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THE BOOK OF DEER.



THE
BOOK OF DEER

Edited for the Spalding Club

By JOHN STUART, LL.D., SECRETARY

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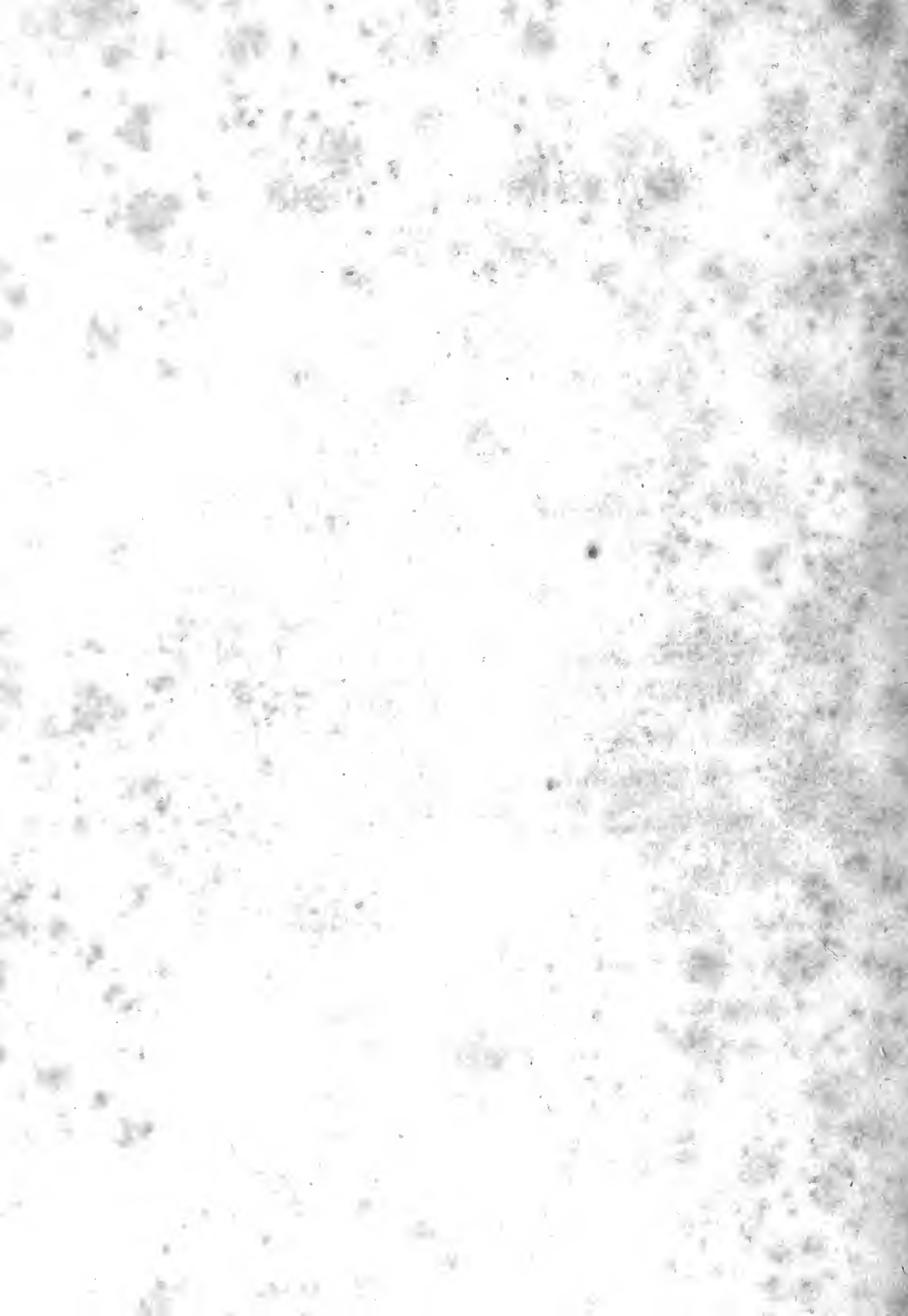


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Preface.

I.

INTRODUCTORY—MONASTERIES OF ST. COLUMBA—ONE OF THEM AT DEER—
CHURCHES FOUNDED BY NATIVE SAINTS—ST. FERGUS, ST. DROSTAN—THE
BOOK OF DEER: ITS HISTORICAL VALUE—THE LATER CISTERCIAN ABBEY
OF DEER.

AMID the darkness which enshrouds those missionaries who imparted to the heathen tribes of Alba the blessings of the Christian faith, the form of St. Columba stands out with exceptional clearness of outline; and the popular instinct has not erred which ascribes to him the largest share in the great work, and traces to his mission the most enduring results.

The almost contemporary pages of his biographer, St. Adamnan, enable us to realise to ourselves the system adopted by the great missionary in his enterprise. When he first took possession for Christ of the little island of Hy, which, under the name of Iona, was to become illustrious for all time from its association with him, he founded upon it a monastery, in conformity with the system which then prevailed, not only in the country of the Scots from which he came, but throughout Europe.

Every fresh settlement which the saint effected as he pushed his Christian conquests, whether in the islands of the Hebrides or in the mainland country of the northern Picts, consisted of a monastery for a body of clerics, from which they might disperse them-

selves in circuits among the surrounding tribes, returning to their home for shelter and mutual support.¹

One of these monastic settlements was that of Deer, in Buchan, a district of Aberdeenshire, which, projecting into the German Ocean, forms the most easterly point of Scotland; and the legend in the Book of the Gospels of this house preserves in traditional detail the circumstances which marked the infancy of the establishment.

It represents the arrival at Aberdour, a sheltered bay on the rocky shores of Buchan, of St. Columba, accompanied by his pupil Drostan; but we are left to conjecture whether the strangers arrived by sea in one of the frail coracles so much in use with the saint and his followers, or were on a landward circuit through the northern districts.

The mormaer or ruler of the district of Buchan, who seems to have been on the spot, made an offering to the clerics of the "city" of Aberdour with freedom from mormaer and toisech.

There are reasons for believing that a considerable population was gathered in the country around the rocky coast of Aberdour²

¹ The same course was followed in the Northumbrian monasteries. Of St. Cuthbert we are told that, leaving Mailros, he would spend sometimes several weeks together among the people settled in the glens and hillsides of the Cheviots and the Lammermoor, returning afterwards to his monastery for repose and the refreshment of society, as the bird to the ark; and of St. Aidan's wanderings we also hear in the pages of Venerable Bede (B. iii. c. 17), who elsewhere describes the practice of the time, "Erat quippe moris eo tempore populis

Anglorum, ut veniente in villam clerico vel presbytero cuncti ad ejus imperium verbum audituri confluerunt."—(B. iv. cap. 27.)

² In the country, about a mile inland from the bay, numerous hut-foundations have been discovered, some of them under a great depth of moss. In some parts of the moss, trees and roots have frequently been turned up, apparently the remains of an early forest. Similar hut-foundations have been found along the coast in the country southwards.

and the red Dun¹ which overlooked its southern side ; and as we are frequently able to trace the progress of the Roman armies through places of dense population, where their "ways" were led amid the raths and abodes of the Britons, so we may infer from the numerous churches dedicated to Celtic saints, throughout Scotland,² in sites of early settlement, that the missionaries

¹ The colour of the rocks at Dundarg is of a dark red, and the neck of the Dun was cut off from the land by transverse earthworks, of which portions still remain.

² Of these there are two classes—first, the churches actually founded by the saints themselves in the course of their missions ; and next, the foundations of later date dedicated to the memory of the saints by their spiritual successors. The names of St. Ninian, St. Kentigern, and St. Columba, were held in reverence throughout the kingdom, and churches were dedicated to them in all parts of Scotland. In other cases, the dedications are more restricted in their range, and suggest their origin in the circuit of the patron saint himself.

Of this character are the churches dedicated to St. Fergus, which seem all traceable as original foundations by himself in the course of his labours, as they are related in the Breviary of Aberdeen (Part. Estiv. fol. clxii.) According to this authority, St. Fergus, after having performed the office of a bishop for many years in Ireland, came on a mission to the western parts of Scotland, in company with a body of presbyters or clerics. Arriving in the neighbourhood of Strogath,

he and his friends settled there for a time, leading a somewhat solitary life ; but seeing the country good and suitable for settlement, St. Fergus put his hands to the work, and erected three churches. From thence he pursued his course to Caithness, where he preached to the rude people of the country, and drew them to the faith, not more by the truth of his doctrine than by the greatness of his virtues. Again, leaving Caithness he arrived in Buchan, in the place which came commonly to be called Lungley, and where the church which he built is dedicated to his memory. Forsaking Buchan for the country of Angus, he settled at Glamis, where he erected fresh *cenobia* to God, choosing this as the place of his rest. Here accordingly he died, and here, after his death, many miracles were wrought by his relics. So great were these, that in course of time an abbot of Scone, with much devotion, removed his head from his tomb, and placed it in his own monastery at Scone, where, in like manner, miracles were wrought through the merits of St. Fergus.

This is the legendary account of the saint, and many circumstances concur to prove its substantial accuracy.

were attracted in their Christian warfare to these by the denseness of the neighbouring population. St. Columba, on his first mission to Pictland, sought out at once the royal seat of Brude, near Inverness, and he may have been led to the verge of Buchan by the presence of the chief and his followers at one of his residences.

It is probable that the clerics tarried at Aberdour for a time, and founded a monastery on the land which had been granted to them.

In later times the parish church of Aberdour was dedicated to St. Drostan.¹ It was placed by the brink of a gorge, on a ledge or table-land overlooking the burn of the Dour, at a spot about 150

Beginning with his first supposed settlement, we find that the three neighbouring churches of Strogath, Blackford, and Dolpatrick, in Perthshire, were all dedicated to St. Patrick, according well with the idea that the founder was a missionary fresh from the influence of the Irish church.

The church of Wick in Caithness was dedicated to St. Fergus himself—a fact which may be held to support the legendary statement of his visit to that country.

The parish church of Lungley, or, as it has long been called, St. Fergus, is dedicated to him, and preserves the memory of his labours in Buchan, while the parish of Glamis, where he finished his course, also owns him as its patron saint. Here his memory is associated with a holy well, which still freshens the glen in which the hermitage of the saint is said to have been placed.

And, finally, the alleged removal of the saint's head to Scone may be held to be established by the following entry in the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer

of Scotland, recording one of the many like offerings made by King James IV. at the shrines of saints :

xi October 1503. To the kingis offerand to Sanct Fergus heide in Scone xiiii. s.

¹ According to the legend of St. Drostan in the Breviary of Aberdeen, he was descended of the royal family of the Scots. His parents, in consequence of his devotion to religion, sent him to his uncle, St. Columba, in Ireland, to be perfected in his studies. Afterwards he became a monk at Dalquhongale or Holywood, of which place he came to be abbot. Desirous of a stricter life, he retired to Glenesk, in Angus, where he led an eremitical life, and founded a church or monastery by the side of lonely Lochlee, where his memory still survives in such names as "Droustie's Well" and "Droustie's Meadow," after all other trace of his foundation has long vanished.—(Land of the Lindsays, p. 61.)

The parish of Edzell, in Glenesk, is said to be dedicated to St. Drostan. The parish

yards distant from the shore of the Moray Firth. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the bones of the saint were here preserved in a stone chest, and many cures were effected by means of them.¹ In the face of the rock, near where the stream falls into the sea, is a clear and powerful spring of water, known as St. Drostan's Well.

The legend states that thereafter they came to another of the mormaer's "cities," which being pleasing to Columcille, as full of God's grace, he asked it in gift. This the ruler declined. Thereafter his son became sick, and was all but dead, when the mormaer besought the prayers of the clerics for his recovery, and gave them an offering of the "town" which he had formerly refused. They complied with his request, and their prayers were heard in the recovery of the son.

On the land thus granted the clerics founded a monastery, which came to be known as that of Deer.

But this having been done, the island saint must hasten to other districts to diffuse the precious seed entrusted to him, and establish other colonies of missionaries. Before doing so, however, he transferred to Drostan all his authority over the newly-founded church: in the words of the legend, "After that, Columcille gave to Drostan that town, and blessed it, and left as his word, that 'whosoever should come against it, let him not be many-yeared

of Skir-durstan, on the banks of the Spey (now united to Aberlour), had St. Drostan for its patron. He was also patron of the parish of Alvie, higher up the river; and a chapel at Dunaughton, in that parish, was dedicated to him.—(A Survey of the Province of Moray, pp. 261, 286; Elgin, 1798. Shaw's Hist. of the Province of Moray, p. 371; Elgin, 1827.) The churches

of Inch in the Garioch, and of Rothiemay on the Deveron, belonged to St. Drostan, besides those of Deer and Aberdour. In Caithness his name was had in reverence, as we find a church dedicated to him in the parish of Halkirk, and Cannisbay was also one of his churches.—(Origines Parochiales Scotiæ, vol. ii. pp. 758, 792.)

¹ Breviar. Aberd. Part. Hyemal. fol. xx

[or] victorious.' Drostan's tears came on parting with Columcille. Said Columcille, Let Dear be its name henceforward."¹

This "town" was about twelve miles inland from the first settlement of the clerics at Aberdour. It was placed on the fertile banks of the river Ugie, sheltered by wooded heights, on one of which it is probable that another rath of the mormaer was placed;² while the district seems to have been the seat of an abundant population, of which many traces yet remain.

The Book of Deer is a memorial of the monastery thus founded by St. Columba and his disciple. It contains the Gospel of St. John complete, and portions of the other three Evangelists, in writing probably of the ninth century, besides a collection of Memoranda of grants by the Celtic chiefs of Buchan, written in Gaelic at a later time.

In subsequent chapters of the Preface translations of the latter will be found, together with notices of the condition and polity of Celtic Scotland, designed to illustrate the bearings of the Book of Deer on an early and obscure period of our national history. I need, therefore, only here advert to the great interest and value of these *memoranda*. On various points connected with our early history, regarding which the historical student has hitherto had to grope his way, amid faint

¹ As to the name of Deer, see p. xlvi. *post*. The spelling of the word has varied at different times. In its first form it is Déar, "tear," in harmony with the traditional belief of its origin. In the charter of David I. it is Dér. It afterwards appears as Deir, Dere, and Deer. The last has been the ordinary spelling for a long time, and I have retained it, in the belief that, as the word is commonly pronounced, this is nearest to the earliest form of it.

² On the hill of Biffie (the Bidben of the grants), and on the opposite hill of Bruxie (of old Altrie—the Alterin of the records), circular foundations are still traceable, and others have been obliterated in recent times. In the district there was formerly a great number of stone circles; and many cists, flint weapons, and other indications of early settlement, have at various times been discovered within its bounds.

light and doubtful analogies, these entries supply new and solid standing-ground. They enable us to discover the condition of the Celtic population of Alba, separated into clans, under the rule of the mormaer, with their chiefs or toisechs, and their brehons or judges.

We discover the division of the country into town-lands, with fixed boundaries, and can trace the different and co-existing rights in them of the ardrigh, the mormaer, and the toisech. We are likewise furnished with notices of various kinds of burdens¹ to which they were subject.

The period embraced in these entries is towards the conclusion of the Celtic period, while the patriarchal polity had not yet given way to the feudal kingdom; the monastic system—at least in the northern districts—was yet flourishing, and the parish and territorial diocese were unknown.

Of what great interest is it, then, to have preserved to us in the Gaelic notices of the Book of Deer such authentic glimpses of the departing economy, which they enable us to understand, while they at the same time throw light on the origin of some of the institutions which superseded it!

I have attempted to sketch the progress of events which, shortly after the period of these memoranda, led to the development of the monastic into the parochial system, and to the substitution of the church of the parish, in the room, and often on the site of, the earlier church of the monastery (chapter v. p. cvii.)

At an early period, the possessions of some of the chief monas-

¹ The amount of some of these was determined by the number of davochs comprised in the territory, affording the earliest

instance in our records of a system, which at a later period formed the basis for apportioning the national taxes.

teries in Alba—foundations of Culdees, such as St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Abernethy—had been secularised, and when our earliest records enable us to understand their position, they appear in the hands of laymen.

It was not so in the case of Deer, the clerics of which, down to the middle of the twelfth century, were still receiving, from the bounty of the Gaelic chiefs of the district, additions to their monastic inheritance, in the whole of which they were secured by King David I., with full immunity from all secular exactions. It is plain, however, from the terms of the royal charter, that attempts had been made to “enslave” the monks, probably in the same way as the chiefs of Ireland usurped the rights of the monasteries of that country, and that they were able to maintain their “freedom” in virtue of the grants recorded in their “Book,” being the venerable volume now printed for the Members of the Spalding Club.

There seems little reason indeed to doubt that we may trace the occurrence of these memoranda to the attempts made by laymen to usurp the property of the clerics, and to the changed circumstances which demanded *written* evidence to maintain them in possession.¹

But this was only for a time. The parochial arrangements which had been spreading in the southern parts of the kingdom, very soon after came to supersede in the north as well, the earlier condition of things. One result of the change was the conversion of the churches of the smaller monasteries into parish churches.

¹ The forged charters, which are of such frequent occurrence among the records of religious houses, seem to have been in many cases attempts to give a legal form

to grants which had originally been made by unwritten symbolical gift; and in others to replace some written grant which had been lost.

The monastery of Mortlach, a house of early foundation, with its dependent monastery of Cloveth or Clova,¹ continued to flourish till the time of David I., when both re-appear in record as churches of districts.

The monastery of St. Congan at Turreff became the church of the parish of that name,² and the House of St. Drostan at Deer now disappeared in like manner in the parochial arrangement of the country; while in both cases the lands of these monasteries seem to have been resumed by the Earls of Buchan, the representatives of the earlier mormaers.

If, however, the monastic possessions of Deer and Turreff fell into the hands of the Lords of Buchan, it is certain that they were not long retained by them, and (in the expressive language of an early Irish record) that they did not continue "dead" in their hands.³

¹ Mortlach was probably founded by St. Moloc or Mo-luag, to whom the church was dedicated. This saint, according to our early writers, was the pupil of St. Brandan. He was the founder and patron of Lismore in Argyll, a country throughout which he laboured, as well as in that of Mar. Becoming associated with St. Boniface, he shared the labours of that saint in the northern regions, and dying in extreme age was buried in the church of St. Boniface at Rosmarkie. It is probable that Mortlach was one of the "chief" monasteries of Alba, while Cloveth was one of secondary importance and subject to Mortlach (*post*, pp. xxvii. lxxvii.) There may yet be seen the remains of a ruined

church at Cloveth (now Clova), and close to it a well called in the district *Simmer-luak* (St. Moluak), a name which preserves the connection of Cloveth with the mother church of Mortlach.—(Breviar. Aberd. Part. Estiv. fol. vi. Boece, Scotor. Hist. fol. clxxviii. ed. 1526.)

² For the history of the Celtic monastery at Turreff, see p. cxxiv.

³ In an account of the officers of the Kings of Connaught, translated from the Irish by Dr. O'Donovan, it is stated, "Forty-eight town-lands constituted the patrimony of his four royal chiefs—namely, O'Flanagan, O'Maelbreatnainn, Mac-Oireachty, and O'Feenaghty, together with all dead church-lands, which are described as "lands taken

At the period of King David's confirmation to the clerics of Deer (p. 95) of their rights and immunities, Colban was the mormaer, through his marriage with Eva, the daughter and heiress of Gartnat, the former mormaer.

Their grandson Fergus, who came to be styled *Earl* of Buchan, left a daughter, Marjory, who by marriage with William Cumyn carried the earldom to him.¹

In the year 1219, William, Earl of Buchan, founded the Cistercian Abbey of Deer at a spot about two miles westward of the church of the parish which came in place of St. Drostan's monastery.²

at an early period from the church by the oppressive conduct of the laity, and not claimed by the church afterwards.—(Trans. Kilkenny Arch. Soc. vol. ii. p. 346.)

¹ Both Colban and Fergus had natural sons, who witness charters of William Cumyn in favour of the house of Deer. They are styled "Magnus, son of Earl Colban," and "Adam, son of Fergus, Earl." An earlier Adam appears as a witness to a charter of Earl Fergus, where he is designated "frater comitis."—(Illustrations of the Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, vol. ii. pp. 427-8. Collections on the Antiquities of these Shires, vol. i. p. 406.)

² The site of the parish church, and, as I believe, of the Celtic monastery, resembles that selected for other early religious establishments in Scotland. It was erected on a knoll or rising ground called Tap Tillery, on the bank of the Ugie, the waters of which almost surround it. The ancient

church of St. Boniface at Invergowrie was built on a spot on the north bank of the Tay, almost insulated by the river. The early foundation of St. Fechin, at St. Vigeans, near Arbroath, occupies the top of a steep hillock rising from the banks of the Brothock, and at all these early churches have been found sculptured stones of the class peculiar to the Pictish Country. An early description of the parish of Deer preserves the following tradition connected with the building of the old church of the parish:—"The founders, intending to build the church on a neighbouring hill called Biffie, south-west of Deer about a quarter of a mile, as they were digging for a foundation, heard a voice saying,

It is not here

Ye'll big the kirk of Deer,

But on Top Tillery

Where mony corps man lye."

—(Collections, *ut supra*, p. 401.)

Of the foundation-charter no trace has been discovered, but it seems to have conveyed, among other possessions, the church of the parish of Deer, with the lands which had been the property of St. Drostan's monastery; and we can recognise in the rentals of the new foundation, down to its dissolution in the sixteenth century, some of the town-lands which had been granted by the Gaelic mormaers and toisechs.¹

The munificent spirit of the founder led him to add to his first gift the lands of Barry in Strathisla, and Fochyl on the Ythan, and it manifested itself in his grandson, the last earl of his race, who bestowed on them the church of Kynedwart.

Under these circumstances, the change from the primitive monastic system to the parochial one, was beneficial in every point of view. The place of the clan-monastery was now occupied by the *church of the district*, endowed with ample tithes, while in its neighbourhood arose the stately Cistercian abbey, enriched with the same lands which had been dedicated to a religious use in earlier times.

It is not necessary for our purpose to follow in detail the history of the later monastery, but it may be permitted to notice the less propitious and curiously different circumstances attending its concluding days, when a second ecclesiastical change occurred.

The turn of affairs which set King Robert Bruce on the throne of the Scots, was fatal to the fortunes of the Cumyns, who, having espoused the opposite side, were so utterly overthrown that, according to a chronicle of the time,² of a name which numbered at one

¹ See Celtic Entries in Book of Deer, *post*, p. xvii.

² Extracta e variis Croniciis Seocie, p. 103.

time the three Earls of Buchan, Marr, and Menteith, and more than thirty belted knights, there remained no memorial in the land save the orisons of the monks of Deer.

Sir Robert de Keith, the great Marischal of Scotland, espoused the fortunes of Bruce, and, among other rewards of his faithful service, he received a grant from that monarch of the pleasant lands of Alden on the banks of the Ugie, which adjoined the townland granted to St. Drostan's house by the toisech of Clan Canan (p. xxvii.)

From that time the strength of the house of Marischal in the province of Buchan, especially by intermarriage with one of the two co-heiresses of the powerful house of Inverugie, continued to increase.

In the year 1543, Robert Keith, a brother of the fourth Earl Marischal, was appointed Abbot of Deer on the presentation of the Queen Dowager. He died while yet a youth, in the year 1551, and to him succeeded Robert Keith, a son of the Earl, when only fifteen years old.

As Commendator of Deer, he signed a charter, dated at Paris in 1556, confirming one by his father of the lands of Auchrady. These lands were held of the Abbey of Deer, and one of the conditions of the feu-right granted by the abbot was, that the vassals should strive to maintain "*orthodoxam seu catholicam fidem.*"¹

In 1560, as "now Abbot and Commendator" of Deer, he granted to William, Earl Marischal, his father, a tack of the teind-sheaves of many lands in the parishes of Deer, Peterugy, and Foveran.²

¹ Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, vol. iv. p. 31.

² Note from the original in the possession of Patrick Rose, Esq., late sheriff-clerk of Banff.

In 1587, as Abbot and Commendator of the Abbey of Deer, he granted a procuratory for resigning the whole lands, tithes, and other property of the abbey into the king's hands, to be erected into a temporal lordship, to be called the lordship of Altrie, in favour of himself for his lifetime, and after his death to George, Earl Marischal, and his heirs-male and assigns.

In this deed¹ the Abbot states, by way of preamble, "that the monasticall superstitionn for the quhilk the said Abbay of Deer was of auld erectit and foundit is now be the lawis of this realme all uterlie abolischit sua that na memorie thereof sal be heireftir, and considering that the maist pairt of the lands and rentis doittit to the said Abbay proceidit of auld from the dispositioun of the progenitors and predicessors of the richt nobill and potent Lord George, erle Merschell, and that the propertie of the maist pairt thairof is alreddie sett in few ferme to the said erle and his predicessouris."

It appears that the wife of the Earl Marischal entertained scruples about thus interfering with property which had been dedicated to the church, and she dissuaded her husband from the possession of it, but in vain, on which she had a vision of the consequent ruin of the house.² The circumstances are thus related by a quaint writer of the seventeenth century :—

¹ Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, vol. ii. p. 437.

² The Commendator seems to have been a lukewarm reformer at first. In 1569 he preferred a request to the General Assembly that he might be relieved from certain payments due by him to the preachers at the Abbey's Churches, to

which he got for answer that "the kirk can in no wise demitt the thing that pertains to the poor ministers," especially to such a one as "my lord of Deir who debursed his money to the enemies of God to prosecute his servants and banish them out of the realme."—(The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 153, 156. Ban. Club ed.)

“This Earle George his first wyfe, dochter to the lord Hom, and grandmother to this present Earle, being a woman both of a high spirit and of a tender conscience, forbids her husband to leave such a consuming moth in his house as was the sacraledgeous meddling with the Abisie of Deir. But fourtein scoir chalderes of meill and beir was a sore tentatione ; and he could not weel indure the randerung back of such a morsell. Upon his absolut refusall of her demand, she had this vission—The night following, in her sleepe, she saw a great number of religious men in their habit, cum forth of that Abbey to the stronge Craige of Dunnoture, which is the principall residence of that familie. She saw them also sett themselves round about the rock, to gett it down and demolishe it, having no instruments, nor toilles, wherewith to perform this work, but only penknyves ; wherwith they follishly (as it seemed to her) began to pyk at the Craige. She smyled to sie them intend so frutles ane interpryse ; and went to call her husband to scuffe and geyre them out of it. When she had fund him, and brought him to sie these sillie religious monckes at ther foolishe work, behold ! the wholl Craige, with all his strong and statly buildings, was by ther pynknyves wndermynded and fallen in the sea, so as ther remained nothing but the wrack of ther riche furniture and stufe flotting on the waves of a raging and tempestuous sea. Som of the wyser sort, divining upon this vission, attribute to the penknyves the lenth of time befor this should com to pass ; and it hath bein observed, by sundrie, that the Earles of that house, befor, wer the richest in the kingdom, having treasure in store besyd them ; but ever since the addittion of this so great reveñue, they have losed ther stock by heavie burdeines of debt and ingagment.”¹

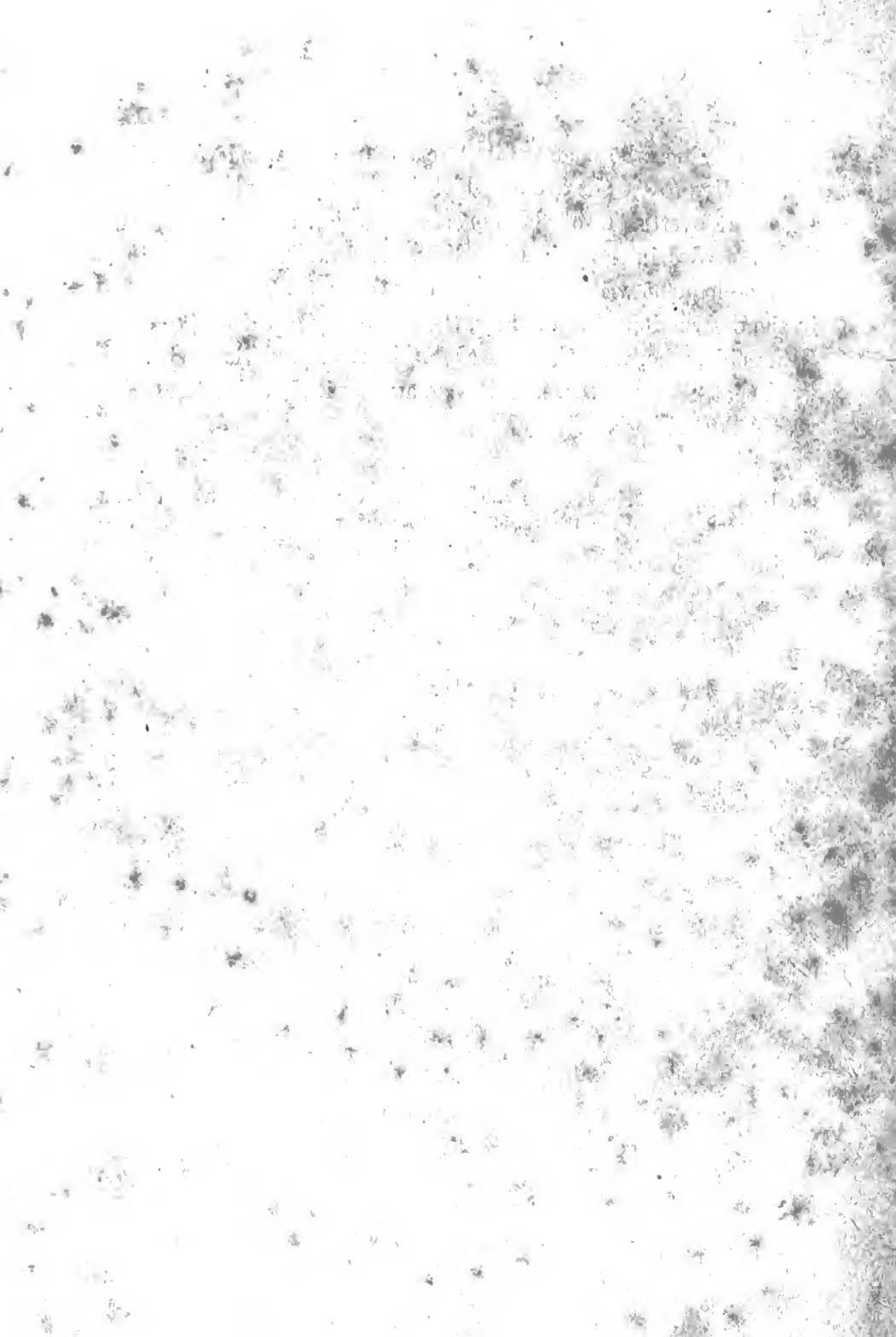
¹ A short abridgment of Britanes Distemper from the year of God MDCXXXIX

The writer who records this “relacioun of a wonderful vision” did not live to see the events which in the next century ended in the total overthrow of the house, and which he would doubtless have regarded in the light of its literal fulfilment.

An eloquent writer of our own day takes this view, and traces in the destruction of the family, the fulfilment of the saying of St. Columcille, who, when he blessed his infant foundation, left as his word that “Whosoever should come against it should not be many-yearred [or] victorious.”¹

to MDCXLIX, p. 113, by Patrick Gordon of Ruthven. Printed for the Spalding Club.

¹ Les Moines d'Occident, par le Comte de Montalembert, Tome Troisième, p. 191. Troisième édition, Paris, 1868.



II.

The Book of Deer.

(1.) THE MANUSCRIPT.

ITS HISTORY—STYLE OF THE HANDWRITING AND ILLUMINATIONS—WHETHER OF IRISH OR PICTISH EXECUTION—CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MANUSCRIPT.

THE remarks on the volume naturally arrange themselves under two heads—first, the history and character of the manuscript; and secondly, the version of the Gospels.

As to the book itself, while its early connection with the Columbian monastery of Deer is unquestionable, we are entirely ignorant of its subsequent history till the end of the seventeenth century. For the following facts illustrative of its later existence I am indebted to Mr. Bradshaw. "In 1697 the Book of Deer formed part of the collection of MSS. of John Moore, then Bishop of Norwich. It came into the possession of the University of Cambridge in 1715, forming part of the library of Moore, Bishop successively of Norwich and Ely, who died in 1714, and whose library was bought (it is believed at the suggestion of Lord Townshend) by King George I. for a sum of six thousand guineas, and presented to the University." It remained there unnoticed till Mr. Bradshaw's research made its real character to be known.

The volume (numbered I. i. b. 32.) is of a small but rather wide 8vo form of eighty-six folios. It contains the Gospel of St. John,

and portions of the other three Gospels; the fragment of an office for the Visitation of the sick, the Apostles' Creed; and a charter of King David I. to the clerics of Deer. The notices in Gaelic of grants made to the monastery of Deer are written on blank pages or on the margins.

A reference to the plates of facsimiles will show that the text of the Gospels is written in a character different from and older than that of the Celtic entries.

A comparison of the handwriting used in various early codices of the Gospels has led Professor Westwood to conclude that the date of the Deer Gospels may be ascribed to the ninth century, and I see no reason against accepting this conclusion.

The form of the letters in the Gospels is that which was common to the Irish and Anglo-Saxon schools, being the debased Roman minuscule, and, according to Mr. Westwood, "not very unlike the Bodleian Cædmon."¹

The style of ornament of the illuminations is similar to that used in many of the early Irish Books of the Gospels, as in the illuminated figures of the four Evangelists in the Book of Dimma (MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin); of St. Mark and St. Luke in the Book of Durrow (MS. in the same collection); and of St. Matthew and St. Luke in the Gospels of Mac Durnan (MS. in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth);²—all of which are of a date prior to the ninth century, the Book of Durrow being traditionally ascribed to the penmanship of St. Columba.³

¹ Facsimiles of the Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish Manuscripts, p. 89; Lond. 1868.

² Drawings of the last are given in Mr. Westwood's great work just quoted, Plate

xxii, and in the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," vol. ii. Plate iv. of "Illustrations."

³ Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, by Reeves, notes, p. 276.

Of the Book of Deer Mr. Westwood writes, "The initial letter of each Gospel is alone enlarged and ornamented with patches of different colours, being about two inches high, the ends of the principal strokes of the letters terminating in dogs' heads, somewhat in the style of the letters in the Psalter of St. Ouen, and especially like the initials given in my first plate of Irish Biblical MSS., No. 4, from the Harleian Gospels, 1802, and in my second plate, No. 5 of the 'Palæographia Sacra.' These pages, as well as the miniatures in the volume, are surrounded by ornamental borders, chiefly formed of rudely interlaced ribbons, and with some modifications of the Z patterns, both in the lozenge and rectangular forms." * * *

"The figure of St. Matthew¹ is a standing figure in the style of those of the Gospels of Mac Durnan, etc., with the beard of moderate length divided into four points, the feet naked, and the right hand holding a sword of very unusual form, turned downwards, the point of the scabbard resting between the feet. The handle of the sword is guarded not only in the front of the hand (as in Hewitt's 'Ancient Armour,' p. 33, Figs. 9, 10, and 11), but also behind the hand, the guards being curved, but reversed; the scabbard itself appears at first sight, owing to the curved border of the dress, to be shod at the end like Hewitt's Fig. 2, p. 32. The sword is a rare symbol of St. Matthew, but it is given as such in Eusenbeth's lists of the Emblems of the Saints. On either side of the head of the Saint is a small figure, possibly intended for an angel. St. Mark is represented in my second figure.² St. Matthew in the Gospels of St. Boniface, represented in my fourth figure of the same plate, 51, is really well drawn as compared with

¹ [Plate vi.]

² [Plate viii.]

this St. Mark, of which the most noticeable feature is the object held to the breast like a casket, which may represent a book in an ornamental binding, suspended from the neck, with the cumhdach or case in which it is preserved (of which the missal of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, is an example). I need scarcely add that the book is a very constant adjunct to the figure of the Evangelist in those early drawings, as seen in many of my plates."¹

"My Fig. 3 represents the recto of the last folio, 86,² and is probably intended to represent two of the Evangelists with two angels (being analogous to the tessellated pages of the Books of Lindisfarne, etc.); whilst a similar composition, the centre formed of a six-leaved rosette, occupies the verso of the first folio.³ At the end of St. John (folio 84, verso)⁴ is also a group of two of these Evangelists (?), and on the verso of the following folio (85 v.)⁵ is a group of four of these figures (without books), two with up-lifted, and one with outstretched arms, the fourth without arms. Quaint little flourishes resembling fern-leaves, and small animals

¹ Books, and what appear to be cumhdachs or book-covers, appear on the sculptured stones of Scotland (see "Sculp. Stones of Scotland," vol. ii. Pref. p. 23). I cannot doubt that the figures on the breasts of the Evangelists in the Book of Deer are meant either for cumhdachs, or boxes for relics like the early Celtic example at Monymusk, which is shaped like the present figures, and has an arrangement for suspension (Idem, Plate xi. of "Illustrations"). A different opinion has been expressed by Mr. Paley, who regards the figure as an apparel or rationale suspended from the neck by three strings. He adds, "Assuming that the dress of all these figures is

meant to represent the chasuble, considerable interest must attach to a representation, however rude, of the vestments worn by a Gaelic priest in the ninth century. If, as is probable, the chasuble was derived from the toga, which is indicated by the original circular form of both, the appearance of the rounded ends over the knees would be accounted for. The collar or rather the neck-folds seem to be most ample and quite unlike any fashion that we are acquainted with in the middle ages." (Mr. Paley as quoted by Mr. Westwood, p. 90.)

² [Plate xx.]

³ [Plate i.]

⁴ [Plate xviii.]

⁵ [Plate xix.]

and birds, occupy many of the open spaces and margins of the pages."¹ (Westwood's "Miniatures and Ornaments," pp. 89, 90.)

A question here naturally suggests itself,—Are we to ascribe the Book of Deer to an Irish or a Pictish origin? and when we recollect the community of religious institutions and art which in their infancy pervaded the churches of both countries, it is one that can only be answered by a consideration of the probabilities and analogies connected with it.

The variety and beauty of the manuscripts of the Gospels, and other works left to us by the early scribes of Ireland, show that the art of writing and illumination was there cultivated and brought to the highest perfection.

There is no reason to doubt that writing was likewise cultivated in the Columbian institutions of Alba, although the productions of the Pictish scribes have not come down to us.

St. Columba was himself a skilful scribe. The copy, which at an early period of his life he made of St. Finian's Gospels, was the remote cause of his mission to Alba from the disputes to which it gave rise. Just before his death, too, as we learn from Adamnan, he was engaged in transcribing the Psalter; and of Connachtach, one of his successors, who died in A.D. 801, it is recorded that he was "scriba selectissimus."²

The "Legend of St. Andrew" preserves the name of one Pictish scribe in the following notice:—"Thana filius Dudabrach hoc monumentum scripsit Regi Pherath filio Bergeth in villa Migdele;"³

¹ [Plates xxi. xxii.]

² Reeves' Adamnan, pp. 233, 388.

³ This is Meigle in Strathmore, which in Pictish times seems to have been a place of high ecclesiastical importance. In

no site have so many of the sculptured monuments peculiar to Pictland been discovered. (See "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," vol. i., Notices of the Plates, p. 22; vol. ii., Notices of the Plates, pp. 2, 73.)

and this, with other historical facts, was copied from ancient Pictish books into the Register of St. Andrews about the middle of the twelfth century,—“Hæc ut præfati sumus sicut in veteribus Pictorum libris scripta reperimus, transcripsimus.”¹

In the beginning of the eighth century the letter sent to Nechtan, the Pictish king, by the Abbot of Wearmouth, was first translated into the king's own language, and then, as we learn from Venerable Bede, his order for changing the time of Easter and the shape of the tonsure was transcribed and sent for publication throughout all the provinces of the Picts, while the same author describes the Pictish as one of the five languages of Britain in his day.²

St. Terman, who in our early legends is called Archbishop of the Picts, possessed a copy of the Gospels in four volumes, of which the one containing the Gospel of St. Matthew was preserved at his church of Banchory St. Terman, on the Dee, till the sixteenth century;³ and St. Boniface, a missionary to Pictland, was popularly believed to have written 150 books of the Gospels.⁴

The volume of St. Terman's Gospels was kept in a case of metal, adorned on the surface with silver and gold; and we hear of a copy of the Gospels belonging to Fothad, who was Bishop of the Scots before the middle of the tenth century. The silver cover, which the Bishop made for the volume, remained for admiration on the high altar of St. Andrews in the middle of the fourteenth century.⁵

¹ Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, p. 188.

² Hist. Eccl. lib. i. cap. i.; lib. v. cap. xxi.

³ Kalendar in Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 264.

⁴ Breviar. Aberd. Propr. Sanct. Part. Hyem. fol. lxx.

⁵ Wyntoun's Cronykil, b. vii. c. x. vol. i. p. 180.

On one of the crosses at St. Vigean's there is an inscription which appears to be the only specimen of writing in the Pictish language that has been preserved. It may be reasonably ascribed to the early part of the eighth century, and the form of the letters agrees with that of the Irish and Saxon writings of the period.¹

The exquisite ornamental designs of the sculptured crosses of Pictland—which were probably elaborated by the inmates of the Pictish monasteries, and which are identical with those of the early Irish manuscripts and the Book of Deer—fairly entitle us to assume that the men who could carve their intricate patterns on stone with such grace and accuracy would at the same time adorn their writings with similar devices.²

On a review of these facts, there seems nothing improbable in concluding that the Book of Deer may have been written by a native scribe of Alba in the ninth century. The existence of a *Fer-leiginn*, or scribe, in the neighbouring monastery of Turriff, would entitle us also to look for one in the monastery of Deer; and we learn from Colgan that the duty of these officials was

¹ See the reading of it given by Professor Sir James Y. Simpson in "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," vol. ii., Notices of the Plates, p. 70. The Pictish character of the inscription is supported by Dr. Petrie and Mr. Whitley Stokes in "Goidilica," by the latter, p. 37. Calcutta, 1866.

² "It seems very probable, on the whole, that the sculptor of the crosses, as well as the 'scribe' who prepared the design, was a member of the monastic community, if indeed the offices were not united in one person. Under the rule of

St. Benedict every monk was compelled to learn some trade, and many of them became the ablest artists, writers, architects, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, sculptors, and agriculturists in the kingdom. In Ireland the monks were the artificers of the shrines, croziers, book-covers, and bells, which yet excite our wonder by the grace and at the same time the minute intricacy of their style; while they were also the writers of those manuscripts of matchless calligraphy to which I have referred." (Sculptured Stones of Scotland, vol. ii. Pref. p. 16.)

the transcription of manuscripts, the framing of annals, and teaching the schools.

It is reasonable, therefore, to believe that the same aptitude for writing and illuminating which characterised the Irish foundations of St. Columba was manifested in his Pictish monasteries, and that we ought to expect the production of copies of the Gospels in the one as well as in the other.

If it should be suggested that the Irish missionaries, to whom so many of the monasteries in Pictland owed their foundation, probably carried with them copies of the Gospels, and that the Book of Deer may have been one of them, it may be answered that the time for such importations had passed away, and that the intercourse between the churches, originally so close, had been greatly interrupted before the date ascribed to that book.

The comparative abundance of illuminated copies of the Gospels by Irish scribes still remaining, with the almost total want of any Scotch examples, may at first sight suggest the idea that the Book of Deer also should be ascribed to Irish hands. But the circumstances which in Scotland attended the ecclesiastical revolution of the sixteenth century, resulting in an entire breach with the past, led to such a ruthless destruction of the books in any wise associated with the ancient church, that not merely are we without specimens of the books of the early Celtic church of Alba (if we except the Book of Deer); but, even of all that enormous number of service-books used in the offices of the later church of St. Margaret and her sons, we have scarcely a trace beyond a stray volume saved by some happy and rare accident,¹ so that the

¹ As in the case of the missal and other service-books of the church of St. Ternan of Arbuthnott, which were probably rescued from destruction by the lord of the

absence of these later books might with equal justice be adduced as an argument for disbelieving *their* native character, which, however, is beyond doubt.

I think, therefore, we may assume that the Book of Deer was the production of a native scribe, if not of a scribe of the monastery of Deer itself.

The careful facsimiles of the manuscript prepared by Mr. Gibb exhibit the stained and worn appearance of its pages, and prove that the volume has been much in use.

For two centuries it would appear that nothing was added to the original book, for the *credo* and colophon (fol. 85, Pl. xviii.) seem to have been written at the same time as the Gospels.

The fragment of an office for the Visitation of the sick is in a considerably later hand, while the entries in the vernacular Gaelic of Alba, of grants to the monastery, appear to have been inserted at various times in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.¹

In another chapter ("Celtic Polity") I have suggested the historical circumstances which probably gave rise to *written* notices of grants at this period and not earlier; and it seems likely that

manor, and now belong to his descendant, the Viscount Arbuthnott. We have many references in the accounts of the king's treasurers, and elsewhere, to the breviaries and missals written by the monks of Culross and St. Andrews.

¹ It would seem that the legend of the foundation of Deer, and the grants down to that of Gartnait Mac Cannech (Plates iii. iv. and v.), were written at one time. That of Gartnait is

written in different ink, and by a different hand, from those going before, and it was obviously engrossed before the last seven words of the previous note were crowded in. The marginal entries on Plate vi. appear to have been written at one time, except the last two lines, which, judging from the colour of the ink, have been added when the grant of Colbain the mormaer on the following page was recorded (Plate vii.)

similar causes may have led to those records of grants in the Irish language, of the same date, which appear in the Book of Kells.¹

The writing of the Gospels is all in one uniform hand. The illuminated figures of the Evangelists are designed with different degrees of elaboration—that of St. John being finished with most care. The ornamental borders are in some cases only partially completed (Plates viii. xii. and xiii.)

Occasionally words omitted in the body of the page have been inserted on the margin in the same hand as the rest, the omission being indicated by a mark like that on the margin of Plate xx. (✓.) At times the concluding words of a sentence are written on the line above it, where room had been there left.

The ordinary ink is of a dark brownish colour, and tolerably uniform. In the Celtic grants a marked difference occurs in the colour of the two portions represented on Plates v. and vi.

The writing of the book extends across the page, and the lines are continuous, in which respect its appearance differs from the Gospels of Lindisfarne, where the lines are of unequal length.

