Tallaght* and possibly the Tallaght memoir” and “it is tempting to think that these works were transported to Lower Ormond together.”³⁹¹

It has, in fact, long been argued that there was a link between Tallaght and Lower Ormond in the late eighth and early ninth century, largely on account of the person of Máel Díthruib of Terryglass, who features prominently in the text known as ‘the Monastery of Tallaght’ and whose death is recorded in the Annals of the Four Masters for 840 AD.³⁹² Máel Díthruib became a member of the Tallaght community when Máel Rúain was alive, but retired to Terryglass sometime after the latter’s death. Although it is not known whether he himself was responsible for bringing any books with him, his travels may well reflect a wider connection between Tallaght and Terryglass specifically, and Lower Ormond more generally, which would also seem to have made an impression in the manuscript record, as per Follett.

³⁸⁸ Follett, Westley, *Céli Dé in Ireland: Monastic Writing and Identity in the Early Middle Ages* (Rochester NY, Woodbridge UK 2006): 100.

³⁸⁹ Ibid.

³⁹⁰ Ibid: 170. Follett’s arguments are examined in greater detail on pp. 135-137 below.

³⁹¹ Ibid: 136.

³⁹² See, for example, O’Rahilly, “The History” (1928): 99. The entry reads: *Maol Diothraibh, angcoire & egnaidh Tire Dá Ghlas, d’ég*, i.e. ‘Maeldithraibh, anchorite and wise man of Tir Da Ghlas, died.’ (AFM 840; O’Donovan, *Annals of the Four Masters* (1856): 460-461.)

In conclusion, we may therefore say that, *if* the Stowe Missal was made in Tallaght, there would have been a plausible historical context for its transfer to Lower Ormond (and thus to Lorrha) alongside a number of (other) early ninth century texts in the first half of the ninth century. And, although there is no reason to suppose that such a move could not have happened at a later point in time, this rare example of a proven transfer might nevertheless constitute some slight further evidence for the hypothesis that the Stowe Missal originated in the first half of the ninth century.

2.1.9. The Date of the Stowe Missal

With that, we reach the end of our investigation of the date when the Stowe Missal was created. We have seen that while the manuscript has long been dated narrowly to either 792 to 812, or 792 to 803 AD, this dating has since rightly come under fire and must now be rejected. Instead, the Stowe Missal's *terminus post quem* can be pushed forward to at least ca. 796-798 AD on account of the interlinear, correctional glosses on the Creed, which were added by (one of) the original scribe(s), indicating that the manuscript was either made after that date, or was still in the possession of its creator. It is harder to determine the manuscript's *terminus ante quem*, except in so far that it must certainly have been in existence for some time before it was enshrined in the early eleventh century, in 1033 AD at the latest.

An investigation of the unusual, angular script of the original parts of the manuscript's final four quires³⁹³ did not turn up particularly firm grounds for dating purposes, for of the two other manuscript witnesses to this type of script, only the St Gall Gospels (dated to the mid-eighth century) has been dated independently of the Stowe Missal. In light of both the dating of the St Gall Gospels and the absence of any late features in the script of the Stowe Missal, a late-eighth- or early-ninth-century dating would nevertheless appear to be in line with the current palaeographical consensus.

The script of the Stowe John is also hard to date, except in so far that the quire must almost certainly be older than the remainder of the Stowe Missal. The evidence provided by the Dimma John, the script of which is similar to that of the Stowe John and which also enjoyed a period of independent existence before it was bound up in its present codex, is equally unclear, but if the Dimma John was added to the Book of Dimma in the ninth, rather than in the late-tenth or early-

³⁹³ i.e. the script of scribes A (and A1).

eleventh century, the Dimma John must have been an early-ninth-, or an eighth-century manuscript. If so, the same would most likely be true for the Stowe John, offering some independent evidence for dating that part of the Stowe Missal.

Linguistically the Irish texts contained in the Stowe Missal, most of which were added by scribe A (or A1)³⁹⁴ and the most sizable of which is the Irish Tract on the Mass, are clearly Old Irish in nature. The Tract retains the neuter gender of nouns, and largely preserves the Old Irish distinctions between unstressed vowels in absolute *Auslaut*. Moreover, the Tract contains a few examples of relatively archaic scribal practices, such as the use of double spellings to indicate vowel length and the occasional absence of glide vowels. Of less certain significance is the frequent occurrence of *to* instead of *do*, both as a preverb and for the possessive pronoun, and this feature should perhaps rather be taken as a contemporary, local scribal practice than as an archaism. The significance of the lack of a (written?) distinction between the voiceless *-th* and voiced fricative *-d* in final position in unstressed syllables is also indeterminable. Notable younger features include the apparent merger of unstressed *-o* and *-u* in absolute *Auslaut*, the loss of the specific dative plural inflection of the definite article, and the hypercorrect use of *-nd* to spell *-n(n)*, as well as two examples which seem to suggest a more general loss of distinction of unstressed final vowels. A more specifically datable feature may be found in the near universal use of *du* instead of *do* for the preposition, which may reflect a late-eighth- and early-ninth-century development. In conclusion, the Old Irish language of the Stowe Tract (and, albeit based on less evidence, the charms) is neither particularly archaic, nor notably young and this would suggest that the Stowe Missal should probably be assigned to the ninth century, and possibly to the first half of that century.

A final, slighter hint to the dating of the Stowe Missal may be found in the observation that a number of manuscripts appear to have been moved from Tallaght to Lower Ormond in the first half of the ninth century, offering a plausible historical context for such a move for the Stowe Missal, provided that our manuscript was indeed made in Tallaght.

To conclude, we may say that the assorted pieces of evidence, although individually slight, combine to suggest that the Stowe Missal was most likely made sometime in the first half of the ninth century. While a later date cannot be ruled out, it becomes increasingly more difficult to

³⁹⁴ Namely, the Irish Tract on the Mass and the three Irish charms. The Irish rubrics were added by the later scribes Móel Caích and F.

account for the available facts the closer one gets to the tenth century, and a tenth century dating seems unlikely at best. As such, we may date the Stowe Missal to the period between 792-798 at the very earliest, but presumably at least a few years later on account of the changes to the Creed, and, roughly, 850 AD.

2.2. Locating the Stowe Missal

When the Stowe Missal was rediscovered in the early nineteenth century, little was known about its ultimate origins. Basing himself on those inscriptions on the shrine which he had successfully managed to interpret,³⁹⁵ O’Conor concluded that the manuscript must have originated in Munster, but did not name a specific monastery. Instead, believing the Stowe Missal to have been but recently found in an unspecified place on the Continent,³⁹⁶ he suggested that the manuscript had been “carried to the Irish monastery of Ratisbon, by some of those Irish, who carried donations thither in 1130, from Tordelbach O’Brian, king of Munster”.³⁹⁷ Given that the Stowe Missal appears to have remained in Lorrha from the early eleventh century until at least 1371-1381 AD, when its shrine was refurbished, O’Conor must almost certainly have been mistaken.

2.2.1. Lorrha

It was Todd who first suggested that the manuscript had been made in Lorrha, Co. Tipperary.³⁹⁸ In this, he based himself on the inscriptions on the upper face of the shrine, which O’Conor had not been able to solve. Having correctly identified Pilib Ó Ceinnéidigh and his wife Áine, he observed that a coarb named Giolla Rúadhan might well have been the coarb of St Ruadán of Lorrha, especially given that Lorrha was one of the main churches of Lower Ormond, or, as Todd put it, “O’Kennedy’s country”.³⁹⁹ The older face of the shrine made it clear that the shrine had been furnished in Munster, and while Todd was not yet aware that this face also mentioned an abbot of Lorrha and the local king of Múscraige, he suggested that it was therefore “by no

³⁹⁵ Namely those of the Munster kings Donnchad macc Briain and Macc Raith Úa Donnchada, see p. 97 above.

³⁹⁶ O’Conor, *Bibliotheca MS. Stowensis*, appendix to vol. 1 (1818-1819): 50. O’Conor’s version of these events is disputed and is discussed in the third chapter of this thesis, see p. 143 below.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*: 51.

³⁹⁸ Todd, “On the Ancient Irish Missal” (1856): 15-16.

³⁹⁹ *Ibid.*: 15.

means impossible” that the Stowe Missal “may have been the original Missal of St. Ruadhan himself”.⁴⁰⁰ In this, we should recall that Todd believed the manuscript to have been written in the sixth century at the latest, on account of its script. Although wildly mistaken, this belief lent itself well to associating the manuscript with Ruadán, who died in 584 AD.

For a few decades, Todd’s Lorrha hypothesis would go unchallenged, with, for example, MacCarthy offering his support, stating in his edition “that the MS. belonged to a Munster church, perhaps that of St. Ruadhan of Lothra, in Lower Ormond” and referring the reader to Todd’s article for the arguments.⁴⁰¹ Building on Todd’s findings, MacCarthy observed that the script of the Stowe John closely resembled that of “the more rudely executed portions” of the Book of Dimma,⁴⁰² and noted that “if the Stowe Missal was kept in Lothra”, the similar origins of the Stowe John and the Book of Dimma might be confirmed, because the manuscripts would then have “belonged to neighbouring monasteries, the Book of Dimma having been preserved in the Abbey of St. Cronan, Roscrea.”⁴⁰³

The hypothesis that the origins of the Stowe Missal lie in Lorrha suffered a reverse in the early twentieth century, when Warner and then O’Rahilly embraced the idea that the manuscript had been written in Tallaght, largely on account of the Stowe Missal’s mention of Máel Rúain of Tallaght,⁴⁰⁴ but the Lorrha hypothesis never truly went away, with, for example Ryan and Kenney voicing scepticism of Warner’s views,⁴⁰⁵ and both hypotheses were discussed by Francis Byrne in what is essentially a chapter-length review of what was then known about the Stowe Missal.⁴⁰⁶ Although Byrne did not add materially to the argument, and was to conclude that the evidence is altogether inconclusive, he was sceptical of the Tallaght claim and offered what may still be deemed an equally effective and concise summary of the Lorrha hypothesis:

“...[T]here is really no positive evidence at all that the manuscript was ever anywhere else but in Lorrha at any stage of its career, and although we do not hear of any particular connection

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.: 16.

⁴⁰¹ MacCarthy, “On the Stowe Missal” (1877-1886): 135.

⁴⁰² We would rather say more specifically that the script of the Stowe John resembles that of the Book of Dimma’s Gospel of John, as was argued for on pp. 18-20 above.

⁴⁰³ MacCarthy, “On the Stowe Missal” (1877-1886): 138.

⁴⁰⁴ This alternative hypothesis is discussed in detail on pp. 130-138 below.

⁴⁰⁵ Ryan, “The Mass” (1961): 376, and Kenney, *The Sources* (1927): 699; see also the discussion on p. 131 below.

⁴⁰⁶ Byrne, “The Stowe Missal” (1967): 48-50.

between Lorrha and Tallaght, Máel Ruain was such a prominent churchman that even those unconnected with the Céili Dé may well have regarded him as worthy of canonization.”⁴⁰⁷

A similar argument was advanced by Ó Riain, who may be considered the strongest modern proponent of a Lorrha origin for the Stowe Missal, and who stated that “there is, in fact, no strong evidence that the missal was ever anywhere but in Lorrha.”⁴⁰⁸ Ó Riain had, as we have seen, managed to reconstruct the two mutilated, central inscriptions on the older face of the shrine, and was thus able to confirm what had earlier only been supposed: that the shrine was originally made in Lorrha in the early eleventh century.

In many ways, the Lorrha hypothesis comes down to a negative argument: the Stowe Missal itself does not contain any certain proof to indicate its place of origin, but its shrine definitely establishes that it was in Lorrha by the early eleventh century. Given the lack of any firm evidence to the contrary, it might as well be supposed that the Stowe Missal had always been in Lorrha and was therefore a product of that monastery, which appears to have already had a *scriptorium* in the late eighth century.⁴⁰⁹

Alongside this basic argument, which has remained largely unchanged since it was first formulated by Todd, Ó Riain drew upon an early version of a hypothesis by O’Sullivan, which suggested that the angular script of the Stowe Missal’s scribe A reflected “a local ‘north Tipperary’ style of writing”, to argue for a Lorrha origin for the Stowe Missal.⁴¹⁰ However, it should be noted that O’Sullivan based this palaeographical theory only on the Stowe Missal’s later presence in Lorrha and the Stowe John’s connection to the Book of Dimma,⁴¹¹ for the origins of the other manuscript witnesses to this angular variety of hybrid minuscule script (the St Gall Gospels and the *Fragmentum Augiense* 20) are unknown. This palaeographical hypothesis can therefore not be used to localise our manuscript, lest it become a circular argument. Moreover, O’Sullivan himself would later note a problem with his hypothesis, for the

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid.: 49.

⁴⁰⁸ Ó Riain, “The Shrine of the Stowe Missal” (1991): 294.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.: 295, especially n. 79.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid.: 295.

⁴¹¹ O’Sullivan, “Manuscripts and Palaeography” (2008): 533. For the earlier version, see: Ó Riain, “The Shrine of the Stowe Missal” (1991): 295 n. 78. O’Sullivan, in passing, likewise suggested that the Stowe and Dimma John’s minuscule script might reflect a local North Tipperary style, because of the later medieval provenance of the manuscripts they were bound up with (O’Sullivan, “Insular Calligraphy” (1985): 355).

only certain example of majuscule (half-uncial) script from this part of Ireland, namely the roughly contemporary Mac Regol Gospels,⁴¹² is very different from the script of our scribe A,⁴¹³ making it less likely that the Stowe Missal's script reflects a local style.

One of the main drawbacks of the Lorrha hypothesis is that it relies almost entirely on the evidence of a shrine which was made about two centuries after the manuscript itself, for the Stowe Missal does not contain any positive proof that it was made in Lorrha either. So far the best solution to this problem seems to have been the argument that the manuscript would not have “been deemed worthy of enshrinement” if it had not already “assumed the character of a relic”, and that “[t]his would indicate that it had already been kept at Lorrha for a considerable period before the early eleventh century.”⁴¹⁴ In turn, this would shorten the amount of time between the manuscript's creation and its becoming a relic in Lorrha, and so limit the available time for the manuscript to have originated in some other place before ending up there. However, even if this argument is accepted and if the Stowe Missal had been made only towards the end of the period set out above for the dating of the manuscript,⁴¹⁵ namely around 850 AD, this would still leave some fifty years for the Stowe Missal to have reached Lorrha *and* have it remain there for over a century before it was enshrined, which should surely suffice. The problem therefore remains.⁴¹⁶

Another issue, which is perhaps more problematic still, concerns the much discussed litany by scribe A on ff. 32r-33r, where mention is made of Máel Rúain of Tallaght. We have already seen that, for example, Byrne argued that this saint's fame was such that he might well have been

⁴¹² CLA vol. 2, no. 231. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Auct. D. 2. 19, also known as the Mac Regol Gospels, or the Rushworth Gospels. The manuscript was written by Mac Regol, the abbot of Birr, who died in 822 AD.

⁴¹³ O'Sullivan, “Manuscripts and Palaeography” (2008): 533.

⁴¹⁴ E.g. Ó Riain, “The Shrine of the Stowe Missal” (1991): 294.

⁴¹⁵ See pp. 122-124 above.

⁴¹⁶ Ó Riain's observation that the Stowe Missal shrine may have been mentioned in the Middle Irish *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh* (dated to about 1100 AD), where reference is made to a *scrín Ruadan* ‘Ruadán's shrine’, is of some interest (Ó Riain, “The Shrine of the Stowe Missal” (1991): 294), for if this identification is correct, it would suggest that the Stowe Missal was considered a relic of St Ruadán of Lorrha himself by the late eleventh century at the latest. However, even if correct, such a wildly mistaken, or blatantly false attribution of the Stowe Missal to the monastery's founding saint has no bearing on the manuscript's early history. The Stowe Missal's miraculous ‘rediscovery’ as an ancient relic could, after all, have happened at any convenient moment, if so desired, and if Ó Riain was correct in arguing that the Stowe Missal may have been enshrined in a politically motivated attempt to mollify two rival kings (see pp. 106-107 above), the discovery of an ancient relic might have been particularly expedient in the second half of the 1120s.

venerated “even by those unconnected with the Céli Dé”.⁴¹⁷ Moreover, Ó Riain noted that many of Máel Rúain’s known associates were from Munster and that the *céli Dé* movement “was probably most widely represented in Munster”,⁴¹⁸ suggesting that it would not be altogether unexpected for him to have been venerated in a Munster context, and therefore in Lorrha. While this fairly addresses the matter of Máel Rúain’s inclusion in the missal, it fails to explain the more worrying absence of St Ruadán, the founding saint of Lorrha. It stands to reason that Ruadán would have been held in high esteem in his own monastery, and that he would therefore have been included in the litanies performed in Lorrha. If the Stowe Missal was made in Lorrha, his absence is therefore troubling, especially in light of the fact that, unlike Máel Rúain (d. 792), Ruadán (d. 584) would have fit in perfectly with the other saints included in the litany, the vast majority of which date back to the sixth and early seventh century. It seems unlikely for an older litany, which had deliberately been altered by a late eighth or early ninth century scribe (presumably either scribe A, or the scribe of his exemplar) in order to include the recently deceased Máel Rúain of Tallaght, to not also have been made to include Ruadán of Lorrha if said scribe was working in Lorrha.

This problem does not appear to have been addressed so far, with only Byrne touching upon the issue when he noted that while Ruadán “is commemorated in the Stowe Missal”, he was not given any special prominence, “and there is no certain mention of any other abbot of Lorrha in the MS.”⁴¹⁹ Byrne must have been referring to Ruadán’s inclusion in a litany by Móel Caích on ff. 30r-30v (with Ruadán being mentioned near the end of the litany, on fo. 30v8), and clearly considered it problematic that neither Ruadán, nor any other potential Lorrha saint, was awarded a more prominent place in the manuscript. Obviously, Ruadán’s aforementioned absence in the original parts of the Missal is more problematic still.

A potential solution might, perhaps, be found in O’Sullivan’s suggestion that “if... the [Stowe] missal is seen as a copy of a Tallaght original made at Lorrha the difficulties seem to resolve themselves.”⁴²⁰ For if scribe A was a Lorrha scribe making a faithful copy of an exemplar but recently imported from Tallaght, Máel Rúain’s inclusion and Ruadán’s absence would be

⁴¹⁷ Byrne, “The Stowe Missal” (1967): 49.

⁴¹⁸ Ó Riain, “The Shrine of the Stowe Missal” (1991): 294-295. For the former, Ó Riain must have been referring to the *Óentu Máil Rúain* in the Book of Leinster, which he had edited (Ó Riain, *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae* (1985): 326-327).

⁴¹⁹ Byrne, “The Stowe Missal” (1967): 49-50.

⁴²⁰ Ó Riain, “The Shrine of the Stowe Missal” (1991): 295 n. 78, citing a note by O’Sullivan.

explained. In this scenario, in which the Stowe Missal would always have remained in Lorrha, Móel Caích would presumably have been another Lorrha scribe who afterwards proceeded to alter the manuscript to suit the needs of that monastery, as, for example, indicated by the inclusion of Ruadán in Móel Caích's litany. However, we may wonder why A would have seen fit to make a copy unsuited to the needs of Lorrha in the first place, especially given that he (or scribe A1) appears to have held on to and presumably made use of the manuscript for some time after it was made.⁴²¹ Moreover, if the Lorrha hypothesis for the creation of the Stowe Missal were made to depend on the presence of an exemplar but recently imported from Tallaght, one may justifiably ask what problem it actually addresses, for we would still need to suppose a manuscript to have moved from Tallaght to Lorrha, and the Stowe Missal would retain its strong association with Tallaght – the very thing to which the proponents of a Lorrha origin for the Stowe Missal seem to have been primarily opposed.

It would therefore seem that apart from helping to explain the Stowe Missal's later presence in Lorrha, a Lorrha origin only offers a possible solution for the aforementioned similarity of the script of the Stowe John and the Dimma John, which suggests that both copies of the Gospel of John were copied at the same *scriptorium*.⁴²² Given that the Stowe John is older than the remainder of the Stowe Missal and was only bound up with the present manuscript when the Stowe Missal's final four quires were being copied, and given that the Dimma John was in Roscrea by the twelfth century, a Lorrha origin for the Stowe Missal would allow us to conclude that both copies of the Gospel of John were local Munster productions, thus avoiding the need to explain how both Johns could have ended up relatively close to each other in the later medieval period. For if the Stowe Missal had originated in another part of Ireland, the Stowe John would have needed to have been there when the remainder of the manuscript was made around the first half of the ninth century. In turn, this would imply that the Stowe John had either travelled there from wherever both it and the Dimma John had been made, or that both the Stowe and Dimma Johns originated near Tallaght, and were only later removed to Tipperary. However, while this could be taken to support the Lorrha hypothesis, we have already seen that both copies of the Gospel of John were not original to the composite manuscripts in which they are now contained, and their actual origins remain unknown. As such, the later medieval locations of the Stowe Missal and the Book of Dimma cannot be said to constitute hard evidence for the two Johns having been made in or near Lorrha in the eighth or early ninth century.

⁴²¹ See pp. 31-34 for the particulars of this argument.

⁴²² See pp. 18-20 above for a more detailed discussion of the script of the Stowe and Dimma John.

In conclusion, it should therefore be noted that there is, in fact, no hard evidence that the Stowe Missal originated in Lorrha. For while the manuscript was certainly in Lorrha by the early eleventh century, and may well have been there for most of the tenth, there is no certain way of relating these later facts to the early ninth century, when the Stowe Missal was being created. In addition, it is hard to envisage how a manuscript made in Lorrha could have failed to include that monastery's founding saint in its litany, while an effort was made to include the recently deceased Máel Rúain of Tallaght. Until these matters are addressed, the Lorrha hypothesis, while not impossible, does not appear particularly likely either.

2.2.2. Tallaght

The alternative hypothesis, that the Stowe Missal was made in Tallaght, was first raised by Warner in his edition of (most of) the Stowe Missal. Although Warner was not the first to note that Máel Rúain was included in the older litany by scribe A,⁴²³ his was the first major publication to incorporate this observation, and it bears going over his arguments in detail.⁴²⁴ As we have seen, Warner argued that the deliberate inclusion of Máel Rúain in what otherwise appears to have been a copy of an existing, older list marked him out as “a more recent saint who for some reason was the object of special veneration.”⁴²⁵ This seems a reasonable argument, given that someone (either scribe A, or, presumably, the scribe of his exemplar) must have gone out of his way to include Máel Rúain, who could not have been dead for more than half a century at most when the Stowe Missal was written, and this was done for no other recent saint.

Warner further argued that Máel Rúain's high standing is confirmed by the fact that his name was given “the unusual distinction of a large initial”.⁴²⁶ While the latter is certainly correct, Warner appears to have overstated matters slightly when he added that Máel Rúain is the only bishop in the litany “with the doubtful exception of the two Patricks”, whose name “begins with a capital initial”.⁴²⁷ There really is no reason to doubt that the names of both saints Patrick (fo. 32vb11-12), the first two Irish bishops in the list, were written with enlarged initials; a comparison with the apostles Paul (fo. 32rd6) and Philip (fo. 32rd10), whose names were

⁴²³ Stokes was first to argue that the name, which is written on two separate lines (*Maile ruen*), reflects the single name of Máel Rúain (Stokes, “The Stowe Missal”, *The Academy* 31, 778 (1887) 237-239: 238).

⁴²⁴ Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): xxx-xxxiv.

⁴²⁵ *Ibid.*: xxxiii.

⁴²⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*: xxx.

written with ordinary initials, and Peter (fo. 32rd5), whose name begins with a capital letter should suffice to illustrate this point. This nevertheless leaves Máel Rúain in a prominent position within the litany, for apart from the aforementioned two Patricks and Peter, only Uinniaus (fo. 33ra6)⁴²⁸ and Columba (fo. 33ra14),⁴²⁹ both of whom were classified as priests, had their names written with an enlarged initial.⁴³⁰

Taken together, the litany can thus be said to have accorded a particularly high degree of prominence to Máel Rúain. Warner went on to observe that a saint's standing would have been highest in his own foundation, in this case the monastery of Tallaght, and considered this to be "a valuable clue to the place where the MS. was written".⁴³¹ It goes without saying that Warner must have been correct in that a saint's prominence could hardly have been higher without than within his own foundation, especially in the first half-century after his death, but it should be noted that this finding does not exclude the possibility that Máel Rúain could also have been highly honoured at another monastery, especially if said monastery was somehow connected to the *céli Dé*, as was argued for by, for example, Kenney.⁴³² Kenney also noted that "it is by no means certain that the local diptychs" were represented in this particular litany, which was placed "attached to the Memento of the Dead".⁴³³ As such, while the prominence given to Máel Rúain in the litany is noteworthy and may thus be regarded as suggestive of a Tallaght origin, it does not in itself rule out other possibilities.

Warner also argued that the "twofold dignity of abbot and bishop", mentioned once in the Stowe Missal,⁴³⁴ is "not without significance", and seems to have taken this as a reference to St Eochaid (d. 812), the later bishop and abbot of Tallaght, during whose lifetime Warner supposed the Stowe Missal could well have been created.⁴³⁵ However, as we have already seen, these words were, in fact, added by Móel Caích, rather than by A, and therefore cannot be taken to

⁴²⁸ Presumably saint Finnian of Clonard (d. 549).

⁴²⁹ Presumably St Columba, or Columb Cille (d. 597), although another saint of this name might be intended, given that another St Columba is found immediately after (fo. 33rb1).

⁴³⁰ While Máel Rúain's name is the first on fo. 33r and it could therefore be argued that its occurrence at the start of a page may have influenced the scribe, this seems unlikely, given that the first name on fo. 32v (*iacobi*) was not written with an enlarged initial.

⁴³¹ Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): xxxiii.

⁴³² Kenney, *The Sources* (1927): 699. See also Byrne, "The Stowe Missal" (1967): 49.

⁴³³ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁴ The passage reads: *et abbate nostro .n. episcopo* (fo. 24v1-2), where *.n.* marks the place where a name should be inserted.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.* See pp. 93-95 above for a more detailed discussion of this hypothesis, evidence for which is lacking.

reflect the original state of the manuscript.⁴³⁶ Moreover, it has since been argued that this particular phrase should be taken to have had a more general application, with the user selecting whichever of the two forms was applicable under the circumstances, for the mention of this double dignity would otherwise have “quickly become out of date or, in the case of the missal’s removal to other bishoprics, irrelevant”, given that it was “not customary for an abbot to be also a bishop, even when his predecessor had held these two offices.”⁴³⁷ As such, this ‘twofold dignity’ cannot be taken as evidence for a Tallaght origin of the Stowe Missal.

Another argument for a Tallaght origin was raised by Hennig, who argued that the Stowe Missal’s *Misa apostolorum et martirum et sanctorum et sanctarum uirginum* (item 3,⁴³⁸ ff. 38r5-41v14) included a “general provision... for the insertion of the saints of the day”,⁴³⁹ and suggested that the inserted names would have been supplied by the Latin sections of the Martyrology of Tallaght.⁴⁴⁰ According to Hennig’s hypothesis, the text of this special Mass in the Stowe Missal and (parts of) the Martyrology would therefore have been designed to be used alongside each other. While the ultimate origins of the Martyrology of Tallaght remain unclear,⁴⁴¹ the text appears to have been used and updated in Tallaght during the late eighth and early ninth century, and an association between the Stowe Missal and the Martyrology could therefore be taken to link our manuscript to Tallaght. However, although Hennig’s hypothesis is of interest, parts of his argument have been disputed. For our purposes, we may in particular note that his contention that the Martyrology of Tallaght had a direct liturgical function remains uncertain.⁴⁴² A further issue with Hennig’s hypothesis was raised by Meeder, who, as we have seen, argued that the Stowe Missal was primarily designed to suit the needs of an itinerant priest. Meeder noted that “[i]t is quite unclear why a volume, whose design suggests it was always

⁴³⁶ Warner was almost certainly aware of this, but seems to have regarded Móel Caích as a Tallaght scribe, who revised the Missal “almost immediately after it was written.” (Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): xxxvii.) Oddly enough, this is in spite of the fact that Warner also suggested that the marked difference between Móel Caích’s script and that of A was “due rather to locality than to lapse of time.” (Ibid.: xxxvi.) Given that we have seen that there is reason to believe that the manuscript remained in the possession of (one of) the original scribe(s) of the Stowe Missal (A or A1) for an extended period of time after the manuscript was made (see pp. 31-34 above), and given that Móel Caích does not appear to have been the first later scribe to have subsequently altered the manuscript (see the overview on p. 61 above), Warner appears to have been mistaken on this point. See also the discussion of a number of recent arguments by Follett, who also considered it likely for Móel Caích to have had an association with Tallaght, on pp. 135-137 below.

⁴³⁷ Meeder, “Destination and Function” (2005): 192.

⁴³⁸ In the overview of the contents of the Stowe Missal on pp. 10-12 above.

⁴³⁹ Hennig, “The Function of the Martyrology of Tallaght” (1964): 322.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid.: 320-328.

⁴⁴¹ Dumville, “Féilire Óengusso: Problems of Dating” (2002): 36-48, esp. 46-47.

⁴⁴² Ibid.: 45-46.

intended to be small, and portable, was to be accompanied by another book”, and argued that “the five formulae incorporated in the ‘mass for the apostles and martyrs and saints’ [item 3] show that there was no immediate need for a supplement, as these seem to have been purposely devised to provide a priest with instruments to celebrate any feasts of the sanctoral cycle.”⁴⁴³ It therefore seems unlikely for the Stowe Missal itself to have been purposely made to be used alongside the Martyrology of Tallaght, whether that Martyrology should ultimately be connected with Tallaght, or not, and Hennig’s hypothesis does not help us to determine whether the Stowe Missal was made in Tallaght.⁴⁴⁴

Although Meeder disputed Hennig’s hypothesis, he did accept the notion that the Stowe Missal originated in Tallaght and offered two additional arguments to support this notion. Both of these concern the person of Móel Caích, for although nothing certain is known about the identity of this scribe, we have noted that his script differs strongly from that of scribe A. Warner, who did not believe Móel Caích to have been (much) later than A, had already argued that the differences in the script might reflect a change of locality,⁴⁴⁵ and Meeder suggested that both this “difference in handwriting” and the differences “in liturgical preference”, which must have motivated Móel Caích’s revisions, could have been the result of a relocation of the Stowe Missal to another part of Ireland.⁴⁴⁶ The implications of this argument, which offers a plausible explanation for the observed facts, for the origins of the Stowe Missal are significant, for this would mean that the Stowe Missal did not remain in its place of origin for more than a few decades after its creation at most. We may add that the similarity of the script of Móel Caích and scribe E (and D, if that scribe should be distinguished from Móel Caích) suggests that, rather than being an outlier, Móel Caích’s script reflects the standard of whatever monastery the manuscript was then at, further stressing the difference of this script and that of the original scribe(s) of the Stowe Missal. All this constitutes a problem for the Lorrha hypothesis, but accords well with a Tallaght origin. However, it does not in itself establish that the Stowe Missal was made in Tallaght: it only suggests that it is unlikely for the manuscript to have long remained in its place of origin, wherever that may have been.

⁴⁴³ Meeder, “Destination and Function” (2005): 194.

⁴⁴⁴ Hennig’s further observation, that the liturgical year appears to have started at Christmas, rather than on 1 January, both in a segment by Móel Caích and the Martyrology of Tallaght is discussed in relation to the arguments presented by Follett on pp. 135-137 below.

⁴⁴⁵ Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): xxxvi. See also p. 132 n. 436 directly above.

⁴⁴⁶ Meeder, “Destination and Function” (2005): 181.

Meeder's second argument once again concerns the oft-mentioned litany by scribe A, which Meeder notes "has a distinct predilection for Leinster saints", while he states that the litany supplied by Móel Caích "seems to show a preference for saints from the middle of the island".⁴⁴⁷ If correct, this would both offer further confirmation for the hypothesis that the Stowe Missal was moved from its place of origin to another part of Ireland, and suggest that this origin lay in Leinster, whereas Móel Caích was active somewhere in "the middle of the island". However, Meeder appears to go against the views of O'Loughlin, who described Móel Caích's litany as "a list that sought to be inclusive" and which "established a spiritual link with every important monastic founder in Ireland".⁴⁴⁸ It should also be noted that, apart from Máel Rúain, neither litany included any particularly recent saint, suggesting that both were copied from older, existing lists. Although we may assume that these litanies remained relevant within a contemporary context, it is hard to know to what extent they would have necessarily reflected local interests. Moreover, and more problematic still, two of the saints mentioned in Móel Caích's litany, including what may have been a relatively recent addition to the litany, may have had some connection to Tallaght.⁴⁴⁹ In light of this, this particular argument for a Tallaght origin must be rejected.

A more directly problematic hurdle for the Tallaght hypothesis comes in the form of the aforementioned St Gall Gospels, the script of which is similar to that of scribe A and which has been dated to the mid-eighth century.⁴⁵⁰ If this dating is correct, this would most likely place the creation of the St Gall Gospels ahead of the founding of Tallaght in 774 AD,⁴⁵¹ meaning that this Gospel book could not have been a Tallaght production. Unless scribe A was trained at whatever *scriptorium* in which the St Gall Gospels were made before moving to Tallaght, or unless we assume that the script of that particular *scriptorium*, which has not been identified, would later

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁸ O'Loughlin, *Celtic Theology* (2000): 139. Meeder's observation might also go against Byrne, who stated that St Ruadán was "only one among a very varied assortment of saints from all over Ireland" (Byrne, "The Stowe Missal" (1967): 50), but there is some uncertainty as to whether Byrne was here referring to the saints of *all* litanies found in the Stowe Missal, or only to those of Móel Caích's litany.

⁴⁴⁹ See the discussion on p. 135 below.

⁴⁵⁰ Henry, *Irish Art* (1967) 196-198. See also p. 110 above.

⁴⁵¹ This date was cited by Dumville (Dumville, "Félire Óengusso: Problems of Dating" (2002): 41), referring to the Annals of the Four Masters for 769. The entry reads: *Céd-chongbhail Tamhlachta Maile Ruain*, i.e. 'the first erection of Tamlacht Mailruain.' (AFM 769; O'Donovan, *Annals of the Four Masters* (1856): 372-373).

become established at Tallaght, this makes it more difficult to argue that A was a Tallaght scribe.⁴⁵²

In light of this, it is interesting to note that Follett, who believed the Stowe Missal to have been made in Tallaght, recently made an intriguing case for considering Mól Caích to have been a Tallaght scribe, and it bears going over his arguments in detail. Follett started out by observing that Mól Caích “provided eight variants for the *Communicantes* in the Stowe Missal: Christmas, the Feast of Circumcision, Epiphany, Maundy Thursday, Easter, Low Sunday, the Feast of the Ascension, and Pentecost.”⁴⁵³ To this, he compared a passage in the ‘Teaching of Máel Rúain’, in which it is stated “that the community ‘had no exemption from vigils except for one evening on each of the eight festivals’”.⁴⁵⁴ Follett argued that these eight festivals, seven of which are mentioned by name elsewhere in the ‘Teaching’, were the very same as those for which Mól Caích included variants in the Stowe Missal. Combined with an observation by Hennig, who noted that the Stowe Missal’s first variation for the *Communicantes* is for Christmas, implying that 25 December formed the start of the liturgical year for Mól Caích, corresponding to the beginning of the liturgical year in the Martyrology of Tallaght,⁴⁵⁵ Follett argues that this suggests “that Mael Cáich [sic] observed a *Temporale* very similar, if not identical to that of the Tallaght memoir.”⁴⁵⁶ Although this is an interesting argument, the lack of *comparanda* makes it hard to estimate how rare such a *temporale* would have been in early medieval Ireland, and whether it can be used as an identifier for Tallaght. Notably, Follett’s observation in the same publication that the *Féilire Óengusso*, which is certainly a Tallaght production, begins on 1 January suggests that variation would, in fact, have been possible even within that religious centre and in the relevant time period.⁴⁵⁷

The second way in which Follett related Mól Caích to Tallaght was by means of the third-to-last saint mentioned in the litany in his hand, namely *Sancta Scetha*. Follett notes that Saint Scetha (Sciath, or Scéthe) “is not well known to us”, for “[n]o Life of hers has survived, and she

⁴⁵² If scribe A1 is judged to be a separate scribe, matters become more complicated still, for there would then need to have been two scribes trained to use this angular style of Irish script active at Tallaght.

⁴⁵³ Follett, *Céli Dé in Ireland* (2006): 135.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid. The passage reads: *Ní bhíodh saoirsi an fhighill aca acht aon noin amhain gach féil dona hoicht-fheilibh.* (Gwynn, Edward J. (ed.), “The Rule of Tallaght”, *Hermathena* 44 (1927) 32-33.) Although the ‘Teaching of Máel Rúain’ is believed to have been composed in the Old Irish period, early manuscript witnesses are lacking.

⁴⁵⁵ Hennig, “The Function of the Martyrology of Tallaght” (1964): 323.

⁴⁵⁶ Follett, *Céli Dé in Ireland* (2006): 135.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid.

appears only as a minor figure in *Vita. S. Albei*”, which has been dated to the ninth century.⁴⁵⁸ In spite of this modern obscurity, Scetha “seems to have been a person of some significance to the Tallaght community, for the *Martyrology of Tallaght* commemorates both her feast day on 1 January and the arrival of her relics at Tallaght on 6 September.”⁴⁵⁹ In light of this, Follett argues that her inclusion in Móel Caích’s litany may (“together with the evidence of the variants he provided for the *Communicantes*”) mean that Móel Caích had “some association with Tallaght”.⁴⁶⁰ However, as was mentioned above, we should note that Móel Caích’s litany, like that of A, appears to have been a copy of some older, existing litany, for the vast majority of the saints mentioned therein date back to the sixth and early seventh century. The only clear exception is that of the final (female) Saint included,⁴⁶¹ namely Samdine (Samthann) of Clonbroney, Co. Longford, who died in 739 AD, and it may be that she had, much like Máel Rúain in A’s litany, been consciously added to the very end of the list at some point. However, there is no indication that this was done by Móel Caích, for if we are right to assume that he was active perhaps a few decades after A, Samthann would have already been dead for about a century, and she might therefore as easily have been added to the list in a hypothetical eighth century copy, which might have served Móel Caích for an exemplar. Curiously, Samthann may also have had a Tallaght connection, for Warner noted that her name occurs in ‘The Monastery of Tallaght’ (§61), where she is mentioned in a story about Máel Rúain.⁴⁶² We may therefore note that while it does not appear likely that Móel Caích himself altered this litany, the mention of these two female saints, both of whom appear to have been venerated in Tallaght, and at least one of whom may well have been a relatively late addition to the litany, may nevertheless suggest that whatever exemplar Móel Caích used to copy his litany out of was somehow connected to Tallaght. If Móel Caích’s revisions are taken to reflect the manuscript’s move from its place of origin to another part of Ireland, and if the Stowe Missal originated at Tallaght, we might then be faced with a scenario in which Móel Caích revised a Tallaght document (the Stowe Missal) to suit the needs of another religious community using a Tallaght exemplar. Although not impossible, this seems somewhat unlikely.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁶¹ The dates of both the aforementioned Scetha and the second-to-last female saint in the list, Sinecha (Sínech) are unknown, and it is therefore impossible to judge whether they might also have been relatively recent additions to the litany.

⁴⁶² Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): xxvi, referring to Gwynn, Edward J. and Walter J. Purton, “The Monastery of Tallaght”, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy: Archaeology, Culture, History, Literature* 29 (1911) 115-179: 150.

Follett's final observation, which we already discussed for the dating of the Stowe Missal,⁴⁶³ was that a number of manuscripts appear to have been moved from Tallaght to Lower Ormond in the first half of the ninth century.⁴⁶⁴ Although this provides a plausible window of opportunity for the Stowe Missal to have been transferred from Tallaght to Lorrha, this does not, of course, in itself help to establish that the Stowe Missal was actually made in Tallaght.

Finally, there is the matter of the Stowe John, the script of which is related to that of the Book of Dimma's Gospel of John. As set out above, the Dimma John, while not original to the manuscript in which it is now found, was enshrined in Roscrea in the twelfth century along with the remainder of the Book of Dimma. Given that Roscrea is relatively close to Lorrha, where the Stowe Missal was enshrined in early eleventh century, and given that the Stowe John appears to have been bound up with the Stowe Missal when the remainder of our manuscript was being copied, a Tallaght origin of the Stowe Missal makes it harder to explain how both copies of the Gospel of John ended up in Co. Tipperary by the later medieval period. If the two Johns were copied in Tipperary, we would have to assume that the Stowe John had been moved to Tallaght by the early ninth century at the latest, while the Dimma John remained near its place of origin. If the Johns were not made in Tipperary, we must assume that they had been made near Tallaght instead, and were both moved to Tipperary independent of one another in the ninth century. While this does not render a Tallaght origin impossible, it does make it less straightforward.

In the end, we must therefore conclude that in spite of the many additional arguments which have been brought forward over the past century in favour of a Tallaght origin for the Stowe Missal, the evidence for a Tallaght origin remains inconclusive. The addition of Máel Rúain of Tallaght as the only recent saint to an older, existing litany, within half a century of his death, along with the fact that his name was given the rare distinction of being written with an enlarged initial, suggests that Máel Rúain was an especially favoured and prominent saint at the monastery where the Stowe Missal was written. However, while this would certainly fit a Tallaght origin, it does not rule out the possibility that the manuscript could also have been made at another centre, albeit most likely one with some *céli Dé* connection. Further evidence for a Tallaght origin is either lacking, or in itself problematic. The double dignity of bishop and abbot in a passage added by Móel Caích should probably be taken as a general statement, allowing the reader to select whichever title was appropriate, rather than as a reference to St

⁴⁶³ See pp. 135-137 above.

⁴⁶⁴ Follett, *Céli Dé in Ireland* (2006): 135-136.

Eochaid of Tallaght. Hennig's hypothesis that the Latin sections of the Martyrology of Tallaght were meant to be inserted into the Stowe Missal's special Mass for the apostles, saints, martyrs and virgins (item 3) is uncertain at best, and it seems unlikely that the portable Stowe Missal was intended to have been used in conjunction with another manuscript. Additionally, a complication arises out of scribe A's script, which is similar to that of the St Gall Gospels, for the St Gall Gospels have been dated to before the founding of the monastery of Tallaght. If this dating is correct, we would have to assume that scribe A was either trained at another *scriptorium* before coming to Tallaght, or that the angular hybrid minuscule of the St Gall Gospels was in use in Tallaght when the Stowe Missal was written in the late eighth or, as seems more likely, the first half of the ninth century. Another complicating factor arises out of the Stowe John's relation to the Dimma John, combined with the later medieval provenance of the manuscripts in which they are now contained, requiring us to explain how the Stowe John reached Tallaght before the remainder of the Stowe Missal was created. Finally, while M^oel Caích's markedly different script and thorough revision of the Order and Canon of the Mass in the manuscript's second and third quires, the latter of which must be taken to reflect a difference in liturgical practice, may best be explained as reflecting the transfer of the Stowe Missal to another part of Ireland a few decades after its creation, this only suggests that the manuscript did not remain long in its place of origin, not that it was necessarily made in Tallaght. The matter is complicated further by the tentative evidence suggesting that M^oel Caích may himself have had some association with Tallaght. In conclusion, while a Tallaght origin cannot be ruled out, it is not straightforward either.

2.2.3. The Stowe Missal's Origins and Early Travels

Having thus reviewed the available evidence for the origins and early history of the Stowe Missal, we are faced with the somewhat unsatisfying conclusion that neither of the two hypotheses which have previously been advanced for the Stowe Missal's place of origin is particularly convincing. As was argued frequently by its critics, strong evidence for the Tallaght hypothesis is lacking, with only the prominence accorded to M^oel Rúain suggesting that it may have been made at that monastery. Moreover, we have seen that a Tallaght origin, while not impossible, is somewhat uneconomical, for it depends on a number of assumptions involving, for example, the nature of its original script, as well as the relation of the Stowe and Dimma Johns. The Lorrha hypothesis appears to be more problematic still, for it must both address the absence of Ruadán of Lorrha in the original parts of the Missal, as well as the marked

differences between the script of the manuscript's original scribes and Móel Caích and scribe E. It seems hard to explain the latter, as well as Móel Caích's motivation for making so many changes to the liturgical portions of the manuscript, without assuming the Stowe Missal to have moved from its place of origin to some other centre early in its existence. The latter is, of course, incompatible with the Lorrha hypothesis, the positive evidence for which consists only of the manuscript's later presence at that monastery, and which therefore requires the Stowe Missal to have remained in Lorrha from its creation up to the furnishing of the shrine in the early eleventh century.

In the end, we are therefore forced to reject the Lorrha hypothesis as being unlikely, at least until these issues are addressed, and to note that while a Tallaght origin is not impossible, it is not particularly likely either. Although a Tallaght origin is thus the more probable of the two established hypotheses, the evidence is simply inconclusive and a third alternative cannot be excluded: namely, that the Stowe Missal was made in the *scriptorium* of a third, as yet unknown monastery elsewhere in Ireland. Such a third hypothesis would also have to incorporate the aforementioned facts of 1) the prominence of Máel Rúain of Tallaght, 2) the indications of an early move to another centre, where the manuscript was thoroughly revised, 3) the later attestation of the Stowe Missal in Lorrha, and 4) the relation of the Stowe John to the Dimma John and the later provenance of both manuscripts. In light of the first, such a monastery would most likely have been related to the *céli Dé* movement. The second implies only that the manuscript did not remain at its place of origin for very long. Given that the third fact means that the Stowe Missal was at some point moved to Lorrha, it would be expedient to suggest that this early move was already to Lorrha,⁴⁶⁵ but there is no definite proof that this was the case. Finally, the fourth makes it more likely for the Stowe Missal to have been created in the general area of Lorrha and Roscrea, although the evidence is again only suggestive, rather than certain.⁴⁶⁶ While these criteria may help weigh the evidence, we must, for now, unfortunately conclude that the Stowe Missal's place of origin remains unknown.

⁴⁶⁵ A possible alternative, in which the Stowe Missal was originally made in an unknown third centre, Móel Caích and E were Tallaght scribes and the manuscript's early move would therefore have been *to* rather than *from* Tallaght is less attractive largely because it would complicate matters further, as it entails an additional early transfer of the Stowe Missal ahead of being moved to Lorrha, while it does not help resolve the issue of the Johns. Moreover, the evidence for Móel Caích being a Tallaght scribe is but tentative.

⁴⁶⁶ A possible example of such a centre would be the monastery of Terryglass during Máel Díthruib's lifetime, in light of the close geographical proximity of that monastery to Lorrha, and, in the person of Máel Díthruib, the close connection between it and Tallaght. As fate would have it, Terryglass featured prominently in O'Rahilly's hypothesis for the early history of the Stowe Missal, in which the manuscript

Reviewing the relative chronology of the scribes in light of the foregoing, we may add that while we do not know where Sonid / Dinos and J were active, it was probably sometime during the eighth century. The Stowe John was then moved to whatever monastery it was at which the original parts of the remainder of the manuscript were made by scribe A, possibly aided by A1. Afterwards, the manuscript remained in the possession of A or A1 for some time. A few rubrics were then added by scribes B and C, before the manuscript was moved, possibly to Lorrha, where Mól Caích (and, perhaps, D) was responsible for a major revision of the Order and Canon of the Mass. The Stowe Missal appears to have remained at this new centre, whether Lorrha or somewhere else, for an extended period of time, for the next scribe to alter the manuscript was scribe E, whose script is similar to that of Mól Caích. It is not known when or where scribe F was active.

was moved from Tallaght, where he supposed it to have been created, to Terryglass, before being moved to Lorrha (O’Rahilly, “The History” (1928): 98-100). While the specifics of O’Rahilly’s argument, which involved Lorrha taking over the library of Terryglass when the latter monastery was dissolved, have been firmly rejected in later scholarship (e.g. Byrne, “The Stowe Missal” (1967): 49, and Ó Riain, “The Shrine of the Stowe Missal” (1991): 294), O’Rahilly’s case for a connection between Tallaght and Terryglass appears sound. It should, however, be stressed that there is no certain evidence to support a Terryglass origin either.

Chapter 3: The Rediscovery and Later History of the Stowe Missal

Although our investigation into the ultimate origins of the Stowe Missal was inconclusive, we have seen that the Stowe Missal appears to have remained in Lorrha throughout the later medieval period. The manuscript must have been in Lorrha when it was enshrined shortly before 1033 AD, and it seems likely that it remained there for the next three and a half centuries at least, for it was still in the monastery of Lorrha,⁴⁶⁷ when its shrine was refurbished sometime between 1371 and 1381 AD.⁴⁶⁸ It would seem that a final inscription was added to the upper face of the shrine by a different metalworker sometime after the shrine was refurbished, but the loss of half of this inscription, combined with the use of some unfamiliar letter forms, has rendered this last medieval alteration of the shrine unintelligible, and it is not known when it was added to the shrine.⁴⁶⁹

3.1. The Rediscovery of the Stowe Missal

The whereabouts of the Stowe Missal in the following centuries are obscure, for the next certain mention of the Stowe Missal is only in 1819, when the Stowe Missal and its shrine formed part of the collection of Richard Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville, the then second Marquess of Buckingham and later first Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, at Stowe House, Buckinghamshire. As we have seen, Charles O’Conor included a long, but admittedly flawed description of the manuscript and its shrine in the appendix to the first volume of his ‘Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Stowe Library’.⁴⁷⁰ O’Conor’s catalogue was published privately over the course of two years, with the first volume appearing in 1818 and the second (as well as the aforementioned appendix to the first volume) in 1819.⁴⁷¹ The Catalogue is organised thematically, with manuscripts being grouped according to both their provenance and the nature of their contents. The first volume, after opening with ‘Oriental Manuscripts’, is mainly concerned with ‘Irish Manuscripts’ and ‘Manuscripts Relating to Ireland’, as well as ‘English History’, whereas the second volume contains categories such as ‘Ecclesiastical Manuscripts’, ‘Charters’ and ‘Parliamentary Records’. While the appendix to volume 1 is not so

⁴⁶⁷ The monastery had since been refounded as a local house of the canons regular of Saint Augustine.

⁴⁶⁸ See pp. 98-101 above.

⁴⁶⁹ See p. 100 above.

⁴⁷⁰ O’Conor, *Bibliotheca MS. Stowensis*, appendix to vol. 1 (1818-1819): 1-51.

⁴⁷¹ The appendix to volume 1 was thus printed separately from the first volume, presumably alongside volume 2, but was bound up with the first volume early on. It is now found attached at the end of volume 1, after the index. The second volume does not have an appendix.

organised and rather contains an unsorted mixture of manuscripts which would seem to belong to various categories found in the first volume, the Stowe Missal's inclusion in this particular appendix suggests that, in spite of the fact that it is evidently an ecclesiastical manuscript, it would have been included in the first volume (presumably under 'Irish manuscripts') if it had been found in the main body of the work.⁴⁷²

It is unclear why O'Connor chose to include the Stowe Missal in the appendix, rather than in the main body of the work and it has been suggested that this might have been due to the manuscript having remained unnoticed until shortly after the first volume had been printed,⁴⁷³ or that the Missal was but a recent arrival at Stowe.⁴⁷⁴ Whatever the case may be, it should be noted that there is no evidence for either hypothesis. O'Connor did not comment on the matter, nor did he do so for any of the other entries in his appendix. In addition, the appendix does not open with an introduction in which he might have set out his reasoning, nor is the appendix mentioned in the general introduction (or 'preface') to the catalogue, written in November 1817, where the structure of the main body of the catalogue is briefly explained.⁴⁷⁵ In general it may be noted that the entries in the appendix are very similar to those found in the main work, except that they do not appear to have been ordered in any particular way. Moreover, in spite of O'Connor's general silence, we should note that at least some of the entries in the appendix do, in fact, mention when their respective manuscripts entered the Stowe collection, meaning that there is no *a priori* reason to suppose that the Stowe Missal was a new arrival in 1819 solely because it was discussed in the appendix rather than in the main body of the work.⁴⁷⁶

As was mentioned in passing before, the Stowe Missal's entry is unusual within the appendix. Apart from standing out as being the first of forty-three entries, it is also exceptionally long, for

⁴⁷² This particular category ('Irish manuscripts') contains, for example, manuscripts containing (parts of) the Annals of Ulster (entry 45) and various collections of Irish saints' lives (e.g. entry 34), while the entries under 'Manuscripts Relating to Ireland' essentially consist of British histories of Ireland and administrative documents on Irish affairs.

⁴⁷³ O'Rahilly, "The History" (1928): 105.

⁴⁷⁴ Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): vii.

⁴⁷⁵ O'Connor, *Bibliotheca MS. Stowensis*, vol. 1 (1818-1819): i-xvi.

⁴⁷⁶ For example, it is stated in both entries XXX. and XXXVI. that the manuscripts described therein had been presented to the late first Marquess of Buckingham, who died in 1813, six years before O'Connor wrote his appendix. Another entry ('IX. to XXV.') is more specific still, mentioning that these particular items had been purchased by the first Marquess at a book sale in May 1801. Entry XXXVI. mentions that this manuscript was purchased by Lord Spenser at the Pinelli sale (ca. 1790) and was afterwards presented to the first Marquess. None of the other entries in the appendix include any account of the circumstances in which the manuscripts arrived at Stowe – possibly for want of knowledge – and this haphazard approach is in keeping with O'Connor's frequent silence on such matters in the main body of the work.

it runs to a full 51 pages within the 76-page appendix. O’Conor himself acknowledged this fact, stating that he had been “induced by the importance of this Missal, to exceed the limits of a catalogue in our account of it.”⁴⁷⁷ In spite of its length, O’Conor’s account is generally regarded as flawed, but in attempting to uncover something of the history of the Stowe Missal before its scholarly rediscovery in 1819, there is no avoiding his brief statement on the manuscript’s immediate provenance. In what has become the most frequently cited part of his entry, O’Conor wrote:

“One subject yet remains to be discussed relative to this Missal. How or where it was discovered, and to what monastery it belonged?... To these questions our reply is, that *it was discovered in Germany, by the late John Grace, Esq. of Nenagh, in Ireland, who was formerly an officer in the German service; that he died without leaving any memorandum respecting the monastery or library where it was found;* [italics mine] that in the continental wars, as well before, as since the French Revolution, many monasteries and libraries have been plundered by the soldiers of the contending parties, that their MSS. have been saved by their officers, and that several such MSS. have, in the course of the last fifty years, reached England.”⁴⁷⁸

There is nothing in the manuscript or its shrine either to support or refute these claims and we therefore only have O’Conor’s statement to go on.

Initially, this Continental provenance was generally accepted, even though O’Conor’s proposal for how the manuscript might have gotten there, namely as part of an early twelfth century donation by the king of Munster to the monastery of Ratisbon,⁴⁷⁹ had been rejected as early as Todd’s publication in the mid-nineteenth century, in light of the evidence of the inscriptions on the upper face of the shrine.⁴⁸⁰ The Continental hypothesis is found in all three main editions of the manuscript⁴⁸¹ and Warner, although noting that “there is not the slightest evidence to show when and under what circumstances [the Stowe Missal] left Ireland”,⁴⁸² attempted to develop the

⁴⁷⁷ O’Conor, *Bibliotheca MS. Stowensis*, appendix to vol. 1 (1818-1819): 51.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.*: 50.

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.*: 51.

⁴⁸⁰ Todd, “On the Ancient Irish Missal” (1856): 13-16. See pp. 98-101 above. Todd did otherwise accept O’Conor’s Continental provenance (Todd, “On the Ancient Irish Missal” (1856): 35).

⁴⁸¹ Warren and Stevenson, *Liturgy and Ritual* (2nd edition, 1987): 199, MacCarthy, “On the Stowe Missal” (1877-1886): 135, and Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): vii-viii and lvii-lviii.

⁴⁸² Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): lvii.

theory by suggesting that the aforementioned John Grace might have been one of the two members of that name mentioned in Sheffield Grace's 'Memoirs of the Family of Grace', namely John Grace (d. 1789), or John Dowell Grace (d. 1811).⁴⁸³

Matters turned when O'Rahilly published his 'History of the Stowe Missal', in which he rejected O'Conor's statement, arguing that:

“Most of what O'Conor says in the extract just quoted is obviously the merest surmise; and his one definite statement, viz. that John Grace discovered the Missal in Germany, is evidently based on hearsay, for there was no written evidence.”⁴⁸⁴

O'Rahilly instead contended that the manuscript had never left Ireland before it came to the library at Stowe House, and further suggested that the Marquess of Buckingham had most likely acquired the Stowe Missal through Richard Grace (d. 1801), the older brother of John Grace (d. 1789) and a relative of the second Marquess.⁴⁸⁵ O'Rahilly made his case on the basis of an attempt to link the Stowe Missal to a number of Early Modern descriptions of a manuscript said to have been discovered by one of the O'Kennedys of Lackeen Castle, near Lorrha, in the 1730s. O'Rahilly's hypothesis was largely accepted for most of the past century,⁴⁸⁶ but it was recently argued that the evidence for some of his arguments are less than certain,⁴⁸⁷ and it therefore seems worthwhile to revisit the matter entirely.

3.1.1. The Stowe Collection

The Stowe collection of manuscripts was, for the most part, assembled by George Nugent-Temple-Grenville, the first Marquess of Buckingham, who died in 1813 and who was father to the aforementioned Richard, second Marquess of Buckingham and later first Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. As may be learned from the introduction to the 'Catalogue of the Stowe manuscripts in the British Museum', which was published in 1895 following the transfer

⁴⁸³ Ibid.: vii-viii. Warner mistakenly referred to the 'Memoirs' as 'Memorials'. See pp. 146-148 below for a more detailed discussion of this hypothesis.

⁴⁸⁴ O'Rahilly, "The History" (1928): 105.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid.: 105-106. See also p. 149 below.

⁴⁸⁶ E.g. by Byrne, "The Stowe Missal" (1967): 39, Ó Riain, "The Shrine of the Stowe Missal" (1991): 286-287 and O'Neill, *The Irish Hand* (2014): 18.

⁴⁸⁷ Sharpe, Richard, "Medieval Manuscripts Found at Bonamargy Friary and Other Hidden Manuscripts", *Studia Hibernica* 41 (2015) 78-79.

of the collection into public ownership, the collection arose largely out of the purchase of three earlier collections: the Astle collection, the O’Conor collection and the Essex papers.⁴⁸⁸ The Catalogue notes that the Astle manuscripts were purchased in 1803-1804 and the Essex papers in 1808 and there is no reason to question these statements. However, the Catalogue must unfortunately have been mistaken when it declared that the O’Conor collection was acquired “soon after” the Astle purchase.⁴⁸⁹ For in fact, it would seem that George, the first Marquess, had already expressed an interest in the O’Conor collection during his second term as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1787-1789), when he attempted to persuade its original owner and compiler, the antiquarian Charles O’Conor of Belanagare (d. 1791), after whom the collection was named, to bequeath his manuscripts to the Royal Irish Academy in return for a pension.⁴⁹⁰ Although O’Conor (senior) appears to have initially consented to the transfer, upon his death the manuscripts passed to his second son, another Charles, instead.⁴⁹¹

The later Stowe librarian, Charles O’Conor, who was a grandson of the antiquarian via his first son Denis, had developed a taste for manuscript studies during his time at the Irish College in Rome, where he was trained as a priest, and appears to have retained access to the O’Conor collection while they were in the possession of his uncle.⁴⁹² At this time, during the 1790s, the Marquess must have remained in touch with the family, for he finally persuaded them to sell the collection to him personally in 1798.⁴⁹³ The later Stowe librarian initially appears to have been opposed to the transfer, but ultimately consented when the Marquess generously offered him a position at Stowe House both as librarian and as chaplain to his Irish-born, Catholic wife, Mary Elizabeth Nugent.⁴⁹⁴ Charles O’Conor therefore moved to Stowe along with his grandfather’s collection in 1798 and remained there until his retirement in 1827. In light of this, O’Conor must have been present while most of the Stowe collection was assembled, although it cannot be excluded that some early items had already been acquired before his arrival at Stowe.

⁴⁸⁸ Scott, Edward J.L. (ed.), *Catalogue of the Stowe manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. 1 (London 1895): iii-iv.

⁴⁸⁹ *Ibid.*: iii.

⁴⁹⁰ O’Sullivan, W., “O’Conor, Charles (1764-1828), Roman Catholic priest and scholar”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford 2009).
<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-20526> (accessed 21-02-2021).

⁴⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹² *Ibid.*

⁴⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

We may therefore conclude that although O’Conor did not offer much in the way of evidence to support his account, he would have been uniquely well-placed to have had first-hand knowledge of how the Stowe Missal came to be at Stowe, either, as O’Rahilly supposed, via his employers,⁴⁹⁵ or from personal experience. For given the timeframe, it would certainly be possible for O’Conor to have been personally involved in the manuscript’s acquisition, and, whatever flaws may be found in the remainder of his work, we should not lightly dismiss his account in this respect.

3.1.2. The Family of Grace

Unfortunately, it is far from clear when exactly the Stowe Missal and its shrine came to Stowe House. The manuscript was not part of any of the three major collections purchased by the first Marquess and must therefore have been a separate purchase, or, like a good number of other manuscripts in the catalogue, a gift. Returning to O’Conor’s statement, it is clear that he himself believed the manuscript had been “discovered in Germany by the late John Grace, Esq. of Nenagh, in Ireland”, whom he described as “formerly an officer in the German service”. Warner, as we have seen, argued that there were, in fact, two John Graces to whom O’Conor might plausibly have referred, namely John and John Dowell Grace.⁴⁹⁶ According to the aforementioned Memoirs by Sheffield Grace, the former had been an officer in the ‘Roman Imperial-Royal’, or ‘Austrian’ army of the Holy Roman Emperor Joseph II, until his death in the Siege of Belgrade on 21 October 1789, in the Austro-Turkish War of 1788-1791. John Grace was but 29 years of age at the time of his death,⁴⁹⁷ and it is unclear when exactly he joined the Austrian army: the Memoirs merely state that he had “entered the imperial guards at an early age, under the protection of his near kinsman, Francis Maurice count de Lacy”, whom he served

⁴⁹⁵ O’Rahilly, “The History” (1928): 105. In this, O’Rahilly may have been inspired by the preface to O’Conor’s catalogue, which was addressed to his employer and in which O’Conor stated that he had engaged upon the work “by your own orders, and under your own inspection” (O’Conor, *Bibliotheca MS. Stowensis*, vol. 1 (1818-1819): i). Whether this should be taken to reflect an active engagement on the part of the Marquess, or whether it was a mere turn of phrase cannot be established with certainty.

⁴⁹⁶ Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): vii-viii.

⁴⁹⁷ Grace, Sheffield, *Memoirs of the family of Grace* (London 1823) 64. It should be noted that this John Grace was Sheffield’s paternal uncle. While we may seriously doubt whether Sheffield Grace’s account, which has fairly been described as “fictionalized” (Gilbert, J. T. and Myfanwy Lloyd, “Grace, Sheffield (1788-1850), historian, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford 2020). <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-11182?rskey=OUdyH7&result=1> (accessed 22-02-2021)) is accurate in all of its particulars, we may assume that the general gist of it was nevertheless correct, barring evidence to the contrary.

as *aide-de-camp*.⁴⁹⁸ Afterwards, he obtained “the rank of captain of the carabineers”, before serving as *aide-de-camp* to various members of the aristocracy, and it was apparently in this capacity that he visited England in 1784,⁴⁹⁹ when he must have been some 24 years of age, suggesting that he may have already served for some time even at this early stage. On his final campaign, he was again to serve as *aide-de-camp*, this time to Karl Georg Lebrecht, “the reigning prince of Anhalt-Coethen”, whom he accompanied to the Siege of Belgrade,⁵⁰⁰ and who succumbed to a fever on 17 October 1789, just a few days before the death of John Grace.

John’s first cousin John Dowell Grace, was considerably older than the former and died on 25 April 1811, aged 75. Although the Memoirs are largely silent on his life and career, it may be surmised from a brief description in a pedigree that he had been “a captain of the Wirtemberg [sic] dragoons”, and that he had resigned this commission in 1776.⁵⁰¹ From his funerary inscription, it would appear that he served in “the German and Turkish wars”,⁵⁰² but what is meant by this is unknown, for he would have been too young to have taken part in the Austro-Turkish War of 1737-1739, and would have already have resigned his command by the time of the Austro-Turkish War of 1788-1791, in which his first cousin John Grace was to die. Eventually, John Dowell Grace was to inherit his paternal estate, which included Mantua House, Co. Roscommon, upon his elder brother’s death in 1785 and was afterwards generally known as John Dowell Grace, of Mantua House, Co. Roscommon.⁵⁰³

Whatever the particulars of their various tours of duties, which may have taken them anywhere within the Holy Roman Empire, but seem to have been focused on its southern, Catholic half, both John Graces could certainly be described as officers “in the German service”. It should, however, be noted that O’Conor’s reference was specifically to “the late John Grace, Esq. of Nenagh, in Ireland, *formerly* [italics mine] an officer in the German service”, and we may wonder whether this would not be a more fitting description for John Dowell Grace, who had

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid.: 107.

⁵⁰² Ibid.: *Translations* p. 4. The relevant part of the original inscription reads: QUI JVVENIS ADHVC MILITIAE DEDITUS ET TVRMÆ EQVITVM WIRTEMBERGENSIVM PRÆFECTVS SVB DVCIBVS AVSTRIACIS BELLVM CONTRA GERMANOS ATQVE TVRCAS INFERENTIBVS MVLTA CVM LAVDE MERVIT.

⁵⁰³ Notably, the O’Conor estate of Belanagare, where the Stowe librarian Charles O’Conor grew up, was but seven kilometres away from Mantua House (Sharpe, “Medieval Manuscripts Found at Bonamargy Friary” (2015): 78 n. 50) and it seems likely that O’Conor would have been at least vaguely familiar with the Graces of Mantua House.

resigned his commission early in his life and was comparatively recently deceased when O’Conor wrote his appendix, rather than for John Grace, who had died an officer, thirty years previously. Problematically, however, neither of them appears to have had any particular association with Nenagh.

Warner finally concluded that it was impossible to decide between the two aforementioned Johns, but reckoned that the Stowe Missal had been obtained “directly from some member of the Grace family”, noting that Richard, the second Marquess of Buckingham, was related to this family through his wife. Moreover, Warner, diverging from O’Conor’s account, suggested that the Marquess might have acquired the manuscript through Sheffield Grace, author of the *Memoirs*, with whom “he was on friendly terms” and who was “nephew to the John Grace who died at Belgrade”.⁵⁰⁴ While Sheffield, who would have been in his late twenties by the time O’Conor wrote his appendix, appears to have been personally acquainted with the second Marquess and dedicated the *Memoirs* to his wife, Anne Eliza,⁵⁰⁵ it should be noted that there is no evidence whatsoever to suggest that he had presented the Stowe Missal to the Marquess.

As we have seen, O’Rahilly developed a very different theory altogether, suggesting that O’Conor, rather than relying on personal recollection, had consulted his employer Richard, the Marquess, and that the latter had suggested “that the Missal had come from the Grace family and was connected with Nenagh, and that one of the family, John Grace, who had been an officer in the German service, might have acquired it on the Continent”, and that it was O’Conor who had confused the matter, by “wrongly” describing John Grace as “of Nenagh”.⁵⁰⁶ This is a serious accusation, for which O’Rahilly largely depended on his belief that the manuscript could be identified with an otherwise unknown O’Kennedy manuscript, the last certain mention of which referred to its passing into the hands of a Mr Dalton of Grenanstown.⁵⁰⁷ Given the time-frame, this Mr Dalton must either have been Edward Dalton, who was made a count of the Holy Roman Empire in 1777, or his eldest son, Peter Count Dalton, who resided at his estate of Grenanstown, Co. Tipperary.⁵⁰⁸ Grenanstown is located about 10 kilometres away from Nenagh, which was the most significant market town in the area, and this must be why O’Rahilly

⁵⁰⁴ Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): viii.

⁵⁰⁵ Grace, *Memoirs* (1823): dedication.

⁵⁰⁶ O’Rahilly, “The History” (1928): 105-106.

⁵⁰⁷ *Ibid.* : 106. For more on this hypothesis, see pp. 151-158 below.

⁵⁰⁸ For more on this, see the following entry in the Landed Estates Database, maintained by the National University of Ireland Galway’s Moore Institute:

<http://landedestates.nuigalway.ie/LandedEstates/jsp/estate-show.jsp?id=3471> (accessed 21-07-2020).

supposed the manuscript to have been “connected with Nenagh”. However, it should be noted that it is far from certain whether the Stowe Missal may actually be identified with this O’Kennedy manuscript.⁵⁰⁹

In addition, much like for Warner’s suggestion that Sheffield Grace might somehow have been involved, there is no evidence to support O’Rahilly’s contention that the Stowe Missal reached Stowe through Richard Grace, John Grace’s older brother and Sheffield’s father, apart from Sheffield’s claim that his father had been an avid book-collector.⁵¹⁰ Richard Grace, “a barrister who was MP for Baltimore in the Irish parliament (1790-97)”,⁵¹¹ appears to have been intimately familiar with Richard, second Marquess of Buckingham. According to the Memoirs, upon his death in 1801 the later Marquess (then still the Earl Temple) was in fact one of the two trustees to Richard Grace’s will,⁵¹² and Sheffield claims that his father, in his capacity as lawyer, had previously been of assistance to the Marquess’ wife, Anne Eliza, in a matter of litigation involving her paternal estate,⁵¹³ which had passed on to her following the death of her father James Brydges in 1789, when Anne Eliza was still a child. Moreover, Anne Eliza and by extension her husband Richard, the Marquess and O’Conor’s employer, were connected by blood to the Graces, and were in fact third cousins, sharing a great-great-grandfather with both Richard, John and John Dowell Grace in the person of William Grace (d. 1669).⁵¹⁴ However, even though Richard Grace may thus be said to have been familiar with the later second Marquess of Buckingham, this does not in itself establish that he would have been responsible for getting the Stowe Missal to Stowe.

Returning to the John Graces, it should be noted that the ties between Anne Eliza and the Graces, although thin from a modern perspective, and in spite of a substantial difference in rank,

⁵⁰⁹ See pp. 151-158 below.

⁵¹⁰ Grace, *Memoirs* (1823): 69. It should be noted that there is nothing *a priori* against the hypothesis that the manuscript was brought to Stowe by someone other than a John Grace, for O’Conor merely stated that John Grace had discovered the manuscript in Germany, not that he had presented it to the Marquess.

⁵¹¹ Gilbert and Lloyd, “Grace, Sheffield” (2020).

⁵¹² In particular, the Earl Temple appears to have been appointed in this capacity specifically in light of his connection to Richard Grace, with the other trustee being a relation of Richard Grace’s wife.

⁵¹³ Grace, *Memoirs* (1823): 79-80. Although the Memoirs are, as mentioned before (see p. 146, n. 497), not an altogether reliable source, we should note that Sheffield had dedicated the book to Anne Eliza, rendering it likely that an episode involving her person would have retained at least some semblance of truth.

⁵¹⁴ It may be added that Sheffield Grace was therefore a third cousin once removed of Anne Eliza and Richard, second Marquess of Buckingham and later first Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, as well as of their son, Richard Plantagenet, the later second Duke of Buckingham and Chandos.

would almost certainly have been fresh in the mind when O’Conor wrote his appendix. Anne Eliza’s maternal uncle, the childless Richard Gamon, had passed away only the year before – in 1818 – and apart from having previously served as guardian to Richard Grace’s children, Richard Gamon’s baronetage passed by special remainder to William Grace, Richard Grace’s eldest son and Sheffield’s brother.⁵¹⁵ Together with the second Marquess’ previous familiarity with John Grace’s brother Richard, this would combine to make it seem unlikely for O’Conor to have mistakenly assigned this particular John Grace to Nenagh. For although the Graces had, prior to the Irish Confederate Wars of the mid-seventeenth century, held estates near Nenagh, any such association would have long fallen into disuse by O’Conor’s time,⁵¹⁶ and it seems impossible for Richard, the Marquess, or his wife to have made such an error. Moreover, O’Conor’s long service as both chaplain and librarian to the Marquess and his parents would most likely have made him a relatively distinguished member of the household staff, and he may therefore have been at least vaguely familiar with some of the Graces himself.⁵¹⁷ Furthermore, as was briefly noted above, O’Conor had grown up at his grandfather’s Belanagare estate, which was but 10 kilometres from Mantua House, making it exceedingly unlikely for him to have accidentally referred to their owner, John Dowell Grace, as ‘of Nenagh’.⁵¹⁸

In light of this, we should at least entertain the possibility that O’Conor was not referring to either of the aforementioned Graces, whose relation to the Marquess of Buckingham had made them seem likely candidates to Warner and O’Rahilly. If O’Conor was actually referring to a real John Grace, Esq. of Nenagh, it may be of interest to note that there were in fact Graces, apparently unrelated to the Marquess and his wife, in Nenagh at the time, as may be surmised from a death notice in the Limerick Chronicle for 7 February 1821, in which the following is

⁵¹⁵ Grace, *Memoirs* (1823): 64.

⁵¹⁶ This historical connection with Nenagh may be traced back to 1567, when Oliver Grace received a royal lease to the lands of the Augustinian priory of Tyone outside Nenagh. In the late sixteenth century, the Graces built Carney Castle on these lands. The last member of the family to be called (amongst other things) “of Carney Castle” in the *Memoirs* was Oliver Grace’s grandson, Gerald Grace (d. 1642) – the great-great-great-grandfather of Richard, John and John Dowell Grace, as well as Anne Eliza – who was slain whilst serving under his uncle, Richard Butler, third Viscount Mountgarret, in the Irish Confederate Wars of 1641-1653. Subsequently, Gerald Grace’s estates were seized by the government and were not returned following the restoration of Charles II. By the late eighteenth-century, Carney Castle was in ruins and the newly built house at the site was occupied by the Nugents, before passing to the Frenches. (Grace, Daniel, *Portrait of a Parish: Monsea & Killodiernan, Co. Tipperary* (Nenagh 1996) 60-63, 71-72 and 118-121.)

⁵¹⁷ In this respect, it may be worth noting that Sheffield briefly mentions O’Conor in his *Memoirs* (Grace, *Memoirs* (1823): 79).

⁵¹⁸ See also p. 147, n. 503 above.

recorded: “Died – In Nenagh, aged 80 years, John Grace, Esq. universally regretted.”⁵¹⁹

Although this particular John Grace, Esq. cannot have been the “late John Grace” mentioned by O’Conor in 1819, it seems well possible that an as yet unknown namesake of his may have been the subject of O’Conor’s account.

While this is a somewhat unsatisfactory conclusion, it does, significantly, allow for the possibility that O’Conor, rather than having conflated the available evidence by mistake, as O’Rahilly suggested, may in fact have given us an accurate account of what was then known at Stowe about the provenance of the Stowe Missal. At any rate, the very specificity of the mention of Nenagh, coupled with the fact that O’Conor more generally remained silent on the provenance of the manuscript’s listed in his Catalogue, seems to suggest that this was not a random connection, but reflected a genuine belief about its supposed finder, John Grace.

3.1.3. The O’Kennedy Manuscript

Although we may reasonably question whether O’Rahilly was right to assert that O’Conor was mistaken in describing John Grace as being of Nenagh, the larger part of O’Rahilly’s hypothesis remains to be discussed. For, as we have seen, O’Rahilly did not believe the Stowe Missal to have been found on the Continent, but rather argued that it could be identified with a certain O’Kennedy manuscript, mentioned in a number of Early Modern sources, and which was finally in the possession of the aforementioned Mr Dalton of Grenanstown, near Nenagh, before it was moved to Stowe.⁵²⁰ If O’Rahilly was correct, the manuscript would therefore presumably have remained in Ireland for almost the entirety of its existence, barring a short British episode at Stowe House, Ashburnham Place and, briefly, in the British Museum during the nineteenth century.⁵²¹

O’Rahilly built his case on an unlikely source, namely by arguing that the titles, or prefaces prefixed in various manuscripts to the 1735 poem *Go Cúig roimh Luis dá ttugadh grásaibh Dé*

⁵¹⁹ Limerick Chronicle for 7 February 1821, retrieved from <http://www.limerickcity.ie/Library/LocalStudies/ObituariesdeathnoticesetcfromtheLimerickChronicle/1821/> (accessed 22-02-2021).

⁵²⁰ O’Rahilly, “The History” (1928): 105-106.

⁵²¹ See pp. 159-161 below for more on the manuscript’s later history.

by Aindrias Mac Cruitín of Moyglass, Co. Clare,⁵²² could be taken to allude to the Stowe Missal. O’Rahilly based his arguments on five manuscripts containing the poem that are now preserved in the Royal Irish Academy, extracts from which are appended to his article.⁵²³ These prefaces were intended to provide a context for the composition of the poem, by claiming that it was inspired by Mac Cruitín’s reading of a particular manuscript. For the sake of clarity, the following overview provides a brief rundown of all statements relating to the nature of this book found in these extracts:

The title of the book: in the first manuscript [1] mention is made of a *leabhar Ruadhain Lothra*, i.e. ‘the book of Ruadhán of Lorrha’, in the second and third [2-3] the book is left unnamed, in the fourth [4] it is called *Beatha Ruadháin*, i.e. ‘the Life of Ruadhán’ and in the fifth [5] *Beatha Ruadháin Lothra*, i.e. ‘the Life of Ruadhán of Lorrha’.

The book’s ownership: the book was said to have been [1] *a ttigh I Chinnéide, a ccontae Thiobraid Árann*, i.e. ‘in the house of O’Kennedy, in Co. Tipperary’, [2] *a ttigh Uí Chinnéide a Lothar a Lothra a ccontae Thobruid Aran*, i.e. ‘in the house of O’Kennedy in Lothar in Lorrha in Co. Tipperary’, [3] *is ag Úa Cinnéide do bhí an leabhar céadna*, i.e. ‘it is with O’Kennedy that the same book was’, [5] *a ttigh Ui Chinneide a ccontae Thiobaraid Aran*, i.e. ‘in the house of O’Kennedy in Co. Tipperary’; in the fourth manuscript [4] no mention is made of an owner or locality.

The book’s covering: in the first manuscript it is stated that [1] *Do bhí umorro fleasg práis air an leabhar ccéadna, 7 forfhógra sgríbhtha air gan an leabhar dfosguilt no go nfosglodh uaidh féin*, i.e. ‘there was, however, a brass rod on the same book, and a forewarning was written on it that the book should not be opened until it opened of its own accord’. Similarly in the second [2] it is said *Do bhí cúmhach práis air an*

⁵²² O’Rahilly, “The History” (1928): 102-105. The poem was edited by O’Rahilly, T.F., “Deasgan Tuanach: selections from modern Clare poets 3”, *The Irish Monthly* 53 (1925) 160-162, and has since also been edited by L. Ó Luaighnigh, *Dánta Andréis Mhic Cruitín* (Ennis 1935) 56-57.

⁵²³ O’Rahilly, “The History” (1928), 106-107. The manuscripts are: **1.** RIA MS 23 K 51 (p. 33), **2.** RIA MS 23 M 14 (p. 327), **3.** RIA MS 23 L 31 (p. 143), **4.** RIA MS 23 B 38 (p. 127) and **5.** RIA MS 23 G 20 (p. 292). O’Rahilly considered **1.** RIA MS 23 K 51 to be the earliest RIA copy of the poem, believed **2.** RIA MS 23 M 14 to be a 19th century manuscript, **3.** RIA MS 23 L 31 to be written by Seághain Mac Searradh c. 1790, **4.** RIA MS 23 B 38 to have been written by Séamus Ó Murchúghadh in 1779 and **5.** RIA MS 23 G 20 to have been written by Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin in 1786. O’Rahilly adds that the latter included a similar preface in another copy of the poem in RIA MS 23 C 8 (p. 230), accompanied by “a guess at the date [of the text], viz. *isin mbliadhain 1740*”, i.e. ‘in the year 1740’.

leabhair so & forfhógra scriobhtha ar gan é osguilt go noscolfadh uaidh féin, i.e. ‘there was a brass cover on the book and a forewarning was written on it that it should not be opened until it opened of its own accord’. The other manuscripts [3-5] do not mention a covering.

The book’s nature: the only manuscript to mention the book’s nature is [1], stating *As amhlaidh umorro do bí an leabhar sgriobhtha a ccló Gaedhalgadh, ciodh go ma Laidion é, oir ba leabhar didheachta no aifrin e*, i.e. ‘however, this is how it was: the book was written in Irish script, although it was in Latin, for it was a book of divinity or a missal.’

O’Rahilly supplements these statements with extracts from three other sources, the first two of which primarily add a few further, supposed details about the circumstances of the discovery. The first supplement comes in the form of a catalogue entry on RIA MS 23 L 31 (the manuscript referred to as [3] above), which was written around 1840 AD by Eugene O’Curry,⁵²⁴ and in which an explanation is offered for the preface to the aforementioned poem in that manuscript. Without offering any sources, O’Curry claimed that the book mentioned in the preface had been found built into the wall of “an ancient house or castle in Ormond, by one of the O’Kennedys”, which “turned out to be an ancient Irish vellum manuscript”. The manuscript was then deciphered by Mac Cruitín, after “the best Irish scholars of the neighbourhood” had failed to read it, and Mac Cruitín proceeded to write the aforementioned poem when he had returned home.⁵²⁵ The second supplement, which was written by Brian O’Looney and dates to around 1860 AD, seems rather farfetched, for it states that the O’Kennedy book had become “the principal theme of the wonder-tellers of the day” and had even been presented at Trinity College Dublin, where “no one... was able to decipher it”.⁵²⁶ O’Looney proceeded to claim that the mysterious book had in fact been written using Greek letters, but was in the Irish language; neither of which can be said to apply to the Stowe Missal.

From these various prefaces and the two nineteenth-century supplements O’Rahilly derived a single story, the general sense of which is that the O’Kennedys of Lackeen Castle, near Lorrha, possessed a book, which either could not, or should not be opened until it were to open of its

⁵²⁴ Sharpe suggested that it was written “about 1841” instead (Sharpe, “Medieval Manuscripts Found at Bonamargy Friary” (2015): 79).

⁵²⁵ O’Rahilly, “The History” (1928): 107-108.

⁵²⁶ *Ibid.*: 108.

own accord, and that once it did open, no one could read until Aindrias Mac Cruitín managed to.⁵²⁷ It should be noted that the earliest dated sources mentioned by O’Rahilly [3-5] are also the briefest ones, with just the third [3] including the claim that no one but Mac Cruitín was able to read the book, whereas the others [4-5] only mention his reading of the book, giving no further particulars beyond the book’s title and locality. That the manuscript had some sort of covering is only mentioned in [1-2] and is also left out of the supplements. The supplements mainly add details to the circumstances of the discovery by, as we have seen, stressing the unintelligible nature of the manuscript and offering suggestions as to how Mac Cruitín managed to succeed at reading the book, where others had failed, but these do not help materially in identifying the manuscript itself.

Curiously, no trace of a preface is to be found in the one autograph copy of the poem, which formed the basis for O’Rahilly’s edition of the poem.⁵²⁸ In spite of this, Pádraig Breatnach, who had discovered another attestation of the preface to the poem in a manuscript by Ó Floinn now preserved in Maynooth,⁵²⁹ argued that Mac Cruitín may well have pushed the idea that his poem had been inspired by his reading of the O’Kennedy manuscript.⁵³⁰ Breatnach argued that this would suggest that there may have been an oral tradition about the poem and the manuscript, underlying the various prefaces.⁵³¹ Whatever the case may be, we may note that the preface in the Maynooth manuscript includes much the same information as is found in the longer prefaces cited above. The preface reads:

*An leabhar iona raibh beatha Ruadhain sgriobhtha et o ar tharaing Aindrias adhbhar na línte thuas, do bhí fe chumdach prais a dtig I Chinneide réimhraithe, et do bhí d’órdughadh ar an gcumhdach soin gan an leabhar d’osgladh no go n-osgóladh uaidh féin.*⁵³²

“The book, in which the Life of Ruadhán was written and of which Aindrias had deduced the subject matter of the lines above, was in a brass cover in the house of the

⁵²⁷ Ibid.: 102-105.

⁵²⁸ O’Rahilly, “Deasgan Tuanach: Selections from Modern Clare Poets III”, *The Irish Monthly* 53 no. 621 (1925): 160-162.

⁵²⁹ Maynooth, MS B 11. The manuscript is dated to 1798 AD.

⁵³⁰ Breatnach, Pádraig A., “Oral and Written Transmission of Poetry in the Eighteenth Century”, *Eighteenth-Century Ireland / Iris an dá chultúr* 2 (1987) 63-64.

⁵³¹ Ibid.

⁵³² Ibid.: 63.

aforementioned O’Kennedy and it was ordered on the cover that the book was not to be opened until it opened of its own.”

O’Rahilly’s final supplemental source consists of an undated note in one of the Rossmore manuscripts which was first mentioned by Eóin Mac Néill.⁵³³ The note, which was apparently “written in an eighteenth-century hand”,⁵³⁴ offered O’Rahilly the aforementioned link to Mr. Dalton of Grenanstown, near Nenagh. The note reads:

“A book titled *Ughacht Ruagháin Lothra* [i.e. ‘Testament of Ruadhán of Lorrha’], formerly left in the family of the Kennedys of the parish of Laecaoin in the Co. of Tipperary and barony of Lower Ormond, now in the custody of Mr. Dalton of Grenanstown in the barony of Upper Ormond and s^d County. Said book once opened of itself and shut again. It is riveted, and wrote on the back forbidding any to open it. It is wrote in Irish.”⁵³⁵

It is immediately apparent that this note refers to the same manuscript as the prefaces, and its specific mention that it was then owned by Mr Dalton suggests that the manuscript was, in fact, real. However, it is not certain that this O’Kennedy manuscript should necessarily be the Stowe Missal.

In some ways, the descriptions match. The Stowe Missal could be described as riveted, for its shrine features a fair number of nails, with which the decorative metalwork was attached to the wood. Moreover, the manuscript itself might even be called riveted, in light of the nails which were driven through the lower face of the shrine and into the manuscript, presumably when the shrine was refurbished and the older face was reattached as the lower face of the shrine.⁵³⁶ Some of the prefaces mention a ‘forewarning’, which was written on the ‘brass covering’ or ‘rod’ which was said to have been found on the manuscript. The Stowe Missal certainly is not inscribed with any warning against opening it, but the manuscript was contained in a metal shrine featuring inscriptions.⁵³⁷ Whether the latter could have been (deliberately?) misinterpreted

⁵³³ Mac Néill, Eóin, “The Rossmore Manuscripts”, *Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge / The Gaelic Journal* 136 (Dublin 1902): 55-59.

⁵³⁴ O’Rahilly, “The History” (1928): 108-109.

⁵³⁵ *Ibid.*: 109.

⁵³⁶ See pp. 98-101 above.

⁵³⁷ See pp. 96-107 above.

to fit the tale told by the prefaces is uncertain,⁵³⁸ but we should note that these inscriptions may not have been highly intelligible to an Early Modern audience, both because of their archaic language and, in some cases, their damaged state.⁵³⁹ Finally, while the Stowe Missal was certainly not “wrote in Irish”, as was stated in the Rossmore note, unless this refers only to its Insular Irish script, the Stowe Missal does fit the description of [1], in which the O’Kennedy manuscript is described as being a Latin Missal, written in Irish script.

These apparent similarities sufficed to convince O’Rahilly that “the MS. which was in possession of O’Kennedy of Lackeen in 1735 is none other than our Stowe Missal does not admit of doubt”,⁵⁴⁰ but this seems to be stretching things. Half of the prefaces say no more than that the manuscript was owned by the O’Kennedys of Lackeen and that it was read by Mac Cruitín. In order to identify the O’Kennedy manuscript with the Stowe Missal, we are therefore forced to depend on the testimony of only a small number of Early Modern descriptions, the independence of which in terms of their transmission history is unknown and all of which seem to postdate Mac Cruitín’s reading of the manuscript by roughly half a century at least. In addition, at least some of the statements are plainly legendary, drawing on folk motifs on magical tomes and casting doubt on their general validity. Moreover, as was mentioned before, a positive identification requires us to assume that the inscriptions on the Stowe Missal’s shrine were somehow mistaken for a warning that the manuscript was not to be opened until it opened of its own accord. And while two of the prefaces make mention of a ‘brass cover’, and a third mentions that there was a ‘brass rod’ on the manuscript, the Stowe Missal shrine was made of silver and bronze, further weakening the case for identifying the Stowe Missal with the O’Kennedy manuscript.

Finally, while the O’Kennedy manuscript was variously referred to as either being the ‘Book’, ‘Life’, or ‘Testament’ of Ruadán of Lorrha, or containing the ‘Life of Ruadán’, the Stowe Missal did not contain any such document. The only way in which this can be reconciled would appear to be to assume that the Stowe Missal remained in or near Lorrha after the refurbishment

⁵³⁸ Such a misreading might have added an interesting twist to Mac Cruitín’s reading of the manuscript, especially given that his poem was of a prophetic nature.

⁵³⁹ See pp. 101-107 above. We should note that O’Conor, who was certainly acting in good faith, managed to seriously misinterpret some of these inscriptions in the early nineteenth century (O’Conor, *Bibliotheca MS. Stowensis*, appendix to vol. 1 (1818-1819): 2-3 and 8-9).

⁵⁴⁰ O’Rahilly, “The History” (1928): 104.

of its shrine in the late fourteenth century until the early eighteenth century,⁵⁴¹ and was either mistakenly or deliberately associated with St Ruadán due to the manuscript's location and its religious nature.⁵⁴² Moreover, given that the manuscript was held by the O'Kennedys, the fact that Ruadán was considered to be the patron saint of the O'Kennedys may have made such a connection all the more likely.⁵⁴³

In conclusion, while there is nothing in these early modern descriptions which militates against identifying the O'Kennedy manuscript with the Stowe Missal, the evidence is not particularly strong and there is no pressing need to make the connection either. The O'Kennedy manuscript *could* be the Stowe Missal, but only if we are willing to make a number of assumptions regarding the later history of the Stowe Missal, for which there is no independent evidence, and which go against the account of the one early modern witness who may actually have known something of how the manuscript came to be at Stowe: Charles O'Conor.

More problematic still is the remainder of O'Rahilly's argument, for he conjectured that the manuscript had not merely passed into local ownership following the dissolution of the monastery of Lorrha, but rather that the manuscript had been "hidden away in a place of safety in the locality", and that "[i]ts existence had long been forgotten when... it was fortunately discovered intact in its hiding place in the eighteenth century."⁵⁴⁴ Basing himself solely on the evidence of the aforementioned nineteenth-century catalogue entry by Eugene O'Curry, which, in addition to what was mentioned above, states that "a book was found built into the wall of an ancient house, or castle in Ormond, by one of the O'Kennedys", O'Rahilly argued that the Stowe Missal was discovered by John O'Kennedy (d. 1766) during the rebuilding of Lackeen Castle, for this particular O'Kennedy was given the epithet of "founder of Lackeen Castle" on

⁵⁴¹ In a practical sense, this would require the manuscript to have remained in Lorrha and have passed into the possession of a local owner after the dissolution of the monastery of Lorrha. Based on the fairly detailed account offered by O'Rahilly (O'Rahilly, "The History" (1928): 101-102), the latter seems to have finally occurred sometime in the early seventeenth century, for the last mention of a 'prior of Lorrha' in the Annals of the Four Masters was for the year 1599 when Seán mac Seáin mic Giollapátraicc Uí Ógáin was slain by one of the O'Kennedys. The entry reads: *Prioir Lothra i n-Urmhumhain .i. Sean, mac Seáin, mic Giollapátraicc Uí Óccáin do mharbhadh la druing do shiol c-Cinneittigh i mí Iul do shonnradh*, i.e. 'The Prior of Lothra in Ormond (John, the son of John, son of Gillpatrick O'Hogan), was slain by a party of the O'Kennedys in the month of July.' (AFM 1599; O'Donovan, *Annals of the Four Masters* (1856): 2094-2095.)

⁵⁴² Such an accidental, or perhaps deliberate, association reminds one of the suggestion made by Ó Riain that the Stowe Missal shrine may already have been referred to as the *scrín Ruadan* in the early twelfth century. See p. 127, n. 416 above.

⁵⁴³ Grace, *Portrait of a Parish* (1996): 64.

⁵⁴⁴ O'Rahilly, "The History" (1928): 102.

his tombstone.⁵⁴⁵ In support of his hypothesis, O’Rahilly raised the examples of the ‘rediscoveries’ of the Book of Lismore, the Domnach Airgid and the Book of Dimma, the first two of which had also supposedly been hidden away in old castles.⁵⁴⁶ However, as was argued by Richard Sharpe, evidence for any of these rediscoveries is lacking,⁵⁴⁷ and Sharpe argued that the notion of ancient manuscripts being found hidden in old buildings had in fact become “something of a topos” in early nineteenth-century Ireland.⁵⁴⁸ Moreover, Sharpe noted that O’Curry “had worked closely with the Book of Lismore in 1839 and 1840”, just prior to his writing of this catalogue entry on the O’Kennedy manuscript, and suggested that if this immurement episode “was not O’Curry’s own explanation... we should have to invoke some oral tradition not reflected in the manuscript headings”,⁵⁴⁹ an altogether unlikely scenario. In light of this want of any certain evidence, we should therefore reject the supposed immurement of the O’Kennedy manuscript and, by extension, the Stowe Missal as unfounded.