The pages generally show marks of horizontal ruled lines, drawn by some sharp instrument, and the writing *hangs from*, instead of *resting on* these, a feature in which this manuscript agrees with the second part of the Book of Armagh. On this point Dr. Reeves remarks: "This was a peculiarity of Oriental writing, and was adopted by the Irish for convenience, inasmuch as the upper

¹ The Book of Kells is one of the earliest of the Irish Gospels, and is ascribed to the hand of St. Columba himself. The charters of endowment of the House of Kells are of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. (The Miscellany of the Irish Arch. Soc., vol. i. p. 127.)

part of many of their letters (as Ϝ, Ϛ, ϛ, ϛ, Ϛ), coincided better with a horizontal line than the lower."¹

The style of punctuation adopted is exactly reproduced in the printed sheets. Most of the initial letters of paragraphs are capitals, slightly daubed with paint of various colours. In printing, these are represented by ornamental types. Where no paint has been applied to these letters, they are represented by plain types.

The volume contains the first six chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel, and the seventh down to the twenty-second verse, of our common mode of division; the first four of St. Mark's, and the fifth to the middle of the thirty-fifth verse; the first three of St. Luke's, and the first verse of the fourth; with the whole of St. John's; and it obviously never contained more.

The first seventeen verses of St. Matthew's Gospel are treated as a prologue, followed by the inscription "Finit prologus · Item incipit nunc Euangelium secundum Mattheum" (p. 2).²

¹ Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, Preface, p. xx. note.

² Mr. Westcott thus describes the Gospels of Deer in his valuable article on the Vulgate in Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," vol. iii. p. 1695:—"Very many old and peculiar readings, nearer Vulgate than α [Gospels in Cambr. Univ. Libr. K. k. 1. 24. Sæc. viii. ?], but very carelessly written. No Ammonian Sections or Capitula."

This last statement requires a very slight qualification, inasmuch as a solitary exception occurs in the first chapter of St. John (p. 38), where by the letter u (v), there

inserted, is to be understood that here commences the fifth Ammonian Section which belongs to the third canon of Eusebius, thus indicating that the substance occurs in the three Evangelists—St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John.

This is the only reference of the kind which occurs in the volume, and it would seem that the letter had been inserted or copied by the scribe without any comprehension of its original meaning. Its occurrence (which was first pointed out to me by Mr. Bradshaw) is worthy of notice in judging of the source from which the Book of Deer may have been derived.

The Book of Deer.

(2.) THE VERSION OF THE GOSPELS.

EARLY LATIN VERSIONS—VERSION OF ST. JEROME—"IRISH" GOSPELS—
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DEER CODEX—ITS COLLATION WITH THE VULGATE.

AT a very early period in the history of the Christian Church various Latin versions of the Gospels were in use, one of which, as revised by ecclesiastical authority in Italy in the fourth century, was distinguished by the name of *Itala*. Other recensions were made for private use, in which changes were introduced to suit the taste or caprice of the scribe or critic; and from an intermixture of all these, such a corruption of the text took place as to call for an authoritative revision of the current Latin texts by the help of the original Greek.

This was accordingly accomplished by St. Jerome towards the end of the fourth century. His text, however, was not generally received in the Church for some time. In the fifth century it was adopted in Gaul by Eucherius of Lyons, Vincent of Lerins, Sedulius, and Claudianus Mamertus, but the old Latin was still retained in Africa and Britain. At the close of the sixth century, Gregory the Great, while commenting on St. Jerome's version, acknowledged that it was admitted equally with the old by the Apostolic See. But the old version was not authoritatively displaced, though the custom of the Roman Church prevailed also in the other churches of the West. In the seventh century the traces of the old version

grew rare, and although the "Italic" was not wholly forgotten, yet the new text came to be generally adopted without any direct ecclesiastical authority.

The Book of Deer is one of the class which has been called "Irish" Gospels, which, while mainly corresponding with the Vulgate, seem to preserve occasional readings from earlier versions.¹

The most casual examination of this book will show that it is a careless transcript of a corrupt text. The spelling is frequently barbarous and capricious; there are many violations of grammar, with omissions, transpositions, repetitions, and interpolations of various kinds, while the prepositions are almost always joined to the words which they govern.

Generally speaking, the Deer Codex exhibits many of the orthographical peculiarities of the Vulgate as noted by Tischendorf,² and especially such as are characteristic of early Irish manuscripts.³

The following is a list of some of those of most frequent recurrence:—

ad for ap,	as adprehendere for apprehendere.
ae for e,	as in Magdalene for Magdalene.
b for p,	as in babtismum for baptismum.
c for qu,	as adpropinecauit for adpropinquavit.
cc for e,	as oculus for oculus.
ch for h,	as Abracham for Abraham.
ch for e,	as channa for Cana.
cx for x,	as unexit for unxit.
f for ph,	as profeta for propheta.

¹ See Mr. Westcott's article on the Vulgate in Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," vol. iii., pp. 1692, 1696, 1702, 1703.

² *Novum Testamentum Amiatinum*, Prolegomena, pp. xxviii.-xxx. Lipsie, 1854.

³ See a summary of these, with special

reference to a MS. Life of St. Columba written in the beginning of the eighth century, now preserved in the public library of Schaffhausen, by Dr. Reeves in his edition of Adamnan's Life of the Saint, Preface, pp. xvi.-xix.

ie for e,	as diciens for dicens.
i for y,	as sinagoga for synagoga.
i for e,	as accipisse for accepisse, Herodis for Herodes, Johannis for Johannes.
ii for i,	as nolii for noli.
i for ii,	as repudi for repudii.
in for im,	as inplere for implere.
zabulus for diabolus.	
h added,	as horiens for oriens.
h wanting,	as aurite for haurite, orreum for horreum.
ll for l,	as tullerunt for tulerunt.
o for u,	as soffocaverunt for suffocaverunt, monomentum for monumentum.
u for o,	as consulare for consolare, parabulas for parabolus.
p omitted,	as temtator for temptator.
s for ss,	as audisent for audissent.
ss for s,	as gauissi for gauisi, Issaiaam for Esaiaam.
t for d,	as illut, aput, for illud, apud.

The division of words and arrangement of paragraphs are very capricious, and could hardly have been made by one familiar with the language.¹ At times words are introduced which entirely destroy the sense, as in the 9th chapter of St. John, where, in the 1st verse, it is written, "et preteriens uidit iohannem cecum," instead of "hominem cecum."² In the 35th verse of the same chapter, where the words should have been "credis in filium dei," they are written "dixisset in filium dei."³ The 10th verse of the 13th chapter of this Gospel in the Vulgate begins, "Dicit ei ihesus qui lotus est," while in Deer the word *lotus* is turned into

¹ The causes which led to that ignorance of Latin in the clergy of the English Church, of which King Alfred complained in the beginning of the tenth century, were generally operative through-

out Europe, and the Gaelic clergy of Alba were probably in the same condition as their Saxon brethren in this respect.

² The Book of Deer, p. 60.

³ Idem, p. 62.

“locutus.”¹ The 22d verse of the 18th chapter of St. John in the Vulgate concludes with the words, “dicens sic respondis pontifici,” while in Deer they appear as “sirespem dispontifici.”²

Words are occasionally found in this Codex which do not appear in the Vulgate. Thus in the 4th chapter of St. Matthew, at the 10th verse, where the former have the words “Tunc dicit ei ihesus uade *retro*,” the latter omits the word *retro*, and similar omissions occur in the 30th and 40th verses of that chapter.

In the 6th chapter of St. John, after the words “da panem nunc,” as in the Vulgate, the scribe of Deer introduces “panem semper hunc.” In the 8th chapter at the 10th verse he has “ihesus dixit ei mulier ubi sunt qui te accussabant,” while in the Vulgate the last three words do not occur. In the 30th verse of the 19th chapter of the same book, the words “cum autem exirasset uelum templi scisum est medium a sommo usque ad deorsum,” which appear in Deer, are omitted in the Vulgate; and in the 6th verse of the 21st chapter, the words “Dixerunt autem per totam noctem laborantes nihil cepimus in uerbo autem tuo mittimus,” which occur in Deer, are not in the Vulgate. A similar case occurs in the 13th verse of the 5th chapter of St. Mark.

The words and passages which appear in the Vulgate, and not in Deer, are very numerous, as will be seen in the collations.

Instances of passages repeated will be found in the 14th verse of the 7th chapter of St. Matthew, and in the 13th verse of the 5th chapter of St. Luke.

A singular one occurs in the 6th chapter of St. John, at the 24th verse, where twenty-three words are repeated with some

¹ Idem, p. 70.

² Idem, p. 80.

variations in spelling, of which it seems more difficult to believe that they are merely the result of carelessness in the transcriber, than that they were literally copied by him from another text. The words which are at first written "in nauē" are repeated "in nauem;" "a tibriade" becomes "a tiberaide," and "gratias agentes dominum" is turned into "gratias agentes dominus."

But the most grotesque result of the carelessness or ignorance of the transcriber occurs in the genealogy of our Lord in the 3d chapter of St. Luke, where Seth is set down as the first man and grandfather of Adam.¹

It has been remarked that the whole question of the general character and specific varieties of the Celtic MSS.² is very imperfectly known (Smith's Dict. of the Bible, vol. iii. p. 1695); and it is with the view of contributing an addition to the materials for its elucidation that the collation of the Deer Gospels with those of the Vulgate (Codex Amiatinus) has here been made. It does not repeat all the minute literal variations of orthography each time that they occur, but it embraces all words of any importance.

With the same object a table is annexed exhibiting the results of collations of the fourth chapter of St. John, as in the Italic (Codex Brixianus), with the Vulgate (Codex Amiatinus), the Book of Durrow, the Book of Kells, the Book of Dimma, the Book of Moling, and the Book of Armagh, in the library of Trinity College, Dublin; the Lindisfarne Gospels in the British Museum; an

¹ The Book of Deer, p. 36.

² See a valuable chapter on this subject in a work which has appeared since the above was written: "Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great

Britain and Ireland," by Haddan and Stubbs, pp. 170-198, Oxford 1869; and "Descriptive Remarks on Illuminations in certain ancient Irish Manuscripts," by the late lamented Dr. J. H. Todd, in *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. vi. p. 1.

early copy of the Gospels (A 2, 17) in the library of the Dean and Chapter at Durham ; and the Book of Deer.

The collations of the MSS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, were readily completed for me by Mr. William Maunsell Hennessy, of the Public Record Office, Dublin, editor of the *Chronicum Scotorum* in the Master of the Rolls' Series of Chronicles.

In the collation of the Lindisfarne Gospels I adopted the text of Mr. George Waring in his edition printed for the Surtees Society.

Through the kindness of the Rev. Wm. Greenwell, the librarian of the Dean and Chapter at Durham, I was enabled to collate the text of the original manuscript at Durham,¹ which is thus described by Mr. Westwood :—"This manuscript in its original condition must have been one of the most splendid copies of the Gospels ever written. It may be referred to the early part of the eighth century. It measures about thirteen inches by ten, and is written in a beautiful rounded Hiberno-Saxon minuscule character, intermediate in size between the texts of the Gospels of Kells and Lindisfarne."²

¹ This manuscript contains the rare passage, St. John iii. 6 : *Quia deus spiritus est et ex deo natus est*, and its mode of punctuation is by three dots in a triangle.

² Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish Manuscripts, p. 48.

Book of Moing (Sæc. vii. ?)	Book of Armagh (Sæc. ix.)	The Lindisfarne Gospels (Sæc. vii.)	Gospels at Durham, MS. A 2. 17. (Sæc. viii. ?)	Book of Deer (Sæc. ix. ?)
2 ihesus.	2 ihesus.	1 agnovit.	2 ihesus.	2 ihesus.
3 farissei.	3 farisei.	2 Ihesus.	3 farisei.	3 farisei.
4 quia.	4 quia.	3 Pharisæi.	4 quia.	4 quia.
6 om.	6 om.	4 quia.	5 facit . .	6 om.
7 iohannis.		6 om.	6 om.	
8 quanquam et.			7 iohannes . .	
10 om.	9 ipse ihesus.	10 om.	10 om.	10 om.
	11 non baptizat		12 eius . .	12 eius . . 7
13 reliquit.	13 reliquit.	13 Reliquit.	13 reliquit.	13 Relinquit.
14 adds terram	14 iudeam ter- ran.	14 Judæam.	14 iudeam.	14 iudeam.
15 abiit in ga- liliam iter- um.	16 galileam.	15 abiit.	15 ethabit.	15 ethabit.
		16 Galilæam.	16 ingalileam.	16 ingalileam.
19 ad.	20 ergo.	20 ergo.	17 enim.	17 enim.
20 ergo.	22 que.	21 Samariæ.	18 om.	18 om.
22 que.		22 quæ.	20 ergo.	20 ergo.
23 sichar.	27 iacobi.	24 prædium.	21 samariæ.	21 samariæ.
24 prædium.	28 autem.		22 que.	22 que.
			23 sichâr.	23 sichâr.
29 ab.	29 fontem.		24 prædium.	24 prædium.
30 fontem.	31 hora autem erat.	30 fontem.	25 om.	
31 horæ erat.		31 hora erat.	26 suo . .	27 iacob . . . 7 . . . 7
33 om.	33 om.		30 fontem.	30 fontem.
35 dicit.	35 dicit.	33 om.	31 hora erat.	31 hora erat.
37 autem eius.	37 enim eius.	34 haurire.	32 sexta . .	
39 emerent sibi.	38 abierunt.	35 dicit.	33 om.	33 om.
	39 emerent sibi.	36 bibere . .	34 aurire aquam . .	35 dicit.
43 a mé bibere.	43 tu iudeus cum sis.	37 enim eius.	35 dicit.	37 enim eius.
44 que.	44 que.	39 emerent . .	36 bibere . .	
		43 tu, Judæus cum sis.	37 enim eius.	40 om.
		44 que cum.	39 emerent . .	42 Quomodo iu- dæus cum sis.
			43 tu iudæus cum sis.	44 que.
			46 Samaritanis . .	45 iudei.
				46 samaritanis . . . 7

Italic Recension ; Codex Brixianus. (Sæc. vi.)	The Vulgate ; Codex Amiatinus (circ. A.D. 541).	Book of Durrow (Sæc. vi. ?)	Book of Kells.	Book of Dimna (Sæc. vii. ?)
<p>dit Jesus . et dixit ei¹ . Si scires donum² Dei . et quis est . qui dicit tibi Da mihi bibere . tu forsitan petisses³ ab eo . et dedisset tibi aquam* vivam (11) Dicit ei mulier . Domine nec⁴ in quo aurias⁵ habes . et puteus altus est . unde ergo habes aquam vivam⁶ . (12) Numquid⁷ tu⁸ major⁹ es patre¹⁰ nostro Jacob . qui dedit nobis puteum hunc¹¹ . et ipse ex eo¹² bi- bit . et filii ejus . et peco- ra ejus . (13) Respondit Jesus . et dixit ei¹³ . om- nis qui biberit¹⁴ ex aqua¹⁵ ista¹⁶ sitiet¹⁷ iterum . qui autem biberit . ex aqua quam ego¹⁸ dederō¹⁹ ei²⁰ . non²¹ sitiet in æternum . (14) sed²² aqua quam ego dabo ei . fiet in eo fons aquæ²³ salientis in vitam æternam²⁴ . (15) Dicit ad²⁵ eum²⁶ mulier Domine da mihi²⁷ hanc aquam²⁸ . ut non si- tiam²⁹ . neque veniam huc aurire³⁰ . (16) Dicit ei Jesus Vade voca virum tuum et veni huc³¹ (17) Respondit³² mulier et dixit . Non habeo virum . Dicit ei Jesus . Bene dixisti³³ . quoni- am³⁴ virum non habeo³⁵ . (18) quinque enim³⁶ viros habuisti³⁷ . et nunc quem habes³⁸ . non est tuus vir³⁹ . hoc vere dixisti⁴⁰ . (19) Dicit ei mulier . Do- mine video quia Pro- pheta⁴¹ es tu⁴² . (20) Patres nostri in monte hoc adoraverunt⁴³ . et vos dicitis quia in Hiero- solyimis⁴⁴ est⁴⁵ locus .</p>	<p>⁴ neque. ⁵ haurias.</p> <p>¹¹ om. ¹² ex eo ipse.</p> <p>¹⁴ bibit.</p> <p>¹⁶ hac.</p> <p>¹⁹ dabo.</p> <p>³¹ om.</p> <p>³⁴ quia ³⁵ non habeo virum.</p>	<p>² domum.</p> <p>⁴ neque.</p> <p>⁷ numquit.</p> <p>¹¹ om.</p> <p>¹⁴ bibet.</p> <p>¹⁶ hac.</p> <p>¹⁹ dabo.</p> <p>²³ aque. ²⁴ inuitam æternam.</p> <p>²⁵ om. ²⁶ ei. ²⁷ adds ei.</p> <p>³⁴ quia. ³⁵ non habeo uirum.</p> <p>⁴¹ profeta.</p> <p>⁴⁴ hierusoli- mis.</p>	<p>* quam (sic). ⁴ neque.</p> <p>¹¹ om.</p> <p>¹⁴ bibit.</p> <p>¹⁶ hac.</p> <p>¹⁹ dabo.</p> <p>²⁵ om. ²⁶ ei. ²⁷ adds bibere.</p> <p>²⁹ sitiat (sic).</p> <p>³² adds ei.</p> <p>³⁴ quia. ³⁵ non habes non virum.</p> <p>⁴⁰ benedixisti.</p> <p>⁴⁴ hierusoli- mis.</p>	<p>³ petisís.</p> <p>⁴ neque. ⁵ aureas.</p> <p>¹¹ istum.</p> <p>¹⁴ bibit.</p> <p>¹⁶ hac.</p> <p>¹⁹ dabo.</p> <p>²¹ om. from non to ei.</p> <p>²³ aque. ²⁴ inuitam æternam.</p> <p>²⁵ om. ²⁶ ei. ²⁷ adds bibere. ²⁸ aquam hanc.</p> <p>³⁰ adds aquam.</p> <p>³⁴ quia. ³⁵ non habes uirum.</p> <p>⁴¹ profeta.</p> <p>⁴⁴ hirusoli- mis.</p>

Book of Moling (Sæc. vii.?)	Book of Armagh (Sæc. ix.)	The Lindisfarne Gospels. (Sæc. vii.)	Gospels at Durham, MS. A 2, 17. (Sæc. viii.?)	Book of Deer (Sæc. ix.?)
	¹ om.		¹ ei . .	
⁴ neque. ⁵ aureas.	⁴ neque.	⁴ neque. ⁵ hauris.	³ petisses abeo . . ⁴ neque. ⁵ inquoaurias.	⁴ neque.
⁹ major es tú.	⁶ <i>Repeats entire verse, except Domine.</i>	⁶ undam vivam.	⁶ om.	
¹¹ om.	¹¹ istum.	¹¹ om.	¹⁰ patro ^{no} jacob . . ¹¹ om.	¹¹ om.
¹⁴ bibit.	¹⁴ bibit.	¹³ ei ¹⁴ bibit.	¹³ ei . . ¹⁴ bibit.	¹⁴ bibit.
¹⁶ hac.	¹⁶ hac <i>and om. to quam.</i>	¹⁵ om. <i>from aqua to quam.</i>	¹⁶ hac.	¹⁶ hac. ¹⁷ sitiât. ¹⁸ ergo. ¹⁹ dabo.
¹⁹ dabo ego.	¹⁹ dabo.	¹⁹ dabo.	¹⁹ dabo. ²⁰ ei . .	
²² om. <i>from aqua to ei.</i> ²³ aque. ²⁴ inuitam æternam.	²³ aque. ²⁴ inuitam æternam.	²³ aquæ. ²⁴ in vitam æternam.	²⁴ in uitam æternam : :	²³ aque. ²⁴ inuitam æternam. ²⁵ om. ²⁶ ei. ²⁷ <i>adds</i> bibere.
²⁷ da mihi domine, <i>and adds</i> bibere.				
²⁹ <i>adds</i> iterum.		³⁰ haurire. ³¹ om.	³⁰ aurire . . ³¹ huc . . ³² <i>adds</i> ei.	³³ benedixisti ³⁴ quia. ³⁵ non habeo uirum.
³⁴ quia. ³⁵ non habes uirum.	³⁴ quia. ³⁵ non habes uirum. ³⁶ om.	³⁴ quia. ³⁵ non habeo uirum.	³⁴ quia. ³⁵ non habes uirum. ³⁷ habuisti : : ³⁸ <i>on margin and in later hand.</i> ³⁹ uir . . ⁴⁰ dixisti : : ⁴² tu . . ⁴³ adornaerunt . . . ⁴⁴ hierusolymis.	
⁴¹ profeta.	⁴¹ profeta.			
⁴⁴ hierusolimis.	⁴⁴ hierusolimis.			⁴⁴ in hierusolimis. ⁴⁵ om.

Book of Moling (Sæc. vii. ?)	Book of Armagh (Sæc. ix.)	The Lindisfarne Gospels (Sæc. vii.)	Gospels at Durham, MS. A 2, 17. (Sæc. viii. ?)	Book of Deer (Sæc. ix. ?)
			1 oportet . . 2 ihesus . .	3 uniet. 4 adorabatis. 5 nescitis . . 6 om.
4 adorabitis. .	4 adorabitis.	4 adorabitis.	4 adorabitis. 5 nescitis : : 6 om.	7 quodscimus adoramus.
7 quodscimus adoramus.	6 om.	6 om.	8 scimus . .	10 exiudeis.
10 exiudaeis. 11 adds et. 12 uenit.	10 exiudeis.	9 Quod. 10 Judæis.	10 exiudaeis.	12 uenit.
17 adds eos.	17 querit.	12 uenit.	12 ueniet, <i>corrected</i> to uenit. 13 est . .	14 patrem . . 15 INspiritu. 17 querit eos.
18 adorante eum 19 om. to eum.	17 querit.	17 quærit.	16 etueritate . . 17 adds eos.	19 eum . .
	20 adds eos.	20 adds eos.	18 adorent eum . . 20 adds eos.	20 adds eos. 21 adorent.
25 scio. . .	25 scio.	24 mulier ei. 25 scio.	22 eum . . 23 adorare . .	25 scio. 26 misias. 27 om. the verb. 28 christus . .
27 uenit.	26 myssias. 27 uenit.	27 uenit.	25 scio. 27 om. verb. 28 christus . .	29 uenit. 31 adnuntiauit
29 om.	30 uenit. 31 annuntiabit	32 tibi.	30 uenerit . . 31 adnuntiauit. 32 omnia . . 33 tecum . .	36 miraban- tur . .
	34 contino. 35 uenierunt.	37 loqueban- tur.	36 admirabantur, <i>but corrected as</i> <i>in text.</i> 37 loqueretur . .	37 loqueretur.
36 autem.	36 autem.	40 quæris.	38 adds ei . .	39 adds ei. 40 queris.
40 queris.	40 queris.	42 Reliquit. 43 hydriam.	41 ea : : 42 relinquit. 43 hidriam. 44 mulier . .	43 relinquit. 43 hidriam.
42 reliquit. 43 hidriam.	43 reliquit. 43 hydriam.		46 inciuatatem . .	45 ethabit. 46 inciuatatem . .
45 et abit.		48 adds et.	47 hominibus . . 48 adds et.	48 adds et.

Book of Moling (Sæc. vii. ?)	Book of Armagh (Sæc. ix.)	The Lindisfarne Gospels (Sæc. vii.)	Gospels at Durham, MS. A 2, 17. (Sæc. viii. ?)	Book of Deer (Sæc. ix. ?)
¹ que cum- que.	¹ que cum- que.	¹ quæcum- que.	¹ que cumque.	¹ que cum- que.
³ adds non.			² feci . .	² feci . .
⁵ om.	⁵ om. ⁶ venierunt, <i>corrected in margin to</i> veniebant.	⁵ om.	⁴ christus . . ⁵ om. ⁶ ueniebant.	⁵ om. ⁶ etuinebant.
⁸ interroga- bant.	⁸ interea.	⁸ Interea.	⁷ adeum . . ⁸ interea.	⁷ adeum. ⁸ interea.
⁹ om. ¹⁰ eius.	⁹ om. ¹⁰ eius.	⁹ om. ¹⁰ om.	⁹ om. ¹⁰ om. ¹¹ manduca . .	⁹ om. ¹⁰ eius. ¹¹ manduca . . ¹² om.
¹⁴ adds ejus.	¹⁴ adds ejus.	¹³ non scitis.	¹³ non scitis . .	
	¹⁶ ei attulit.	¹⁶ attulit.	¹⁶ attulit. ¹⁷ manducare . .	¹⁶ attulit.
²⁰ me misit. ²¹ vt. ²² <i>from nonne to dico ob- literated.</i>	¹⁹ om. ²⁰ misit me. ²¹ vt.	²⁰ misit me. ²¹ ut. ²² Nonne.	¹⁹ est cibus. ²⁰ misit me . . ²¹ vt.	²⁰ misit me. ²¹ vperficiam.
	²⁴ quatuor.	²³ athuc. ²⁴ quatuor.		²⁴ quatuor.
	²⁶ sunt.	²⁶ sunt.	²⁶ sunt.	²⁶ sunt . ²⁷ mensis. ²⁸ uenit . . ²⁹ oculos.
²⁹ oculos.	²⁹ oculos.		²⁹ uenit . . ³⁰ regiones . .	
³² iam. ³³ metit.	³² om. ³³ metit.	³³ metit.		³¹ albi. ³² om. ³³ mitit. ³⁴ mercidem. ³⁵ accipiet . .
	³⁶ adds qui.	³⁷ om.		
³⁵ congaudeat ³⁹ metit. ⁴⁰ om.	³⁹ metit.	³⁹ metit.	³⁹ metit . .	³⁹ metit.
⁴¹ uerum.	⁴¹ uerum.	⁴¹ verum.	⁴¹ uerum . .	⁴¹ uerum . . ⁴² om. ⁴³ mettit . .
⁴³ metit. ⁴⁴ Ergo ego vós misi.	⁴³ metit. ⁴⁴ vos missi.	⁴³ metit.	⁴³ mettit . .	

Italic Recension ; Codex Brixianus. (Sæc. vi.)	The Vulgate ; Codex Amiatinus (circ. A. D. 541).	Book of Durrow (Sæc. vi. ?)	Book of Kells.	Book of Dimma (Sæc. vii. ?)
<p>metere¹ in² quo³ vos non laborastis . alii laboraverunt . et vos in labores⁴ eorum introistis (39) Ex⁵ civitate autem⁶ illa⁷ multi crediderunt in eum Samaritanorum . propter verbum mulieris . testimonium perhibentis . quia dixit mihi . omnia quaecunque feci . (40) cum venissent ergo ad eum⁸ Samaritani . rogarerunt eum . ut ibi⁹ maneret apud¹⁰ eos¹⁰ . Et mansit ibi duos dies . (41) Et¹¹ multo¹² plures crediderunt in¹⁰ eum¹⁰ . propter sermonem ejus . (42) Et mulieri dicebant¹³ Jam non propter tuam loquellam¹⁴ credimus . ipsi enim audivimus¹⁵ et scimus . quia hic est vere¹⁶ Salvator mundi¹⁷ Christus¹⁰ . (43)¹⁸ Post duos autem dies profectus est¹⁹ inde²⁰ in Galilæam²¹ . (44) Ipse enim Jesus testimonium perhibuit . quia²² Propheta in sua patria honorem²³ non habet . (45) Cum ergo venisset in Galilæam . exceperunt²⁴ eum Galilæi²⁵ . videntes²⁶ omnia quae²⁷ fecerat in²⁸ Hierosolymis²⁹ . in die festo . et ipsi enim venerant³⁰ in³¹ diem festum . (46) Venit³² ergo iterum Jesus³³ in Chana³⁴ Galilæae . ubi fecerat³⁵ aquam vinum . Erat³⁶ autem¹⁰ ibi¹⁰ quidam Regulus³⁷ cujus filius infirmabatur . in Cafarnaum³⁸ . (47) Hic</p>	<p>² om. ³ quod. ⁴ laborem.</p> <p>⁸ illum.</p> <p>¹⁰ om.</p> <p>¹³ adds quia.</p> <p>¹⁶ vere hic est.</p> <p>¹⁹ exiit. ²⁰ adds et abiit</p> <p>²⁶ cum omnia vidissent.</p> <p>²⁸ om.</p> <p>³¹ ad.</p> <p>³³ om. ³⁴ Cana. ³⁵ fecit. ³⁶ Et erat.</p> <p>³⁸ Capharnaum.</p>	<p>² om. ³ quod.</p> <p>⁸ illum.</p> <p>¹⁰ om.</p> <p>¹³ adds quia.</p> <p>¹⁸ puts verse 44 before v. 43.</p> <p>¹⁹ exiit. ²⁰ adds et abiit. ²¹ galileam.</p> <p>²⁴ exciperunt.</p> <p>²⁶ cum omnia vidissent.</p> <p>²⁸ om. ²⁹ hyerusolimis.</p> <p>³³ om. ³⁴ channa. ³⁵ fecit. ³⁶ Et erat.</p> <p>³⁸ om. in.</p>	<p>² om. ³ quod. ⁴ laborem.</p> <p>⁸ illum.</p> <p>¹⁰ om.</p> <p>¹³ adds quia.</p> <p>¹⁹ exiit. ²⁰ adds et abiit. ²¹ galileam.</p> <p>²⁶ cum omnia vidissent. ²⁷ que feceratit.</p> <p>³⁰ venerunt. ³¹ ad.</p> <p>³³ om. ³⁴ Channan. ³⁵ fecit. ³⁶ et erat.</p> <p>³⁸ Capharnaum.</p>	<p>² om. ³ quod.</p> <p>⁸ illum.</p> <p>¹⁰ om.</p> <p>¹³ adds quia non.</p> <p>¹⁵ om. the rest of the verse, and has ab eo et credimus.</p> <p>¹⁹ exiit. ²⁰ et abiit.</p> <p>²¹ galiliam.</p> <p>²³ om. ²⁴ exciperunt. ²⁵ galilei. ²⁶ cum omnia vidissent. ²⁷ que. ²⁸ om. ²⁹ hirusolimis.</p> <p>³³ om. ³⁴ Cannan. ³⁵ fecit. ³⁶ Et erat.</p>

Italic Recension ; Codex Brixianus. (Sæc. vi.)	The Vulgate ; Codex Am- stinus (circ. A. D. 541).	Book of Durrow (Sæc. ix. ?)	Book of Kells.	Book of Dimma (Sæc. vii. ?)
<p>cum audisset quia Jesus a Judea¹ in Galilæam venisset . abiit² ad eum . et rogabat eum* . ut descenderet³ . et sanaret filium ejus . incipiebat⁴ enim mori . (48) Dixit ergo ad eum Jesus⁵ nisi⁶ signa et⁷ prodigia videritis non creditis⁸ . (49) Dicit ad eum Regulus⁹ Domine descende¹⁰ prius quam moriatur filius meus (50) Dicit ei Jesus Vade filius tuus vivit¹¹ . Et¹² credit homo . verbo¹³ quem¹⁴ dixit¹⁵ ei Jesus . et abiit¹⁶ (51) Descendente autem eo¹⁷ occurrerunt ei servi¹⁸ et¹⁹ nuntiaverunt²⁰ dicentes²¹ . quod²² filius ejus vivit²³ . (52) Interrogabat ergo eos²⁴ in quam oram melius habuerit²⁵ . Et dixerunt ei Quia heri hora septima . reliquit²⁶ eum febris . (53) Cognovit ergo pater ejus¹² . quia²⁷ in¹² illa²⁸ hora† qua dixit²⁹ illi³⁰ Jesus . Quod³¹ filius tuus vivit³² . et † credit³³ ipse et domus ejus tota³⁴ . (54) Hoc iterum . secundum³⁵ signum fecit Jesus . veniens³⁶ a Judæa³⁷ in Galilæam .³⁸</p>	<p>¹ Iesus adveniret a Iudæa.</p> <p>⁵ Iesus ad eum.</p> <p>¹² om.</p> <p>¹³ sermoui.</p> <p>¹⁶ ibat.</p> <p>¹⁷ Iam autem eo descendente.</p> <p>¹⁸ servi occurrerunt ei.</p> <p>²³ quia.</p> <p>²³ viveret.</p> <p>²⁴ horam ab eis in qua.</p> <p>²⁶ reliquit.</p> <p>²⁷ quod.</p> <p>³⁰ ei.</p> <p>³¹ om.</p> <p>³⁶ cum venisset.</p>	<p>¹ ihesus adveniret a iudæa.</p> <p>³ discenderet.</p> <p>⁵ ihesus ad eum.</p> <p>¹⁰ discende.</p> <p>¹² om.</p> <p>¹³ sermoni.</p> <p>¹⁶ ibat.</p> <p>¹⁷ iam autem eo descendente.</p> <p>¹⁸ servi occurrerunt ei.</p> <p>²⁰ adds ei.</p> <p>²² quia.</p> <p>²³ viveret.</p> <p>²⁴ horam ab eis in qua.</p> <p>²⁶ reliquit.</p> <p>³⁰ ei.</p> <p>³¹ om.</p> <p>³⁵ saecundum.</p> <p>³⁶ cum venisset.</p> <p>³⁷ a iudæa.</p> <p>³⁸ galileam.</p>	<p>¹ Ihesus adveniret a iudæa.</p> <p>* ad eum.</p> <p>³ discenderet.</p> <p>⁵ Iesus ad eum.</p> <p>¹⁰ discende.</p> <p>¹² om.</p> <p>¹³ sermoni.</p> <p>¹⁶ ibat.</p> <p>¹⁷ iam autem eo descendente.</p> <p>¹⁸ servi occurrerunt ei.</p> <p>²² quia.</p> <p>²³ viveret.</p> <p>²⁴ horam ab eis in qua.</p> <p>²⁵ habuerat.</p> <p>²⁶ reliquit.</p> <p>† erat in.</p> <p>³⁰ ei.</p> <p>³¹ om.</p> <p>‡ om.</p> <p>³⁶ cum venisset.</p> <p>³⁷ iudea.</p> <p>³⁸ galiliam.</p>	<p>¹ ihesusadveniret a iudæa.</p> <p>³ discenderet.</p> <p>⁵ ihesus ad eum.</p> <p>¹⁰ discende.</p> <p>¹² om.</p> <p>¹³ sermoni.</p> <p>¹⁶ ibat.</p> <p>¹⁷ iam autem eo descendente.</p> <p>¹⁸ servi occurrerunt ei.</p> <p>²¹ om.</p> <p>²³ viveret.</p> <p>²⁴ horam ab eis in qua.</p> <p>²⁶ reliquit.</p> <p>²⁹ dixisset.</p> <p>³⁰ ei.</p> <p>³³ crededit.</p> <p>³⁶ cum venisset.</p>

Book of Moing (Sæc. vii. ?)	Book of Armagh (Sæc. ix.)	The Lindisfarne Gospels (Sæc. vii.)	Gospels at Durham, MS. A 2, 17. (Sæc. viii. ?)	Book of Deer (Sæc. ix. ?)
1 ihesus veniret a iudea. 2 et abit.	1 ihesus adueniret a iudeis.	1 Ihesus venisset a Judæa.	1 ihesus adueniret a iudæa.	1 ihesus adueniret a iudæa.
3 discenderet.	3 discenderet.		3 discenderet.	3 discenderet.
5 ihesus ad eum.	5 ihesus ad eum. 6 nissi.	5 Ihesus ad eum.	5 ihesus ad eum.	5 ihesus ad eum.
	8 credetis.		7 ad prod.	7 adprodigia.
10 discende.	10 discende.	10 discende.	9 regulus . 10 discende.	9 regulus . 10 discende.
12 om.	12 om.	12 om.	11 uiuit . 12 om.	11 uidit. 12 om.
13 sermoni Ihesu.	13 sermoni.	13 sermoni.	13 sermoni.	13 sermoni.
14 quem.				
15 dixerat.				
16 ibat.	16 ibat.	16 ibat.	16 ibat .	16 ibat.
17 iam eo discendente.	17 iam autem eo discendente.	17 Jam autem eo discendente.	17 iam autem eo discendente.	17 iam autem eo discendente.
18 serui occurrerunt ei.	18 serui occurrerunt ei.	18 serui occurrerunt ei.	18 serui occurrerunt ei .	18 serui occurrerunt ei.
20 adnuntiauerunt.				19 om. 20 adnuntiauerunt, and adds ei.
22 quia.	22 quia.	22 quia.	22 quia.	22 quia.
23 uiueret.	23 uiueret.	23 viveret.	23 uiueret .	23 uiueret.
24 horam ab eis in qua.	24 horam ab eis in qua.	24 horam ab eis in qua.	24 horam ab eis in qua.	24 horam ab eis in qua.
25 habuerat.				
26 reliquit.	26 reliquit.	26 reliquit.	26 reliquit.	26 reliquit.
28 om.				
30 ei.	30 ei.	30 ei.	30 ei.	30 ei.
31 om.	31 om.	31 om.	31 om. 32 uiuit.	31 om. 32 uidit.
			34 tota . 35 signum secundum.	
36 cum venisset.	36 cum venisset.	36 cum venisset.	36 cum venisset.	36 cum uenisset.
37 a iudæa.		37 a Judæa.	37 a iudæa.	37 a iudæa.
38 galileam.		38 Galilæam.	38 galileam.	38 ingaliliam

III.

Celtic Entries in the Book of Deer.

NOTES OF GIFTS AND IMMUNITIES TO ST. COLUMBA, AND DROSTAN, BY THE MORMAERS AND TOISECHS OF BUCHAN—BY THE KING OF ALBA—AND BY THE MORMAERS OF MORAY.

THESE entries, in the vernacular Gaelic of Alba, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, are represented in facsimile on Plates III. IV. V. VI. and VII.

[THE FOUNDATION OF DEER.]

The legend which records the foundation of the monastery is begun on a spare half of folio 3, and is continued on the following folio. It is in the following terms :—

Columcille acusdostán mac cósgreg adálta tangator áhí marroalseg dia doib gonic abbordobóir acusbéde cruthnec robomormáer búchan araginn acusessé rothidnáig dóib ingathraig sáin insaere gobraith ómormaer acusóthóséc . tangator asááthle sen incathraig ele acusdoráten ricolumcille sí iarfallán dórath dé acusdorodloeg arinmormáer . i . bédé gondas tabrad dó acusnithárat acusrogáb mac dó galár iaríneré nagleréc acusrobomaréib act máibec iarsen dochúid inmormaer dattác nagleréc góndéndæs ernacde les inmac gondisád sláníe dó acusdórat inedbairt dóib úaéloic intiprat gonice chlóic pette meic garnáit doronsat inernacde acustanic slante dó ; Iarsén dorat collumcille dódrostán inchadráig sén acusrosbenact acusforacaib imbrether gebe tisad ris nabad blienec buadacc tangatar déara drostán arscartháin fri collumcille rólaboir columcille bedeár ánim óhúnú ímácé ;

Columcille, and Drostan son of Cosgrach, his pupil, came from Hí, as God had shown to them, unto Abbordoboir, and Bede the Pict was mormaer of Buchan before them, and it was he that gave them that town in freedom for ever from mormaer and toisech. They came after that to the other town, and it was pleasing to Columcille because it was full of God's grace, and he asked of the mormaer, to wit Bede, that he should give it to him; and he did not give it, and a son of his took an illness after [or in consequence of] refusing the clerics, and he was nearly dead [lit. he was dead but if it were a little]. After this the mormaer went to entreat the clerics that they should make prayer for the son, that health should come to him; and he gave in offering to them from Cloch in tiprat to Cloch pette meic Garnait. They made the prayer, and health came to him. After that Columcille gave to Drostan that town, and blessed it, and left as (his) word, "Whosoever should come against it, let him not be many-yearred [or] victorious." Drostan's tears came on parting from Columcille. Said Columcille, "Let DÉAR be its name henceforward."

Two of St. Columba's great monastic foundations in Ireland were at Durrow, in King's County, and at Derry, places which in the Latin of Adamnan appear as *Roboreti Campus* (Dair-mag), and *Roboretum Calgachi* (Daire Calgaich). In both cases the sites derived their names from the surrounding oak-woods, and the latter *Daire* seems to have been the royal fort of Aedh, son of Ainmire, King of Erin, within which St. Columba founded his church after the royal grant of it.¹

It seems in every way probable that the Deer of Buchan took its name, in like manner, from the surrounding oak-woods. The parish is believed to have been at one time covered with wood, and the names of such places as Aikiehill and Aikiebrae still preserve the recollection of the oaks which once grew there. The site of

¹ Reeves' Adamnan, p. 160. Venerable Bede speaks of the "*copia roborum*" at St. Columba's monastery of Dearmach or Durrow, which, he says, in the language of the Scots means "*campus roborum*" (lib. iii. c. 4). Of Derry, Dr. Petrie tells us that the chief fact connected with its state in

Pagan times which has been recorded is, that it was a pleasant eminence covered with oaks. (Ordnance Survey of Londonderry—Parish of Templemore—p. 18.) The same eminent antiquary, in treating of the *deartheachs*, *duirtheachs*, or *dearteachs* of the Irish Annals, adopts the etymology which

Deer would have much to attract the susceptible nature of St. Columba. With rich pasture on the banks of the river, and the surrounding hills crowned with oaks, he would often be reminded of his own dearly-loved monastery of Durrow and its woods, in which, as he sings to Cormac, he used to listen to the sighing of the winds and the blackbird's joyous note.¹

[OF THE OFFERINGS MADE TO GOD AND TO DROSTAN.]

The following entries, down to that of Gartnait, son of Cannech, are written in a consecutive order on folio 3 *b* and folio 4, and are represented on Plates IV. and V. They are here broken up for the sake of convenient reference :—

Cómgeall mac éda dórat úaorti [go] nice fúrené docolumcille agusdodrostan.
Comgeall son of Aed gave from Orte to Furene to Columcille and to Drostan.

The names here mentioned were the extreme points of the boundary. No name resembling the first is now to be found, but it is probable that the last, "Furene," may have been the Hill of Pitfour, which rises on the north side of the flat ground on the river-bank, where the monastery of Drostan was placed.

Moridac mac moreunn dorat pett meic garnait agus áchád toche temní agusbahé robomormáir agus robothosec.

Moridach son of Morcunn² gave Pett meic Garnait and Achad toche temni ; and it was he that was mormaer and was chief.³

derives the word from *dair-thech*, a house of oak.—(Origin and Uses of the Round Towers of Ireland, p. 342.)

¹ Reeves' Adamnan, App. p. 275.

² Donnchadh mac Morgaind is one of three mormaers of Alba, whose deaths are recorded in the Annals of Tighernac, A.D. 976. (Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, p. 77.)

³ Mr. Skene is inclined to adopt a dif-

ferent reading of the last passage, for the reasons stated in the following memorandum, with which he has favoured me :—"The instance I think wrongly rendered is—

" 'Comgeall son of Aed gave from Orte to Furene to Columcille and to Drostan.'

" 'Moridach son of Morcunn gave Pett-meic-Garnait and Achad-toche-temni ; and it was he that was mormaer and toisech.'

Matáin mac caerill dorat cuit mormoir inálteri acus culii mac batín dorat cùit tóiség.

Matáin son of Caerill gave the mormaer's share in Altere, and Cullii son of Baten gave the toisech's share.

The lands here referred to are doubtless those of Altrie, about two miles westward from the church of Deer.

Domnall mac giric acus malbrigte mac chathail dorat pett inmulenn do drostán.

Domnall son of Giric and Malbrigte son of Chathail¹ gave Pett-in-Mulenn² to Drostán.

An old mill stood on the bank of the Ugie, a short way to the north of the church, with a "sheelin'-hill" beside it, and it may have represented the mill of which the "Pet" or portion is here granted to the clerics.

It is possible that the joint gift may convey the respective shares of the mormaer and toisech, but this can only be an inference.

Cathal mac morcunt dorat áchád naglerec dodrostán.

Cathal son of Morcunt gave the clerics' field to Drostán.

This would seem to be the gift of Cathal's share as toisech in lands

"Now this gives Comgell no designation, and gives to Moridach both titles of mormaer and toisech. This is at variance with the whole scope of the passages, which invariably distinguish between mormaers and toisechs, and the positions of each. The two are mentioned first without designation to either, and then comes the statement 'and it was he.' Now, if it had been meant that Moridac was both mormaer and toisech, the text would have been '7 bahe robomormair 7 toisech.' The text, however, is 'robo mormair 7

robo thosec:' 'robo' is the past tense of the word to be, 'he was,' and its being repeated shows that the real meaning is, 'and it was he (Comgell) that was mormaer, and he (Moridac) that was toisech.'

"Whether Moridac were mormaer or toisech, it will be seen that his brother Cathal was toisech, when, as *Cathal mac Morcunt*, he mortified the toisech's share.'

¹ Malbrigte mac Chathail may have been the son of Cathal the toisech.

² Mulenn, a mill.—(O'Brien's Dict.)

already belonging to the clerics, but not "freed" at the time of the grant in their favour.

Domnall mac rúadri agus malcolum mac culéon doratsat bidbin dó dia agus dó drostán.

Domnall son of Ruadre and Malcoluim son of Culéon gave Bidbin to God and to Drostán.

Bidbin seems to be the Biffie of the present day. It lies about a mile west of the church, and the gift must be held to convey only the interests of the donors, as the king's share is granted in the subsequent entry. Although they are not designated, we are led to infer that the granters were respectively the mormaer and the toisech.

Malcoloum mac cinathá dorat cúit ríig íbbidbín agus inpett meic gobróig agus dá dabég uactair rósábard.

Malcoluim son of Kenneth gave (the) king's share in Bidbin and in Pett meic Gobroig and two davochs of Upper Rosabard.

This grant of the royal share by the King of Alba out of his lands of Bidbin, and the subject of co-existing rights of different officials in the same lands, are commented on in a subsequent chapter headed "Celtic Grants." The interest of the mormaer in these lands of Pett-meic-Cobroig was subsequently granted to the clerics.

Malcolum mac moilbrigte dorat indelerc. Málsnecte mac lulóig dorat pett maldúib dó drostán.

Malcolum son of Maelbrigte gave the Delerc. Malsnecte son of Lulóg gave Pett Malduib to Drostán.

The first of these grants is by Malcolm, mormaer of Moray, son of Maelbride, who was also mormaer of that province,¹ and the

¹ The first mormaer of Moray on record is Ruaidhri or Rory, who was succeeded by his son Malbride. He was followed by his brother Finlay, who fought with Earl

Sigurd between A.D. 1005-1009. Finlay was slain by his nephews Malcolm and Gilcomgain, sons of Malbride, on which Malcolm, mentioned in the text, became

second is by Malsnechte, son of Lulach, who, as representing the house of Moray, is styled "King of Moray" by the Irish Annalists, in recording his death A.D. 1085.¹ If the lands conveyed by them were in the neighbourhood of Deer, as is likely, it is not easy to understand how the mormaers of Moray could have any title, as such, to lands in a province obviously subject to their rivals the Kings of Alba.