Returning to O’Conor’s Continental hypothesis, we must conclude that while there is no independent evidence to support it, there is no pressing need to reject it either. Unless we are willing to accept that the Stowe Missal can be identified with the O’Kennedy manuscript, on grounds which are no more certain, we must frankly admit that we do not know what happened to the Stowe Missal after its shrine was refurbished in the second half of the fourteenth century, and the manuscript may as well have been on the Continent as in Ireland by the Early Modern period. That the manuscript was owned by an otherwise unknown John Grace of Nenagh, who had served as an officer in the army of one of the states of the Holy Roman Empire, before it entered the Stowe Collection seems to have been the established opinion at Stowe in the early nineteenth century, and there is nothing inherently unlikely about this hypothesis. Whether this particular John Grace had in actual fact discovered the Stowe Missal in Germany, as per O’Conor, or had simply acquired it from some other source, seems impossible to determine with any degree of certainty, given that John Grace had “died without leaving any memorandum respecting the monastery or library where it was found”.⁵⁵⁰ In this respect, we should, perhaps, note that Nenagh is not particularly far from Lorrha, and closer still to Mr Dalton’s Grenanstown estate.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid.: 104.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid.: n. 5.

⁵⁴⁷ Sharpe, “Medieval Manuscripts Found at Bonamargy Friary” (2015): 64-70, 70-72 and 72-74.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid.: 82.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid.: 79.

⁵⁵⁰ O’Conor, *Bibliotheca MS. Stowensis*, appendix to vol. 1 (1818-1819): 50.

Although with regret, the only frank conclusion which may be drawn from this investigation into the rediscovery of the Stowe Missal is that we simply do not know what happened to the manuscript after the refurbishment of its shrine in the later fourteenth century. As Warner put it a century ago, “unless further light comes from some unexpected quarter the history of the MS. from that time until it came into the possession of John Grace must remain an absolute blank.”⁵⁵¹

3.2. The Later History of the Stowe Missal

While it remains unknown when exactly the Stowe Missal came to Stowe House, Buckinghamshire,⁵⁵² the manuscript and its shrine must certainly have been there when O’Conor wrote the Appendix to volume 1 of his Catalogue in 1819. Apart from the addition of a somewhat haphazard set of Arabic page numbers in the Stowe Missal’s final four quires, which were either the work of O’Conor, or had already been present in the manuscript when he engaged with it,⁵⁵³ there are no manuscript-internal traces of this time period. Moreover, apart from O’Conor, who followed up his Catalogue entry with the reproductions included in the second volume of his *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, published in 1825,⁵⁵⁴ there is no indication that any other scholar was afforded access to the manuscript while it was at Stowe. We may assume that the manuscript remained at Stowe until it was sold to Bertram Ashburnham, fourth Earl of Ashburnham, along with the remainder of the Stowe Collection, following the bankruptcy of Richard Plantagenet, second Duke of Buckingham and Chandos.

Several parties had, in fact, expressed an interest in purchasing the Stowe Missal (amongst the other Irish manuscripts within the collection), including Todd, who had been “commissioned to purchase such of the Irish MSS. as [he] might think most necessary” for the University Library of Trinity College, Dublin.⁵⁵⁵ Similarly, the Royal Irish Academy had placed funds “at the disposal of the Secretary for the purchase of manuscripts at the Stowe sale”.⁵⁵⁶ Meanwhile,

⁵⁵¹ Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): lviii.

⁵⁵² O’Rahilly’s contention that it was presented to George, the 1st Marquess of Buckingham, by Richard Grace, who died in 1801, was only ever likely if O’Conor had been referring to Richard’s younger brother, John Grace; a hypothesis which is rejected on pp. 149-151 above. Warner’s suggestion that the Stowe Missal may have been but a recent arrival at Stowe when O’Conor wrote his Catalogue, because it was included in the Appendix, rather than in the main body of the work, was similarly rejected as unfounded on p. 142 above.

⁵⁵³ See pp. 56-59 above.

⁵⁵⁴ See p. 96 above.

⁵⁵⁵ Todd, “On the Ancient Irish Missal” (1856): 3.

⁵⁵⁶ Fitzpatrick, “The Stowe Missal” (2007): 3, citing the *Royal Irish Academy Minutes* for 26 February 1849.

according to Todd, the Buckinghams had themselves approached the British Museum, offering to sell the entire collection, but the Museum “merely caused a proposition to be made as to the disposal *separately* of the Irish portion of the collection”, which was “met with prompt refusal”.⁵⁵⁷ In the end, the collection was thus sold privately to the Earl of Ashburnham, ahead of the Stowe auction.

The Earl generally refused access to his manuscripts, making an exception only for Todd, who had managed to secure permission to view the collection through the intervention of a mutual friend,⁵⁵⁸ and no further scholarly activity on the Stowe Missal seems to have occurred until the death of the Earl in 1878. Unlike his father, the fifth Earl of Ashburnham (also called Bertram), was less jealous of his manuscripts and allowed Warren to investigate the Stowe Missal within half a year of his father’s death.⁵⁵⁹ Warren was to make a number of trips to the library at Ashburnham Place in the following years,⁵⁶⁰ and was allowed to have photographs made of a number of pages, as well as to transcribe significant parts of the manuscript.⁵⁶¹ Warren’s publications were the first of a wave of considerable scholarly interest in the Stowe Missal, which was facilitated by the Earl’s decision to sell the Stowe Collection to the British government in 1883.⁵⁶² For with this, the Stowe Missal came into public ownership for the first time.

Following the sale, the manuscript and its shrine were initially transferred to the British Museum along with the remainder of the Stowe Collection, but it was soon decided to split the collection in twain, and “150 manuscripts which had a connection with Ireland” were given to the Royal Irish Academy, the Stowe Missal among them.⁵⁶³ Presumably at this stage, or shortly thereafter, a note was added to the back of the front cover of the manuscript, reading “Stowe MS. – Royal Irish Academy, 19 Dawson-St., Dublin – D II 3 – Ashburnham Collection.” A few decades later, in December 1903, a final modern hand entered Arabic folio numbers to the manuscript.⁵⁶⁴

⁵⁵⁷ Todd, “On the Ancient Irish Missal” (1856): 3.

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid.*: 4. However, it should be noted that Todd was not allowed to transcribe any part of the manuscripts.

⁵⁵⁹ Warren, Frederick E., “Irish Missals”, *The Academy* 15, 355 (1879) 124-125.

⁵⁶⁰ Warren, Frederick E., “Irish Missals”, *The Academy* 16, 393 (1879) 393-394, Warren, Frederick E., “Irish Missals”, *The Academy* 16, 397 (1879) 465, and Warren, Frederick E., “Irish Missals”, *The Academy* 18, 443 (1880) 278.

⁵⁶¹ Warren and Stevenson, *Liturgy and Ritual* (2nd edition, 1987), 207-248.

⁵⁶² Fitzpatrick, “The Stowe Missal” (2007): 3-4.

⁵⁶³ *Ibid.*: 5.

⁵⁶⁴ See pp. 56-59 above.

Shortly thereafter, Warner's collotype facsimile edition of the Stowe Missal's final four quires was published in 1906, rendering the manuscript considerably more accessible.⁵⁶⁵

The Stowe Missal has remained in the Royal Irish Academy, barring a brief return to the British Museum "for binding and repair" in the 1920s,⁵⁶⁶ and a brief excursion to Trinity College Dublin, where the manuscript was rebound in 1993-1994. The Stowe Missal was digitised by the Irish Script on Screen Project in 2002.⁵⁶⁷ In this digital facsimile edition, the manuscript was reunited with its shrine, which was transferred to the National Museum of Ireland in 1929,⁵⁶⁸ where it remains to this day. Finally, in 2020 Pádraig Ó Macháin of Universtiy College Cork made use of hyperspectral imaging techniques to make new scans of the Stowe Missal. Although the results are not yet available, it is hoped that these scans may shed new light on various obscured parts of the manuscript, especially those of its much stained final page (fo. 67v) containing the charms.

3.3. The Name of the Stowe Missal

As we reach the end of our investigation of the history of the Stowe Missal from its creation up to the present, a final topic remains to be discussed, namely the matter of the Stowe Missal's modern name.⁵⁶⁹ Although the manuscript has been referred to as the 'Stowe Missal' throughout this dissertation, it should be noted that other names have been suggested over the years, and it seems appropriate to briefly address this before we end our discussion. The first use of the 'Stowe Missal' was already in 1819, when O'Connor referred to the manuscript as such in passing.⁵⁷⁰ At that time, the name was purely descriptive and it may be noted that Todd, writing after the manuscript had entered the possession of the Earl of Ashburnham, largely avoided the name, preferring to call it 'the Missal' or 'the manuscript', and referring to it as 'the ancient Irish Missal, and its silver box, described by dr. O'Connor in his Catalogue of the Stowe manuscripts' in the title to his paper.⁵⁷¹ However, the name came into common use in the later

⁵⁶⁵ Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 1 (1906-1915).

⁵⁶⁶ Fitzpatrick, "The Stowe Missal" (2007): 6.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁹ That is to say, the name by which it is now generally referred to, rather than its official designation as Dublin, RIA MS D ii 3.

⁵⁷⁰ O'Connor, *Bibliotheca MS. Stowensis*, appendix to vol. 1 (1818-1819): 45. The entry on the Stowe Missal itself was headed *Missale et Rituale vetus Hibernicum*.

⁵⁷¹ Todd, "On the Ancient Irish Missal" (1856).

nineteenth century, and was, for example, used by Warren in his letters published in *The Academy* and in his *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, as well as by MacCarthy and Stokes. Ever since, the ‘Stowe Missal’ has been by far the most common and, in most publications, the only name for the manuscript.

However, starting from an early period, it has frequently been deemed unfortunate that the manuscript was named after the relatively short period in which it happened to be in the library of Stowe House.⁵⁷² O’Rahilly was first to suggest that the manuscript might “more fittingly” be referred to as ‘the Lorrha Missal’,⁵⁷³ after the place where it had spent most of the medieval period. This suggestion was never widely taken up, but the matter was touched upon by Ó Riain in his article on the Shrine. Ó Riain, as we have seen, believed the Stowe Missal to have originated at Lorrha, and, although he noted that it might be unwise to change the name at such a late stage, presumably in light of the confusion which might arise out of this, suggested a compromise ‘Stowe or Lorrha Missal’ as an alternative.⁵⁷⁴ Neither O’Rahilly’s original proposal, nor Ó Riain’s compromise ever really caught on, but both names are still used occasionally.⁵⁷⁵ Another alternative, the ‘Tallaght Missal’, appears to have been first introduced by Donnchadh Ó Floinn,⁵⁷⁶ but never gained much traction, although it was recently revived online.⁵⁷⁷

The main argument in favour of changing the manuscript’s name generally appears to be that it is unfortunate that the Stowe Missal was named not after its place of origin, or the place where it spent most of its existence, but rather after a place where it cannot have been for much more than half a century at most. This is a reasonable argument. However, it should be noted that there are in fact a few advantages to the ‘Stowe Missal’. First of all, rather than serving only to inform us that the manuscript spent a few decades at Stowe House, the name actually reveals most of the manuscript’s modern history. For it was as part of the Stowe Collection that the manuscript was moved to Ashburnham Place, the British Museum and, finally, the Royal Irish Academy. Moreover, it should be noted that the Stowe manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy

⁵⁷² E.g. Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): vii.

⁵⁷³ O’Rahilly, “The History” (1928): 95.

⁵⁷⁴ Ó Riain, “The Shrine of the Stowe Missal” (1991): 285, n. 5.

⁵⁷⁵ E.g. Fitzpatrick, “The Stowe Missal” (2007): 1.

⁵⁷⁶ Ó Floinn, Donnchadh, “The Integral Irish Tradition”, *The Furrow* 5, no. 12 (1954) 756-768: 761.

⁵⁷⁷ This was in a blog post by the Local Studies section at the South Dublin County Council’s County Library in Tallaght, entitled ‘The Book of Tallaght?’ (<https://localstudies.wordpress.com/2020/06/04/the-book-of-tallaght/>, accessed 22-02-2021).

“retain their original Stowe library” shelf marks,⁵⁷⁸ meaning that the manuscript’s present designation as MS D ii 3 makes sense only within the context of the Stowe Collection. Another advantage of the old name is that it may, in light of the uncertainty surrounding the Stowe Missal’s ultimate origins,⁵⁷⁹ serve as a neutral designation for the manuscript.

Finally, given that the Stowe Missal has now served as the general name for the manuscript for some two centuries and is therefore found in all publications on the subject, it is convenient to retain the name, lest we run the risk of confusing future scholars, who would then have to deal with the fact that one name is used in all older publications, whereas another is found in all later ones.⁵⁸⁰ This latter argument in particular suggests that the advantages of any new name would have to outweigh those of the old by a considerable margin in order to make the change worthwhile. While the ‘Lorrha Missal’ does have the benefit of referring to the place where the manuscript was enshrined and kept for at least four centuries, we have seen that the ‘Stowe Missal’ is not quite without its uses either, and it was therefore decided to retain the name for the purposes of this dissertation.

⁵⁷⁸ Fitzpatrick, “The Stowe Missal” (2007): 5-6.

⁵⁷⁹ See pp. 138-140 above.

⁵⁸⁰ Ó Riain’s compromise solution (see p. 162 above) must have arisen as an attempt to avoid this problem, but the ‘Stowe or Lorrha Missal’, while not inaccurate, seems an unwieldy name at best.

Conclusion

With that, we have reached the end of this thesis and our manuscript-based study of the origins and history of the Stowe Missal. Over the course of three chapters, we have seen that the Stowe Missal was not created all at once, but was created by a number of different scribes over an extended period of time. Moreover, contrary to general opinion, it was argued that the Stowe Missal's first quire, containing the Stowe John, was deliberately joined to the remainder of the manuscript when the original parts of its final four quires were being copied, rather than that it was bound up with the Stowe Missal at some later stage. The Stowe John is therefore the oldest part of the manuscript. In addition, it was shown that the leaves of the Stowe John were certainly trimmed at some point, and that there is reason to believe that the same may have happened to the original leaves of the remainder of the manuscript.

The Stowe Missal's Irish language texts, namely its Irish Tract on the Mass and its three Irish charms, were added by (one of) the manuscript's original scribe(s): either A, or A1. The Tract seems to have been entered along with the remainder of the manuscript's final four quires, while the charms appear to have been added over an extended period of time. The latter suggests that the Stowe Missal remained in the possession of its original scribe for some time after the initial phase of copying was done and scribe A, or A1, may therefore have been the manuscript's original intended user. In light of the Stowe Missal's likely presbyterial function, combined with the fact that scribe A may also have been responsible for copying the fragment of a monastic rule now known as *Fragmentum Augiense* 20, it seems possible that A was himself a monk-priest.

The original phase of copying must have occurred after 792 AD, in light of the inclusion of St Máel Rúain of Tallaght in a litany by scribe A, while the specific nature of the interlinear, correctional glosses on the Creed in the same hand establish that the manuscript must have either been copied after 796-798 AD, or that the Stowe Missal remained in the possession of its original scribe until after that point. The oft cited *terminus ante quem* of 812 AD must be rejected, but palaeographical and linguistic dating criteria combine to suggest that the Stowe Missal was made sometime before 850 AD. In light of the aforementioned close similarity of the script of the *Fragmentum Augiense* 20 to that of scribe A, the fragment, for which no independent dating criteria or provenance can be established, must almost certainly also have been made in the same period of time, and presumably at the same place.

Sometime after this original phase, it would seem that scribes B and C added a few rubrics to the manuscript before it came into the hands of Móel Caích. Móel Caích made a thorough revision of the Stowe Missal's first two quires, directly altering roughly half of the Order and Canon of the Mass. Going against general opinion, it was shown that there is no evidence to suggest that Móel Caích removed any original leaves from the manuscript.

Móel Caích's hand, which does not appear to be any later than the mid-ninth century, differs considerably from that of all earlier scribes, suggesting that the Stowe Missal had been moved to a different centre by the time he made his revision. Similarly, the vast differences in liturgical preference demonstrated by his activities also suggests a change of place. The close similarity of the script of Móel Caích and scribe E (and D, if D should be distinguished from Móel Caích) implies that the Stowe Missal then remained at this new centre for some time.

Taken together, this makes it unlikely that the Stowe Missal was made in Lorrha, where it was enshrined in the early eleventh century, probably sometime between 1026 and 1033 AD, for it would seem that the Stowe Missal was removed from its place of origin shortly after it was made. Whether the manuscript was made in Tallaght, as has long been suspected, is uncertain, for although it is possible, it does, for example, require us to explain how the Stowe John had come to be at Tallaght when the Stowe Missal was being copied, while both the Stowe John and the Dimma John, with which it is clearly related, would eventually turn up in Co. Tipperary in the later medieval period. In light of this, it was argued that the Stowe Missal could also have been made at a third, as yet unknown centre.

We have seen that the Stowe Missal remained in Lorrha at least until the late fourteenth century, when its shrine was refurbished sometime between 1371 and 1381 AD. A final, apparently later inscription added to the upper face of the shrine unfortunately remains unintelligible.

After this, the Stowe Missal disappears from view until 1819, when it had clearly become part of the Stowe Collection. It is unclear when and how the manuscript ended up in Stowe House, Buckinghamshire, for the sole contemporary account, that of the Stowe librarian Charles O'Connor, states only that it had been discovered in Germany by one John Grace, Esq. of Nenagh. Previously, it has generally been believed that O'Connor must have been referring to one of the John Graces related to the Marquess of Buckingham, but that he had referred to him as being 'of Nenagh' by mistake. However, in this thesis it was argued that O'Connor is unlikely to

have made such an error, and the very specificity of the mention of Nenagh suggests that O’Conor may have accurately related what was believed to be the manuscript’s provenance at the time.

Although there is no independent evidence to confirm O’Conor’s statement, there is nothing *a priori* to reject it either, for it was shown that the evidence for the generally accepted identification of the Stowe Missal with a certain O’Kennedy manuscript referred to in a number of late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century accounts and said to have been held at Lackeen Castle, near Lorrha, in the 1730s is not altogether persuasive. Moreover, the related immurement episode may now be firmly rejected. In conclusion, while we do not know whether the Stowe Missal was found in Germany before it was brought to Stowe, we do not know that it was anywhere else either.

In delineating what is and is not (yet) known about the history and origins of the manuscript, and frankly admitting the uncertainties involved in the matter, it is hoped that this thesis may be of use to anyone wishing to investigate the Stowe Missal, whether it be from a linguistic, liturgical, or, indeed, any other angle. Of course, much remains to be done and it may be that a more comprehensive linguistic analysis of the Stowe Missal Irish Tract on the Mass as well as the charms may allow us to fix the manuscript’s origins more firmly still, pushing it either closer to the beginning or the middle of the ninth century. Moreover, a full edition of the Irish Tract on the Mass, including the version contained in the *Leabhar Breac*, remains a *desideratum* and may tell us more about the ultimate origins of that particular text.

For now, however, let us end as Sonid / Dinos did so many years ago:

Deo gratias ago. Amen. Finit. Amen...

*Sanus sit qui scripsit et cui scriptum est. Amen.*⁵⁸¹

⁵⁸¹ Stowe John Colophon, fo. 11r19-24.

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Appendix 1: The Stowe John

Diplomatic transcription of the Stowe John (ff. 1r-11r)

1r1 ⁵⁸²	INP Rincipio
1r2	erat uer
1r3	bum etuer
1r4	bum erat
1r5	apud dñ
1r6	et dñ erat
1r7	uer bum
1r8	hoc erat
1r9	inprinci
1r10	pio apud dñ
1r11	omnia perip
1r12	sum facta su
1r13	nt ets;ne ⁵⁸³ ipso fa
1r14	ctum ÷ nihil q̄ factũ ÷
1r15	ineouita ÷ etuita erat
1r16	lux hominum etlux intenebrís ⁵⁸⁴
1r17	lucet ettenebrae eam ñōp̄chen
1r18	derunt ...,.
1v1	F uit homo misus adō cui nō erat iohañ hic uenit intestimonium uttes
1v2	timonium piberet delumine ut om̄s crederent p illum ñ † erat ille

⁵⁸² A marginal line of text, possibly a rubric, was largely cut away in the upper margin of fo. 1r, rendering it entirely illegible (see also the discussion on pp. 85-86 above). Apart from this, a further marginal gloss may be distinguished in the upper right corner of the page. Bernard argued that this gloss reads *7 mnm* (Bernard, "On the Stowe St. John" (1892-1896): 315), but only the first *m* is certain. A stain, found just to the right of Bernard's second *m*, may obscure part of the gloss.

⁵⁸³ In general, a following *i* written only slightly below *s* in the sequence *si* is not written subscript in this transcription. An exception was made in this instance because scribe J, unlike Sonid / Dinos, maintains a clear base line, allowing one to easily distinguish between ordinary and subscript letters.

⁵⁸⁴ Notably, the accent is placed directly over the vowel, whereas Sonid / Dinos generally placed it over the immediately following consonant. While this might be taken as a difference between scribes J and Sonid / Dinos, the lack of other available examples and the proximity of the decorated border in this instance make it impossible to establish the significance of this feature.

1v3 lux s̄ ut testimonium phiberet delumine . erat h̄ lux uera q̄ inlu
1v4 minat omnem hominem uenientem inhunc mundum inmundo erat 7
1v5 mundus p̄ipsum factus ÷ 7 mundus eum n̄ cognouit in pp̄ia uenit 7 sui eum
1v6 n̄ recipierunt q̄q̄t h̄ recipert̄⁵⁸⁵ eum dedit eis potestatem . filios dī fieri
1v7 his qui credunt̄ nomine 3 q̄i n̄ exsang^uinib; neq; exuoluntate uiri neq;
1v8 exuoluntate carnis s̄ ex dō nati s̄t̄ .. // am unigeniti apatre pleni grati
1v9 ET ūbum caro factū ÷ 7 habitauit innobis 7 uidimus gloriam 3 q̄s̄ glori
1v10 æ 7 ueritatis . iohannis testimonium phibet deipso 7 clamauit dc̄s Hic
1v11 ÷ deq̄o dixi . q̄i p̄o me uenturus ÷ ante me factus ÷ q̄ p̄ior me erat et deple
1v12 nitudine 3 noś om̄s accipim; gratiam p̄gratia . q̄ lex p̄moysen data
1v13 ÷ gratia h̄ 7 ueritas p̄ ihm̄ xp̄m̄ facta ÷ .. // et h̄ iohannis testimoniū
1v14 Dm̄ nemo uidit umq̄ nisi uniget; filius q̄i ÷ insinu patris ipse enarratit .
1v15 q̄n̄ miser̄t̄ iudei abhirusolimís sacerdotes 7 leuitas . adeum . ut in̄tro
1v16 garent eum tú q̄is es . 7 c̄fessus . ÷ 7 n̄ negauit q̄ n̄ sum ego xp̄s̄ . et in
1v17 t̄rogauer̄t̄ īf̄um q̄id ergo helias es . tú 7 d̄x̄ n̄ sum . p̄feta es tu . 7 res
1v18 pondit̄ n̄ . dixer̄t̄ ḡo ei . q̄is es dic nobis . ut responsum dem; his q̄i mise
1v19 runt nos q̄id dicis de té ipso . ait // s; fuer̄t̄ exfarisseis in̄trogaue
1v20 U ox clamantis indeseerto diregite uiam dn̄i s̄i d̄x̄ essaiaes p̄feta 7 qui mi
1v21 runt eum 7 dixer̄t̄ ei . q̄id ergo babtizas sí tú n̄ xp̄s̄ neq; helias . neq; p̄
1v22 feta . rēs̄ eis iohañ dc̄s̄ . ego q̄i dem babtizo uos in aqua medius h̄ uestrum
1v23 stat quem uos nescitis ille babtizauit uos insp̄u c̄s̄ n̄sum dignus soluere
1v24 coregiam calciamenti eius .. /// uidit . iohañ ihm̄ uenientem adsé ait
1v25 H̄ in bethania facta s̄t̄ t̄s̄ iordanen . ubi erat iohañ babtizans .. Al̄ta . die
1v26 ecce agnus dī ecce q̄i tulit peccatum . mundi . hic ÷ de q̄o dixi . p̄o uenturus
1v27 q̄i ante me fact; ÷ q̄ p̄ior erat me et ego nesciebam c̄m̄ . s̄ ut manifes
1v28 taret' plebi israhel p̄p̄t̄ ea ueni in aqua babtizans 7 testimonium .
1v29 phibuit . iohañ dc̄s̄ .. /// misit me babtizare in aqua ille mihi d̄x̄ .. sup
1v30 Q uidi sp̄m̄ discendentem . 7 manentem sup eum et ego nesciebam eum . s̄ q̄i
1v31 quem uideris sp̄m̄ discen.^{den}tem et manentem sup eum hic ÷ qui babtizat

2r1 insp̄u sc̄o 7 ego uidi et testimonium phibui q̄ hic ÷ elect; dī filius . ~
2r2 A ltera die stabat iohannis et ex discipulis 3 duo 7 respiciens ihm̄ am

⁵⁸⁵ The doubling of *p* and *-er-* must reflect some sort of dittography.

2r3 bulantem d̄x ecce agnus d̄i ecce qⁱ tulit peccatū mundi . et audier̄ eum
 2r4 duo exdiscipulis ꝛ loquentem 7 secuti s̄t ihm̄ conūsus h̄ ih̄s 7 uidens
 2r5 eos sequentes sé d̄x eis quid quæritis . qⁱ dixer̄ ei . rabbi q̄ in̄t̄p̄ ma
 2r6 gis̄t ubi habitas d̄x eis uenite 7 uidete uener̄t 7 uider̄t ubi maneret
 2r7 et ap̄ eum manser̄t die illo .. // dier̄t qⁱ abiohanne 7 secuti fuerant
 2r8 H ora h̄ erat qs̄t decima erat h̄ andrias frāt simonis petri qⁱ au
 2r9 eum inuenit hic pⁱmum fratrem suū simonem 7 d̄t ei . inuenim; messiã
 2r10 q̄ in̄t̄p̄ xp̄m̄ adduxit eum ad ihm̄ intuitus eum ih̄s d̄x simon fl̄s io
 2r11 na tú uocaueris chefas . q̄ in̄t̄p̄ petrus . incrastinum uoluit ire
 2r12 ī gali^ham 7 inuenit pilipum 7 d̄t ei . sequere me erat h̄ pilipus abethza
 2r13 ida ciuitate andriæ 7 petrum inuenit pilip; nathaniel 7 d̄t ei q̄ scrip
 2r14 sit moises inlege 7 p̄fetæ inuenimus ihm̄ filiū ioseph anathzā 7 d̄x ei nã
 2r15 A nathzareth pot ÷ aliquid boni eē dicit ei pilip; ueni 7 uide uidit ih̄s
 2r16 nathaniel uenientem adsé 7 d̄t deo ecce uir israheliticus inq^o dol;
 2r17 ñ ÷ d̄t ei nath̄ unde deme nosti . rēs ei ih̄s pⁱusq te uocaret pilip; cū
 2r18 esses sub fici arbore uidi té rēs ei nath̄ 7 ait ei . rabbi tues filius d̄i
 2r19 tues rex isrl̄ respondit ih̄s 7 d̄x . q̄ dixi uidi te subfico credis maius
 2r20 his uidebis . 7 d̄x eis . Amen dico uobis . uidebitis cælum aptū dentes su
 2r21 pra fl̄m hominis . // catus ÷ autem ibi 7 ih̄s 7 discipuli ꝛ adnuptias 7 di
 2r22 ET die t̄tia nuptiæ factæ s̄t in channan galiliæ et erat māt ih̄u ibi . uo
 2r23 ficiente uino d̄t māt ih̄u adeum uinum ñ habent et d̄t ei ih̄s quid
 2r24 mⁱ 7 tibi . ÷ mulier ñ dum uenit hora mea d̄t māt ꝛ ministris̄ q̄ cū
 2r25 q; dixerit uobis̄ facite . erant h̄ ibi lapideæ hidriæ sex possitæ
 2r26 secundum purificationem iudeōr̄ capientes singulæ metritas binas h̄ t̄
 2r27 nas d̄t eis ih̄s in̄plete hydrias .⁵⁸⁶ aqua 7 inpleuer̄t eas usq; adsummū
 2r28 7 d̄t eis ih̄s aurite nē 7 ferte architriclino et tuller̄t ut h̄ gustauit
 2r29 architrichinus⁵⁸⁷ aquam uinum factum 7 ñ sciebat uñ eēt ministri h̄
 2r30 sciebant qⁱ aurierant aquam uocauit sponsum architricli nus et
 2r31 d̄t ei . om̄n; homo pⁱmum bonum uinum pon̄t et cum inebriati fuerint .

⁵⁸⁶ The dot is uncertain, for it is very faint, but occurs exactly where one would expect a dot to appear if found underneath an *s* in this text.

⁵⁸⁷ Otherwise, the scribe writes this word with the expected *-cl-* (e.g. 2r28 *architriclino* and 2r30 *architriclinus*). This copying error can probably be explained as a misreading of the exemplar on the part of Sonid / Dinos, given the close visual similarity between *chi* and *cli*.

2v1 t̄c id q̄ deīus ÷ tú u^o reseruasti bonum uinum usq; adhué . // 7 credider̄
 2v2 H̄ fecit initium signoī ih̄s inchanna galileæ 7 manifestauit gloriam suā
 2v3 ī eum discipuli 3 .. post h̄ descendit capharnaum ipse 7 maī 3 7 fratres
 2v4 3 7 discipuli 3 et ibi manser̄ n̄ multiis dieb; .. et p̄pe erat pascha iu
 2v5 deoī 7 ascendit hirusolimā ih̄s . // dentes 7 cum fecisset qs̄i flagillum .
 2v6 ET inuenit intemplo uedentes boues 7 oues 7 columbas . 7 nummularios se
 2v7 defuniculīs omnes iecit detemplo oues q̄q̄ 7 boues . 7 nummularioī æs 7
 2v8 mensas sub ū tit 7 hiis q̄i columbas uendebant d̄x auferte ista hinc .
 2v9 7 nolite facere domum patris mei . domum negotiationis .. recordati .^{uo} s̄t
 2v10 discipuli 3 q̄ scriptum ÷ zelus dom; tuæ comedit me . // ih̄s 7 d̄x eis .
 2v11 R esponder̄ g^o iudei 7 dixer̄ ei . q̄ signū osdis nobis q̄ h̄ facis .. respondit
 2v12 soluite templum h̄ 7 intrib; dieb; excitabo illud . dixer̄ ergo iudei .
 2v13 quadragenta 7 sex annis . ædificatum . ÷ templum h̄ 7 tú trib; dieb; ex
 2v14 illud ille h̄ dicebat detemplo corporis sui . cum ergo surrexisseñt . amor
 2v15 tuis recordati s̄t discipuli . 3 . q̄ h̄ dicebat 7 credider̄ scripturæ 7 ser
 2v16 moni quem d̄x ih̄s . // eius uidentes signa 3 q̄ fa ciebat ipse h̄ ih̄s n̄
 2v17 C um h̄ esset inhirusolimis . inpasca indie festo multi credider̄ innoē
 2v18 credebat semet ipsum eis eo q̄ ipse nosset omnes et q̄ op; ei n̄ erat ut
 2v19 testimoniū piberet dehomine ipse # sciebat quid esset in homine
 2v20 E rat h̄ homo exfarisseis nicodim; noē p̄nceps iudeoī hic uenit ad
 2v21 eum nocte 7 d̄x ei rabbi . scim; q̄ adō uenisti magis̄ nemo # pot ÷ h̄
 2v22 signa facere q̄ tú facis . nisi fuerit dn̄s cum eo respondit ih̄s 7 d̄x ei .
 2v23 amen amen dico tibi nisi q̄s renatus fuerit denouo nonpot ÷ uide
 2v24 re regnum dī d̄f ad eum nicodim; qmō pot ÷ homo nasci cum
 2v25 sit senex numq̄d pot ÷ inuentrem matris ītato introire . 7 nasci
 2v26 R espondit ei ih̄s amen amen dico tibi nisi quis renatus fuerit . ex
 2v27 qua 7 spū scō n̄ pot ÷ introire inregnum dī q̄ natum ÷ excar
 2v28 ne caro ÷ et q̄ natum ÷ ex spū sp̄s ÷ n̄ mireris q̄ dixi . tibi opor
 2v29 tet uos nasci denouo sp̄s ubi uult spirat . 7 uocem 3 audis . s̄ nes
 2v30 cis unde ueniat 7 q̄ uadat sic ÷ omnis q̄i nat; ÷ exspū . respondit
 2v31 nicodimus et d̄x ei et qmō poss̄ h̄ fieri respondit ih̄s et dx ei tú es

 3r1 magis̄ isrl̄ 7 h̄ ignoras amen amen dico tibi q̄ q̄ scimus loq̄mur . et
 3r2 q̄ uidimus testamur et testimonium nost̄r n̄ acipistis . sí trena

3r3 dixi uobis 7 n̄ credistis qm̄o si dixero uobis . caelestia credetis . // lo
 3r4 ET nemo ascendit incaelum nisi qui decaelo descendit filius hoīs qⁱ ÷ incæ
 3r5 et sⁱ moyses exaltauit serpentem indeserto ita exaltari oportet
 3r6 filium hominis . ut omnis . qⁱ credit in ipso n̄ periat s̄ habeat ui
 3r7 tam æt̄nam . sic # dixit d̄s h̄c mundum ut filium suum unigenitū
 3r8 daret ut omnis . qⁱ credit in eum n̄ periat s̄ habeat uitam æt̄nā
 3r9 n̄ # misit d̄s filium suum inh̄c mundū . ut iudicet mundū s̄ ut salue
 3r10 t' mundus p̄ ipsum qⁱ credit in eum n̄ iudicat' . qⁱ h̄ n̄ credit iam iudi
 3r11 cat; q̄ n̄ credit innoē ungeniti . filii d̄i h̄ ÷ h̄ iudicium . qm̄ lux uenit
 3r12 inmundum 7 dilexer̄t homines magis tenebras . q̄ lucem erant # eōr
 3r13 mala opa omnis # qⁱ male agit odit lucem . 7 n̄ uenit ad lucem ut n̄ ar
 3r14 guant' opa qⁱ h̄ facit ueritatem uenit ad lucem ut manifestent' . o
 3r15 pa 3 q̄ indō s̄ facta . p^o h̄ uenit ih̄s 7 discipuli 3 iniudeam t̄ram 7
 3r16 illīc demorabat' c̄ e; s̄ 7 bap̄tizabat . // illic 7 adueniebant multi . 7
 3r17 E rat h̄ 7 ioh̄ bap̄tizans in en̄ n̄ iuxta salim q̄ aquæ multæ era^{nt}
 3r18 bap̄tizabant' .. n̄ dum # misus fuerat in carcerem iohannis . // 7 ue⁵⁸⁸
 3r19 F acta ÷ ergo questio ex discipulis . iohannis . cū iudeis depurificatione
 3r20 uenier̄t ad iohannem 7 dixer̄t ei rabbi . qⁱ erat tecum t̄s iordanen .
 3r21 cui testimonium p̄hibuisti . ecce hic bap̄tizat 7 om̄s ueniunt ad eum .
 3r22 respondit iohannis 7 d̄x̄ n̄ pot ÷ homo accipere qⁱcquam nisi datum .
 3r23 fuerit ei decælo .. ipsi uos mihi testimonium p̄hibetis q̄ dixerim uobis
 3r24 ego n̄ sum xp̄s s̄ q̄ misus sum ante illum . // gaudet p̄p̄f uocem sponsi h̄
 3r25 Q ui habet sponsam sponsus ÷ amicus h̄ sponsi . qui stat 7 audit eum gaudio
 3r26 g^o gaudium m̄m̄ inpletum ÷ illum oportet crescere me h̄ minui . qui de
 3r27 sursum uenit . supra om̄s ÷ qui ÷ de t̄ra de t̄ra ÷ 7 de t̄ra loq̄t' . qⁱ decælo .
 3r28 uenit supra omnes ÷ 7 q̄ uidet 7 audit h̄ testat' . 7 testimonium 3 nemo
 3r29 accipit . qⁱ accipit 3 testimonium . signauit q̄ d̄s uerax ÷ quem # misit
 3r30 d̄s ūba d̄i loq̄t' . n̄ # ad mensuram dat d̄s sp̄m̄ .. // h̄c uitam æt̄nam
 3r31 P ater dilegit filium et om̄a dedit in manum eius qui credit in filium

 3v1 Q uis h̄ incredulus ÷ filio n̄ uidebit uitam . s̄ ira d̄i manet sup̄ illum . ut
 3v2 ergo cognouit ih̄s q̄ audier̄t farisæi . q̄ ih̄s plures discipuli . discipulos . fa

⁵⁸⁸ An example of dittography.

3v3 cit . 7 bapuzat q iohan̄ quanq ihs̄ n̄ bapuzaret s̄ discipuli ε . // mariã
 3v4 R eliquit iudeam 7 abijt itum ingalileam . oportebat h̄ eum ts̄ire psa
 3v5 uenit g^o inciuitatem samariã q̄ d̄f sichar iuxta pd̄ium . q̄ dedit
 3v6 iacob ioseph filio suo . erat h̄ ibi fons . iacob . ihs̄ ergo fatigat; abitenere
 3v7 sedebat . sic sup fontem hora erat . q̄s̄ sexta uenit mulier desamaria au
 3v8 rire aquam . d̄f ei ihs̄ dá mihi bibere discipuli h̄ eius abierant inci
 3v9 uitatem . ut cibos emerent . d̄f ergo ei . mulier illa samaritana n̄ # co
 3v10 utunt' iudei samaritanís . respondit ihs̄ 7 d̄x ei . // ab eo 7 dedisset tibi
 3v11 SÍ scires donum d̄f 7 q̄s̄ ÷ qui d̄f tibi da mⁱ bibere tú forsitan petises
 3v12 aquam uiuam d̄f ei mulier dn̄e neq; inq^o aurias habes . 7 puteus
 3v13 altus ÷ un̄ ergo habes aquam uiuam numquid tú maior és pa
 3v14 tre nostro iacob . qⁱ dedit nobis̄ . puteum . 7 ipse exeobibit . 7 filii eius .
 3v15 7 peccora eius . respondit ihs̄ 7 d̄x ei . omnis qⁱ bibet exaqua hac sitiati
 3v16 itum . qui h̄ biberet exaqua quam ego dabo ei n̄ sitiet in æt̄num . s̄
 3v17 aqua quam ego dabo ei fiet in eo fons uítæ aquæ salientis . inuitam
 3v18 æt̄nam . d̄f ei mulier dn̄e dámihi hanc aquam . ut n̄ sitiam ne
 3v19 que ueniam huc aure d̄f ei ihs̄ uade uoca uir̄ tuū 7 ueni huc ..
 3v20 R espondit mulier 7 d̄x n̄ habeo uir̄ d̄f ei ihs̄ bene dixisti . q̄ n̄ habeo
 3v21 uir̄ quinq; # uiros habuisti 7 n̄c̄ quem habes . n̄ ÷ tuus uir̄ h̄
 3v22 h̄ uere dixisti . d̄f ei mulier dn̄e uideo q̄ pfeta es tú patres nostri
 3v23 in monte h̄ adorauer̄ 7 uos dicitis q̄ in hirusolimís ÷ locus ubi adora
 3v24 re oportet d̄f ei ihs̄ mulier crede q̄ ueniathora q̄n̄ neq; in mon
 3v25 te h̄ neq; in hirusolimís . adorabitis patrem uos adoratis . q̄ nes
 3v26 citis . nos h̄ adoram; q̄ scim; q̄ salus exiudeis̄ ÷ s̄ uenit hora
 3v27 7 n̄c̄ ÷ q̄n̄ ueri adoratores . adorabunt . patrem ī sp̄u 7 ueritate
 3v28 nam 7 pat̄ tales quærit eos qⁱ adorent eum insp̄u 7 ueritate
 3v29 oportet adorare . d̄f mulier // tiabit omnia d̄f ei ihs̄ ego .
 3v30 S cio q̄ misias uenit qⁱ d̄f xp̄s̄ cum ergo uenerit illenobis̄ adnun
 3v31 sum qui loquor tecum et continuo uenerunt discipuli eius⁵⁸⁹

4r1 ET miranbant' . q̄ cum muliere loqueret' nemo tñ d̄x ei q̄ q̄ris . aut quid lo
 4r2 queris cū ea reliquit ergo hydriam suam mulier 7 abiit in ciui

⁵⁸⁹ This -s offers a good example of Sonid / Dinos extending a letter horizontally in order to fill up a line.

4r3 tatem 7 d̄ illis hominib; uenite 7 uidete hominem qⁱ d̄x mihi om̄a
 4r4 q̄ cumq; feci numquid ipse ÷ xp̄s 7 exier̄t deciuitate 7 uener̄t adeum inf̄
 4r5 rogabant eū discipuli 3 dicentes . rabbi manduca ille h̄ d̄x eis ego cibū
 4r6 habeo manducare quem uos nescitis . discipuli g^o dicebant adinuicem
 4r7 numquid aliquis attulit ei manducare d̄x eis ih̄s . // uos dicitis . q̄
 4r8 M eus cibus ÷ ut faciem uoluntatem 3 qⁱ misit me ut p̄ficiam op; 3 n̄ né
 4r9 ad huc quatuor menses s̄t 7 mesis uenit . ecce dico uobis leuate oculos ues
 4r10 tros . 7 uidete regiones . q̄ alb^e s̄t iam ad mesem 7 qⁱ metet mercedem .
 4r11 accipiet 7 ō gragat fructū inuitam æt̄nam ut et quiseminat simul
 4r12 gaudeat 7 qⁱ metit . in h̄ # ÷ ūbum uerum q̄ alius ÷ qⁱ seminat 7 alius ÷
 4r13 qui metit . ego misi uos metere q̄ uos n̄ laborastis . alii laborauer̄t 7
 4r14 uos inlabores eō introistis . exciuitate h̄ illa multi crediderunt .
 4r15 in eum samaritanō p̄ptūbum mulieris . testimonium p̄bentis . q̄ d̄x
 4r16 mihi om̄a q̄ cumq; feci . cum uenissent ergo adillum samaritani roga
 4r17 uer̄t eum ut ibi maneret 7 mansit ibi duos dies . 7 multo plures . p̄pt̄ sermo
 4r18 nem eius . 7 mulieri dicebant . q̄ iam n̄ p̄t̄ tuam loquellam . credim; ipsi
 4r19 # audiuim; 7 scim; q̄ hic ÷ uere saluator mundi . // hibuit . q̄ p̄feta
 4r20 P ost duos h̄ dies . exit inde 7 abit ingalileam . ipse # ih̄s testimonium p̄
 4r21 insua patria honorem n̄ habet . cum ergo uenisset ingalileam exci
 4r22 per̄t eum galilei cum om̄a uidiss.^et̄ q̄ fecerat . in hirusolimis . indie
 4r23 festo 7 ipsi # uenerant indiem festum . uenit h̄ it̄um . in channa galilæ
 4r24 ubi fecit aquam uinum⁵⁹⁰ . // diset q̄ ih̄s adueniret de iudea ingali
 4r25 ET erat quidam regulus . c̄s filius infir mabat' . incafarnaum hic cum au
 4r26 leam abiit ad eum 7 rogabat eum ut discenderet 7 sanaret fili
 4r27 um 3 incipiebat # mori d̄x ergo ih̄s ad eum . nisi signa 7 p̄digia
 4r28 uideritis . n̄ creditis . d̄x ad eum regulus dn̄e discende p̄usq; mori
 4r29 at' . filius m̄s d̄x ei ih̄s uade filius tuus uiuit . credit homo ser
 4r30 moni quem dixit ei ih̄s 7 ibat iam h̄ eo discendente . serui ocur
 4r31 rerunt ei et nuntiauerunt ei dicentes qu; a filius eius u; ueret

⁵⁹⁰ The *-m* is extended by means of a decorative slant, of the kind which Sonid / Dinos more generally used in the final line of a page (see p. 66 above). Within the main body of the text, these decorative slants appear to have been used mainly ahead of breaks in the text (another example may be found in *galileam*, fo. 4v5), although this restriction is loosened towards the end of the text, where these decorations become more frequent. These slants should not be confused with subscript *i*, with which they are generally visually identical (cf. *u; ueret*, fo. 4r31).

4v1 IN interrogabat ergo horam ab eis in qua melius habuerat . 7 dixit
 4v2 ei . q heri hora septima reliquit eum febris . cognouit ergo pater
 4v3 q illa hora erat in qua dixit ei ihesus filius tuus uiuit . 7 credidit ipse
 4v4 7 dom; eius . tota h iherusalem . signum fecit . ihesus cum uenisset a iu
 4v5 dea in galileam .. // rusolimis . super pbatnica piscina q cognomina
 4v6 Post h erat dies festus . iudeos 7 ascendit ihesus hirusolimis . est h hi
 4v7 tur ebreice bethsaida quinque porticus habens . in hiis iacebat
 4v8 multitudo magna languentium . caecos claudos aridos paraliti
 4v9 cos expectantium . aquae motum . angelus h domini sudum temp; discen
 4v10 debat . in piscinam . mouebat aquam . 7 quicumq; ergo prior discendis
 4v11 set inatatoria pro motationem aquae . sanus fiebat alangore
 4v12 quo cumq; tenebat' . // sicut h cum uidisset ihesum iacentem . 7 cognouisset
 4v13 Erat h quidam homo . ibi . xxx et uni annos . habens in infirmitate
 4v14 q multus iam temp; habet dixit ei . uis san; fieri . respondit ei langui
 4v15 dus . domine hominem non habeo . ut cum turbata fuerit . mitat me in
 4v16 piscinam . dum uenio # ego alius ante descendit . dixit ihesus surge 7
 4v17 tolle grabatum tuum . 7 ambula 7 statim . sanus fact; ÷ homo .
 4v18 7 sustulit grabatum suum . 7 ambulauit erat h sabbatum . in
 4v19 illo die dicebant iudei . illi . qui sanus fuerat . sabbat ÷ non licet tibi
 4v20 tollere grabatum tuum . // 7 ambula interrogauerunt eum .
 4v21 Respondit eis qui me fecit sanum . ille dixit . tolle grabatum tuum .
 4v22 quis ÷ ille homo . qui dixit tibi . tolle grabatum . tuum 7 ambula . is .
 4v23 h qui sanus fuerat . effectus . nesciebat . quis esset . ihesus # declinauit
 4v24 t'bam constitutam . in locum . pro ea inuenit eum . ihesus in templo
 4v25 et dixit illi . ecce san; factus . es iam noli . peccare ne teterius tibi
 4v26 aliquid contingat . ab illo homo . 7 nuntiauit iudeis . q ihesus esset
 4v27 qui fecit eum sanum . propterea psequerantur iudei . ihm . q h faci
 4v28 ebat in sabato . ihesus h respondit eis . pater meus usq; modo opera
 4v29 tur 7 ego operor propterea ergo magis querebant eum
 4v30 iudei interficere q non solum . soluebat sabbatum . s 7 pater
 4v31 eius dicebat deum aequalem se facens deo respondo itaque ihesus
 5r1 et dixit eis amen amen dico uobis non pot ÷ filius . facere ase quicquid nisi

5r2 q̄ uiderit . patrem facientem . q;·c̄q;⁵⁹¹ # ille fecerit . h̄ eadem .
5r3 7 filius similiť facit . pať # dilegit filiũ . et õnia demonstraui .
5r4 ei . q;· 7 ipse facit . et maiora hiś demonstraui . ei . opa .. //
5r5 U t uos miremini . sⁱ # pať suscitāt . mortuos . 7 uiuificat . sic et
5r6 filius . quos uult . uiuificat . neq; # pať iudicat quemquã s̄ iudiciũ .
5r7 omē dedit filio . ut om̄s honorificent . filium . sⁱ honorificent patrem
5r8 Q ui n̄ honorificat filium . n̄ honorificat patrem . qⁱ misit illum .
5r9 amen amen . dico uobis . q qⁱ ūbum meum audit . 7 credit . ei . qⁱ misit me
5r10 hēt uitam æt̄nam . 7 in iudiciũ n̄ ueniet . s̄ t̄ssit amorte . // cem
5r11 A men . amen dico uobis . q uenit hora 7 n̄c ÷ q̄n mortui audient uo
5r12 filii dī . 7 qⁱ audi erunt uiuent . sⁱ # pať habet uitam . ī semet ipso .
5r13 sic dedit 7 filio uitam habere . ī semet ipso . 7 potestatem . dedit ei . 7 iu
5r14 dicitum facere q filius hois ÷⁵⁹² nolite mirari h̄ q uenit . hora in
5r15 qua omnes . qⁱ in monumentis s̄ audient uocem . 3 . 7 p̄cedent . qⁱ bo
5r16 na fecer̄ ī resurrec̄ uitæ . qⁱ u^o mala eger̄ ī resur̄ iudicii .
5r17 n̄ possum ego ame . ipso . facere . qⁱcq; sⁱ audio . iudico 7 iudicium .
5r18 m̄m uerũ ÷ // ego testimonium . phibeo dem testimō . m̄m n̄ ÷
5r19 Q uia n̄ q̄ ro uoluntatem meam . s̄ uoluntatem 3 . qⁱ me misit . sⁱ
5r20 ueť . alius ÷ qⁱ testimoniũ phibet deme et scio q ueť ÷ testimo
5r21 nium . q phibet deme . uos missistis . ad iohān 7 testimō p hibuit
5r22 ueritati . ego h̄ n̄ dico . ab homine testī s̄ h̄ dico . ut sal ui sitis . ille
5r23 erat . lucerna ardens . 7 lucens . uos h̄ uoluistis . exsultare . ad ho
5r24 ram . in luce . eius . ego h̄ . habeo . testimoniũ maius . iohanne . opa
5r25 # q̄ dedit . mⁱ pať ut p̄ficiam ea ipsa opa q̄ eo facio . testimō
5r26 phibent . de me . q pať me misit . 7 qⁱ misit me pať ipse . ipse
5r27 testimonium . phibuit deme . // 3 . n̄ habetis . ī uobis manens . q
5r28 Neq; egō . uocem 3 umq; audistis . neq; speciem 3 uidistis . et ūbum
5r29 quem misit . ille . huic uos . n̄ creditis . scruta mini . script'as . q uos
5r30 putatis . in ipsis uitam æt̄nam . habere . 7 ille s̄ q;· testimo
5r31 nium phibent deme et n̄ uultis uenire . ad me . ut uitam habeatis

⁵⁹¹ This is the first time the scribe uses *q;·* for *quae*, which is otherwise abbreviated *q̄* (see pp. 108 above). Hereafter the two are both used, although *q̄* continues to be favoured (in total: *q̄* is used 25 times and *q;·* 6 times in the Stowe John).

⁵⁹² The scribe left a noticeable gap in the line. This may reflect some defect of the vellum.

5v1 claritatem ab hominibus; non accipio . scognoui uos . q dilexionem dei
5v2 non habetis in uobis ego ueni in nomine patris . mei . 7 non accipistis me
5v3 si alius uenerit in nomine suo illum accipietis quomodo potestis . uos cre
5v4 dere quod gloriam ab inuicem accipitis . 7 gloriam . quae a solo
5v5 deo non queritis . nolite putare quod ego accusaturus sim . uos . a patre
5v6 trem . quod accuset uos . moyses . in quo uos speratis . si enim crederitis
5v7 moysi . crederetis forsitan . 7 michi . de me enim scripsit . si enim illius li
5v8 tis . non creditis . quomodo meis uobis creditis : // eum multitudine mag
5v9 nostri abiit . ihesus trans mare galileae quod tiberiades 7 sequebatur
5v10 na quod uidebant signa quae faciebat . super hiis quod infirmabantur .
5v11 subiit ergo in montem . ihesus 7 ibi sedebat . eum cum discipulis suis .
5v12 Erat enim proximum pascha dies festus; iudeorum // tudo . maxima
5v13 cum subleuasset . ergo ihesus oculos . suos . et uidisset . quod multi
5v14 uenit . ad eum dicit ad philippum . unum ememus . panes ut
5v15 manducent . hiis . hic enim dicebat . temptans eum . ipse enim scie
5v16 bat . quod esset facturus responsum ei . pilis denariorum dena
5v17 riorum panes non sufficiunt . eis ut unusquisque modicum . quod acci
5v18 piat . deus ei . unus ex discipulis . suis andreas fratrem simonis . pe
5v19 tri est puer unus; quod habet . u . panes . ordiarios . 7 duospisces . sed habet . quod
5v20 sunt in tantis . dixit ergo ihesus . facite homines . discumbere :~
5v21 Erat enim multum fenulum . in loco discumbentium ergo . uiri numero .
5v22 quatuor . u . milia accipit ergo . ihesus et cum gratias . egisset . distribuit
5v23 discumbentibus; similiter . et expiscibus; quantum uolebant . ut enim
5v24 in pleni sunt . dixit discipulis suis . collegite quae suprauerunt fra
5v25 gmenta neque plantae collegentur ergo . et inpleuerunt duodecim .
5v26 cofinos fragmentorum . ex quinque panibus; ordeaciiis . quod super fue
5v27 runt hiis qui manducauerunt . // quod hic . uere profeta quod
5v28 Illi ergo homines . cum uidissent . quod faceret . signum dicebant .
5v29 uenturus . in hunc mundum . ihesus ergo cognouisset . quod uenturi .
5v30 essent . ut raperent eum . 7 . facerent eum regem . // derunt
5v31 Fuit iterum in montem ipse solus . ut enim sero factum . discen

6r1 discipuli eius ad mare et cum ascendissent nauem uenerunt trans mare
6r2 Tineana . 7 tenebrae . iam facta est hora tertia 7 nondum uenerat .

6r3 adeos ih̄s . mare h̄ uento . magno flante exsurgebat . cum
6r4 remigrassent . g^o qs̄i stadia xxu . ā xxx . uident ih̄m ambulantē
6r5 sup mare et pximū nauī fieri . 7 timuer̄ ille h̄ d̄f̄ eis̄ . ego
6r6 sum nolite timere . uoluer̄ ergo . accipire eum . 7 innauī . 7 sta
6r7 tim . fuit nauis . ad̄fram inq̄ ibant . // erat . ibi nisi illa . una
6r8 A l̄ f̄a die turba q̄ stabat . t̄s mare . uidit . q̄ nauicula alia n̄
6r9 et q̄ n̄ troisset ih̄s cumdiscipulis̄ . suis̄ innauem . s̄ soli discipuli
6r10 3 abissent . aliā u^o supuener̄ naues atiberiade iuxta lo
6r11 cum . ubi manducauer̄ panem . grati as agentes . dn̄o cū g^o
6r12 uidisset . t'ba q̄ ih̄s n̄ esset ibi . neq; discipuli . 3 . ascender̄ na⁵⁹³
6r13 nauiculas . 7 uener̄ cafarnaū q̄rentes ih̄m 7 cū inuenissent
6r14 eum t̄s mare dixer̄ ei . rabbi . q̄n huć uenisti . rēs eis̄ ih̄s
6r15 ET d̄x̄ amenamen . dico uobis q̄ritis me . n̄ q̄ uidistis . signa s̄ q̄ man
6r16 ducastis expanib; 7 sat'ati estis . opamini . n̄ cib;ũ q̄i pit . s̄
6r17 q̄i n̄ p̄ manet inuitam . æt̄nam . quem filius hoīs uobis dabit .
6r18 h̄c # pat̄ signauit . d̄s dixer̄ ergo ad eum . q̄d̄ faciem; ut
6r19 opemur opa d̄i . rēs ih̄s 7 d̄x̄ eis̄ h̄ ÷ op; d̄i utcredatis . in eũ
6r20 quem ille dīx̄er̄ g^o ei q̄d̄ g^o tú facis signũ . ut uideam; 7 cre
6r21 damus tibi . q̄ oparis . / q̄re n̄ adduxistis eum . respon der̄
6r22⁵⁹⁴ U ener̄ igit' ministri . adpontifices . 7 farisseos . 7 dixer̄ eis̄ . illi
6r23 ministri . numq̄ sic locut; ÷ homo . sicut hic homo . respon̄ g^o .
6r24 eis̄ . pharissei . num q̄d̄ . 7 uos . seducti estis . num q̄d̄ . aliquis . ex
6r25 p̄ncipib; credidit ineum . ā exfarisseis̄ s̄ t'ba h̄ q̄ n̄ no
6r26 uit legem maladicti s̄t̄ . // ex ipsīs . num q̄d̄ lex nostra iudi
6r27 D i cit nico dim; ad eos . ille q̄i uenit . ad eum . nocte q̄i unus erat
6r28 cat hoēm nisi audierit p̄ius . ab ipso . 7 cognouerit . q̄d̄ faciat .
6r29 responder̄ 7 dixer̄ ei . numquid . 7 tú galileus . es . scrutare
6r30 7 uide q̄ pfeta agalilea n̄ surgit . 7 reũ si s̄t̄ un; q̄sq; in
6r31 domũ suam . ih̄s h̄ prexit . inmontem oliueti . et deluculo iřum

⁵⁹³ A probable case of dittography. The Vulgate reads *ascenderunt in nauiculas*, but it seems unlikely for *na* to have been a scribal error for *in*.

⁵⁹⁴ The ink of this line is notably faded. Curiously, this coincides with the first major gap in the text, halfway through Chapter 6 of the Gospel of John, and marks the point where the Stowe John stops being a complete copy of the Gospel (see pp. 67-73 above for a discussion of these gaps).

6v1 uenit intemplũ . 7 omnes popu lus uenit ad eum . 7 sedens docebat . eos .
 6v2 A d ducunt h̄ eum scri bæ 7 scribæ 7 fariš mulierem in al̄o
 6v3 dep̄ chensam . 7 statuer̄ eam in medio . 7 dixer̄ ei . magist̄
 6v4 h̄ mulier modo . dep̄ chensa ÷ inadulfio in lege h̄ moyses .
 6v5 man da uit . nobis h̄s modi lapidare . tú ergo quid dicis .
 6v6 H̄ h̄ dicebant temtantes . eum . ut possint accussare eum
 6v7 ih̄s h̄ inclinans . sé deorsum . degito suo . scribebat . in̄tram .
 6v8 cum h̄ pseuerarent . in̄rogantes eum erexit . sé . et d̄x
 6v9 sé . qⁱ s̄n peccato ÷ uest̄r . pⁱmus . iniⁱllam⁵⁹⁵ lapidem . mitat .
 6v10 ET iterum sé inclinans . scribebat . in̄tram audientes . h̄
 6v11 h̄c sermonem . un; p^o unum . exhibant . incipientes . aseniorib; .
 6v12 et remansit . ih̄s solus . 7 mulier in medio stans . erigens . h̄ .
 6v13 ih̄s d̄x ei . mulier ubist̄ qⁱ te . accussant . nemo té otemna
 6v14 uit . q̄ d̄x nemo dn̄e d̄x h̄ ih̄s ego te o demnabo . uade . 7
 6v15 amplius . iam no li . peccare . ītum g^o locut; ÷ ih̄s dicens .
 6v16 E go sum . lux mundi . qⁱ seq^t' me n̄ ambulauit intenebris . s̄
 6v17 habebit lucem uitæ . dixer̄ g^o . farisei . tú dete . ipso . testimoniũ
 6v18 perhibes . testimoniũ tuum n̄ ÷ uef̄ . respondit ih̄s 7 d̄x
 6v19 neq; me scitis . neq; patrem . m̄m sí me scieritis . for
 6v20 sitan . 7 patrem m̄m scieritis . h̄ ū ba locut; ÷ ih̄s . inga
 6v21 safi docens intemplo . 7 nemo adp̄chendit . eum . q̄ nec dum
 6v22 uenerat hora 3 . // moriemini . q^o ego uado uos . n̄ potestis .
 6v23 D̄x g^o ītum ihs . ego uado 7 quæritis me 7 in peccata uestra
 6v24 uenire . dicebant g^o iudei . int̄se nūqⁱd in̄fficiat semet ipsũ . q̄
 6v25 dt q^o ego uado uos n̄ potestis . uenire 7 dicebat eis . uos deor
 6v26 sum estis . ego desupniis . sũ . uos . demundo h̄ estis . ego n̄ sum
 6v27 de h̄ mundo . dixi . g^o uobis . q̄ moriemini in peccatis uestris . sí
 6v28 h̄ n̄ crederitis . q̄ ego sum . moriemini in peccato uestro .
 6v29 D icebant . g^o ei 7 tú qⁱs es . d̄x eis . ih̄s pⁱncipium . q̄ loquor uobis
 6v30 multa uobis . loqui . 7 iudicare . s̄ qⁱ misit me uerax . ÷
 6v31 et ego q; . audiui ab eo h̄ loquor inmundo . et n̄ cognouer̄

⁵⁹⁵ There is what appears to be a hooked dot over the *i* of *illam*. It is similar to the superscript *i* of *creduti* in fo. 8r24, where the superscript letter was added as a correcting gloss. On this basis, it is also transcribed as ⁱ in this instance, although its function is unclear (cf. the superscript *i* of *seperatim* in fo. 9v7, which has a much closer resemblance to an *i*).

7r1 q patrem . dñm eiſ dicebat . // cetis . q ego sum . 7 ame ipso . facio .
7r2 D ixit . ergo eiſ . ihs . cum ex altauerit . filium hominis . tē cognos
7r3 ni hil ſ sicut . docuit . mepater h̄ loquor 7 qⁱ me misit . mecum .
7r4 ÷ n̄ reliquit me solum . q ego q; placeta s̄ ei . facio semp .
7r5 h̄ illo loquente . multi credider̄ in eum dicebat . e^rgo ad eos .
7r6 ih̄s adeos . qⁱcredider̄ ei . iudeos . sí uos . p manseritis . 7 cognoscetis .
7r7 ueritatem . 7 ueritas liberauit . uos . // umquam . qⁱ mortu^us ÷
7r8 R esponder̄ ei iudei . semen abrachæ . sumus . 7 nemini seruimus .
7r9 7 p̄fetæ mortui s̄ . quem temet ipsum . facis . respondit . ih̄s
7r10 sí ego glorifico . me ipsum . gloria mea nihil ÷ pat̄ m̄s qⁱ glo
7r11 rificat . me q̄ uos dicitis . q d̄s nos̄ . ÷ 7 n̄ cognouistis eum . ego
7r12 h̄ noui eum . 7 sí dixero q n̄ scio . eum . ero similis uobiſ . mendax
7r13 ſ scio eum . 7 sermonem eius . seruo . abraham pat̄ uest̄ ex
7r14 sul tauti . ut uideret diem meum . 7 uidit 7 gauiss; ÷
7r15 D ixer̄ ergo iudei . quinquaginta annos . n̄ dum habes . 7 ab
7r16 racham uidisti . d̄x eiſ ih̄s amen amen dico uobiſ . an
7r17 te q abraham fieret . ego sum . tuller̄ ergo . ut
7r18 iecerent in eum ih̄s h̄ ascondit sé . et exit de templo .
7r19 C ognouit . ergo . turba multa exiud^eiſ . q illic . ÷ 7 uener̄ n̄ pp̄t̄ .
7r20 ih̄m tm̄ . s̄ utlaxar̄ . uiderent . quem suscitauit . amor
7r21 tuiſ . cogitauer̄ h̄ p̄ncipes . sacerdotum . ut lazarum
7r22 int̄ficerent . q multi pp̄t̄ illum . abibant . ex iudeiſ . 7
7r23 credebant . in ih̄m . // audisseⁿt . q uenit . ih̄s inhirusolima .
7r24 I n crastinũ . h̄ . turba multa q; uenerat . ad diem festum . cũ
7r25 accipier̄ ramos . palmar̄ dearborib; 7 p̄ cesser̄ in obiam
7r26 ei . 7 clamabant dicentes . ossanna benedict; qⁱ uenit inno
7r27 mine dn̄i rex israhel . // noli timere filia sion . ecce
7r28 ET inuenit . ih̄s as enum . 7 sedit . sup eum . sicut scriptum . ÷
7r29 rex tuus uenit . sedens sup pullum assinæ . // tē recor
7r30 H̄ n̄ cognouer̄ discipu li 3 p̄mum ſ qñ glorificat; ÷ ih̄s
7r31 datis̄ q h̄ scripta d^eeo . et h̄ fecerunt . ei testimonium

7v1 ergo phibeat turba q̄ erat . cum eo . quando lazar̄ uocauit .
7v2 de monumento . 7 suscitauit eum . amortuiſ . pp̄t̄ . ea . 7 obiam .

7v3 uenit ei . t'ba q̄ audier̄ eum . fecisse h̄ signum farissei .
 7v4 h̄ dix̄er̄ ad semet ipsos . uidetis . q̄ nihil p̄fecim; ecce mun
 7v5 dus tot; p^o eum abiit . erant . h̄ . gentiles . q̄dam . exhiis̄ . q̄ ascende
 7v6 rant . ut adorarent indie festo hií ergo accesser̄
 7v7 ad pilipum q̄i erat abezaida galileæ . 7 rogabant eũ .
 7v8 dicentes dnē uolum; ihm̄ uidere . uenit . pilip; 7 d̄f̄ andræ
 7v9 andrias . rursus . 7 pilip; dix̄er̄ ad ihm̄ // filius homin;is
 7v10 I h̄s h̄ . respondit . eis̄ . dicens . uenit hora ut clarificet'
 7v11 amen amen . dico uobis̄ . nisi granum . frumenti . cadens .
 7v12 in̄tram 7 mortuum fuerit . ipsum solum . manet .
 7v13 sí h̄ mortuũ . fuerit . multũ fructũ . adfert . // mam . su
 7v14 Q ui amat animam . suam . p̄ dat eam . 7 q̄i odit ani
 7v15 am . in h̄ mundo . in uitam æt̄nam custodit . eam . sí q̄is̄ .
 7v16 mⁱ ministrat . me sequatur et ubi sum . ego illic
 7v17 et mi nist̄ m̄s̄ erit . sí q̄is̄ mⁱ ministrauerit . honori
 7v18 ficauit . eum pat̄ m̄s̄ . // saluifica me et ex hora
 7v19 Nē anima mea turbata est . ut q̄d dicam . pater
 7v20 hac . s̄ pp̄t̄ ea ueni inhoram . h̄ h̄anc pater clari
 7v21 fica nō . tuum . uenit ergo . uox decælo . 7 clarificaui
 7v22 7 iñum clarificabo . turba ergo . q̄ stabat . 7 audie
 7v23 bat . dicebat tonitrum factũ . ÷ alii dicebant .
 7v24 angelus ei locut; ÷ respondit . ih̄s̄ 7 d̄x̄ . n̄ pp̄t̄
 7v25 me uox h̄ uenit . s̄ pp̄t̄ uos . nē iudicium ÷ mundi
 7v26 nē p̄nceps . h̄s̄ mundi . eicit' . foras . et ego si ex a'tat;
 7v27 fuero . a'tra omā tracham . ad me ipsum . h̄ h̄ di
 7v28 cebat . significans . q̄a morte esset . moriturus .
 7v29 R espondit ei . turba nos audiui; exlege . q̄ xp̄s̄ ma
 7v30 net in æt̄num . 7 qmō tú dicis . oportet . exalta
 7v31 ri filium hominis . quis ÷ iste filius . hominis . d̄x̄ .

 8r1 ergo eis̄ ih̄s̄ ad hué modicum . lumen inuobis̄ ÷ .:~
 8r2 A m bulate dum lucem habetis . ut n̄ tenebræ uos
 8r3 con p̄ chendant . 7 q̄i ambulat intenebris̄ . nescit
 8r4 quo uadit . dum lucem habetis . credite . in lucem

8r5 ut filii lucis . sitis . h̄ locut; ÷ ih̄s 7 abiit . 7 ab scondit .
 8r6 sé abeís . cum h̄ tanta signa fecisset coram eís .
 8r7 n̄ credebant ineum . ut sermo essaiaē p̄fetæ in
 8r8 pleretur quem d̄x dn̄e q̄s credi d̄t auditui nos
 8r9 tro . 7 brachium dn̄i cui reuelatum ÷ // noē tuo .
 8r10 P rop̄tea n̄ p̄tant credere .⁵⁹⁶ pat̄ sce ɔserua nos . in
 8r11 q̄s dedisti m̄i ut sint . unum . sicut 7 nós . cum essem .
 8r12 cum eís . ego seruabam eos . in nomine tuo . quos dedisti
 8r13 mihi . custodiui . 7 nemo ex eís p̄it . nisi filius p̄ ditionis
 8r14 ut scriptura inpleat' . nunc h̄ adtē uenio . 7 h̄ loquor
 8r15 in mundo . uthabeant gaudiū magnū inpletū inipsis̄ .
 8r16 ego dedi eís . sermonem meum 7 mundus . odio eos . habuit
 8r17 q̄ n̄ s̄ demundo . sicut et ego n̄ sum . demundo . n̄
 8r18 rogo ut tollas eos demundo s̄ ut serues eos á
 8r19 malo . de mundo non sunt s̄i 7 ego n̄ sum . demun
 8r20 do . sc̄i fica eos . inueritate sermo tuus ueritas .
 8r21 ÷ sicut me missisti in mundum . et ego missi eos . in
 8r22 mundum 7 p̄ eís . ego sc̄i fico . me ipsum . ut sint 7 ipsi
 8r23 sc̄i ficati . inueritate . n̄ p̄ h̄is rogo tantum
 8r24 s̄ 7 p̄ eís qui creduturi sunt . p̄ ū bum eorū
 8r25 in me ut omnes . unum sint . si cut tú pat̄ . in me
 8r26 ET ego . in te . ut 7 ipsi in nobis̄ . unum sint . 7 mundus cre
 8r27 dat . q̄ tú me missisti . 7 ego claritatem quam de
 8r28 disti mihi . dedi eís . ut sint unum sicut nos unū
 8r29 sumus . 7 ego ineis̄ . 7 tú in me ut sint consum ma
 8r30 ti in unum 7 cognoscat mun dus q̄ tú me missisti . et

 8v1 dilexisti eos . sicut me dilexisti pater quos dedisti .
 8v2 mihi uolo ut ubi sum ego . 7 illi sint . mecum . ut
 8v3 uideant . claritatem meam . quam dedisti mihi .
 8v4 quia dilexisti me . ante constitutionem mundi .
 8v5 P ater iuste . 7 mundus te . non cognouit . ego h̄ te

⁵⁹⁶ Apart from this single dot, there is nothing in the MS to indicate the gap of several chapters of the Gospel which occurs between *credere* and *pater*.

8v6 cogno ui . 7 hii cogno uerunt . quia tú missisti . et
8v7 notum feci eis . nomen tuum . 7 notum faciam
8v8 ut dilectio qua dilexisti me in ipsiis sit . et ego .
8v9 H̄ cum dixisset ih̄s egressus ÷ cum discipuliis . suis . t̄s
8v10 tor rentem cedron . ubi erat hortus . in quem intro
8v11 iit . ipse 7 discipuli . eius . /// eum . ꝑcessit . 7 d̄f̄ eis .
8v12 I h̄s itaq; sciens omnia quæ uentura erant . sup
8v13 quid quæritis . responderunt . ei . ih̄m nazarenũ
8v14 dicit eis ih̄s ego sum . stabat h̄ . 7 iudas . qui tra
8v15 debat . eum cū ipsiis . ut ergo d̄x̄ eis ego sum ab ier̄
8v16 retrorsum . 7 cicerunt . interram . īf̄um ergo
8v17 eos in̄tro gaudit . quem quæritis . illi h̄ dixerunt . ih̄m
8v18 nazarenum . respondit ih̄s dixi uobiis q̄ ego sum . sí
8v19 Ergo . me quæritis . sinite hos abire ut impleatur
8v20 sermo quem . dixit . ih̄s q̄ quos dedisti mihi . non ꝑdidi
8v21 ex ipsiis quem quam . // ꝑcussit principis seruum
8v22 SI mon ergo petrus . habens gladium . eduxit eum . et
8v23 et abscidit eius auricu lam . dex̄tam . erat h̄ . nō
8v24 seruo melchus . dixit ergo ih̄s petro mite gladi
8v25 um tuum inuaginam . // illum . cohors ergo .
8v26 C alicem quem dedit mihi pater nonuis bibam
8v27 et tribu nus 7 ministri iudeorum . conꝑchender̄t̄
8v28 et adduxerunt eum ad annam ꝑ'mum erat . # socer

9r1 caifae . qui erat . pontifex anni illius . // ih̄u in atriũ .
9r2 Discipulus h̄ ille erat . notus pontifexis . et introit . cum
9r3 pontificis . petrus h̄ stabat . ad hostium foris . dixit ergo
9r4 petro ancilla ostiaria num quid 7 tú exdiscipuliis es
9r5 hominis istius . dicit illi n̄ sum . // et calefaciebant . erat .
9r6 Stabant . h̄ serui . et ministri . adprunas . q̄ frigus erat
9r7 h̄ cum eis . petrus . stans . 7 calefacens . sé . pontifex h̄ in
9r8 terrogauit . ih̄m dediscipuliis suis . 7 dedoctrina eius
9r9 Respondit . ei . ih̄s . ego palam . locutus sum . mundo . ego sem
9r10 per docui insinagoga 7 in templo . quo omnes . iudei . conue

9r11 niunt . et inoculto . loquutus . sum⁵⁹⁷ nihil . // quutus . sum
 9r12 Q uid . me . in̄rogas . in̄roga eos . qui me audier̄ quid lo
 9r13 ipsi s̄ . ecce hii . sciunt . q; dixerim . ego . H̄ h̄ cum dixisset .
 9r14 unus . adsistens . ministrorum dedit . alapam ih̄u dicens .
 9r15 sic respondes . pontifici . // demalo . si h̄ bene . q̄d me cedis .~
 9r16 R espondit . ei . ih̄s si male loquutus . sum . testimonium phibe
 9r17 accipier̄ ergo . corpus . ih̄u 7 ligauerunt eum linteis̄ .
 9r18 cum aromatib; s̄i mo s̄ iudeis̄ ÷ sepelire . erat . h̄ in loco .
 9r19 ubi crucifixus . ÷ hort; 7 in orto . mo numentum . nouum .
 9r20 nouum⁵⁹⁸ . in quo n̄ dum . q̄sq̄ possitus . erat . ibi ergo prop̄t
 9r21 parascuen . iudeo r̄ q̄ iuxta erat . monumentum posuer̄ ih̄m̄ .
 9r22 U na h̄ sapat̄i . maria magdalenæ . uenit . mane cum ad
 9r23 huc tenebræ . essent . ad mo nu mentum et uidem lapidē
 9r24 sublatum amonumento . // discipulum quem amabat .
 9r25 C urrit . ergo 7 uenit . adsimonem . petrum et ad aliū
 9r26 ih̄s et d̄r̄ eis tulerunt dn̄m demonumento . et nes
 9r27 cim; ubi posuerunt eum . exit ergo petrus . 7 ille alius .
 9r28 discipulus . et uenerunt admonumentum currebant

 9v1 h̄ duo simul et ille alius discipulus . p̄currit . citius . pe
 9v2 tro . et uenit p̄us . admonumentū . et cumsē inclinas
 9v3 set . uidit . possita linteamina non tamen introi
 9v4 uit . uenit ergo . simon . petrus . seque^{ns} . eum . et introiuit .
 9v5 in monumentum . et uidit lintiamina possita . et so
 9v6 darium . q̄ fuerat sup̄ caput . eius . n̄ cum lintiaminib;
 9v7 possitum s̄ seperatu^m . inuolutum in unum locum
 9v8 T̄c ergo . introibit . et ille discipulus . qui uenerat . p̄mus
 9v9 admonumentū 7 uidit . et credit . n̄ dum # sciebant
 9v10 scripturam . q̄ oporteret . eum . amortuis̄ resurge
 9v11 re . abier̄ ergo . ad semet ipsos . discipuli . // ergo . fleret
 9v12 Ma ria h̄ stabat . admonumentū . foris . plorans . cum .

⁵⁹⁷ Note the marked increase in the use of decorative slants from here on, coinciding with a steady increase in the amount of space between the lines, as the number of lines per page decreases near the end of the quire (see p. 66 above).

⁵⁹⁸ Another apparent case of dittography.

9v13 inclinavit . sé . 7 ꝑspexit . inmonumentũ . 7 uidit duos . ange
 9v14 los . inalbis . sedentes unum . adcaput . 7 unum . adpedes .
 9v15 ubi possitum fuerat . corpus ihũ // dñm̄ meum et
 9v16 Di cunt . ei . mulier . quid ploras . dicit eis̄ . quia tullert̄
 9v17 nescio ubi possuerunt . eum h̄ cum dixisset . conūsa ÷
 9v18 retrorsum . 7 uidit . ihm̄ . stantem . 7 ñ sciebat . q̄ ih̄s ÷
 9v19 Di cit . ei ih̄s mulier quid ploras . quem quæris . illa exis
 9v20 timans . quia hortulrnus⁵⁹⁹ ÷ dicit ei . dn̄e sí tú sustulisti
 9v21 eum dic cito mihi . ubi possuisti . eum et ego eum tollã
 9v22 dicit ei ih̄s maria . cum conuersa illa dicit . ei . ebrei
 9v23 cæ . rab boni . q̄ d̄r magis̄ bone . et occurrit . uttan
 9v24 geret . eum dicit . ei ih̄s noli me tangere . non dum
 9v25 # ascendi . adpatrem meum . uade h̄ . adfratres
 9v26 meos . 7 dic eis̄ . ascendo . adpatrem . meum . et patrem
 9v27 uestrum et ad d̄m̄ meum 7 d̄m̄ uestrum uenit maria

 10r1 magdalenæ et nuntians . discipulis̄ . q̄ uidi dn̄m̄ et h̄ d̄x̄ m̄ⁱ
 10r2 C um esset . ergo . sero die illo . una sabbatō . 7 fores . essent .
 10r3 clussæ . ubi erant . discipuli . ꝑpter metum . iudeorum
 10r4 uenit . ih̄s 7 stetit in medio . 7 dixit eis̄ . páx uobiscũm̄ .
 10r5 et hoc cum dixisset . osten dit eis̄ . manus . 7 latus . suũ .
 10r6 G auissi s̄t ergo . discipuli . uiso dn̄o dicit eis̄ ergo . īfũm̄ . páx
 10r7 uobis̄ . h̄ cũ dixisset insuflauit . 7 dicit eis̄ . accipite sp̄m̄
 10r8 sc̄m̄ . Quor̄⁶⁰⁰ remisertis peccata remitent' . eis̄ . quorum
 10r9 re^thueritis . detenta s̄t :~ // cum eis̄ . uenit ih̄s ianuis̄
 10r10 ET post dies octo . īfũm̄ erant . discipuli . ei^us intus . 7 tomas .
 10r11 clausis̄ . 7 stetit in medio . 7 d̄x̄ eis̄ . pax uobiscũm̄
 10r12 deinde dicit t^home infer degitum tuum . huc et
 10r13 uide manus meas . et ad fer manum tuã 7 mite

⁵⁹⁹ This copying error, involving *r* for expected *a* (Vulgate *hortulanus*), may indicate that the script of the exemplar wrote *r* without a long descender, allowing *r* to be confused with other letters.

⁶⁰⁰ This *q* is one of only four or five capital letters used within a line in this text, with all other enlarged initials being found to the left of the textual column, along with the *A* of *Amen* in fo. 10v26, the *R* of the illuminated opening *INP Rincipio* in fo. 1r1, the *F* of *Finit* in fo. 11r19 and, perhaps, the *R* of *Rogo* in 11r20, if the latter is also taken to be found within a line.


10r14 inlat; meum . 7 noli eē incredulus . s̄ fidelis . respoñ
 10r15 thomas . 7 d̄x̄ ei. dn̄s m̄s 7 d̄s̄ meus . dicit . ei . ih̄s . q̄ uidisti
 10r16 7 credidisti beati q̄ⁱ me n̄ uider̄f̄ 7 credider̄t̄ ..
 10r17 M ulta q̄ⁱdem 7 alia signa fecit . ih̄s in̄spectu discipulo
 10r18 rum suorum quæ n̄ s̄f̄ scripta in libro . hoc .
 10r19 h̄ h̄ scripta s̄f̄ ut credatis . quoniam ih̄s ÷ xp̄s̄
 10r20 filius . d̄i . 7 ut credentes . uitam . æt̄nã . habe^{at}is . in noē
 10r21 eius . p^o ea manifestauit . sé īt̄um . ih̄s ad mare tibi
 10r22 adis . manifestauit h̄ . sic erant . simul . simon .
 10r23 Pe trus 7 thomas q̄ⁱ d̄f̄ dedimus . dedimus⁶⁰¹ . et nathanel
 10r24 q̄ⁱ erat achannan galilæ . 7 alii . ex discipulis eius . 7 filii .
 10r25 zebedei . dicit eis simon . petrus uado piscari . dicunt
 10r26 ei uenimus 7 nos tecum exierunt . 7 ascenderunt innauē .

 10v1 ET illa nocte nihil coeperunt . mane h̄ iam facto . stetit ih̄s
 10v2 in litore n̄ tm̄cogno nouer̄⁶⁰² discipuli . q̄ ih̄s ÷ dicit ergo .
 10v3 eis . ih̄s pueri . num quid pul mentarium habetis . respon
 10v4 derunt ei . n̄ d̄x̄ eis ih̄s mitite indext̄am . partem nauis . re
 10v5 te 7 inueniens . // ū bo h̄ tuo . mitemus . miser̄t̄ ergo .
 10v6 Dixer̄t̄ h̄ p̄ totam . noctem . laborantes . nihil cæpimus in
 10v7 etiam n̄ ualebant . illud trahere a multitudine pisciū
 10v8 U t ergo . discender̄t̄ in̄tr̄am . uider̄t̄ prunas . possitas . et
 10v9 piscem . sup̄ possitum . 7 panem : dicit eis . adferte . depis
 10v10 cib; quos con̄p̄chendistis . nunc . // magnis piscib; q̄s̄
 10v11 A scendit simon . petrus . 7 traxit rete in̄tra plenum
 10v12 cl et .iii. et cum tanti . essent . n̄ ÷ scissum . rete :~
 10v13 dicit eis ih̄s uenite p̄andite et nemo audiebat
 10v14 ex discipulis . in̄t̄rogare eum . tu . q̄ⁱs . es . scientes . q̄ dn̄s . eēt
 10v15 ET uenit ih̄s 7 accipit . panem . 7 dat eis 7 piscem similī .
 10v16 h̄ iam tertio . manifestatus ÷ ih̄s discipulis .
 10v17 cum ressurexisset a mortuis . cum ergo prandis

⁶⁰¹ The word was most likely repeated by mistake and is therefore probably another example of dittography.

⁶⁰² An example of dittography.

10v18 sent . dicit simoni . petro . ih̄s simon . iohannis dile
 10v19 gis me plus h̄iis etiam dn̄e tú sc̄is quia amo . té
 10v20 di cit ei . pasce agnos meos . // etiam dn̄e tú sc̄is .
 10v21 D icit . ei . iterum . simon iohannis . dilegis me dicit .
 10v22 quia amo te dicit ei . pasce agnos meos . dicit ei .
 10v23 tertio simon iohannis . amas . me . contritatus
 10v24 est . petrus . q̄ d̄x̄ ei . tertio . amas . me . 7 dicit ei . dn̄e
 10v25 tú om̄ nia sc̄is quia amo . te // esses iunior .
 10v26 D icit ei . pasce oues meas Amen dico tibi quia cum

 11r1⁶⁰³ cingebas té 7 ambulabas . ubi uolebas . cum h̄ senueris .
 11r2 extendes manum^s tuas 7 alius te cinget et ducet⁶⁰⁴ quo n̄
 11r3 uis̄ . tú . hoc h̄ . d̄x̄ significans . quo morte clarificatu
 11r4 rus . esset . d̄m̄ . 7 hoc cum dixisset . dicit ei . sequere
 11r5 me . conū sus petrus . uidit illum discipulum quem
 11r6 dilegebat . ih̄s sequentem . sé . qui 7 recumbuit . incena
 11r7 supra pectus . eius . et dicit dn̄e quis est qui tra
 11r8 det té et hunc ergo . cum uidisset . petrus dicit .
 11r9 ih̄u dn̄e hic h̄ quid dicit . ei . ih̄s sic̄ eum uolo mane
 11r10 re . donec ueniam . quid adté tú me sequere exi
 11r11 ibit ergo . sermo iste inter fratres . q̄ discipulus .
 11r12 ille n̄ moritur non dixit ei . ih̄s non moritur
 11r13 sed sic̄ eum uolo manere donec uenio quid adté .
 11r14 H ic ÷ discipulus . qui testimonium perhibet de h̄is .
 11r15 et scripsit haec et scim; quia uerum est testimoni
 11r16 um eius sunt h̄ et alia multa quæ fecit .
 11r17 ih̄s . quæ sí scribantur per singula nec ipsū
 11r18 arbitror mundum capere eos . qui scribendi sunt
 11r19 libros :~ dō gratias . ago . amen . Finit . amen
 11r20 Rogo qui cumque hunc librum legeris . ut memine
 11r21 ris mei peccatoris . scriptoris .i.  pere

⁶⁰³ Notably, this is the only page of the Stowe John on which there are no visible prickings.

⁶⁰⁴ There is a hook somewhat resembling the Tironian note 7 underneath the *d*, but this is probably meaningless.

11r22 grinus amen sanus sit qⁱ scripsit . 7 cui scriptũ ÷
11r23 amen⁶⁰⁵

⁶⁰⁵ Bernard contended that there are “faint traces of three or four lines of writing, apparently in Irish character” at the end of fo. 11v, which he referred to as fo. 12v, underneath the portrait of the Evangelist (Bernard, “On the Stowe St. John” (1892-1896) 315). He himself noted that they were “so indistinct that they have hitherto escaped notice, and it seems unlikely that they will ever be deciphered” (ibid.). Given that there is no trace of any such writing on the high-resolution images now available and that no other scholar after Bernard has ever made mention of these lines, it seems likely that Bernard was mistaken, unless the manuscript has deteriorated.

Diplomatic transcription of the Dimma John: Chapter 1 (p. 105-107b11)

105.1 ⁶⁰⁶	INP RINCIPIO
105.2	erat uerbũ et uerbũ
105.3	erat ap̄ dm et d̄s erat
105.4	uerbum . h̄ erat in ⁱ nc̄
105.5	pio ap̄ d̄m̄ . Omnia p̄ ipsũ
105.6	facta s̄ et sine ipso factũ
105.7	÷ nihil q̄ factum ÷ inipso
105.8	uita ÷ et uita erat lux ho
105.9	minum et lux intenebris lu
105.10	cet et tenebrae eã ñ ap̄chender̄ .)
105.11	Fuit homo missus ad̄o cui n̄o
105.12	erat iohannis hic uenit
105.13	intestimoniũ ut testimoniũ
105.14	phiberet delumine ut omnes crederent p̄ illum . ñ
105.15	erat # ille lux s̄ ut testimoniũ phiberet delum̄ne
105.16	ERAT h̄ lux uera q;· inluminat omnem hominem
105.17	uenientem in h̄c mundũ in h̄ mundo erat et mun
105.18	dus p̄ ipsum factus ÷ et mundus eum ñ cognouit
105.19	INsua pp̄ ^a uenit et sui eum ñreciperunt q̄ q̄ h̄
105.20	reciperunt eum dedit eis potestatem filios d̄i fieri
105.21	h̄is qui credunt inn̄oe 3 q ⁱ ñ exsanguinib; neq; exuolu
105.22	ntate carn _{is} ñeq; ⁶⁰⁷ exuoluntate uiri s̄ exd̄o nati sunt
105.23	ET Uerbũ caro factum ÷ et habitauit innob̄is et uidi
105.24	mus gloriam 3 gloriam q̄si unigeniti apatre pleni
105.25	gratiae et ueritatis . IOhannis testimoniũ p̄ hibet de
105.26	ipso et clamat dicens . Hic ÷ q̄ dixi uob̄is q ⁱ p ^o me uenturu _s ÷
105.27	q ⁱ añ me factus ÷ q̄ p̄ ⁱ or me erat et deplenitudine 3 n̄os

⁶⁰⁶ A rubric reading *iohannis* was added above the first line, possibly by the original scribe.

⁶⁰⁷ The combination of the unexpected and unnecessary abbreviation stroke over the *n*, the unusual shape of that letter, and the fact that the subscript *s* of the previous word *carnis* was added below the subscript *i* suggests that the scribe made some kind of an error in copying this phrase. The error appears to have been instantly corrected, for space was left for the subscript *s* in the line below.

105.28 omnes accipim; gratiam ꝑgratia q lex ꝑ moisen data ÷
 105.29 gratia h̄ et ueritas ꝑ ihm̄ xp̄m . facta est ;)

 106a1 Dm̄ nemo uidit umq nisi uni
 106a2 genitus filius qⁱ ÷ insinu pa
 106a3 tris ipse en arrabit et h̄
 106a4 ÷ testimoniũ iohannis qñ
 106a5 misserunt iudei abhiruso
 106a6 limis sacerdotes et leuitas
 106a7 adeum ut int̄rogarent eũ
 106a8 tú qⁱs es et ofessus ÷ et n̄ neg
 106a9 auit q n̄sum ego xp̄s ET int̄ro
 106a10 gauerunt eum numquid g^o
 106a11 helias es tú . et d̄t̄ n̄sum ꝑfeta
 106a12 es tu et res̄ . n̄ . Dixert̄ g^o ei
 106a13 tú qⁱs es utresponsum dem;
 106a14 his qⁱ misserunt nos quid di
 106a15 cis deté ipso ait . Ego uox cla
 106a16 mantis indeserto . Parate
 106a17 uiam dn̄i sⁱ d̄x̄ . issaias ꝑfeta
 106a18 ET qⁱ missi fuerant ex pharis
 106a19 eis infrogauer̄ eum et dix
 106a20 erunt ei quid g^o batizas sí
 106a21 tu n̄ es xp̄s neq; helias neq;
 106a22 ꝑfeta . res̄ eis iō dc̄s ego qⁱdē
 106a23 babtizo uos in aqua medi;
 106a24 h̄ urm̄ stat q̄ uos nescitis
 106a25 ipse ÷ qⁱ p^o me uent'us ÷ qⁱ añ
 106a26 me factus ÷ c̄s ego n̄sum dig
 106a27 nus ut soluam corregiam
 106a28 calciamenti ꝓ h̄ in bethan;a
 106a29 facta s̄t̄ t̄s̄ iordanen ubi er
 106a30 at iō . babtizans .

106b1⁶⁰⁸ AL̄ta die uidit iohannis ihm̄
106b2 uenientem adsé et ait ecce
106b3 agnus dī ecce qⁱ tollit pecca
106b4 tum mundi Hic ÷ dequo dixi
106b5 qⁱ p^o me uenit uir qⁱ añ me
106b6 factus ÷ q p^or me erat
106b7 et ego nes ciebam eum s̄ ut
106b8 manifestaret' . inisrl̄ p̄ēa
106b9 ego ueni in aqua babtizans
106b10 ET testimoniū p hibuit iō .
106b11 dc̄s q uidi sp̄m discendentem
106b12 q̄si columbam decælo et ma
106b13 nsit sup eum et ego nes cieba
106b14 eum s̄ qⁱ missit me babtiza
106b15 re in aqua ille mihi dixit .
106b16 Sup q̄ uideris sp̄m discenden
106b17 tem et manentem sup eum
106b18 hic ÷ qⁱ babtizat inspū sco et
106b19 ego uidi et testimoniū phibiu
106b20 quia hic ÷ filius dī .
106b21 AL̄ta h̄ die ifum stabat iō et
106b22 exdiscipulis 3 duo ET uidens
106b23 ihm̄ ambulans dī ecce ag
106b24 nus dī . ET audier̄ eum duo
106b25 discip̄ 3 loquentem et sequi
106b26 s̄t ihm̄ CONūsus h̄ ih̄s et uidens
106b27 eos sequentes sé dī eis quid
106b28 queritis qui dixer̄ ei rabbi
106b29 q̄ dī inīptatū magister ubi
106b30 habitás .

107a1 Dī eis uenite et uidete . uener̄t

⁶⁰⁸ Part of the top of this line has been lost due to the sewing on of a blank strip of parchment to the top of the leaf.

107a2 et uiderunt ubi maneret
 107a3 et ap̄ eum manser̄ die illo
 107a4 hora h̄ erat q̄si decima e⁶⁰⁹
 107a5 ERath andreas fr̄ simonis
 107a6 petri un; exduob; qⁱ audier̄
 107a7 abiohane et sequi fuer
 107a8 ant eum inuenit hic pⁱm
 107a9 um fra trem suum si
 107a10 monem et dicit ei inuenim;
 107a11 misiam q̄ ÷ int̄ptatum xp̄s
 107a12 et adduxit eum adihm̄ in
 107a13 tuitus h̄ eum ih̄s dx̄ . tu es
 107a14 simon fili; tu uocaberis cef
 107a15 as q̄ int̄ptat' petrus . IN
 107a16 crastinum uoluit ire in
 107a17 galiliam p̄trus⁶¹⁰ . Et inuenit
 107a18 philipum et d̄f ei ih̄s sequere
 107a19 mé erat h̄ pilip; abezaida
 107a20 ciuitate andreae et petri
 107a21 inuenit pilip; nathaniel
 107a22 et d̄f ei quem scripsit mo
 107a23 ises inlege et pfetae inuenim;
 107a24 ihm̄ filium ioseph anazar
 107a25 eth et d̄f ei nathaniel ana
 107a26 zareth pot÷ aliquid boni
 107a27 eē . D̄f ei pilip; uení et uide
 107a28 UIDit ih̄s nathaniel uenie
 107a29 ntem adsé et d̄f deeo Ecce
 107a30 uir isrl̄ ita inquo dolus
 107a31 ñ÷ d̄f ei nathaniel unde .