No such local names as *the Delerc* or *Pett Malduib* are now to be found in the district; but if the lands consisted of small portions which afterwards were merged in larger possessions with definite names, this could hardly be expected. It does not seem likely that the lands were isolated fields lying in Moray and at a distance from the monastery; nor do I think the difficulty is removed by Mr. Robertson's remark,² that "the grants of Malcolm mac Malbride, and of Lulach's son Malsnechtan, would appear to mark the tenacity with which the family of Moray clung to their claim of exercising proprietary rights in that province, in which both the kings who sprang from their race met their death," as the province of Moray was always confined within the limits of the Spey as its southern boundary.³

Domnall mac méic dubbacín robáith nahúle edbarta rodrostan [do drostán] arthabárt áhule dó.

Domnall son of Mac Dubbacin mortified [robáith⁴] all the offerings to Drostán, giving the whole of it to him.

mormaer, and died A.D. 1029. Gilcomgain, his brother, then became mormaer, and was slain in his rath A.D. 1032, leaving a son, Lulach, who was killed A.D. 1058.

¹ Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, p. 370.

² Scotland under her Early Kings, vol. ii. p. 500.

³ Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, pp. lxxxiv. lxxxvii.

⁴ "Wherever the word *robáith* is used, of which the literal meaning is 'drowned,' and which is rendered 'mortified' or 'sacrificed,' it will be found that the grant is made for 'receiving the whole;' meaning, perhaps, that in return for the

Robáith cathál árachoir chetna acuitid thoistg agus dorat próinn chét ceenloce agus ceccase dó dia agus dó drostán.

Cathal immolated in (the) same way his chief's share, and gave a dinner of a hundred every Christmas and every Easter to God and to Drostan.¹

Cainnech mac meic dobarchon agus cathál doratsat ar alterín alla úethé na camone gonice inbéith edarda álerin.

Cainnech son of Mac Dobarchon [waterdog or otter] gave Alterin-alla-uethe na camone as far as the birch between the two Alterins.

The subject of this grant seems to have formed part of Altrie, lands which in recent times have come to be known by the name of Bruxie.²

Dorat domnall agus cathál étdanin dó dia agus dó drostán.

Domnall and Cathal gave Etdanin to God and to Drostan.

This place is not recognisable in any modern name.

Robaith cainnech agus domnall agus cathál nahule edbarta ridia agus ri drostan óthósach goderad *issære omór*[*maer*] agus othesech culailthi brátha.

Cainnech and Domnall and Cathal mortified all these offerings to God and to

land, or for some similar advantages, the 'mortifier' guaranteed all the dues and offerings belonging to the abbey, just as the Bishops of St. Andrews guaranteed food and clothing to the community of Kirkness in return for the lands of the little priory."—(Scotland under her Early Kings, vol. ii. p. 500.)

¹ This was probably an obligation to entertain a hundred of those of the province of Buchan, who were assembled at Deer to celebrate these great festivals.

In the registry of Clonmacnoise, among the dues payable to the house was one

"to intertaine and cherish all those of the clanna Neills as should have come for pilgrimadg to Cluain uppon every Good Fryday."—(Mac Firbis's translation, with notes by Dr. Donovan, in Trans. Kilkenny Arch. Soc. 1856-57, p. 449.)

² In the rental of the abbey-lands in 1554, those of Altrie are entered as also Mill of Bruxie; and when the lands of the abbey were erected into a temporal lordship, in the year 1587, in favour of Robert, Com-mendator of Deer, it was under the title of the Lordship of Altrie.

Drostan, from beginning to end, in freedom from mormaer and from toisech to (the) day of judgment.

The clause translated by the words in Roman type is written with ink of a different colour from that used in the previous part of the entry,—at a later time,—and after the succeeding entry had been engrossed. This may be seen by referring to Plate V., where it will be observed that the writing of the words in question is closer than the rest of the entry, and that its conclusion is carried above the line, the space below having previously been filled up. Cathal, who, as we have seen, had already mortified his share as toisech in certain subjects previously dedicated to Drostan, is now associated with Domnall and Cathal in “freeing” other subjects from the claims of mormaer and toisech. Domnall and Cainnech seem to have been mormaers, or at least in right of the mormaer’s dues, so as to be entitled to surrender them.

Gartnait mac cannech acus éte ingengillemicel dóratsat pet mec cóbrig ricosecrad éclasi crist acus petir abstoil acus docolumcille acus dódrostan sér ónálhulib dolodib cónánascad dócormac éscob dunicallenn ínócmad bláidin rígi da[*bid*] Testibus istis néctan escob abb[*erdeon*] acus léot áb brecini acus máledonn mac meic bead acus álgune mac árcill acus rúadri móрмаer márr acus matadin bríthem acus gillecrist mac cóрмаic acus malpetir mac domnaill acus domongart ferleginn turbruid . acus gillecolaim mac muredig . acus dubni mac málcólam.

Gartnait son of Cainnech, and Ete daughter of Gille Michel, gave Pett mac Cobrig for (the) consecration of a church of Christ and Peter (the) apostle both to Columcille and to Drostan free from all the exactions, with the gift of them to Cormac Bishop of Dunkeld in the eighth year of David’s reign. Testibus istis Nectán Bishop of Aberdeen, and Leot Abbot of Brechin, and Maledonn son of Mac Be[th]ad, and Algune, son of Arcell, and Ruadri, mormaer of Marr, and Matadin the brehon,¹ and Gillechrist son of Cormac, and Maelpetir son of Domnall, and

¹ A later brehon of the province, Farhard, “judex de Buchan,” witnesses a charter of William, Earl of Buchan, to Cospatrik Mac Madethyn (Registr. Episcop. Aberd. vol.

i. p. 14); and Ferchard is one of three “judices” who were present at a perambulation of the lands of Tarves in A.D. 1236. —(Registr. de Aberbrothoc, p. 161.)

Domongart ferteighin of Turriff, and Gillecolaim son of Muredach, and Dubni son of Maelcolaim.

This entry is probably the abstract of a *written* grant, dated A.D. 1131-32, but the transaction retains the appearance of the earlier unwritten gift, and seems to have been completed at a great gathering of the country, probably held on the Moot Hill at Ellon, where, as we shall see, a similar gift was afterwards made at a like meeting.

On the release of the lands from all exactions, and the gift of them to Cormac, Bishop of Dunkeld, some remarks will be found in connection with the general subject of burdens in a subsequent chapter ("Celtic Polity.") Among the witnesses we find Nectan, the first bishop of the see of Aberdeen, on its foundation or translation from Mortlach about the year. 1125; and Leot or Leod, Abbot of Brechin, was one of the lay abbots of that place, by whom, and by Dovenald his grandson, also abbot, portions of the church property were alienated.¹

Dorat gartnait acus ingenillemicel ball domin ipet ipáir dochrist acus doco-
limcilli acus dodrostan, Teste gille calline sacart acus feradac mac málbhricin acus
málgirc mac tralin.

*Gartnait and [Ete] the daughter of Gillemichel gave Ball-Domtn in Pet Ipair to
Christ and to Columcille and to Drostan. Witness, Gillecaline, priest, and Feradach,
son of Malbhricin, and Maelgirc, son of Tralin.*

No spot in the district now corresponds with the name of the place here granted.

Acus bennact inchomded arcecmormar acus arcectosech chomallfas acus
dansfl daneis.

¹ Registr. de Dunfermelyn, p. 8; Registr. Episcopat. Brechinen. vol. i. p. 3; Registr. Vet. de Aberbrothoc, p. 49.

And the Lord's blessing on every mormaer and on every toisech who shall fulfil (this), and to their seed after them.

This invocation, which is on the upper margin of the illumination of St. Matthew (Plate VI.), appears to have been written at a different time and by a different hand from the entries on the previous folios.

The side marginal entries on Plates VI. and VII. (fols. 4 *b* and 5), beginning with the grants of Donchad, son of Mac Bead, and ending with that of Colbain, the mormaer, seem to have been written at one time. The last two lines at the bottom of Plate VI., granting freedom from the toisech, have been inserted after the other writing.

On the upper margin of Plate VII. have been written the words, "in nomine sc̄te Trinitatis," which have been partially pared off in binding the volume.

Donchad mac mee bead mec hídid dorat achad madchor doerist agus do-drostan agus do choluimchille in sóre gobrád malechi agus cómgell agus gille crist mac fingúni innaíenasi intestus . agus malcoluim mac molini.

Donchad, son of Mac Bethad, son of Hided, gave Achad Madchor to Christ and to Drostan and to Columcille in freedom for ever: Malechi and Comgell and Gillechrist, son of Fingune in witness thereof, in testimony, and Maelcoluim son of Molne.

The lands in this grant are obviously those of Auchmachar lying about three miles north-west from the church of Deer.

Cormac mac cennedig dorat gonige scáli merlec.

Cormac son of Cennedig gave as far as Scale Merlech.

The place here indicated is that now known as Skillymarno, a farm about a mile beyond Auchmachar to the north.

Comgell mac cáennaig taesec clande canan dorát doerist agus dodrostan agus dócholuim cille gonige ingort lie mór igginn infius isnesu daldín alenn ódabací gólurchári et arsliab agus achad issaere othesseach cubráth agus abennacht arcachén chomallfas araes cubrath agus amallact arcachén tiefa ris.

Comgell, son of Caennech, toisech of Clan Canan, gave to Christ and to Drostan,

and to Columcille as far as the Gort lie mór (Great-rock field) at (the) hither (?) end which is nearest to Aldin Alenn from Dobaci to Lurchari both mountain and field in freedom from toisech for ever; and his blessing on every one who shall fulfil (this) after him, and his curse on every one who shall go against it.

The lands here conveyed adjoined those of Aden (of old *Al-neden*), which lie along the river Ugie eastward from the church; but from the additional description, "both mountain and field," I infer that they must have comprehended part of the high ground at Pitfour. The granter was toisech of the Clan Canan.

Robhaid colbain mormiér búchan agus eua ingen garnait abenphústa agus donnachac mac sithig tæsech clenni morgainn nahuli edbarta rí dúa agus ridrostán agus ria columcilli agus rí petar apstal onahulib dolaidib archuit cetri dabach do ni thíssad arardmandaidib alban cucotchenn agus arardchellaib . testibus his brocain et cormac abb turbrúaid et morgunn mac donnchaid agus gilli petair mac donnchaid agus malæchín agus da mac matni agus mathe buchan huli naíaidnaisse in helain.

Colbáin, mormaer of Buchan, and Eva, daughter of Gartnat, his wedded wife, and Donnachac, son of Sithech, toisech of Clann Morgainn, immolated all the offerings to God and to Drostán and to Columcille and to Peter the apostle from all the burthens for a share of four davochs of what would come on the chief residences [monasteries] of Scotland generally and on chief churches. Testibus his Brocctn, and Cormac, Abbot of Turbrúaid, and Morgunn, son of Donnchad, and Gille Petair, son of Donnchad, and Malaechin and Matne's two sons, and the nobles of Buchan, all in witness hereof in Elan.

This solemn mortmaining of all the offerings was executed by Colban, who was mormaer through his marriage with Eva, the daughter of Gartnat, the previous mormaer. Eva, "his wedded wife," joined in it, and the toisech of Clann Morgainn. Some remarks on the exception from the release from burdens, and the expressions "chief monasteries" and "chief churches," will be found in the chapter No. IV., "Celtic Polity."

The act took place at Ellon, which was of old the capital of the province and earldom of Buchan, at a meeting of the officials, and "good men" or proprietors of the district. This was doubtless held on the Moothill, a green mount at Ellon on the banks of the Ythan, where the Earls of Buchan administered justice and took investiture of their great fief.

One obvious inference may be drawn from the grants now recited—namely, that the annexation of the province to the Crown did not infer the uprooting of the primitive state of society, or the destruction of the early proprietary of the soil, for it is clear that the population and institutions of Buchan were wholly Celtic in the time of David I.; and that the influences which led to a change in both must be traced to a later time, and to a concurrence of causes gradually working out their issues throughout the kingdom.

On two blank pages of the Book of Deer (folios 28 *b* and 29; Plates X. XI.) is written in a somewhat later hand than the colophon, the concluding portion of an office for the Visitation of the sick.¹

It agrees in character with two similar offices for the visitation of the sick which are found in the Book of Dimma and the Book of Moling, two early copies of the Gospels in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.

In a luminous notice and a careful collation of the three offices by the Bishop of Brechin,² it has been shown that they all belong to the Ephesine family of offices, thus establishing the very important and interesting fact of the Gallican origin of the liturgy of the

¹ The office is printed at p. 89, *et seq.*

² Liber Ecclesie Beati Terrenani de Ar-

buthnott. Preface, pp. x-xxiv. Burnt-island, 1864.

early Celtic churches of St. Patrick in Ireland and St. Columba in Scotland.

The thoroughly Celtic character of the clerics of Deer plainly appears from a rubric which in their "book" is given in Gaelic, "Hisund dubeir sacorfaice dau," or "Here give the sacrifice to him." In the Book of Dimma the corresponding direction is expressed in Latin, "Das ei eucharistiam."¹

The last document engrossed in the book (folio 40, Plate XIV.) is in a different hand from that used in the Celtic grants, while it yet partakes to a considerable extent of the same character. It is a charter in Latin by David I.,² wherein the king declares the clerics to be free from all lay interference and undue exaction, *as it is written in their Book*—expressions evidently referring to the grants just recited—and *as they pleaded at Banff and swore at Aberdeen.*

I have elsewhere remarked on the secularising process which marked the history of the eleventh century, and the lay usurpations which overtook the monastic institutions of Ireland and Scotland (Chapter V., "The Early Scottish Church"). It is plain, from the tenor of King David's charter, that the clerics of Deer had suffered from attempts of this nature, and that in order to preserve their immunities they had been compelled to obtain the written charter of the King of Alba, as they formerly resorted to the "freedoms" of the *normaers* and *toisechs* of the district, guaranteed at the provincial assemblies.

The witnesses to this grant, dated at Aberdeen, include Cormac, the first diocesan Bishop of Dunkeld; Andrew, the first Bishop

¹ Liber Ecclesie Beati Terrenani de Arbuthnott. Preface, p. xiii. ² Printed at p. 95.

of Caithness ; Samson, the first Bishop of Brechin ;¹ Duncan, Earl of Fife ; Malmore of Athol ; Gillebrite, Earl of Angus ; with Brocin and Cormac of Turriff, the last two being associated together, as in the previous grant of Colbain the mormaer (p. xxvii.)

At the end of the volume (fol. 85 ; Plate XVIII.) is inserted, in writing of the same period as the Gospels, the Apostles' Creed.²

After this comes the following colophon, written apparently at the same time as the Gospels :—

Forchubus caichduini imbia arrath in lebrán colli aratardda bendacht foranmain intruagain rodscribai.

It is thus translated by Mr. Stokes, who says of it, “ In point of language this is identical with the oldest Irish glosses in Zeuss' *Grammatica Celtica*.”—(Saturday Review, Dec. 8, 1860.)

“ *Be it on (the) conscience of every one in whom shall be for grace the booklet with splendour, that he give a blessing on the soul of the wretchock (misellus) who wrote it.*”

For the sake of convenient reference, the matter of the grants is exhibited under the various heads in the following table :—

¹ This charter proves the foundation of the See of Brechin by King David. “ There is,” says Dr. Grub, in his valuable Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, writing before the Book of Deer had become known, “ no contemporary evidence of this, nor am I aware that any of his charters are attested by a Bishop of Brechin. But in the reign

of Malcolm IV., and during the episcopate of Arnold, Bishop of St. Andrews, we find mention of Samson, Bishop of Brechin, whence it may reasonably be inferred that the traditional date of the erection is correct.”—Vol. i. p. 268.

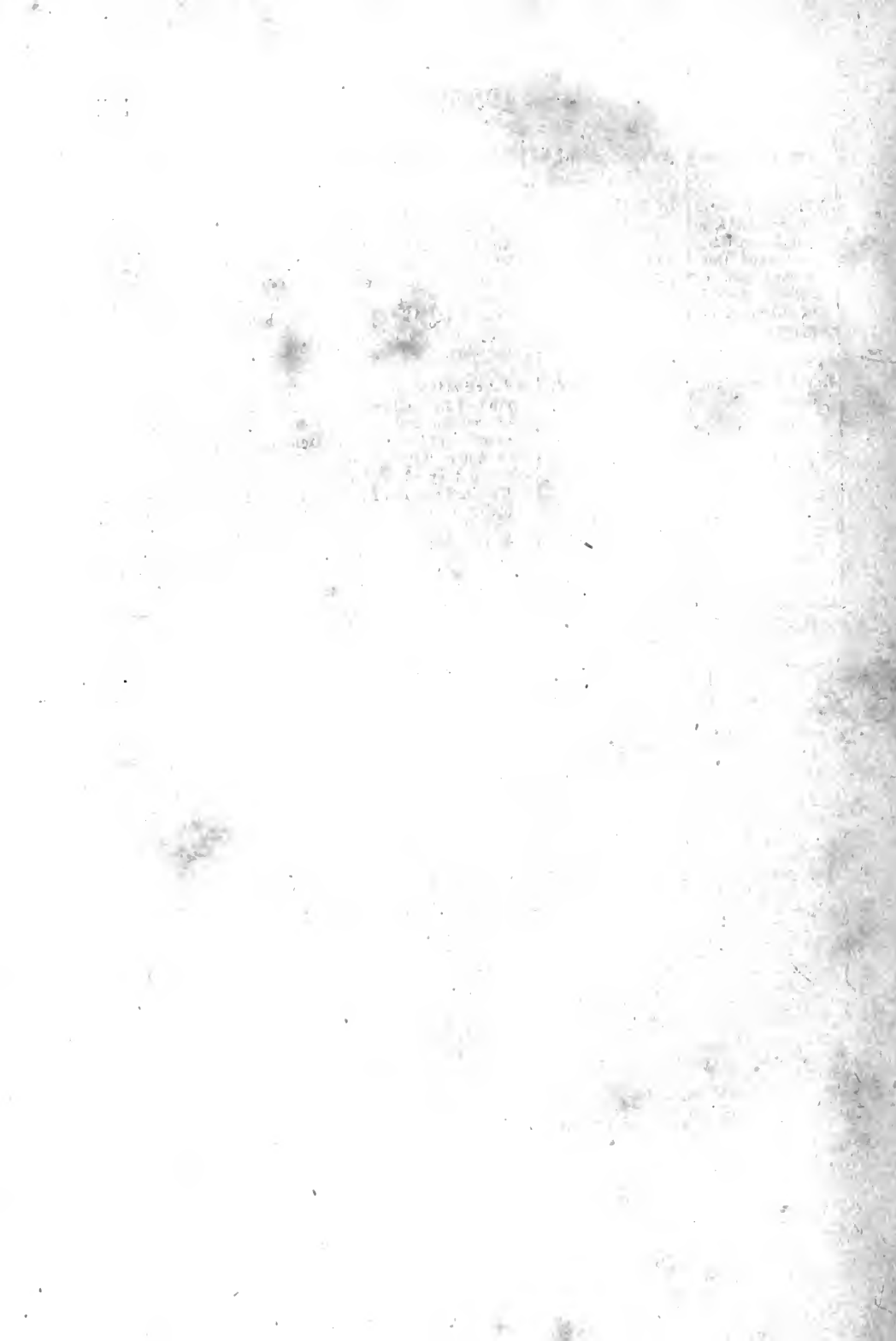
² Printed, p. 89.

ABSTRACT OF THE GRANTS IN THE BOOK OF DEER.

Names of Granters.	To whom granted.	Subject and object of Grants.	Witnesses of Grants.
Bede the Mormaer of Buchan	To Columcille and Drostán, the clerics	(1) The "town" of Ab-bordoboir. (2) From Cloch in Tiprat to Cloch pett mic Garnait,—“that town.”	
Comgeall, son of Aed	To Columcille and Drostán	From Orte to Furene.	
Moridach, son of Morcunn	. . .	Pett meic Garnait and Achad toche temni.	
Matáin, son of Caerell	. . .	The mormaer's share in Alteri.	
Culi, son of Baten	. . .	The toisech's share in the same.	
Domnal, son of Giric ; and Maelbrigte, son of Cathal	To Drostán .	Pett in Mulenn.	
Cathal, son of Morcunt	To Drostán .	Achad naglérech.	
Domnal, son of Ruadre ; and Maelcoluim, son of Culeon	To God and to Drostán	Bidbin.	
Maelcoluim, son of Cinaed	. . .	The King's share in Bidbin and in Pett mac Gobraig and two davochs of Upper Rosabard.	
Maelcoluim, son of Maelbrigte	. . .	The Delere.	
Maelsnechte, son of Lúlóeg	To Drostán	Pett Maelduib.	
Domnal, son of Mac Dubbacin	To Drostán	Immolates all the offering to Drostan, giving the whole of it to him.	

Names of Granters.	To whom granted.	Subject and object of Grant.	Witnesses of Grants.
Cathal	To God and to Drostan	Immolates in the same way his toisech's share, and gives a dinner of a hundred every Christmas and every Easter to God and to Drostan.	
Cainnech, son of Mac Dobarcon		Alterin alla bhethe na camone. "As far as the birch-tree between the two Alterins."	
Domnal and Cathal	To God and to Drostan	Etdanin.	
Cainnech and Domnal and Cathal	To God and to Drostan	Immolate all these offerings from beginning to end, in freedom from mormaer and from toisech, to the day of judgment.	
Gartnait, son of Cainnech, and Ete, daughter of Gille Michel	Both to Columcille and to Drostan	Pet mac Cobrig; granted for the consecration of a church of Christ and Peter the Apostle, free from all the exactions, with the gift of them to Cormac, Bishop of Dunkeld, in the eighth year of David's reign.	Nectán, Bishop of Aberdeen. Leot, Abbot of Brechin. Maledonn, son of Mac Bethad. Algune, son of Arcell. Ruadri, mormaer of Mar. Matadin the Brehon. Gille Christ, son of Cormac. Mael Peter, son of Domnal. Domongart, ferleginn of Turriff. Gillicolaim, son of Muredach, and Dubni, son of Maelcolaim.
Gartnait and the daughter of Gille Michel	To Christ and to Columcille and to Drostan	Báll Dómin in Pet Ipair	Gillecaline, priest, and Feradach, son of Maelbriain; and Maelgirc, son of Tralin.
Donnchad, son of Mac Bethad, son of Hided	To Christ and to Drostan and to Columcille	Achad Madchor in freedom for ever	Malechi and Comgell, and Gille-Christ, son of Fingune; and Maelcoluim, son of Molíne.
Cormac, son of Cennedig		As far as Scale Merlech.	
Comgell, son of Caennech, toisech of Clan Canan	To Christ and to Drostan and to Columcille	As far as the Gort-lie-mór at the hither end, which is nearest to Aldin Alenn from Dobaci to Lurchari, both mountain and field, in freedom from chief for ever.	

Names of Granters.	To whom granted.	Subject and object of Grant.	Witnesses of Grants.
Colban, mormaer of Buchan, and Eva, daughter of Gartnait, and Donnachac, son of Sithac, toisech of Clann Morgainn	To God and to Drostan, and to Coluncille and to Peter the Apostle	Immolation of all the offerings [free] from all the burthens for a share of four davochs of what would come on the chief monasteries or residences of Alba generally, and on chief churches.	Broccin, and Cormac, abbot of Turbruid, and Morgunn son of Donchad, and Gille-Petair son of Donchad, and Maelechin, and two sons of Matni, and the nobles of Buchan. At Elan or Ellon.
David, King of the Scots	The Clerics of Dér	Declaration that the clerics are free from all service of laymen and undue exaction, as it is written in their "Book," on which they pleaded at Banff and swore at Aberdeen.	Cormac, Bishop of Dunkeld. Andrew, Bishop of Cathnes. Samson, Bishop of Brechin. Duncan, Earl of Fife. Malmore of Athole. Gillebrite, Earl of Angus. Gillecomded, son of Aed. Brocin, and Cormac of Turbrud or Tureff. Adam, son of ferdomnac. Gillendrias, son of Mátni. At Aberdeen.



IV.

Celtic Polity.

VERBAL GRANTS OF LAND WITH SYMBOLICAL INVESTITURE—NOTITLE—MEMORANDA OF GRANTS IN THE BOOK OF DEER: IN THE REGISTER OF ST. ANDREWS—INTRODUCTION OF CHARTERS IN SCOTLAND—TRIBAL POLITY OF SCOTLAND—PICTISH PROVINCES AND RULERS—GRADUAL CONSOLIDATION OF THE PROVINCES INTO A KINGDOM—ROYAL MAERS, ARDMAERS, OR MORMAERS—TOISECHS—CONDITION OF LAND—RENTS—JOINT RIGHTS IN LAND—GRANTS OF LAND WITH “FREEDOM”—SERVICES AND BURDENS ON LAND—“SLAVERY” OF CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES.

THE earlier condition of society, when land was rather the property of the tribe or community than of individuals, did not admit of grants either symbolical or written. But when this state of things had passed away, and individual rights in land came to be recognised, these were not constituted by writings, but by a verbal gift, with the use of some appropriate symbol of investiture, as shadowed out in a statement of the so-called Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland, by Ingulf—“Conferebantur etiam primo multa prædia nudo verbo absque scripto vel charta, tantum cum domini gladio, vel galea, vel cornu, vel cratera; et plurima tenementa cum calcari, eum strigili, cum arcu, et nonnulla cum sagitta;”¹ and

¹ Hist. Croyland, p. 70. However little weight we may now attach to the authenticity of Ingulf's charters and chronicle, in the light of Mr. Riley's masterly exposure

(Arch. Journal, vol. xix. pp. 32, 114), the extract in the text correctly expresses the early conditions of investiture, and has been adopted by Ducange, Gloss. voce *Investitura*.

many such articles, delivered at the time when grants were made, are yet to be found in repositories of early muniments.

A knife was a common symbol, and occasionally the act of delivery was accompanied by the opening and shutting of the blade, after which it was laid on the altar.¹

In the life of St. Grellan, a contemporary of St. Patrick, we find a gift of land to the saint by the King of Connaught noticed, and the delivery of a branch in token of possession.²

When Hungus, the Pictish king, bestowed on the church of St. Andrew a territory freed from secular services, the grant was accompanied by the "altar sod," "In memoriale datæ libertatis Rex Hungus cespitem arreptum coram nobilibus Pictis hominibus suis usque ad altare Sancti Andreae detulit et super illud cespitem eundem obtulit."³

The conformity of ceremonial which accompanied the Pictish grant, with that of other countries at the time, does not end here ; for the procession by which the ground of Chilrymont, at St. Andrews, was solemnly set apart for purposes of religion is exactly analogous to that used in a like case by the congenerous people of Wales. Seven times, as we learn from the Register of St. Andrews (quoting from the ancient Chronicles of the Picts), did the solemn procession wind round the land thus bestowed—St. Regulus the missionary bearing on his head the relics of St. Andrew, followed by the king

¹ Of this character apparently was the sword by which the lands of Lany, in Menteith, were held. It is thus referred to in a charter of Alexander II., to Alan de Lany and his wife, declaring that the lands were to be held "adeo libere et quiete sicut ipsa Margareta tenuit seu possedit ante hanc resignationem, vir-

tute gladii parvi quem Culenus rex olim symbolice dedit Gillespie Moir predecessori sue pro dicto singulari servitio.—(Archæologia, vol. xi. p. 45.)

² The Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many, by O'Donovan, p. 9.—(Irish Arch. Soc.)

³ Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, p. 187.

on foot, with the nobles of his country ; and thus “locum ipsum Deo commendarunt et pace regia munierunt.”¹

When King Iddon, son of Ynyr Gwent, granted to the church of Llandaff his town and territory of Llanŷ Garth, “Rex circumiens totum territorium, et portans evangelium in dorso, cum clericis ferentibus cruces in manibus, et aspersa aqua benedicta simul cum pulvere pavimenti ecclesiæ et sepulchri, in omnibus finibus perambulavit per totum.”²

Other examples occur in the Register of Llandaff, in one of which the king, carrying the Gospels on his back, went round the territory in presence of the bishop and his clergy, thereby “confirmans eleemosinam factam pro anima patris sui Mourici in perpetuo.”³

The first approach to written evidence of grants is to be found in short *memoranda* or *notitiæ*, in which the gift is described, and the names of the witnesses before whom it took place are specified.⁴

These *notitiæ* are of frequent occurrence in the chartularies of religious houses on the continent, and are described by Mabillon in his dissertation “de origine atque usu veterum notitiarum” as “*notitiæ privatae*.”⁵

The earliest specimens of such *memoranda* among ourselves,

¹ Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, p. 186.

² Liber Landavensis, p. 114, printed for the Welsh MSS. Society, 1840.

³ Idem, pp. 152, 157, 358.

⁴ Unless we should regard as a still earlier step the descriptive titles attached to the symbols of investiture. To these Mabillon refers, quoting Sirmundus—“Quin etiam extant hodieque in Sancti

Albini cœnobio, et in aliis plerisque veteris moris monumenta ; baculi, inquam, et chirothecæ, et alia investiturarum traditionumque quas signarant titulis inscripta.”—(De Re Diplomatica, lib. iii. cap. 4, edition 1681. Ducange, voce *Investitura*.)

⁵ Acta SS. ord. Benedict. Sæc. iv. pars prima, p. 714 ; and De Re Diplomatica, lib. iii. cap. 4. See also Ducange, Glossar. voce *Notitia*.

hitherto known, occur in the Chartulary of St. Andrews.¹ They appear to have been engrossed in that register in the twelfth century, but profess to have been extracted at that time from an ancient volume, "antiquo Scotorum idiomate conscripto." These record the foundation, in the island of Lochleven, by Brude, the Pictish king, of a monastery for St. Serf and the Culdee hermits abiding there, and describe gifts of various lands and franchises subsequently conferred on the house by Macbeth and other Kings of Scotland.

They are destitute of the formality of charters, and are rather notes, in which are recorded, by the receivers of the grants, the names of the donors, and of the witnesses who were present at the time when delivery was given.

Verbal grants were of frequent occurrence among the Celtic people of Brittany; and in the Chartulary of the monastery of St. Salvator of Redon they are recorded under the name of "Notitia,"² in the same style as the memoranda of the Register of St. Andrews.

Of this nature are many of the grants in the Book of Llandaff, already quoted, describing the subject of the gift, with its boundaries, and the names of those who witnessed the grant.

The Irish entries in the Book of Kells, which record various grants of lands and privileges to the ecclesiastics of Kells, dating

¹ Registr. Priorat. S. Andree, p. 113.

² Cartulaire de L'Abbaye de Redon en Bretagne, pp. 290, 303, 331, 369. In these early times we have instances of such memoranda being entered in the register of a religious house, not to establish the rights of the monastery, but to preserve the evidence of a private title. Thus the record of a shire-moot, in the

year 1036, where a disputed point about certain lands was settled, sets forth that after the Court, the gainer of the plea, with the consent of all the folk, rode to St. Ethelbert's monastery, and caused the judgment to be set in Christ's Book (the Gospels).—(Thorpe's *Diplomatar. Angliæ, Ævi Saxonici*, p. 338. London, 1865.)

from the end of the eleventh to the middle of the twelfth century, are of this nature.¹

In all these cases the grant was made with suitable solemnity before witnesses, and the written entries are memoranda of the facts, but are not such deeds or instruments as in a later time would have been the means and evidence of the transfer.

The earliest entries in the Book of Deer are memoranda of offerings thus made to God and to Drostan (pp. 92, 93), without reference to any formal instrument connected with them; while the grants by Gartnait mac Cannech, and Ete, the daughter of Gillemichel (p. 92), and those Gaelic entries which follow, appear to be abstracts of such written documents—the deed of immunity in favour of the clerics by King David I. being the only record with the formality of a regular charter.

In the time of this monarch the charter in confirmation of

¹ “Conchobar O’Maelsechlainn gave Cill-delga, with its territory and lands, to God and to Columbkille for ever, no king or chieftain having rent, tribute, hosting, coigny, or any other claim on it. [A.D. 1021-1050.]”

“The freedom of Ard Breacain, granted by the King of Ireland—*i.e.* Muirchertach O’Lochlainn—and by Diarmaid O’Maelsechlainn, King of Meath, and by the King of Loeghaire, Aedh, the son of Cu Uladh O’Caenulbhain.”

“The Loegrians [*i.e.* the race of Loeghaire, monarch of Ireland] had a certain tribute on the church—*viz.* one night’s *coinnme* every quarter of a year. O’Lochlainn, King of Ireland, and Diarmaid

O’Maelsechlain, King of Meath, induced the King of Loeghaire to sell this night’s *coinnme* for ever, for three ounces of gold. The church, therefore, with its territory and lands, is free for two reasons—*viz.* on account of the general freedom of all churches, and on account of this purchase.”

“These are the guarantees of this freedom and liberty—*viz.* Gilla-mac-Liag, the comharba of Patrick [etc.], for the perfect freedom of the church for ever, without liberty of roads or woods, but to be common to the family of Ardbreacan as to every Meathian in like manner [*circa* A.D. 1150].” —(Miscellany of the Irish Archæological Society, vol. i. pp. 139-143.)

grants came into general use in the country north of the Forth, and had been partially introduced in the time of his brother, Alexander the Fierce.¹

When that monarch restored to the church of St. Andrews the territory which at an earlier time had been dedicated to it by King Hungus, but had afterwards become secularised in the persons of the royal coarbs, or hereditary abbots of the monastery, the transaction was completed by a symbolical ceremony, without any written confirmation.

In the *History of St. Regulus, and the Foundation of the Church of St. Andrews*, written within twenty years after King Alexander's death, his grant of the Boar's Chase to the church, with many privileges, is narrated, and the striking ceremony by which it was completed and witnessed is thus described:—"Ob cuius etiam donationis monumentum, regium equum Arabicum,² cum proprio freno et sella et scuto et lancea argentea, opertum pallio grandi, et pretioso, præcepit rex usque ad altare adduci; et de predictis donis, libertatibus et consuetudinibus omnibus regalibus,

¹ It may be thought that such a notice as the following would support the idea that *charters* were not unknown in the time of Malcolm Canmore, the father of King Alexander. David II., by his charter dated at Scone, in a Parliament held there 10th June 1344, confirmed to the Prior of Restennet what had been granted by the charters of his predecessors, Malcolm, Alexander, and David, kings of Scotland; but it is most probable that the charters referred to were those of Malcolm's sons; and that in the case of Malcolm himself the gifts were made with "usuale and

auld custommys," without writing, other than a notice in the book of the monastery.—(Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. p. 156.)

² In the Chartulary of Redon, in Armorica, already quoted, the gift of a horse is recorded, A.D. 1066, when, on a knight becoming a monk in that house, "armatus accessit ad altare sanctum, ibique arma malicie reliquit, deponens veterem hominem, novumque induens. Tunc tradidit equum valentem x libras cum proprio alodo de Trethidic."—(Cartular. de Redon, p. 312.)

ecclesiam investiri ; arma quoque Turehensia diversi generis dedit, quæ cum ipsius scuto et sella in memoriam regiæ munificentiæ usque hodie in ecclesia Sancti Andreæ conservantur. Quæ undecumque advenientibus populis ostenduntur, ne oblivione ullatenus delentur, quod tam crebro ad memoriam revocatur.”¹

The Prior of St. Serf's Inch composed his “Cronykil” about three centuries later, and has introduced into it much matter from the Registers of St. Andrews—those precious monuments of our early history—which in his day were complete, but of which we now only possess the fragments. The ceremonial at the restoration of the Boar's Chase is thus described by him :—

“ In wytnes and in taknyng
 That in this purpos stud the Kyng
 And on full condytyown
 Al Saynet Andrewys to be Relygyown
 Be-for the Lordis all the Kyng
 Gert than to the Awtare bryng
 Hys cumly sted of Araby
 Sadelyd and brydelyd costlykly
 Coveryd wyth a fayre mantlete
 Of pretyows and fyne welvet
 Wyth hys Armwris of Turkey
 That Prynceys than oysyd generely
 And chesyd mast for thare delyte
 Wyth scheld and spere of Sylver qwhyte
 Wyth mony a pretyows fayre Jowele
 That now I leve for caus to tele.
 Wyth the Regale, and al the lave
 That to the Kyrk that tyme he gave
 Wyth wsuale and awld custowmys

¹ *Historia beati Reguli et foundationis ecclesie Sancti Andreæ.*—(Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, p. 190.)

Rychtis Essays and Fredwmys
 In Bill titlyd and thare rede
 Wyth Hors arayed he gert be lede."

Wyntownis Cronykil, B. vii. c. 5.

The account of the chronicler is substantially that of the Register; but he conjoins, "wyth wsuale and awld custwmys" attending the grant, a statement that "the rychtis Essays and Fredwmys" "were in Bill tytled and thare rede." Whether this is descriptive of a "notice" or "memorandum" such as those previously described, or is an addition suggested by the customs of a somewhat later time, may be doubted; but, in any event, it does not appear that the grant was the subject of a formal charter, but that its memory lived in the tale of the impressive ceremony which accompanied it, and by the exhibition of its symbols, like the pillar-stones—those unwritten records of early times—which, although of themselves mute, served to preserve the memory of events, by suggesting the question, *What mean these stones?*

Charters were in common use among the Saxons in England long before this time, and the grants by Duncan and Edgar, kings of Scotland, to the monks of St. Cuthbert, in the end of the eleventh century, were expressed in charters which are yet preserved in the Chapter-House at Durham;¹ but the subjects of their gifts lay in the country on the south of the Forth, which at this time was entirely Anglian—the Saxony of the Celtic chroniclers of Alba—and the documents are obviously the work of Saxon scribes, and are attested by witnesses of that race.

In the same way, when King Alexander I., about the year

¹ See Anderson's *Diplomata Scotiæ*, Plates IV. and VI. National MSS. of Scotland, Part I., Plates II. and III.

1114, refounded a house of religion at Scone, for a body of canons-regular from St. Oswald's, near Pontefract, the charter, which in this case records his gifts, in its recital and other clauses bears evidence of its having been the production of an ecclesiastical scribe, familiar with Saxon documents of the same nature.¹

David, the king's brother and successor, founded, or more probably refounded, the monastery of Dunfermelyn; and in his charter, which conveys many possessions to the clerics, he confirms the gifts or grants (*dona*) of Malcolm Canmore, his father, and Margaret, his saintly mother, as well as of his brethren, Duncan, Edgar, Ethelred, and Alexander. The reference to these grants is unaccompanied by the clause which is soon found in such recitals, "sicut carta istius testatur;" and we may conclude that they had been made after the "wsuale and awld custumys," without charters, which otherwise would have been engrossed in the register, or referred to in the later writ.²

Most of the Gaelic entries in the Book of Deer record gifts of this nature, and they are of the highest interest and value as the only specimens left to us of the records of our forefathers, at a time when the people and polity were Celtic, and just before the introduction of elements which changed the aspect and character of both.

From them we are enabled to form conclusions on points which have hitherto been more the subject of speculation than of historical certainty.

In considering the questions thus suggested, it must be borne in mind, that the entries appear to have been written in the end of the eleventh and early part of the following century, while the

¹ Liber Ecclesie de Scon, p. 1.

² Registr. de Dunfermelyn, p. 3.

subject of the first relates to a period more than five centuries before.

It is possible, therefore, that the scribe, in recording the traditional account of the foundation of the monastery, may have to some extent used terms expressing conditions of later growth.

Thus, in the legend of Columkille and Drostan, we are told that Bede the Piet was "mormaer of Buchan" at the time when the clerics entered on their mission in that country, at some period between A.D. 563 and A.D. 597.

In the time of the Roman occupation, North Britain was possessed by many independent tribes, whose names and position we learn from the geographer Ptolemy. In the progress of time these tribes came to be grouped into seven confederacies or provinces, ruled over by seven kings or chiefs, having under them seven "reguli" or inferior chiefs, with a king supreme over the whole.¹

Of these kingdoms, the country between the Dee and the Spey formed one. In a description of Scotland, written in the twelfth century, it appears in two forms. In one case it is said, "Quartum regnum [fuit] ex De usque ad magnum et mirabile flumen quod vocatur Spe, majorem et meliorem tocius Scocie;" and in the other, it is spoken of as one of seven districts into which Scotland was divided, and as composed of Marr with Buchan.

Probably the last refers to the latest arrangement, when the country had been divided into two provinces.

¹ The memory of a sevenfold division was revived on various occasions long afterwards. See "De Situ Albanie," and "Legend of St. Andrew," in Chronicles of

the Picts and Scots, pp. 135, 139; Palgrave's Documents and Records of Scotland, p. ix.; and Registrum de Dunfermlyn, p. 235.

The position of the ardrigh among the Northern Picts had come to be established at the time of St. Columba's mission, and then he doubtless ruled over the provincial chiefs or kings in much the same way as the monarch of Tara ruled over the provincial kings of Ireland, receiving from them a stipulated tribute, and entertainment in his occasional circuit or visitation.

After the union of the two branches of the Celtic people under one sovereign, towards the middle of the ninth century, "the next step in the progress of amalgamation was to confirm the preponderance of one state, and thus render the elective monarchy hereditary in one family. In the attempts to accomplish this object, which were made by the elder Angus and his successors, the ancient sevenfold division of the nation appears to have been destroyed, and the real conquest of the Pictish people to have been effected."¹

When Columba and Drostan appeared in Buchan, it is probable that the country was governed by an under-king of the Pictish race; and it is not unnatural that one, writing at a later period, when the name of *Pict* had died out, should refer to the fact of his lineage as a distinguishing mark.²

At the time when the memoranda in the Book of Deer were written, a great consolidation of the power of the supreme king, especially under the reigns of Malcolm II. and his father Kenneth, had taken place by conquests over the provincial rulers.

This resulted not merely in the royal aggrandisement in a

¹ Scotland under her Early Kings, by E. W. Robertson, vol. i. p. 38. Edinburgh, 1862.

² "From the opening of the tenth cen-

tury, the ancient name of *Pict*, gradually dying out, was superseded by the more familiar appellation of *Scot*."—(Scotland under her Early Kings, vol. i. p. 23.)

political view, but in a great addition to the property of the king. At an earlier period, the land thus acquired would have been portioned out among the conquerors as free allod—untaxed freehold held by right of blood; but when the importance of the supreme head came to be more prominent, and his power recognised, considerable portions of land in newly-annexed districts were reserved for the use of the crown.¹ In this case the older proprietary seem to have remained undisturbed as a tributary class.

“Like Wales and Ireland, the whole kingdom was probably divided in theory into *Triocharceds*, *Cantreds*, or Thanages—the tribe-lands held by chieftains as untaxed *duchas*, the crown-lands by maors or thanes, answerable for the rents and dues; and if Malcolm, by cancelling ‘*Duchas right*,’ as far as it lay in his power, assimilated the tenure of the whole kingdom to that of the royal maor, or, in other words, taxed the hitherto untaxed *duchasach*, he only brought about the same change which Harfagr had already effected in Norway, and which the ministers of the Frank kings were continually aiming at, five or six centuries before his era.”²

The royal lands appear to have been under the charge of a maer or steward, and when a new province was annexed to the crown, it was subjected to the government of an official called a mor-

¹ It is thus that we can account for the numerous estates throughout Pictland held in demesne by the Kings of Alba, which appear in the records of later times, out of which they founded monasteries and endowed churches; see as an instance the remarkable grant by Malcolm III. of the

lands of Keig and Monymusk to the Church of St. Andrews.—(Collections for a History of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, vol. i. p. 171; Spalding Club.)

² Scotland under her Early Kings, vol. i. p. 107.

maer,¹ or great steward, coming in place of the "king," who had formerly been to some extent an independent ruler; and it is only after the period of the national consolidation that the term of mormaer

¹ In the Irish Annals we find occasional references to officials who are styled ardmaers, or high stewards; but whose office, like that of the toisech, gave them authority over *the clann*, not as with the mormaer of Alba, who combined with personal rule the charge of a territory or district. Thus, A.D. 922, the Annals of Ulster record the death of Murray, son of Donnell, Abbot of Monasterboice, head of the counsel of all the men of Bregia [the country between the Boyne and the Liffey, north of Dublin], lay and ecclesiastical, and stewards of Patrick's family, from Slieve Fuaid [south of Armagh]. In the Annals of Ulster the Murray here mentioned is called "Tanist Abbot of Armagh and ardmaer [or high steward] of the O'Neills of the South [or men of Meath], and coarb of Boice." "Muredhach mac Domhnaill tanuse Ab Airdmacha 7 ardmaer oa Neill in deisceirt 7 comharba Buiti mc Bronaigh, cenn adcomaire fer m Breg nuile Ocaib, Cleirchibh."—(O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. SS.* vol. iv. p. 256; King's *Memoir of the Primacy of Armagh*, p. 74.) *As steward of the family of Patrick*, "he appears to have been the authorised receiver of the tribute and offerings available for the support of the Armagh clergy from the inhabitants of the district committed to his charge."—(King, p. 75.) The Four Masters, A.D. 927, record the death of Kencorach, son of Maelweer, Abbot and

Bishop of Derry-Calgy (*i.e.* Derry), and Steward of Adamnan's Law. "The abbot and bishop here named would seem to have discharged a similar office in connection with St. Adamnan's (or Eunan's) tribute—*i.e.* the offerings presented in memory of St. Adamnan to the Abbot of Raphoe for the support of his church and clergy."—(Idem.) In the account of the inauguration of Cathal Crobhdhearg O'Connor, King of Connaught, A.D. 1224, there is a list of the various officers under the king, of whom the first was the ardmaer, or high steward.—(Dr. O'Donovan's translation from the Celtic, in *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society*, vol. ii. p. 344.)

These ardmaers appear to have been the receivers of dues, both lay and ecclesiastical, and the term *exactores*, in the Annals of Ulster, used to describe certain officers of the Pictish King Nechtan, who fell at the battle of Monitcarno, A.D. 729, is probably meant for some of his great stewards or maers.—(Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, p. 356.) The word occurs in the Saxon Charters, as in that of Bishop Tûnbriht, dated A.D. 877, where he frees the land conveyed by it from all burdens, "sive a pastu regis, principis, *exactoris*," etc. (Kemble, *Codex Diplomat.* No. 1063.)

The term *satrapas*, applied in the Pictish Chronicle to Dubdou, the ruler of Atholl in A.D. 965, seems to mean *minister* or

occurs in the Annals as applied to provincial rulers; while in Galloway and Lothian, which were not annexed to Alba till after the period of mormaers, no such officers appear. The notice of the death of Dubucan, mormaer of Angus, in 939, is the first in a Scottish record where the term is applied to an individual.¹ In the Annals of Ulster the mormaers of Alba are spoken of as a class, A.D. 917.²

As to the office of the mormaer, "there seems little doubt that, like the maor, he was a royal official resembling the graphio amongst the early Franks, and the Scandinavian jarl, acting as a royal deputy, and retaining in early times the third part of the royal revenue and prerogatives. The substitution of this species of tenure for pure *duchas* must have been gradually brought about, as in Norway, by the growth and increase of the royal authority—*oirrighs* and lesser chieftains often exchanging their earlier condition of partial or complete independence for that direct dependence upon the central authority which converted them into mormaers and maors; a change which was much facilitated by the great increase of wealth which must have resulted from extending taxation to the classes hitherto untaxed, and in which both mormaer and maor, like the royal officials of the north, must have participated."³ In Armorica, the *Mactyerns* were hereditary lords of districts, and received from their vassals rents which corresponded in all appearance to the imposts levied by the chiefs of districts in Gaul.

officer, and to be an equivalent of mormaer, the term applied by the same Chronicle to Dubucan, the ruler of Angus, who died A.D. 939.—(Ducange, Gloss. in voc. *Satrapa*, *Ministri*. Chron. of the Picts and Scots, pp. 9, 10.)

¹ Chronicles of Picts and Scots, p. 9.

² "But neither their king nor any of the mormaers fell by him."—(Chron. of Picts and Scots, pp. 363-4.)

³ Scotland under her Early Kings, vol. ii. p. 469.

Under the Carlovingsians the Mactyerns lost much of their importance. Some placed themselves under the authority of the Frank count set over the government of the Peninsula; while others, such as Portitoe and Wrbili, held directly of the emperor, with the title of *vassi dominici*.¹

We may, I think, infer that the rights of the mormaer were less absolute than those of the ruler of an earlier period, consisting in a hereditary claim to certain lands in the province, and an official title (which in process of time seems also to have become hereditary) to a share of the royal dues, for which, as steward, he accounted to the King of Alba.²

It would seem probable, on the whole, that Bede, the Pictish ruler of Buchan in the sixth century, was an oirrih or under-king when he conferred on the clerics the towns of Aberdour and Deer, with full freedom, as if they were his own sole property.

At a later period we find grants by several mormaers of townlands, which also appear to have been their absolute property; but in other cases "the share" or interest of the mormaer in the lands is only granted; probably consisting of that part of the royal returns which fell to him.

Malcolm [Mac-Kenneth], King of Alba, gave the royal share

¹ Cartulaire de Redon. Prolegom. p. cclxix.

² The office of the mormaer was expressive of a more direct dependence on the ardrigh than had been the case with the provincial ruler; but, as the royal representative in the district over which he ruled, he naturally combined with his stewardship some of the functions of the earlier rulers, such as the leadership of the provincial subsidies in the king's host.

It would be the policy of the supreme king to continue the administration of the provinces in the families of the former rulers where that was possible; and the natural tendency of Celtic institutions towards hereditary official tenures (as instanced in the case of many of the thanes) would in time practically confine the office to the descendants of the first mormaers, although, doubtless, with the sanction of the royal authority.

or portion in Bidben and other lands;¹ while Bidben was also granted to the clerics by Domnal Mac Ruadri and Malcolm Mac Culeon, thus showing the co-existing rights of different persons in the same lands.

Again, we find that the mormaer and toisech had joint rights in the same townlands.² Thus Matain mac Caerill gave the share of

¹ This shows that the King of Alba had certain defined rights in lands lying in a province only recently added to his kingdom, rights which accrued to him in virtue of his conquest, and as "ardrigh," while it is obvious that his conquest or annexation left the Celtic proprietary in the enjoyment of their lands. There are indications in our earliest records of a fluctuating period, showing traces of the gradually widening claims of the supreme King of Alba, and yet shadowing out an earlier condition, when the rights of property were to some extent vested in the community.

When Macbeth confirmed to the monks of Lochleven the lands of Kirkness, *with freedom from the king, or the king's son, or the sheriff*, his title to grant resulted from his position as King of Alba, his own inheritance lying in Moray—thus witnessing to the rights of the crown in the lands.

When King David confirmed to the monks of Dunfermline, "auctoritate regia et potestate," the grants of his father, mother, and brethren, it was with the ratification not only of his bishops, earls, and barons, but with the consent of the clergy and people; "clero etiam acquiescente et populo."—(Registrum de Dunfermlyn, p. 3.)

His son, Alexander I., who granted a charter of foundation to the abbey of Scone, did so with consent of his seven Gaelic mormaers or earls.—(Liber de Scon, p. 1.)

When Ethelred, another of the sons of Malcolm, Abbot of Dunkeld and Earl of Fife, conferred on the monks of St. Serf the lands of Adnore, his grant was confirmed at Abernethy by his brothers David and Alexander, at a great convention of the country both of clergy and laity, with freedom from both, and with the usual malediction against those who should infringe the gift. The transaction was concluded with a popular ratification: "Omni populo respondente, Fiat. Amen."—(Registr. Priorat. S. Andree, p. 116.)

² An instance of the concurrence of parties having separate interests in land to its surrender to the monastery of Redon, occurs in the Chartulary of that house, A.D. 1105, where we find the granter "habito consilio cum dominis suis, id est, Herveo Juscel, et Guaterio, atque Erardo filiis ejus—et Hamelino de Armalle super eos domino,—et Guaterio Hai domino super omnes, communi assensu," gave to the abbey the land in question.—(Cartul. Redon, p. 322.)

the mormaer in Alteri, and Culi mac Baten gave the share of the toisech.¹

In one case the same person is styled both mormaer and toisech, and his grant must have included the shares of both in the lands which it conveyed.²

¹ "The word *Toshach* simply means 'captain' or 'leader,'—*dux*; the Irish *Taisigeacht* meaning 'captaincy,' 'leadership,' or 'precedency.' When the office of *dux*, originally elective, became hereditary, according to the invariable principle of 'divided authority' so characteristic of all the Celtic communities, it remained permanently in the family of the eldest cadet of the clan, the Tighern farthest removed from the chieftainship. The 'Captains of Galloway,' and the 'Thanes of Ross,' were probably known in their native tongue as *Toshachs*—captains by right of office—for though the oldest cadet, and the thane in his military capacity, were known as *Toshachs*, it by no means follows that a *Toshach* was necessarily either one or the other."—(Scotland under her Early Kings, vol. i. p. 104, note.) "The theory of a *toshach* over every *Triocha*-ced, or group of thirty *Baile-biataghs*, was familiar to the Irish Gael" (Idem); and the *Toshachs* of Buchan were probably chiefs of clans or families, and as such possessed of rights in certain lands which could be made the subject of grants. The name, however, long survived the existence of the important officials to whom it was originally applied. The *Toshach* of our later records had sunk into the position of something between a

ground-officer or bailiff, and a sheriff-officer.

In a charter by Alexander Stewart, Earl of Marr, in favour of Sir Alexander Irvine of Drum, of the lands of Davachindore and Fidelmonth, dated in 1410, the office of *tosach*, and its dues, appear alongside of those of the hereditary smith of the barony. The lands in the charter are declared to be free of all services, "et sine aliqua custuma danda, fabrisdera vel *tosach*-dera."—(Illustr. of Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, vol. iv. p. 453. See Skene, *De verb. signif. voce Tocheoderache*; Dr. Jamieson's *Scott. Dict. voce Mair*.)

² See p. xlix. The rights of the mormaer as a royal official representing the crown in the district over which he presided, and accounting to the ardrigh for his rents and dues, were eclipsed by the introduction of the vicecomes or sheriff, soon after the time when the entries in the Book of Deer were written. When this took place, the prerogatives of the royal maer devolved on this officer, who was directly dependent on the sovereign, and accounted for the rents of the demesne lands of the crown, standing in the same relation to the royal Thanes, and the tenantry in demesne lands, as the baron by military service did to the

The lands in the grants were probably of varying extent, some of them being described as fields, as *achad naglérech* (the field of the clerics). The descriptions imply recognised boundaries, defined at times by prominent rocks, and stones or trees, which could only have been temporary landmarks.¹

knights and tenantry of the barony.—(Scotland under her Early Kings, vol. ii. pp. 252-3.) At this period the title of *mormaer* fluctuates, until it finally becomes *earl*; thus *Gartnait*, *Mormaer* of Buchan, whose grant to the clerics about the year 1132 is recorded in the Book of Deer, appears in the foundation-charter of the monastery of Scone, about A.D. 1120, as *Earl Gartnait*; and *Ruadri*, who, as a witness to the grant of *Gartnait*, is styled *Mormaer* of Mar, appears in the charter of Scone as *Earl Rotheri*.—(Liber Eccles. de Scon, p. 3.) Long after the *mormaers* or *earls* had generally ceased to have any claims over the king's tenants, an exception survived in the case of the *Earl of Fife*, who was still entitled to exact from all the freeholders within his earldom his rights as *King's Mair* of the province of Fife; "Forsuth na erl, na seriand of the erlis, in the land of ony man haldand of the Kyng aw for to cum, for to rais that defalt, bot the erl of Fyffe, and he sal not cum as erl, bot as the mair of the Kyng, of his rychtis to be rasyt wythin the erldome of Fyffe."—(See Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. p. 68. The Book of Deer, p. 93.)

¹ The land given by *Bede* the *mormaer*, is said to lie between *Cloch* in *Tiprait* and

Cloch pette mic Garnait, which may probably mean between "the stone of the well" and the "stone of the portion of *Garnait's* Son." In the same way we learn from the *Pictish Chronicle* that *Nectan*, king of all the provinces of the *Picts*, dedicated to *St. Brigid* the territory of *Abernethy*, with its boundaries, which ran from "the stone in *Apurfeirt* to the stone near *Cairfuill*, that is *Lethfoss*."—(Chronicles of the *Picts* and *Scots*, p. 6.)

The boundaries of the lands conveyed in the first grants are in many cases vague and indeterminate, and of a temporary character; but as the country was brought under cultivation and settled, the boundaries became specific, and are distinguished by marks of a permanent description. Thus the boundaries of the three *davochs* of *Fedreth* [now *Fedderat*] in the neighbourhood of *Deer*, which are given with great minuteness in a charter by *Fergus*, *Earl* of *Buchan*, to *John*, the son of *Uthred*, before the year 1214, consist in many instances of the natural features of the country, such as burns and hills; but in others of such remarkable objects as the *Crux Medici* or *Cross* of the *Doctor*, the sheep-fold of *Ruthri mac Oan* of *Allathan*, the fold of horses, etc.

The *davochs* comprised *Eastir Auheoch*

In some cases the extent is more determinate, reference being made to a davoch, which implies a measure of arable land.

In others the description "both mountain and field"¹ would lead us to understand a townland of varying size, which would be determined by the circumstances of the locality. The general idea, however, of the townland is thus shadowed out by Dr. Reeves:— "If we suppose a widely-diffused population to have existed in the island [Ireland] at an early date, which the thick interspersion of the earthen duns, rathes, and lisses authorises us to do, we can easily understand how, among a people semi-pastoral semi-agricultural, each occupation of land would acquire a severalty, and become defined by ascertained limits. Our idea of a primitive settler would be of one who obtained a tract of land, so circumstanced as to be clear in part, and have a fair supply of running water, near which a habitation might be erected, together with a

Auhetherb, Auhethas and Conwiltes, "cum omnibus limitibus suis et rectis diuisis, videlicet a riulo corrente ex parte orientali de Estir Auhioch in oriente vsque ad fossam concauam ex occidentali costa montis de Derevan in occidente, et inter viam altam supra Clochnily sicut extenditur in austro vsque ad Crucem Mediei in aquilone et iterum . . . ndo in oriente a vado riulli de Huskethuire inter Auhelit et Auhitherb vsque riulum de Giht in occidente, et in predicto oriente a . . . li inter duas Auherauthis vsque in dictum riulum de Giht subter ouili Ruthri Mac Oan de Allethan in occidente, et progrediendo . . . do inter dicta ouilia equitum versus austrum vsque ad predictam viam altam supra Clochnuly et etiam

a fossa magna propinquius adiacente ville de Carnebennach ex parte aquilonali occidentaliter extendente in riulum de Giht vsque ad concursum . . . de Lethalge . . . n aquilone et sicut fossa concaua que dicitur Holleresky Lech jacet inter Buchangy et montem de De . . . n sub occidentali parte de Derevan et sic a fossa vadi concaui de Auhakorty ex parte occidentali vsque in costam aquilonalem de Cragcultyr et de Cragcultyr vsque ad predictam Crucem Mediei et . . . de ipsa Cruce vsque in costam aquilonalem de Derevan.—(Collections on the Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, vol. i. p. 407.)

¹ The Book of Deer, p. 94.

proportion of mountain, wood, or bog, as the case might be. Should circumstances lead the neighbouring occupants to a community of abode, their several farms, while they retained their distinctive appellations, would naturally acquire a generic name borrowed from their joint habitation."

"An Irish memorandum in the Book of Armagh, written before the year 800, furnishes us with a sketch which may fairly be understood as representing the characteristics of a primitive townland: Cummen and Brethan purchased Ochter-n-achid [upper field], with its appurtenances, both wood, and plain, and meadow, together with its habitation and its garden."¹

The lands described by the prefix *Pet* seem to have been divisions or portions, known from their connection with an individual, or their special use. In the first sense we have Pett-mic-Garnait, or Pett of the Son of Garnait, Pet in Mulenn, the Pet of the Mill, for which probably the equivalent is now the Mill Town,²

¹ Of the Townland Distribution of Ireland, by the Rev. Wm. Reeves, D.D.; Proceedings, Royal Irish Acad. vol. vii. p. 473.

² It has been at times suggested that *Pet*, which is a very prominent feature in the topography of Pictland, should be translated "the hollow;" but it occurs in such varying circumstances of site as to preclude this idea.

In the parish of Migvie, in Aberdeenshire, we have the church-lands called Pettentagart, or the Pette of the Priest; in Fife, Pittenweem, or the Pitt of the Cave. In Athol there is Pet mac dufgille, or the Pet of the son of dufgille. In some cases we find Pit and Bal used indiscriminately, as in Pitskellie in the parish of Barry, For-

farshire, which in the records is also spelt Balskellie; and in Pitgerso, which also appears as Balgerso, in the parish of Foveran, in Aberdeenshire.

Mr. Jervise informs me that the same occurs in the case of Balgersho in the parish of Kettins, in Forfarshire, which is also known as Pitgersho. He adds that *Pit* and *Bal* are used indiscriminately, as the names of the following lands in Forfarshire:—
In the parish of—

Panbride . . Balmachie—Pitmachie.

Tealing . . . Balargus—Pitargus.

Forfar . . . Pitruchie—Baltruchie.

Newtyle . . . Balkeerie—Pitkeerie.

Aberlemno . Balglassie—Pitglassie;

and that most of these places are on rising grounds.

The fluctuating character of property among the early tribes under the law of gavel, which led to continued redistribution, was adverse to any enduring boundaries; and in Ireland the evils of this system survived to be deplored by Sir John Davis in the beginning of the seventeenth century:—

“Again, in England, and all well-ordered commonwealths, men have certain estates in their lands and possessions, and their inheritances descend from father to son, which doth give them encouragement to build, and to plant and to improve their lands, and to make them better for their posterities. But by the Irish custom of tanistry, the chieftains of every country, and the chief of every sept, had no longer estate than for life in their chiefries, the inheritance whereof did vest in no man. And these chiefries, though they had some portions of land allotted unto them, did consist chiefly in cuttings and cosheries, and other Irish exactions, whereby they did spoil and impoverish the people at their pleasure. And when their chieftains were dead, their sons or next heirs did not succeed to them, but their tanistes, who were elective, and purchased their elections by strong hand; and by the Irish custom of gavelkind, the inferior tenancies were partible among all the males of the sept, both bastard and legitimate; and after partition made, if any one of the sept had died, his portion was not divided among his sons, but the chief of the sept made a new partition of all the lands belonging to that sept, and gave every one his part according to his antiquity.”¹

As the formal charter may be said practically to have been introduced into Alba in the time of David I., so that change was accompanied by more fixed rights of property in the land, and by

¹ Historical Tracts, p. 12.

more careful adjustment of boundaries, than had prevailed before his time, of which we find tokens in the numerous perambulations and settlements of marches recorded in the chartularies of our religious houses.¹

The terms of the grants are suggestive of other points of interest in connection with the institutions of the time and the condition of the people.

It will have been observed that many of them convey the lands

¹ The lands to which a general name is given, as including both mountain and field, are evidently of an indeterminate extent. Such descriptions seem to imply rights of common, of which many illustrations occur in the charters even of later times. David I. granted to the monks of May one-half of the lands of Ballegallin, with common pasture in the shire or parish of Kellin and the shire of Crail.—(Records of the Priory of the Isle of May, p. 2.)

When William the Lion gave to the monks of Arbroath the church of Monikie, with its lands and tithes, he added "with common pasturage of the whole parish of Muniecky."—(Registr. vet. Aberbroth. p. 18.)

The same monarch confirmed to the Hospital of St. Andrews a grant by David I. of the lands of Kenaleken, which included "communitatem eciam in pascuis de Fif pecoribus hospitalis."—(Registr. Priorat. S. Andr. p. 212.)

He granted to the Priory of St. Andrews the church of Eglisgirg, with the land of

the Abbey of Eglisgirg, "et cum communi pastura eisdem canonicis et hominibus eorum in predictis terris manentibus cum theyno meo et c̄ hominibus meis per totam parochiam de Eglisgirg."—(Idem, p. 192.)

The perambulations by which the boundaries of lands were settled by the goodmen of the country were often presided over by the king in person.

Alexander II. confirmed to the monks of Kinloss the lands of Kinloss and Inverlochty, granted to them by King David, "et preterea terram quam ipse rex David perambulavit."—(Registr. Morav. p. 457.)

David I. granted to the monks of Coldingham a charter confirming the boundaries between the lands of Coldingham and Bonekel "quas ego cum probis hominibus meis perambulare feci."—(Raines' North Durham, App. p. 4.)

In a settlement of disputed marches between the monks of Kelso and Melrose, a ditch along the top of a hill, made by order of David I., is referred to.—(Liber de Calchou, vol. i. p. 22; Munimenta de Melros, p. 136.)

with clauses of "freedom," or exemption from burdens of various kinds.

Pet-mac-Cobrig was granted "free from all the exactions or burdens," and Achad-Madchor was conveyed "in freedom for ever;" while a general confirmation of the offerings declares them to be "in freedom from mormaer, and from toisech, to the day of judgment" (pp. 93, 94).

The freedom from mormaer and toisech is obviously an exemption from the rents, tributes, or customs¹ exigible by these officials

¹ Rents were probably mostly paid in kind; and "can," which forms so prominent a feature in our early charters, seems generally to mean the portion of the produce paid as rent to the owner of the land, and in this sense the name is not yet altogether unknown in leasehold arrangements in Scotland—the fowls which form part of the rent being termed *kain fowls*.

A considerable part, however, of the rent consisted in the personal services of the tenant, as in the tillage of the landlord's ground, the sowing and reaping of his crop, digging and carrying his fuel, carrying materials for his buildings, and the like. This resulted from the want of trade, and consequently of capital.

But there is reason to believe that in Celtic times, besides the rents payable by occupiers of the soil, there was a poll-tax or tribute, which might be demanded from the people generally, and at special times from the occupants of certain lands, to which the word *can* was also applied. Of this last we find a trace in a charter granted in the year 1467, by Alexander

Wardropar of Gothnys to Henry Forbes of Kynnellour, conveying to him certain lands in the Thanage of Kintore, in Aberdeenshire, with his cane of barley and cheese, "et totam pecuniam michi vel heredibus meis ratione fer chane [man-cane] contingentem de terris de Kynkell, et de Dyse infra thanagium predictum."—(Collections on the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, vol. i. p. 575.) A similar tax was known among the Celtic people of Brittany. Alan, the earl of that country, had "quandam consuetudinem quam super homines S. Salvatoris qui morantur in plebe que vocatur Penkerac et in guerram habebat quam vulgo tallia nuncupatur, nos incisionem nominamus;" which, by a charter granted in the year 1122, he released, commanding "ne quis villicus nec prepositus nec etiam aliquis suorum clientum ullo modo sit ausus super hac re aliquid querere nec incisionem quando erit facta colligere, sed in arbitrio et potestate abbatis sit, ut quotiescunque comes suos homines inciderit, hoc est censum a suis exigerit, abbas suos secundum velle suum

from those over whom they ruled. By such payments the polity of the tribe was maintained, and after the provincial arrangement had passed into that of the consolidated kingdom, certain public necessities of the state were met by a tax which formed a burden on landholders.

These burdens were inherent in the possession of land, unless a special "freedom" was conferred by competent authority. Even in grants of land to the church *in free alms*, the burden of contributing towards the maintenance of the national fabric was implied, unless accompanied by an express exemption.

According to a statement in the Register of St. Andrews, the land which King Hungus gave to St. Regulus was to be held "in elimosynam perpetuo; et tanta libertate, ut illius inhabitatores liberi et quieti semper existerent *de exercitu, et de operibus castel-*

incidat, et potestative ut concessum est colligat et habeat."—(Chartular. Redon, p. 324.)

Of the tribute exigible on certain occasions from the people of a district we seem to have an example in the *can* leviable by the King of the Scots, not from his demesnes, of which he had none in Galloway, but from the people of that country, his right to which was determined by the judges of Galloway, in presence of Roland, its Celtic chief.—(Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. p. 56.) In this sense the word was known to Skene, being used, he says, to describe a tribute "payed be the servand or subject to the maister, as I haue read in ane auld authentic register of the Bishoprick of Dunkeld, quhair it is called *chan* or *chanum*."—(De verb. signif. voce *canum*.)

Conveth, which so constantly occurs in our early charters in association with *can*, seems to be synonymous with the right of refection, or the Irish *coigny*.

We find that the Bishops of St. Andrews, in the twelfth century, were wont to receive refection for themselves and their followers from the men of the Kirktown of Arbuthnott, in the Mearns, which formed part of the Episcopal inheritance.

In the document which records the exercise of the right, two expressions are used in reference to it. It is said that the Bishops Arnald and Richard, "*hospitatos fuisse pluries apud Aberbuthenot in terra illa, tanquam in propria;*" that Bishop Hugh "*ibidem tanquam in propriis hospitatus est, et de hominibus illis terre sicut de hominibus suis necessaria recipisse et munera.*"

*lorum et pontium, et de inquietatione omnium secularium exactionum.*¹

Some of these “freedoms” may be expressed in the language of a later age than that of Hungus; but they consisted in exemptions from payments or burdens which no doubt were exigible in his time, and had come to be expressed in the terms just quoted.

When Macbeth, as King of the Scots, and Gruoch, his Queen, conferred on the Culdee hermits in Lochleven the lands of Kyrkenes, it was “cum omni libertate,” “absque omni munere et onere et exactione Regis, et filii Regis, vicecomitis et alicuius,—et sine refectione pontis, et sine exercitu, et venacione;”² and other grants, with the like exemption, were made by Malcolm, Edgar, Duncan, Alexander, and later kings.³

Even when the charters by which churches were conveyed to religious houses contained remissions of some of the burdens which had most the appearance of personal payments to the granters, they occasionally reserved in force those which contributed to the national support.

Thus David I. confirmed to the monks of Coldingham the churches of Ederham and Nesebit, which had been granted by Gospatric, brother of Dolfin—“liberas ab omni servitio et omni con-

Again, the right is expressed thus—viz. That the Bishops Richard and Hugh were wont “in terra illa tanquam in propria *convetum suum*, ab hominibus illius terre recipere tanquam ab hominibus propriis;” and that the same Bishops “*ibidem conventum suum* tanquam in terra propria et ab hominibus propriis recepisse;” while Bishop Roger “per paupertatem eorum in quodam itinere suo *convetum suum* omisit

accipere.”—(Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. v. pp. 212, 213.)

¹ Legend of St. Andrew, in Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, p. 187.

² Registr. Priorat. S. Andree, p. 114.

³ Idem, p. 115. David I. granted to the monks of Dunfermelyn “ut homines sui sint liberi ab omni operatione castellorum et poncium et omnium aliorum operum.—(Registr. de Dunferm. p. 14.)

suetudine, exceptis triginta solidis quos prefati monachi dabunt filio ejus Gospatricio et heredibus suis post eum pro conredio¹ regis, . . . et excepto exercitu Regis, unde monachi erunt attendentes ipsi Regi, et ipse Gospatricius de exercitu erit quietus in perpetuum.²

Under this exception, the monks were bound to attend the king's host. They were bound in the same way to afford aid from the twelfth town of Coldinghamshyre—viz. that within which the church of Coldingham was founded; and this burden continued in force till it was remitted to them by King Alexander II. by a charter³ dated in the thirteenth year of his reign, A.D. 1226.⁴

William the Lion, by his charter founding the Abbey of Arbroath, in the year A.D. 1178, conveyed to the monks many churches free “ab exercitu et expedicione et operacione et auxilio et ab omnibus consuetudinibus et omni servicio et exacione.” He then confirmed the grants made by various individuals to the abbey “in liberam elemosinam,” adding to his confirmation the words “salvo servicio meo,” and concluding “omnia autem dona predicta ita liberaliter et quiete prefate ecclesie concedo sicut ego terras meas proprias possideo, *defensione regni mei excepta et regali justicia.*”⁵

The nature of the burdens then falling on land may be gathered from a charter by Gillecrist, Earl of Angus, confirming to the monks of Arbroath the lands of Portincraig, which had been pre-

¹ Conredium interdum pro *Procuracione* seu convivii quæ Dominis præstabantur a vassallis ex jure definito quoties per illorum terras pergebant. — (Duncange, Glossar. *sub voce.*)

² Raine's North Durham, App. p. 5.

³ Raine's North Durham, App. p. 14.

⁴ The Irish clergy were released from personal attendance on the hostings, A.D. 799.—(Annals of the Four Masters by O'Donovan, vol. i. p. 409.)

⁵ Registr. de Aberbroth. pp. 5-7.

viously granted to them by his father for the erection of an hospital, "in liberam elemosinam libere et quiete, ab exercitu, et expedicione, et exaccione multure, et ab omnibus auxiliis et geldis, et omnibus serviciis, et secularibus exaccionibus."

All these burdens the Earl took upon himself, and the freedom thus bestowed was confirmed by the king's charter, without which it would have been inept.¹

William the Lion confirmed to the Hospital of St. Andrews a ploughgate of land granted by Simon Fitz Michael, free from secular services or customs, all of which were undertaken by the granter and his heirs, with this exception, "quod idem hospitale adquietabit illam carrucatam terre de Gildo regio quod communiter capietur de terris et de elemosinis per regnum Scocie."²

In various cases of national emergency, aids were demanded even from the holders of enfranchised lands, but they were followed by formal acknowledgments from the Crown that such aids were exceptional, and should not infer any loss of privilege.³

One of these by Robert the Steward, on the part of David II. to the Abbot of Arbroath, is remarkable. After reciting the exemption of the abbot, his men, and lands, from common aids and contributions, by reason of their enfranchisement and privileges, as well by reason of their regality as of pure alms, and that they had

¹ Registr. de Aberbroth. p. 35.

² Registr. Priorat. S. Andree, p. 212.

³ At the request of William the Lion, the men of the Abbot of Dunfermline assisted in fortifying the king's castles in Ross, and his writ was issued that this instance of their good will should not be used to their prejudice in future.—(Re-

gistr. de Dunferm. p. 32.) The men of the Abbot of Arbroath, at the request of King Alexander II., contributed aid "ad coria adquietanda que in Anglia vendidimus quando usque ad Doueram profecti fuimus,"—and a like writ was issued by the king.—(Registr. Vet. de Aberbroth. p. 224.)

of their own will contributed a subsidy of the twentieth mark of their lands at the siege of Perth, because through the wasting of the country, those who were liable in the common aid could not then fully perform what the exigency of the time required, yet this act of grace should not be used to their prejudice thereafter (“quod qui erant sub jure communi non valebant plene perficere quod regni necessitas tunc temporis requirebat”).¹

The early condition of landed property in England was similar in respect of the burdens laid on it. Of the change of the folcland into bocland, or from a condition of commonalty to that of individual property, Kemble writes, “In whatever form the usufruct may have been granted, it was accompanied by various settled burthens. In the first place were the inevitable charges from which no land was ever released, namely military service, alluded to by Beda, and no doubt in early times performed in person, the repair of roads, bridges, and fortifications.”²

We find that many charters were granted by the authority of the king and his witan, freeing lands and churches belonging to monasteries from the burthens thus incident to them.³

One of these, granted by Ceolwulf, King of Mercia (A.D. 822), to Uulfred the Archbishop, contains a list of the dues and services from which the lands were exempted; some of which seem to be analogous to those grants in the Book of Deer, which free the lands from mormaer and toisech, and to that in favour of St. Serf’s monks

¹ Registr. Priorat. S. Andree, p. 224.

² The Saxons in England, vol. i. p. 293.

³ See Epistola ad Egbertum Antistitem, where Bede describes the monasteries of laymen as obtaining freedoms which made

them independent “a divino simul et humano servitio,” and withdrew from the defence of the country against pagan invasions those who ought to have protected it.—(Bede, Hist. Eccl., ed. Hussey, pp. 338-9.)

at Lochleven, in the Register of St. Andrews, already quoted. The lands in King Ceolwulf's charter are freed "ab omni servitute secularium rerum, a pastu regis, episcopi, principum, seu prefectum, exactorum, ducorum canorum vel æquorum seu accipitrum, ab refectione et habitu illorum omnium, qui dicuntur fæstingmen, ab omnibus laboribus, operibus, et oneribus sive difficultatibus, quot plus minusve numerabo vel dico, ab omni gravitatibus maioribus minoribus notis ignotis, undeque liberata permaneat in ævum, nisi in quattuor causis que nunc nominabo; expeditione contra paganos ostes, et pontis constructione seu arcis munitione vel destructione in eodem gente et singulare pretium foras reddat, secundum ritum gentis illius."¹

Among the Celtic people of Brittany similar burdens on land were common, and the charters which give freedom from them have clauses like those just referred to. One conveying complete freedom, dated A.D. 842, is thus expressed:—"Sine fine, sine comutatione, sine jubileo anno, sine exactore, satrapaque, sine censu, et sine tributo sine opere alicui homini sub cælo nisi Sulcomino presbytero (the purchaser) et cui voluerit post se commendare, præter census regis."²

In this case, as in some of the Scotch instances just quoted, the land was freed from all tributes to chiefs and officers, except the tax for national purposes, "preter census regis."

In the year A.D. 866, Solomon, Count of Brittany, granted to the monastery of Redon certain lands, "sine censu, et sine renda, et sine tributo, et pastu caballis, et sine ulla re ulli homini sub cælo, nisi supradicto Salvatori et supradictis monachis."³

¹ Thorpe's *Diplomatar. Anglic. Ævi Saxonici*, p. 65: Lond. 1865.

² *Chartular. de Redon*, p. 103.

³ *Idem*, p. 42.

The *consuetudines* and *servicia* in the clauses of enfranchisement of the Scotch charters probably included some burdens like those specified in the grants of the Mercian Ceolwulf just quoted.

Among these, besides personal services, was the burden of receiving the king or chief on his annual progress, and affording refection to him and his followers for a limited time.¹

This right of refection forms a prominent feature in the early Irish system, and is described by Sir John Davis among the exactions extorted by the chieftains and tanists, in virtue of their barbarous seignory, by the term of *coshering*—viz. “visitations or progresses made by the lord and his followers among his tenants, wherein he did eat them out of house and home.”²

In Brittany it appears in the charters as *marjerium*, *prandium*, *pastus*, *procuratio*.³

¹ Long after the migratory king, quartering himself during his yearly progresses upon the provincial aristocracy, and upon the steward of the royal lands, had passed into a stationary monarch, we find traces of the early custom. In the Parliament held at Cambuskenneth in 1326, King Robert Bruce undertook, in consideration of the liberal aid given to him, not to insist on the ancient exactions of provisions and conveyance in his journeys through the country, without making immediate payment. Another provision in the parliament of David II. at Perth, A.D. 1369, for equalising the burden of the royal household, points also to the results of the earlier royal circuits.—(Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 115, 150.)

² Historical Tracts, p. 134.

³ Chartular. Redon, Prolegom. p. cccvi. There are notices in some of the charters of Inchaffray, which seem to indicate the existence of exactions of this nature, payable to the church of Dunkeld from the monastery of Madderty, one of our early Celtic foundations, which became secularised in the persons of the Earls of Strathearn. The monastic territory under the name of “Maddyryn que antiquitus Abbacia vocabatur,” was towards the end of the twelfth century conferred on the monks of Inchaffray by Earl Gilbert, the founder of their house.—(Registr. de Inchaffery, p. 13.) Thereafter Hugh, Bishop of Dunkeld, remitted to Inchaffery the can and coneveth which the clerics of Dunkeld had been in use to receive at Maddirdyn “qui Scotice dicitur Abthan.”—(Idem, p. 73.)

There, as in Ireland and among the Saxons of England, the burden of refection fell not only on the lay proprietors and occupiers of the soil, but on churches and monasteries, in which case the right is expressed in the charters by different terms, as *cibus*, *circada*, *parata*.¹

Among the Saxons in England the burden of furnishing refection to the king on his progresses, and to his officials and followers, was well understood, and in many cases became a fixed charge upon the lands whether the king actually visited them or not.

“Many of the charters granted to monasteries record the exemption from these claims, purchased at a heavy price by prelates, from his avarice or piety; and as the king himself gradually ceased to undertake these distant expeditions, and entrusted to his messengers to see and hear for him; so they in time established a claim to harbourage and reception in the same places. This was extended to all public officers going on the king’s affairs, and not only to them, but to servants of the royal household.”² “The huntsman, stable-keepers, and falconers of the court, could demand bed and board in the monasteries, where they were often unwelcome enough; and this royal right, no doubt frequently used by the calderman or sheriff as an engine of oppression, was also bought off at very high prices.”³

¹ Chartular. Redon, Prolegom. p. ccevi.

² In Scotland we find traces of the ancient system in such claims as the following, made by James of Kyninmond on the monks of St. Andrews, A.D. 1438:—
“Item yheure bailzery landsteartry marschalry, I clame thir poyntis in fee and heritage, wyth houshold for me and twa gentilmen, twa yhemmen, wyth the boyis

folowand, my wyfe, and twa gentill women wyth hir, wyth sic houshold as efferis, a falcoune and a goishauk, a brais of greyhundis, and a coppil of Rachis, the best chaumer, the best stabill next my lordis, with forty pund of fee folowand thir offices.”
—(Registr. Priorat. S. Andree, p. 430.)

³ Kemble's Saxons in England, vol. ii. pp. 60, 61. We have an instance of the

At the beginning of the system, not only were the lands, dedicated to the church by temporal chieftains, held to be free from such an exaction, but many of those in their own occupation were subjected to payment of tributes and rents to the church;¹ but long before the twelfth century a change in this, as in other particulars, had taken place, as we may gather from denunciations against the usurped rights by the synods of the church.

The fourth act of the Synod of Cashel, A.D. 1172, enacts that all church lands, and possessions belonging to them, be wholly free from exaction on the part of all secular persons, and especially that neither petty kings nor chieftains, nor any other powerful men in Ireland, nor their sons, with their families, are to exact, as has been customary, victuals and hospitality, in lands belonging to the church, or presume any longer to extort them by force. And that those detestable contributions, which are wont to be exacted from lands belonging to the church four times in the year by the neighbouring chieftains, are to be exacted no more.²

The "freedom" conferred in some of the Irish grants in the Book of Kells,³ includes a release from this burden of lay refection.

Thus the King of Tara granted Cill-delga, with its territory and

purchase of exemption from payment of the earl's dues in the Chartulary of Redon, A.D. 1114-39, which shows that a certain knight Geoffrey bestowed on the abbey thirty measures of salt, and two men with their land, which were free from all custom to the earl or any one else, "quia ipse dum sospes et in prosperitate erat, a comite Alano emerat, et octo libras pro immunicione eorum ut notum est omnibus habitantibus in terra ipsa, dederat (p. 325).

¹ An example of such tributes payable by the Hy-Many to St. Grellan will be found in O'Donovan's Tribes and Customs of Hy Many, p. 13.

² Giraldus Cambrensis, Hibern. Expug. c. 34. Lanigan's Ecc. Hist. of Ireland, iv. pp. 206-210.

³ Miscellany of the Irish Arch. Soc. vol. i. pp. 139, 143.

lands, to God and to Columbkille for ever, no king or chieftain having "rent, hosting, coigny on it as . . . before, for no chief durst touch it while [staying] in the territory."

The "freedom" of Ard Breacain was confirmed by the Kings of Ireland, the King of Meath, and the King of Loeghaire. The race of Loeghaire had a certain tribute on the church, viz. one night's coinmhe every quarter of a year, and this right the King Loeghaire surrendered for three ounces of gold. The church, therefore, was declared by all means to be separated from the Loegrians, and with its territory and lands to be free for two reasons—viz. on account of the general freedom of all churches, and on account of this purchase.¹

Some of the grants in the Book of Deer confer "freedom" from the claims of the mormaer and the toisech. In one of them, however, the freedom is said to be from "all burdens except the proportion affecting four davochs of land, of such burdens as would fall on all chief monasteries [literally residences] of Alba generally, and upon all chief churches" (p. 95).

Another, after mortifying the chief's share, gave a dinner of a hundred every Christmas and every Easter to God and to Drostan (p. 93).

Among these burdens was doubtless that of refection, and while the monks were relieved of it and the other tributes and customs, they were declared to be still liable for a tax imposed on chief monasteries and churches in general, their proportion of which was regulated by the extent of their land.

Such grants of exemption from customary tributes and services were said to confer "freedom" on the monasteries and churches to

¹ Miscellany of the Irish Arch. Soc. vol. i. pp. 139, 143.

which they were granted; and after the gift of the Boar's Chase to St. Andrews by Hungus, with these immunities, it is said that "in memoriale *datæ libertatis*," the king placed on the altar a sod of the land.¹

On the other hand, churches and monasteries, while they were paying such exactions and tribute, were said to be "sub servitute" and "enslaved."²

Thus, A.D. 1161, it is recorded that the churches of Columcille, in Meath and Leinster, were freed by the successor of Columcille Flaithbheartach Ua Brolchain, and "their tributes and jurisdiction were given him; for they had been previously enslaved."³

This "slavery" or subjection often inferred rights and privileges of considerable value to the superior. Thus, in A.D. 985, Maelseachlainn, the King of Ireland, having carried off for a time the shrine of St. Patrick, had to submit to the award of the successor of St. Patrick, the Abbot of Armagh, for his sacrilege—viz. "the visitation of Meath, both church and state, and a banquet for every fort from Maelseachlainn himself, besides seven cumhals [*i.e.* twenty-one cows, or their value], and every demand in full;⁴ and on his first visitation of Munster, A.D. 1008, the successor of Patrick obtained a full visitation, both in screaballs and offerings.⁵

In the same way, tribes liable in payment of tributes and rents to other tribes were said to be "enslaved."⁶

In A.D. 854 the Saxon king Ethelwulf granted a charter reliev-

¹ Chronicles of Picts and Scots, p. 187.

² O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters, vol. ii. p. 1143.

³ *Idem*, p. 1143.

⁴ *Idem*, p. 719.

⁵ *Idem*, p. 894. The offerings referred

to in this passage meant valuable property—such as goblets, cattle, rings, etc.—(Note by O'Donovan, referring (asto the screaball) to Petrie's Round Towers, pp. 214, 215.)

⁶ Tribes and Customs of Hy Many, p. 83.

ing the tenth part of the lands throughout his kingdom from all secular services and burdens, which narrates that he had resolved to grant the said tenth "in perpetuam libertatem," and free "ab omni regali seruitio et omnium saecularium absoluta seruitute."¹

In A.D. 1048, Radulfus, a priest, granted to the monastery of Redon the church of St. Mary of Montalter. The gift was confirmed by Conan, Duke of Brittany, with freedom from rent and tribute, and a declaration that the men of the monastery were "ab omni seruitute liberi."²

By an undated charter of William the Conqueror, granted at Winchester, to the monastery of Battle, printed from the original by Selden, in his edition of Eadmer's *Historiæ Novorum* (p. 165), he declares that it should be "libera et quieta in perpetuum ab omni seruitute, et omnibus quæcunque humana mens excogitare potest;" and again, that the church, with its territory, "libera sit ab omni dominatione et oppressione Episcoporum sicut illa quæ mihi coronam tribuit," "Nec liceat Episcopo Cicestrensi quamuis in illius Diocesi sit, in Ecclesia illa, vel in maneriis ad eam pertinentibus ex consuetudine *hospitari* contra voluntatem Abbatis."

When, therefore, we come to consider the following entry in the Chronicle of the Picts and Scots, bearing on the state of the Pictish Church, it will be seen that the writer makes use of expressions which were common in the contemporary records of other countries. In the lists of the Pictish kings, from the Register of St. Andrews, it is said of Girg or Grig, "Et hic primus dedit *libertatem* ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, quæ *sub seruitute* erat usque ad illud tempus ex consuetudine et more Pictorum."³

¹ Kemble, *Codex Diplomat. Anglo-Saxon*, vol. ii. p. 52.

² *Chartular. Redon*, p. 144.

³ *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p.

From the uniform application of the words in the chronicles and charters just quoted, where the meaning is obvious, there seems every probability that the terms "servitude" and "liberty," just quoted, are meant for some tribute or service customarily exacted from the church by the Pictish chiefs, of which it was released in the time of Grig.¹

We discover, from the grants in the Book of Deer, that there yet remained burdens exigible from the chief monasteries and chief churches of Alba, which the mormaer excepts from the general enfranchisement of his grant.²

One of the memoranda in the Book of Deer, dated in the eighth year of the reign of David I., preserves the record of a grant by Gartnait the mormaer, and Ete his wife, to Columcille and to Drostan, of Pet-meic-Cobrig, for the consecration of the church of Christ and the apostle Peter;³ with a declaration that the

174. See also p. 305, where the expression is "et dedit libertatem ecclesie Scoticanæ."

¹ In the Chartulary of Redon, quoted in the text, where the men of the abbey are said to be free "ab omni servitute," there is a contemporary gloss of "servicio" above the last word; and in the same sense of "services," the word is explained by Ducange as "census, præstatio, quæ serviri seu præstari et exsolvi debet" (voc. *Servitudo*, *Servitus*).

² About the same time we find that a payment of some kind continued to be paid by the monasteries of Brittany to the chief of the province. In the year 1040, Alan, Duke of Brittany, standing before the altar of St. Salvator at Redon, granted to that monastery the revenues

payable to him by all the abbeys of the country, "gualoir tocius abbatie per totum Britannie regnum diffuse, illam scilicet partem que principibus usque ad illud tempus solvi consueverat;" at the same time enjoining on his officers, "ne quis eorum ingredi ulterius presumeret abbatiam Sancti Salvatoris pro hoc debito exigendo."—(Chartular. de Redon, p. 250.)

³ The Pictish nation adopted the Roman usages, and, as we are told by Venerable Bede, rejoiced in being placed under the direction of St. Peter in the reign of King Nechtan, A.D. 710. Some of the Columbite churches at first refused to accept the usages, but soon conformed.—(H. E., lib. v. c. 21. Annals of Ulster, in Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, p. 354.)

lands were "free from all the exactions with the gift of them to Cormac, bishop of Dunkeld."

The *king's* share of Pet-meic-Gobroig had been already granted to the clerics by King Malcolm mac Kenneth;¹ so it would seem that the "share" of the mormaer was now granted as a gift at the dedication of a newly-erected church at Deer.

It is not clear what is here conferred on the Bishop of Dunkeld, but probably we are to understand the subjection of the lands to his jurisdiction, and to his rights of visitation.²

The establishment of a bishop at Dunkeld, over a defined diocese, was then of recent date—having occurred less than twenty years previously.

Before this time Dunkeld was the site of a royal monastery,

¹ The king's grant consisted of his *share in* the lands—not of the lands themselves, as seems to be assumed by Mr. Robertson (Scotland under her Early Kings, vol. ii. p. 499).

² Writing of early Episcopal visitations, Dr. Reeves remarks—"The first rudiment of the Irish system of visitation is to be discovered in the practice of the abbots of chief monasteries, who occasionally made a circuit of a particular district where the memory of their patron saint was held in esteem, carrying with them his reliques or insignia, and levying contributions from churches and people."—(Primate Colton's Visitation of Derry, p. iii.) It followed that churches and lands in different parts of the country might thus be subjected to a bishop in consequence of the connection being frequently the result of merely per-

sonal considerations. Thus, A.D. 1140, the Coarb of Patrick (Bishop of Armagh) went on a visitation-tour in Connaught for the first time, and obtained a liberal tribute; and it was agreed by Turlough O'Connor and the nobles of Connaught to place their churches in subjection to his control."—(O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters, vol. ii. p. 1063.) In the early Irish Church the right of refection in visitations formed the principal means of support to the bishop, "and indeed by these refections did the Bishops chiefly mayntayne themselves and their followers, spending the most part of the yeare in this wandring kind of lyfe among their tenents and receaving from them meate and drink for 100 and some tymes 200 people that followed the Bp."—(MS. of Bishop Montgomery, quoted in the Ordnance Survey Memoir of Templemore, p. 50.)

founded about the middle of the ninth century. It was dedicated to St. Columba, and was rendered illustrious by its possession of some of the relics of that great saint. For a time the abbot of Dunkeld seems to have exercised that primacy over the church of Alba which originally belonged to the abbots of Hy. The Annals of Ulster, in A.D. 864, record the death of Tuathal, son of Artgus, chief Bishop of Pictland and Abbot of Duncaillenn. About a century later, the primacy was transferred to the Abbot of St. Andrews; and amid the distractions incident to the desolations of the Norsemen, and other causes which were at work throughout Europe, the abbacy fell into the hands of laymen, who assumed the name of abbots, and transmitted the inheritance to their children.

The idea of defined territorial dioceses was foreign to the ecclesiastical system of the Celtic people of Ireland and Scotland; and when Dunkeld was erected into the see of a bishop, his diocese was not a continuous territory, with boundaries suggested by the natural features of the country, but rather consisted of districts without any such relation, and of churches on opposite sides of the kingdom, destitute of any connection with Dunkeld, except that arising from circumstances of personal and religious affinity.

In this way the newly-created bishopric of Dunkeld comprehended within its spiritual jurisdiction Argyle, with Iona, in continuation of the primacy with which the abbey of Dunkeld had been invested.