⁶⁰⁹ The final letter of this line appears to be either a freestanding tall *e*, the cross-stroke of which is missing, or a large *c*. The former may be the more likely, if we are right to assume that it had originally been intended to be the first letter of the following word *erat*.

⁶¹⁰ Three dots in the shape of a rough triangle were added over both the *p* and the *u* of *petrus*. The significance of this is unknown.

107b1 me nosti Rēs ih̄s̄ et d̄x̄ es P̄i^{us}^z
 107b2 q te pilip; uocaret cum esses
 107b3 subarbore fici uidi té . ET
 107b4 rēs ei nathaniel et ait rabbi
 107b5 tu es filius d̄i . tu es rex isr̄l̄
 107b6 RĒs̄ . ih̄s̄ et d̄x̄ ei q uidi té subfico
 107b7 credis maius h̄is̄ uidebis . et
 107b8 d̄ī ei . Am̄ añ dico uob̄is̄ Uide
 107b9 bitis caelum aptum et ang
 107b10 elos d̄ī ascēdentes⁶¹¹ et discend
 107b11 entes sup filium hominis .~

⁶¹¹ A number of dots, perhaps three in total, were added over the *e* and *n* of *ascendentes*. The significance of these markings, which are unlike those found over *petrus* (see p. 200, n. 610 above), is unknown.

Normalised Text of the Stowe John, and the Dimma John: Chapter 1

John 1

- 1:1 [fo. 1r] **In principio** erat Uerbum et Uerbum erat apud *Deum* et *Deus* erat Uerbum.⁶¹²
[p. 105] **In principio** erat Uerbum et Uerbum erat apud *Deum* et *Deus* erat Uerbum.⁶¹³
- 1:2 Hoc erat in principio apud *Deum*.
Hoc erat in principio apud *Deum*.
- 1:3 Omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum *est* nihil quod factum *est*.
Omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum *est* nihil quod factum *est*.
- 1:4 In eo uita *est* et uita erat lux hominum:
In ipso uita *est* et uita erat lux hominum:
- 1:5 et lux in tenebris lucet et tenebrae eam *non conpraechenderunt*.
et lux in tenebris lucet et tenebrae eam *non conpraechenderunt*.
- 1:6 [fo. 1v] Fuit homo misus a *Deo* cui nomen erat Iohannis.
Fuit homo missus a *Deo* cui nomen erat Iohannis.
- 1:7 Hic uenit in testimonium ut testimonium *periberet* de lumine, ut omnes crederent *per* illum.

⁶¹² At the outset, it should briefly be noted that the Stowe John may be characterized as a mixed version of the Gospel, varying between Old Latin and Vulgate passages, much like other early Irish pocket Gospels, such as the Book of Mulling and the Book of Dimma (for more on this, see Doyle, Peter, “The Latin Bible in Ireland: Its Origins and Growth”, in McNamara, Martin, *Biblical Studies: The Medieval Irish Contribution*, Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association 1 (Dublin 1976) 30-45: esp. 33-39). For a more general collation, see Fischer, Bonifatius, *Die Lateinischen Evangelien bis zum 10. Jahrhundert IV: Varianten zu Johannes* (Freiburg 1991).

⁶¹³ The text of the first chapter of the Stowe John is collated with that of the Book of Dimma in light of the similarity of the script of the two manuscripts, so as to allow for a direct comparison between the texts in order to establish whether there is any textual relationship between the two Johns. Because of the numerous differences between the two texts, it was felt unnecessary to continue the collation past the first chapter.

Hic uenit in testimonium ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine, ut omnes crederent per illum.

- 1:8 *Non enim* erat ille lúx, *sed* ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine.
Non erat enim ille lux, *sed* ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine.
- 1:9 Erat *autem* lux uera, *quae* inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in hunc mundum.
Erat *autem* lux uera *quae* inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in *hunc* mundum.
- 1:10 In mundo erat *et* mundus *per* ipsum factus *est et* mundus eum *non* cognouit.
In *hoc* mundo erat et mundus *per* ipsum factus *est et* mundus eum *non* cognouit.
- 1:11 In *propria* uenit *et* sui eum *non* recipierunt.
In *sua propria* uenit et sui eum *non* recipiunt.⁶¹⁴
- 1:12 *Quotquot autem* recipererunt eum, dedit eís potestatem filios Dei fieri, hís qui credunt in nomine *eius*:
Quotquot autem reciperunt eum, dedit eís potestatem filios Dei fieri, hís qui credunt in nomine *eius*:
- 1:13 *qui non* ex sanguinibus, *neque* ex uoluntate uiri, *neque* ex uoluntate carnis, *sed* ex Deo nati *sunt*.
qui non ex sanguinibus, *neque* ex uoluntate carnis, *neque* ex uoluntate uiri, *sed* ex Deo nati sunt.
- 1:14 **Et** *Uerbum* caro factum *est et* habitauit in nobís *et* uidimus gloriam *eius*, quasi gloriam unigeniti a patre pleni gratiæ *et* ueritatis.
Et *Uerbum* caro factum *est et* habitauit in nobís et uidimus gloriam *eius*, gloriam quasi unigeniti a patre pleni gratiae et ueritatis.
- 1:15 Iohannis testimonium perhibet de ipso *et* clamauit *dicens*: **hic est** de quo dixi: qui post me uenturus *est*, ante me factus *est*, *quia* prior me erat.

⁶¹⁴ The non-Vulgate reading *in sua propria* is quite common in the *Vetus Latina* manuscripts collected on <http://www.iohannes.com/vetuslatina/edition/index.html> (accessed 26-06-2020).

Iohannis testimonium perhibet de ipso et clamat dicens: **hic est quem** dixi uobis: **qui post me uenturus est, qui ante me factus est, quia prior me erat.**

1:16 Et de plenitudine *eius* nós omnes accipimus, gratiam pro gratia:

Et de plenitudine *eius* nós omnes accipimus, gratiam pro gratia:

1:17 **quia** lex per Moysen data est, gratia **autem** et ueritas per Iesum Christum facta est.

quia lex per Moysen data est, gratia **autem** et ueritas per Iesum Christum facta est.

1:18 **Deum** nemo uidit umquam nisi unige[ni]tus filius, qui est in sinu patris, ipse enarravit.

[p. 106a] **Deum** nemo uidit umquam nisi unigenitus filius, qui est in sinu patris, ipse enarrabit.⁶¹⁵

1:19 Et hoc Iohannis testimon[i]um, quando miserunt Iudei ab Hirusolimís sacerdotes et Leuitas ad eum ut interrogarent eum: tú quis est?

Et hoc est testimonium Iohannis, quando misserunt Iudei ab Hirusolimís sacerdotes et Leuitas ad eum ut interrogarent eum: tú quis es?

1:20 Et confessus est et non negauit quia non sum ego Christus.

Et confessus est et non negauit quia non sum ego Christus.

1:21 Et interrogauerunt iterum: quid ergo? Helias és tú? Et dixit: non sum. Profeta és tu? Et respondit: non.

Et interrogauerunt eum: numquid ergo helias es tú? Et dicit: non sum. Profeta es tu? Et respondit: non.

1:22 Dixerunt ergo ei: quis és, díc nobís, ut responsum demus hís qui miserunt nos? Quid dicis de té ipso?

Dixerunt ergo ei: tú quis es, ut responsum demus hís qui misserunt nos? Quid dicis de té ipso?

1:23 Ait: Uox clamantis in deserto, dirigite uiam Domini, sicut dixit Essaias profeta.

⁶¹⁵ There are no examples of this spelling of intervocalic *u* as *b* (cf. Dimma John 1:42 *uocaberis*) in the Stowe John.

Ait: **Ego** uox clamantis in deserto, parate uiam *Domini*, sicut dixit Issaias profeta.⁶¹⁶

1:24 *Et* qui misi fuerant ex farisseis
Et qui missi fuerant ex phariseis

1:25 interrogauerunt eum *et* dixerunt ei: quid ergo babtizas, sí tú *non Christus*, neque Helias,
neque profeta?

interrogauerunt eum *et* dixerunt ei: quid *ergo* batizas, sí tu *non Christus*, neque Helias,
neque profeta?

1:26 Respondit eís Iohannis dicens: ego quidem babtizo uos in aqua, medius *autem* uestrum
stat, quem uos nescitis.

Respondit eís Iohannis dicens: ego quidem babtizo uos in aqua, medius *autem* uestrum
stat, *quem* uos nescitis.

1:27 Ille babtizauit uos in *Spiritu*, cuius *non* sum dignus soluere coregiam calciamenti eius.⁶¹⁷

Ipse *est* qui post me uenturus *est*, qui ante me factus *est*: cuius ego *non* sum dignus ut
soluam corregiam calciamenti *eius*.

1:28 **Haec** in Bethania facta sunt *trans* Iordanen ubi erat Iohannis babtizans.

Haec in Bethania facta sunt *trans* Iordanen ubi erat Iohannis babtizans.

1:29 Altera die uidit Iohannis Iesum uenientem ad sé, ait: ecce agnus Dei, ecce qui tulit
peccatum mundi.

[p. 106b] Altera die uidit Iohannis Iesum uenientem ad sé *et* ait: ecce agnus Dei, ecce
qui tollit peccatum mundi.

1:30 Hic *est* de quo dixi: post uenturus qui ante me factus *est*, *quia* prior erat me,

⁶¹⁶ The non-Vulgate reading *parate* instead of *dirigite* is quite common in the *Vetus Latina* manuscripts collected on <http://www.iohannes.com/vetuslatina/edition/index.html> (accessed 26-06-2020).

⁶¹⁷ The Dimma John agrees with the Vulgate (*Ipse est qui post me uenturus est, qui ante me factus est: cuius ego non sum dignus ut solvam eius corrigiam calceamenti.*), whereas the Stowe John's opening words seem to reflect the sentiment of the ending of John 1:33. The Stowe reading has no parallel in the examples of the *Vetus Latina* manuscripts collected on <http://www.iohannes.com/vetuslatina/edition/index.html> (accessed 26-06-2020) and may simply be an error.

Hic est de quo dixi: *qui post me uenit uir qui ante me factus est, quia prior me erat,*

1:31 et ego nesciebam e[um], *sed ut manifestaretur plebi Israhel, propterea ueni in aqua babtizans.*⁶¹⁸

et ego nesciebam eum, *sed ut manifestaretur in Israhel, propterea ego ueni in aqua babtizans.*

1:32 *Et testimonium perhibuit iohannis dicens: quia uidi Spiritum discendentem et manentem super eum.*

Et testimonium perhibuit Iohannis dicens: *quia uidi Spiritum discendentem quasi columbam de cælo et mansit super eum.*

1:33 Et ego nesciebam eum, *sed qui misit me babtizare in aqua, ille mihi dixit: super quem uideris Spiritum discendentem et manentem super eum, hic est qui babtizat [fo. 2r] in Spiritu Sancto.*

Et ego nesciebam eum, *sed qui misit me babtizare in aqua, ille mihi dixit: super quem uideris Spiritum discendentem et manentem super eum, hic est qui babtizat in Spiritu Sancto.*

1:34 *Et ego uidi et testimonium perhibui, quia hic est electus Dei Filius.*

Et ego uidi et testimonium perhibui, *quia hic est Filius Dei.*

1:35 **Altera** die stabat Iohannis et ex discipulis eius duo.

Altera autem die iterum stabat Iohannis et ex discipulis eius duo.

1:36 *Et respiciens Iesum ambulans, dixit: ecce agnus Dei, ecce qui tulit peccatum mundi.*⁶¹⁹

Et uidens Iesum ambulans, *dicit: ecce agnus Dei.*

⁶¹⁸ The Stowe Missal's non-Vulgate reading *plebi Israhel* is also found in a few other *Vetus Latina* versions of the Gospel collected on <http://www.iohannes.com/vetuslatina/edition/index.html> (accessed 26-06-2020), e.g. the Book of Mulling (Dublin, TCD, MS 60), fo. 82vb9.

⁶¹⁹ The Stowe John offers an extended reading (essentially repeating the ending of John 1:29) also found in a number of the *Vetus Latina* manuscripts collected on <http://www.iohannes.com/vetuslatina/edition/index.html> (accessed 26-06-2020). The Dimma John here agrees with the Vulgate.

- 1:37 Et audierunt eum duo ex discipulis *eius* loquentem *et* secuti sunt Iesum.
Et audierunt eum duo discipuli *eius* loquentem *et* secuti sunt Iesum.
- 1:38 Conuersus *autem* Iesus *et* uidens eos sequentes sé, dixit eís: quid quæritis? Qui dixerunt ei: rabbi (*quod interpretatum magister*), ubi habitas?
 Conuersus *autem* Iesus *et* uidens eos sequentes sé, dicit eís: quid queritis? Qui dixerunt ei: rabbi (*quod dicitur interpretatum magister*), ubi habitás?
- 1:39 Dixit eís: uenite *et* uidete. Uenerunt *et* uiderunt ubi maneret *et* apud eum manserunt die illo. **H**ora *autem* erat quasi decima.
 [p. 107a] Dicit eís: uenite *et* uidete. Uenerunt *et* uiderunt ubi maneret *et* apud eum manserunt die illo. Hora *autem* erat quasi decima.
- 1:40 Erat *autem* Andrias, frater Simonis Petri, qui audierunt qui ab Iohanne *et* secuti fuerant eum.
Erat *autem* Andreas, frater Simonis Petri, unus ex duobus qui audierunt ab Iohanne *et* secuti fuerant eum.
- 1:41 Inuenit hic primum fratrem suum Simonem *et* dicit ei: inuenimus Messiam (*quod interpretatum Christum*).
 Inuenit hic primum fratrem suum Simonem *et* dicit ei: inuenimus Misiam (*quod interpretatum Christus*).
- 1:42 Adduxit eum ad Iesum. Intuitus eum Iesus, dixit: Simon, filius Iona, tú uocaueris Chefas (*quod interpretatur Petrus*).
 Et adduxit eum ad Iesum. Intuitus *autem* eum Iesus, dixit: tu es Simon, filius, tu uocaberis Cefas (*quod interpretatur Petrus*).
- 1:43 In crastinum uoluit ire in Galiliam *et* inuenit Pilipum. *Et* dicit ei: sequere me.
In crastinum uoluit ire in Galiliam Petrus *et* inuenit Philipum. *Et* dicit ei Iesus: sequere mé.
- 1:44 Erat *autem* Pilipus a Bethzaida, ciuitate Andriæ *et* Petrum.
 Erat *autem* Pilipus a Bezaida, ciuitate Andreae *et* Petri.

- 1:45 Inuenit Pilipus Nathaniel *et dicit ei: quem scripsit Moises in lege et profetae, inuenimus Iesum filium Ioseph a Nathzareth.*
 Inuenit Pilipus Nathaniel *et dicit ei: quem scripsit Moises in lege et profetae, inuenimus Iesum filium Ioseph a Nazareth.*
- 1:46 *Et dixit ei Nathaniel: A Nathzareth potest aliquid boni esse? Dicit ei Pilipus: ueni et uide.*
Et dicit ei Nathaniel: a Nazareth potest aliquid boni esse? Dicit ei Pilipus: ueni et uide.
- 1:47 Uidit Iesus Nathaniel uenientem ad se *et dicit de eo: ecce uir Israheliticus in quo dolus non est.*
Uidit Iesus Nathaniel uenientem ad se *et dicit de eo: ecce uir Israheliticus ita in quo dolus non est.*
- 1:48 *Dicit ei Nathaniel: unde de me nosti? Respondit ei Iesus: priusquam te uocaret Pilipus, cum esses sub fici arbore, uidi te.*
Dicit ei Nathaniel: unde me [p. 107b] nosti? Respondit Iesus et dixit: prius est quam te Pilipus uocaret, cum esses sub arbore fici, uidi te.
- 1:49 *Respondit ei Nathaniel et ait ei: rabbi, tu es Filius Dei, tu es rex Israhel.*
Et *respondit ei Nathaniel et ait: rabbi, tu es Filius Dei, tu es rex Israhel.*
- 1:50 *Respondit Iesus et dixit: quia dixi, uidi te sub fico, credis; maius his uidebis.*
Respondit Iesus *et dixit: quia uidi te sub fico, credis; maius his uidebis.*
- 1:51 *Et dixit eis: amen dico uobis, uidebitis caelum apertum, [et angelos Dei ascendentes, et descen]dentes⁶²⁰ supra Filium hominis.*
Et dicit ei: amen amen dico uobis, uidebitis caelum apertum et angelos Dei ascendentes et discendentes super Filium Hominis.

⁶²⁰ This is the first significant gap in the text of the Stowe John. Given that there is no (other) sign of a defect in the exemplar in the surrounding text, it seems more like to be the result of the scribe skipping a line (or two, cf. the notes on 4:1 and 4:9). As it stands, the text certainly makes no sense, reading: “And he told them: truly I say to you, you will see heaven open, teeth on the Son of man.” Note that the Dimma John offers the correct reading.

John 2

- 2:1 **Et** die tertia nuptiæ factæ sunt in Channan Galiliæ et erat mater Iesu ibi.
- 2:2 Uocatus est autem ibi et Iesus et discipuli eius ad nuptias.
- 2:3 Et dificiente uino, dicit mater Iesu ad eum: uinum non habent.
- 2:4 Et dicit ei Iesus: quid mihi et tibi est, mulier? Nondum uenit hora mea.
- 2:5 Dicit mater eius ministris: quodcumque dixerit uobis, facite.
- 2:6 Erant autem ibi lapideæ hidriæ sex positæ secundum purificationem Iudeorum, capientes singulæ metritas binas uel ternas.
- 2:7 Dicit eis Iesus: implete hydrias aqua. Et impleuerunt eas usque ad summum.
- 2:8 Et dicit eis Iesus: aurite nunc et ferte architriclino. Et tulerunt.
- 2:9 Ut autem gustauit architrichinus aquam uinum factum et non sciebat unde esset, ministri autem sciebant, qui aurierant aquam. Uocauit sponsum architriclinus
- 2:10 et dicit ei: omnis homo primum bonum uinum ponit et cum inebriati fuerint, [fo. 2v] tunc id, quod deterius est. Tu uero reseruasti bonum uinum usque ad huc.
- 2:11 Hoc fecit initium signorum Iesus in Channa Galileæ et manifestauit gloriam suam et crediderunt in eum discipuli eius.
- 2:12 Post hoc descendit Capharnaum ipse et mater eius et fratres eius et discipuli eius, et ibi manserunt non multis diebus.
- 2:13 Et prope erat pascha Iudeorum et ascendit Hirusolimam Iesus.
- 2:14 **Et** inuenit in templo uedentes boues et oues et columbas, et nummularios sedentes.

- 2:15 *Et cum fecisset quasi flagillum de funiculís, omnes iecit de templo, oues quoque et boues et nummulariorum æs, et mensas subuertit.*
- 2:16 *Et his qui columbas uendebant dixit: auferte ista hinc et nolite facere domum patris mei domum negotiationis.*
- 2:17 *Recordati uero sunt discipuli eius quia scriptum est: zelus domus tuae comedit me.*
- 2:18 **Responderunt ergo Iudei et dixerunt ei: quod signum os[ten]dis nobís, quia haec facis?**
- 2:19 *Respondit Iesus et dixit eis: soluite templum hoc et in tribus diebus excitabo illud.*
- 2:20 *Dixerunt ergo Iudei: quadraginta et sex annís ædificatum est templum hoc et tú tribus diebus ex[citabis]⁶²¹ illud?*
- 2:21 *Ille autem dicebat de templo corporis sui.*
- 2:22 *Cum ergo surrexisset a mortuís, recordati sunt discipuli eius, quia hoc dicebat et crediderunt scripturæ et sermoni quem dixit Iesus.*
- 2:23 **Cum autem esset in Hirusolimís in Pasca in die festo, multi crediderunt in nomine eius, uidentes signa eius, quae faciebat.**
- 2:24 *Ipse autem Iesus non credebat semetipsum eis, eo quod ipse nosset omnes.*
- 2:25 *Et quia opus ei non erat ut testimonium periberet de homine, ipse enim sciebat quid esset in homine.*

John 3

- 3:1 *Erat autem homo ex farisseís, Nicodimus nomine, princeps Iudeorum.*

⁶²¹ As this word is found at the very end of fo. 2v13, the scribal error may have resulted from Sonid / Dinos forgetting to finish the word when he continued copying his text on the line below.

- 3:2 Hic uenit ad eum nocte *et dixit* ei: *rabbi, scimus quia a Deo uenisti magister, nemo enim potest haec signa facere, quae tú facis, nisi fuerit Dominus cum eo.*
- 3:3 Respondit *Iesus et dixit* ei: *amen, amen dico tibi, nisi quis renatus fuerit denouo, non potest uidere regnum Dei.*
- 3:4 *Dicit* ad eum *Nicodimus: quomodo potest homo nasci, cum sit senex? Numquid potest in uentrem matris iterato introire et nasci.*
- 3:5 Respondit ei *Iesus: amen, amen dico tibi, nisi quis renatus fuerit ex [a]qua et Spiritu Sancto, non potest introire in regnum Dei.*
- 3:6 *Quod natum est ex carne, caro est, et quod natum est ex Spiritu, spiritus est.*
- 3:7 *Non mireris quia dixi tibi: oportet uos nasci denouo.*
- 3:8 *Spiritus ubi uult spirat et uocem eius audis, sed nescis unde ueniat et quod uadat: síc est omnis qui natus est ex Spiritu.*
- 3:9 Respondit *Nicodimus et dixit* ei: *et quomodo possunt haec fieri?*
- 3:10 Respondit *Iesus et dixit* ei: *tú és [fo. 3r] magister Israhel et haec ignoras?*
- 3:11 *Amen, amen dico tibi, quia quod scimus loquimur et quod uidimus testamur et testimonium nostrum non acipistis.*
- 3:12 *Sí terrena dixi uobís et non credistis, quomodo, sí dixeró uobís caelestia, credetis?*
- 3:13 **Et** *nemo ascendit in caelum, nisi qui de caelo descendit, Filius hominis, qui est in caelo.*
- 3:14 *Et sicut Moyses exaltauit serpentem in deserto, ita exaltari oportet Filium hominis,*
- 3:15 *ut omnis qui credit in ipso non periat, sed habeat uitam aeternam.*

- 3:16 *Sic enim dixit Deus hunc mundum, ut Filium suum unigenitum daret, ut omnis qui credit in eum non periat, sed habeat uitam æternam.*
- 3:17 *Non enim misit Deus Filium suum in hunc mundum, ut iudicet mundum, sed ut saluetur mundus per ipsum.*
- 3:18 *Qui credit in eum non iudicatur; qui autem non credit iam iudicatus, quia non credit in nomine unigeniti Filii Dei.*
- 3:19 *Hoc est autem iudicium, quoniam lux uenit in mundum et dilexerunt homines magis tenebras quam lucem, erant enim eorum mala opera.*
- 3:20 *Omnis enim qui male agit, odit lucem et non uenit ad lucem, ut non arguantur opera.*
- 3:21 *Qui autem facit ueritatem, uenit ad lucem, ut manifestentur opera eius, quia in Deo sunt facta.*
- 3:22 *Post haec uenit Iesus et discipuli eius in Iudeam terram et illuc demorabatur cum eis et bapuzabat.*
- 3:23 *Erat autem et Iohannis bapuzans in Ænnon, iuxta Salim, quia aquæ multæ erant illic, et adueniebant multi et bapuzabantur.*
- 3:24 *Nondum enim misus fuerat in carcerem Iohannis.*
- 3:25 *Facta est ergo questio ex discipulis Iohannis cum Iudeis de purificatione.*
- 3:26 *Et uenierunt ad Iohannem et dixerunt ei: rabbi, qui erat tecum trans Iordanen, cui testimonium perhibuisti, ecce hic bapuzat et omnes ueniunt ad eum.*
- 3:27 *Respondit Iohannis et dixit: non potest homo accipere quicquam, nisi datum fuerit ei de cælo.*

- 3:28 Ipsi uos mihi testimonium perhibetis *quod* dixerim uobis: ego *non* sum *Christus*, *sed quia* misus sum ante illum.
- 3:29 Qui habet sponsam, sponsus *est*; amicus *autem* sponsi, qui stat *et* audit eum, gaudio gaudet *propter* uocem sponsi. *Hoc ergo* gaudium meum inpletum *est*.
- 3:30 Illum oportet crescere, me *autem* minui.
- 3:31 Qui desursum uenit, supra omnes *est*. Qui *est* de terra, de terra *est et* de terra loquitur. Qui de cælo uenit, supra omnes *est*.
- 3:32 *Et quod* uidet *et* audit hoc testatur, *et* testimonium *eius* nemo accipit.
- 3:33 Qui accipit *eius* testimonium signauit, *quia* Deus uerax *est*.
- 3:34 Quem *enim* misit Deus, uerba Dei loquitur, *non enim* ad mensuram dat Deus Spiritum.
- 3:35 Pater dilegit Filium et omnia dedit in manum eius.
- 3:36 Qui credit in Filium, habet uitam æternam. [fo. 3v] **Q**ui *autem* incredulus *est* Filio, non uidebit uitam, *sed* ira Dei manet super illum.

John 4

- 4:1 Ut ergo cognouit Iesus *quia* audierunt Farissei *quia* Iesus plures discipuli discipulos⁶²² facit *et* babtizat *quam* Iohannis,
- 4:2 (quanquam Iesus non babtizaret, *sed* discipuli *eius*).
- 4:3 Reliquit Iudeam *et* abit iterum in Galileam.

⁶²² This curious case of dittography may offer a further hint as to the layout of the exemplar of the Stowe John (see pp. 67-73 above), for Sonid / Dinos may have accidentally copied *discipuli* from the line below before noticing his error and correctly copying *discipulos*, without otherwise marking his mistake.

- 4:4 Oportebat *autem* eum transire per Samariam.
- 4:5 Uenit *ergo* in ciuitatem Samariæ, *quae dicitur* Sichar, iuxta *praedium quod* dedit Iacob Ioseph filio suo.
- 4:6 Erat *autem* ibi fons Iacob. Iesus *ergo* fatigatus ab itinere sedebat *sic super* fontem. Hora erat *quasi* sexta.
- 4:7 Uenit mulier de Samaria aurire aquam. *Dicit* ei Iesus: dá mihi bibere.
- 4:8 (Discipuli *autem* eius abierant in ciuitatem ut cibos emerent.)
- 4:9 *Dicit* *ergo* ei mulier illa Samaritana: [quomodo tu, Iudeus cum sis, bibere a me poscis, quae sum mulier Samaritina?]⁶²³ *Non enim* coutuntur Iudei Samaritanís.
- 4:10 Respondit Iesus *et dixit* ei: *sí* scires donum Dei *et quis est* qui *dicit* tibi ‘da mihi bibere’, tú forsitan petises ab eo *et dedisset* tibi aquam uiuam.
- 4:11 *Dicit* ei mulier: *domine*, neque in quo aurias habes *et puteus altus est*, unde *ergo* habes aquam uiuam?
- 4:12 Numquid tú maior és patre nostro Iacob, qui dedit nobís puteum *et ipse* ex eo bibit, *et filii eius et peccora eius*?
- 4:13 Respondit Iesus *et dixit* ei: omnis qui bibet ex aqua hac, sitiát iterum; qui *autem* biberet ex aqua quam ego dabo ei, *non* sitiet in *æternum*.
- 4:14 *Sed* aqua quam ego dabo ei, fiet in eo fons ~~uitæ~~ aquæ salientis in uitam *æternam*.
- 4:15 *Dicit* ei mulier: *domine*, dá mihi hanc aquam, ut *non* sitiam, neque ueniam huc aur[ir]e.
- 4:16 *Dicit* ei Iesus: uade, uoca uirum tuum *et ueni* huc.

⁶²³ This gap seems to have been caused by an *Augensprung*, see p. 70 above.

- 4:17 Respondit mulier *et dixit: non habeo uirum. Dicit ei Iesus: bene dixisti, quia non habeo uirum.*
- 4:18 *Quinque enim uiros habuisti et nunc quem habes non est tuus uir, hoc hoc⁶²⁴ uere dixisti.*
- 4:19 *Dicit ei mulier: domine, uideo quia profeta es tú.*
- 4:20 *Patres nostri in monte hoc adorauerunt et uos dicitis, quia in Hirusolimís est locus ubi adorare oportet.*
- 4:21 *Dicit ei Iesus: mulier, crede, quia ueniat hora, quando neque in monte hoc, neque in Hirusolimís adorabitis Patrem.*
- 4:22 *Uos adoratis quod nescitis. Nos autem adoramus quod scimus, quia salus ex Iudeís est.*
- 4:23 *Sed uenit hora et nunc est, quando ueri adoratores adorabunt Patrem in Spiritu et ueritate. Nam et pater tales quærit, [qui adorent eum.]⁶²⁵*
- 4:24 *[Spiritus est Deus et] eos qui adorent eum in Spiritu et ueritate oportet adorare.*
- 4:25 *Dicit mulier: scio quia Misias uenit (qui dicitur Christus). Cum ergo uenerit ille, nobís adnuntiabit omnia.*
- 4:26 *Dicit ei Iesus: ego sum qui loquor tecum.*
- 4:27 *Et continuo uenerunt discipuli eius. [fo. 4r] Et mirabantur quia cum muliere loqueretur, nemo tamen dixit ei: quod quaeris? Aut: quid loqueris cum ea?*
- 4:28 *Reliquit ergo hydriam suam mulier et abiit in ciuitatem et dicit illís hominibus:*

⁶²⁴ The abbreviated *hoc* accidentally occurs twice; the first time at the end of a line (fo. 3v21) and the second at the beginning of the immediately following line (fo. 3v22). Presumably, the scribe simply forgot that he had already copied *hoc* when he began the new line.

⁶²⁵ This gap seems to have been caused by an *Augensprung*, see p. 70 above.

- 4:29 uenite *et* uidete hominem, *qui dixit* mihi *omnia quaecumque* feci; numquid ipse *est* *Christus*?
- 4:30 Exierunt de ciuitate *et* uenerunt ad eum.
- 4:31 Interrogabant eum discipuli *eius* dicentes: rabbi, manduca.
- 4:32 Ille *autem* dixit eís: ego cibum habeo manducare, quem uos nescitis.
- 4:33 Discipuli *ergo* dicebant ad inuicem: numquid aliquis attulit ei manducare?
- 4:34 Dicit eís Iesus: **meus** cibus *est* ut faciem uoluntatem *eius* qui misit me, ut *perficiam* opus *eius*.
- 4:35 Nonné uos dicitis *quod* adhuc quatuor menses *sunt et* mesis uenit? Ecce dico uobís: leuate oculos uestros *et* uidete regiones, *quia* albae *sunt* iam ad mesem.
- 4:36 *Et* qui metet, mercedem accipiet *et* *congragat* fructum in uitam *æternam*, ut *et* qui seminat simul gaudeat *et* *qui* metit.
- 4:37 In *hoc enim est* uerbum uerum, *quia* alius *est* *qui* seminat *et* alius *est* *qui* metit.
- 4:38 Ego misi uos metere *quod* uos *non* laborastis; alii laborauerunt *et* uos in labores eorum introistis.
- 4:39 Ex ciuitate *autem* illa multi crediderunt in eum Samaritanorum, *propter* uerbum mulieris testimonium peribentis, *quia* dixit mihi *omnia quaecumque* feci.
- 4:40 Cum uenissent ergo ad illum Samaritani, rogauerunt eum ut ibi maneret *et* mansit ibi duos dies.
- 4:41 *Et* multo plures [crediderunt in eum]⁶²⁶ *propter* sermonem eius.

⁶²⁶ Sonid / Dinos appears to have left out a few words by mistake. It is not apparent what caused the error.

- 4:42 *Et mulieri dicebant, quia iam non propter tuam loquellam credimus, ipsi enim audiuiimus et scimus quia hic est uere Saluator mundi.*
- 4:43 **P**ost duos *autem* dies exit inde *et* abit in Galileam.
- 4:44 Ipse *enim* Iesus testimonium perhibuit, *quia* profeta in sua patria honorem *non* habet.
- 4:45 Cum ergo uenisset in Galileam, exciperunt eum Galilei, cum omnia uidissent *quae* fecerat in Hirusolimis in die festo, *et* ipsi *enim* uenerant in diem festum.
- 4:46 Uenit *autem* iterum in Channa Galilæ ubi fecit aquam uinum. **E**t erat quidam regulus, *cuius* filius infirmabatur in Cafarnaum.
- 4:47 Hic cum audisset *quia* Iesus adueniret de Iudea in Galileam, abiit ad eum *et* rogabat eum ut discenderet *et* sanaret filium *eius*; incipiebat *enim* mori.
- 4:48 Dixit ergo Iesus ad eum: nisi signa *et* prodigia uideritis, *non* creditis.
- 4:49 Dicit ad eum regulus: Domine, discende priusquam moriatur filius meus.
- 4:50 Dicit ei Iesus: uade, filius tuus uiuit. Credit homo sermoni quem dixit ei Iesus *et* ibat.
- 4:51 Iam *autem* eo discendente, serui occurrerunt ei *et* nuntiauerunt ei dicentes, quia filius eius uiueret.
- 4:52 [fo. 4v1] **I**nterrogabat ergo horam ab eís in qua melius habuerat. *Et* dixerunt ei, *quia* hora septima reliquit eum febris.
- 4:53 Cognouit ergo pater, *quia* illa hora erat in qua dixit ei Iesus: filius tuus uiuit. *Et* credidit ipse *et* domus eius tota.
- 4:54 Hoc iterum *secundum* signum fecit Iesus, cum uenisset á Iudea in Galileam.

John 5

- 5:1 **P**ost *haec* erat dies festus Iudeorum *et* ascendit Iesus Hirusolimís.
- 5:2 Est *autem* Hirusolimís super probatica piscina, *quae* cognominatur Ebreice Bethzaida, quinque porticus habens.
- 5:3 In hiís iacebat multitudo magna languentium, caecorum, cladorum, aridorum, paraliticorum, expectantium aquæ motum.
- 5:4 Angelus *autem* Domini secundum tempus discendebat in piscinam, mouebat aquam. *Et* quicumque ergo prior discendisset in natatoria post motationem aquæ, sanus fiebat a langore quocumque tenebatur.
- 5:5 Erat *autem* quidam homo ibi *triginta* et *octo* annos habens in infirmitate sua.
- 5:6 Hunc cum uidisset Iesus iacentem *et* cognouisset *quia* multus iam tempus habet, dixit ei: uís sanus fieri?
- 5:7 Respondit ei languidus: Domine, hominem non habeo, ut, cum turbata fuerit, mitat me in piscinam. Dum uenio *enim* ego, alius ante descendit.
- 5:8 Dicit Iesus: surge *et* tolle grabattum tuum *et* ambula.
- 5:9 *Et* statim sanus factus est homo *et* sustulit grabattum suum *et* ambulauit. Erat *autem* sabbatum in illo die.
- 5:10 Dicebant Iudei illi qui sanus fuerat: sabbat *est*, non licet tibi tollere grabbatum tuum.
- 5:11 Respondit eís: qui me fecit sanum, ille *mihi* dixit: tolle grabattum tuum *et* ambula.
- 5:12 Interrogauerunt eum: quis *est* ille homo qui dixit tibi: tolle grabatum tuum *et* ambula?

- 5:13 *Is autem qui sanus fuerat effectus, nesciebat quis esset. Iesus enim declinauit turbam constitutam in locum.*
- 5:14 *Postea inuenit eum Iesus in templo et dixit illi: ecce sanus factus es. Iam noli peccare, ne teterius tibi aliquid contingat.*
- 5:15 *Abit ille homo et nuntiauit Iudeis quia Iesus esset, qui fecit eum sanum.*
- 5:16 *Propterea persequebantur Iudei Iesum, quia haec faciebat in sabato.*
- 5:17 *Iesus autem respondit eis: pater meus usque modo operatur et ego operor.*
- 5:18 *Propterea ergo magis querebant eum Iudei interficere, quia non solum soluebebat sabatum, sed et pater eius dicebat Deum, aequalem se facens Deo. Respondit itaque Iesus [fo. 5r] et dixit eis:*
- 5:19 *amen, amen, dico uobis, non potest Filius facere a se quicquam, nisi quod uiderit Patrem facientem; quaecumque enim ille fecerit, haec eadem et Filius similiter facit.*
- 5:20 *Pater enim dilegit filium et omnia demonstraui ei quae et ipse facit; et maiora his demonstrabit ei opera, ut uos miremini.*
- 5:21 *Sicut enim pater suscitatur mortuos et uiuificat, sic et Filius, quos uult, uiuificat.*
- 5:22 *Neque enim pater iudicat quemquam, sed iudicium omne dedit Filio,*
- 5:23 *ut omnes honorificent Filium, sicut honorificent Patrem. Qui non honorificat Filium, non honorificat Patrem, qui missit illum.*
- 5:24 *Amen, amen, dico uobis, quia qui uerbum meum audit et credit ei qui misit me, habet uitam aeternam et in iudicium non ueniet, sed transsit a morte.*
- 5:25 *Amen, amen, dico uobis, quia uenit hora et nunc est, quando mortui audient uocem Filii Dei, et qui audierint, uiuent.*

- 5:26 *Sicut enim Pater habet uitam in semetipso, sic dedit et Filio uitam habere in semetipso.*
- 5:27 *Et potestatem dedit ei et iudicium facere, quia Filius hominis est.*
- 5:28 *Nolite mirari hoc, quia uenit hora in qua omnes qui in monumentis sunt audient uocem eius,*
- 5:29 *et procedent qui bona fecerunt in resurrectionem uitae; qui uero mala egerunt in resurrectionem iudicii.*
- 5:30 *Non possum ego a me ipso facere quicquam. Sicut audio, iudico et iudicium meum uerum est, quia non quaero uoluntatem meam, sed uoluntatem eius qui me missit.*
- 5:31 *Sí ego testimonium perhibeo de m[e ipso], testimonium meum non est uerum.*
- 5:32 *Alius est qui testimonium perhibet de me et scio quia uerum est testimonium, quod perhibet de me.*
- 5:33 *Uos missistis ad Iohannem et testimonium perhibuit ueritati.*
- 5:34 *Ego autem non dico ab homine testimonium, sed haec dico, ut saluisitis.*
- 5:35 *Ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens. Uos autem uoluistis exsultare ad horam in luce eius.*
- 5:36 *Ego autem habeo testimonium maius Iohanne. Opera enim quae dedit mihi Pater ut perficiam ea, ipsa opera, quae eo facio, testimonium perhibent de me, quia Pater me missit.*
- 5:37 *Et qui misit me Pater ipse, ipse testimonium perhibuit de me. Neque ego uocem eius unquam audistis, neque speciem eius uidistis,*
- 5:38 *et uerbum eius non habetis in uobis manens, quia quem misit ille, huic uos non creditis.*

- 5:39 Scrutamini Scripturas, *quia* uos putatis in ipsís uitam æternam habere, *et ille sunt quae* testimonium *perhibent* de me,
- 5:40 *et non* uultís uenire ad me, ut uitam habeatis.
- 5:41 [fo. 5v1] Claritatem ab hominibus *non* accipio.
- 5:42 *Sed* cognoui uos, *quia* dilexionem Dei *non* habetis in uobis.
- 5:43 Ego ueni in *nomine* Patris mei *et non* accipistis me. Sí alius uenerit in *nomine* suo, illum acipietis.
- 5:44 *Quomodo* potestis uos credere, qui gloriam ab inuicem accipitis, *et* gloriam *quae* a solo *est* Deo, *non* *quaeritis*?
- 5:45 Nolite putare *quia* ego accusaturus sim uos *apud* Patrem; *est* qui accusset uos Moyses, in *quo* uos speratis.
- 5:46 Sí *enim* crederitis Moysi, crederetis forsitan *et* mihi, de me *enim* scripsit.
- 5:47 Si *autem* illius literis *non* creditis, *quomodo* meis uerbís creditis?

John 6 (up to 6:30)

- 6:1 **P**ost haec abiit Iesus *trans* mare Galileae, *quod est* Tibiriades,
- 6:2 *et sequaebatur* eum multitudo magna, *quia* uidebant signa *quae* faciebat super hiís qui infirmabantur.
- 6:3 Subiit *ergo* in montem Iesus *et* ibi sedebat eum *cum* discipulís suis.
- 6:4 Erat *autem* proximum pasca dies festus Iudeorum.

- 6:5 Cum subleuasset ergo Iesus oculos suos et uidisset *quia* multitudo maxima uenit ad eum, dicit ad Pilipum: *unde* ememus panes, ut manducent hií?
- 6:6 *Hoc autem* dicebat temptans eum; ipse *enim* sciebat *quid* esset facturus.
- 6:7 Repondit ei Pilippus *dicens*: ducentorum denariorum panes *non* sufficiunt eís ut, unusquisque modicum *quid* accipiat.
- 6:8 Dicit ei unus ex discipulís suis, Andrias frater Simonis Petri:
- 6:9 est puer unus qui *habet quinque* panes ordiacios *et* duos pisces, sed *haec quid sunt* inter tantos?
- 6:10 Dixit ergo Iesus: facite homines discumbere. **Erat autem** multum fenum in loco. Discumberunt ergo uiri numero, *quasi quinque* milia.
- 6:11 Acipit ergo Iesus [panes] et cum gratias egisset, distribuit discumbentibus, *similiter* et ex piscibus quantum uolebant.
- 6:12 Ut *autem* inpleti sunt, dixit discipulís suís: collegite *quae* suprauerunt fragmenta, né periant.
- 6:13 Collegerunt ergo et inpleuerunt duodecim cofinos fragmentorum ex *quinque* panibus ordeaciís, qui *super* fuerunt hís qui manducauerunt.
- 6:14 Illi ergo homines, cum uidissent *quod* facerat signum, dicebant *quia* hic *est* uere profeta, qui uenturus *est* in *hunc* mundum.
- 6:15 Iesus ergo cum cognouisset *quia* uenturi essent ut raperent eum *et* facerent eum regem, fu[g]it iterum in montem ipse solus.
- 6:16 Ut *autem* sero factum *est*, discenderunt [fo. 6r] discipuli eius ad mare.

- 6:17 Et cum ascendissent nauem, uenerunt *trans* mare **in** Cafarnaum, *et* tenebrae iam factae erant *et* nondum uenerat ad eos Iesus.
- 6:18 Mare *autem*, uento magno flante, exurgebat.
- 6:19 Cum remigrassent *ergo* quasi stadia *viginti quinque aut triginta*, uident Iesum ambulantem super mare, *et* proximum naui fieri, *et* timuerunt.
- 6:20 Ille *autem* dicit eis: ego sum, nolite timere.
- 6:21 Uoluerunt *ergo* accipere eum *et* in naui, *et* statim fuit nauis ad terram, in *quam* ibant.
- 6:22 Altera die, turba, *quae* stabat *trans* mare, uidit *quia* nauicula alia non erat ibi nisi illa una, *et* *quia* non [in]troisset Iesus cum discipulis suis in nauem, *sed* soli discipuli *eius* abissent.
- 6:23 Aliae uero superuenerunt naues a Tiberiade iuxta locum ubi manducauerunt panem, gratias agentes Domino.
- 6:24 Cum *ergo* uidisset turba *quia* Iesus non esset ibi, neque discipuli *eius*, ascenderunt <na> nauiculas *et* uenerunt Cafarnaum quaerentes Iesum.
- 6:25 *Et* cum inuenissent eum *trans* mare, dixerunt ei: rabbi, *quando* huc uenisti?
- 6:26 Respondit eis Iesus **et** dixit: amen, amen, dico uobis, *quaeritis* me non *quia* uidistis signa, *sed* *quia* manducastis ex panibus *et* saturati estis.
- 6:27 Operamini non cibium, qui perit, *sed* qui non permanet in uitam aeternam, quem Filius hominis uobis dabit. Hunc enim Pater signauit Deus.
- 6:28 Dixerunt *ergo* ad eum: quid faciemus ut operemur opera Dei?
- 6:29 Respondit Iesus *et* dixit eis: hoc est opus Dei, ut credatis in eum quem [misit] ille.

6:30 *Diexerunt ergo ei: quid ergo tú facis signum ut uideamus et credamus tibi? Quod operaris?*⁶²⁷

John 7 (7:45-end)

7:45 *Uenerunt igitur ministri ad pontifices et fariseos, et dixerunt eís illi: quaere non adduxistis eum?*

7:46 *Responderunt ministri: numquam síc locutus est homo, sicut hic homo.*

7:47 *Responderunt ergo eís pharissei: numquid et uos seducti estis?*

7:48 *Numquid aliquis ex principibus credidit in eum, aut ex fariseís?*

7:49 *Sed turba haec, quae non nouit legem, maldicti sunt.*

7:50 *Dicit Nicodimus ad eos, ille qui uenit ad eum nocte, qui unus erat ex ipsís:*

7:51 *numquid lex nostra iudicat hominem, nisi audierit prius ab ipso et cognouerit quid faciat?*

7:52 *Responderunt et dixerunt ei: numquid et tú Galileus es? Scrutare et uide quia profeta a Galilea non surgit.*

7:53 *Et reuersi sunt unusquisque in domum suam.*

⁶²⁷ Up to here, the Stowe John may be said to constitute a full copy of the Gospel of John, albeit with the usual minor copying errors typical of manuscript transmission. From here on out, the text is fragmentary, generally consisting of segments of chapters. See the discussion on pp. 67-73 above.