It would seem, then, that the gift to Cormac, Bishop of Dunkeld, expressed in the grant of the mormaer of Buchan, was a token of veneration for the memory of the great Columba, and a memorial of the original connection of Deer with him as its founder.

The lands granted by Gartnait lay within the still more recently created diocese of the bishop whom King David had established at Aberdeen ;¹ but it is plain that the subjection to the Bishop of Dunkeld did not infer any breach of diocesan privileges, and we may readily believe that these were as yet too undetermined, and the old feelings of *personal* connection too common, to render such an arrangement in any way unsuitable.

There is a remarkable exception from a general confirmation of the offerings to the clerics of Deer (p. 95), in which Colban and his wife mortmained the whole from every burden for ever, *except as much as would fall on four davochs of the gross burdens exigible from the chief monasteries and chief churches of Alba.*²

¹ Nectan, the first Bishop of Aberdeen after the transfer of the See from Mortlach, is a witness to the grant of the mortmaer.

What constituted a chief monastery or chief church was probably the importance arising from antiquity of foundation and extent of endowments. Some monasteries had under them dependent houses and churches, as Mortlach, which had a subordinate monastery at Cloveth, and five churches. The monastery of Dull, in Athole, seems to have been subject to that of Dunkeld, and a payment continued to be made out of the *abthania* of Dull to the Bishop of Dunkeld, apparently as in place of the earlier abbots, in the year 1361.—(Chamberlain Rolls, vol. i. p. 381.) The Culdee monastery at Madderty seems also to have been subject to Dunkeld, whose “clerics” had right to certain payments from the *abthania* of Madderty.—(Registr.

de Inchaffray, pp. 15, 71, 72.) The church of Kinkell had under it seven churches.

In the matter of jurisdiction as apart from extent of endowment, the monastery of Hy was chief of all the monasteries of the Columban order both among the Scots and Picts of Alba, as well as in Ireland. Venerable Bede, writing of the foundation of Durrow and Iona, says, “*Ex utroque monasterio plurima exinde monasteria per discipulos ejus et in Britannia et in Hibernia propagata sunt ; in quibus omnibus idem monasterium insularum in quo ipse requiescit corpore principatum tenet.*”—(H. E. iii. c. 4 ; see also c. 21.) The primacy was afterwards vested in the monastery of Dunkeld, and lastly in that of St. Andrews.

Precedency among churches was sometimes acquired from circumstances connected with their foundation. Thus of

Thus, notwithstanding the freedom from mormaer and toisech conferred in the grants, the lands of the clerics would still be liable for their proportion of a tax for the public or national support—"those inevitable charges" from which, according to Kemble, "no land was ever relieved" (see p. xcii.); and the clause of the grant which restricts their liability to the amount leviable from four davochs, would lead us to conclude that some scheme for the allocation of such public burdens, dependent on the *extent* of the land, was in operation at this early period.¹

Clogher we learn from Dr. Reeves that the nucleus of this ecclesiastical settlement was an earthen fort in the episcopal demesne, which was the seat of the Kings of Airghialla, and when St. Maccarthen founded the see of Clogher at this place it was in compliance with the instructions of St. Patrick: "Vade in pace fili et monasterium ibi construe in platea antea regalem sedem Urgallensium." Hence it was that this church, being grafted on the lordship, acquired precedence in the dominions of Airghialla, so that in after ages *Episcopus Ergalliae* became a common designation of the Bishops of Clogher.—(Reeves' Adamnan, p. 112, *note*.)

¹ The term "old extent," as applied to land, was known in the time of King Alexander III. For traces of some early general valuation or extent of all the lands in the kingdom subject to aids, see an Historical Inquiry regarding the Imposition of Taxes upon Land in Scotland, by Thomas

Thomson, Esq., pp. 14, 15. Edinburgh, 1816. Mr. Thomson there remarks that "very early indications of such extents may be traced in the local denominations of *carrucata terræ*, *bovata terræ* (ploughgates and oxgangs), to be found in writings of the eleventh century; and the more precise and intelligible description of merk-land and pound-land (*mercata terræ*, *librata terræ*), and others of the same sort, give clear demonstration of the existence of a general extent of lands."—(Idem, p. 14.) Traces of something similar occur in the description of the lands granted to St. Kieran by the chief of Hy Many, which concludes with "a quarter in Kiltuma, and the portion proportionable to five ungaes or ounces of silver in Carnagh, that is, a quarter and a half in Cluain Acha Leaga, —viz. in Acha Obhair, and the Creagga, and in Killiarainn and town-lands of Ruan."—(Tribes and Customs of Hy Many, p. 15, *note*.)

V.

The Early Scottish Church.

THE PICTISH CHURCH: ITS PECULIARITIES—ABIDING REVERENCE FOR CHURCH FOUNDERS—LAY USURPATIONS—WARRIOR ABBOTS—CHANGES INAUGURATED BY ST. MARGARET—CHARACTER OF THE CULDEES, AT ST. ANDREWS, MONYMUSK, BRECHIN, DUNBLANE, ABERNETHY, ST. SERF'S INCH—CHANGE OF ABBATIAL INTO EPISCOPAL JURISDICTION.

THE Church of St. Columba, which he founded in Alba, inherited with its Irish origin, the monastic system and ecclesiastical usages which prevailed in that country. In the beginning of the eighth century, under the influence of Nectan, King of the Picts, some of these usages were exchanged for those of the Church of Rome; and after this conformity, in the language of Venerable Bede, the nation rejoiced as being placed under the new discipleship of St. Peter, and safe under his protection.¹

If the system of the Pictish Church was at this time brought into harmony with that of other branches of the Western Church, it is certain that, in the course of the three centuries and a half which followed, she had again become estranged from that influence, and, in the end of the eleventh century, presented to the

¹ "Et quasi novo se discipulatu beatis- ejusque tutandam patrocínio gens correcta
simi apostolorum principis Petri subditam gaudebat."—(Hist. Eccles. v. 21.)

view of the Saxon princess Margaret, the queen of Malcolm Canmore, a picture of corruption and stagnation.

About the middle of the following century, St. Bernard bewailed the corrupt state of the Irish Church, which in many respects corresponded with that of her sister in Scotland.

In both countries the ecclesiastical arrangements were grafted on the patriarchal system of society, in which nearness of blood to the founder of the clan, secured privileges and rights which were denied to those whose connection with him was more remote.¹

¹ We can detect similar results flowing from relationship of a different description to great church saints, like St. Cuthbert.

Thus the monks who were the bearers of his body, when it finally reposed at Durham, came to enjoy portions of his patrimony, and transmitted them to their descendants. Of four of these bearers, we gather from Reginald the nicknames or surnames. One of them, who was guilty of hiding a cheese from his brethren, was believed to have been for a time changed into a fox, whence his descendants were named "*Tod* quod vulpeculam sonat." At that time, says the same lively writer, "*cætus Clericorum qui usus in canendo monachorum eotenus tantummodo retinuerat, in eadem ecclesia, sub Episcopo, domini privilegium obtinebat.*" He goes on to add that the bearers of the saint's body were of the same kind and training. They possessed prebends of the church "*de more Canonicorum, qui nunc dicuntur Secularium, . . . et exercitia monastica in officiis ecclesiasticis persolvebant.*" From

thence it happened, says Reginald, of him who was called *Tod*, "*jam tunc temporis, tali religionis scemate, Ecclesiam de Bethligtune cum pertinentiis suis jure canonicali in sua progenie possidebat.*"—(Reginaldi Monach. Dunelm. Libellus, cap. xvi. p. 29—Surt. Soc.) The descendants of another of the bearers of St. Cuthbert's body acquired hereditary rights over the church of Hexham.—(See Mr. Longstaffe's valuable paper, entitled *The Hereditary Sacerdotage of Hexham*, Arch. Ælian. (new series), vol. iv. pp. 11-28.)

The "family" of St. Cuthbert soon degenerated in discipline, not merely through the decay of their first fervour, but from the distractions of the time, and the want of ecclesiastical oversight. Symeon thus describes them:—"Seculariter itaque omnino viventes, carni et sanguini inserviebant, filios et filias generantes: quorum posteriper successionem in ecclesia Dunelmensi fuerunt, nimis remisse viventes, nec ullam nisi carnalem vitam quam ducebant scientes, nec scire volentes. Clerici vocabantur, sed

In the same way, the memory of those saints who founded monasteries was so esteemed in later times, that the abbots who succeeded them derived much of their importance from being regarded as "heirs" or successors¹ of the founder, not merely in office, but as of the same blood.²

There was in both a gradually-increasing tendency to render every office, from the most important to the most trivial, hereditary in certain tribe-families.³

nec habitu nec conversatione clericatum prætendebant.—(De Dunelmensi Ecclesia, Prefatio Symeonis, ap. Twysden, Decem Scriptores.)

Another mode by which a church became hereditary, was when the founder entailed it on a priest and his issue, of which Kemble gives an example, where a lady grants a church hereditarily to "Wæulfmr preost and his bearnteam," as long as he shall have any in orders.—(Codex Diplomat. vol. iv. p. 282.) In Scotland, so late as the latter part of the twelfth century, Pope Urban III, while he pronounced against the hereditary succession of a son to his father's benefice, yet permitted its recognition in certain cases.—(Registr. Episcopat. Glasguen. vol. i. p. 59.)

¹ The word *comarba* or successor, applied by the Irish Annalists to the succeeding abbots, was restricted in its application. It did not mean that the one abbot was successor of his predecessor, but of the founder of the monastery: "Hinc apud nostrates vocari cœpit illius *successor comhorbanus*; non tamen cujuscumque cui sic succedebat, sed solius primi fundatoris

illius loci vocabatur *comhorbanus*.—(Colgan. Trias. Th. p. 630, col. 1, in Reeves' Eccles. Ant. of Down, Connor, and Dromore, p. 145, note.)

² The spirit of jealousy, which prevailed between rival clans, and led to incessant conflicts and bloodshed, was equally powerful among the monastic bodies, whose battles with each other fill a prominent page in the Celtic Annals. A very ample list of ecclesiastical battles, drawn from these sources, is given by Dr. Reeves in Primate Colton's Visitation, Appendix B, pp. 93-97. Of the warrior abbots of Scotland, the same Annals preserve notices. Duncan, Abbot of Dunkeld, was slain in battle, A.D. 965. Crinan, Abbot of Dunkeld, was married to Bethoc, the only daughter of Malcolm II., and he fell in supporting the claims of his grandson, Malcolm, against Macbeth, A.D. 1045.—(Annals of Ulster, in Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, pp. 364, 369.)

³ So late as the beginning of the seventeenth century, Camden writes of the Irish nobility: "They have their historians, who record their exploits; physicians;

Thus the abbatial succession came to be confined to members of the clan of the founder; and although originally the abbots were elected from the "founder's kin," and were distinct from those of the clan who possessed the abbatial lands, yet in process of time the ecclesiastical line was merged in the secular, and both were united in one lay official, like the successors of St. Patrick at Armagh, who were the objects of St. Bernard's denunciations.¹

In the Scotch monasteries of the twelfth century we find that the evils complained of by St. Bernard, in the case of Armagh, had been reproduced. This may probably be said of most of them,—and certainly of the more important institutions of which we have the history. The abbots had come to be ecclesiastics in nothing but the name;² they themselves were not ordained; and their

poets (called bards), and harpers, each of whom have lands assigned them, and each of these possessions in every territory form distinct families; as the Brehans of one lineage and name, the historians of another, and so of the rest, who each bring up their children or relations in their respective arts, and are always succeeded by them."—(Britannia, by Gough, vol. iv. p. 467.)

¹ "Verum mos pessimus inoleverat quorundam diabolica ambitione potentum sedem sanctam obtentum iri hereditaria successione. Nec enim patiebantur episcopari nisi qui essent de tribu et familia sua. Nec parum processerat execranda successio decursis jam in hac malitia quasi generationibus quindecim. Et eousque firmaverat sibi jus pravum imo omni morte puniendam injuriam, generatio mala

et adultera, ut etsi interdum defecissent clerici de sanguine illo, sed episcopi nunquam. Denique jam octo extiterant ante Celsum viri uxorati, et absque ordinibus, litterati tamen."—(Vita S. Malachiae, S. Bernardi Opera, ed. Migne, tom. i. col. 1086.) See an instructive paper, by Dr. Reeves, on the Early System of Abbatial Succession in the Irish Monasteries, in Proc. R. I. Acad. vol. vi. p. 447; and his Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, p. 342.

² The usurpation of spiritual benefices by laymen was so inveterate in Scotland, that even in the commencement of the thirteenth century it was necessary for the Scotch Church to enact that rectors of churches should be ordained "Item irrefragabili constitutione sancimus, ut rectores ecclesiarum ad primos ordines veniant ordinandi ita quod quam cito fieri

spiritual duties, which they neglected, were performed by stipendiary priors; while those which specially belonged to the episcopal office were fulfilled by bishops living within the monasteries, and subject to the jurisdiction of the abbots. Monastic rules were set at nought by those who were called monks, and their share

poterit commode ordinentur.”—(Registr. Aberdon. vol. ii. p. 34.)

In England the same abuse prevailed, of which we have an instance at Whalley, in Lancashire, where the rectors or “deans” were for generations also lords of the town and married men, who held the benefice not by presentation from any other patron, but as their own patrimonial estate, being compounded of patron, incumbent, ordinary, and lord of the manor, and not in priest’s orders.—(Whitaker’s History of Whalley, pp. 32, 41, 42. Lond. 1806.)

In the year 1226 the rector of the church of Wickington was accused of having succeeded to his father in the benefice, and under a writ issued by the Archbishop of York, it was proved “quod pater ejus firmarius tantum ecclesiæ memoratæ extitit et non rector,” on which ground the archbishop decreed “memoratum Willelmum ab hujusmodi successione immunem.”—(Rot. Major, Walteri Gray, Archiep. Ebor. (1216-1255, No. 9, noted for me by my friend Canon James Raine of York.) The same state of lay usurpation sometimes arose from different causes.*

In the case of Bobbio, one of the houses

founded by the great Irish missionary St. Columbanus, the steps can easily be traced in the records of the monastery,* by which the lay character was attained. One of these narrates a grant, dated A.D. 602, by Agilulf, King of the Lombards, of the basilica of St. Peter of Bobbio, with a territory, to St. Columbanus, who by a subsequent deed resigns it to the Roman See. This is signed by St. Columbanus and eleven brethren, of whom three appear to have been of his own Celtic blood:—Conanus sacerdos et monachus; Gurgarus genere brittonum, Domcialis humilis diaconus Scotto [sic] et monachus (p. 2).

About forty years afterwards, Pope Theodore conferred various privileges on the monastery of Bobbio, which is said then to contain 150 monks under the rule of St. Benedict, or of its founder St. Columbanus.†

Somewhat later the successors of the humble Irishman coveted the addition of temporal lordship to their spiritual privileges, and various deeds of the Kings of Italy and Emperors of Germany occur, constituting the abbots *counts* of Bobbio.‡

* Printed in the great work of the Sardinian government, *Historiæ Patriæ Monumenta*, vol. i. Turin, 1836.

† Idem, p. 6.

‡ Idem, pp. 66, 252.

* For some of these, see Mabillon, *Act. Sanct. Ord. Bened.* tom. iii. pref. p. lvi. Venet. 1734.

of the monastic revenues was transmitted to their families and relatives.

Under this system the episcopal arm was powerless to control or correct the usurpations of the lay element; and so long as the system of clanship remained unbroken, there was no opening for that episcopal interference which, in the diocesan and parochial institutions, had become influential in other parts of Europe.

Like results had indeed prevailed in the ecclesiastical arrangements of most European countries for a time; but in these the progress of events had introduced many changes, and ameliorating influences.

In Ireland and Scotland the corruptions seemed so naturally adapted to those national tendencies which prompted them to look back with chief regard to the *founders* of their polity, whether spiritual or civil,¹ that no foreign element of improvement could

¹ A reverence for St. Columba was the great obstacle to the adoption of the Roman usages, when the systems of the Roman and Pictish Churches were discussed at the Synod of Whitby in the year A.D. 664. Colman, the champion of the latter, asked if it was credible that St. Columba and his successors kept their Easter contrary to the Divine writings (Bede, H. E. iii. 25); and in describing the conformity of the monks at Hy to the Roman use, through the preaching of the holy father and priest, Egbert, Venerable Bede calls it a surrender of the inveterate tradition of their forefathers.—(H. E. iii. 25, v. 22.) This reverence assumed many forms. In Ireland objects associated

with the Saint were for many centuries carried into battle by the men of his clan, in the belief that thereby victory would be secured.—(Reeves' Adamnan, pp. 249, 319, 332.) In the tenth century we read that the men of Alba would have as their standard at the head of every battle the crozier of Columcille (Chron. of Picts and Scots, p. 406, note); and in the twelfth century we find a fair barony belonging to the keeper of the brechennoche, a banner of St. Columba (Reeves' Adamnan, p. 330); while in the same age the highest sanction to an obligation with some was an oath *per sanctum Columbam*.—(Registr. de Passelet, pp. 125, 126.)

Among the arguments used by St.

obtain access ; and in these countries the evils which had been more or less prevalent in all, remained unabated¹ after they had been supplanted elsewhere.

In Scotland this system of inherited peculiarity, both civil and ecclesiastical, was first confronted with one founded on entirely different principles, when the Celtic clergy of Scotland met in council, to listen, during three days, to the addresses of Margaret, the Saxon princess, translated out of her own tongue by her Gaelic husband, King Malcolm.

The portrait of the Saxon princess, as it is drawn in the pages of Turgot, her friend and spiritual adviser, commends her to our admiration, as one of the purest, the most humble and beneficent of women ; while, as a queen, she appears to have combined with her personal graces, admirable majesty of conduct, and true love of her adopted country.

The rugged but generous nature of her husband, through her tender influences, became at once softened and elevated. Through these he was predisposed to welcome those numerous emigrants driven from England by the violence of the Conqueror, or attracted to a new country by the hopes of better fortunes, whose settlement was so influential in remoulding the structure of society in Scotland.

While Margaret's own life was marked by the austerity of an

Columbanus to sustain his practice of celebrating Easter after the Scotie custom, long after he had forsaken his monastery of Bangor for missionary toil among the Franks and in Italy, are prominent references "*traditioni patriæ meæ*," "*regulis nostrorum seniorum*," and the like.—(S.

Columban. Abb. Epist. ap. Migne, Scriptor. Eccles. sec. vii. coll. 266, 269.)

¹ For a notice of the "servitude" under which the Scottish Church was placed by the custom of the Picts, and its release by King Grig in the end of the ninth century, see p. c. *supra*.

ascetic, she deemed it right to add to the dignity and splendour of her husband's court, encouraging merchants to bring from abroad costly garments, and gold and silver dishes.¹

The gentleness and purity with which she sought for improvement, were new influences in the government of the country, and to some extent disarmed the first feeling of aversion to all change which characterised her Celtic subjects; while the steady adherence by her children to the policy which she had inaugurated, led to a more rapid yet less violent overthrow of the clan system, both in church and state, than could have otherwise been anticipated.

Besides the usages and corruptions² in the church, which, through her influence, were altered and corrected, she led to the introduction of institutions which, as their influence became powerful, broke up the narrow and divided polity of the Celtic

¹ The gifts of Malcolm Canmore to Edgar, the brother of his wife, show that the statements of Turgot on this point, which I have quoted in the text, are well founded. They comprehended "skins decked with purple, pelisses of marten skin, and weasel skin, and ermine skin, palls, and golden and silver vessels."—(The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ad an. 1074, by Thorpe, vol. ii. p. 180.)

² Among these errors of the Scotch clergy, one consisted in their time of beginning the Lenten fast, which resulted in this, that they only fasted thirty-six, instead of forty days. Others were, their declining to receive the sacrament of Christ's body at Easter, and certain bar-

barous rites connected with the celebration of the mysteries, "contra totius ecclesiæ morem." The queen persuaded them to abandon those, and to give up unlawful marriages, such as that between a brother and his brother's wife, "multa quoque alia contra morem ecclesiæ inoleverant, quæ in eodem concilio damnans, de regni finibus extirpavit." While the church, as a body, was thus corrupted, we hear of the strict lives of many hermits living in caves or cells throughout Scotland. These the queen venerated, as seeing Christ in them, visiting them in their abodes, and soliciting the blessing of their prayers.—(Vita. S. Marg. Scotor. Regin. by Turgot, ap. Symeonis Dunelm. Opera, vol. i. p. 247—Surt. Soc.)

people,¹ to make way for one founded on the ideas of corporate unity and diffused sympathy.

Soon, dioceses and parishes, such as had been established in England at an earlier period, begin to appear in our records. We discover new civil divisions, through the change of the old "countries" or "provinces" into shires; the transition of the mormaers into earls; the beginning of towns; the growth of feudal law, in the rules of succession and the tenure of land. A race of Saxon settlers was introduced into the country, the result of the whole being a quickening of the national life, and the awakening of a feeling of unity, such as could find no place among the divided clans of a Celtic people.

The corrupted state of Scottish monasticism is well illustrated in the history of the house of St. Regulus at St. Andrews. It is impossible, however, to advert to this history without reference to the Culdees, who are so intimately connected with the fortunes of the establishment; and as the system of those clerics was still a prominent feature of the religious polity of Scotland when we become acquainted with the house of Deer in the eleventh century, I have thought it permissible to collect in this chapter the more important facts relating both to the monastery of St. Andrews, and to the Culdees generally.

The rubric of "the legend of St. Andrew," written shortly after the middle of the twelfth century, tells us of the many monasteries of early foundation in the country of the Piets, and by what means

¹ In Ireland foreign ecclesiastical influences led, about the same time, to the formation of territorial dioceses and parishes, which were unknown in that country prior to the Synod of Rathbreasil, held in 1110.

many of them had come to be possessed by secular men of hereditary right.¹

At St. Andrews, the monastery of St. Regulus, on which the piety of Hungus, the Pietish king, had conferred extensive lands and privileges, had become almost wholly secularised. Of its inmates, thirteen were commonly called Culdees. These transmitted their office "*per successionem carnalem*," by which we are probably to understand that the office was confined to members of a sept, in conformity with the arrangements in many of the Irish monasteries.²

After they were made Culdees, it was not lawful for them to keep their wives in their houses, nor any other woman through whom evil suspicions might arise.³

Although it was their duty to serve at the altar of the apostle, yet it was deserted by them, nor was mass celebrated there, except on the rare occasions when the king or the bishop was present, for the Culdees celebrated their office after their own fashion in a certain corner of their church, which was exceedingly small.

¹ "*Qualiter acciderit quod memoria Sancti Andree apostoli amplius in regione Pictorum, que nunc Scotia dicitur, quam in ceteris regionibus sit; et quomodo contigerit tante abbacie ibi facte antiquitus fuerint quas multi adhuc seculares viri jure hereditario possident.*"—(Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, p. 138.)

² King's Early History of the Primacy of Armagh, p. 23. The monks of Lindisfarne, who towards the end of the ninth century had borne away from Holy Island the body of their great saint, thereby established for their descendants a heredi-

tary right to their clerical position and estates.—(Reginaldi Liber de B. Cuthbert. cap. xvi. p. 29.)

³ Apparently when in residence, and while performing their duties. The popular belief about the Culdees of Dunkeld is preserved by Mylne in his History of the Bishops of Dunkeld, of whom he writes, "*habentes tamen secundum orientalis ecclesie ritum conjuges a quibus dum vicissim ministrabant abstinebant; sicut postea in ecclesia Beati Reguli, nunc Sancti Andree, consuetum tunc fuit.*"—(Vitæ Episcop. Dunkelden. p. 4; Bann. Club.)

Besides the Culdees, the ecclesiastical community of St. Andrews consisted of seven "personæ" or parsons, who, after allotting to the bishop one-seventh, and to the hospital another, divided among themselves the other five portions of the oblations of the altar, although they performed none of its duties, or of the church, beyond receiving such strangers as could not be received into the hospital.

These *parsons* (who may have been the lay inheritors of the seven churches founded by St. Rule at Kilrimont), besides receiving the oblations, were possessed of separate rents and property, which, on their death, their wives, whom they publicly maintained, and their sons or daughters, their relatives or sons-in-law, divided among themselves.¹

The lands thus abstracted from their religious destination included the territory granted with such solemnity by Hungus, and called the Boar's Chase.

This condition of things has been thus described by Dr. Reeves :—
 "From this laboured and ill-digested statement we learn that at some period anterior to 1107, the ecclesiastical community of Cill-

¹ This was contrary to monastic discipline. The great Columbanus, in the fourth chapter of his *Regula Cœnobialis*, "De paupertate ac de cupiditate calcanda," lays down "Ideo ergo nuditas et facultatum contemptus prima perfectio est monachorum." The Rule of St. Columkille also enjoined, "Be always naked, in imitation of Christ and the Evangelists." "Whatsoever little or much thou possessest of anything,—whether clothing, or food, or drink,—let it be at the command of the Senior and at his disposal, for it is not befitting a religious to have any distinction

of property with his own free brother."—(S. Columbani Abbatis Regula Cœnobialis apud Migne, Sæculi VII. Scriptor. Ecclesiast. Opera, col. 211, Paris, 1863. Reeves, Archbishop Colton's Visitation, A.D. 1397, pp. 109-10, where the Rule of St. Columkille is printed for the first time. St. Chrodegang's Rules for Canon-Clerics, dated about the middle of the eighth century, allowed them the liferent use of their private estate, and a right to dispose of half of it by will.—(Statuta Eccles. Scotic. p. ccx. note.)

Righmonaigh had become parted into two sections, and that each carried with it a portion of the spiritualities and temporalities, which we may reasonably conceive had been originally combined. One party was the Keledei, consisting of a prior and twelve brethren, who numerically represented the old foundation, and as clerical vicars performed divine service, having official residences, and enjoying certain estates as well as the minor dues of the sacerdotal office. With them also, as the clerical portion of the society, rested the election of the bishop when a vacancy occurred in the see. The other party included the bishop, the eleemosynary establishment, and the representatives of the abbot, and other greater officers now secularised, yet enjoying by prescription another portion of the estates and the greater ecclesiastical dues.”¹

It is paralleled by the case of Winchester, where the canon-clerics in the same way deserted the altar, and consumed the monastic revenues in riotous living and all kinds of excess. At Durham also the canon-clerics left the church desolate, and led scandalous lives.

The remedy in these and like cases in England, was the expulsion of the canon-clerics or secular canons, and the introduction of regular canons.

A choice was, however, given to them in both the cases just referred to, between ejection from their churches and submission to monastic rule. At Winchester three, and at Durham one, of their number conformed.²

¹ The Culdees of the British Islands, p. 39.

² At Winchester, A.D. 964, King Edgar, by the mouth of one of his attendants, and

of the bishop, “mandavit clericis ocissime dare locum monachis, aut monachicum suscipere habitum. At illi execrantes monachicam vitam, illico exierunt de ecclesia; sed tamen postmodum tres ex illis conversi

When Alexander I. ascended the Scottish throne in the year 1107, the corruption at St. Andrews was unabated, presenting to him much which was in entire conflict with the new ecclesiastical customs and ideas of the period.

Accordingly the king began by conferring on the church of St. Andrews many gifts and privileges, restoring for the establishment of "religyoun," the lands which had formerly been granted for that purpose, but had been in the possession of the crown as royal coarbs, or hereditary abbots of the monastery of St. Regulus.

The intention of the king for the institution of a monastic "family" at St. Andrews was not fully effected till about twenty years after his death, in the time of his successor David I., when a community of canons-regular, under the rule of the order of St. Augustine, was finally established.

David, in dealing with the Culdees of St. Andrews, was in some respects less peremptory than the English reformers were with the canon-clerics at Durham, Winchester, and elsewhere.

He empowered the canons-regular to receive into their body the Culdees of Kilrimont if they consented to become canons; if

sunt ad regularem conversationem."—(Annal. de Wint. in Mr. Luard's Annal. Monast. vol. ii. p. 12.) At Durham, A.D. 1083, William the Conqueror ordained "ut canonici seculares de ecclesia beati Cuthberti amoveantur."—(Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres, App. p. 5); and when the bishop inquired of them whether they would become canons-regulars or monks, they refused to become either,—"alloquitur primo illos quos in ecclesia invenerat ut vel clerici regulares vel monachi fierent, ut quovis

ordine disciplinati vitam ducerent. Sed quoniam durum eis erat assueta relinquere, et in veteri mente nova meditari, neutrum admiserunt." On their refusal, an appeal was made to the king and the pope, and all agreed that they must be removed, but they were still permitted to remain if they became monks, an option of which only one availed himself.—(Sim. Dunelm. de Dunelmen. Eccles. præf. p. 2; Hist. de Dunelm. Eccles. lib. iv. cap. iii. ap. Twysden, Decem Scriptorum.)

they should decline, they were to be permitted the enjoyment of their possessions during their lives, and on their death, regular canons were to be instituted in their place.¹

The same monarch conferred on the canons of St. Andrews the island of Lochleven, that they might there institute their order in the ancient monastery of St. Serf. To the Culdees who might be in the latter he offered, that if they would live canonically, they might remain in peace, while those who resisted were at once to be ejected.²

A few years later, Pope Eugenius III. decreed that vacancies among the Culdees should be filled up by the appointment of regular canons.³

Their subsequent history consists of their struggles to resist the new order of things, and of the controversies arising out of them.

In 1147, Pope Eugenius had vested the election of the bishops of St. Andrews exclusively in the canons-regular, but it was not till the year 1273 that the Culdees were formally debarred from their prescriptive right to take part in the election. In 1332, when William Bell was elected to the see, the Culdees were absolutely excluded from any voice in the election, nor was their claim revived. But they continued their corporate existence, under another name, in the church of St. Mary de Rupe, with an establishment of a provost and ten prebendaries. After the Reformation the provosty became vested in the crown, and in 1616 was annexed to the See of St. Andrews.⁴

The history of the Culdees of Monymusk, a house of early

¹ Registr. Priorat. S. Andree, p. 186.

² Idem, p. 188.

³ Idem, p. 49.

⁴ Reeves' Culdees of the British Islands, pp. 40-41.

but uncertain date, affords some useful information on the condition of these ecclesiastics. This house of early origin, placed on the fertile banks of the river Don, in Aberdeenshire, comes to light in record towards the end of the twelfth century, when it received grants from Duncan Earl of Mar, and Roger Earl of Buchan.¹ In the year 1211 a complaint was made to the Pope by William, Bishop of St. Andrews, setting forth that “quidam qui se canonicos gerunt, et quidam alii Aberdonensis dyocesis infra villam de Munimusc pertinentem ad ipsum,” were endeavouring to establish a regular canonry, contrary to his will, and in great prejudice of his church. A commission was accordingly issued to investigate and settle the question, and the decision was to the effect that the Culdees in future should have one refectory and one dormitory in common, and one oratory without a cemetery, and that the bodies of the Culdees, or of clerks or laymen living with them, should receive ecclesiastical burial in the cemetery of the parish of Monymusk; that there should be twelve Culdees, with a thirteenth, to be presented by them to the Bishop of St. Andrews to be their master or prior. On the death of Brice, the existing prior, the Culdees should of common consent select from their own number three, to be presented to the Bishop of St. Andrews, for his selection of one as prior. It was declared unlawful for the Culdees to profess the order or life of monks or canons-regular, without the bishop's consent, or to exceed the number of their body before prescribed; that when a Culdee died or withdrew, those who remained should fill up the vacancy. They resigned into the bishop's hands the lands which they had received from Gilchrist, Earl of Mar, without his episcopal consent, so that hereafter they should pretend no right to

¹ Registr. Priorat. S. Andree, pp. 362, 370.

them which might prejudice the dignity of the bishop, the liberty of the church of St. Andrews, or the parish church of Monymusk. When the bishop should happen to visit Monymusk, he was to be received with due solemnity, and with a procession; and, on the other hand, the bishop promised to cherish and protect the said Culdees as his own.¹

Between this date and the year 1245, the house of Monymusk received grants from the crown, the Earl of Mar, and the Bishops of Aberdeen and St. Andrews, the first of which is in favour of "St. Mary of Monymusk and the Culdees, or canons there serving God;" while, in the others, they simply appear as "canons." In 1245 a papal confirmation was granted in favour of "the prior and convent of Monymusk of the order of St. Augustine;"² showing that the change from the ancient character of the house had now been formally completed.

There were Culdees at Brechin. David I. granted a charter of certain rights to the bishops and Keledei of Brechin;³ and down to the early part of the thirteenth century they were members of the Episcopal Chapter. Soon after this they disappear as Culdees, and were absorbed in the reconstructed corporation.⁴

According to an authority of the latter part of the thirteenth century,⁵ Culdees formed the cathedral body at Dunblane, at Rosmarkie, at Dornoch, at Lismore, and at Dunkeld. Mylne, in his History of the Bishops of Dunkeld, speaks of a change in the constitution of the monastery of Dunkeld having been made by

¹ Registr. Priorat. S. Andree, p. 370.

² Idem, pp. 363, 367, 368, 372.

³ Registr. Episcopat. Brechinen. p. 3.

⁴ Registr. Vet. de Aberbrothoc, pp. 175,
179. Registr. Episcopat. Brechinen. p. 262.

⁵ Catalogue of Monasteries annexed to Henry of Silgrave's Chronicle, MS. Cott., printed in Scalacronica, p. 241; and Reeves' Culdees, p. 32.

David I. when it was erected into a cathedral church, the Culdees having been superseded about the year 1127, and a bishop and canons coming in their place. The first bishop on this foundation was for a time abbot of the monastery, and subsequently a counsellor of the king. On this statement Dr. Reeves remarks, "In the concluding passage the writer seems to imply that the Kelledei who occupied the monastery which was attached to the mother church, were removed from this position, and constituted a college of secular clergy; while their former place was assigned to a society of regular canons, with the bishop, now made diocesan instead of abbot, at their head. These two corporations co-existed for nearly two centuries; and as at St. Andrews, so at Dunkeld, Silgrave's Catalogue notices the collateral societies of *canonici nigri* and *Keldei*."¹

There were Culdees at Abernethy, who appear in records down to the early part of the thirteenth century.² In 1272 their establishment was converted into a society of canons-regular.³

We hear also of Culdees at Iona,⁴ at Muthil,⁵ and at Monifeith,⁶—all places of early ecclesiastical settlement.

From the records now referred to, it seems plain that the term *Culdee* was a popular designation of the members of various monastic bodies of early foundation in Scotland.⁷ When they appear

¹ Reeves' *Culdees of the British Islands*, p. 42. Mylne's *Vitæ Episcop. Dunkelden*, pp. 4, 5.

² *Registr. Vet. de Aberbrothoc*, pp. 25, 26.

³ Fordun, *Scotichronicon*, vol. ii. p. 120.

⁴ *Annals of Ulster*, A.D. 1164, in *Chron. of Picts and Scots*, p. 372.

⁵ *Charters of Cambuskeneth*, in the *Culdees of the British Islands*, pp. 140, 141.

⁶ *Registr. Vet. de Aberbrothoc*, p. 82.

⁷ About the middle of the tenth century the officiating clergy of St. Peter's at York were called *Colidei*.—(Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. vi. pt. ii.

with greater definiteness in records of the twelfth century, their character and position are the same with those of the monastic "families" in England, Ireland, and the Continent. They were monks living without rule, but with no obstacle in their position to their being received as members of the new foundations of regular canons, if they would agree to live canonically.¹

At Monymusk, it would seem that the old body made an attempt at self-reformation, and wished to be regarded as canons without being subject to the ecclesiastical rule thus involved. The attempt indicates the strength of the current which had set in for the new institutions, and the slightness of the external difference which kept the bodies asunder.²

p. 607). Towards the end of the twelfth century Giraldus Cambrensis applies the same term to the monks of Bardsey island.—(*Itinerar. Cambriae*, p. 124. Lond. 1868.) In Ireland the term *cele-de* was used by the Annalists to designate ecclesiastics at Armagh, at Clonmacnois, at Devenish, and at other monastic seats. The earliest notice is dated A.D. 811.—(Reeves' *Culdees of the British Islands*, pp. 6, 25.)

¹ It has been supposed by some that the Culdees were not monks but canons-secular. In our records, however, it appears that the communities of Culdees at St. Andrews and Lochleven were governed by *abbots*.—(*Chron. of Picts and Scots*, p. 174. *Registr. Priorat. S. Andree*, p. 118.) It is plain also that they differed in their mode of life from the secular canons under the rule of St. Chrodegang, "non communitur viventes" (*Registr. Priorat. S. Andree*, p. 145); in the hereditary

character of their corporation; in their mode of administering the property and revenues of the church; and in their manner of performing the offices of divine service.—(*Registr. Priorat. S. Andree*, p. 370.)

² There is no reason for thinking that the Culdees differed in their doctrinal views from those which prevailed in the church around them. The library of the Culdees of St. Serf's Inch in Lochleven was given to the canons-regular of St. Andrews on the foundation of their house. The character of the books of which it was composed, says Dr. Reeves, "is just what might be expected in a small monastic establishment of that date, and the ritual works are those which were in general use."—(Reeves' *Culdees*, p. 131, *note*.) These consisted of a *pastorale*, a *gradual*, a *missal*, the works of Origen, the *Sentences of St. Bernard*, a treatise on the

The influences which gradually reversed this order in things ecclesiastical, were not the result of natural progress in the Celtic polity, but of foreign ideas and principles introduced from without, which ended also in the destruction of the civil institutions on which that polity rested.

Some of these are shadowed forth in a remarkable passage from a Chronicle of Durham, quoted by Selden, which has sometimes been regarded as meaningless and untrue, where, after recording the election of Turgot to be Bishop of St. Andrews in the year 1008, the chronicler proceeds: "*In diebus illis, jus Keledeorum per totum regnum Scotiæ transivit in Episcopatum Sancti Andreae.*"¹ This is obviously an inexact statement, but it points to the completion of a great ecclesiastical revolution—viz. the change from abbatial to episcopal jurisdiction.²

In the beginning of the tenth century we find for the first time in our annals mention of a bishop whose seat was at St. Andrews. This was soon after the translation of the primacy from the abbey of St. Columba, at Dunkeld, to that of St. Rule, at Kilrimont. There can be little doubt that the bishop was an inmate of the

Sacraments, a portion of the Bible, a Lectionary, the Acts of the Apostles, the Gospels, the works of Prosper, the Books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles, a Gloss on the Canticles, a book called "*Interpretationes Dictionum,*" a collection of sentences, a commentary on Genesis, and selections of ecclesiastical rules.—(Registr. Priorat. S. Andree, p. 43.) These works were suitable for any religious community in Western Europe, and were accordingly

transferred to the canons-regular for their use—a tolerably sure token that the differences between the bodies were less doctrinal ones, than on points of rule and discipline.

¹ *Chronicon Dunelmense*, in Selden's Introduction to Twysden's *Hist. Angl. Scriptores* X., p. vi.

² This has no connection with the episcopal order, which was always regarded as superior to that of the abbot.

monastery, and that he was elected by the Culdee monks out of their own number, receiving his share of the altar-oblations.¹

For two succeeding centuries, the names of the bishops prove their native Celtic origin, and lead us to infer the continuance of the Celtic polity which made the abbot the centre of jurisdiction. During this period, however, the primacy of the bishop was taking shape and growing in prominence. Kellach, the first recorded bishop, took part with the king and the people at a council at Scone, where all swore to observe the laws and discipline of the faith.² His successor, Fothad, received possession of the Culdee monastery of St. Serf, in Lochleven, on undertaking the maintenance of the brethren of that house. In the first quarter of the eleventh century, Bishop Malduin granted the church of Markinch to the Culdees of Lochleven. His successor, Tuathal, gave them the church of Seoonie,³ and from a second Fothad, who came next to the see, they got Auchterderran.⁴ Events these, which not only indicated an improvement in the episcopal position, but also other changes of ecclesiastical polity; for we may discover in these grants of churches the first symptoms of parochial institutions. Still, all these native bishops were so far bound up with the effete and corrupt monastic system then existing, as to be unable or unwilling to check its evils; for, as the "History of the Foundation of St. Andrew" proceeds, after describing the corrupted state of the clerics there, "Nor could this monstrous abuse be corrected before the time of Alexander [the First] of happy memory,⁵ who, besides enriching the church of St.

¹ Robertson's Scotland under her Early Kings, vol. i. p. 338.

² Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, p. 9. This was in the year 909.

³ Registr. Priorat. S. Andree, p. 116.

⁴ Idem, p. 117.

⁵ Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, p. 189.

Andrews with many and valuable gifts, restored to it the lands called the Boar's Chase, with the professed object and understanding that a religious society should be established in that church for the maintenance of divine worship." Another indication of the growth of the episcopal power, is the fact that after the usurped ecclesiastical possessions had been recovered from their lay holders, they are found in the hands of *the bishop*, who was inclined to regard the whole as belonging to his see, and at last yielded up rather ungracefully to the newly-established canons, the portion of the lands which had fallen in through the deaths of the "personæ."¹

But the evil continued to linger, for although Turgot, a prelate foreign in blood and in polity, was elected to be bishop in the time of King Alexander, yet, as we have seen, a fresh house of religion was not established till nearly forty years after, and both agencies were required to overpower the earlier abbatial system and its clan corruptions. Still, the first step may be said to have involved all that followed, so that the statement quoted by Selden from the ancient chronicler of Durham has much of substantial truth in it.

¹ Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, p. 193.

THE EARLY SCOTTISH CHURCH—*Continued.*

II. OF THE ORIGIN OF PARISHES AND DIOCESES.

DIOCESES AND PARISHES UNKNOWN IN THE EARLY SCOTTISH CHURCH—PREVALENCE OF THE MONASTIC SYSTEM IN IT—CLAN BISHOPS AND MONASTERIES—THE PLOU OF BRITTANY—THE SAXON PARISH—CHANGE OF THE CLAN TERRITORY INTO A PARISH.

THE system of the Celtic Church of Alba is represented with tolerable accuracy in the following statement of Hector Boece :—
“ Nondum enim Scotorum regnum, uti nunc, in dioceses diuisum erat; sed quivis episcoporum, quos ea ætate vitæ sanctimonia cunctis reverendos fecerat, quocunque fuisset loco, sine discrimine pontificia munera obibat.”¹

Neither dioceses nor parishes, in the sense now attached to them, can be traced further back than to the time of Alexander I.

The patriarchal idea which pervaded all the arrangements of our Celtic forefathers, led them to mould their ecclesiastical polity on the divisions of tribes and families, involving a *personal* basis of arrangement.

The monastery founded by their spiritual ancestor became the religious centre of the tribe or clan.² It was endowed with tributes

¹ Scotorum Historiæ, Paris, 1527, fol. ceviii.

² An apt illustration of what is here said of clan-monasteries occurs in Colgan's Life of St. Boedan, abbot of Kill Boedain,

from which it appears that the saint, in his journeyings in the remote parts of Ulster, was “a nobili stirpe Sodani Fiaco Aradio nati in partibus Dalaradiæ tunc rerum potiente honorifice et devote susceptus.” Here

and lands by its members, while the religious sway of the abbot extended over the territories of the tribe, as was afterwards the case with the bishops when dioceses came to be formed, so that it has been said, "every Irish seignory had its own [cathedral], whose diocess runned with the seignory bound."¹ And as there were clan-monasteries, so it naturally followed that the *personal* relationship resulted also in clan-bishops, who were thus primarily bishops of a people, and not of a district. At times the early Irish bishops are described as bishops merely of a Dun or Rath, which, as being the seat of the chief and the centre of the clan, is used in speaking of the whole. Thus, A.D. 618, Tighernach records the death of Eoganus Episcopus Rath-sith-ensis (*i.e.* Munimenti Lemurum, O'Connor, vol. ii. p. 184).² Dr. Reeves quotes a passage from the tripartite life

he built a church, from him called Kill-Boedain, "quam agris et possessionibus dotarunt posteri Sodani, et precipue nobiles familiae de Kinel-Decill, Clann-Scoba et Sil-noiridhin, quæ se, suosque posteros ei ut patrono in devotos clientes consecrarunt."—(Acta SS., p. 728, col. 2; p. 753, col. 2.)

¹ O'Flaherty's "Description of West Connaught," p. 1 (in Dr. Reeves' Eccles. Antiq. of Down, Connor, and Dromore, p. 303).

² It is in harmony with this state of things that our early chroniclers tell us that the bishops of St. Andrews were styled *chief bishops of the Scots*, that is, of the people who at its foundation, or by conquest of the Ardrigh of Alba, were subject to the monastery of S. Andrews, "in scriptis tam antiquis quam modernis inveniuntur dicti summi Archiepiscopi sive Summi Episcopi Scotorum." And

the history of the foundation of St. Andrews, written soon after the introduction of diocesan arrangements, further informs us that in common parlance they were still called *Escop Alban*, *i.e.* Episcopi Albaniae, which style they also received, by way of eminence, from all the other bishops of Scotland, "qui a locis quibus præsumt appellantur."—(Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, p. 191.)

On this subject Mr. Skene remarks:—"The territory forming the diocese of St. Andrews would almost seem to point out the limits of the Scottish population, and the districts actually occupied by them as a people. North of the Firth of Forth it comprised the whole of Fife, Kinross, and Gowrie—what may be called the central portion of the Scottish kingdom, which was peculiarly the kingdom of Scone. In

of St. Patrick,¹ to show that St. Cethecus, the bishop, had under his jurisdiction places in separate districts, among which were two, one in his father's country, the other in that of his mother, from which it appears that the *personal* connection of Cethecus with these places led to his being employed in them for the celebration of such offices as might be looked for from an Irish bishop of these times by their inhabitants, thereby giving him a claim to the customary rights and tributes.²

The incessant warfare in which the people lived, resulting in the subjection of one tribe to another, sometimes temporary, and at others permanent, must have thus led to frequent changes in the area of the jurisdiction of clan-monasteries.

Angus and Mearns it shared the churches with the diocese of Brechin in a manner so irregular and unsystematic, as to point to a mixed population, of which some of the villages were Scottish and some Pictish." —(Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, Pref., p. clxiv.)

¹ Eccl. Antiq. of Down, Connor, and Dromore, p. 137.

² This peculiarity in the constitution of the Celtic Church has been discussed, with his usual exhaustiveness and candour, by my friend, the learned Jesuit Father, Victor de Buck, in his Annotations on the Life of St. Colman Mac Duach (Acta Sanctorum, Octobris, Tom. xii. pp. 888, *et seq.*)

Quoting from an Irish life of St. Colman the following account of the origin of the see of Kill mac duach, "Fundata itaque est in hoc loco Kill-mic-Duach, ita ut omnis

Aidhne regio et gens Guarii filii Colmani in perpetuum ad eum (S. Colmanum mac Duach) pertineant," the Father adds, "Quæ episcopalis sedis fundatio, plane diversa est a similibus per reliquum patriarchatum Romanum, et per Orientem institutionibus."

He afterwards thus explains these words —"id est, fundato templo Kill-mac-Duach, cum aliis necessariis ædibus, sedes constituta est capitis novæ progeniei ecclesiasticæ : quæ progenies iisdem constet hominibus (nempe Fiacriis meridionalibus) eademque terras occupet, ac progenies sæcularis cujus caput est Guarius ; ita ut S. Colmanus, per suos hæredes perpetuo dominetur in progenie ecclesiastica, quemadmodum Guarius per suos hæredes in progenie sæculari Fiacriorum meridionalium. Neque hoc singulare exemplum est : dioceses Enach Duin seu Annadown, Cill-

The district occupied by a tribe came to be distinguished as their "country" or portion; the "Dal" or territory of the children sprung from the original settler or founder, as Dalriada, the *Dal* of Riada, son of Conaire, King of Ireland; but the primary signification of the word is that of *descendants*, and only secondarily their territory.¹

In the same way, the prefix *Hi*, so common in Irish names, is the plural of *Hua*, or *O*, "a grandson," and denotes *posterity*,—but it also secondarily designates the country occupied by them.²

The *Plou* of Brittany, in the same way, signified a people and a territory; but its original signification was that of the descendants of one of the first settlers, and secondarily the territory which they came to occupy.

According to the learned editor of the Chartulary of Redon, the word "plebs" in other countries meant a baptismal parish. In Brittany it had a peculiarity. Among the ancient Britons, the word *plouef* meant a cultivated territory—an organised colony—a parish. The British fugitives of the fifth century transported

Finnabrach seu Kilfenora, Ossoriensis et Corca-Laidhe ex gentibus seu progeniebus quoque ortæ sunt earumque finibus circumscriptæ. Plus mirabilitatis hæc non habent quam ecclesiæ in tentoriis et curribus apud populos scenitas et nomades in Oriente. Aidhne itaque regio quasi dicecisis facta est S. Colmani."

And again—"Parum itaque aut nihil intelligebant Hiberni, eorumque cognati Britones, Wallenses et Scoti de jurisdictione territorii finibus circumscripta; jurisdictio seu auctoritas personalis aut

gentilis, quam patriarchalem dixeris, hæc una erat eis nota, probe intelligentibus patrem filiorum, avum nepotum et sic deinceps esse dominum, atque hanc dominationem, generatione ortam, intra consanguineos consistere, sed plane non capitibus quare quis alteri obnoxius fiat quia pedem aut sedem in ejus terras intulerit."

¹ Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore, by Dr. Reeves, p. 320.

² Idem, p. 82.

naturally the word and the institution to the soil on which they came to settle. The chief of the *plou*, princeps plebis, tyrannus, tyern, mactyern, was ordinarily the son, the nephew, the parent of some expatriated *brenin*, around whom was grouped a certain number of compatriot fugitives like him. Debarking in Armorica with his companions, the Mactyern became the sovereign of a little people, over which he exercised such an authority as the chief of a clan in ancient times had. The Life of St. Guenole, written in the ninth century by Gurdestin, Abbot of Landeveniech, contains a curious passage, which paints to the life the situation just indicated. Fracan, a fugitive, is here said to have established himself with his followers on a territory rendered fertile by the overflowing of the river. The district, thus settled on in the fifth century by Fracan, is to this day called *Plou-Fracan*; that is to say, the tribe, the territory, the parish of Fracan. This may indicate the origin of the *Plou* of Armorican Brittany.¹ It would seem that the parish of Kirkmichael, in Ayrshire, originally formed the territory of a clan, which appears in our records under the title of Muntir²duffy and Muntircasduff.⁴ The parish is described as parochia de Kyremychel Muntirduffy.

The Saxon parish was a district or division of land, shired or

¹ Chartular. Redon, Pref. lxxxiii.

² Muintir is the Gaelic word for a clan or tribe.

³ Malcolm, son of Roland of Carric, by his charter (said to be dated in 1370), granted to John Kennedy, lord of Donnogy, the lands of Freuchane and Kenethane, lying within the parish of Kyremychel Muntirduffy, in the earldom of Carric and shire of Are, with all the right

which Murdach, son of Sowerli, had . . . paying on the feast of St. Michael Archangel, at Kyremychel Muntirduffy, in Carric, a pair of silver spurs.—(Note of the original among the Cassilis papers.)

⁴ Among the missing charters of King David II. is one "anent the Clan of Muntircasduff, John M'Kennedy Captain thereof."—(Robertson's Index to the Charters, p. 57.)

cut off, and made subject in spiritual things to a church erected on it. In the early annals of the Saxon Church, the monastic system is as prominent as it was among the Celts; and the gospel was preached by itinerating monks, who went out from their monasteries among the surrounding tribes, the people assembling in convenient places to be taught;¹ but from some of the enactments of a provincial synod, held at Calcuith under Archbishop Cuthbert, A.D. 747, it would seem that already the monastic bodies had found it necessary to erect district churches on their lands, which were served by priests under them. It also appears that the lands of laymen had been divided into districts by the bishops, and placed under the charge of presbyters, and that these divisions in many cases coincided with the boundaries of the manor on which the church was built, while the priest ministering within their bounds was invested with exclusive right to their tithes and dues.² It is plain, however, that in Alba its monastic system, which was founded on the ecclesiastical subjection of certain tribes to their clan-monastery, and not on the idea of a defined territory with exclusive spiritual rights, continued to flourish down to the reign of David I., and that the changes which were begun in his mother's time, and were carried on by her sons, were the results of influences foreign to the Celtic polity which had hitherto prevailed.

It would seem that then the lesser district monasteries of Alba came to be superseded by churches, which were frequently erected on the site of these earlier foundations. It does not appear, how-

¹ Bede, H. E. c. 19, vol. i.

vol. i. pp. 157-8. Thorpe's Ancient

² Spelman's Concilia, pp. 247-8. Lingard's History of the Anglo-Saxon Church,

Laws and Institutes of England, vol. ii. p. 411.

ever, that the districts subjected to the churches depended directly on the manorial distribution ; and there are circumstances in their history which rather indicate that, in some cases at least, the divisions depended on an earlier and different arrangement.¹

The Pictish monasteries being the nuclei of clans or families, scattered over the country in the same way as the monastic bodies in Ireland, it is easy to understand that when the parochial divisions emerged, the territories in the occupation of these clans would be adopted as a natural field for the energies of permanent priests ; while yet the primary consideration related to *the people* on the land, and not (in the outset at least) to the shire or district cut off. The divisions which came to be known as shires or parishes, were of very varying extent. Some of them were of great size, and would seem to have been the territories belonging to the chief monasteries, so that in later times two or three parishes were carved out of them ; while others of less extent, probably represent the district monasteries of smaller importance, and their lands.

The boundaries of parishes often appear to be arbitrary, not coinciding with any known manorial distribution, and this probably arose from the grafting of the parochial or territorial arrangement on one where the subject of spiritual oversight *primarily* consisted of groups of families or clans of various size, and *secondarily* of

¹ The exclusive spiritual rights among the Celts were exercised over the *people* of the clan as descended from a common ancestor ; and we find an instance of the system in operation in a tract in the Book of Lecan (fol. 92) treating of O'Kelly and his people of Hy-Many, where it appears that all the Hy-Many were bound to be baptized at the church of Camma, in the

barony of Athlone and county of Roscommon, dedicated to St. Bridget : " St. Bridget has the baptism of the race of Mainé ; and although the children may not (always) be brought to her church to be baptized, her Coarb has the power to collect the baptism penny from these tribes."—(O'Donovan's *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. iii. p. 258.)

town-lands, also of varying size, which formed their settlement.

As an apt illustration of what is here said, I may adduce the account of the parish of Shilvodan, in Ulster, which sprang out of the earlier clan-arrangement. Its nucleus was the monastic church already referred to, built by St. Boedan, and from him called Kill-Boedain, which was enriched by gifts of lands from Sodan, son of the King of Ulster, and mainly from the families of Kinel-Decil, the Clann Scoba, and Sil-noiridhin, all of whom devoted themselves and their posterity as devout followers of St. Boedan, their patron saint. The people of these clans were called Siol-Bhaodain (*Progenies Boydani*), and their territories were formed into a *parish* when the time for parochial arrangements arrived.¹

On the other hand, the primary idea of a parish, where we can trace its formation, in those parts of Scotland where Saxon influences were first developed, depended on that of a defined *territory*, within which the ministering priest had exclusive right. This may be illustrated by the case of Ednam or Ednamham, which Edgar, King of the Scots, bestowed on one of his Saxon followers, Thor the Long, when it was a wild and uninhabited district. Thor, having brought the land into cultivation, and settled his people upon it, at last erected a church in honour of St. Cuthbert, and conveyed it to the monks of Durham, in whose hands the district soon came to be the *parish* of Ednamham.²

¹ Reeves' *Eccl. Antiq. of Down*, Connor, and Dromore, p. 303.

² Dr. Raine's *North Durham*, Appendix, p. 38.

VI.

Celtic Monastery at Turriff.

NOTICE OF IT IN THE BOOK OF DEER—ITS FERLEGINN, OR MAN OF LEARNING
—HIS DUTIES—THE SCOLOCS OF SCOTTISH RECORD—LATER ECCLESIASTICAL
HISTORY OF TURRIFF—REMAINS OF EARLY ART IN THE CHOIR OF THE OLD
CHURCH.

THE Book of Deer incidentally makes us acquainted for the first time with another of our early Celtic monasteries. In the grant by Gartnait the mormaer, and Ete his wife, of which the date is A.D. 1132 (p. liv.), we find among the witnesses, "Domongart ferleginn Turbruad," or ferleginn of Turriff; and that of Colban the mormaer, and Eva his wife, dated somewhat later, is witnessed by "Cormac abb. Turbruad," or Abbot of Turriff, who appears with the nobles or proprietary of Buchan, at Helan [Ellon], and is also a witness, with the king's earls and bishops, to the charter of immunity granted at Aberdeen by David I. to the clerics of Deer.

The monastery of Turriff,¹ of which we thus hear for the first time, is associated with St. Congan, one of the many Irish followers of St. Columba, who continued the great work of Christian illumination among the Northern Picts begun by the Abbot of Hy.

¹ The word which in the Book of Deer appears as Turbruad, assumes, in later records, the following forms :—Turuered,

Turuereth, Turfred, Turfered, Turreth, Turraf, Turef, Turreff. In the ordinary pronunciation, still in use, the place is called Turra.

St. Congan, who flourished in the beginning of the eighth century, was, according to the traditions of the Scottish Church, the son of a provincial chief of Leinster, to whose rule he succeeded. Afterwards forsaking his patrimony, he devoted himself to a religious life, and leaving Ireland with his sister Kentigerna, and her sons, St. Felan, St. Fursey, and St. Ultan, with seven other clerics, he settled at Lochalsh, in northern Argyle, where he spent a solitary and ascetic life, and, on his death, was buried at Iona or Hy. A church was built in his honour at the place, where he had spent his days, by his nephew St. Felan, and in the beginning of the sixteenth century the name of St. Congan continued to be held in reverence by the inhabitants of the district.¹

It does not appear whether the monastery at Turriff was founded by St. Congan himself, or dedicated to his memory by another founder; but the neighbouring parishes on the Deveron are also associated with Irish missionaries, indicating the influence to which the introduction of the faith in the district is to be ascribed. Forglen was dedicated to St. Adamnan, Alvah to St. Columba, and Inverboyndie to St. Brandan.

The site of Turriff is a commanding one, and suggestive of its occupation by some of the early tribes as a rath. The church was placed on the summit of a lofty bank, sloping down rapidly on the west to the burn of Colp, which soon after joins the Deveron on its eastward course to the sea.

The *fer leginn*, or man of learning, was a prominent officer in the monasteries of Ireland, and he doubtless occupied a like position in the kindred institutions of Alba.²

¹ Breviar. Aberd. Part. Estival. fol. cxxvi. by Reeves, p. 145, *note*; and his edition of

² Eccl. Antiq. of Down and Connor, Adamnan's Columba, p. 365.

Colgan describes the office as it obtained in Ireland, first under the name of "scribnidh" or "scribhneoir"—that is, "scribe or writer;" and subsequently, from about the middle of the tenth century, when instruction in literature was added to the practice and teaching of penmanship, more commonly under the name of "ferleiginn," "lecturer," or "scholastic,"—literally "man of learning."¹

The duty of this officer was the transcription of manuscripts and copying of deeds, and the rule of the schools. The Irish Annals abound in notices of these scribes or lecturers. Not the least famous of their number was the monk whom Alcuin addresses as "*Colcus lector in Scotia*," and whose death is thus recorded by the Four Masters under the year 789: "Colgu ua Duineacda ferleigind Cluana-mac-nois"—Colgu O'Donoghoe, lecturer of Clonmacnois.²

Turriff has thus to be regarded not only as a college of ecclesiastics, but as one of the schools of the day; and it is a matter of great interest to find it possessed of an officer so prominent in the sister establishments of Ireland, indicating the conformity which no doubt pervaded the ecclesiastical arrangements of both countries.³

¹ In 1164 we find a notice of the ferleiginn of Iona, who at that time was named Dubsidi.—(Annals of Ulster, in Chron. of Picts and Scots, p. 372.)

² See an exhaustive paper by my late friend, Joseph Robertson, LL.D., on Scholastic Offices in the Scotican Church, (Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. v.), where he quotes Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga*, pp. 631, 632. See also *Eccles. Antiq. of Down and Connor*, p. 146, *note*.

³ I have already referred to the right which the Bishops of St. Andrews possessed of demanding refection from the men of the Kirktown of Arbutnott in illustration of the Celtic terms "can" and "cunveth," which so frequently occur in our early charters (p. lxxxviii.) The source from which our information on the subject is drawn, is the decret of a synod of the clergy of the Archdeaconry of St. Andrews, held at Perth on the 11th of April 1206,

I have previously made some remarks on the transition from the monastic to the parochial system, the period of which had

in a case disputed between the Bishop of St. Andrews and the Lord of Arbuthnott as to their respective rights in the Kirk-town.—(Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. v. pp. 209-213.) In this record, the evidence of many witnesses is engrossed, and the details are highly instructive, not only in regard to the point for which I have already quoted it, but as throwing light on the condition of the “Scolocs,” who figure in our chronicles and charters of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and who have been supposed to be the scholars or clerks of Pictish times. The state of the case between the disputants will be best understood from the following remarks of Dr. Joseph Robertson, in his valuable paper just referred to on “Scholastic Offices in the Scotican Church” (Idem, Appendix to the Preface, p. 63):—“When the light of record first breaks on the banks of the Bervie water in the last days of St. David, or in the following reign of his grandson, the maiden king, the manor of Arbuthnott is seen divided between the church and the crown. The primatial See of Albany, ‘the bishopric of the Scots,’ as it still wrote its titles, had the advowson of the church, with the church-land or ‘Kirk-town.’ This ecclesiastical territory was held of the bishop by certain tenants called parsons (*tenentes qui dicebantur persone*), laymen, it would seem, who had the name and revenues of the parson, but did not possess the sacerdotal function, and

who had sub-tenants under them, having houses of their own, and cattle which they pastured on the common. The fixed rent or ‘conveth’ due to the see would seem to have been two or three cows; and, small as the tribute was, the poverty of the occupants was such, that the bishop did not always enforce its payment. He appears, like the Irish prelates of more recent times, to have found his chief profit in the right of hospitality, or refectory, lodging, and attendance, which he exacted for himself and for his servants whenever they visited the neighbourhood. Such was the tenure of the church-land. The lay manor of Arbuthnott was farmed from the crown by a steward or thane, until King Malcolm bestowed it in property upon Osbert Olifard, the crusader. He, too, possessed by a steward or thane. His successor Walter gave the land to Hugh of Swinton, the progenitor of all the Arbuthnotts. These occupied the manor themselves, and, although they were its lords, seem to have been styled in common speech its thanes. Their claims soon began to clash with those of the bishop. Although the church-land and its inhabitants belonged to the See of St. Andrews, the lay lord of Arbuthnott had certain rights over them. Every house in the ‘Kirk-town’ was bound to give him yearly ten cheeses, made of the whole milk at midsummer, and to furnish three men for gathering his corns in harvest. The bishop

almost arrived when we first become acquainted with the monastery of St. Congan. It probably involved the resumption of the monastic

seems also to have paid him a certain 'cane' or rent. He had besides an equal share with the bishop in the 'merchets' and 'bloodwits,' the fines for marriage and bloodshed, levied from the men of the lands, although these were amenable only to the bishop's courts. Not content with these dues, the new Lords of Arbuthnott began to remove the old occupants, and to till the lands themselves. The usurpation was resisted, although somewhat tardily it would seem, and became the subject of an inquest before a synod of the Scottish Church, which found for the bishop. It is in the evidence which was adduced on this occasion that we meet with the Scolocs."

The first witness was John of Hastings, who had been sheriff and forester of the Mearns in the time of Bishop Richard (A.D. 1163—A.D. 1178). He declared that in the time of that prelate there was a multitude of Scolocs in the Kirktown, and that the men of that land were subject to the court of the bishop as his men. Ysaac of Banevin swore that the steward of the bishop and his own followers, clerical and lay, received lodging in that land, and from the men upon it, as "his own men;" but that after the death of Bishop Hugh, and of Gillandres, one of the men who had resisted any invasion of their rights, Hugh of Swinton removed several of the Scolocs from the Kirktown one after another; also that Duncan, the son of Hugh, turned out

all the Scolocs whom he found on the land after his father's death, and on their removal he began to till it.

Felix, another witness, declared that he had frequently seen the bishops lodged in his father's house, who held from the bishops, and ministered to their necessities with the Scolocs of the said land who then belonged to it ("cum Scolocis ejusdem terræ qui tum pertinebant ad terram illam," and that Duncan had removed "nativos et Scolocos de terra.")

The Scolocs of Arbuthnott appear here as the *nativi* of the bishop, holding the kirklands, apparently under the eight tenants called parsons. That this was their position farther appears from the case of their champion Gillandres; for the thane, in the belief that if he could effect *his* removal, there would be little difficulty in getting rid of the others, proposed to give to Bishop Hugh a horse worth five marks, on condition of his turning out Gillandres, but the bishop, hearing that he was native of the land, declared that he would on no account consent to such a step. The Scolocs "belonged to the land," were the "men of the bishop," possessing his lands of the Kirktown, and it was only after they were finally removed that the thane of the baron began to till the lands.

Mr. Robertson, in the paper from which I have just quoted, has illustrated the position of several bodies of Scolocs in Scotland. The records there cited are

lands of Buchan by the chiefs, as well as the endowment of the church of the district with a revenue from the tithes of lands within it.

This church was granted before 1214,¹ by Marjory, Countess of Buchan,² to the monks of Arbroath.

especially full regarding the Scolocs of Ellon, the church of which place also belonged to the See of St. Andrews, and had an endowment of certain lands in the possession of Scolocs, called the scolog or scholar lands. These lands were held by them in such wise, that from them were to be provided for the parish church of Ellon four clerks, with copes and surplices, able to read and sing sufficiently.

The Scolocs of Ellon evidently occupied a very different position from their brethren of Arbuthnott. The latter could be turned out of their possessions by the Baron of Arbuthnott, the only right alleged on their behalf being that inherent in them as *nativi* of the Bishop of St. Andrews. The Scologs of Ellon were hereditary occupants or tenants of the scolog or scholar lands, so that, on the death of a Scolog, his heir, whether male or female, was entitled to be entered to his or her heritage, either by the baillie of the lands, without letter of inquest from the overlord, or by inquest and seisin thereupon following, after the manner and common use of the realm; while the tenure by which they held the lands was that of maintaining four clerks for the parish church of Ellon, of providing a certain number of wax candles for the "park" before the high altar, and of

finding a smithy at Ellon.—(Miscell. Sp. Club, vol. v. Appendix to the Preface, pp. 58-59.)

It may be doubted whether sufficient evidence has been adduced for holding that all the persons called Scolocs or Scologs in our early records were of the same character, or were in all cases, as has been assumed, scolastics, or the lowest members of the clerical order; but, on the contrary, were in some cases simply the husbandmen or tenants of the land. What we know of the Scolocs of Arbuthnott and Ellon seems irreconcilable with such an idea. The former were many in number, and cultivated the soil of the Kirktown under the tenants called "parsons;" while the Scologs of Ellon were hereditary occupants of certain lands which descended to sons and daughters, with the burden of maintaining from the lands four clerks for the parish church of Ellon, besides the additional burdens above specified; the title of Scholar Lands, applied to them in later times, having arisen apparently from the tenure by which the tenants were bound to maintain four clerks in the parish church of Ellon.

¹ Registr. de Aberbroth, p. 6.

² Daughter and heiress of Fergus, the mormaer or earl of Buchan.

In the year 1273, her son William Cumyn, Earl of Buchan, founded at Turriff an almshouse for a master, six chaplains, and thirteen poor husbandmen of Buchan, by a charter dated at his house of Kelly, and witnessed, among others, by King Alexander III.¹

To this foundation he granted a tract of ground around the town of Turriff, which he describes as “terre ecclesiastice ville de Turreff,” being probably what had formed the territory of St. Congan’s monastery.

It extended from Kinermit, on the west side of the town of Turriff, towards Delgaty on the east, and one of the boundaries expressed in the charter serves to connect it with the earlier establishment. The march is said to run by the standing stone of Balmaly and Kokuki, and so from that stone to the monks’ gate (et sic ab illo lapide usque *ad viam monachorum*),² an expression which seemed without meaning till the Book of Deer made us acquainted with the monks of St. Congan settled there.

The gift of the church of Turriff to the monks of Arbroath by the Countess Marjory appears to have been revoked by her, and it was included in the grant by her son to the hospital founded by him in honour of St. Congan.

In the year 1412, the church of Turriff was erected into a prebend of the cathedral of Saint Machar at Aberdeen, and the whole fruits of the benefice, in which the hospital

¹ One of the witnesses was the writer of the charter, who had added to his name the soubriquet of “Pater Noster.”—(Collections on the Shires of Aberdeen and

Banff, p. 470 ; Registrum Aberdonense, vol. i. p. 30.)

² Registrum Aberdonense, vol. i. p. 31.

of St. Congan seems to have merged, were assigned to the prebendary.¹

In the year 1512, King James IV. erected the ecclesiastical lands of the church of Turriff, with its town and glebe, into a burgh of barony, with the privilege of a Sunday market and two fairs, one of which was to be held (and till lately continued to be held) on the 13th of October, being the feast of St. Congan.

In the year 1588, the church-lands conferred on the hospital of St. Congan in the thirteenth century, and probably granted to St. Congan himself five centuries earlier, were alienated to Francis, Earl of Erroll, by Mr. John Philp, parson of Turriff.²

The old parish church of St. Congan was a long narrow structure, 120 feet in length by 18 feet in width, without any architectural features suggestive of its date. When the new church was erected in 1794, the earlier building was left to decay, and the eastern end, still known as "the quire," is the only part now remaining.

The erection of the quire can be satisfactorily assigned to the first part of the sixteenth century, when it was built by Mr. Alexander Lyon, Chanter of Murray, and a son of John, fourth Lord Glamis. Of this man we read in an unprinted pedigree of the house that "he was a singular scholar in these tymes, and was tutor to his brother's sones, and lyeth buried in the quire of Turreffe, which he built; of whom, being a churchman and unmarried,

¹ Illustrations of the Antiqs. of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, vol. ii. p. 337.

describes the lands as the Kirk lands of Turreff, Knockiemiln, Miln of Turreff, and Mill lands.—(Erroll Writs.)

² The charter, dated 14th May 1588,

came no lafull succession. He dyed in the year of God 1541."¹

In December 1861 portions of the choir were taken away, and on removing the stones from a window in the south wall, which had been built up, there appeared on the splay of one of the sides a human figure painted on the plaster in bright colours. Another similar painting was on the other splay of the window, but unfortunately it was destroyed before any drawing could be obtained.

Of the first, sketches and photographs were secured before the plaster was broken up, showing it to be the figure of a bishop fully habited—the right hand raised in benediction, with the pastoral staff in his left. The background was painted in large lozenge patterns, and an inscription in Gothic letters above—**S. INI JANUS.**

There is reason to believe that there was a series of similar pictures round the church, and as the choir was erected in the first half of the sixteenth century, we might, perhaps, have inferred that fresco-painting was then in use for the decoration of parish churches in Scotland.

A curious passage, however, in the History of the Abbots of Kinloss, by Ferrerius, affords evidence that this was really the case. In describing the many beneficent works of Abbot Robert Reid, we are told that in the year 1538 he engaged a painter, Andrew Bairhum, whom he retained at Kinloss for three years, during which time this artist painted three pictures on panel for adorning the chapels of the Magdalene, of St. John the Evangelist, and St.

¹ See Illustr. of Antiqs. of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, vol. ii. p. 388.





Thomas of Canterbury. It is added that he painted, but in the lighter style now so fashionable throughout Scotland ("sed pictura levior quæ nunc est per Scotiam receptissima"),¹ the chamber and oratory of the abbot, as well as another large room adjoining.²

There can be little doubt that the style of art thus indicated was that of fresco-painting, but so complete has been the destruction of our old ecclesiastical buildings in Scotland, that the figure of St. Ninian at Turriff is almost the only example of which we can speak with certainty.

As an interesting relic of Scottish art, and as associated with the church of St. Congan, I have thought it permissible to introduce a drawing of the fresco, from sketches made by Mr. Gibb at the time of the discovery.

In the north wall of the choir, and near to the east end, there is inserted an ambry of decorated work, and from the letters **A L**, which appear at the bottom, we may infer that it was erected by Alexander Lyon, the builder of the choir.³

In its gable there is built an ornamented stone which has

¹ Hist. Abbat. Monasterii de Kynlos, p. 51 (Ban. Club.)

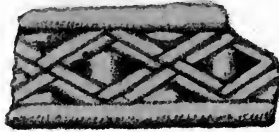
² From the same author we derive an account of the ornaments with which Abbot Thomas Crystall of Kinloss enriched the parish church of Ellon a few years earlier. Of him he writes—"Nec minus accuratus fuit in ornanda ecclesia sua de Ellone, cui parem tabulam pictoria et statuaria arte deauratam cum illa Beatae Matris et Virginis apud Kynloss de qua paulo ante sumus locuti, contulit. Resti-

tuit quoque illic majus altare tabulato ubi et divae Annae statuam erexit; paravitque nova in choro subsellia; et vestes ad rem sacram faciendam tres, casulam videlicet ex bysso palmata, duas dalmaticas, cum albis, et id genus reliquis, liberalissime coemptas, tradidit."—(Idem, p. 76.)

³ Similar ambries of the same period occur in the ruined churches of Kinkell and Auchindoir, and a third, which was placed in the old church of Kintore, is now built into the west gable of the parish kirk.

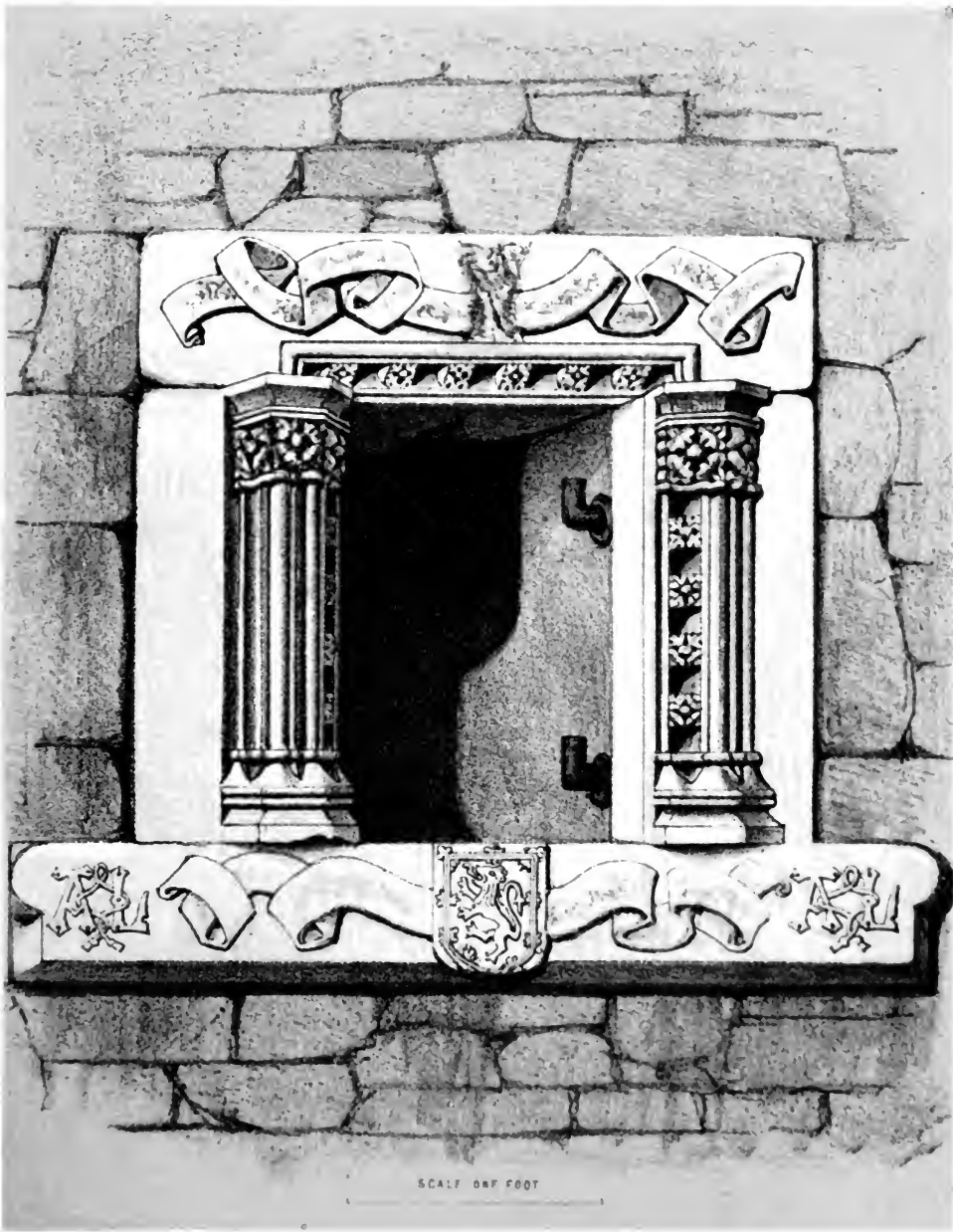
formed part of a structure of earlier date, besides other sculptured fragments, which have been used for building materials in the church which succeeded the monastery of St. Congan. Of these, and the ambry just described, drawings by Mr. Gibb are given in a separate plate.





SCALE ONE FOOT

SCULPTURED FRAGMENTS AT TURRIFF.



SCALE ONE FOOT



VII.

Early Buildings in Scotland.

I. "TOWNS" OF ABERDOUR AND DEER.

CATHAIRS—KAERS—OPPIDA—BRITISH DWELLINGS—DUNS—RATHS.

THE Celtic word *cathair* in the Legend of St. Columbkille and Drostan, which is translated "town" or "city," was applied primarily by the ancient Irish to denote a class of their forts formed of circular uncemented stone walls. Dr. Petrie informs us that this is the strict meaning of the word, and that it is applied only in a secondary and figurative sense to "a city," adding that it appears to be one of a class of Irish words (of which he gives examples) descriptive of circular erections, and the same as the British *Kaer*.¹

This last word, which enters so largely into the composition of the names of places in Brittany, was there originally applied to a fortified dwelling, and secondarily to a farm and manor-house.² In the Chartulary of the monastery of Redon we have instances of the synonymous use of the words "Kaer" and "Villa," as in the confirmation to the abbey, A.D. 1037, of the island of St. Guitual, with its lands and pertinents, and seven "villas in Ploehidinuc id est

¹ Ordnance Survey of the County of Londonderry, vol. i. p. 213. Parish of Templemore, "Townlands."

² Chartular. de Redon, Pref. p. ccc.

Kaer en Treth, Kaer Guischoiarn, Kaer Gleuhirian, Kaer Kerveneac, Kaer en Mostoer, Kaer Euen, and Kaer Caradoc."¹

The "oppida" of the Armorican tribes in the time of Cæsar consisted of the fortresses to which the inhabitants retreated for safety. They were mostly situated on the coast, at the extremities of tongues of land or promontories, and appear to have been numerous, for we learn that although the Romans were able to take some of these "oppida," yet all their labour was thrown away, for as soon as the Veneti thought themselves no longer safe, they evacuated the *oppidum* which was attacked, embarked with all their goods on board their numerous vessels, and withdrew to the neighbouring "oppida," the situations of which offered the same advantages for a new resistance.² Of the "oppida" of the Britons, Cæsar writes, "Oppidum autem Britanni vocant, quum sylvas impeditas vallo atque fossa munierunt, quo, incursionis hostium vitandæ causa convenire consuerunt."³

The earthen wall and ditch were in other circumstances represented by ramparts of great stones on the tops of hills, as we learn from Tacitus, in the case of Caractacus.⁴

The dwelling-houses of the Britons appear to have been of the slightest construction. In one of Cæsar's references to them, he calls them "Casas, quæ more Gallico stramentis erant tectæ."⁵ Diodorus Siculus speaks of them as mean habitations, constructed for the most part of reeds or of wood.⁶ Strabo (in the Latin version of Xylander) says of the Gauls and Britons, "Domos e tabulis et cratibus construunt rotundos magno imposito fas-

¹ Chartular. de Redon, pp. 327-8.

² De Bell. Gall. iii. xii.

³ De Bell. Gall. v. xxi.

⁴ Annal. lib. xii. cc. 33-35.

⁵ De Bello Gallico, lib. v. cap. 43.

⁶ Biblioth. Histor. lib. v. ap. Monum. Hist. Brit. p. ii.

tigio.¹ Jornandes, a writer of the sixth century, says of the Caledonians “virgeas habitant casas.”²

In many of the hill-forts and raths, both of England, Scotland, and Wales, vestiges of circular foundations may yet be seen, as at Caerby, Ingleborough, Yevering, Duppelder, the Caterthuns, and the Barmekyn on Dunecht.

On very many of our uncultivated moors and hill-sides also, groups of similar circular foundations (the remains of villages) are yet to be seen, of which good examples are at Greaves Ash among the Cheviots, and at Balnabroch on the Ardlie, in Perthshire.

When St. Columba first visited Brude, the Pictish King, he was residing in his dun,³ on the banks of the Ness; and it is plain, from the description of Adamnan, that there were buildings within the circuit of the walls.⁴

It is probable that the abodes of the Pictish kings resembled the royal residences of the Irish at Tara, Aileach, and Emania—viz. raths and cathairs, within which were circular houses of wood or hurdle-work.⁵ It would seem that one such residence of the Pictish kings was placed at the confluence of the Almond with the Tay, and is referred to in our annals as Rath-inueramon.⁶

¹ Strabo, Geogr. Gallia Britannia, lib. v. p. 136, ed. 1587.

² Monum. Hist. Brit. p. lxxxiii.

³ The word “munitio” is used by Adamnan to describe the circular stone forts of Ireland, within which were wooden houses.

⁴ Reeves’ Adamnan’s St. Columba, p. 151.

⁵ A.D. 1014, in the account of a foray by the Osraighi and the men of East Munster, as far as Dun-na-sgiath, we read

that they burned the dun, and seized some small spoils.—(O’Donovan’s Annals of the Four Masters, vol. ii. p. 845.) Here the reference must be to the wooden structure within the dun. Another foray is noted in A.D. 1052, in which Dun-Feich was demolished (ibid. p. 861), where the wall seems to have been thrown down; and a few years later we read of the “burning” of three duns (ibid. p. 873).

⁶ Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, p. 151.

The topography of Scotland preserves the memory of these duns and raths in many districts; but the progress of cultivation has obliterated many of the structures themselves, except those placed on hills, as at Dunecht, Caterthun, Barra, Craighadric, and the like.¹

It is plain, from numerous entries in the Annals of the Four Masters, that in Ireland the raths and duns continued in many cases to be occupied by the chieftains down to a comparatively recent period;² and it seems probable that they continued to be used in Scotland till towards the end of the Celtic period.

The words "civitas" and "urbs" were also applied to the early monastic establishments in Britain and Ireland, which, as in the case of St. Columba's monastery of Hy, consisted of a church, with groups of circular huts within an enclosing wall.³

¹ The rath in Athol, which, as we learn, was the capital of the earldom in the twelfth century (*Liber de Seon*, p. 35), was doubtless the residence of the earlier chiefs or mormaers of the district. The Lord of Badenoch in 1380 held a court at the standing-stones of the Rath of Kyngucy.—(*Chartul. Morav.* p. 184.) The moat of Ruthven, on which the Cummings erected their great castle, in its name perpetuates the memory of a still earlier structure or rath. At Rattray in Gowrie there is a remarkable fortified site; and at Rattray in Buchan there is another of the same character. We hear of the Rath of Katerlin in the twelfth century (*Registr. Vet. de Aberbroth*, pp. 88, 89), and the place is still called Rathfield. On the Kaims Hill at Ratho is a rath, with remains of enclosed hut-circles.

The parishes of Rathen in Buchan in the county of Aberdeen, of Ruthven on the Deveron in the same county, and Rathven in the Enzie in Banffshire, were all probably the sites of the raths of district chieftains, and got their names by association with these structures. Rathelpie at St. Andrews, in the same way, may preserve the memory of King Alpin's Rath.

² Rathmore, which in the sixth century was a residence of the Dalaradian princes, appears to have been a place of habitation and importance so late as 1315, when it was burned by Edward Bruce.—(*Reeves' Ecll. Antiq. of Down and Connor*, pp. 69, 70.)

³ Reeves' Adamnan, add. notes, p. 357. While the early monasteries were placed within circular walls resembling that of

The word *lis* or *les*, which also signifies a circular earthen fort, is often translated "civitas."¹

When, therefore, we read of the "towns" or "cities" of Abbor-dobhoir and Deer, which the normaer granted to the clerics, it seems probable that we are to understand the surrender of two of his fortified places, round which a population of the district tribes were clustered in their frail huts.

II. OPUS SCOTICUM. WOODEN BUILDINGS.

THE custom of the Irish to use wood as materials for their buildings, obtained for it in the middle ages the title of the Scots' style,²

the raths, duns, and cathairs of Pagan times, it frequently happened that these fortified sites were surrendered to the missionaries by the converted chiefs as sites of monasteries and churches.

Thus, "the church of Cill Benen was erected within the *arx* or fortress called Dun Lughaidh, from a lord of the country, who, with his father and four brothers, having been baptized by the Saints Patrick and Benen, gave up their dun or fortress for the purpose." Again, "the chief of the country of Briefny, Aodh Finn, the son of Feargna, on his conversion to Christianity by St. Caillin, gave up to him his cathair or stone fortress, in order that he might erect his monastic buildings within it."—(Petrie's Round Towers, p. 444.) The church at Nendrum stood within a cashel

of three oval walls.—(Reeves' Eccles. Antiqs. p. 10.) The monarch Daire gave to St. Patrick a rath, within which he erected his first ecclesiastical establishment at Arnagh.—(Todd's Life of St. Patrick, p. 476.) At Derry, St. Columba got from Aodh, son of Ainnire, who was King of Erin at the time, his royal fort, within which he founded a church.—(Reeves' Adamnan, p. 160.) It would seem that some of our early Scottish churches were founded within duns—such as Dunkeld, Dunblane, and Dunfermline.

¹ Dr. Todd's St. Patrick, p. 479.

² Our own records have many examples of the use of the term *Scotic* as equivalent to Gaelic, and opposed to English, as in a deed dated in 1253 relating to the boundaries of Kingoldrum. One of these

“mos Scottorum,” although, as will be seen, it was far from being peculiar to that people.

The distinction first appears in the History of Venerable Bede, when he describes the church erected by St. Finan in A.D. 662 at Lindisfarne, “quam more Scottorum non de lapide sed de robore secto totam composuit atque harundine textit.”¹ It appears from many passages in the Lives of the Irish Saints that churches of wood or hurdle-work continued to be erected in Ireland in subsequent times, and it is plain that in the twelfth century the custom was still regarded as “Scotic,” as we learn from St. Bernard’s description of the oratory at Bangor, built by St. Malachy, “de lignis quidem lævigatis,” which he styled “opus Scoticum pulchrum satis;”² and somewhat later, when St. Malachy began to build an oratory of stone at Bangor, “instar eorum quæ in aliis regionibus extracta conspexerat,” the native objections took the shape of resentment against stone buildings as a novelty, “quid tibi visum est nostris hanc inducere regionibus novitatem? Scoti sumus non Galli.”³

The wooden church erected by St. Finan at Lindisfarne was on the Scotic model of that at Iona, and there can be no reasonable doubt that the churches of St. Columba throughout the territory of the Picts were built of similar materials.⁴

was a marsh “que Scotice dicitur Moynebuche,” while another boundary with the name of Hachethunethoner is translated into English as Midfield (quod *Anglice* dicitur *Midfield*).—(Registr. Vetus de Aberbroth. p. 228.) We have an earlier instance in the same register, where the lands of the abbey of Old Montrose are conveyed,

with the addition, “que Scotice abthan vocatur.”—(Idem, p. 4.)

¹ Hist. Eccl. iii. 25.

² St. Bernardi Vita, S. Malachiaë, ap. Migne, S. Bernardi Opera, Tom i. col. 1083.

³ Idem, col. 1109.

⁴ See Reeves’ Adamnan, notes, pp. 106, 177.

This indeed is implied in the request made by the Pictish ruler Nectan to the Abbot Benedict Biscop, that he would send him masons who could build him a church of stone, "juxta morem Romanorum."

While the churches both in Ireland and Alba were probably in general formed of beams of sawn timber, it would seem that the houses were of wattle.¹ Adamnan notices the gathering "virgarum fasciculos ad hospitium construendum." St. Woloc, who laboured

¹ H. E. v. c. 21. Reeves' Adamnan's St. Columba, p. 106, *note*. In charters of burghal properties of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, stone houses are sometimes mentioned in a way which shows their rarity, and it is plain that most of the houses of our Scotch towns were wooden fabrics resting on foundations of stone, down to a comparatively recent period.—(Liber de Scon, p. 49.) A stone house was enough at times to give its name to the barony on which it was placed, and it would appear that the lands now called Stenhouse, in Stirlingshire, derived their name from the remarkable stone building called "Arthur's Oven," which stood on them till the time of its barbarous demolition before the middle of last century. In a charter dated in 1461, the granter is styled "Alexander de Broys de Stanehouse."—(Charters of Holyrood, p. 150.) In other cases, however, the term "domus Scoticana" is used for the sake of distinction, as in the case of one erected by the king within the castle of Inverness in 1263.—(Chamberlain Rolls, vol. i. p. *23.) We learn from a "Briefe Description of the

Barony of Fort" [or Forth], in the county of Wexford, that "they greatlie sow Fyrs seeds, or plant the same in rowes some few ridges distant, which ordinarily in a few years grow 8 or 10 feet in height, and to that bigness and strength that (better timber being there deficient) dwelling-houses are therewith all roofed" [note]. Furze wood was used for the watlin (little wood) or wicker work, to which the thatch was fastened. Until the close of the last century, almost every dwelling-house was so roofed."—(Proceedings of Kilkenny Arch. Soc. vol. iv. p. 60, 1862.)

Wattled houses were erected in some parts of the Highlands till recent times. Lachlan M'Pherson, a second son of the Laird of Cluny, and who ultimately succeeded to the chiefship, married Jean, second daughter of Sir Ewen Cameron of Locheil, and brought her home to a wattled house at Nuid, near Kingussie, about the end of the eighteenth century. Wattled huts were to be seen in many parts of the Highlands towards the end of last century, and some of them probably remain to the present day.

on the banks of the Deveron, built as his abode "casam calamis viminibusque contextam."¹ Adamnan notices in one case the parts of a house which formed the skeleton on which the hurdles were placed, and which remained after the destruction of the more perishable materials by fire.²

In the year 1233, we have a notice of a guest-house near the church of Kilpatrick, "fabricata de virgis," built on ground which Earl Alwine of Lennox granted to St. Patrick, on condition that the tenant should receive as guests pilgrims coming to the church.³

The custom of building houses and churches of wood prevailed also among the Britons. When St. Ninian erected a church of stone on the rugged shores of Galloway, we are told by Bede that it was "insolito Brittonibus more."⁴ When St. Kentigern founded

¹ Breviar. Aberd. Part. Hyemal. fol. 45.

² Reeves' Adamnan's St. Columba, p. 114.

³ Registr. de Passelet, p. 166. Mac Firis of Lecan, in a topographical poem of the early part of the fifteenth century, sings of—
"A white wattled edifice of noble polish,
Habitation of the sweet-scented branches."
—(The Genealogies, Tribes, and Customs of Hy Fiachrach, Irish Arch. Soc., p. 265.)

⁴ H. E. iii. 4. Ailred, the biographer of St. Ninian, tells us that the saint brought with him from Gaul workmen who could erect a church after the Roman fashion.

Besides the "White Church" of St. Ninian on the shore of the Solway Firth, we had other "White Churches" in Scotland.

In East Lothian was the church of

Hamer or "Whitekirk," one of the foundations of St. Baldred; and in Aberdeenshire was "The White Church" of Buchan.

All of these churches were much resorted to by pilgrims, probably from feelings associated with their early foundation, and reverence for their founders.

The church at Durham, in which the body of St. Cuthbert reposed for three years, during the erection of the greater church to which it was translated in A.D. 999, was called *alba ecclesia*.—(Simeonis Dunelm. Hist. lib. iii. cap. ii.) A church was erected in honour of St. Oswald near the place where he fell, "que Candida dicitur."—(Lelandi Collect. vol. i. p. 366.) See a notice of Temple-finn or White-church in the Diocese of Down, (Reeves' Eccles. Antiqs. p. 26.)

his monastery of St. Asaph in Wales, he built the church and other offices, of dressed wood, "more Britonum," "quum de lapide nondum construere poterant nec usum habebant."¹

St. Gwynllyw, towards the end of the sixth century, "signavit cimiterium, et in medio tabulis et virgis fundavit templum."² About the same time St. Cadoc erected "insigne monasterium ex lignorum materie."³

Before the middle of the ninth century, Ronwallon, a man of power, conveyed to the Abbot of Redon his house made "ex tabulis ligneis."⁴

The use of wooden materials in buildings was also common among the Saxons.