John 8 (8:1-8:14, 8:19-8:33, 8:53-end)

- 8:1 *Iesus autem* perrexit in montem Oliueti,
- 8:2 et deluculo iterum [fo. 6v] uenit in templum *et* omnes populus uenit ad eum *et* sedens docebat eos.
- 8:3 Adducunt *autem* eum scribæ <*et* scribæ> *et* farissei mulierem in *adulterio* depraechensam, *et* statuerunt eam in medio
- 8:4 *et* dixerunt ei: magister, *haec* mulier modo depraechensa *est* in *adulterio*.
- 8:5 In lege *autem* Moyses mandauit nobis *huiusmodi* lapidare. Tú ergo quid dicis?
- 8:6 **H***aec autem* dicebant temptantes eum, ut possint accussare eum. *Iesus autem* inclinans sé deorsum, degito suo scribebat in *terram*.
- 8:7 Cum *autem* perseuerarent interrogantes eum, erexit sé *et* dixit sé: qui *sine* peccato *est* uestrum, primus in *i<i>*llam lapidem mitat.
- 8:8 **E**t iterum sé inclinans, scribebat in *terram*.
- 8:9 Audientes *autem* hunc sermonem, unus post unum, exhibant, incipientes a senioribus, *et* remansit *Iesus* solus *et* mulier in medio stans.
- 8:10 Erigens *autem* *Iesus* dixit ei: mulier, ubi *sunt* qui te accussant? Nemo té *contemnauit*?
- 8:11 *Quae* dixit: nemo, domine. Dixit *autem* *Iesus*: ego te *condemnabo*.⁶²⁸ Uade *et* amplius iam noli peccare.

⁶²⁸ A marked and almost certainly unintentional variation on the Vulgate, in which the reading is *nec ego te condemnabo*. There are no parallels for the Stowe reading in the *Vetus Latina* manuscripts on <http://www.iohannes.com/vetuslatina/edition/index.html> (accessed 01-07-2020), confirming that it is simply a scribal error.

- 8:12 *Iterum ergo locutus est Iesus, dicens: ego sum lux mundi, qui sequitur me, non ambulauit in tenebris, sed habebit lucem uitæ.*
- 8:13 *Dixerunt ergo Farisei: tú de te ipso testimonium perhibes. Testimonium tuum non est uerum.*
- 8:14 *Respondit Iesus et dixit...*
- 8:19 *...neque me scitis, neque Patrem meum. Sí me scieritis, forsitan et Patrem meum scieritis.*
- 8:20 *Haec uerba locutus est Iesus in gasafilacio, docens in templo, et nemo adpraehendit eum, quia necdum uenerat hora eius.*
- 8:21 *Dixit ergo iterum Iesus: ego uado, et quæritis me, et in peccata uestra moriemini. Quo ego uado, uos non potestis uenire.*
- 8:22 *Dicebant ergo Iudei inter se: numquid interficiat semet ipsum, quia dicit: quo ego uado, uos non potestis uenire?*
- 8:23 *Et dicebat eís: uós [de] deorsum estis, ego de supernís sum. Uos de mundo hoc estis, ego non sum de hoc mundo.*
- 8:24 *Dixi ergo uobís quia moriemini in peccatís uestrís; sí autem non crederitis quia ego sum, moriemini in peccato uestro.*
- 8:25 *Dicebant ergo ei: et tú quis es? Dixit eís Iesus: principium, quia loquor uobís.*
- 8:26 *Multa uobís loqui et iudicare, sed qui misit me uerax est; et ego quae audiui ab eo, haec loquor in mundo.*
- 8:27 *Et non cognouerunt [fo. 7r] quia Patrem Deum eís dicebat.*

- 8:28 **Dixit ergo eis Iesus:** cum exaltauerit Filium hominis, *tunc cognoscetis quia* ego sum *et a* me ipso facio nihil, *sed* sicut docuit me Pater, *haec* loquor.
- 8:29 *Et qui me misit, mecum est. Non reliquit me solum, quia* ego *quae placeta sunt* ei, facio *semper*.
- 8:30 *Haec* illo loquente, multi *crediderunt* in eum.
- 8:31 Dicebat ergo ad eos Iesus, ad eos *qui crediderunt* ei, Iudeos: *si* uos *permanseritis...*⁶²⁹
- 8:32 *et cognoscetis* ueritatem, *et* ueritas liberauit uos.
- 8:33 **Responderunt** ei Iudei: semen Abrachae sumus *et* nemini seruimus umquam...
- 8:53 *...qui mortuus est? Et profetae mortui sunt. Quem* temet ipsum facis?
- 8:54 Respondit Iesus: *si* ego glorifico me ipsum, gloria mea nihil *est*. [Est] Pater meus, *qui* glorificat me, *quem* uos dicitis *quia Deus noster est*,
- 8:55 *et non cognouistis* eum; ego *autem* noui eum. *Et si* dixero *quia non* scio eum, ero similis uobis, mendax. *Sed* scio eum *et sermonem eius seruo*.
- 8:56 Abracham pater uester exsultauit, ut uideret diem meum, *et uidit et gauissus est*.
- 8:57 **Dixerunt** ergo Iudei: quinquaginta annos *nondum* habes *et* Abracham uidisti?
- 8:58 **Dixit** eis Iesus: amen, amen dico uobis; *antequam* Abracham fieret, ego sum.
- 8:59 **Tulerunt** ergo [lapides] ut iecerent in eum. Iesus *autem* ascondit se et exit de templo.

⁶²⁹ This gap appears to be the result of an *Augensprung*, see p. 69 above.

John 12 (12:9-12:39)

- 12:9 Cognouit ergo turba multa ex Iudeis *quia illic est et uenerunt, non propter Iesum tantum, sed* ut Lazarum uiderent, quem suscitauit a mortuis.
- 12:10 Cogitauerunt *autem* principes sacerdotum ut Lazarum interficerent,
- 12:11 *quia* multi *propter* illum abibant ex Iudeis *et* credebant in Iesum.
- 12:12 **In** crastinum *autem*, turba multa *quae* uenerat ad diem festum, cum audissent *quia* uenit Iesus in Hirusolima,
- 12:13 accipierunt ramos palmarum de arboribus *et* processerunt in obiam ei *et* clamabant dicentes: ossanna, benedictus *qui* uenit in nomine Domini, rex Israhel.
- 12:14 **Et** inuenit Iesus asenum *et* sedit super eum, sicut scriptum *est*:
- 12:15 noli timere, filia Sion; ecce rex tuus uenit sedens super pullum assinae.
- 12:16 **Haec non** cognouerunt discipuli *eius* primum, *sed* quando glorificatus *est* Iesus, tunc recordati *sunt* *quia* haec scripta de eo, *et* haec fecerunt ei.
- 12:17 Testimonium [fo. 7v] ergo *perhibebat* turba, *quae* erat cum eo quando Lazarum uocauit de monumento *et* suscitauit eum a mortuis.
- 12:18 *Propterea et* obiam uenit ei *turba*, *quia* audierunt eum fecisse *hoc* signum.
- 12:19 Farissei *autem* dixierunt ad semet ipsos: uidetis *quia* nihil profecimus, ecce mundus totus post eum abiit.
- 12:20 Erant *autem* gentiles quidam, ex hiis *qui* ascenderant ut adorarent in die festo.
- 12:21 Hiis ergo accesserunt ad Pilipum, *qui* erat a Bezaida Galileae, *et* rogabant eum dicentes: domine, uolumus Iesum uidere.

- 12:22 Uenit Pilipus *et dicit* Andræ; Andrias rursus *et Pilipus dixerunt* ad Iesum.
- 12:23 Iesus *autem* respondit eís dicens: uenit hora, ut clarificetur Filius hominis.
- 12:24 Amen, amen dico uobís, nisi granum frumenti cadens in *terram et* mortuum fuerit, ipsum solum manet, *sí autem* mortuum fuerit, multum fructum adfert.
- 12:25 Qui amat animam suam, *perdat eam et qui* odit animam suam in *hoc* mundo, in uitam æternam custodit eam.
- 12:26 Sí quis *mihi* ministrat, me sequatur, et ubi sum ego, illic et *minister meus* erit. Sí quis *mihi* ministrauerit, honorificauit eum *Pater meus*.
- 12:27 Nunc anima mea turbata est. Ut *quid* dicam? Pater, saluifica me et ex hora hac. *Sed propter* ea ueni in horam hanc:
- 12:28 Pater, clarifica *nomen* tuum. Uenit ergo uox de cælo: *et clarificaui et iterum* clarificabo.
- 12:29 Turba ergo, *quae* stabat *et* audiebat, dicebat tonitrum factum est. Alii dicebant: angelus ei locutus est.
- 12:30 Respondit Iesus *et dixit*: non propter me uox haec uenit, *sed propter* uos.
- 12:31 Nunc iudicium est mundi, nunc princeps huius mundi eicitur foras.
- 12:32 Et ego, si exaltatus fuero a terra, omnia tracham ad me ipsum.
- 12:33 Hoc *autem* dicebat significans *qua* morte esset moriturus.
- 12:34 Respondit ei turba: nos audiuius ex lege, *quia* Christus manet in æternum, *et quomodo* tú dicis: oportet exaltari Filium hominis? Quis est iste Filius hominis?

- 12:35 *Dixit* [fo. 8r] ergo eís *Iesus*: adhúc modicum, lumen in uobís *est*. **A**mbulate dum lucem habetis, ut *non* tenebræ uos conpraechendant. *Et qui ambulat in tenebrís, nescit quo uadit.*
- 12:36 Dum lucem habetis, credite in lucem, ut filii lucis sitis. *Haec locutus est Iesus et abiit et abscondit sé ab eís.*
- 12:37 Cum *autem* tanta signa fecisset coram eís, *non* credebant in eum,
- 12:38 ut sermo *Essaiaë profetæ* inpleretur, quem *dixit*: *Domine, quis credidit auditui nostro? Et brachium Domini cui reuelatum est?*
- 12:39 **P**ropterea *non* poterant credere...

John 17 (17:11-end)

- 17:11 ...*Pater sancte, conserua nos in nomine tuo, quos dedisti mihi, ut sint unum, sicut et nós.*
- 17:12 Cum essem cum eís, ego seruabam eos in nomine tuo. Quos dedisti mihi, custodiui, *et nemo ex eís perit, nisi filius perditionis, ut Scriptura inpleatur.*
- 17:13 Nunc *autem* ad té uenio; *et haec* loquor in mundo, ut habeant gaudium magnum inpletum in ipsís.
- 17:14 Ego dedi eís sermonem meum *et* mundus odio eos habuit, *quia non sunt* de mundo, sicut *et* ego *non* sum de mundo.
- 17:15 *Non* rogo ut tollas eos de mundo, *sed* ut serues eos á malo.
- 17:16 De mundo non sunt, *sicut et* ego *non* sum de mundo.
- 17:17 *Sanctifica* eos in ueritate. Sermo tuus ueritas *est.*
- 17:18 Sicut me missisti in mundum, *et* ego missi eos in mundum.

- 17:19 *Et pro eís ego sanctifico me ipsum, ut sint et ipsi sanctificati in ueritate.*
- 17:20 *Non pro hiís rogo tantum, sed et pro eís qui credũturi sunt per uerbum eorum in me,*
- 17:21 *ut omnes unum sint, sicut tú Pater in me et ego in té, ut et ipsi in nobís unum sint, et mundus credat, quia tú me missisti.*
- 17:22 *Et ego claritatem, quam dedisti mihi, dedi eís, ut sint unum, sicut nos unum sumus.*
- 17:23 *Et ego in eís et tú in me, ut sint consummati in unum, et cognoscat mundus quia tú me missisti et [fo. 8v] dilexisti eos, sicut me dilexisti.*
- 17:24 *Pater, quos dedisti mihi, uolo ut ubi sum ego et illi sint mecum, ut uideant claritatem meam, quam dedisti mihi, quia dilexisti me ante constitutionem mundi.*
- 17:25 **Pater** iuste, *et mundus te non cognouit, ego autem te cognoui et hii cognouerunt, quia tú [me] missisti.*
- 17:26 *Et notum feci eís nomen tuum et notum faciam, ut dilectio, qua dilexisti me, in ipsís sit, et ego.*

John 18 (18:1, 18:4-18:13, 18:15-18:23)

- 18:1 **Haec** cum dixisset Iesus, egressus est cum discipulís suís trans torrentem Cedron, ubi erat hortus, in quem introiit ipse et discipuli eius.
- 18:4 **Iesus** itaque sciens omnia quæ uentura erant super eum, processit et dicit eís: quid quæritis?
- 18:5 Responderunt ei: *Iesum Nazarenum.* Dicit eís Iesus: ego sum. Stabat autem et Iudas, qui tradebat eum, cum ipsís.
- 18:6 *Ut ergo dixit eís: ego sum; abierunt retrorsum et ceciderunt in terram.*

- 18:7 Iterum ergo eos interrogauit: quem quæritis? Illi *autem* dixerunt: Iesum Nazarenum.
- 18:8 Respondit Iesus: dixi uobis, *quia* ego sum. Si ergo me quæritis, sinite hos abire.
- 18:9 Ut inpleatur sermo, quem dixit Iesus: *quia* quos dedisti mihi, non *perdidi* ex ipsís quemquam.
- 18:10 **S**imon ergo Petrus habens gladium eduxit eum et *percussit* principis seruum et abscidit eius auriculam dexteram. Erat *autem* nomen seruo Melchus.
- 18:11 Dixit ergo Iesus Petro: mite gladium tuum in uaginam. Calicem, quem dedit mihi Pater, non uís bibam illum?
- 18:12 Cohors ergo et tribunus *et* ministri Iudeorum *conpraechenderunt* [et ligauerunt]
- 18:13 et adduxerunt eum ad Annam primum: erat *enim* socer [fo. 9r] Caifae, qui erat pontifex anni illius.
- 18:15 ...**D**iscipulus *autem* ille erat notus pontifexis et introit cum Iesu in atrium pontificis.
- 18:16 Petrus *autem* stabat ad hostium foris...
- 18:17 Dixit ergo Petro ancilla ostiaria: numquid *et* tú ex discipulís és hominis istius? Dicit illi: *non* sum.
- 18:18 **S**tabant *autem* serui et ministri ad prunas, *quia* frigus erat et calefaciebant; erat *autem* cum eís Petrus stans *et* calefacens sé.
- 18:19 Pontifex *autem* interrogauit Iesum de discipulís suís *et* de doctrina eius.
- 18:20 **R**espondit ei Iesus: ego palam locutus sum mundo, ego semper docui in sinagoga *et* in templo, quo omnes Iudei conueniunt, et in oculto loquutus sum nihil.

18:21 **Quid me interrogas? Interroga eos, qui me audierunt quid loquutus sum ipsís. Ecce hii sciunt quae dixerim ego.**

18:22 **Haec autem cum dixisset, unus adsistens ministrorum dedit alapam Iesu dicens: síc respondes pontifici?**

18:23 **Respondit ei Iesus: sí male loquutus sum, testimonium perhibe de malo. Sí autem bene, quid me cedis?**

John 19 (19:40-end)

19:40 **Accipierunt ergo corpus Iesu et ligauerunt eum linteís cum aromatibus, sicut mós Iudeís est sepelire.**

19:41 **Erat autem in loco, ubi crucifixus est, hortus, et in orto monumentum nouum <nouum>,⁶³⁰ in quo nondum quisquam possitus erat.**

19:42 **Ibi ergo propter parascuen Iudeorum, quia iuxta erat monumentum, posuerunt Iesum.**

John 20 (20:1-20:23, 20:26-end)

20:1 **Una autem sapatí, Maria Magdalenæ uenit mane, cum adhuc tenebræ essent, ad monumentum et uidem lapidem sublatum a monumento.**

20:2 **Currit ergo et uenit ad Simonem Petrum et ad alium discipulum, quem amabat Iesus, et dicit eis: tulerunt Dominum de monumento et nescimus ubi posuerunt eum.**

20:3 **Exit ergo Petrus et ille alius discipulus et uenerunt ad monumentum.**

⁶³⁰ Bernard suggested that reading *nouum nouum* might reflect what he termed an Africanism, taking it to stand for *nouissimum*, but he deemed it more likely to be a scribal error (Bernard, "On the Stowe St. John" (1892-1896): 317). Given that the first instance of *nouum* occurs at the end of a line and the second at the beginning of the next, it seems all but certain that it is indeed nothing but an error, of a kind with those seen previously in, for example, 4:18 (see p. 215, n. 624) above.

- 20:4 Currebant [fo. 9v] *autem* duo simul, et ille alius discipulus *praecurrit* citius Petro et uenit *prius* ad monumentum.
- 20:5 Et cum sé inclinasset, uidit possita linteamina; non tamen introiuit.
- 20:6 Uenit ergo Simon Petrus sequens eum et introiuit in monumentum et uidit lintamina possita,
- 20:7 et sodarium, *quod* fuerat super caput eius, *non* cum lintaminibus positum, *sed* seperatim inuolutum in unum locum.
- 20:8 **T**unc ergo introibit et ille discipulus, qui uenerat primus ad monumentum, *et* uidit et credit.
- 20:9 *Nondum enim* sciebant Scripturam, *quia* oporteret eum a mortuís resurgere.
- 20:10 Abierunt ergo ad semet ipsos discipuli.
- 20:11 **M**aria *autem* stabat ad monumentum foris, plorans. Cum ergo fleret, inclinauit sé *et* prospexit in monumentum:
- 20:12 *et* uidit duos angelos in albis sedentes, unum ad caput, *et* unum ad pedes, ubi positum fuerat corpus Iesu.
- 20:13 **D**icunt ei: mulier, quid ploras? Dicit eís: quia tulerunt *Dominum* meum et nescio ubi possuerunt eum.
- 20:14 *Haec* cum dixisset, conuersa *est* retrorsum, *et* uidit *Iesum* stantem *et non* sciebat *quia Iesus est*.
- 20:15 Dicit ei *Iesus*: mulier, quid ploras? Quem quæris? Illa existimans quia hortul[a]nus *est* dicit ei: *domine*, sí tú sustulisti eum, diccito miho ubi possuisti eum, et ego eum tollam.

- 20:16 Dicit ei *Iesus*: Maria! Cum conuersa illa, dicit ei ebreicæ: rabboni! (*quod dicitur magister bone*) et occurrit ut tangeret eum.⁶³¹
- 20:17 Dicit ei *Iesus*: noli me tangere, nondum *enim* ascendi ad Patrem meum. Uade *autem* ad fratres meos *et* dic eis: ascendo ad Patrem meum et Patrem uestrum et ad *Deum* meum *et Deum* uestrum.
- 20:18 Uenit Maria [fo. 10r] Magdalenæ et nuntians discipulís: *quia* uidi *Dominum* et *haec dixit mihi*.
- 20:19 Cum esset ergo sero die illo, una sabbatorum, *et* fores essent clussæ, ubi erant discipuli *propter* metum Iudeorum, uenit *Iesus et* stetit in medio *et* dixit eis: pax uobiscum.
- 20:20 Et hoc cum dixisset, ostendit eis manus *et* latus suum. Gauissi *sunt* ergo discipuli, uiso *Domino*.
- 20:21 Dicit eis ergo iterum: pax uobís. [Sicut misit me Pater, et ego mitto uos.]⁶³²
- 20:22 Hoc cum dixisset, insuflauit *et* dicit eis: accipite *Spiritum Sanctum*.
- 20:23 **Quorum** remisieritis peccata, remittentur eis; quorum retinueritis, detenta *sunt*.
- 20:26 **Et** post dies octo, iterum erant discipuli eius intus, *et* Tomas cum eis. Uenit *Iesus* ianuís clausís *et* stetit in medio *et* dixit eis: pax uobíscum.
- 20:27 Deinde dicit Thome: infer degitum tuum huc et uide manus meas et adfer manum tuam *et* mite in latus meum, *et* noli esse incredulus, *sed* fidelis.
- 20:28 Respondit Thomas *et* dixit ei: *Dominus meus et Deus* meus.

⁶³¹ The phrase *et occurrit ut tangeret eum* does not occur in the Vulgate. See Bernard for some parallels for this phrase (Bernard, "On the Stowe St. John" (1892-1896): 317), see also the relevant verse on <http://www.iohannes.com/vetuslatina/edition/index.html> (accessed 26-06-2020). Note that the Stowe John reading is particularly close to that of St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 51 (p. 262, line 17-18).

⁶³² This gap consists of some thirty letters, which suggests that the scribe may have accidentally skipped a line in his exemplar (see p. 71 above).

- 20:29 Dicit ei Iesus: *quia* uidisti *et* credidisti. Beati qui me *non* uiderunt *et* crediderunt.
- 20:30 Multa *quidem et* alia signa fecit Iesus in *conspectu* discipulorum suorum, quæ *non sunt* scripta in libro hoc.
- 20:31 *Haec autem* scripta sunt ut credatis, quoniam Iesus *est* Christus, Filius Dei; *et* ut credentes, uitam æternam habeatis in nomine eius.

John 21 (21:1-21:6, 21:9-end)

- 21:1 Postea manifestauit sé iterum Iesus ad mare Tibiriadis. Manifestauit *autem* sic.
- 21:2 Erant simul Simon Petrus *et* Thomas, *qui dicitur* Dedimus, Dedimus *et* Nathanel, *qui* erat a Channan Galilæ *et* alii ex discipulis eius *et* filii Zebedei.
- 21:3 Dicit eis Simon Petrus: uado piscari. Dicunt ei: uenimus *et* nos tecum. Uenierunt *et* ascenderunt in nauem. [fo. 10v] **Et** illa nocte nihil coeperunt.
- 21:4 Mane *autem* iam facto stetit Iesus in litore; *non tamen* cognouerunt discipulus *quia* Iesus *est*.
- 21:5 Dicit ergo eis Iesus: pueri, numquid pulmentarium habetis? Responderunt ei: *non*.
- 21:6 Dixit eis Iesus: mitite in dexteram partem nauis rete, *et* inueniens. **Dixerunt autem** per totam noctem laborantes nihil cæpimus. In uerbo *autem* tuo mitemus.⁶³³ Miserunt ergo, *et* iam *non* ualebant illud trahere a multitudine piscium.
- 21:9 Ut ergo discenderunt in terram, uiderunt prunas possitas *et* piscem super possitum *et* panem.

⁶³³ The phrase *per totam noctem laborantes nihil cæpimus. In uerbo autem tuo* is taken from Luke 5:5. This may be an Insular feature, as was already noted by Bernard (Bernard, “On the Stowe St. John” (1892-1896): 317); see also the relevant chapter and verse on <http://www.iohannes.com/vetuslatina/edition/index.html> (accessed 26-06-2020) for parallels, e.g. in the Book of Mulling and several of the St Gall manuscripts.

- 21:10 Dicit eís: adferte de piscibus, quos conpraechendistis nunc.
- 21:11 Ascendit Simon Petrus *et* traxit rete in terra, plenum magnís piscibus quasi *centum quinquaginta et tribus*. Et cum tanti essent, *non est* scissum rete.
- 21:12 Dicit eís *Iesus*: uenite, prandite. Et nemo audiebat ex discipulis interrogare eum: tu quis es? scientes, *quia Dominus* esset.
- 21:13 **Et** uenit *Iesus et* accipit panem *et* dat eís *et* piscem similiter.
- 21:14 Hoc iam tertio manifestatus *est Iesus* discipulís, cum ressurexisset a mortuís.
- 21:15 Cum ergo prandissent, dicit Simoni Petro *Iesus*: Simon Iohannis, dilegis me plus hiís? Etiam *Domine*, tú scís quia amo té. Dicit ei: pasce agnos meos.
- 21:16 Dicit ei iterum: Simon Iohannis, diliges me? Dicit: etiam *Domine*, tú scís quia amo te. Dicit ei: pasce agnos meos.
- 21:17 Dicit ei tertio: Simon Iohannis, amas me? Contritatus est Petrus, *quia dixit* ei tertio: amas me? *et* dicit ei: *Domine*, tú omnia [nosti], scís quia amo te. Dicit ei: pasce oues meas.
- 21:18 Amen, dico tibi, quia cum esses iunior, [fo. 11r] cingebas té *et* ambulabas ubi uolebas; cum *autem* senueris, extends manus tuas *et* alius te cinget *et* ducet quo *non* uís tú.
- 21:19 Hoc *autem* dixit significans quo morte clarificaturus esset *Deum*. *Et* hoc cum dixisset, dicit ei: sequere me.
- 21:20 Conuersus Petrus uidit illum discipulum, quem dilegebat *Iesus*, sequentem sé, qui *et* recumbit in cena supra pectus eius *et* dicit: *Domine*, quis est qui tradet té?
- 21:21 Et hunc ergo cum uidisset Petrus, dicit Iesu: *Domine*, hic *autem* quid?
- 21:22 Dicit ei *Iesus*: síc eum uolo manere donec ueniam, quid ad té? Tú me sequere.

21:23 Exiibit ergo sermo iste inter fratres *quia* discipulus ille *non* moritur. Non dixit ei *Iesus*: non moritur, sed: *síc* eum uolo manere donec uenio, quid ad *té*?

21:24 **Hic est** discipulus qui testimonium perhibet de *hís* et scripsit haec; et *scimus* quia uerum est testimonium eius.

21:25 Sunt *autem* et alia multa quæ fecit *Iesus*; quæ *sí* scribantur per singula, nec *ipsum* arbitor mundum capere eos, qui scribendi sunt, libros.

Colophon

Deo gratias ago. Amen. **Finit.** Amen.

Rogo quicumque hunc librum legeris, ut memineris mei peccatoris scriptoris, *id est* *Sonid / Dinos*,⁶³⁴ peregrinus. Amen. Sanus sit *qui* scripsit *et* cui scriptum est. Amen.

⁶³⁴ See pp. 15-17 above for a discussion of the name, which was written in *ogam*.

Appendix 2: The Irish Tract on the Mass

Diplomatic Transcription of the Stowe Tract (ff. 65v-67r)

65v1	INdaltoir fiugor idigrīme īmaḃ · IN
65v2	cailech isfiḡ īnaecl̄ fūirmed 7 ro fothiged
65v3	forigrīmī 7 fō martri īnafathe 7 aliorū
65v4	Huisq: p ^h : īalicem 7 iss̄ canar occo · petote pa
65v5	ī deḡcorté filii · obsecrote sḡsscāe ·i· fiḡ īphōp
65v6	toresset īaēcla · Oblāe iaī sup altare ·i· īt ^h
65v7	iss̄ canar occo ·i· īhsxḡs A ⁶³⁵ 7 ω ⁶³⁶ h̄ ÷ p ^h ncipiū
65v8	7 fīnis · fiḡ cuirp cī rosuidiged hi linannart
65v9	brond maire · Fin iaī arhuisq: hicālech
65v10	·i· deacht cī ara donacht 7 aī pōp īaīsirhuis
65v11	ten iss̄ canar ocuidiu · Remitet pī idulget
65v12	fī: misseret ^h sḡs s̄s :· Acanar dind off̄ fsen it̄
65v13	ītroit 7 orthana 7 tormach corrigiliacht naḡs
65v14	7 ḡalm ndiḡd isfiḡor recto aicnith īs;n intro
65v15	aithnuiged cī triahuili baullo 7 gnimo · Liacht aḡs
65v16	īm 7 salm diḡd 7 hoḡuidiu codinochtad isfor aith
65v17	met · rechta litre īro fiuḡd cī nadfess cadacht
65v18	cidrofiuḡd and · Indinochtad corricileth īna
65v19	oblāe 7 īcailich 7 acanar occo it̄ sōs 7 ailloír
65v20	corrici oblata is fōret rechta fáthe hitarc ^h et
65v21	cī cofoll: acht nath naiccess corogénir :~
65v22	Aocbál ⁶³⁷ īcailich iarnalándiurug qñcanit ^h ob
65v23	lata isfořet gene cī ī sin ^h : tre airde · ^h /aīdocbale ·
65v24	et firto · Qñcanit ^h acc;pit ihs̄ panē · Tanaurnat
65v25	īsāc fat ^h ri duaith rigi ḡia pecthaib atnpuir dō

⁶³⁵ Presumably a Greek capital *A* is intended, given that this *A* differs from all other capital *A*'s written for Latin and Irish words. Moreover, the following *ω* is certainly written using the Greek alphabet.

⁶³⁶ The omega is written in big script, but using the lower-case form.

⁶³⁷ The *Thesaurus* reading is *Tocbál* (Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, vol. 2 (1901-1903): 253), but Gwynn was correct in changing this to *A ocbál*. The capital *A* is smudged but otherwise almost identical to that of *Ataat* (fo. 66r19).

65v26 7 slechthith īpōp 7 nitaet guth isson arnatar

66r1 masca · īsacardd q is̄ athechte arnarascra amen
66r2 me 3 dīm céne canas īliachtso isde ispiculosa oratio
66r3 ánō · Na ·iii· chēmen c;nges īfergraith foracúlu 7
66r4 toc;ng afrithis; īsatrede īīruīdethar cachdui
66r5 ne ·i· hībrethir hicocell hiṅgí 7 is̄ ·iii· tressanaith
66r6 nuigther iṫū 7 trisatosc;gther dochorp c̄r :~
66r7 In mesad mesas īsāc īcailech 7 īobli 7 ⁱⁿ ·tām: ad
66r8 midethar acōbach fiḡ nanaithisse 7 nanesorcon
66r9 7 ī na^{aur}gabale īsen · Indoblæ forsīméis colind c̄r
66r10 hi crann cruche · Acōbag f̄sīmeis corp c̄r do
66r11 chōbug co cloaib f̄sīc^hroich · Incōrac conreca
66r12 tar īda^hleth · fiḡ · iarsīchōbug fiḡ ógé chuir pc̄r
66r13 iarnesérgo · in fobdod fō baiṫ īdalled fiḡ fob
66r14 dotha cuirp c̄r īnafuil iarnaith chūbu hí croich ·
66r15 Inpars benar ahicht' īdlithe bís flāī cli fiḡ īdaith
66r16 chūmi cosīd lágín īoxil ītuib deiss q̄issíár ro bui
66r17 aiged c̄r īcruce ·i· 3 ciuī 7 isair robúi aigeth · loṅgin;
66r18 q robothuaisre došuidiu is̄ ropodesse do c̄r :~
66r19 Ataāt ·uii· ṅgne f̄sīchōbug ·i·u· parsā diobli choit
66r20 chinn hí fiḡ ·u· sense anmæ · a ·uii· diobli · noeb 7 huag
66r21 acht nahuasli · hí fiḡ ·uii· ṅdana s̄ps scī · A ·uiii·
66r22 diobli · mār · hífiḡ · īdnuiṫadnis; ochti · A ·uiiii· di
66r23 obli dōnich hí fiḡ noe montar nimæ 7 noeṅgrath æcała
66r24 A ·xi· diobli āps hí fiḡ īnaairme anfuir^he apōs
66r25 iarnīmarm: iudæ : A ·xii· deobli ·k̄l· 7 c^henlai hi forraith
66r26 mut airmæ foirbte īna napstal

66v1 A ·xiii· diobli minchasc 7 fele fresgabale pⁱ: cefo
66v2 dail̄ ní bes miniu iāṫ octecht dolaī h̄i fiḡ c̄r
66v3 co nadib nāps deac :· Inna ·u· 7 īna ·uii· 7 īna ·uiii·
66v4 7 īna ·uiiii· 7 īna ·xi· 7 īna ·xii· 7 īna ·xiii·
66v5 Ithe acuic sescot sālith 7 ishæ lin paṫṫ īsin

66v6 bis īobli case 7 nōt · 7 cheññ c;gis q congaib
 66v7 ther huile hí cī īsin 7 ishitorrund cruise
 66v8 sui digthir huile forsīméis 7 isfor clóen
 66v9 īpars ochtarach forlaī clii · utdictū ÷
 66v10 incli nate capite tradidit s̄pm :~
 66v11 Suidigoth cōbuig case 7 nōt ·iii· parsā deac
 66v12 in eo nā cros · a uiiii· īnatarsno .xx. pars
 66v13 īna cuairt roth ·u· parsæ cache oxile
 66v14 a xui iīcuaird 7 chorp nacros ·i· a ·iiii·
 66v15 charainne ī pars medonach ishídiatę
 66v16 ītii oifreş ·i· fīg ībruinni cosnarúnaib
 66v17 ābís hoş** ş*aş dind eo · doepsopbaib · Ata
 66v18 rsno · fīā*clī đosacardaib · a · ni fīaī
 66v19 de;s · dohuilib **ğ*aib · a · ní ondtarsno sís
 66v20 doanchordai*⁶³⁸ **ę* aithirge · Aní bís is
 66v21 īdoxil ochta* thūaiscerdig dofir m̄clerçhib
 66v22 in dochtar des**rdach doṁaib eṅgaib ·
 66v23 A nichť*rthuaiś do aes aitherge · a · nichť
 66v24 deś · do aeş l*nānassa dligthig 7 doaes na
 66v25 tet do laī řiā : /// īoff 7 coro phe tomeñme
 66v26 IS s̄ t̄ asbrig ladia menmæ dobuith hifiğib

 67r1 in^drann ara foemi din obli amail bith
 67r2 ball dicī assachroich 7 arābé croch
 67r3 saithir for cach arith feina ore noenige
 67r4 th*r frisīchorp crochthe ·: Nitechte
 67r5 ašlo⁶³⁹ cod īparsa cenā laissiuth amal nan
 67r6 coer cen saigith mlas hirruna dé :~
 67r7 Nicoir átecht fo culfiacli · hi fīg nan
 67r8 coir rosaegeth forruna dé na forber
 67r9 ther heres ñoco :~ finit amen dō grā

⁶³⁸ Although the *r* of *anchordai[b]* may appear to offer an example of a non-capital *r* being used in this text, the effect is most likely illusory, and is caused merely by the fading of the text and the intrusion of the ascender of the *h* of *ochta[r]thuaiscerdig* underneath.

⁶³⁹ The *punctum delens* over the *s* is very faint.

Normalised Text of the Stowe Tract on the Mass

- §1 [fo. 65v] **I**nd altōir, fiugor⁶⁴⁰ ind ingrimme imma·ber.
- §2 **I**n cailech is figor inna eclaise fo·ruirmed *ocus* ro·fothiged for ingrimmim *ocus* for martri inna fāthe 7 aliōrum.
- §3 (1) **H**uisque prius in calicem *ocus* iss *ed* canar occo: petō tē Pater, dēprecor té Fīlii, obsecrō tē Spīritus Sānctæ. (2) .i. figor in phopuil to·resset ī⁶⁴¹ æclesiā.
- §4 (1) **O**blæ īarum super altāre .i. in turtur. (2) Iss *ed* canar occo .i. Iēsus Chrīstus A et Ω hoc est prīncipium et finis,⁶⁴² (3) figor cuirp Crīst ro·suidiged hi līnannart brond Maire.
- §5 (1) **F**īn īarum ar huisque hi cælech .i. dēacht Crīst ara dō[e]nacht⁶⁴³ *ocus* arin popul i n-aimsir thuisten. (2) Iss *ed* canar oc suidiu: remitet⁶⁴⁴ Pater, indulget Fīlius, misserētur Spīritus Sānctus.
- §6 **A** canar dind offriund for sen,⁶⁴⁵ iter introit *ocus* orthana *ocus* tōrmach corrigi Līacht nApstal *ocus* Psalm nDīgrád, is figor recto aicnith in sin in-roaithnuiged Crīst tria huili baullo *ocus* gnīmo.
- §7 **L**īacht Apstal immurgu *ocus* Salm Dīgrád *ocus* hō suidiu co dīnochtad, is forraithmet rechta litre in-rofiugrad Crīst nad·fess cadacht cid ro·fiugrad and.

⁶⁴⁰ This is the only instance in which the word is written with the expected *-u-* in the first syllable, the word is otherwise generally abbreviated *fīg* in the MS, but this has been expanded as the generally more common *figor* throughout, in light of the occurrence of *figor* in §6.

⁶⁴¹ It is not immediately apparent whether this should be taken as Latin *in*, or Irish *i n-*, although it would be somewhat unusual to find a Latin noun taking an Irish mutation.

⁶⁴² cf. Revelation 1:8 (Vulgate): *ego sum Alpha et Omega, principium et finis, dicit Dominus Deus: qui est, et qui erat, et qui venturus est, omnipotens.*

⁶⁴³ A change of *dōenacht* to *dónacht* is otherwise unparalleled and the manuscript reading is therefore taken to reflect a scribal error.

⁶⁴⁴ The expected form is pres. 3sg. *remittit*, but the attested manuscript reading *remitet* resembles the fut. 3sg. *remittet* more closely. This is probably merely a chance correspondence, made possible by the loss of distinction between unstressed (short) *e* and *i* in Medieval Latin. The other verbs in this Latin phrase are in the present tense.

⁶⁴⁵ The Stowe Missal is unusual for twice having the by-form *sen* (the other example being found in §12 below) alongside expected *sin*.

- §8 **In** dīnochtad co·rrici leth *inna* oblæ *ocus in cailich*⁶⁴⁶ *ocus* a canar *occo iter soscéil oculus* Aillóir corrici Oblāta is *foraithmet* rechta fáthe hi·tarchet *Críst* co follus, acht nath·n·aiccess co ro·génir.
- §9 **A** ocbál *in cailich* ĩarna lándiurug, *quandō canitur* Oblāta, is *foraithmet* gene *Críst* in sin [*ocus*] a *indocbāle* tre airde *et*⁶⁴⁷ *firto*.
- §10 (1) **Quandō** *canitur* accipit *Iēsus pānem*, ta·n·aurdat *in sacard* fa thri du aithrigi dia pecthaib. (2) At·n·opuir *Deō oculus* slēcht<h>ith *in popul oculus* nī·tāet guth i sson arnā·tar[fo. 66r]masca *in sacardd ar* iss *ed* a thēchte: arnā·rascra a menme *contrā Deum*⁶⁴⁸ céne canas *in* līacht·so. (3) Is de is *periculōsa* ōrātiō á nōmen.
- §11 (1) **Na tri** chēm̄men ciñges *in fer grāith* fora cúlu⁶⁴⁹ *ocus* to·ciñg a frithisi, is *ed* a trēde i·n·imruimdethar cach duine .i. hi mbrēthir hi cocell⁶⁵⁰ hi ngním. (2) *Oculus* is *ed tri* tressa·n·aithnuigther *iterum oculus* trisa·toscigether do chorp *Críst*.
- §12 **In** mesad mesas *in sacard* in cailech *ocus in obli oculus* int *ammus* ad·midethar a combach, *figor* na n·aithisse *ocus* na n·esorcon *ocus inna* aurgabāle *in sen*.
- §13 **Ind** oblæ *forsin* méis, colind *Críst* hi crann cruche.
- §14 **A** combag *forsin* mēis, corp *Críst* do chombug co cloäib *forsin* chroich.
- §15 (1) **In** comrac con·recatar *in* da lleth ĩarsin chombug, *figor* ógé chuirp *Críst* ĩar n·esérgo. (2) **In** fobdod fo·mbäiter *in* da lled, *figor* fobdotha cuirp *Críst inna* fúil ĩar n·aithchumbu hí croich.

⁶⁴⁶ Note that the form is unlenited, or at least that this is not marked in the MS. This may be more than a coincidence, for the same holds for *in cailich* in §9 below. See also note 649 below.

⁶⁴⁷ We may wonder whether this example of the spelled out Latin conjunction *et* could, like the Tironian note 7, also be read as Irish *ocus* when found between two Irish words.

⁶⁴⁸ The Irish phrase *scaraid X fri Y* here appears to have been rendered bilingually, with *contra* replacing *fri*. However, given that both *contra* and *Deum* were abbreviated, we may wonder whether a medieval reader may not have read the entire phrase in Irish.

⁶⁴⁹ This is another example of an initial *c-* being left apparently unlenited, cf. *in cailich* in both §8 and §9 above (see also note 646). Although this is not a universal feature of the text, in light of counterexamples such as §11.1 *na tri chēm̄men*, §11.2 *do chorp*, §14 *do chombug*, we may wonder whether lenition was not always represented in the exemplar to the Stowe Tract.

⁶⁵⁰ The final consonant should be palatalised, but this was left unmarked in the manuscript.

- §16 (1) **In** pars benar a hīchtur ind lithe bīs for lāim clī, figor ind aithchummi cosind lāgin i n-oxil in tūib deiss, ar is síar ro·buī aiged Críst in cruce .i. *contrā cīuitātem ocus* is [s]air⁶⁵¹ ro·buī aigeth Longīnī. (2) A rro·bo thūaisre do súidiu, iss *ed* ro·po desse do Críst.
- §17 (1) **At**·[t]aät *secht* ñgnē forsin chombug (2) .i. *cóic* persa di obli choitchinn hí figuir *cóic* sēnse anmæ. (3) A *secht* di obli nōeb *ocus* hūag, acht na hūasli, hí figuir *secht* ñdāna spīritūs sāncfī. (4) **A** *ocht* di obli martar hí figuir ind nuifīadnisi ochti. (5) **A** *noí* di obli domnich hí figuir nōe montar nimæ *ocus* nōe ñgrāth æcalsa. (6) **A** *óen deäc* di obli apstal hí figuir inna āirme anfuir[b]the apostol iar n-immarmus Iūdæ. (7) **A** *dá deäc* de obli *cailne* (or: *kalendārum*) *ocus* chenlāi hi forraithmut āirmæ foirbt[h]e inna n-apstal. [fo. 66v] (8) **A** *trí deäc* di obli minchāsc *ocus* fēle fresgabāle – prius ce fo·dāilter ní bes miniu iarum oc techt do lāim –⁶⁵² hí figuir Críst cona dib n-apstalaib deäc.
- §18 **Inna**⁶⁵³ *cóic ocus inna secht ocus inna ocht ocus inna noí ocus inna óen deäc ocus inna dá deäc ocus inna trí deäc*, it hē a cūic sescot samlith *ocus* is hāe līn pars in sin bīs i n-obli cāsc *ocus notlac*⁶⁵⁴ *ocus* cheñncigis, ar coñ·gaibther huile hí Críst in sin *ocus* is hi tōrrund cruise suidighthir huile forsin méis *ocus* is for clóen in pars oēhtarach for lāim clii, ut dictum est inclināte capite trādidit spīritum.⁶⁵⁵

⁶⁵¹ The second *s*- was probably left out by mistake due to the previous word ending in *-s*.

⁶⁵² The phrase between *en*-dashes almost certainly originated as a marginal gloss in an earlier manuscript, but was incorporated into the main text in the Stowe Missal. Unfortunately, the gloss seems to have been incorporated in the wrong place. See pp. 112-114 above.

⁶⁵³ The use of the Npl. *inna* throughout this sequence is unexpected, for the wording of both §17.2 and the mention of *līn pars* later in §18 would seem to suggest that the reference is to certain amounts of ‘particles’, the Irish for which is the *u*-stem m. *pars*. The *u*-stem inflection of this particular word is somewhat unstable in the Stowe Tract, for it is twice attested as *pars* in the Gpl. instead of expected *parsae*, but this would not in itself explain why it would here take the feminine or neuter inflection of the Npl. of the definite article instead of the expected masculine *in(d)*. For the purposes of this thesis, these instances of *inna* are considered to be abstract neuters, but they could also be taken to be feminine forms, or to represent early examples of the Middle Irish development whereby the distinct masculine inflection of the Npl. of the definite article was lost. No examples of the Npl. masculine of the definite article are attested in the Stowe Tract. See also n. 661 below.

⁶⁵⁴ This word is attested both here and in §19 below. In both instances, the manuscript reading is *nōt*. The *Thesaurus* expands these forms as *notlaic* in both instances (Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, vol. 2 (1901-1903): 255), but given that the word is later attested as having a Gsg. *notlac*, *nollac*, it is here expanded as *notlac*.

⁶⁵⁵ cf. John 19:30 (Vulgate): *Et inclinato capite tradidit spiritum*.

- §19 Suidigoth *combuig cāsc oculus notlac: tri* pars deāc i n-ēo na cros, a *noí* inna tarsno, *fiche* pars inna cūairtroth, *cóic* parsæ cache oxile, a *sé deāc iter in* cūaird *oculus* chorp na cros, .i. a *cethair* [ca]cha rainne.
- §20 (1) *In* pars medōnach is hí⁶⁵⁶ dia·tēt int-ii oifres, .i. *figor in* bruinni cosna rúnaib. (2) A mbís hō s[ín] s[ú]as dind ēo do epscopbaib. (3) A tarsno⁶⁵⁷ for lā[i]m clī do sacardaib. (4) A n-ī for lāim deis do huilib [fo]grá[d]aib. (5) A n-í ōnd tarsno síis do anchordai[b 7 á]e[s]⁶⁵⁸ aithirge. (6) A n-í bís isind oxil ōch[tar]t[h]ūaiscerdig do fīrmaclērchib. (7) Ind ōchtardes[ce]rdach do maccaib enngaib. (8) A n-īcht[a]rthūaiscerdach do āes aithirge. (9) A n-īchtardescerdach do āes l[á]namnassa dligthig *oculus* do āes na·tēt do lāim riām.
- §21 (1) *Iss ed trá* as brīg la Dīa: menmæ do buith hi *figraib in offrind oculus* co·rop hē to menmmæ ind rann ara·fōemi din obli amail bith ball di *Críst* assa chroich *oculus* ara mbé croch saīthir for cāch a rith fēin<a>⁶⁵⁹ ōre n-ōenigeth[e]r frisin chorp⁶⁶⁰ crochthe. (2) Nī tēchte a slocod *in* parsna cena mlaissiuth amal nan coer cen saigith mlas hi rrūna Dé. (3) Nī coir á⁶⁶¹ techt fo cūlfīaclī hi *figuir* nan coir rosaegeth for rūna Dé na·forberther heres n-oco.⁶⁶²
- §22 Fīnit. Āmēn. Deō grāτίας.

⁶⁵⁶ This is probably the deictic particle *í*, followed by a relative clause, even though the deictic particle is usually combined with the definite article in this context.

⁶⁵⁷ This ending of what is assumed to be a Nsg. *io*-stem n. noun *tarsnae* (attested also in the Dsg. §19 and §20.5, both times also spelled *tarsno*) is problematic. See p. 118 above.

⁶⁵⁸ The text is damaged at this point and the proposed reconstruction, originally suggested in the *Thesaurus* (Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, vol. 2 (1901-1903): 255) is offered in light of the available space and what little may still be read. This restoration is less certain than those found in the remainder of §20, where textual parallels and the fact that most of the gaps occur within longer words allow for a fairly confident reconstruction, where only the spelling may be in doubt.

⁶⁵⁹ The manuscript reading is undoubtedly *fēina*, but there are no parallels for adding *-a* to the reflexive pronoun, meaning that this should probably be considered to be a scribal error.

⁶⁶⁰ Note the unexpected lenition of *chorp* following the Asg. of the definite article.

⁶⁶¹ The lack of lenition following what must be the possessive pronoun 3sg. m. is unexpected. It again involves what appears to be a reference to the *u*-stem m. *pars* and we may wonder whether this noun was (sometimes) considered to be feminine in the Stowe Missal. See also note 30.

⁶⁶² It is unusual for a conjugated preposition to take nasalisation, which is in itself unexpected after Nsg. *heres* (< Lat. f. *haeresis*), unless that noun was taken to be a neuter.