Venerable Bede notices many instances of the erection of stone churches on sites previously occupied by wooden structures, and in describing the conversion of Northumbria, and the numbers baptized in streams by Paulinus, he adds—"Nondum enim oratoria vel baptisteria in ipso exordio nascentis ibi ecclesiæ poterant edificare."⁵ To the same effect William of Malmesbury writes, "Neque ante Benedictum [Biscop] lapidei tabulatus domus in Britannia nisi per raro videbatur."⁶

In King Edgar's charter to the Abbey of Malmesbury, dated A.D. 974, he describes the state of the monasteries in his kingdom, "quæ velut muscivis scindulis cariosisque tabulis tigno tenuis visibiliter diruta."⁷

¹ Vita Kentigerni ap. Pinkerton's Vita Sanctor. Scotiæ, p. 248.

² Lives of the Cambro-British Saints, Vita S. Gundleii, p. 148.

³ Idem, p. 34.

⁴ Chart. de Redon, p. 443.

⁵ H. E. lib. ii. cap. xiv.

⁶ Hist., vol. i. p. 82.

⁷ Gesta Regum Anglorum, lib. ii. § 153, vol. ii. p. 247 (Eng. Hist. Soc.)

Bede describes a wooden dwelling-house in 654. The occupants were engaged in feasting at night, and having kindled a great fire in the middle, it happened that the sparks flying up set on fire the roof, which was made of wattles and thatched with hay.¹

It was after their visits to the imperial city that Benedict Biscop, and his friend Wilfrid, were incited to erect their monasteries at Wearmouth and Hexham "Romano opere," and by means of tradesmen brought from abroad,—as at a later period, we have seen the Irish Malachi desirous of erecting a stone church like those which he had seen on his journey to Rome.²

¹ H. E. lib. iii. c. x.

² As ideas of Roman art were diffused by the pilgrims to the Holy City, on their return to their own homes, so it is interesting to notice, on the other hand, how the Irish ecclesiastics clung to their own customs. Thus, when the great Irish missionary, St. Columbanus, received from the King of Lombardy a site for his monastery at Bobbio in A.D. 615, he erected "ecclesiam in honore almæ genitricis semperque virginis Mariæ ex lignis." Towards the end of the ninth century, the erection of a church of stone, by the Abbot Agilulf, is recorded: "ecclesiam ex lapidibus construxit, turremque super eam edificavit et campanas fecit in ea pendere sicut nunc cernitur."—(Vita S. Columbani Abbatis, ap. Mabillon, Acta SS. Ord. Ben. Tom. ii. p. 37.) Another Irish custom is recorded in this life:—The saint erected a cross near to his church for his devotions, "consuetudo est enim hominibus hujus gentis unumquemque per diem centies et eo plus genuflectere."—(Idem, p. 38.)

The conflict of Roman with Scotie customs appears under other aspects in an ordinance of Louis le Debonnaire, in which, after reciting that the monastery of Landevennec, in Brittany, continued to follow the tonsure and other customs which had *been received from the Scots*, he enjoined the adoption of the rule of St. Benedict.—(Cartul. Landev. ap. Morice, Memoires pour servir de Preuves a l'Histoire Ecclesiastique et Civile de Bretagne, vol. i. col. 228. Paris, 1742.)

We can trace the Scotie feeling of strangeness to stone churches so late as the thirteenth century, in the same country where the stone church of St. Ninian had been erected in the fifth. In the year 1164 Ailred of Rievaulx went on a visit into Galloway, and was present at Kirkcudbright on the festival of its patron, St. Cuthbert. A bull was brought to the church as an oblation, which the clerics of the place baited in the churchyard. The more aged remonstrated against such a profanation, but one of the clerics mocked and

Contact with Roman art was followed in other countries by a like result. Thus, of St. Josse, a Breton saint who lived in the middle of the seventh century, we read that on his withdrawing to a retired life, "oratoria duo manibus suis nitebatur construere, unum videlicet B. Petri principis Apostolorum, aliud Sancti Pauli doctoris gentium venerationi deputans, *et utrumque ex lignis.*" Afterwards he went to Rome, and on his return it is said, "Habebat enim jam tunc ecclesiam novam *ex petris constructam*, quæ mox, postquam Dei famulus Roma veniens in eam patrocina multa detulerat, dedicata est in honore Sancti Martini."¹

The "mos Romanus," introduced into Northumbria by Benedict Biscop and Wilfrid, co-existed for a long time with the earlier custom of wooden buildings, just as the introduction of glass-making by these ardent improvers did not for a long time lead to a general knowledge or use of it, or to the extinction of the earlier modes of giving light.²

No doubt the use of stone in buildings came to be predominant in Northumbria at an earlier period than in Alba; but at the time when the use of wood in building is spoken of as a Scotie custom, it was in reality common to the Irish with many other people.

The wooden cathedral at Chester-le-Street, which had sheltered the body of St. Cuthbert in its wanderings, remained till about A.D. 1042, when Egelric, who became Bishop of Durham in that

said, "Nec Cuthberti hujus adesse presentia, nec huic loco talis ei probatur inesse potentia, *licet hujus ipsius sit petrosa et de lapidibus compacta ecclesiola.*"—(Reginaldi Dunelmensis Libellus de Admir. B. Cuthberti Virtutibus, p. 179. Surtees Soc.)

¹ Morice, *Memoires pour servir de Preuves a l'Histoire de Bretagne*, col. 210.

² See *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, vol. ii. pref. p. 12, and *note*.

year, destroyed the ancient fabric, and in its place erected one of stone, "pro eo quod aliquando beati Cuthberti corpus ibidem quieverat."¹

In some cases, however, the wooden erections were succeeded by others of stone at a much earlier period, as at Tynemouth, where King Edwin [616-633] "sacellum erexit ex ligno;" and his successor Oswald "monasteriolum de Tinemuthe ex ligno lapideum fecit."²

In the same way, the buildings of wooden materials in France were described as of "opus Gallicum."³

¹ Simeon, Hist. de Dunelm. Eccles. col. 34. Ap. Twysden, Decem Scriptoros.

² Lelandi Collect. vol. iv. p. 43.

³ At the end of an edict of Liutprand, the Lombard King, dated A.D. 735, are seven chapters, in the same corrupt Latin as the charters in the first volume of the great work of the Sardinian government, "Monumenta Historiæ Patriæ," where these documents are printed. The volume of the series from which I quote is entitled "Edicta Regum Langobardorum," and the chapters are headed—1. De Sala; 2. De Muro; 3. De Annonam Comacinatorum; 4. De Opera; 5. De Caminata; 6. De Marmorarios; 7. De furnum, De puteum. That "de muro" contains some notices of "Gallican work" and "Roman work." It is as follows:—Si vero murum fecerit qui usque ad pedem unum sit grossus dupplicentur mercedes et usque ad quinque pedes subquinetur; et de ipso muro vadat per solidum unum pedes ducenti viginti quinque; si vero macinam mutaverit,

det pedes centum octoginta in solidum unum usque ad pedes quinque sursum, in longitudinem vero ter quinos per tremisse. Similiter et si murum dealbaverit, sexcenti pedes vadat per solidum unum. Et si cum axes clauserit et opera gallica fecerit, mille quingenti pedes in solido vestito vadant. Et si arcum volserit, pedes duodecim vadat in solido uno. Si vero materias capelaverit majores minores, capita viginti per tremisse; armaturas vero et brachiolas quinque ponantur pro uno materio. 4. De opera. Similiter romanense si fecerit, sic repotet sicut gallica opera, mille quingentos pedes in solidos uno. Et scias quia ubi una tegula ponitur quindecim scindolas lebant; quia centum quinquaginta tegulas duo milia quingentas scindolas lebant. Et si massa fundederit, sexcenti pedes per solido uno.

The expressions, "Opus Gallicum" and "Opus Romanense" are thus commented on in certain "Adnotationes Caroli Promis," Appendix, xi. of the same volume, p. 245.

"Opera gallica, seu opus gallicum, nova

It will thus be seen that the custom, which has been termed a *Scotic* one, was, in so far as the materials of their buildings is

sane vox et glossatoribus ignota, videtur mihi fuisse illa ætate denominatio tabulatorum, sive parietum, ex asseribus ædes septentium vel cellas dividendum, illo enim tempore plurimae struebantur ligneae aedes, uti apud Gallos (et hodie quoque generatim extra Italiam) mos adhuc viget, qui extractis in oppidis muris exterioribus ex lateribus vel saxis, intus dividunt per tabulata, in pagis vero et rure sæpissime omnia lignea sunt. Nec carent codd. ferentes “*et opera cum alliga fecerit,*” ubi nulla vocum significatio.

Gallico vero operi respondent opus romanense de quo inferius, opus saracenicum paulo post temporis vulgatum apud inferiores Italos, opus signinum iamdiu Romanis notum, necnon et alia quae nomen a gentibus vel oppidis acceperunt. Artificum vero stipendium alteri ex codicibus ferunt unius solidi pro pedibus D (de superficie semper habendum est) alteri idem offerunt pretium pro MD: hanc igitur lectionem rationi magis consentaneam, accepimus, alteram reiicimus, quippe quæ pretiorum proportioni haud aequè respondeat. Dubitavimus etiam, utrum, intelligendum esset de opere formaceo (Gallis *pisé* Italis fortasse *pigiato*, idem referente voce) de quo abunde Plinius (Hist. Nat. xxxv. 48, 44, cf. etiam Palladium, i. 34) iamdiu in Africa et Hispania vulgatissimum quoque nostra etiam ætate magnopere utuntur Galli, Sardi et inter Subalpinos Italos praecipue Alexandrini

rustici: hoc opus vero sollicitum sane, sed habita pretii ratione a nostra lege relati, plenum quidem laboris quodque non sine multis comparatis perficiendum est, vectibus scilicet et machinis et asseribus ad instruendas formas. Qua de causa mihi iudicium erit opus gallicum intelligendum esse non de formaceo sed de tabulato ligneo. Conferantur etiam § CLX. et adnotationes nostrae, ubi evidenter liquebit, gallicum opus ligneum fuisse, sive ex asseribus, vel magnis vel parvis, constasse.”

III. “De opera. Titulus *de opera* referendus est ad omnem tecti materiationem.

“‘Similiter romanense si fecerit, sic potest sicut gallica opera mille quingentos pedes in solidos uno.’ Vocabulum *romanense* adjectivum est *tecti*, intelligendumque tectum romano more structum (scilicet ex tegulis planis et testaceis pro nostratium antiqua et hodierna consuetudine) aestimandum esse ad idem pretium ac si gallico more seu ex ligneis asseribus.”

“Gallicum opus vidimus superius idem esse ac ligneum opus seu tabulatum. Tabulatum vero tectis struendis aptum, constat ex asseribus exilibus *scindulae* vel *scandulae* dictis (accepta antiquitus a Germanis voce *Schindel*) testibus Vitruvio (ii. 1), Plinio (xvi. 10. 15), Palladio (i. 22), aliisque non paucis ex veteribus scriptoribus; una autem et altera vox habetur in legibus nostris, ubi Liutprandus *scindulas* appellat, quas Rotharis (§ 282) *Scandulas*.

concerned, common to the Scots with the Britons, Saxons, and Franks, and that the terms applied to it were always intended to distinguish it from the Roman fashion of building with dressed stones.

In conclusion, I have to state that the Book of Deer was first brought to light in the year 1860, through the research of Mr. Henry Bradshaw, the librarian of the University Library, Cambridge; and it was at one time hoped that the Club might have had the benefit of the services of this accomplished scholar as editor of the work.

When it was found that Mr. Bradshaw's engagements rendered this impossible, the Council prevailed on Joseph Robertson, LL.D., to undertake the work; but after making a careful transcript of the text, he also was compelled to abandon the design from the pressure of his official duties.

The charge of editing the volume then devolved on me, and the work has been in progress during the last three years.

The plan adopted has already been incidentally referred to. It led me to give such a copy of the Book as represents all its peculiarities of text, orthography, and punctuation.

With the view of exhibiting the relation of the Deer Gospels to the Vulgate, a collation of them was made with the Codex Amiatinus, of which the results will be found at the bottom of each page; and a separate collation was also made of the fourth chapter

Pretium gallici operis (cf. adnot. 158) fuit ergo aequum sive ex parvis sive ex magnis asseribus ductum esset, habita ratione minoris impensae parvis asseri-

bus (seu scindulis) comparandis auctaque opera in illis collocandis tum maioris impensae, minutaque operae pro asseribus maioribus.

of St. John's Gospel, as in the Book of Deer, with the versions in the Codex Brixianus (Italic recension), the Vulgate, and the Celtic Gospels, known as the Book of Kells, the Book of Dimma, the Book of Moling, the Book of Armagh, the Lindisfarne Gospels, and an early fragment of the Gospels at Durham. The results are given in a tabular form at page xxxiv. of the Preface.

The plates of Facsimiles contain all the illuminations in the volume, and are exact representations of their present appearance.¹ The worn and stained condition of some of them would suggest that the volume had at times been carried about by those who used it. The figures on Plates XXI. and XXII. occur on the margins and open spaces throughout the Book, and appear to have been dashed off by the scribe in the course of his writing.

The editor cannot conclude these remarks without acknowledging the obligations under which he has been laid in the progress of his work.

Mr. Bradshaw's discovery of the volume (one only of the many happy results which have crowned his researches in the course of the last ten years) has already been referred to, but I must add that when engaged in the collation of the printed sheets with the original MS. at Cambridge, I received from Mr. Bradshaw much kindness and ready aid.

¹ Some pages of the Book of Deer have been reproduced by the process of photozincography in the first part of the volume of the National MSS. of Scotland, published under the directions of the Lord Clerk Register of Scotland. Drawings of many of the figures and borders have been

given in "The Sculptured Stones of Scotland," volume second, and in Mr. Westwood's great work, "The Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS.," but without any attempt to represent the colours of the illuminations, or the worn condition of the pages.

By the kind permission of the University authorities, the volume was sent for a time to the General Register House, Edinburgh, when a transcript was made of it by Mr. Robertson, and the drawings in facsimile were prepared by Mr. Gibb.

I thankfully bear my testimony to the care with which Mr. Gibb has completed his work. The plates are such as might have been expected from the artist of the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," and have been pronounced by competent judges to equal any facsimiles of faded illuminations yet produced.

For collating the text with the Gospels in Trinity College, Dublin, and in the Chapter Library, Durham, I am indebted to the ready aid of Mr. Hennessy and Mr. Greenwell; and in the collations with the Vulgate, I have been much assisted by Mr. Macleod.

The valuable services of my old and valued friend Dr. Reeves, in reading the proofs of the prefatory chapters at a time when he had many other claims on his attention, require my special acknowledgments.

From Mr. James Peter, the minister of the parish of Deer, I have received much useful aid in my attempts to identify on the spot the names of the lands conveyed in the Celtic grants with those still applied to places in the district.

The translations of the Gaelic legend and grants in the volume have been given from the version of Mr. Whitley Stokes, the most accomplished Celtic scholar of the day. These curious memoranda formed the subject of a paper by Mr. Stokes, in the "Saturday Review" of 8th December 1860, where translations for the first time were given; and they appeared afterwards, accompanied by critical notes and a glossary, in his "Goidilica, or Notes on the

Gaelic Manuscripts, preserved at Turin, Milan, Berne, Leyden, the monastery of St. Paul's, Carinthia, and Cambridge, with eight hymns from the Liber Hymnorum, and the old-Irish notes in the Book of Armagh," pp. 47-63; a volume privately printed for the editor, at Calcutta, in the year 1866.

JOHN STUART.

EDINBURGH, *November* 1869.



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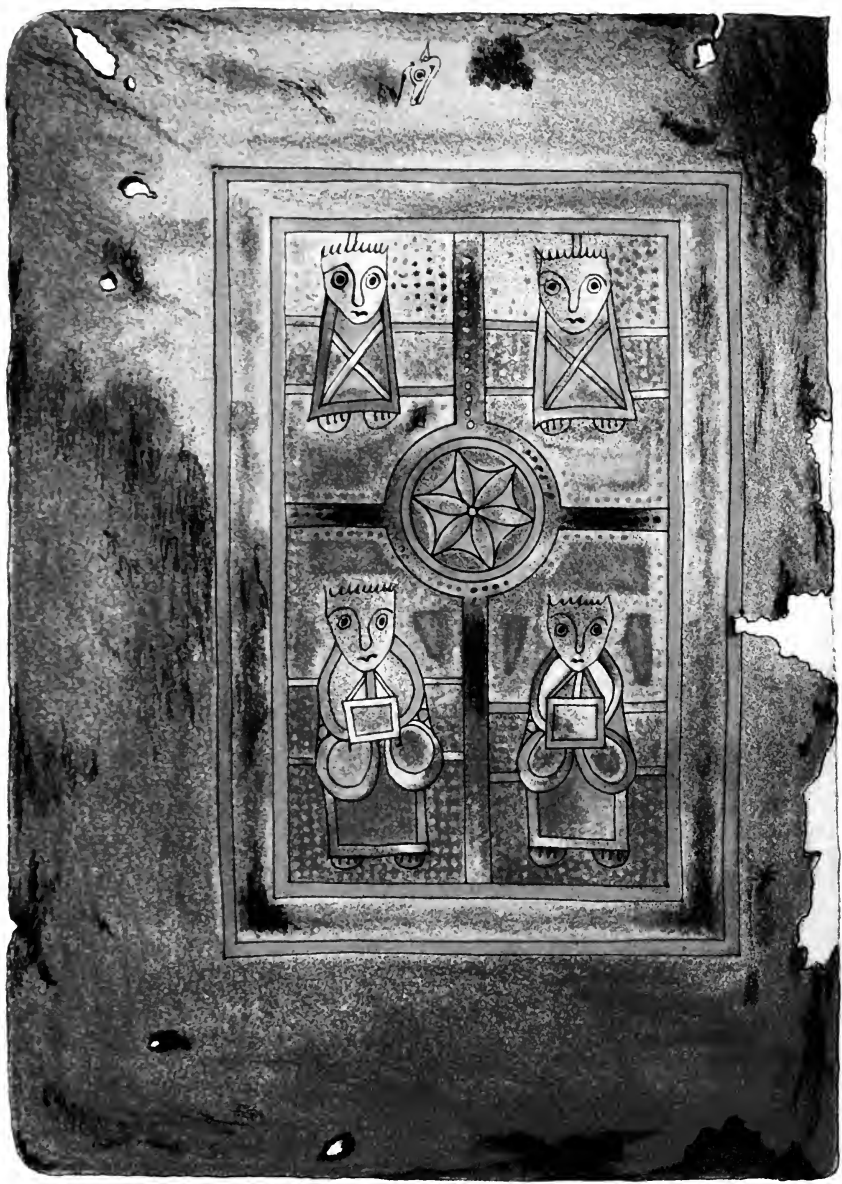
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libri generationis ihu
xpi p'm d'and p'hiabna
cham. abnacham s'inte m'ue
issac h' s'inte iacob. iacob h'
s'inte iudam. iudam 7 p'it. Bz
iuday h' s'inte phanq. 7 ana
d'eliamay. phanq h' s'inte h'
nom. esrom h' s'inte anam.
Anam h' s'inte aminadab. am
nadab h' s'inte naayon. naayon
h' s'inte yohmon. yohmon h' s'inte
boor d'elachab. boor h' s'inte
obeth exuruch. obeth h' s'inte ihye
ihye h' s'inte d'and n'etm. d'and
h' n'et s'inte palmonm. exeta q
p'are uue. palamon h' s'inte
noboum. nobay h' s'inte abnd.
abnd h' s'inte ayaph.7



The Book of Deer.

[CAP. I.] (1) **Liber** generationis ihesu¹ christi filii dauid² filii abraham³. Fol. 2.

(2) abraham³ genuit issac⁴. Issac⁴ autem genuit iacob. Iacob autem genuit iudam. Iudam⁵ et fratres eius. (3) Iudas autem genuit phares et zaram⁶ dethamar⁷. phares autem genuit essrom⁸. essrom⁸ autem genuit aram. (4) Aram autem genuit aminadab. aminadab autem genuit naason⁹. naason⁹ autem genuit solmon¹⁰. (5) solmon¹⁰ autem genuit boos¹¹ derachab¹². Boos¹¹ autem genuit obeth exruth¹³. obeth autem genuit iesse. iesse autem genuit dauid² regem. (6) Dauid² autem rex genuit salmonem¹⁴ exea¹⁵ que¹⁶ fuit urie¹⁷. (7) salamón¹⁸ autem genuit roboam. roboas¹⁹ autem genuit abiud²⁰. abiud²¹ autem genuit asaph²². . . . 7

(8) **Asaphath**²² autem genuit iosaphath²³. iosaphath²³ autem genuit Fol. 2 b.
ioram. ioras²⁴ autem genuit iozam²⁵. (9) iozias²⁶ autem genuit ioatham. iothas²⁷ autem genuit achaz. achaz autem genuit ezechiam. (10) ezechias autem genuit mannessen²⁸. mannesses²⁹ autem genuit amon. amos³⁰ autem genuit iosiam. (11) iosias autem genuit iechoniam et fratres eius intransmigratione³¹ babilonis³². (12) et post transmigrationem babilonis³². iechonias genuit salathiel. salathiel autem genuit zorobabel³³. (13) zorobabel³³ autem genuit abiud. abiud autem genuit aliachim³⁴. eliachim autem genuit azor.

¹ Iesu.

² David.

³ Abraham.

⁴ Isaac.

⁵ V. om.

⁶ Zarad.

⁷ de Thamar.

⁸ Esrom.

⁹ Naasson.

¹⁰ Salmon.

¹¹ Booz.

¹² de Racab.

¹³ ex Ruth.

¹⁴ Salomonem.

¹⁵ ex ea.

¹⁶ quae.

¹⁷ Uriae.

¹⁸ Salomon.

¹⁹ Roboam.

²⁰ Abiam.

²¹ Abia.

²² Asa.

²³ Iosaphat.

²⁴ Ioram.

²⁵ Oziam.

²⁶ Ozias.

²⁷ Ioatham.

²⁸ Manassem.

²⁹ Manasses.

³⁰ Amon.

³¹ in transmigrati-
onem.

³² Babylonis.

³³ Zorobabel.

³⁴ Eliachim.

(14) azor autem genuit saddoc·saddoc autem genuit achim·achim autem genuit eliud··(15) eliud autem genuit eleazar·eleazar autem genuit mathán¹·mathán¹ autem genuit iacob·(16) iacob autem genuit ioseph uirum mariæ de qua natusest ihesus² qui uocatur Christus··7

Fol. 3.

(17) **O**mnes igitur³ generationes ababraham⁴ usque adauid⁵ generationes·xiiii⁶··et adauid⁷ usque adtransmigrationem⁸ babilonis⁹ generationes·xiiii⁶··etadtransmigratione¹⁰ babilonis⁹ usque adchristum generationes·xiiii⁶··7

Init prologus·Item incipit nunc euangelium secundum matheum··7·7

¹ Matthan.² Iesus.³ ergo.⁴ ab Abraham.⁵ ad David.⁶ quattuordecim.⁷ a David.⁸ usque transmigrati-
tionem.⁹ Babilonis.¹⁰ a transmigratione.



7 bli n aet ichdold anctem on m h 7 an
 ektorpkeh chomallpar 7 oamyl dachert

Dorchas me mee

beaw mee hro
 donat aechaw
 maochon doer
 aedodnortan 7
 docholun yille
 fore gabaw ma
 lech 7 amgell 7
 gille en me pgun
 malinay tchz 7
 malcolun me
 molim. Coy ma
 me chniforg do
 nat songe pa
 li mihke. Com
 gell me cabina
 ig talfke clau
 de canardo
 nat doep 7
 doonortan 7
 docholun yille
 songe igorc
 he moy 7 gin



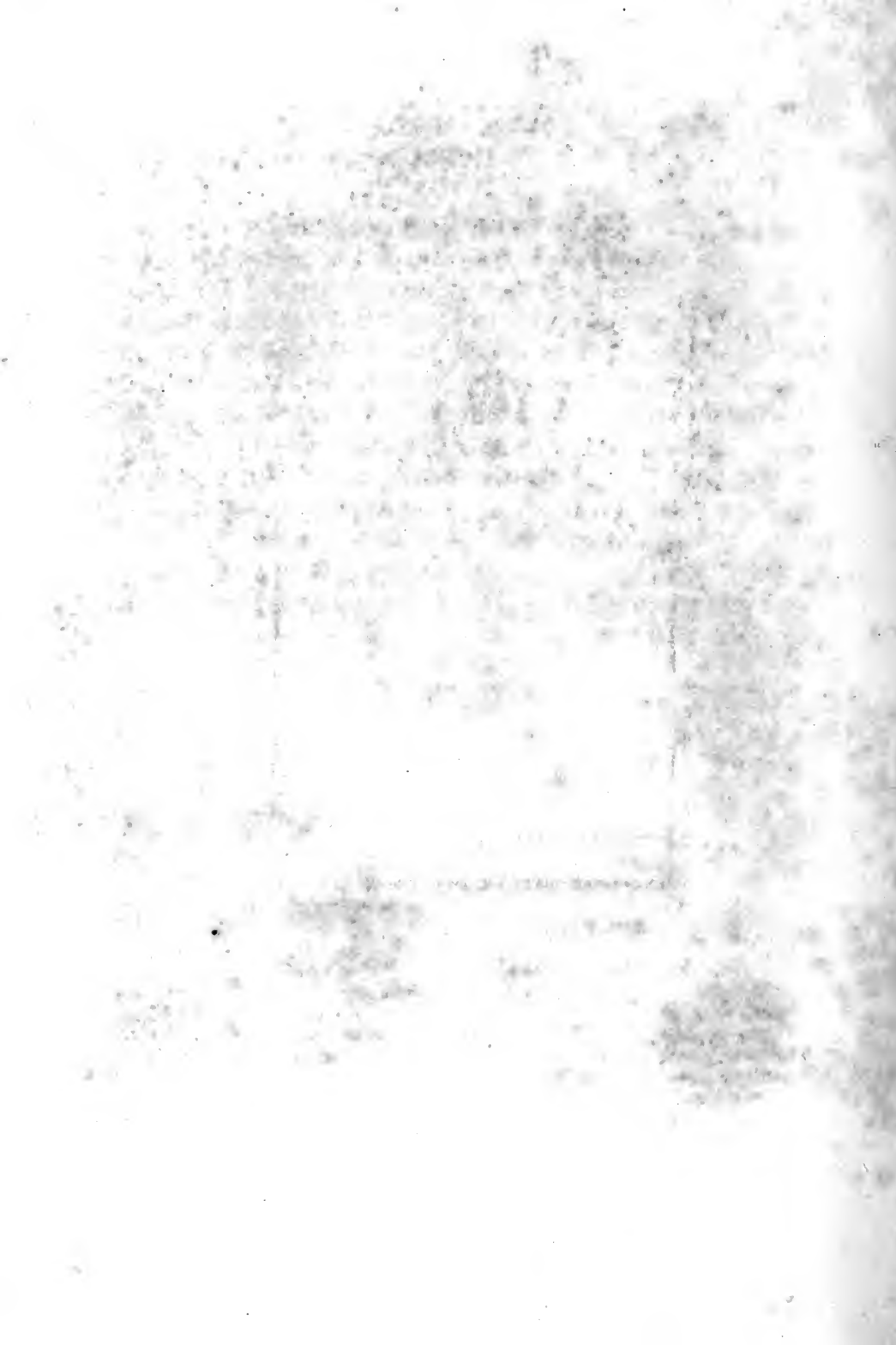
ifur nnsu dadin alfin doubuei golumchogv feogvib 7 achaw.
 maeyn ocheyraach cubrach 7 abennaet 7 ayeaen en chomallpar
 an aet cubrach 7 amallact ayeaen tiera jnr.

Pi autem the
 natio Be fiat
 Cum hst dypouata ma
 thi sup maria iohsh
 antequam mlti n hnt
 mnta? Inuetho habh
 r dhpū rō iohs autem
 un hnt cum hst homo un
 tur 7 nolt eam traducere
 noluit occidat d hnt t hnt
 eam hnt autem to cogitante
 Bece angelus dñi mromnit
 apparuit h dicit iohsh
 fili dauid noli timere acci
 ptie manam courgim tua
 q ihm exca naxctur dhpū
 rō? parit autem filiu 7 uoca
 bit nō hñ ihm ipse # paluū racti

Robard colba
 in moxer
 buch an ne
 in isen sup
 ure aben
 plin tu
 id mnta
 me nhts ar
 reb elem
 moxam
 malnah eba
 pwa n d h a q
 7 n d h o r t a n
 7 n d h o r t a n
 euli nū p e
 t a n a p p a l
 o n a b u l h
 d o l a r d i b a n
 e b u r e e g n
 d a b a t e h d o
 m e n t i p u d
 y a g i o m a n d
 a d i b a l l b a n
 e u c o r t e a n
 7 a r t a n d e l
 l a a b t e p l i n
 h y p e n r e o
 n e a l l a p
 h u l d i
 m o r t u m
 n e d o m e n

id 7 illa petru me dicitur 7 mactur 7 da me dicitur
 7 macthe buchon hali naxctur 7 mactur 7 mactur





(18) **Christi** autem generatio sic erat Cum esset disponsata¹ Fol. 5.
 mater eius maria ioseph antequam uenirent inuenta est in utero habens
 despiritu sancto (19) Iosep² autem uir eius cum esset homo³ iustus et
 nolet⁴ eam traducere uoluit occulte demittere⁵ eam (20) hec autem eo
 cogitante Ecce angelus domini in somnis apparuit⁶ ei dicens ioseph filii
 dauid nolii⁷ timere accipere mariam coniugem⁸ tuam quod enim ex ea⁹
 nascetur¹⁰ despiritusanctoest (21) pariet autem filium et uocabis nomen
 eius ihesum¹¹ ipse enim saluum faciet populum suum a peccatis eorum Fol. 5 b.

(22) **H**oc autem totum factum est ut adimpleretur¹² quod¹³ dictum
 est a domino per issiam¹⁴ prophetam dicentem (23) ecce uirgo in utero
 habebit et pariet filium et uocabunt nomen eius emanuel¹⁵ quod est inter-
 pretatum nobiscum deus Fol. 7

(24) **R**esurgens autem ioseph a somno fecit sicut preciperat¹⁶ ei angelus
 domini et accepit coniugem¹⁷ suam (25) et non cognoscebat eam donec peperit
 filium suum primogenitum et uocauit nomen eius ihesum¹⁸ Fol. 7

[CAP. II.] (1) **C**um ergo natus esset¹⁹ in bethlem²⁰ iuda²¹ in diebus erodis²² regis
 ecce magi ab oriente uenerunt in hierusolimam²³ (2) dicentes ubi est qui
 natus est rex iudeorum²⁴ uidemus²⁵ enim stellam eius in oriente et uenimus
 adorare²⁶ Fol. 7

(3) **A**udiens autem herodis²⁷ rex turbatus est et omnis hierusolima²⁸ Fol. 6.
 cum eo²⁹ (4) et congregans omnes principes sacerdotum et scribas populi
 disciscitabatur ab eis ubi christus nasceretur Fol. 7

(5) **A**t illi dixerunt³⁰ in bethlem²⁰ iuda²¹ sic enim scriptum est³¹ (6) et tu

¹ disponsata.

² Ioseph.

³ V. om.

⁴ nollet.

⁵ dimittere.

⁶ paruut.

⁷ noli.

⁸ coniugem.

⁹ in ea.

¹⁰ natum est.

¹¹ Iesum.

¹² ut adimpleretur.

¹³ id quod.

¹⁴ V. om.

¹⁵ Emmanthel.

¹⁶ praecepit.

¹⁷ coniugem.

¹⁸ Iesum.

¹⁹ V. adds Iesus.

²⁰ Bethleem.

²¹ Iudaeae.

²² Herodis.

²³ Hierosolimam.

²⁴ Iudaeorum ?

²⁵ Vidimus.

²⁶ V. adds eum.

²⁷ Herodes.

²⁸ Hierosolyma.

²⁹ illo.

³⁰ V. adds ei.

³¹ V. adds per pro-
phetam.

bethlem¹ terra iuda nequaquam minima es in principibus iuda exte enim-
 exiat² dux qui regat³ populum meum israhel⁴··7

(7) **N**unc herodis⁴ clam uocatis magis diligenter dedit⁵ ab eis
 tempus stelle que apparuit eis (8) et mittens eos⁶ in bethlem¹ dixit ite⁷
 interrogate diligenter depuero etcum inueneritis renuntiate mihi⁸ et ego
 ueniens adorem eum (9) quicum audissent⁹ regem abierunt··

Et ecce stella quam uiderant in oriente¹⁰ antecedebat eos usque dum
 ueniens staret supra ubi erat puer (10) uidentes autem stellam gauisi¹¹ sunt·
 gaudio magno ualde (11) et intrantes domum inuenerunt puerum cum maria
 Fol. 6 b. matre eius et procedentes¹² adorauerunt eum et aperuerunt thesauris suis··7

Obtulerunt¹³ ei munera aurum tús et mirram¹⁴ (12) et responso
 accepto in somnis ne redirent ad herodem sed¹⁵ per aliam uiam reuersi sunt
 in suam¹⁶ regionem (13) quicum reg¹⁷

Ecce angelus domini apparuit in somnis¹⁸ ioseph dicens surge et
 accipe puerum et matrem eius. et fuge in egiptum¹⁹ et esto ibi usque²⁰
 dicam tibi futurum est enim vtherodis²¹ querat puerum ad perdendum eum
 (14) qui consurgens accepit puerum et matrem eius nocte et accessit²² in
 egiptum¹⁹ (15) et erat ibi usque ad obitum herodis²³ ut adimpleretur²⁴ quod
 dictum est ad domino per prophetam dicentem ex egipto uocaui filium meum
 (16) tunc herodis²¹ uidens quoniam dilussus²⁵ esset amaris iratus est ualde
 et mittens occidit omnes pueros qui erant²⁶ in bethlem et in omnibus finibus²⁷
 ab imatu et infra secundum tempus quod exquisierat²⁸ amaris (17) tunc et
 inpletum est²⁹ quod dictum est per hieremiam prophetam dicentem (18) vox
 in rama audita est plorans³⁰ et ululatus multus rachel³¹ ploratus filios suos
 et noluit consolari³² quia non sunt··

(19) **D**efuncto autem herode ecce apparuit angelus domini in-

¹ Bethleem.

² exiet.

³ reget.

⁴ Herodes.

⁵ didicit.

⁶ illos.

⁷ V. adds et.

⁸ V. adds ut.

⁹ audissent.

¹⁰ oriente.

¹¹ gavis.

¹² procedentes.

¹³ obtulerunt.

¹⁴ murrum.

¹⁵ V. om.

¹⁶ regionem suam.

¹⁷ recessissent.

¹⁸ somnio.

¹⁹ Aegyptum.

²⁰ V. adds dum.

²¹ Herodes.

²² recessit.

²³ Herodis.

²⁴ adimpleretur.

²⁵ inlusus.

²⁶ erant.

²⁷ V. adds eius.

²⁸ exquisierat.

²⁹ adimpletum.

³⁰ ploratus.

³¹ Rachel.

³² consolari.

somnis ioseph in egipto (20) dicens surge et accipe puerum et matrem eius et uade in terram israhel defuncti sunt enim qui querebant animam pueri (21) qui consurgens¹ accipit² puerum et matrem eius et uenit in terram israhel (22) audiens autem quod³ archilaus⁴ regnaret in iudea pro herode patre suo timuit illuc ire et admonitus in somnis secessit in partes galiliae⁵ (23) et ueniens habitauit in ciuitate que uocatur nazareth ut dicitur quod dictum est a domino⁷ per prophetas quoniam nazareus uocabitur⁷

[CAP. III.] (1) **U**ndiebus autem illis uenit iohannis⁸ baptista⁹ predicans in deserto iudae¹⁰ (2)¹¹ dicens penitentiam agite adpropinquauit¹² enim regnum celorum¹²

(3) **H**ic¹³ enim quid dicitur esse per issaiam¹⁴ prophetam dicentem uox clamantis in deserto parate uiam domini rectas facite semitas eius⁷

(4) **I**pse autem iohannis⁷ habebat uestimentum tuum⁷ de illis¹⁵ Fol. 7 b. camelorum¹⁶ et zonam pelliciam circa lumbos suos¹⁷ esca autem eius erat locuste¹⁸ et mel siluestre¹⁸ (5) tunc exiit¹⁹ a deum hierusolima²⁰ et omnis iudea et omnis regio circa²¹ iordanen (6) et baptizabantur²² in iordanen²³ ab eo confitentes peccata sua⁷

(7) **U**idens autem multos phariseorum et saduceorum²⁴ uenientes ad baptismum²⁵ suum dixit eis progenies uiperarum quis demonstrauit uobis fugere a futura ira⁷ (8) facite ergo fructum dignum penitentiae (9) et ne uellitis²⁶ dicere inter uos²⁷ patrem habeamus²⁸ abraham dico enim uobis quia²⁹ potest deus ex lapidibus³⁰ istis suscitare filios abraham³¹ (10) iam enim securis ad radices³² arborum possita³³ est omnis arbor³⁴ ergo qui³⁵ non facit fructum bonum excidetur et in ignem mittetur⁷

(11) **E**go quidem uos baptizo³⁶ in aqua et⁷ in penitentiam qui autem

¹ surgens.

² accepit.

³ quia.

⁴ Archelaus.

⁵ Galilaeae.

⁶ adimpleretur.

⁷ V. om.

⁸ Iohannes.

⁹ baptista.

¹⁰ Iudaeae.

¹¹ V. adds et.

¹² adpropinquauit.

¹³ V. adds est.

¹⁴ Esaiam.

¹⁵ de pilis.

¹⁶ camelorum.

¹⁷ eius.

¹⁸ lucustae.

¹⁹ exiebat.

²⁰ Hierosolyma.

²¹ circum.

²² baptizabantur.

²³ Iordane.

²⁴ Sadduceorum.

²⁵ baptismum.

²⁶ uellitis.

²⁷ intra uos.

²⁸ habemus.

²⁹ quoniam.

³⁰ de lapidibus.

³¹ Abraham.

³² radicem.

³³ posita.

³⁴ ergo arbor.

³⁵ quae.

³⁶ baptizo.

post me uenturusest fortior meest cuius nonsum dignus calciamenta portare..7

Fol. 8. **E**pse bapuzauit uos¹ in spiritu sancto et igni (12) cuius uentilabrum in manu sua et mundauit² aream suam et congregauit³ tricum⁴ in orreum⁵ suum⁶ phaleas⁷ autem comburet⁸ igni inextinguibili (13) tunc uenit ihesus agalilea iniordinen⁹ ad iohannem ut bapuzaretur ab eo (14) iohannis¹⁰ autem prohibebat eum dicens Ego ad te¹¹ debeo bapuzari et tu uenis ad me (15) respondit¹² autem ihesus dixit ei sine modo sic enim decet nos implere¹³ omnem iustitiam tunc demisit¹⁴ eum (16) bapuzatus autem ihesus⁶ confestim ascendit de aqua et ecce aperti sunt ei celi et uidit spiritum dei descendentem¹⁵ de celo⁶ sicut columbam uenientem super se (17) et ecce uox de celis dicens hic est filius meus dilectus in quo mihi bene⁶ conplacui.

[CAP. IV.] (1) tunc ihesus ductus est in desertum a spiritu¹⁶ ut temptaretur¹⁷ a diabulo¹⁸..7

(2) **E**t cum ieiunasset .xl¹⁹ diebus et lx¹⁹ 20 postea essurit²¹ (3) et accedens ad eum²² temptator²³ dixit ei si filius dei es dicit ut lapides panes isti²⁴ fiant (4) qui respondens dixit scriptum est enim⁶.

Fol. 8 b. **N**on in pane solo uiuit homo sed in omni uerbo dei²⁵ quod procedit de ore dei (5) tunc adsumsit²⁶ eum zabolus²⁷ insanctam ciuitatem et statuit eum supra pinnaculum templi (6) et dixit ei Si filius dei es mitte te deorsum scriptum est enim quia angelis suis mandauit de te custodiant te in omnibus uis tuis²⁸ 29 in manibus tollent te ne forte offendas ad lapidem pedem tuum (7) ait illi ihesus rursum scriptum est non temptabis³⁰ dominum deum tuum (8) iterum adsumsit³¹ eum zabolus²⁷ in montem

¹ vos baptizauit.

² permundauit.

³ congregabit.

⁴ triticum suum.

⁵ horreum.

⁶ V. om.

⁷ paleas.

⁸ comburet.

⁹ Iordanen.

¹⁰ Iohannes.

¹¹ a te.

¹² respondens.

¹³ implere.

¹⁴ dimisit.

¹⁵ descendentem.

¹⁶ ab spiritu.

¹⁷ temptaretur.

¹⁸ a diabolo.

¹⁹ quadraginta.

²⁰ V. adds noctibus.

²¹ esuriit.

²² V. om.

²³ temptator.

²⁴ isti panes.

²⁵ V. om.

²⁶ assumpsit.

²⁷ diabolus.

²⁸ V. om. this clause from *et*.

²⁹ V. adds et.

³⁰ temptabis.

³¹ assumit.

excelsum ualde et ostendit ei omnia regna mundi et gloriam eorum (9) et dixit ei¹ hec tibi omnia dabo si cadens adoraueris me.

(10) **N**unc dicit ei ihesus uade retro² satanas scriptum est enim³ dominum deum tuum adorabis et illi soli seruias. (11) Tunc reliquit eum zabulus⁴ et ecce angeli accesserunt et ministrabant ei. 7

(12) **E**t cum⁵ audisset ihesus⁶ quod iohannis⁷ traditus esset secessit in galileam (13) et relicta ciuitate nazareth. 7

Uenit et habitauit in capharnaum⁸ maritimam in finibus zabulon et neptalim⁹ (14) ut impleretur¹⁰ quod dictum est per esaiam¹¹ prophetam dicentem¹². (15) Terra zabulon et terra¹³ neptalim⁹ uia maris trans iordanem galilee gentium (16) populus qui sedebat in tenebris uidit lucem¹⁴ magnam¹⁵ et sedentibus in regione et in umbra¹⁶ mortis lux orta est eis. 7

(17) **E**xinde coepit ihesus predicare et dicere penitentiam agite ad pro- Fol. 9.
pinquauit enim regnum celorum. 7

(18) **A**mbulans autem ihesus¹⁷ iuxta mare galilee uidit duo¹⁸ fratres simonem qui uocatur petrus et andream fratrem eius mittens¹⁹ retia²⁰ in mare erant enim piscatores. 7

(19) **E**t ait illis ihesus²¹ uenite post me et faciam uos fieri piscatores hominum (20) at illi continuo relictis retibus secuti sunt eum. (21) ²² procedens inde uidit alios duos fratres iacobum zebedei et iohannem fratrem eius in nauis cum zebedeo patre eorum reficientes retia sua et uocauit eos (22) illi autem statim relictis retibus suis² et patre secuti sunt²³. 7

(23) **E**t circumibat ihesus totam galileam docens in synagogis²⁴ eorum et predicans euangelium regni et sanans omnem languorem²⁵ et omniem infirmitatem in populo. (24) **E**t abiit opinio eius in totam siriam²⁶. **E**t obtulle-

¹ illi.

² V. om.

³ V. om.

⁴ diabolus.

⁵ eum autem.

⁶ V. om.

⁷ iohannes

⁸ Capharnaum.

⁹ Nephtalim.

¹⁰ impleretur.

¹¹ Esaiam.

¹² V. om.

¹³ V. om.

¹⁴ lumen uidit.

¹⁵ magnum.

¹⁶ et umbra.

¹⁷ V. om.

¹⁸ duos.

¹⁹ mittentes.

²⁰ rete.

²¹ V. om.

²² V. adds Et.

²³ V. adds eum.

²⁴ Synagogis.

²⁵ languorem.

²⁶ Syrian.

runt¹ ei omnes male habentes uaris langoribus² ettormentis conprehensós³
etqui demonia habent⁴ etlunaticos etparaliticos⁵ etcurauit eos (25) et secute
sunt eum turbe multe·degalilea et decapoli⁶ etdehierusolimís⁷ et⁸ iudea
et detransiordanén⁷

[CAP. V.] (1) **U**idens autem ihesus⁹ turbas ascendit in montem etcum sedisset
Fol. 9 b. accesserunt ad eum discipuli eius (2) etaperiens ós suum docebat eos·
dicens·7

(3) **B**eati pauperes spiritu quoniam ipsorum est regnum celorum·

(4) **B**eati mites quoniam ipsi possidebunt terram·7

(5) **B**eati qui lugent nunc¹⁰· quoniam ipsi consolabuntur¹¹·

(6) **B**eati qui essuriunt¹² etsitiunt iustitiam quoniam ipsi satura-
buntur·7

(7) **B**eati misericordes quoniam ipsi misericordiam consequentur·7

(8) **B**eati mundo corde quoniam ipsi deum uidebunt·7

(9) **B**eati pacifici quoniam¹³ filii dei uocabuntur·

(10) **B**eati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter iustitiam quoniam ip-
sorum est regnum celorum·7

(11) **B**eati estis cum male dixerint uobis homines¹⁴ etpersecuti uos
fierint¹⁵ etdixerint omne malum aduersum uos mentientes propter me

(12) gaudete etexultate quoniam mercis¹⁶ uestra copiosa est in celis· sic
enim persecuti sunt et¹⁴ prophetis¹⁷ qui fuerunt ante uos·

(13) **U**os estis sal terre quod si sal euanuerit in quo salietur¹⁸ ad nihilum
ualebit¹⁹ nisi utmittatur foras etconculcetur ab hominibus·7

Fol. 10. (14) **U**os estis lux mundi non potest ciuitas abscondi supra montem
possita²⁰ (15) neque accendant²¹ lucernam etponunt eam sub modio sed

¹ obtulerunt.

² variis languoribus.

³ comprehensos.

⁴ habebant.

⁵ paralyticos.

⁶ Decapolim.

⁷ et Hierosolymis.

⁸ V. adds de.

⁹ V. om.

¹⁰ V. om.

¹¹ consolabuntur.

¹² esuriunt.

¹³ V. adds ipsi.

¹⁴ V. om.

¹⁵ fuerint.

¹⁶ merces.

¹⁷ prophetas.

¹⁸ salietur ?

¹⁹ ualet ultra.

²⁰ posita.