Translation of the Stowe Tract

- §1 The altar [is] the symbol of the persecution which is inflicted.
- §2 The chalice is the symbol of the church, which has been set and founded on the persecution and on the martyrdom of the prophets *and others*.
- §3 (1) *First* water [is poured] *into the chalice* and this is chanted thereat: *I ask you, Father, I beg you, Son, I beseech thee, Holy Ghost*. (2) [This] symbolizes the people that have been poured *into the Church*.
- §4 (1) Then [the] host [is placed] *over the altar*; it is the turtle-dove. (2) This is chanted thereat: *Jesus Christ, Alpha and Omega, that is the beginning and the end*. [cf. Revelation 1:8] (3) [This] symbolizes the body of Christ which has been put in the linen-sheet of Mary's womb.
- §5 (1) Then wine [is] mixed with [the] water in the chalice; it is the divine nature of Christ mixed with his humanity and mixed with the people at the time of [his] begetting.⁶⁶³ (2) This is chanted thereat: *the Father remits, the Son grants, the Holy Ghost pities*.
- §6 What is chanted of the mass after that, both introit and prayers and addition,⁶⁶⁴ as far as the Lesson of the Apostles and the Gradual, symbolizes the law of nature in which Christ has been renewed through all his members and deeds.
- §7 The Lesson of the Apostles, however, and the Gradual and from that to [the first] uncovering commemorates that Christ was prefigured in the law of the letter, [but that] it was not yet known what had been prefigured.

⁶⁶³ Alternatively, the preposition *ar* could be taken as an early variant of *for* (which could be written as such especially in Middle Irish) with its ordinary meaning 'on, over, above'. The sentence would then read: 'Then wine [is poured] on [the] water in the chalice; it is the divine nature of Christ over his humanity and over the people at the time of [his] begetting.'

⁶⁶⁴ 'Addition' (*tórmach*) most likely translates Latin *augmentum*, and seems to denote an additional prayer, probably taking the form of an additional collect. Compare, for example, the rubric added by Móel Caích on fo. 15r10 *híc augmentum : lectio pauli apostoli ad corinteos incipit*.

- §8 The uncovering, as far as half of the host and of the chalice, and what is chanted thereat, both gospel and Alleluia up to *the Oblata*, commemorates that Christ was clearly foretold in the law of the prophets, but that he was not seen until he was born.
- §9 The raising of the chalice after its full uncovering, *when the Oblata is chanted*, is a commemoration of the birth of Christ and of his glory through signs *and* wonders.
- §10 (1) *When 'Jesus accepts the bread' is chanted*, the priest bows thrice to repent of his sins. (2) He offers [the chalice] *to God* and the people genuflect, and voice does not come into sound,⁶⁶⁵ so that it does not disturb the priest. For this is what is right: that his mind does not separate *from God* while he chants this lesson. (3) It is from this that *its name is the perilous prayer*.
- §11 (1) The three steps which the ordained man steps backwards and steps forward again, it is the triad in which every human being sins. That is to say: in word, in thought, in deed. (2) And those are [the] three [steps] through which he is renewed and through which he is brought to the body of Christ.
- §12 The examination with which the priest examines the chalice and the host, and the attempt with which he attempts to break it symbolize the insults and the beatings and the seizure [of Christ].
- §13 The host upon the paten [is] the flesh of Christ on the tree of the cross.
- §14 The fraction on the paten [is] the breaking of the body of Christ with nails on the cross.
- §15 (1) The joining with which the two halves are joined after the fraction [is] a symbol of the wholeness of the body of Christ after [the] resurrection. (2) The submersion with which the two halves are submerged symbolizes the submersion of the body of Christ in his blood after [his] wounding on the cross.

⁶⁶⁵ i.e. the people pray silently, so as not to distract the priest while he utters the words of consecration.

- §16 (1) The particle that is broken from the bottom of the half on [the] left hand symbolizes the wounding with the lance in the armpit on the right, for Christ's face was [turned] westwards *on the cross, that is towards the city*, and *Longinus'* face was [turned] eastwards. (2) That which was on the left for the latter is that which was on the right for Christ.
- §17 (1) There are seven kinds of fraction. (2) That is: five particles of [the] common host as a symbol of the five senses of [the] soul. (3) Seven of the host of saints and virgins, except for the high ones, as a symbol of the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost. (4) Eight of the martyrs' host as a symbol of the octonary New Testament. (5) Nine of the host of Sunday as a symbol of the nine households of heaven and the nine grades of the church. (6) Eleven of the apostles' host as a symbol of the incomplete number of [the] apostles after the sin *of Judas*. (7) Twelve of the host of [the] calends and Maundy Thursday as a commemoration of the complete number of the apostles. (8) Thirteen of the host of Low Sunday and the Festival of Ascension – formerly, although thereafter something less is distributed at going to communion⁶⁶⁶ – as a symbol of Christ with his twelve apostles.
- §18 The five and the seven and the eight and the nine and the eleven and the twelve and the thirteen, they are sixty-five thus and that is the number of particles that is in the host of Easter and Christmas and Pentecost, for all that is contained in Christ. And it is in the sign of [the] cross that it is all arranged on the paten, and the upper part is inclined on the left hand, *as it is said: with a bent head, he gave up the spirit*. [John 19:30]
- §19 The arrangement of the fraction of Easter and Christmas [consists of] thirteen particles in the stem of the crosses, nine in their crosspieces, twenty particles in their circle-wheels, five particles [in] each angle, and sixteen both [in] the circle and [in] the body of the crosses, that is four [in] each part.
- §20 (1) The middle particle is that to which the one who celebrates mass goes; it symbolizes the breast with its mystical meanings. (2) [Those particles] which are up from [the latter] to the shaft [are] for bishops. (3) The crosspiece on the left hand [is] for priests. (4) The one on the right [is] for all subgrades. (5) The [particles] down from the

⁶⁶⁶ This incorporated gloss appears to have been misplaced. See note 652 above.

crosspiece [are] for anchorites [and people] of penance. (6) Those which are in the upper-left angle [are] for true clerical students.⁶⁶⁷ (7) [Those in] the upper-right [are] for innocent children. (8) [Those in] the lower-left [are] for people of penance. (9) [Those in] the lower-right [are] for people of lawful marriage and for people who do not go to communion before.

§21 (1) This, then, is what God deems worthy: [for the] mind to be on the symbols of the mass, so that your attention may be [on] the part which you receive from the host, as if it were a member of Christ from his cross. And that there may be a cross of labour on each [in] his own course, for it unites [one] with the crucified body. (2) Swallowing the particle without tasting it is not right, as it is improper not to seek [to bring] savours into the mysteries of God. (3) Retracting it under the back-teeth is not proper, symbolizing that it is improper to discuss the mysteries of God overmuch, so that heresy may not thereby increase.

§22 *It ends. Amen. Thanks [be] to God.*

⁶⁶⁷ The translation of *fīrmacclērchib* is somewhat tentative, given the lack of direct *comparanda*, but accords with the broader use of *macc X* to indicate students.

Vocabulary of the Stowe Tract

All words found in the Stowe Missal Tract are cited under their respective headwords, reference being made to both the paragraph and, when applicable, sentence number of the edited version, as well as to the folio and line number of the transcription. Forms cited always include both the normalised version and the more directly attested forms given in the transcription (the latter being added between round brackets), so that this vocabulary may serve both for the purpose of general reading and for comparing the attested manuscript forms of a given word. When the same form of a word occurs more than once in a single sentence and line of the manuscript, this is noted by adding the number of times it occurs between square brackets. Headwords are bolded, all cited forms are written using italics.

Old Irish

a 1 poss. pron. 3sg. m. ‘his’, §9 (65v22) *a* (A), §9 (65v22), §9 (65v23), §10.2 (66r1), §11.1 (66r4), §21.1 (67r3) *a* (a), §21.2 (67r5) *a* (a), §21.3 (67r7) *á* (*á*), with prep. **ar 1** §5.1 (65v10) *ara* (*ara*), with prep. **co 2** §17.8 (66v3) *cona* (*co na*), with prep. **i** §15.2 (66r14) *inna* (*īna*), with prep. **īar** §9 (65v22) *īarna* (*iarna*)

a 2 poss. pron. 3sg. f. ‘her’, §10.3 (66r3) *a* (*á*), §12 (66r8) *a* (a), §14 (66r10) *a* (A)

a 3 nas. rel. dem. pron. ‘that which, what’, §6 (65v12) *a* (A), §8 (65v19) *a* (a), §16.2 (66r18) *a* (*q*), §20.2 (66v17) *a* (*ā*)

a 4 prep. with dat. ‘from, (out) of’, §16.1 (66r15) *a* (a), with poss. pron. 3sg. m. §21.1 (67r2) *assa* (*assa*)

a 5 num. part., §17.3 (66r20), §18 (66v5), §19 (66v12), §19 (66v14) [2] *a* (a), §17.4 (66r21), §17.5 (66r22), §17.6 (66r24), §17.7 (66r25), §17.8 (66v1) *a* (A)

a 6 poss. pron. 3pl. ‘their’, with prep. **i** §19 (66v12), §19 (66v13) *inna* (*īna*)

-a- nas. dem. rel. part., with **tre** and **athnuigedar** §11.2 (66r5-6) *tressa-n-aithnuigther* (*tressanaith nuigther*), with **tre** and **do-foscaig** §11.2 (66r6) *trisa-toscigther* (*trisatoscigther*), with **do** and **téit** §20.1 (66v15) *dia-tēt* (*diatēt*), with **ar-foím** §21.1 (67r1) *ara-fōemi* (*ara foemi*)

acht conj. ‘but’, §8 (65v21), §17.3 (66r21) *acht* (*acht*)

ad·cí H2 ‘to see’, neg. pret. pass. 3sg. rel. §8 (65v21) *nath-n-aiccess* (*nath naiccess*)

ad·midethar S2 ‘to aim at, to assey, to try, to attempt’, pres. 3sg. §12 (66r7-8) *ad-midethar* (*ad midethar*)

ad·opair S1 ‘to offer, to sacrifice’, pres. 3sg. with class B infixed pron. 3sg. m. §10.2 (65v25)
at·n·opuir (atnopuir)

áes u m. ‘people, folk, those who’, Dsg. §20.5 (66v20) [á]e[s] (*e*), §20.8 (66v23), §20.9 (66v24) *āes (aes)*, §20.9 (66v24) *āes (aeş)*

aicned o n. ‘inherent quality, nature’, Gsg. §6 (65v14) *aicnith (aicnith)*

aiged ā f. ‘face’, Nsg. §16.1 (66r17) *aiged (aiged)*, §16.1 (66r17) *aigeth (aigeth)*

aillóir ā? f? ‘Alleluia’ (?), Asg. §8 (65v19) *aillóir (ailloír)*

aimser ā f. ‘(point of) time’, Dsg. §5.1 (65v10) *n·aimsir (aĩsir)*

ainim ā/n f. ‘soul’, Gsg. §17.2 (66r20) *anmae (anmae)*

airde io n. ‘sign, token’, Apl. §9 (65v23) *airde (airde)*

áirem ā f. VN ‘(act of) counting, reckoning, number’, Gsg. §17.6 (66r24) *āirme (airme)*, §17.7 (66r26) *āirmæ (airmæ)*

airgabál ā f. VN ‘(act of) taking hold, capturing, arrest’, Gsg. §12 (66r9) *aurgabāle (^{aur}gabale)*

aithchumbae io n. VN ‘(act of) cutting, wounding, maiming’, Gsg. §16.1 (66r15-16)
aithchummi (aith chūmi), Dsg. §15.2 (66r14) *n·aithchumbu (naith chūbu)*

aithis i f. ‘insult, reproach, reviling’, Gpl. §12 (66r8) *n·aithisse (naithisse)*

aithrige iā f. VN ‘(act of doing) penance, repentance’, Gsg. §20.5 (66v20) *aithrige (aithrige)*, §20.8 (66v23) *aitherge (aitherge)*, Dsg. §10.1 (65v25) *aithrigi (aith rigi)*

altóir ī/ā f. ‘altar’, Nsg. §1 (65v1) *altóir (altoir)*

amal len. prep. with acc. ‘like, as’, with 3sg. m./n. as adv. ‘thus, so’, §18 (66v5) *samlith (sālith)*, as conj. ‘as, as if, as though’, §21.1 (67r1) *amail (amail)*, §21.2 (67r5) *amal (amal)*

ammus u m. VN ‘attempt, effort’, Nsg. §12 (66r7) *ammus (ām:)*

ancharae nt m. ‘anchorite’, Dpl. §20.5 (66v20) *anchordai[b] (anchordai*)*

anfoirbthe io/iā ‘incomplete, imperfect’, Gsg. f. §17.6 (66r24) *anfuir[b]the (anfuir^he)*

apstal o m. ‘apostle’, Gpl. §7 (65v15), §17.6 (66r24) *apstal (ap̄s)*, §6 (65v13) *n·apstal (nap̄s)*, §17.6 (66r24) *apostol (apōs)*, §17.7 (66r26) *n·apstal (napstal)*, Dpl. §17.8 (66v3) *n·apstalaib (nap̄s)*

ar 1 len. prep. with dat. and acc. ‘mixed with’, §5.1 (65v9) *ar (ar)*, with def. art. Dsg. m. §5.1 (65v10) *arin (arī)*, with poss. pron. 3sg. m. §5.1 (65v10) *ara (ara)*

ar 2 conj. with subj. ‘for, since, for the reason that’, §10.2 (66r1), §16.1 (66r16), §18 (66v6) *ar (q)*, with **do·airmesca** §10.2 (65v26-66r1) *arnā·tarmasca (arnatar masca)*, with **scaraid** §10.2 (66r1) *arnā·rascra (arnarascra)*

ara nas. conj. ‘that, in order that’, §21.1 (67r2) *ara (arā)*

ar·foím S1 ‘to accept, to receive’, pres. 2sg. with dem. rel. part. **-a-** §21.1 *ara:fōemi (ara foemi)*

at·tá H1 ‘to be’, pres. 3pl. §17.1 (66r19) *at-[t]aüt (Ataat)*, cons. pres. 3sg. rel. §16.1 (66r15), §20.6 (66v20) *bís (bís)*, §18 (66v6) *bīs (bis)*, §20.2 (66v17) *mbís (bís)*, pres. subj. 3sg. §21.1 (67r2) *mbé (bé)*, augm. pret. 3sg. §16.1 (66r16) *ro·buī (ro bui)*, §16.1 (66r17) *ro·buí (robúi)*
athnuigedar W2 ‘to renew, to restore’, with **tre** pass. pres. 3sg. §11.2 (66r5-6) *tressa-n-aithnuighther (tressanaith nuighther)*, pass. augm. pret. 3sg. with **i** §6 (65v14-15) *in-ro-aithnuiged (inro aithnuiged)*

ball o m. ‘limb, member’, Nsg. §21.1 (67r2) *ball (ball)*, Apl. §6 (65v15) *baullo (baullo)*

benaid S3 ‘to beat, to cut off; [with prep. **a 4**] ‘to take from’, pass. pres. 3sg. §16.1 (66r15) *benar (benar)*

both ā f. VN ‘being, existing’, Dsg. §21.1 (66v26) *buith (buith)*

briathar ā f. ‘word, speech’, Dsg. §11.1 (66r5) *mbrēthir (brethir)*

bríg ā f. ‘power; value, worth, virtue’, Nsg. §21.1 (66v26) *brīg (brig)*

brú n f. ‘womb’, Gsg. §4.3 (65v9) *brond (brond)*

bruinne io m. ‘breast, bosom, chest’, Gsg. §20.1 (66v16) *bruinni (bruinni)*

cach pron. adj. ‘every’, Nsg. m. §11.1 (66r4) *cach (cach)*, Gsg. f. §19 (66v13) *cache (cache)*, §19 (66v15) *[ca]cha (cha)*

cách pron. ‘everyone, each one, all’, §21.1 (67r3) *cāch (cach)*

cadacht adv. ‘yet, as yet’, §7 (65v17) *cadacht (cadacht)*

cailech o m. ‘chalice, cup’, Nsg. §2 (65v2) *cailech (cailech)*, Gsg. §8 (65v19), §9 (65v22) *cailich (cailich)*, Dsg. §5.1 (65v9) *caelech (caelech)*, Asg. §12 (66r7) *cailech (cailech)*

callann ā f. ‘calends, first day of the month’, Gsg. §17.7 (66r25) *cailne (·kt·)*

canaid S1 ‘to sing, to chant, to recite’, pres. rel. 3sg. §10.2 (66r2) *canas (canas)*, pass. pres. 3sg. §3.1 (65v4), §4.2 (65v7), §5.2 (65v11), §6 (65v12), §8 (65v19) *canar (canar)*

cásc ā f. ‘Easter’, Gpl. §18 (66v6), §19 (66v11) *cāsc (casc)*

céimm n n. VN ‘(act of) stepping, step’, Npl. §11.1 (66r3) *chēmnen (chēmen)*

cen len. prep. with acc. ‘without’, §21.2 (67r6) *cen (cen)*, with poss. pron. 3sg. m. **a 1** §21.2 (67r5) *cena (cenā)*

cennlá io n. ‘Maundy Thursday’, Gsg. §17.7 (66r25) *chenlaī (c^henlai)*

cethair num. ‘four’, abs. with **a 5** §19 (66v14) *cethair (·iiii·)*

cía 1 interr. and indef. pron. ‘who, what’, stressed n. §7 (65v18) *cid (cid)*

cía 2 conj. ‘(with foll. subj.) even if, although’, §17.8 (66v1) *ce (ce)*

cían adv. ‘as long as, while’, §10.2 (66r2) *céne (céne)*

cíngciges o? m? ‘Pentecost, Whitsunday’, Gsg. §18 (66v6) *cheñncigis* (*cheñn cīgis*)

cíngid S1 ‘to step’, pres. 3sg. rel. §11.1 (66r3) *cínges* (*cínges*)

clé io/iā ‘left’, Dsg. f. §16.1 (66r15) *clī* (*cli*), §20.3 (66v18) *clī* (*clī*), §18 (66v9) *clī* (*clī*)

cléirech o m. ‘cleric, one in orders’, as 3rd member of compound with **fír** and **macc** Dpl. §20.6 (66v21) *fírmaccléirchib* (*fír m̄clerchib*)

cloë io m? ‘nail, metal spike’, Dpl. §14 (66r11) *cloäib* (*cloaib*)

clóen o/ā ‘uneven, crooked, curving; (as subt.) slant, inclination’, subst. Dsg. m. with **for** ‘slanting, inclined’ §18 (66v8) *clóen* (*clóen*)

co 1 prep. with acc. ‘to, till, as far as’, §7 (65v16), §8 (65v21) *co* (*co*)

co 2 prep. with dat. ‘with’, §14 (66r11) *co* (*co*), with poss. pron. 3sg. m. **a 1** §17.8 (66v3) *cona* (*co na*), with def. art. Dsg. f. §16.1 (66r16) *cosind* (*cosīd*), with def. art. Dpl. f. §20.1 (66v16) *cosna* (*cosna*)

co 3 nas. conj. with indic. ‘so that, until’, §8 (65v21) *co* (*co*), as adv. with **ro·icc** §6 (65v13) *co·rrigi* (*corrigi*), §8 (65v18), §8 (65v20) *co·rrici* (*corrici*), with subj. ‘so that, in order that’, §21.1 (66v25) *co·rop* (*coro p*)

cóic num. ‘five’, §17.2 (66r19), §17.2 (66r20), §18 (66v3), §19 (66v13) *cóic* (*·u·*), abs. with **a 5** §18 (66v5) *cūic* (*cuic*)

coicell ā f. ‘thought, secret, intention’, Dsg. §11.1 (66r5) *cocell* (*cocell*)

coir i ‘proper, right, fitting’, Nsg. m. §21.2 (67r6) *coër* (*coer*), §21.3 (67r7), §21.3 (67r8) *coir* (*coir*)

coitchenn o/ā ‘common, ordinary’, Dsg. f. §17.1 (66r19-20) *choitchinn* (*choit chinn*)

colainn i f. ‘body, flesh’, Nsg. §13 (66r9) *colind* (*colind*)

combach o n. VN ‘(act of) cutting, breaking’, Nsg. §14 (66r10) *combag* (*cōbag*), Gsg. §19 (66v11) *combuig* (*cōbuig*), Dsg. §14 (66r11), §15.1 (66r12), §17.1 (66r19) *chombug* (*chōbug*), Asg. §12 (66r8) *combach* (*cōbach*)

comrac o m. VN ‘(act of) meeting, encounter, joining’, Nsg. §15.1 (66r11) *comrac* (*cōrac*)

con·gaib S2 ‘to contain, include’, pass. pres. 3sg. §18 (66v6-7) *con·gaibther* (*congaib thēr*)

con·ricc S1 ‘to meet, to encounter, to join’, pass. pres. 3pl. §15.1 (66r11-12) *con·recatar* (*conreca tar*)

corp o m. ‘body’, Nsg. §14 (66r10) *corp* (*corp*), Gsg. §4.3 (65v8), §15.2 (66r14) *cuirp* (*cuirp*), §15.1 (66r12) *chuirp* (*chuir p*), Dsg. §11.2 (66r6) *chorp* (*chorp*), Asg. §19 (66v14), §21.1 (67r4) *chorp* (*chorp*)

crann o n. ‘tree, wood, beam’, Dsg. §13 (66r10) *crann* (*crann*)

Críst o m. ‘Christ’, Nsg. §6 (65v15), §7 (65v17), §8 (65v21) *Críst* (*cṛ*), Gsg. §4.3 (65v8), §5.1 (65v10), §9 (65v23), §11.2 (66r6), §13 (66r9), §14 (66r10), §15.1 (66r12), §15.2 (66r14), §16.1 (66r17), §17.8 (66v2) *Críst* (*cṛ*), Dsg. §16.2 (66r18), §18 (66v7), §21.1 (67r2) *Críst* (*cṛ*)

croch ā f. ‘cross’, Nsg. §21.1 (67r2) *croch* (*croch*), Gsg. §13 (66r10) *cruche* (*cruche*), Dsg. §14 (66r11) *chroich* (*c^hroich*), §15.2 (66r14) *croich* (*croich*), §21.1 (67r2) *chroich* (*chroich*)

crochthae io/iā ‘crucified’, Asg. m. §21.1 (67r4) *crochthe* (*crochthe*)

cross ā f. ‘cross’, Gsg. §18 (66v7) *cruisse* (*cruisse*), Gpl. §19 (66v12), §19 (66v14) *cross* (*cross*)

cúairt i m. ‘circle’, Asg. §19 (66v14) *cúaird* (*cúaird*), as 1st member of compound with **roth** §19 (66v13) *cúairtroth* (*cúairt roth*)

cúl o m. ‘back, [together with **for** as adv.] ‘backwards’, Apl. §11.1 (66r3) *cúlu* (*cúlu*), as 1st member of compound with **fiacail** §21.3 (67r7) *cúlfiacaili* (*cúlfiacaili*)

dá num. ‘two’, abs. with **a 5** and combined with **deäc** §17.7 (66r25) *dá* (*·xii·*), Ndu. n. §15.1 (66r12), §15.2 (66r13) *da* (*da*), Npl. m. §18 *dá*, Npl. n? combined with **deäc** §18 (66v4) *dá* (*·xii·*), Dpl. m. §17.8 (66v3) *dib* (*dib*)

dán u m. ‘(divine) gift’, Gpl. §17.3 (66r21) *ndāna* (*ndana*)

deäc num. ‘ten’, abs. combined with **óen(-)** §17.6 (66r24), §18 (66v4) *deäc* (*·xi·*), combined with **dá** §17.7 (66r25), §18 (66v4) *deäc* (*·xii·*), §17.8 (66v3) *deäc* (*deac*), combined with **tri** §17.8 (66v1), §18 (66v4) *deäc* (*·xiii·*), §19 (66v11) *deäc* (*deac*), abs. with **a 5** and combined with **sé** §19 (66v14) *deäc* (*xui*)

déacht ā f. ‘Godhead, divinity, divine nature’, Nsg. §5.1 (65v10) *déacht* (*deacht*)

de / di len. prep. with dat. ‘of, from’, §17.2 (66r19), §17.3 (66r20), §17.4 (66r22), §17.5 (66r22), §17.6 (66r24), §17.8 (66v1), §21.1 (67r2) *di* (*dī*), §17.7 (66r25) *de* (*de*), with def. art. Dsg. m. §6 (65v12) *dind* (*dind*), Dsg. m? §20.2 (66v17) *dind* (*dind*), Dsg. f. §21.1 (67r1) *din* (*din*), with poss. pron. 3sg. m. §10.1 (65v25) *dia* (*dīa*), with 3sg. m/n. §10.3 (66r2) *de* (*de*)

descertach o/ā ‘southern, right’, used substantively as 2nd member of compound **óchtar** Nsg. f. §20.7 (66v22) *óchtardes[ce]rdach* (*ochtardes**rdach*), used substantively as 2nd member of compound with **íchtar** Nsg. n. §20.9 (66v23-24) *n-íchtardescerdach* (*nicht̄ des̄*)

dess o/ā ‘right’, Gsg. m. §16.1 (66r16) *deiss* (*deiss*), Dsg. f. §20.4 (66v19) *deis* (*de_{is}*)

desse io n. ‘right side, right hand’, Nsg. §16.2 (66r18) *desse* (*desse*)

Día o m. ‘God’, Gsg. §21.2 (67r6), §21.3 (67r8) *Dé* (*dé*), Asg. §21.1 (66v26) *Dīa* (*dīa*)

dīgrád o/ā (together with **salm**) ‘the Gradual’, Nsg. m. §7 (65v16) *dīgrád* (*dīgđ*), Asg. m. §6 (65v14) *ndīgrád* (*ndiğđ*)

dínochtad u m. VN ‘(act of) uncovering, laying bare’, Nsg. §8 (65v18) *dīnochtad* (*dinochtad*),
Asg. §7 (65v16) *dīnochtad* (*dinochtad*)

dírech o n. VN ‘(act of) uncovering, stripping’, as second member of compound with **lán** Dsg.
§9 (65v22) *lándiurug* (*lándiurug*)

dligthech o/ā ‘regular, lawful’, Gsg. m. §20.9 (66v24) *dligthig* (*dligthig*)

do 1 len. prep. with dat. ‘to, for’, §10.1 (65v25) *du* (*du*), §11.2 (66r6), §14 (66r10), §16.2
(66r18) [2], §17.8 (66v2), §20.2 (66v17), §20.4 (66v19), §20.5 (66v20), §20.6 (66v21), §20.7
(66v22), §20.8 (66v23), §20.9 (66v24) [2], §20.9 (66v25), §21.1 (66v26) *do* (*do*), §20.3 (66v18)
do (*do*), with rel. dem. pron. **-a-** and **téit** §20.1 (66v15) *dia·tēt* (*diatēt*)

do 2 poss. pron. 2sg. ‘your’, §21.1 (66v25) *to* (*to*)

do·airchain S1 ‘to foretell, prophesy’, pass. pret. 3sg. §8 (65v20) *hī-tarchet* (*hitarc^het*)

do·airindi W2 ‘to lower, to bend’, pres. 3sg. with class A infix pron. 3sg. m. §10.1 (65v24)
ta-n-aurnat (*Tanaurnat*)

do·airmesca W1 ‘to hinder, to obstruct, to disturb’, with **ar 2** neg. pres. subj. 3sg. §10.2 (65v26-
66r1) *arnā-tarmasca* (*arnatar masca*)

do·cing S2 ‘to step’, pres. 3sg. §11.1 (66r4) *to·ciñg* (*toc;ñg*)

do·eissim S1 ‘to pour, to shed’, pass. augm. pret. 3pl. §3.2 (65v6) *to-resset* (*toresset*)

dóenacht ā f. ‘humanity, human nature’, Dsg. §5.1 (65v10) *dō[e]nacht* (*donacht*)

do·foscaig S1 ‘to move, to come to’, with **tre** and **-a-** pass. pres. 3sg. §11.2 (66r6)
trisa-toscigther (*trisatosc;gther*)

domnach o m. ‘Sunday’, Gsg. §17.5 (66r23) *domnich* (*dōnich*)

do·tét S1 ‘to go’, neg. pres. 3sg. §10.2 (65v26) *nī-tāet* (*nitaet*)

duine io/í m. ‘person, human’, Nsg. (66r4-5) §11.1 *duine* (*dui ne*)

é 1 pers. pron. 3sg. m. ‘he’, §18 (66v5) *hē* (*hæ*), §21.1 (66v25) *hē* (*he*)

é 2 pers. pron. 3pl. ‘they’, §18 (66v5) *hē* (*he*)

eclais i, ī/ā f. ‘the Christian church, church’, Gsg §2 (65v2) *eclaise* (*ect*), §17.5 (66r23) *æcalsa*
(*æcata*)

ed pron. 3sg. n., §3.1 (65v4), §4.2 (65v7), §5.2 (65v11), §10.2 (66r1), §11.1 (66r4), §11.2
(66r5), §16.2 (66r18), §21.1 (66v26) *ed* (*ē*)

ennac o/ā ‘innocent, sinless’, Dpl. m. §20.7 (66v22) *enngaib* (*eñngaib*)

éo o m? ‘stem, shaft; tree’, Dsg. §19 (66v12) *n-ēo* (*n eo*), §20.2 (66v17) *ēo* (*eo*)

epscop o m. ‘bishop’, Dpl. §20.2 (66v17) *epscopbaib* (*epscopbaib*)

eres ā? f? ‘heresy’, Nsg. §21.3 (67r9) *heres* (*heres*)

eséirge io n. VN ‘re-arising, (the final) resurrection’, Dsg. §15.1 (66r13) *n-esérgo* (*nesérgo*)
esorcon ā f. VN ‘smiting, striking, beating, blow’, Gpl. §12 (66r8) *n-esorcon* (*nesorcon*)
eter / iter prep. with acc. ‘between; both ... and...’, §6 (65v12), §8 (65v19), §19 (66v14) *iter* (*iī*)

fáith i m. ‘prophet’, Gpl. §2 (65v3) *fāthe* (*fathe*), §8 (65v20) *fáthe* (*fáthe*)

féil i f. ‘festival, feast-day’, Gsg. §17.8 (66v1) *fēle* (*fele*)

féin refl. pron. ‘self, own’, 3sg. m. §21.1 (67r3) *fēin*<*a*> (*fēina*)

fer o m. ‘man’, Nsg. §11.1 (66r3) *fer* (*fer*)

fiacail i m. ‘tooth’, as 2nd member of compound with **cúl** Apl. §21.3 (67r7) *cūlfíaclí* (*culfíaclí*)

fiche nt. m. ‘twenty’, §19 (66v12) *fiche* (.xx.)

fín u n. ‘wine’, Nsg. §5.1 (65v9) *fīn* (*Fin*)

fír o/ā ‘true’, as 1st member of compound with **macc** and **cléirech** §20.6 (66v21) *fīrmacclērchib* (*fīr m̄clerchib*)

fiugor ā f. ‘figure, type, symbol’, Nsg. §1 (65v1) *fiugor* (*fiugor*), §2 (65v2), §3.2 (65v5), §4.3 (65v8), §12 (66r8), §15.1 (66r12), §15.2 (66r13), §16.1 (66r15) *figor* (*fiḡ*), §6 (65v14) *figor* (*figor*), §20.1 (66v16) *figor* (*fiḡ*), Dsg. §17.2 (66r20), §17.3 (66r21), §17.4 (66r22), §17.5 (66r23), §17.6 (66r24), §17.8 (66v2), §21.3 (67r7) *figuir* (*fiḡ*), Dpl. §21.1 (66v26) *figraib* (*fiḡib*)
fiugraid W1 ‘to prefigure’, 3sg. pass. augm. pret. §7 (65v18) *ro·fiugrad* (*rofiuḡd*), with prep. **i** §7 (65v17) *in·ro·fiugrad* (*īro fiuḡd*)

fíurt u m. ‘miracle, wonder’, Apl. §9 (65v24) *fírto* (*fírto*)

fo len. prep. with dat. and acc. ‘under, beneath’, §10.1 (65v25) *fa* (*fa*), §21.3 (67r7) *fo* (*fo*)

fo·bādi W2 ‘to submerge’, pass. pres. 3pl. §15.2 (66r13) *fo·mbāiter* (*fō baiī*)

fobdud u m. VN ‘dipping, submerging’, Nsg. §15.2 (66r13) *fobdod* (*fobdod*), Gsg. §15.2 (66r13-14) *fobdotha* (*fob dotha*)

fo·dáli W2 ‘to distribute, to dispense’, pass. pres. subj. 3pl. §17.8 (66v1-2) *fo·dāilter* (*fo dailī*)

fográd o n. ‘subgrade, inferior grade’, Dpl. §20.4 (66v19) [*fo*]grá[d]aib (**ḡ*aib)

foirbthe io/iā ‘complete, perfect’, Gsg. f. §17.7 (66r26) *foirbt[h]e* (*foirbte*)

follus u ‘manifest, clear, evident’, Asg. n. as adv. §8 (65v21) *follus* (*fol·*)

for prep. with dat. and acc. ‘upon, on, over’, §2 (65v3), §18 (66v8), §18 (66v9), §21.1 (67r3), §21.3 (67r8) *for* (*for*), §2 (65v3) *for* (*fō*), §6 (65v12), §16.1 (66r15), §20.3 (66v18), §20.4 (66v18) *for* (*f̄*), with poss. pron. 3sg. m. §11.1 (66r3) *fora*, with def. art. Dsg. f. §13 (66r9), §18 (66v8) *forsin* (*forsī*), §14 (66r10), §14 (66r11) *forsin* (*f̄sī*), with def. art. Dsg. n. §17.1 (66r19) *forsin* (*f̄sī*)

foraithmet o n. VN ‘remembering, commemoration’, Nsg. §7 (65v16-17) *foraithmet* (*for aith met*), §8 (65v20) *foraithmet* (*fōret*), §9 (65v23) *foraithmet* (*forēt*), Dsg. §17.7 (66r25-26) *foraithmut* (*foraith mut*)

for·beir S1 ‘to grow, to increase’, neg. pass. pres. subj. 3sg. §21.3 (67r8-9) *na-forberther* (*na forber ther*)

fo·ruimi W2 ‘to set, to place, to impose’, pass. augm. pret. deut. 3sg. §2 (65v2) *fo-ruirmed* (*fūirmed*)

fothaigid W2? ‘to establish, to found, to institute’, pass. augm. pret. conj. 3sg. §2 (65v2) *ro-fothiged* (*ro fothiged*)

fresgabál ā f. VN ‘(act of) rising, ascending; Ascension’, Gsg. §17.8 (66v1) *fresgabāle* (*fresgabale*)

fri asp. prep. with acc. ‘against, towards’, with def. art. Asg. m. §21.1 (67r4) *frisín* (*frisī*)

frithissi adv. ‘back, in reverse direction (with verbs of motion)’, §11.1 (66r4) *frithisi* (*frithisi*)

fuil i f. ‘blood’, Dsg. §15.2 (66r14) *fūil* (*fūil*)

gainithir S2 ‘to be born’, augm. pret. 3sg. (65v21) *ro-génir* (*rogénir*)

gein n n. VN ‘birth’, Gsg. §9 (65v23) *gene* (*gene*)

gné io? n. ‘kind, species, form’, Npl. §17.1 (66r19) *ngnē* (*ngne*)

gním u m. VN ‘(act of) doing, deed’, Dsg. §11.1 (66r5) *ngním* (*ngní*), Apl. §6 (65v15) *gnīmo* (*gnimo*)

grád o n. ‘grade, rank, order’, Gsg. §11.1 (66r3) *grāith* (*graith*), Gpl. §17.5 (66r23) *nggrāth* (*nggrath*)

guth u m. ‘voice, sound, word’, Nsg. §10.2 (65v26) *guth* (*guth*)

i nas. prep. with dat. and acc. ‘in, into’, §4.3 (65v8), §5.1 (65v9), §11.1 (66r5) [2], §13 (66r10), §17.7 (66r25), §18 (66v7), §21.1 (66v26), §21.2 (67r6), §21.3 (67r7) *hi* (*hi*), §15.2 (66r14), §17.2 (66r20), §17.3 (66r21), §17.4 (66r22), §17.5 (66r23), §17.6 (66r24), §17.8 (66v2), §18 (66v7) *hí* (*hí*), §5.1 (65v10), §16.1 (66r16), §18 (66v6) *i* (*ī*), §10.2 (65v26), §19 (66v12) *i* (*i*), §11.1 (66r5) *hi* (*hī*), with def. art. Dsg. f. §20.6 (66v20-21) *isind* (*is īd*), with 3sg. n. §7 (65v18) *and* (*and*), with poss. pron. 3sg. m. **a 1** §15.2 (66r14) *inna* (*īna*), with poss. pron. 3pl. **a 6** §19 (66v12), §19 (66v13) *inna* (*īna*), as part of a prep. rel. clause with **athnuigedar** §6 (65v14-15) *in-ro-aithnuiged* (*inro aithnuiged*), with **fiugraid** §7 (65v17) *in-ro-fiugrad* (*īro fiugūd*), with **do·airchain** §8 (65v20) *hi-tarchet* (*hitarc^het*), with **imm·ruimdethar** §11.1 (66r4) *i-n-imruimdethar* (*īruīdethar*)

í deictic part., Nsg? m? §20.1 (66v15) *hí* (*hí*), with **in** Nsg. m. §20.1 (66v16) *ii* (*ii*), Nsg. n. §20.4 (66v18) *n-ī* (*ni*), §20.5 (66v19), §20.6 (66v20) *n-í* (*ní*)

íar nas. prep. with dat. ‘after’, §15.1 (66r13), §15.2 (66r14), §17.6 (66r25) *īar* (*iar*), with 3sg. n. §4.1 (65v6), §5.1 (65v9), §17.8 (66v2) *īarum* (*iar̄*), with poss. pron. 3sg. m. **a 1** §9 (65v22) *īarna* (*iarna*), with def. art. Dsg. n. §15.1 (66r12) *īarsin* (*iar̄sī*)

íchtar o n. ‘lower part, bottom, furthest part’, Dsg. §16.1 (66r15) *hīchtur* (*hicht*), as 1st member of compound with **túaiscerdach** §20.8 (66v23) *n-īcht[a]rthūaiscerdach* (*nicht̄*rthuais̄*), as 1st member of compound with **descerdach** §20.9 (66v23-24) *n-īchtardescerdach* (*nicht̄ dēs̄*)

immarmus u m. VN ‘transgression, sin’, Dsg. §17.6 (66r25) *n-immarmus* (*nīmarm:*)

imm·beir S1 ‘to put, to place, to apply; to inflict’, rel. pass. pres. deut. 3sg. §1 (65v1) *imma·ber* (*īmaḅ*)

imm·ruimdethar S2 ‘to sin, to transgress’, with **i** 3sg. pres. §11.1 (66r4) *i-n-imruimdethar* (*īruīdethar*)

immurgu conj. and adv. ‘however’, §7 (65v16) *immurgu* (*im̄*)

in def. art. ‘the’, Nsg. m. §2 (65v1), §8 (65v18), §18 (66v9) *in* (*in*), §4.1 (65v6), §6 (65v14), §9 (65v23), §10.1 (65v25), §10.2 (65v26), §11.1 (66r3), §12 (66r7), §18 (66v7), §20.1 (66v15) *in* (*ī*), §18 (66v5) *in* (*ī*), §12 (66r7), §15.1 (66r11), §16.1 (66r15) *in* (*In*), §12 (66r7) *int* (*in̄·t*), §20.1 (66v16) *int* (*īt*), Nsg. m? §12 (66r9) *in* (*ī*), Nsg. f. §1 (65v1) *ind* (*INd*), §13 (66r9) *ind* (*Ind*), §20.7 (66v22) *ind* (*in d*), §21.1 (67r1) *ind* (*in^d*) Nsg. n. §11.1 (66r4), §20.4 (66v18), §20.5 (66v19), §20.9 (66v23) *a* (*a*), §20.3 (66v17), §20.6 (66v20), §20.8 (66v23) *a* (*A*), Gsg. m. §3.2 (65v5), §8 (65v19), §9 (65v22), §16.1 (66r16), §20.1 (66v16), §21.1 (66v25), §21.2 (67r5) *in* (*ī*), Gsg. f. §2 (65v2), §8 (65v18), §17.6 (66r24) *inna* (*īna*), §12 (66r9) *inna* (*ī na*), Gsg. n. §1 (65v1), §16.1 (66r15) [2], §17.4 (66r22) *ind* (*īd*), Asg. m. §10.2 (66r1), §12 (66r7), §19 (66v14) *in* (*ī*), Asg. f. §10.2 (66r2), §12 (66r7) *in* (*ī*), Ndu. n. §15.1 (66r12), §15.2 (66r13) *in* (*ī*), Npl. f. §17.3 (66r21) *na* (*na*), Npl. n. §11.1 (66r3) *na* (*Na*), Npl. n? §18 (66v3) *inna* (*Inna*), Npl. n? §18 (66v3), §18 (66v4) [4] *inna* (*īna*), §18 (66v3) *inna* (*īna*), Gpl. m. §17.7 (66r26) *inna* (*īna*), Gpl. f. §2 (65v3) *inna* (*īna*), §12 (66r8) [2], §19 (66v12), §19 (66v14) *na* (*na*)

indocbál ā f. VN ‘(act of) glorifying, glory’, Gsg. §9 (65v23) *indocbāle* (*īdocbale*)

ingrimm n n. VN ‘(act of) persecuting, persecution’, Gsg. §1 (65v1) *ingrimme* (*īgrīme*), Dsg. §2 (65v3) *ingrimmim* (*īgrīmī*)

introit i? m? ‘introit (of the mass)’, Asg. §6 (65v13) *introit* (*ītroit*)

is copula, pres. 3sg. §2 (65v2), §6 (65v14), §7 (65v16), §8 (65v20), §9 (65v23), §10.3 (66r2) [2], §16.1 (66r16), §16.1 (66r17), §18 (66v5), §18 (66v7), §18 (66v8), §20.1 (66v15) *is* (*is*),

§3.1 (65v4), §4.2 (65v7), §5.2 (65v11), §10.2 (66r1), §16.2 (66r18) *iss* (*iss̄*), §11.1 (66r4), §11.2 (66r5) *is* (*iš̄*), §21.1 (66v26) *iss* (*IS s̄*), pres. 3sg. rel. §21.1 (66v26) *as* (*as*), neg. pres. 3sg. §21.2 (67r4), §21.3 (67r7) *nī* (*Ni*), neg. pres. 3sg. rel. §21.2 (67r5), §21.3 (67r7) *nan* (*nan*), pres. 3pl. §18 (66v5) *it* (*It*), with **co 3** augm. pres. subj. 3sg. §21.1 (66v25) *co·rop* (*coro p*), pres. subj. rel. 3sg. §17.8 (66v2) *bes* (*bes*), past subj. 3sg. § 21.1 (67r1) *bith* (*bith*), augm. past 3sg. §16.2 (66r18) *rro·bo* (*q robo*), §16.2 (66r18) *ro·po* (*ropo*)

la prep. with acc. ‘with, according to’, §21.1 (66v26) *la* (*la*)

láigen ā f. ‘spear’, Dsg. §16.1 (66r16) *lágín* (*lágín*)

lám ā f. ‘hand’, Dsg. §16.1 (66r15), §17.8 (66v2), §18 (66v9), §20.4 (66v18), §20.9 (66v25) *lāim* (*lāī*), §20.3 (66v18) *lā[i]m* (*lā**)

lán o/ā ‘full’, as first member of compound with **dírech** §9 (65v22) *lándiurug* (*lándiurug*)

lánamnas u m. ‘marriage, partnership’, Gsg. §20.9 (66v24) *l[á]namnassa* (*l*nānassa*)

leth s/o n. ‘half, side’, Gsg. §16.1 (66r15) *lithe* (*lithe*), Asg. §8 (65v18) *leth* (*leth*), Ndu. §15.1 (66r12) *lleth* (*l̄leth*), §15.2 (66r13) *lled* (*lled*)

líacht ? f? ‘passage, lesson, epistle’ (by-form of n f. **líachtu**), Nsg. §7 (65v15) *līacht* (*Liacht*), Asg. §6 (65v13) *līacht* (*liacht*), with **–so** §10.2 (66r2) *līacht-so* (*liachtso*)

lín o m. ‘(full) number’, Nsg. §18 (66v5) *līn* (*lin*)

línannart o n. ‘linen sheet’, compound of *lín* ‘linen’ and *anart* ‘(linen) cloth, altar cloth, gravecloth’, Dsg. §4.3 (65v8) *līnannart* (*linannart*)

līter ā f. ‘letter’, Gsg. §7 (65v17) *litre* (*litre*)

macc o m. ‘son, young person’, Dpl. §20.7 (66v22) *maccaib* (*māib*), as 2nd member of compound with **fír** and **macc** §20.6 (66v21) *fīrmacclērchib* (*fīr m̄clerchib*)

Maire iā f. ‘Mary’, Gsg. §4.3 (65v9) *Maire* (*maire*)

martar o m. ‘martyr’, Gpl. §17.4 (66r22) *martar* (*mār*)

martrae iā f. ‘martyrdom’, Dsg. §2 (65v3) *martri* (*martri*)

medónach o/ā ‘central, middle’, Nsg. m. §20.1 (66v15) *medōnach* (*medonach*)

menmae n m. ‘mind, attention’, Nsg. §10.2 (66r1-66r2) *menme* (*men me*), §21.1(66v26) *menmæ* (*menmæ*), §21.1 (66v25) *menmmæ* (*meñme*)

mesad u m. VN ‘(act of) examining, scrutinizing, judging’, Nsg. §12 (66r7) *mesad* (*mesad*)

mesaid W2 ‘to examine, to judge, to appraise’, pres. 3sg. rel. §12 (66r7) *mesas* (*mesas*)

mías ā f. ‘table, platter, paten’, Dsg. §13 (66r9), §18 (66v8) *méis* (*méis*), §14 (66r10) *mēis* (*meis*)

min o/ā ‘small, trivial’, comp. §17.8 (66v2) *miniu (miniu)*

minchásc o? n. ‘Low Sunday’, Gpl. §17.8 (66v1) *minchásc (minchasc)*

mlaissiud u? m. VN ‘(act of) tasting’, Asg. §21.1 (67r5) *mlaissiuth (laissiuth)*

mlas o? m? ‘taste, savour’, Gpl. §21.2 (67r6) *mlas (mlas)*

muinter ā f. ‘household’, Gpl. §17.5 (66r23) *montar (montar)*

nem s n. ‘heaven’, Gsg. §17.5 (66r23) *nimæ (nimæ)*

ní indef. pron. n. ‘something, anything’, Nsg. §17.8 (66v2) *ní (ní)*

nóeb o/ā ‘holy, sacred’, subst. Gpl. m. §17.3 (66r20) *nōeb (noeb)*

noí num. ‘nine’, §17.5 (66r22), §18 (66v3), §19 (66v12) *noí (-uiiii-)*, §17.5 (66r23) [2] *nōe (noe)*

notlaic ? f. ‘Christmas’, Gsg. §18 (66v6), §19 (66v11) *notlac (nōt)*

núfiadnaise io n. ‘New Testament’, Gsg. §17.4 (66r22) *nuífiadnisi (nuífiadnisi)*

ó len. prep. with dat. ‘from, of’, §7 (65v16), §20.2 (66v17) *hō (ho)*, with def. art. Dsg. n. §20.5 (66v19) *ōnd (ond)*

oblae iā f. ‘the consecrated wafer, Host’, Nsg. §4.1 (65v6) *oblæ (Oblæ)*, §13 (66r9) *oblæ (oblæ)*, Gsg. §8 (65v19) *oblæ (oblæ)*, Dsg. §17.2 (66r19), §17.3 (66r20), §17.4 (66r22), §17.5 (66r23), §17.6 (66r24), §17.7 (66r25), §17.8 (66v1), §21.1 (67r1) *obli (obli)*, §18 (66v6) *n-obli (obli)*, Asg. §12 (66r7) *obli (obli)*

oc prep. with dat. ‘at, by’, §5.2 (65v11), §17.8 (66v2) *oc (oc)*, with 3sg. n. §3.1 (65v4), §4.2 (65v7), §8 (65v19) *occo (occo)*, §21.3 (67r9) *ñ-oco (ñoco)*

ocbál ā f. VN ‘(act of) rising, raising’, Nsg. §9 (65v22) *ocbál (ocbál)*

ochsal ā f. ‘armpit; angle, bend’, Gsg. §19 (66v13) *oxile (oxile)*, Dsg. §16.1 (66r16) *n-oxil (oxil)*, §20.6 (66v21) *oxil (oxil)*

ocht num. ‘eight’, §17.4 (66r21), §18 (66v3) *ocht (-uiiii-)*

ochtae io/iā ‘octonary, eightfold’, Gsg. n. §17.4 (66r22) *ochti (ochti)*

óchtar o m. ‘upper part, top’, as 1st member of compound with **túaiscertach** §20.6 (66v21) *ōch[tar]t[h]ūaiscerdig (ochṭa* ṭhūaiscerdig)*, as 1st member of compound with **descertach** §20.7 (66v22) *ōchtardes[ce]rdach (ochtar des**rḍach)*

óchtarach o/ā ‘upper, higher’, Nsg. m. §18 (66v9) *ōchtarach (ochtarach)*

ocus conj. ‘and’, §2 (65v2), §2 (65v3), §3.1 (65v4), §5.1 (65v10), §6 (65v13) [2], §6 (65v14), §6 (65v15), §7 (65v16) [2], §8 (65v19) [3], §10.2 (65v26) [2], §11.1 (66r3), §11.2 (66r5), §11.2 (66r6), §12 (66r7) [2], §12 (66r8), §12 (66r9), §16.1 (66r17), §17.3 (66r20), §17.5 (66r23), §17.7 (66r25), §17.8 (66v1), §18 (66v3), §18 (66v4) [4], §18 (66v5), §18 (66v6) [2], §18

(66v7), §18 (66v8), §19 (66v11), §19 (66v14), §20.9 (66v24), §21.1 (66v25), §21.1 (67r2) *ocus* (7), §18 (66v3) *ocus* (7), §20.5 (66v20) [7] (*)

óen(-) num. ‘one’, abs. with **a 5** and combined with **deäc** §17.6 (66r24) *óen* (*·xi·*), combined with **deäc** §18 (66v4) *óen* (*·xi·*)

óenaigidir W2 ‘to unite, to make one’, pres. 3sg. §21.1 (67r3-4) *n-ōenigeth[e]r* (*noenige th*r*)

óg o/ā ‘whole, entire; virginal’, subst. Gpl. f. §17.3 (66r20) *hūag* (*huag*)

ógae iā f. ‘wholeness, integrity, completeness, perfection’, Gsg. §15.1 (66r12) *ógé* (*ógé*)

oifrend o m. ‘(office of the) mass’, Gsg. §21.1 (66v25) *offrind* (*off̃*), Dsg. §6 (65v12) *offriund* (*off̃*)

oifrid ? ‘to offer, to celebrate mass’, pres. rel. 3sg. §20.1 (66v16) *oifres* (*oifres̃*)

ortha n f. ‘prayer’, Apl. §6 (65v13) *orthana* (*orthana*)

pars u/o m. ‘particle, piece of the host’, Nsg. §16.1 (66r15), §18 (66v9), §20.1 (66v15) *pars* (*pars*), Gsg. §21.2 (67r5) *parsa* (*parsa*), Npl. §17.2 (66r19), §19 (66v11) *parsa* (*parsa*), §19 (66v13) *parsæ* (*parsæ*), Gpl. §18 (66v5), §19 (66v12) *pars* (*pars̃*)

peccad u m. ‘sin’, Dpl. §10.1 (65v25) *pecthaib* (*pecthaib*)

popul o m. ‘people’, Nsg. §10.2 (65v26) *popul* (*pōp*), Gsg. §3.2 (65v5) *phopuil* (*phōp*), Dsg. §5.1 (65v10) *popul* (*pōp*)

rann ā f. ‘part’, Nsg. §21.1 (67r1) *rann* (*rann*), Gsg. §19 (66v15) *rainne* (*rainne*)

recht u m. ‘law’, Gsg. §6 (65v14) *recto* (*recto*), §7 (65v17), §8 (65v20) *rechta* (*rechta*)

riām adv. ‘before, previously; ever’, §20.9 (66v25) *riām* (*riā*)

rith u m. VN ‘(act of) running; course; career, life’, Dsg. §21.1 (67r3) *rith* (*rith*)

ro- intensifying prefix, with **saigid** §21.3 (67r8) *rosaegeth* (*rosaegeth*)

ro·finnadar S3 ‘to find out, to know’, neg. pass. pret-pres. 3sg. rel. §7 (65v17) *nad·fess* (*nad·fess*)

ro·icc S1 ‘to reach’, pres. 2sg. prot. with nas. conj. **co 3** as prep. ‘until, as far as’ §6 (65v13) *co·rrigi* (*corrigi*), §8 (65v18), §8 (65v20) *co·rrici* (*corrici*)

roth o m. ‘something circular, wheel-shaped; disc, sphere’, as 2nd member of compound with **cúairt** Dsg. §19 (66v13) *cúairtroth* (*cúairt roth*)

rún ā f. ‘secret, mystery’, Apl. §21.2 (67r6) *rrūna* (*rruna*), §21.3 (67r8) *rūna* (*runa*), Dpl. §20.1 (66v16) *rúnaib* (*rúnaib*)

sacard o m. ‘priest’, Nsg. §10.1 (65v25), §12 (66r7) *sacard* (*sāc*), Asg. §10.2 (66r1) *sacardd* (*sacardd*) Dpl. §20.3 (66v18) *sacardaib* (*sacardaib*)

saigid i f. VN ‘seeking, aiming’, Nsg. with **ro-** §21.3 (67r8) *rosaegeth* (*rosaegeth*), Asg. §21.2 (67r6) *saigith* (*saigith*)

sair adv. ‘forwards, eastwards’, §16.1 (66r17) [*s*]air (*air*)

saithar o n. ‘work, labour’, Gsg. §21.1 (67r3) *saithir* (*saithir*)

salm o m. ‘psalm’, Nsg. §7 (65v16) *salm* (*salm*), Asg. §6 (65v14) *psalm* (*ψalm*)

scaraid W1 ‘to separate’, with **ar 2** neg. augm. pres. subj. 3sg. §10.2 (66r1) *arnā-rascra* (*arnarascra*)

sé num. ‘six’, abs. with **a 5** and combined with **deäc** §19 (66v14) *sé* (*xui*)

secht num. ‘seven’, §17.1 (66r19), §17.3 (66r20), §17.3 (66r21), §18 (66v3) *secht* (-*uii*-)

sesco nt m. ‘sixty’, Gpl. §18 (66v5) *sescot* (*sescot*)

síans u m. ‘sense, meaning; perceptive faculty’, Gpl. §17.2 (66r20) *sēnse* (*sense*)

siár adv. ‘backwards, westwards’, §16.1 (66r16) *siár* (*siár*)

sin dem. pron. ‘that’, §6 (65v12), §12 (66r9) *sen* (*sen*), §6 (65v14) *sin* (*s;n*), §9 (65v23), §18 (66v5), §18 (66v7) *sin* (*sin*), §20.2 (66v17) *š[in]* (*š***)

sís adv. ‘down, downward’, §20.5 (66v19) *sís* (*sís*)

sléchtaid W1 ‘to kneel, to bow down, to prostrate (oneself)’, pres. 3sg. §10.2 (65v26) *slēcht*<*h*>*ith* (*slechthith*)

slucud u m. VN ‘(act of) swallowing, engulfing’, Nsg. §21.2 (67r5) *šlocod* (*šlo cod*)

-so dem. particle ‘this, these’, with **liacht** §10.2 (66r2) *liacht-so* (*liachtso*)

son o m. ‘sound’, Asg. §10.2 (65v26) *sson* (*sson*)

soscélae o n. ‘Gospel’, Asg. §8 (65v19) *soscél* (*sōs*)

súas adv. ‘up, upwards’, §20.2 (66v17) *s[ú]as* (*š*as*)

suide io/iā anaph. pron. ‘this, that (which was just mentioned)’, Dsg. n. §5.2 (65v11) *suidiu* (*suidiu*), §7 (65v16) *šuidiu* (*šuidiu*), §16.2 (66r18) *šuidiu* (*šuidiu*)

suidigidir W2 ‘to place, to put, to set; to arrange’, pass. pres. 3sg. §18 (66v8) *suidighir* (*suidighir*), pass. augm. pret. 3sg. §4.3 (65v8) *ro-suidiged* (*rosuidiged*)

suidiugud u m. VN ‘(act of) placing, arranging; arrangement’, Nsg. §19 (66v11) *suidigoth* (*Suidigoth*)

tarsnae io n. ‘crosspiece, crossbeam; width’, Nsg. §20.3 (66v17-18) *tarsno* (*ta rsno*), Dsg. §19 (66v12), §20.5 (66v19) *tarsno* (*tarsno*)

techt ā f. VN ‘(act of) going’, Nsg. §21.3 (67r7) *techt* (*techt*), Dsg. §17.8 (66v2) *techt* (*techt*)

téchte io n. ‘that which is proper, right’, Nsg. §10.2 (66r1) *thēchte* (*thechte*), §21.2 (67r4) *tēchte* (*techte*)

téit S1 ‘to go’, with **do 1** and **-a-** pres. 3sg. §20.1 (66v15) *dia·tēt* (*diatēt*), neg. pres. 3sg. rel. §20.9 (66v24-25) *na·tēt* (*na tet*)

tóeb o m. ‘side’, Gsg. §16.1 (66r16) *tūib* (*tuib*)

tórand o n. VN ‘(act of) representing; figure, sign’, Nsg. §18 (66v7) *tōrrund* (*torrund*)

tórmach o n. VN ‘act of adding, addition’, Asg. §6 (65v13) *tōrmach* (*tormach*)

trá adv. ‘then, therefore, indeed; however’, §21.1 (66v26) *trá* (*ī*)

tre len. prep. with acc. ‘through’, §9 (65v23) *tre* (*tre*), with poss. pron. 3sg. m. §6 (65v15) *tria* (*tria*), with **athnuigedar** and **-a-** §11.2 (66r5-6) *tressa-n-aithnuighther* (*tressanaith nuighther*), with **do-foscaig** and **-a-** §11.2 (66r6) *trisa-toscighther* (*trisatoscighther*)

tréide io n. ‘three things, triad’, Nsg. §11.1 (66r4) *trēde* (*trede*)

trí num. ‘three’, abs. with **a 5** and combined with **deäc** §17.8 (66v1) *trí* (*·xiii·*), Npl. m. combined with **deäc** §19 (66v11) *tri* (*·iii·*), Npl. n? combined with **deäc** §18 (66v4) *tri* (*·xiii·*), Npl. n. §11.2 (66r5) *tri* (*·iii·*), Apl. n? §10.1 (65v25) *thri* (*t^hri*), Apl. n. §11.1 (66r3) *tri* (*·iii·*)

túaiscertach o/ā ‘northern, left’, used substantively as 2nd member of compound with **óchtar** Dsg. f. §20.6 (66v21) *ōch[tar]t[h]ūaiscerdig* (*ochṭa* ṭhūaiscerdig*), used substantively as 2nd member of compound with **íchtar** Nsg. n. §20.8 (66v23) *n-īcht[a]rthūaiscerdach* (*nichṭ*rthuaiṣ*)

túaisre adv. ‘(on) the left’, §16.2 (66r18) *thūaisre* (*thuaisre*)

tuistiu n f. VN ‘(act of) engendering, begetting, procreation’, Gsg. §5.1 (65v10-11) *thuisten* (*thuis ten*)

turtur ? m. ‘turtle-dove’, Nsg. §4.1 (65v6) *turtur* (*tṛ*)

úar ā f. ‘hour’, Gsg. used as conj. ‘for, because, since’ §21.1 (67r3) *ōre* (*ore*)

úasal o/ā ‘high, noble, subst. Npl. f. §17.3 (66r21) *hūasli* (*huasli*)

uile io/iā ‘all’, Nsg. m? §18 (66v7), §18 (66v8) *huile* (*huile*), Dpl. n. §20.4 (66v19) *huilib* (*huilib*), Apl. m. §6 (65v15) *huili* (*huili*)

uisce io m. ‘water’, Nsg. §3.1 (65v4) *huisque* (*Huisq:*), Dsg. §5.1 (65v9) *huisque* (*huisq:*)

Latin

accipio 3rd conj. ‘to take, get, accept’, pres. 3sg. §10.1 (65v24) *accipit* (*accipit*)

alius 1st/2nd decl. ‘other’, Gpl. m. §2 (65v3) *aliōrum* (*aliorū*)

altāre 3rd decl. n. ‘altar’, Asg. §4.1 (65v6) *altāre* (*altare*)

āmēn adv. ‘amen, so be it’, §22 (67r9) *āmēn* (*amen*)

calix 3rd decl. m. ‘chalice, cup’, Asg. §3.1 (65v4) *calicem* (*calicem*)

canō 3rd conj. ‘to sing, to chant’, pass. pres. 3sg. §9 (65v22), §10.1 (65v24) *canitur* (*canit*)

caput 3rd decl. n. ‘head’, Abl sg. §18 (66v10) *capite* (*capite*)

Chrīstus 2nd decl. m. ‘Christ, the Anointed One’, Nsg. §4.2 (65v7) *Chrīstus* (*xp̄s*)

cīvitās 3rd decl. f. ‘city’, Asg. §16.1 (66r17) *cīuitātem* (*ciū*)

contrā prep. with acc. ‘against’, §10.2 (66r2), §16.1 (66r17) *contra* (*z*)

crux 3rd decl. ‘cross’, Abl. sg. §16.1 (66r17) *cruce* (*cruce*)

dēprecor 1st decl. ‘to avert by prayer, to beg (forgiveness)’, pres. 1sg. §3.1 (65v5) *dēprecor* (*depcor*)

deus 2nd decl. ‘god’, Dsg. §10.1 (65v25), §22 (67r9) *deō* (*dō*), Asg. §10.2 (66r2) *deum* (*d̄m*)

dīcō 3rd conj. ‘to say’, past pass. part. Nsg. n. §18 (66v9) *dictum* (*dictū*)

ecclesia 1st decl. f. ‘church’, Abl. sg. §3.2 (65v6) *æclesiā* (*æcta*)

et conj. ‘and’, §2 (65v3), §4.2 (65v7), §4.2 (65v8) *et* (*7*), §9 (65v24) *et* (*et*)

filius 2nd decl. m. ‘son’, Nsg. §5.2 (65v12) *filius* (*fī:*), Vsg. §3.1 (65v5) *fīlii* (*fīlii*)

finiō 4th conj. ‘to finish, to end’, pres. 3sg. §22 (67r9) *fīnit* (*fīnit*)

finis 3rd decl. m. ‘end’, Nsg. §4.2 (65v8) *fīnis* (*fīnis*)

grātia 1st decl. f. ‘grace, thankfulness, thanks’, Apl. §22 (67r9) *grātias* (*grā*)

hic pron. ‘this, that’, Nsg. n. §4.2 (65v7) *hoc* (*h̄*)

Iēsus irr. m. ‘Jesus’, Nsg. §4.2 (65v7), §10.1 (65v24) *Iēsus* (*ihs̄*)

in prep. with acc. and abl. ‘in, into’, §3.1 (65v4), §3.2 (65v6), §16.1 (66r17) *in* (*ī*)

inclīnō 1st conj. ‘to lean, to bend, to incline’, perf. pass. part. Abl. sg. §18 (66v10) *inclīnāte* (*incli nate*)

indulgeō 2nd conj. ‘to be kind, to grant, to indulge’, pres. 3sg. §5.2 (65v11) *indulget* (*īdulget*)

iterum adv. ‘again’, §11.2 (66r6) *iterum* (*itū*)

Iūdās 1st decl. m. ‘Judas’, Gsg. §17.6 (66r25) *Iūdæ* (*iudæ*)

kalendae 1st decl. f. (plural only) ‘calends, first day of the month’, §17.7 (66r25) *kalendārum* (*kt*)

Longīnus 2nd decl. m. ‘Longinus’, Gsg. §16.1 (66r17) *Longīnī* (*loŋginī*)

misereor 2nd conj. ‘to pity, to have compassion, to commiserate’, pres. 3sg. §5.2 (65v12) *misserētur* (*misseret*)

nōmen 3rd decl. n. ‘name’, Nsg. §10.3 (66r3) *nōmen* (*nō*)

obsecrō 1st conj. ‘to beseech, to entreat’, §3.1 (65v5) *obsecrō* (*obsecro*)

offerō 3rd conj. ‘to bring before, to offer’, perf. pass. part. Nsg. f. §8 (65v20) *oblāta* (*oblata*), §9 (65v22-23) *oblāta* (*ob lata*)

ōrātiō 3rd decl. f. ‘speech, prayer’, Nsg. §10.3 (66r2) *ōrātiō* (*oratio*)

pānis 3rd decl. m. ‘bread’, Asg. §10.1 (65v24) *pānem* (*panē*)

pater 3rd decl. m. ‘father’, Nsg. §5.2 (65v11) *pater* (*p̄r*), Vsg. §3.1 (65v4-5) *pater* (*pa t̄*)

periculōsus 1st/2nd decl. ‘dangerous, perilous’, Nsg. f. §10.3 (66r2) *periculōsa* (*piculosa*)

petō 3rd conj. ‘to seek, to beg, to ask’, pres. 1sg. §3.1 (65v4) *petō* (*peto*)

prīncipiū 2nd decl. n. ‘beginning’, Nsg. §4.2 (65v7) *prīncipiū* (*p̄ncipiū*)

prius adv. ‘previously, sooner, first’, §3.1 (65v4) *prius* (*p̄i:*), §17.8 (66v1) *prius* (*p̄i:*)

quandō adv. ‘when’, §9 (65v22), §10.1 (65v24) *quandō* (*q̄n*)

remittō 3rd conj. ‘to remit, pardon, forgive’, pres. 3sg. §5.2 (65v11) *remitet* (*Remitet*)

sānctus 1st/2nd decl. ‘holy, sacred’, Nsg. m. §5.2 (65v12) *sānctus* (*s̄cs*), Gsg. m. §17.3 (66r21) *sānctī* (*s̄ci*), Vsg. m. §3.1 (65v5) *sānctæ* (*s̄cæ*)

spīritus 4th decl. m. ‘spirit’, Nsg. §5.2 (65v12) *spīritus* (*sp̄s*), Gsg. §17.3 (66r21) *spīritūs* (*sp̄s*),
Asg. §18 (66v10) *spīritum* (*sp̄m*), Vsg. §3.1 (65v5) *spīritus* (*sp̄s*)

sum ‘to be’, pres. 3sg. §4.2 (65v7), §18 (66v9) *est* (÷)

super prep. with acc. and abl., §4.1 (65v6) *super* (*sup*)

trādō 3rd conj. ‘to hand over, to give up, to transmit; to leave behind’, perf. 3sg. §18 (66v10)
trādīdit (*tradidit*)

tū pron. 2sg., Asg. §3.1 (65v4), §3.1 (65v5) *tē* (*te*), §3.1 (65v5) *té* (*tê*)

ut conj. with indic. ‘as, just as’, §18 (66v9) *ut* (*ut*)

Greek

Α ‘alpha, first letter of the alphabet’, §4.2 (65v7) *Α* (*A*)

Ω ‘omega, last letter of the alphabet’, §4.2 (65v7) *Ω* (*ω*)

Diplomatic Transcription of the *Leabhar Breac* Tract (p. 251-251b37)

251a1 *De fig^uis 7 sp^ualib; sⁿs;ib; oblatiōis sacⁱficíí or*
251a2 *dínis . Figuir t^a incollaigíí c^r o^compt cóac*
251a3 *esad 7 cóafresgabail . íchoiscid sí ord innaif^d*
251a4 *INtēpul dítnes impōp 7 ídaltoir . figuir ina*
251a5 *nditen d^dacda diada diandeb^ad . Subūbra ala^r*
251a6 *tua^r p . m^e . INdaltoir ísītēpul . fig^uir in^gma na*
251a7 *c^rfaide íofolngat fo^caide tēllach cuirp c^r . pu^t*
251a8 *s^pc sc^s expsōa ei; d^x torcular oculcaui sol; .i. ipē*
251a9 *č mēbris s^s . INcailech aiⁱfn^d inahecl ro^ufmed ro*
251a10 *fo^taiged fīn^gim 7 mart^a nafátha 7 tuicsen dé arčena*
251a11 *ís x^o d^x . s^r ha^c pet^am edificabo e^{*~}ā m^am .i. f^sōairti*
251a12 *irs; namqtírech toísech rolaitea ifo^ta íchūtaig*
251a13 *7 inamqtírech ndédínach oice helíí 7 énoc . Usⁱq ísí cai*
251a14 *lech art; icōtemp^d ís ístéhta . 7 dicis . q^sso té p^r .*
251a15 *Baⁿa laisin . De^pcor te flíí . baⁿa lais;n . Obsecro te*
251a16 *s^pc scē . ítres baⁿa lais;n . Figuir ípōp doroi^set*
251a17 *íeol; ísehta núí t^e oentaíd thoile natⁱnóti 7 tⁱa erla*
251a18 *řar íspi^ra nóib . u^t d^cm ē . Efu^dam des^pu meo s^r*
251a19 *oēm carnē 7 p^fetab^t 7r^t . 7 ut d^cm ÷ uēie^t*
251a20 *aboriente 7 aboccidente 7 abaⁱqlōe 7recū*
251a21 *bent čabraham 7 isác 7 iacob íregno dī .i.*
251a22 *íecča eⁿa pⁱmo último írg^o cel ÷ ti . Fín ia^r isincaíl*
251a23 *aríu^s .i. deacht c^r qdoen^s fīn^popul íaimsir at^t;ten*
251a24 *7 t;sten ípōp . ut ÷ angl^s . s^monem iecit x^pm uⁱgo*
251a25 *ocepit .i. isan^s sⁱ; tanic indéacht qcend nadoen^sa . IS*
251a26 *donpōp dī atb^t . Nūⁱqd ego íufo accepí oēm pl^m*
251a27 *is^t ífūm ítⁱstitia 7 ídolore accipes flōs t^os . INecl*
251a28 *atb^tsi . u^t a^ps d^f . Flíoli mei q^os ífūm ^apt^uio don^e x^pc f*
251a29 *met^u íuob^t . ís čanair ictab^t fína isincailech noⁱfn^d*
251a30 *Mitet p^r . baⁿa aⁿs;n . INdulget fl^s . baⁿa aile and*
251a31 *sí . Míset^u s^pc sc^s . ítres baⁿa and^si . Acanⁱq dī . icō*
251a32 *oiⁱfn^d iarsin íf ínt^ait 7 or^tanaib 7 íthōrach corice*

251a33 liachtaī nanaḡs 7 psalm dig^aid .i. fig^uir rechta aicē
 251a34 sī īrohaṡnuiged aichne cṛ ītarúnib 7 gḡāib 7 tóms
 251a35 oltud naicnid . v^l . dcm ÷ . Uidit abraham diē m^m 7 ga
 251a36 uiss; ē . U^lq is^ltarecht naicnid it ḡnairc abraām
 251a37 liach^u apṡ 7 líachtu sōs . 7 īdí śalm díg^aid osein codí
 251a38 nochtud čoilig oi^fnd . isfig^uir sī rechta li^tt īberī in
 251a39 rofíug^ad cṛ 7 nifes cid achtrofíúg^ad añ 7 niroačt
 251a40 īní 7 nirofḡbígied t^t . Nemīem # adp^fcm duxit
 251a41 lex . INdínočtad colesh īchoilig oi^fnd 7 īnahablaē
 251a42 7 icantq occu īf sōs 7 alleoir . Figuir reśa lit^l s_{in}
 251a43 īročhanad cṛ cofoll; . s̄ nafac; he éein conġenir
 251a44 Cómgabail īchoilig oi^fnd 7 namesi iqnalándirġud
 251a45 ican^lq īfersa .i. īmola dō sa^lc^ficū laudis . Fig^uir gene
 251a46⁶⁶⁸ cṛ 7 ainócala t^lafertaib 7 mírbulib . Nouí t^o
 251a47 amīti īitiūsi . INtan t^a čan^lq . Accep^t īhc panē stans
 251a48 īmedio disciplōr s^urū uš infínē . Dotoirnet fotri
 251a49 nasac^lqt doait^lge donap^etaib dorōsat 7 idp^ait dodia
 251a50 . 7 canait īsalmsa uli . Mišere mei dš . 7 niēit guth
 251a51 ison leo ḡat^lqmesctḡ insacart . u^lq is^l ístēchta ḡaro
 251a52 scara amīma f^ldia cid īoī uocablō iḡernaigṡisea
 251a53 uair isbidbu inui^r.d spīralla 7 nīairitī f^ldia mīp
 251a54 amlaidši isdenta . ḡid de sī ise aiñm naherñisea
 251a55 .i. piculosa oṛo . Nat^l éeimend čidēs īfer g^aid fācūla 7 čēs
 251a56 itēf fagūis . isé sī trédi ituitend īduē .i. īmradu^d im
 251a57 bṛir ingnī . Oc; ise sī trédi ^etsanaṡnuídigḡh induē ītum
 251a58 codia . Ītaīsiugud aīsiges īsacqt īcaileč oi^fnd 7 īméis 7
 251a59 īablaīnd . 7 ītam; dosḡ fsinablaīd diacōbach . Fig^uir sin
 251a60 īnaāitise 7 īnahesoircne 7 īnanergabal ffulaing
 251a61 cṛ . 7 ise sī aṡaitmech s;ansaide . Oc; īabland fšimeis .
 251a62 coland čr fšicroich . Acōbach fšimeis . coland cṛ dočō
 251a63 bach f^cand crochi . INCōrac čomracitūr īdaleth iqšī
 251a64 cōbach . fig^uir oíge chuirp cṛ iarnesergi . INFódbug^d

⁶⁶⁸ A faint marginal gloss is written downwards from this line in the left margin of the page, but the reading is uncertain: c*ógbail .i. meid ***a****

251a65 fódbaigth̄ nadaleth iař . F'ig^uiršī fódbaigti īnafuile
 251a66 doṭebrensat iude acolaīd c̄r . INrand bāir ahīctar
 251a67 īleṭī bīs ilaīm clí īsacairt . F'ig^uiršī īdathčai c;in
 251a68 lāgin ilaīm lōgīni īsīdačsail tóibe deiss ísu . u'q
 251a69 issiar boi aiged c̄r īac̄roich .i. f̄sīcat^aig ierlīm 7 is
 251a70 sair roboi aiged lōgīni . 7 īnī roputuathbel dosū
 251a71 is̄s ón robodess doc̄r . u'q is̄s boi aiged c̄r f̄nde octid
 251a72 echt chucaid̄ . ut dc̄m ÷ . Oriet^uīdieb; ill uob̄ t̄ient;̄b;
 251a73 nom̄ d̄nī sol i;títie 7 d̄s̄ aboriente ueniet . Achul h̄
 251a74 f̄nd ictočt uaid̄ 7 se ictogairm čaich uli čuci īadiaid
 251a75 D̄cs̄ . uenite ōs̄ adme p^l me . IN ḡgbail ḡgb; lám ītsač in
 251a76 mias 7 īcoīl oif̄nd . F'ig^uir ḡthōil̄s; m̄tire n̄ie 7 tal̄m
 251a77 īoenm̄tir .i. m̄ter n̄ie pmensam . múinter řal̄m pca
 251a78 licem . oīd he šī fořa nahirse dleḡ dá cē c̄raide dočú
 251a79 imniuḡ . oīd foršī f̄ořa ^{sin} cūtaiges cē sualaig 7 cē ndeg
 251a80 gnīm doḡena . uair ist^aāsi cōlandi; šī nařsi condeirc re
 251a81 řenig cofrescešī sonairt šlanaigřir cē řiren . uair
 251a82 isi īdiressa .i. īdiress cathalacda . idnaicfes naf̄irenu
 251a83 combac̄ .i. combris;

 251b1 cošiḡne .i. cofēgad d^e īšitočidecht 7 isid̄řiud hita . ise
 251b2 řifegad šī tairngirter arfoc^aicc řorda dōařirenab
 251b3 iarnesergi . ISe h̄ gell řáčbad ioc̄cl if; coléic f̄sin
 251b4 fegud.. ^{sin} īspiř noem nosaittreband 7 nos cōd̄řdnand
 251b5 7 nosn̄and fⁱ cē suálaig . ISe īsp̄řpa fódlas adána
 251b6 d̄řl̄si feiřī dá cē irisech isidecl̄ am̄ isail leis . 7 ar̄nal
 251b7 onic anairt̄i uad . uair is onspiř .n. t̄idnaict̄h̄ na
 251b8 dána oiregdasa donecl̄ īř nadanuib qčena .i. baites
 251b9 7 aitⁱge 7 fres cisiu dearc 7 treblati . IS do d̄anaib air
 251b10 egdai īsp̄ř nób īsⁱcptuir diada onīdorčaign̄th̄ cech
 251b11 nařeol; . 7 ócōdidantq cē toirsi šægulla . onadaīter
 251b12 cē sollsi sp̄řralda . osonartnaign̄th̄ cē ind̄lobra . Uair
 251b13 ist^aāsiscribtuir nób dičuirth̄ irse 7 īdluiḡte odec̄l . siřla
 251b14 igth̄ cech debaid 7 cē dechetfaid . isiñte fogabur cōairle f̄b̄ři

251b15 7 f̄ciul cōadais ócech ^c.ēi^uin fóleith īsidecl̄ . ist^the īdq^bth
 251b16 indtledu dēna 7 dualach ocech iresach īsiecl̄ . uⁱq̄ isí īsⁱcript^u
 251b17 diada ism̄r 7 m̄e ailgen dōahulib iresach̄ nosnīdīfmiget
 251b18 7 nosnīraidet . 7 ailf̄ odatmec ťoga dodía t̄anacōairle . uⁱq̄
 251b19 tođailid̄ īdecna colīnedach diam̄cū hilblasa īdleña somilis
 251b20 7 ⁱqera ībíd spīraldai onīmesct̄h 7 ofailtniget doḡs . ISr^an̄
 251b21 ele dī . dōgillsin f̄ácbud īoecl̄ diacomdídⁿad .i. corp c̄r 7 a
 251b22 f̄uil ídbairth̄ faltarib nac̄re . INcorp ón roḡeair om^ue
 251b23 oíg inḡe cendith noige censcailiud inđiuda cenlath̄ ferrdai
 251b24 7 ro^oechad oiud̄ib ainirsech̄ artnuth 7 fmat . 7 it^aact̄ iart
 251b25 reden; abas 7 s̄uides f̄deis dé ath̄ inim hinglóir 7 inna
 251b26 damlai fiadaiḡlib nime . IShe īcorp̄sī a^{m̄} ata isimorglóir
 251b27 domelait nafireoī dom̄eis dé .i. donaltoir noib . Uair is
 251b28 he īcorpsa sétlón saíd̄b naniriṣech athascnait iar.s.
 251b29 ailíre 7 aiṛige ītsoegail if; īsidath̄dai n̄mdai . IShe s̄i
 251b30 síl nahesergi īsimbefaid sutāi dōafír̄eib . IShe h̄ isbu
 251b31 nad 7 isadbur eṫthuitine dōahec^aibdechu nachcretit 7 dōa
 251b32 collaidib nā in̄tsamlaiget ciačretit . Mairg dī . c̄re nā
 251b33 īd̄tsamlaigend incorp noēsa īchoīded iq̄cambesaib
 251b34 inndeirc 7 it^ocaire . uair isīichurpsa fogabq̄ desinirečt̄
 251b35 nadeerci doroisce cē n̄deeirc .i. atidnocul fén cen č̄iaid
 251b36 darcend chinad síl adaim . IShe s̄i gⁱ oige 7 cōlanti; na
 251b37 hirse całcdai . a^{m̄} fchantq̄ īs̄iscript^uir nóib . 7rł ...,

Appendix 3: Abbreviations Found in the Stowe John, the Dimma John: Chapter 1, and the Stowe Tract

The aim of this final appendix is to provide an easily searchable overview of the medieval abbreviations found in the texts included in the first two appendices to this thesis. For the abbreviations found elsewhere in the (main text of the) Stowe Missal, see the introduction to Warner's edition.⁶⁶⁹

An effort was made to reduce the number of abbreviations listed by breaking them down into their constituent parts. In light of this, for example, p^i : *prius* is not listed separately, but is rather considered to consist of two different abbreviations, namely C^V 'CrV-' (where C stands for a consonant and V for a vowel) and : -*us*. Roman numbers have not been included.

Throughout these lists, more specific abbreviations take precedence over more generic ones, with, for example, q^i *qui(-)* taking precedence over C^V 'CrV-' when analysing a form q^i .

Abbreviations have been listed in alphabetical order for their expanded forms. The more abstract expanded forms have been grouped together ahead of the main list.

The Stowe John

\sim	<i>m</i> -stroke	$d\bar{o}$	<i>deo</i>
C^V	<i>CrV</i>	$d\bar{m}$	<i>deum</i>
		$d\bar{m}$	<i>deum</i>
$al\bar{o}$	<i>adulterio</i>	$d\bar{s}$	<i>deus</i>
$ap\bar{p}$	<i>apud</i>	$dc\bar{s}$	<i>dicens</i>
\bar{a}	<i>aut</i>	$d\bar{i}$	<i>dicit</i>
\bar{h}	<i>autem</i>	$d\bar{t}$	<i>dicit</i>
\bar{c}	<i>con</i>	$d\bar{r}$	<i>dicitur</i>
$c\bar{s}$	<i>cuius</i>	$d\bar{x}$	<i>dixit</i>
\bar{c}	<i>cum</i>	$d\bar{x}$	<i>dixit</i>
$d\bar{i}$	<i>dei</i>	$dn\bar{e}$	<i>domine</i>

⁶⁶⁹ Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2 (1906-1915): xiv-xvii.

<i>dnī</i>	<i>domini</i>	<i>iohañ</i>	<i>Iohannis</i>
<i>dnō</i>	<i>domino</i>	<i>isrī</i>	<i>Israhel</i>
<i>dnm̄</i>	<i>dominum</i>	<i>m̄m</i>	<i>meum</i>
<i>dn̄s</i>	<i>dominus</i>	<i>m̄s</i>	<i>meus</i>
3	<i>eius</i>	<i>mⁱ</i>	<i>mihi</i>
#	<i>enim</i>	<i>n̄</i>	<i>non</i>
<i>g^o</i>	<i>ergo</i>	<i>nā</i>	<i>Nathaniel</i>
<i>eē</i>	<i>esse</i>	<i>nath̄</i>	<i>Nathaniel</i>
<i>eeť</i>	<i>esset</i>	<i>nathzā</i>	<i>Nathzareth</i>
÷	<i>est</i>	<i>nō</i>	<i>nomen</i>
7	<i>et</i>	<i>noē</i>	<i>nomine</i>
<i>farīs</i>	<i>farrissei</i>	<i>n̄c</i>	<i>nunc</i>
<i>flm̄</i>	<i>filium</i>	<i>omē</i>	<i>omne</i>
<i>fl̄s</i>	<i>filius</i>	<i>om̄s</i>	<i>omnes</i>
<i>frat̄</i>	<i>frater</i>	<i>omā</i>	<i>omnia</i>
<i>fuert̄</i>	<i>fuertant</i>	<i>pat̄</i>	<i>pater</i>
<i>gasafī</i>	<i>gasafilacio</i>	<i>p̄</i>	<i>per</i>
<i>hēt</i>	<i>habet</i>	<i>pilī</i>	<i>Pilippus</i>
<i>hī</i>	<i>habet</i>	<i>p̄</i>	<i>prae</i>
<i>h̄</i>	<i>haec</i>	<i>p̄</i>	<i>pro</i>
<i>h̄</i>	<i>hoc</i>	<i>p^o</i>	<i>post</i>
<i>hoēm</i>	<i>hominem</i>	<i>p̄ť</i>	<i>propter</i>
<i>hoīs</i>	<i>hominis</i>	<i>q̄</i>	<i>quae</i>
<i>h̄s</i>	<i>huius</i>	<i>q;·</i>	<i>quae</i>
<i>h̄c</i>	<i>hunc</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>quam</i>
<i>ihū</i>	<i>Iesu</i>	<i>qr̄e</i>	<i>quare</i>
<i>ihm̄</i>	<i>Iesum</i>	<i>qs̄</i>	<i>quasi</i>
<i>ihm</i>	<i>Iesum</i>	<i>q;</i>	<i>que</i>
<i>ih̄s</i>	<i>Iesus</i>	<i>q̄</i>	<i>quem</i>
<i>ihs</i>	<i>Iesus</i>	<i>qⁱ</i>	<i>qui</i>
<i>int̄p̄</i>	<i>interpretatum</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>quia</i>
<i>int̄p̄</i>	<i>interpretatur</i>	<i>q^o</i>	<i>quo</i>
<i>iohañ</i>	<i>Iohannem</i>	<i>q̄</i>	<i>quod</i>
<i>ioh̄</i>	<i>Iohannis</i>	<i>qm̄o</i>	<i>quomodo</i>

<i>qñ</i>	<i>quando</i>	<i>spū</i>	<i>spiritu</i>
<i>qm̄</i>	<i>quoniam</i>	<i>sp̄m̄</i>	<i>spiritum</i>
<i>qḡ</i>	<i>quoque</i>	<i>sp̄s</i>	<i>spiritus</i>
<i>qt̄</i>	<i>quot</i>	<i>st̄</i>	<i>sunt</i>
<i>respoñ</i>	<i>responderunt</i>	<i>tñ</i>	<i>tamen</i>
<i>reṣ</i>	<i>respondit</i>	<i>tñ</i>	<i>tamen</i>
<i>respoñ</i>	<i>respondit</i>	<i>t̄</i>	<i>ter</i>
<i>resur̄</i>	<i>resurrectionem</i>	<i>testī</i>	<i>testimonium</i>
<i>resurrec̄</i>	<i>resurrectionem</i>	<i>testimō</i>	<i>testimonium</i>
<i>r̄</i>	<i>rum</i>	<i>t̄</i>	<i>tibi</i>
<i>r̄t̄</i>	<i>runt</i>	<i>t̄s</i>	<i>trans</i>
<i>sce</i>	<i>sancte</i>	<i>t̄c̄</i>	<i>tunc</i>
<i>scē</i>	<i>sancte</i>	<i>t'</i>	<i>tur</i>
<i>scī</i>	<i>sancti</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>uel</i>
<i>scō</i>	<i>sancto</i>	<i>ū</i>	<i>uer</i>
<i>sc̄m̄</i>	<i>sanctum</i>	<i>u^o</i>	<i>uero</i>
<i>ḡdum</i>	<i>secundum</i>	<i>uñ</i>	<i>unde</i>
<i>s̄</i>	<i>sed</i>	<i>;</i>	<i>us</i>
<i>sⁱ</i>	<i>sicut</i>	<i>xp̄m̄</i>	<i>Christum</i>
<i>sñ</i>	<i>sine</i>	<i>xp̄s</i>	<i>Christus</i>

The Dimma John: Chapter 1

<i>~</i>	<i>m-stroke</i>	<i>c̄s</i>	<i>cuius</i>
<i>C^v</i>	<i>CrV</i>	<i>dī</i>	<i>Dei</i>
		<i>dō</i>	<i>Deo</i>
<i>añ</i>	<i>amen</i>	<i>dñ</i>	<i>Deum</i>
<i>añ</i>	<i>ante</i>	<i>dm</i>	<i>Deum</i>
<i>aḡ</i>	<i>apud</i>	<i>d̄s</i>	<i>Deus</i>
<i>h̄</i>	<i>autem</i>	<i>dc̄s</i>	<i>dicens</i>
<i>xp̄m</i>	<i>Christum</i>	<i>d̄t̄</i>	<i>dicit</i>
<i>xp̄s</i>	<i>Christus</i>	<i>d̄r̄</i>	<i>dicitur</i>
<i>o</i>	<i>con</i>	<i>discip̄</i>	<i>discipuli</i>

<i>d̄x</i>	<i>dixit</i>	<i>q;·</i>	<i>quae</i>
<i>dn̄</i>	<i>domini</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>quam</i>
<i>3</i>	<i>eius</i>	<i>qñ</i>	<i>quando</i>
<i>#</i>	<i>enim</i>	<i>q̄sī</i>	<i>quasi</i>
<i>g^o</i>	<i>ergo</i>	<i>q;</i>	<i>que</i>
<i>eē</i>	<i>esse</i>	<i>q̄</i>	<i>quem</i>
<i>÷</i>	<i>est</i>	<i>qⁱ</i>	<i>qui</i>
<i>f̄r</i>	<i>frater</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>quia</i>
<i>h̄</i>	<i>haec</i>	<i>q̄</i>	<i>quod</i>
<i>h̄</i>	<i>hoc</i>	<i>q̄t̄</i>	<i>quot</i>
<i>h̄c</i>	<i>hunc</i>	<i>rēs</i>	<i>respondit</i>
<i>ih̄m̄</i>	<i>Iesum</i>	<i>r̄t̄</i>	<i>runt</i>
<i>ih̄s</i>	<i>Iesus</i>	<i>sco</i>	<i>Sancto</i>
<i>iō</i>	<i>Iohannis</i>	<i>s̄</i>	<i>sed</i>
<i>isr̄l̄</i>	<i>Israhel</i>	<i>sⁱ</i>	<i>sicut</i>
<i>isr̄l̄</i>	<i>Israheliticus</i>	<i>sp̄m̄</i>	<i>Spiritum</i>
<i>n̄</i>	<i>non</i>	<i>sp̄ū</i>	<i>Spiritu</i>
<i>nō</i>	<i>nomen</i>	<i>s̄t̄</i>	<i>sunt</i>
<i>nōe</i>	<i>nomine</i>	<i>t̄</i>	<i>ter</i>
<i>p̄</i>	<i>prae/pre</i>	<i>t̄s</i>	<i>trans</i>
<i>p</i>	<i>per</i>	<i>t'</i>	<i>tur</i>
<i>p^o</i>	<i>post</i>	<i>ū</i>	<i>uer</i>
<i>p</i>	<i>pro</i>	<i>urm̄</i>	<i>uestrum</i>
<i>p̄</i>	<i>propter</i>	<i>;</i>	<i>us</i>

The Stowe Tract

<i>-</i>	<i>n-stroke</i>	<i>āps</i>	<i>apstal</i>
<i>~</i>	<i>m-stroke</i>	<i>āps</i>	<i>apstalaib</i>
<i>C^v</i>	<i>CrV</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>ar</i>
		<i>ḅ</i>	<i>ber</i>
<i>æcāta</i>	<i>æcalsa</i>	<i>·k̄t̄</i>	<i>cailne / kalendārum</i>
<i>aecl̄</i>	<i>aeclaise</i>	<i>ciuī</i>	<i>cīuitātem</i>
<i>æc̄ta</i>	<i>æclesiā</i>	<i>x̄ps</i>	<i>Chrīstus</i>

3	<i>contra</i>	7	<i>ocus</i>
<i>cṛ</i>	<i>Críst</i>	<i>off</i>	<i>offrind</i>
<i>dō</i>	<i>Deō</i>	<i>off</i>	<i>offriund</i>
<i>deṣ</i>	<i>descerdach</i>	<i>pat</i>	<i>pater</i>
<i>dm̄</i>	<i>Deum</i>	<i>pṛ</i>	<i>pater</i>
÷	<i>est</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>per</i>
7	<i>et</i>	<i>phōp</i>	<i>phopuil</i>
<i>fīg</i>	<i>fīgor</i>	<i>p̄</i>	<i>pre</i>
<i>fī:</i>	<i>fīlius</i>	<i>pōp</i>	<i>popul</i>
<i>f̄</i>	<i>for</i>	<i>q:</i>	<i>que</i>
<i>fō</i>	<i>for</i>	<i>qñ</i>	<i>quandō</i>
<i>fōret</i>	<i>foraithmet</i>	<i>sāc</i>	<i>sacard</i>
<i>ḡ</i>	<i>gra</i>	<i>s̄cæ</i>	<i>sānctæ</i>
<i>ḡ</i>	<i>gra</i>	<i>s̄ci</i>	<i>sānctī</i>
<i>grā</i>	<i>grātia</i>	<i>s̄cs</i>	<i>sānctus</i>
<i>h</i>	<i>hoc</i>	<i>s̄</i>	<i>sed</i>
<i>·i·</i>	<i>i.e.</i>	<i>sōs</i>	<i>soscél</i>
<i>iaṛ</i>	<i>íarum</i>	<i>sp̄m</i>	<i>spīritum</i>
<i>ichṫ</i>	<i>íchtar</i>	<i>sp̄s</i>	<i>spīritus</i>
<i>iḥs</i>	<i>Iēsus</i>	<i>sp̄s</i>	<i>spīritūs</i>
<i>it̄</i>	<i>iter</i>	<i>t̄</i>	<i>ter</i>
<i>m̄</i>	<i>mac(c)</i>	<i>thuaiṣ</i>	<i>thúaiscerdach</i>
<i>mār</i>	<i>martar</i>	<i>t̄</i>	<i>tra</i>
<i>nō</i>	<i>nōmen</i>	<i>t'</i>	<i>tur</i>
<i>nōt</i>	<i>notlac</i>	<i>:</i>	<i>us</i>