²¹ accendant.

super candelabrum¹ vtluceat omnibus hominibus² qui indomu³ sunt (16) sic luceat lux uestra coram hominibus utuideant bona⁴ opera uestra et-glorificent patrem uestrum qui incelisest·

(17) **N**olite putare quia⁵ ueni soluere legem aut prophetas·nonueni soluere legem² sed adimplere⁶ (18) amen quippe dico uobis donec trans-eat celum etterra iota unum aut unus apex nonpreteribit alege usquequo⁷ omnia fiant (19) qui autem⁸ soluerit unum demandatis istis minimis et docuerit sic homines minimus uocabitur inregna⁹ celorum qui autem fecerit etdocuerit hic magnus uocabitur inregno celorum·

(20) **D**ico enim uobis quia nisi habundauerit¹⁰ iustitia uestra plus quam scribarum et phariseorum nonintrabitis inregno¹¹ celorum (21) audistis· quia dictumest antiquis nonoccides qui autem occiderit reus erit iudicio¹² (22) qui autem dixerit fatuæ¹³ reus erit gehenne ignis···7

(23) **S**i¹⁴ offeres monus¹⁵ tuum adaltare etibi recordatus fueris quia Fol. 10 b. frater tuus habet aliquid aduersus¹⁶ te (24) relinque ibi monus¹⁵ tuum ante¹⁷ ante¹⁷ altare etuade¹⁸ reconciliare fratri tuo ettunc ueniens offeres¹⁹ monus¹⁵ tuum··

(25) **E**sto consentiens aduersario tuo cito dum es inuia cum eo ne forte tradat te aduersarius iudici et iudex tradat te ministro etincarcerem mittaris··

(26) **A**men dico tibi nonexies inde donec reddas nouissimum cadren-tem²⁰··

(27) **A**udistis quia dictum est antiquis nonmechaueris²¹·(28) Ego autem dico uobis quia²² omnis qui uiderit mulierem adconcupiscendum eam iam mechatus²³ est²⁴ incorde suo (29) quod si oculus²⁵ tuus

¹ candelabrum.

² V. om.

³ domo.

⁴ uestra bona opera.

⁵ quoniam.

⁶ adimplere.

⁷ donec.

⁸ ergo.

⁹ regno.

¹⁰ abundauerit.

¹¹ regnum.

¹² V. adds Ego autem

dico uobis quia

omnis qui iras-

citur fratri suo,

reus erit iudicio :

qui autem dixerit

fratri suo racha,

reus erit concilio :

¹³ fatue.

¹⁴ V. adds ergo.

¹⁵ munus.

¹⁶ aduersum.

¹⁷ V. om., and has ad

altare.

¹⁸ V. adds prius.

¹⁹ offers.

²⁰ quadrantem.

²¹ mechaueris.

²² quoniam.

²³ mechatus.

²⁴ V. adds—eam.

²⁵ oculus.

dexter scandalizat te erue eum etproiece¹ abste expedit enim tibi ut periat² unum membrorum tuorum quam totum corpus tuum mittatur ingehenam³.

(30) **S**i⁴ dextera manus tua scandalizat te abscide eam et proiece¹ abste expedit enim tibi vt periat² unum membrorum tuorum quam totum corpus tuum eat ingehenam³.

Fol. 11. (31) **D**ictum est autem qui cumque dimissirit⁵ uxorem suam det illi libellum repudi⁶

(32) **E**go autem dico uobis quia omnis qui⁷ uxorem suam excepta fornicationis causa fecit⁸ eam moechari etqui dismissam⁹ duxerit adulterat

(33) **M**terum audistis quia dictum est antiquis nonperiurabis¹⁰ reddes autem domino iuramenta tua.

(34) **E**go autem dico uobis noniurare omnino neque percelum quia thronus domini¹¹ est (35) neque perterram quia scabillum¹² pedum eius neque perhierusolimam¹³ quia ciuitas¹⁴ magni regis.

(36) **N**eque percapud¹⁵ tuum iuraueris quia non potes unum capillum tuum¹⁶ facire¹⁷ aut nigrum (37) sit autem sermo uester est est non non quod autem his habundantius¹⁸ amalo est⁷.

(38) **A**udistis quia dictum est oculum¹⁹ proocculo²⁰ dentem pro dente. (39) Ego autem dico uobis nonresistere malo sed si quis te percusserit indexteram²¹ maxillam tuam preueni²² illi etalteram (40) etei²³ qui uult tecum iudicio contendere ettonicam²⁴ tuam tollere dimitte²⁵ ei²⁶

Fol. 11 b. etpallium (41) etqui²⁷ te angarizauerit²⁸ mille passus uade cum illo et²⁶ alia duo (42) qui petit adte²⁹ et²⁶ da ei etuolenti motuari³⁰ ate ne auertaris. (43) audistis quia dictum est diliges proximum tuum et odies³¹ inimicum tuum⁷.

¹ proice.

² pereat.

³ Gehennam.

⁴ V. has Et si.

⁵ dimiserit.

⁶ repudii.

⁷ V. adds dimiserit.

⁸ facit.

⁹ dimissam.

¹⁰ peierabis.

¹¹ dei.

¹² scabillum est.

¹³ Hierosolymam.

¹⁴ V. adds est.

¹⁵ caput.

¹⁶ V. om. and has album.

¹⁷ facere.

¹⁸ abundantius est.

¹⁹ oculum.

²⁰ oculo et.

²¹ dextera maxilla tua.

²² praebe.

²³ illi.

²⁴ tunicam.

²⁵ remitte.

²⁶ V. om.

²⁷ quicumque.

²⁸ angariaberit.

²⁹ a te.

³⁰ mutuari.

³¹ odio habebis.

(44) **E**go autem dico uobis·Diligite inimicos uestros et¹ benefacite his qui oderunt uos et orate persequentibus et calumniantibus uobis² (45) ut sitis filii patris uestri qui incelisset qui solem suum oriri facit super bonos et malos et pluit super iustos et iniustos (46) si enim diligatis eos qui uos diligunt³ quam mercedem⁴ habebitis nonne⁵ publicani⁶ hoc faciunt (47) etsi saluaueritis fratres uestros tantum quid amplius facitis nonne et¹ ethnici hoc faciunt·(48) estote ergo⁷ perfecti sicut et pater uester celestis⁸ perfectus est

[CAP. VI.] (1) attendite⁹ ne iustitiam uestram faciatis coram hominibus ut uideamini¹⁰ ab eis alioquin mercedem⁴ non habebitis apud patrem uestrum qui incelis est····7

(2) **C**um ergo facies elimoysinam¹¹ nolii¹² tuba canere ante te sicut Fol. 12. hiphoriti¹³ faciunt in sinagogis¹⁴ et in uicis uthonorificentur ab hominibus· Amen dico uobis recipere¹⁵ mercedem⁴ suam·(3) te autem faciente elimoysinam¹⁶ nesciat sinistra tua quid faciat dextera tua (4) ut sit elimoysina¹⁷ tua in absconso¹⁸ et pater tuus qui uidet in absconso¹⁸ reddet tibi····7

(5) **E**t cum arabitis¹⁹ nolite fieri²⁰ sicut hippocrite¹³ qui amant in sinagogis¹⁴ et in angulis platearum stantes orare ut uideantur ab hominibus····7

Amen dico uobis recipere¹⁵ mercedem⁴ suam (6) tu autem cum orabis intra incubiculum tuum et cluso²¹ ostio²² tuo ora patrem tuum in absconso¹⁸ et pater tuus qui uidet in absconso¹⁸ reddet tibi (7) orantes autem·Nolli²³ multum loqui sicut ethnici putant enim quia in multiloquio²⁴ suo exaudiantur····7

(8) **N**olite ergo ad simularii²⁵ eis·sic²⁶ pater uester quid²⁷ opus sit Fol. 12 b. uobis antequam petatis eum (9) sic ergo uos orabitis··

1 V. om.

2 vos.

3 diligunt.

4 mercedem.

5 V. adds et.

6 publicani.

7 V. adds vos.

8 caelestis.

9 Attendite.

10 uideamini.

11 elemosynam.

12 noli.

13 hypocritae.

14 synagogis.

15 receperunt.

16 elemosynam.

17 elemosyna.

18 abscondito.

19 oratis.

20 non eritis.

21 clauso.

22 ostio.

23 nolite.

24 multiloquio.

25 assimilari.

26 scit enim.

27 quibus.

Pater noster qui es incelis sanctificetur nomen tuum (10) adueniat regnum tuum fiat uoluntas tua sicut incelo etinterra (11) panem nostrum supersubstantialiam dá nobis hodie (12) etdimitte nobis debita nostra sicut etnos demittimus¹ debitoribus nostris (13) et ne nós inducas² intem-
tationem³ sed libera nos amalo··7

(14) **S**í enim remisseritis⁴ hominibus peccata eorum remittit⁵ et uobis pater⁶ celistis···7

Delicta uestra (15) si autem⁷ dimisseritis⁴ hominibus nec pater uester celistis⁸ dimittet uobis⁸ peccata uestra··

(16) **C**um autem ieiunatis nolite fieri sicut hippocrite⁹ tristes exterminant enim facies suas utpateant¹⁰ hominibus ieiunantes····7

Amén dico uobis¹¹ recipere¹² mercedem¹³ suam (17) tú autem cum autem⁸ ieiunas unge capud¹⁴ tuum etfaciem tuam laua (18) ne
Fol. 13. uidearis hominibus ieiunans·sed patri tuo qui est inabscondo¹⁵ etpater tuus qui uidet inabsconso¹⁵ reddet tibi··7

(19) **N**olite thesaurizare uobis thesauros interra ubi erugo ettinea demoletur¹⁶ et⁸ubi fures effodiunt etfurantur··

(20) **T**hesaurizate autem uobis thesauros incelo ubi neque erugo neque tinea demoletur¹⁶ et ubi fures noneffodiunt nec furantur (21) ubi enim fuerit¹⁷ thesaurus tuus ibi erit¹⁸ etcor tuum (22) lucerna corporis tui⁸ est oculus¹⁹ tuus·sí fuerit oculus²⁰ simplex²¹ totum corpus tuum lucidum erit·(23) sí autem oculus¹⁹ tuus nequam fuerit totum corpus tuum tenebrosus²² erit··

Si ergolu men quod inteest tenebre sunt ipse⁸ tenebre quam²³ te⁸ erunt··

(24) **N**emo potest duobus dominis seruire·aut enim unum odio

¹ dimittimus.

² inducas nos.

³ temptationem.

⁴ dimiseritis.

⁵ dimittet.

⁶ V. adds vester.

⁷ V. adds non.

⁸ V. om.

⁹ hypocritae.

¹⁰ pareant.

¹¹ V. adds quia.

¹² receperunt.

¹³ mercedem.

¹⁴ caput.

¹⁵ abscondito.

¹⁶ demolitur.

¹⁷ est.

¹⁸ est.

¹⁹ oculus.

²⁰ oculus tuus.

²¹ simplex.

²² tenebrosus.

²³ quantae.

habebit et alterum dileget¹ aut unum sustinebit et alterum contempnet²
non potestis deo seruire et mammonæ³...

(25) **E**deo dico uobis ne solliciti sitis animæ uestræ quid manducetis Fol. 13 b.
neque corpori uestro quid induemini⁴ nonne anima plus est quam esca et
corpus⁵ quam uestimentum (26) respicite uolatilia cæli⁶ nonserunt neque
metunt neque congregant in horrea et pater uester celistis⁷ pascit illa nonne
uós magis plures estis illis (27) qui⁸ autem uestrum cogitans potest addi-
cere⁹ ad staturam suam cubitum unum (28) et de uestimento quid solliciti
sitis¹⁰ considerate lilia agri quomodo crescunt non laborant neque neunt¹¹
(29) dico autem uobis quoniam nec salamón¹² in¹³ gloria sua coopertus
est sicut unum ex eis¹⁴ (30) sí autem foenum¹⁵ agri quod hodie est et
crás incliuatum¹⁶ mittitur deus sic uestit quantum ogis¹⁷ uos modice¹⁸
fidei...

(31) **N**olite ergo solliciti esse dicentes quid manducabimus aut quid
bibemus aut quo operiemur (32) hec enim omnia gentes inquirunt scit enim
pater uester quid horum¹⁹ indigetis.

(33) **Q**uerite ergo²⁰ primum regnum dei²¹ et iustitiam eius et hec omnia²² Fol. 14.
prestabuntur²³ uobis.

(34) **N**olite ergo solliciti esse²⁴ in crastinum crastinus enim dies sollicitus
erit sibi ipse sufficit enim²⁵ diei malitia sua.

[CAP. VII.] (1) **N**olite iudicare ut non iudicemini (2) in quo enim iudicio iu-
dicaueritis iudicabitur²⁵ de uobis²⁶ (3) quid enim²⁷ uides fistucam²⁸ in-
oculo²⁹ fratris tui et trahem in oculo²⁹ tuo non uides (4)³⁰ quomodo dicis
fratri tuo sine eiciam fistucam²⁸ de oculo²⁹ tuo et ecce trabis³¹ est in oculo²⁹

¹ diliget.

² contemnet.

³ mammonæ.

⁴ induamini.

⁵ V. adds plus est.

⁶ V. adds quoniam.

⁷ caelestis.

⁸ Quis.

⁹ adicere.

¹⁰ estis?

¹¹ nent.

¹² Salomon.

¹³ V. adds omni.

¹⁴ istis.

¹⁵ faenum.

¹⁶ clibanum.

¹⁷ magis.

¹⁸ minimæ.

¹⁹ quia his omnibus.

²⁰ autem.

²¹ V. om.

²² omnia hæc.

²³ adicientur.

²⁴ esse solliciti.

²⁵ iudicabimini.

²⁶ V. om. and adds

et in qua mensura

mensi fueritis,

metietur uobis.

²⁷ autem.

²⁸ festucam.

²⁹ oculo.

³⁰ V. adds Aut.

³¹ trabes.

tuo (5) hippocrita¹ eice primum trabem deocculo² tuo³ tunc uidebis eicere fistucam⁴ 5 fratris tui..

(6) Nolite dare sanctum canibus neque mittatis margaritas⁶ uestras ante porcas⁷ ne forte conculcent eas pedibus suis et conuersi dirumpant uos..

(7) Petite et dabitur uobis querite et inuenietis pulsate et aperietur uobis (8) omnis enim qui petit accipit

Fol. 14 b.

Et qui querit inuenit et pulsanti aperietur (9) ante⁸ quis est ex uobis homo quem si petierit filius suus panem numquid lapidem porriget ei⁹ (11) si ergo uos cum sitis mali nostis bona dare filiis uestris quanto magis pater uester qui incelis est dabit bona petentibus te¹⁰..

(12) Omnia ergo quecumque uultis ut faciant uobis homines bona et ita¹¹ et uos facite eis hec¹² enim lex et profete¹³..7

(13) Entrate per angustam portam quam¹⁴ lata porta et in spatiosa¹⁵ uia que ducit ad perditionem et multi sunt qui intrant per eam (14) quam angusta porta¹⁶ et spatiosa uia que ducit ad perditionem et multi sunt qui intrant per eam quam angusta porta¹⁶ et arcta uia que ducit ad uitam et pauci sunt qui inueniunt eam..7

(15) Attendite¹⁷ uobis¹¹ a falsis prophetis¹⁸ qui ueniunt ad uos inuestimentis..7

Fol. 15.

Quoniam intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces (16) a fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos..7

Numquid colligunt de spinis uuas aut de tribulis¹⁹ ficas²⁰ (17) sic omnes²¹ arbor bona bonus fructus²² facit.

Mala autem arbor malos fructus²³ facit. (18) Non potest arbor mala bonus fructus facire²⁴. neque arbor bona malos fructus²⁵ facere.

¹ Hypocrita.² oculo.³ V. adds et.⁴ festucam.⁵ V. adds de oculo.⁶ margaritas.⁷ porcos.⁸ Aut.⁹ V. adds Aut si piscem petet, numquid serpentem porriget ei?¹⁰ se.¹¹ V. om.¹² V. adds est.¹³ prophetæ.¹⁴ quia.¹⁵ spatiosa.¹⁶ ¹⁶ This is a repetition.¹⁷ Attendite.¹⁸ prophetis.¹⁹ tribulis.²⁰ ficus?²¹ omnis.²² fructus bonos.²³ fructus malos.²⁴ bona fructus malos facere.²⁵ mala fructus bonos.

(19) Omnis arbor que non facit fructum bonum excidetur¹ et mittetur in ignem²...7

(20) Igitur ex fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos..

(21) **N**on omnis qui dicit mihi domine domine intravit³ in regnum celorum sed qui facit uoluntatem patris mei qui in celis est ipse intravit³ in regnum celorum..

(22) **M**ulti mihi⁴ dicent in illa die domine domine nonne in tuo nomine⁵ profetauimus et in tuo nomine⁶ demonia eiecimus⁷ et in tuo nomine⁶ uirtutes multas facimus⁸ (23) et tunc confitebor illis quia nunquam⁹ noui uos discedite a me qui operamini iniquitatem..7

¹ exciditur.

³ intrabit.

⁵ in nomine tuo.

⁷ eiecimus.

² in ignem mittitur.

⁴ dicent mihi.

⁶ nomine tuo.

⁸ fecimus ?

⁹ nunquam.

[CAP. I.] **I**nitium euangelii ihesu¹ christi fili² dei (2) sicut scriptum
Fol. 17. est inessia³ profeta⁴...7

Ecce ego⁵ mitto angelum meum ante faciem tuam qui preparauit⁶
uiam tuam ante⁵ te⁵...

(3) **U**ox clamantis in deserto parate uiam domini rectas facite semitas⁷

Fol. 17 b. (4) **F**uit iohannis⁸ baptizans et predicans bap-
tismum penitentiae in remissionem⁹ peccatorum...7

(5) **E**t egrediebatur ad illum omnis iudae¹⁰ regio et hierusollimite¹¹
uniuersi et baptizabantur ab illo in iordane¹² flumine confitentes peccata
sua...7

(6) **E**t erat iohannis¹³ uestitus pilis camelli¹⁴ et zona pellicia circa
lumbos suos¹⁵ et locustas¹⁶ et mel siluestre edebat et predicabat dicens (7)
uenit fortior me post me cuius non sum dignus procumbens soluere corrigiam
calciamentorum eius (8) ego baptizaui uos¹⁷ in⁵ spiritu sancto...7

Fol. 18. (9) **E**t factum est in diebus illis uenit ihesus anazaréth galilie¹⁸ et bab-
tizatus est in iordane¹⁹ ab iohanne (10) et statim ascendens de aqua uidit
apertos caelos et spiritum tamquam columbam discendentem²⁰ et manentem
in ipso. (11) et uox facta est de caelis tu es filius meus dilectus in te con-
placui²¹...7

(12) **E**t statim spiritum²² expellit eum in desertum (13)²³ erat in-
deserto xl²⁴ diebus et xl²⁴ noctibus et temptabatur²⁵ a satana...7

Eratque cum bestiis²⁶ et angeli ministrabant illi... (14) Post²⁷ autem
quam traditus est iohannis¹³ uenit ihesus in galileam...7

¹ Iesu.

² filii.

³ Esaia.

⁴ propheta.

⁵ V. om.

⁶ praeparabit.

⁷ V. adds eius.

⁸ Iohannes in deserto.

⁹ remissionem.

¹⁰ Iudaeae.

¹¹ Hierosolymitae.

¹² Iordane.

¹³ Iohannes.

¹⁴ cameli.

¹⁵ eius.

¹⁶ lucustas.

¹⁷ V. adds aqua, ille uero
baptizabit vos.

¹⁸ Galilaeae.

¹⁹ in Iordane.

²⁰ descendentem.

²¹ complacui.

²² spiritus.

²³ V. adds Et.

²⁴ quadraginta.

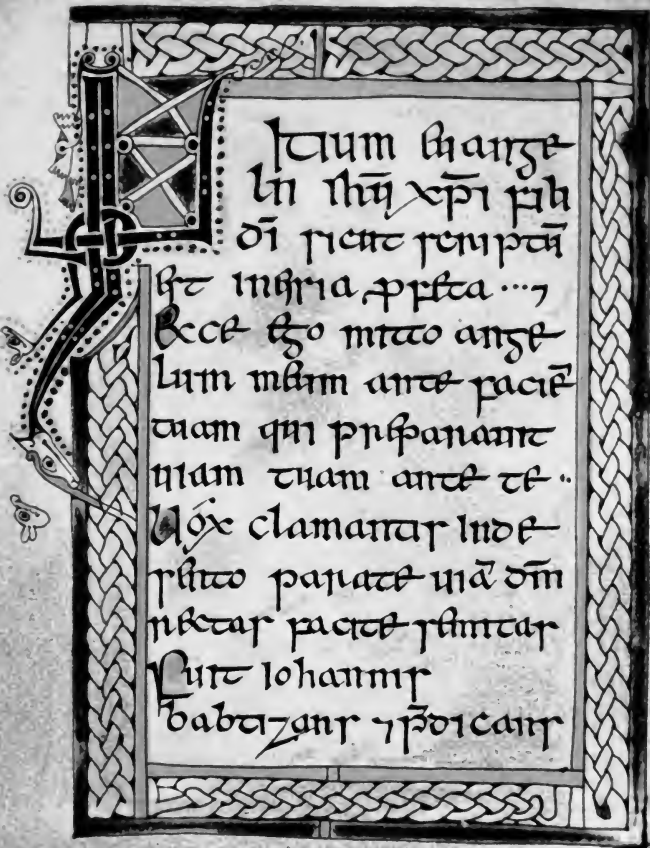
²⁵ temptabatur.

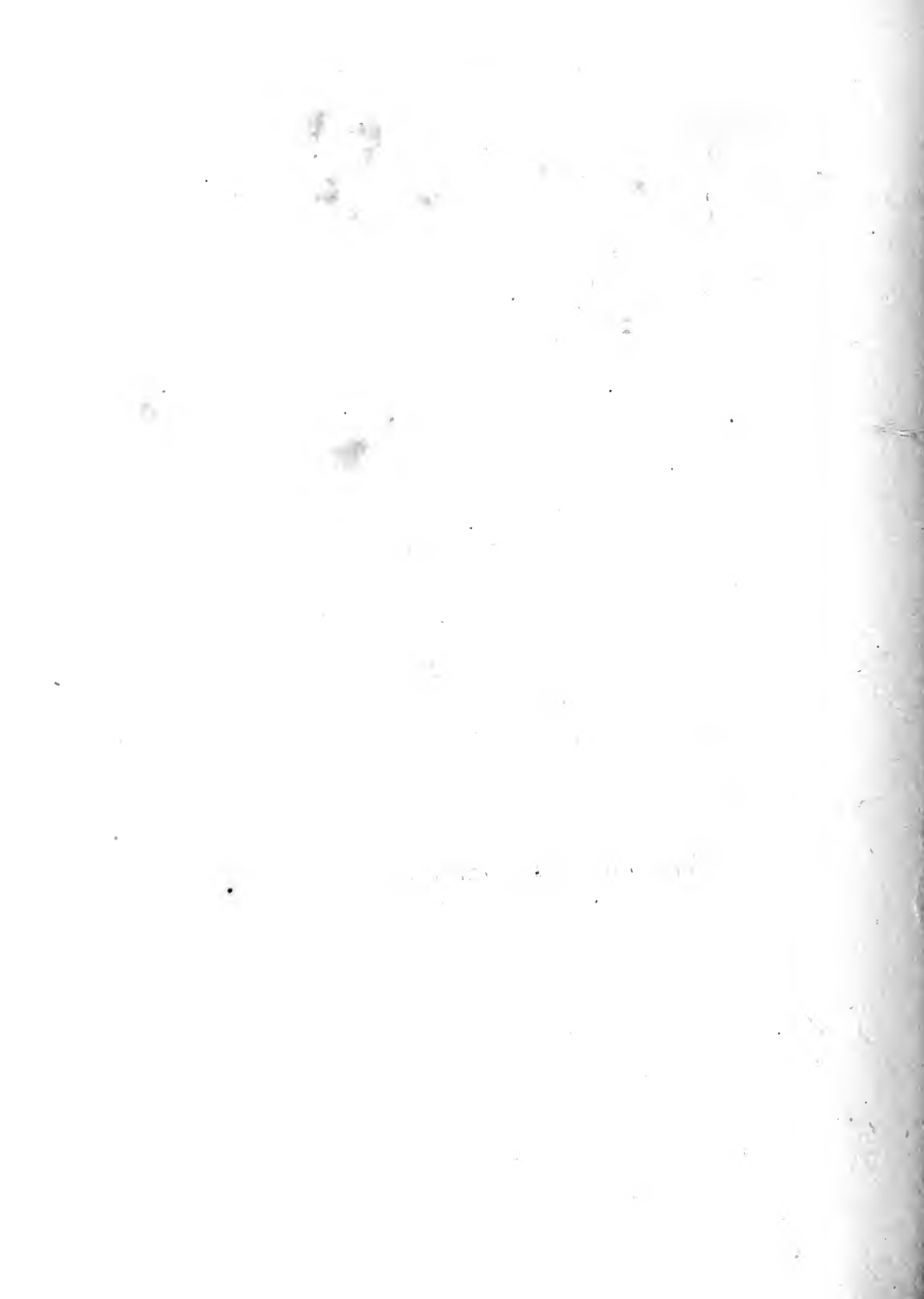
²⁶ bestiis.

²⁷ postquam.









Predicans euangelium regni dei (15) etdicens quoniam inpletum¹ est tempus etadpropincauit² regnum dei penitemini etcredite euangelio (16) etpreteriens secus mare galilea³ uidit simonem etandream fratrem eius⁴7

mittentes retia inmare erant enim piscatores..

Fol. 18 b.

(17) **E**t dixit eis ihesus uenite post me etfaciam uos fieri piscatores hominum (18) etprotinus relictis retibus secuti sunt eum⁵7

(19) **E**t progressus⁴ inde pussillum⁵ uidit iacobum zebedei etiohannem fratrem eius et ipsos innaui componentes⁶ retia (20) etstatim uocauit illos etrelicto patre suo zebedeo innaui cum mercenariis⁷ secuti sunt eum⁶

(21) **E**t ingrediuntur capharnaum⁸ etstatim sabbatis ingresus⁹ in¹⁰ sinagogam¹¹ docebat eos (22) etstupebant super doctrinam¹² eius erant¹³ enim docens eos quasi potestatem habens¹⁴ nonsicut scribae⁷

(23) **E**t erat insinagoga¹⁵ eorum homo in spiritu in spiritu¹⁰ in mundo etexclamauit (24) dicens quid nobis et tibi ihesum¹⁶ nazarene uenisti perdere nos scio quis sis¹⁷ sanctus dei⁶

(25) **E**t comminatus est ei ihesus dicens obmutesce etexi dehomine Fol. 19.

(26) spiritus¹⁰ in munde¹⁰ etdiscerpens cum spiritus inmundus etexclamans uoce magna exiuit ab eo (27) etmirati sunt omnes ita vtconquerent¹⁸ interse dicentes quid nam est hoc que doctrina hec noua est¹⁰ quia in potestate etspiritibus inmundis imperat¹⁹ etobediunt²⁰ ei. (28) etprocessit rumor eius statim in omnem regionem galiliae³7

(29) **E**t protinus egredientes disinagoga²¹ uenerunt in domum simonis etandrea²² cum iacob²³ etiohanne²⁴ (30) discumbebat²⁵ autem socrus simonis febricigans²⁶ etstatim dicunt ei de illa (31) etaccedens eleuabit²⁷ eam et¹⁰

¹ impletum.

² appropinquauit.

³ Galilaeae.

⁴ progressus.

⁵ pusillum.

⁶ componentes.

⁷ mercennariis.

⁸ Capharnaum.

⁹ ingressus.

¹⁰ V. om.

¹¹ synagogam.

¹² doctrina.

¹³ erat.

¹⁴ V. adds et.

¹⁵ synagoga.

¹⁶ Iesu.

¹⁷ es.

¹⁸ conquirerent.

¹⁹ imperat.

²⁰ oboediunt.

²¹ de synagoga.

²² Andrae.

²³ Iacobo.

²⁴ Iohanne.

²⁵ Decumbebat.

²⁶ febricitans.

²⁷ elevauit.

adprehensa¹ manu eius et continuo dimisit eam febris et ministrabat eis...7

(32) **U**espere autem facta cum occidisset sol adferebant² ad eum omnes male habentes et demonia³ (33) et erat omnis ciuitas congregata ad ianuam

Fol. 19 b. (34) et curauit multos qui uexabatur⁴ uariis⁵ languoribus⁶ et demonia multa eiciebat...7

Et non sinebat ea loqui⁷ quoniam sciebant⁸

(35) **E**t de luculo⁹ ualde surgens et¹⁰ egressus abiit in desertum locum ibique orabat (36) et persecutus¹¹ est eum simon et qui cum illo erant (37) et eum inuenient¹² eum dixerunt ei quia omnes querunt te (38) et ait illis ihesus¹³ eamus in proximos uicos et ciuitates uide¹⁴ ibi predicem et¹⁰ adhuc enim ueni (39) et erat predicans in synagogis¹⁵ eorum et omni galilea et demonia eiciens...7

(40) **E**t uenit ad eum leprosus¹⁶ deprecans¹⁷ eum et genu flexo dixit si uis potes me mundare (41) ihesus autem misertus¹⁸ eius extendit manuum¹⁹ suam et tangens eum ait illi uolo mundare (42) et eum dixisset²⁰ statim discessit ab eo lepra et mundatus est (43) et comminatus est¹⁰ ei statim et¹⁰ eicit illum (44) et dicit ei uade mini²¹ dixeris sed uade ostende te principi sacerdotum et offer pro emundatione tua que precipit²² moyses²³ testimonium illis...7

Fol. 20. (45) **A**t ille egressus²⁴ coepit predicare et defamare²⁵ sermonem ita ut iam non possit²⁶ manifeste in ciuitatem introire sed foris in desertis locis esse et conueniebant ad eum undique...7

[CAP. II.] (1) **E**t iterum intrauit capharnaum²⁷ post dies (2) et auditum est quod in domu²⁸ esset et conuenerunt multi ita ut non caperet neque ad ianuam

¹ adprehensa.

² afferebant.

³ V. adds habentes.

⁴ vexabantur.

⁵ variis.

⁶ languoribus.

⁷ loqui ea.

⁸ V. adds eum.

⁹ de luculo.

¹⁰ V. om.

¹¹ secutus.

¹² inuenissent.

¹³ V. om.

¹⁴ ut et.

¹⁵ synagogis.

¹⁶ leprosus.

¹⁷ deprecans.

¹⁸ misertus.

¹⁹ manum.

²⁰ dixisset.

²¹ Vide nemini.

²² praecepit.

²³ Moses.

²⁴ egressus.

²⁵ diffamare.

²⁶ posset.

²⁷ Capharnaum.

²⁸ domo.

etloquebatur eis uerbum (3) etuenerunt ferentes adeum paraliticum¹ qui aquatuor² portabatur (4) etcum non possent..

Qfferre eum illi praeturba nundauerunt³ tecum⁴ ubi erat etpate facientes submisserunt⁵ grabatum inquo paraliticus iacebat (5) cumuidisset autem ihesus fidem illorum ait paralitico filii demittuntur⁶ tibi peccata (6) erant autem illie quidam describis sedentes etcogitantes incordibus suis (7) quid hic sic loquitur blasfemat..⁷

Quis potest dimittere peccata nisi deus solus⁸ (8) quo statim cognito ihesus spiritu suo..⁷

Quia sic cogitarent⁹ intra¹⁰ se dicit illis quid ista cogitatis in- Fol. 20 b.
cordibus uestris (9) quidestfacilius dicere paralitico dimittuntur tibi peccata tua¹¹ an dicere surge ettolle grabatum¹² etambula..

(10) **U**t autem sciretis¹³ quia potestatem habet filius hominis in terra dimittendi peccata ait paralitico (11) tibi dico surge et¹⁴tolle grabatum¹⁵ tuum etuade indomum tuam (12) etstatim ille surrexit et¹⁴sublato grabatto abiit coram omnibus ita vtadmiraerentur¹⁶ omnes ethonorificent¹⁷ deum dicentes quia nunquam¹⁸ sic uidimus..⁷

(13) **E**t egressus¹⁹ est rursus admare. omnisque turba ueniebat adeum et docebat eos (14) etcum preteriret uidit leui malphei²⁰ sedentem ad teloneum²¹ etait illi sequere me et surgens secutus est eum..⁷

(15) **E**t factum est cum acumberet²² indomu²³ illius multi puplicani²⁴ etpeccatores simul discumbebant cum ihesu etdiscipulis eius erant Fol. 21.
enim multi qui etsequabantur eum (16) etscribe etpharisaei uidentes qui²⁵ manducaret.

Eum peccatoribus etpuplicanis dicebant²⁶ discipulis eius quare cum puplicanis etpeccatoribus manducat etbibit magister uester..⁷

¹ paralyticum.

² quattuor.

³ nudauerunt.

⁴ tectum.

⁵ summiserunt.

⁶ dimittuntur.

⁷ blasphemat.

⁸ solus deus?

⁹ cogitarent.

¹⁰ inter.

¹¹ V. om.

¹² grabattum tuum.

¹³ sciatis.

¹⁴ V. om.

¹⁵ grabattum.

¹⁶ ammirarentur.

¹⁷ honorificent.

¹⁸ nunquam.

¹⁹ egressus.

²⁰ Leui Alphei.

²¹ teloneum.

²² acumberet.

²³ domo.

²⁴ publicani.

²⁵ quia.

²⁶ dicebant.

(17) **H**oc audito ihesus ait illis nonnecesse habent sani medico¹ sed qui male habent. Non enim ueni uocare iustos sed peccatores (18) et erant discipuli iohannis etpharisei ieunantes² etueniunt etdicunt illi cur³ discipuli iohannis etphariseorum ieunant tu⁴ autem discipuli nonieunant (19) etait illis ihesus numquid possunt filii nuptiarum quam diu⁵ est cum illis sponsus⁵ ieunare quanto tempore habent secum sponsum nonpossunt ieunare (20) uenient autem dies cum auferetur abeis⁶ ettunc ieunabunt in illa die (21) nemo enim⁷ adsumentum⁸ pani⁹ rudis adsuit¹⁰ in⁷ uestimento ueteri...7

Fol. 21 b.

Alioquin auferet supplimentum¹¹ nouum aueteri etmaior scissura fit (22) etnemo mittit uinum nouum¹² in utres uetres¹³ alioquin disrumpet uinum utres etuinum effundetur¹⁴ etvtres peribunt sed uinum nouum in utres novos mitti debet etutraque⁷ seruiantur⁷

(23) **E**t factum est iterum cum sabbatis ambulet¹⁵ ihesus⁷ persata et discipuli eius ceperunt¹⁶ pregreddi¹⁷ etuellere spicas (24) pharisei autem dicebant ei ecce quid faciunt sabbatis quod non licet (25) etait illis numquam legistis quid fecerit dauid quando necessitatem habuit etessuritur¹⁸ ipse et qui cum eo erant (26) quando¹⁹ introuit²⁰ in²¹ domum dei suabithar²² principe sacerdotum etpanes propositionis²³ manducauit quos non licet manducare nisi solis²¹ sacerdotibus etdedit eis qui cum eo erant...7

(27) **E**t dicebat illis²⁴ sabbatum propter hominem factum est etnon homo propter sabbatum (28) itaque dominus est filius hominis etiam sabbati...7

[CAP. III.] (1) **E**t introiuit²⁰ iterum sinagogam eterat²⁵ homo habens manum aridam (2) etobseruabant eum si sabbatis curaret vtaccussarent²⁶ illum (3) etait homini habenti manum aridam surge inmedium (4) etdicit eis licet sabbatis

¹ medicum.² ieunantes.³ Quare.⁴ tui.⁵ sponsus cum illis est.⁶ V. adds sponsus.⁷ V. om.⁸ assumentum.⁹ panni.¹⁰ assuit.¹¹ supplementum.¹² novellum.¹³ veteres.¹⁴ effunditur.¹⁵ ambularet.¹⁶ coeperunt.¹⁷ praegredi.¹⁸ esuriit.¹⁹ quomodo.²⁰ introiit.²¹ V. om.²² sub Abiathar.²³ propositionis.²⁴ eis.²⁵ V. adds ibi.²⁶ accusarent.

benefacere án male animam saluam facire¹ án perdere at illi tacebant (5) etcircumspiciens eos cum ira··

Contristatus super cecitatem² cordis eorum dicit homini extende manum tuam etextendit etresistuta³ est manus illi··

(6) **E**xeuntes autem⁴ pharisei cum herodianis consilium faciebant aduersus eum quomodo eum perderent (7) etihesus cum discipulis suis secessit admare··7

Et multa turba agalilia⁵ etaeiuda⁶ secutaest eum·(8) et⁷abierusolimis⁸ et abidumea ettransiordanén etqui circa tirum⁹ etsidonem multitudo magna audientes que faciebat uenerunt adeum·7 (9) etdixit discipulis suis utin⁷ Fol. 22 b. nauicula sibi deseruiret propter turbam ne conprimerent eum··

(10) **M**ultos enim sanabat ita vtinruerent ineum¹⁰ tangerent quotquot autem habebant plagas (11) etspiritus immundos¹¹ cum illum uidebant procidebant ei··

Et clamabant¹² (12) tu es filius Dei etuechementer¹³ comminabatur eis ne manifestarent illum··

(13) **E**t ascendens inmontem uocauit adsé quos uoluit ipse aduenerunt¹⁴ ad eum (14) etfecit vtessent·xii¹⁵·cum illo etut mitteret eos predicare euangelium (15) etdedit illis potestatem curandi¹⁶ eteciendi demonia··

(16) **E**t inpossuit¹⁷ simoni nomen petrum¹⁸ (17) etiacobum zebedei etiohannem fratrem iacobi etinpossuit¹⁷ eis nomina boarnerges¹⁹ quodest filii tonitruui (18) etandream etphilippum etbartholomeum etmatheum²⁰ etthomam etiacobum alpei etthadeum²¹ etsimonem cannaneum²² (19) etiudam scaríothe²³ qui²⁴ tradit²⁵ illum····7

(20) **E**t ueniunt addomum etconuenit iterum turba ita vtinonpossent neque panem manducare (21) etcum audissent sui discipuli⁷ exierunt tenere Fol. 23.

¹ facere.

² caecitate.

³ restituta.

⁴ V. adds statim.

⁵ Galilaea.

⁶ et iudaea.

⁷ V. om.

⁸ Hierosolymis.

⁹ Tyrum.

¹⁰ V. adds ut illum.

¹¹ imundi.

¹² V. adds dicentes.

¹³ vehementer.

¹⁴ et uenerunt.

¹⁵ duodecim.

¹⁶ V. adds infirmitates.

¹⁷ imposuit.

¹⁸ Petrus.

¹⁹ Boarnerges.

²⁰ Mattheum.

²¹ Taddeum.

²² Cananaeum.

²³ Scariot.

²⁴ V. adds et.

²⁵ tradidit.

eum dicebant enim quoniam infurem conuersus¹ est (22) et scribæ qui ab ierosolymis² descenderant³ dicebant quoniam belzeub⁴ habet et quia in principe in principe⁵ demonum eicit demonia··

(23) **E**t conuocatis eis in parabolis⁶ dicebat illis quomodo potest satanas satanam eicere (24) etsi regnum in se diuidatur non potest stare regnum illud⁷ (25) etsi domus super semet ipsam disperiat⁸ non poterit⁹ domus illa stare (26) etsi satanas consurrexerit¹⁰ in semet ipsum disperitus¹¹ et non potest¹² stare sed finem habet (27) nemo potest uasa¹³ fortis ingressus in⁵ domum diripere nisi prius alliget fortem¹⁴ et tunc domus¹⁵ eius diripiet¹⁶··7

Fol. 23 b. (28) **A**men dico uobis quoniam omnia dimittentur filiis hominum peccata et blasphemiae¹⁷ quibus blasphemauerint¹⁸···7 (29) in spiritum sanctum non habet remissionem in aeternum sed reus erit eterni delicti (30) quoniam dicebant spiritum inmundum habet (31) et ueniunt mater eius et fratres et foris stantes misserunt¹⁹ ad eum uocantes eum (32) et sedebat circa eum turba et dicunt ei·

Ecce mater tua et fratres tui foris querunt te (33) et respondens eis ait que est mater mea et fratres mei (34) et circumspiciens eos qui incircuito eius stabant²⁰ ait···7

Ecce mater mea et fratres mei (35) qui²¹ faciunt²² uoluntatem dei qui enim fecerit uoluntatem dei hic frater meus et soror²³ mea et mater est·

[CAP. IV.] (1) et iterum coepit docere ad mare et congregata est ad eum turba multa²⁴ ut²⁵ nauem ascenderet sederet in mari et omnis turba circa mare super terram erat (2) et docebat illos in parabolis⁶ multa et dicebat illis in doctrina sua (3) audite··7

Ecce exiit seminas²⁶ ad seminandum (4) et cum²⁷ seminat illud²⁸

¹ versus.

² Hierosolymis.

³ descenderant.

⁴ Beelzeub.

⁵ V. om.

⁶ parabolis.

⁷ illius.

⁸ disperiatur.

⁹ potest.

¹⁰ consurrexit.

¹¹ V. adds est.

¹² poterit.

¹³ uasa.

¹⁴ fortem alliget.

¹⁵ domum.

¹⁶ deripiet.

¹⁷ blasphemiae.

¹⁸ V. adds qui autem

blasphemauerit.

¹⁹ miserunt.

²⁰ sedebant.

²¹ V. adds enim.

²² fecerit.

²³ soror.

²⁴ V. adds ita.

²⁵ V. adds in.

²⁶ seminans.

²⁷ dum.

²⁸ aliud.

decedit¹ circa uiam etuenerunt uolucres etcomederunt illud (5) aliud uero Fol. 24.
 cecidit super petrosa ubi nonhabuit terra² etstatim exortum est quoniam
 nonhabebat altitudinem terre (6). etquando exortum³ est sol exestuauit
 et⁴eoquod nonhaberet radicem exaruit (7) et aliud cecidit inspinas⁵ et-
 ascenderunt spine etsoffocauerunt illud⁶ etfructum nondedit (8) aliud
 cecidit interram bonam etdabat fructum ascendentem eterescentem et-
 adferebat unum·xxxxta⁷·etunum sexaginta·etunum centum·(9) etdicebat
 qui habet aures audiendi audiet⁸··7

(10) **E**t cum esset singularis interrogauerunt eum hii⁹ qui cum eo
 erant cum duodecim parabulas¹⁰ (11) etdicebat eis uobis autem¹¹ tatum¹²
 est scribere¹³ misterium¹⁴ regni dei··7

Illis autem qui foris sunt inparabulis.¹⁵

Omnia fiunt (12) utuidentes uideant etnonuideant etaudientes
 audiant etnonintelligant ne quando conuertantur etdemittantur¹⁶ eis
 peccata (13) etait illis nescitis parabulam¹⁷ hanc etquomodo··7

Omnes parabulas¹⁰ cognoscetis (14) qui seminat uerbum seminat (15) Fol. 24 b.
 hii¹⁸ autem sunt qui circa uiam ubi seminatur uerbum¹⁹ etqui neglegentur
 uerbum accipiunt¹⁹ etcum audierint conuestim²⁰ uenit satanas etaufert²¹
 quod seminatum est incorde²² eorum (16) ethii¹⁸ sunt qui¹¹ similiter qui
 super petrosa.seminantur qui cum audierint uerbum statim cum gaudio
 accipiunt illud (17) etnonhabent radicem insé sed temporales sunt deinde
 orta tribulatione etpersecutione propter uerbum confestim scandalizantur
 (18) etalii sunt²³ inspinis seminantur hii⁹ sunt qui uerbum audiunt (19)
 etherumnæ²⁴ seculi etdeceptio diuitiarum etcirca relinqua²⁵ concupiscentiæ
 introeuntes soffificant²⁶ uerbum etsine fructu efficitur (20) ethii⁹ sunt qui
 supra²⁷ terram bonam seminati sunt

¹ cecidit.

² terram multam.

³ exortus.

⁴ V. om.

⁵ spinis.

⁶ illud.

⁷ triginta.

⁸ audiat.

⁹ hi.

¹⁰ parabolas.

¹¹ V. om.

¹² datun.

¹³ scire.

¹⁴ mysterium.

¹⁵ parabolis.

¹⁶ dimittantur.

¹⁷ parabolam.

¹⁸ hi.

¹⁹ V. om. this

clause.

²⁰ confestim.

²¹ V. adds uerbum.

²² corda.

²³ V. adds qui.

²⁴ aerumnae.

²⁵ reliqua.

²⁶ suffocant.

²⁷ super.

Hii¹ sunt¹ qui audiunt uerbum et suscipiunt et fructificant unum
·xxxmum²·et unum·lxxmum³·et unum centum···7

(21) **E**t dicebat illis numquid uenit lucerna ut sub modio ponatur aut sub
lecto nonne ut supra⁴ candelabrum⁵ (22) non enim est aliquid absconditum
quod non manifestetur nec factum est occultum sed ut in palam ueniat (23) si
quis habet aures audiendi audiat··7

(24) **E**t dicebat illis uidete quid audiat in qua mensura mensi fueritis
remittetur⁶ uobis et adicietur⁷ uobis (25) quid⁸ enim habet dabitur ei⁹ et
qui non habet etiam quod habet auferetur ab illo··7

(26) **E**t dicebat sic est regnum dei quem admodum si faciat homo¹⁰
iactet¹ semen¹¹ in terra¹² (27) et dormiat et exsurgat nocte ac die et semen
germinat¹³ et increscat dum nescit ille (28) ultro enim terra fructificat primum
herbam deinde spicam deinde plenum frumentum in spica (29) et cum se
produxerit fructus statim mittit falcem quoniam messis adest¹⁴···7

Fol. 25 b. (30) **E**t dicebat cui ad similibimus regnum dei aut cui parabula¹⁵ con-
parabimus illud (31) sic¹⁶ est¹ ut granum sinapis quod cum siminatum¹⁷
fuerit in terra minimum¹⁸ est omnibus seminibus que sunt in terra (32) et
cum siminatum fuerit ascendit et fit maius omnibus holeribus et facit ramos
magnos ita ut possint sub umbra eius aues celi habitare··

(33) **E**t talibus multis parabolis¹⁹ loquebatur eis uerbum prout poterant
audire (34) sine parabula autem non loquebatur eis··7

Seorsum autem discipulis suis deserebat²⁰ omnia (35) et ait illis die
illa²¹ cum sero esset factum transeamus contra (36) et dimittentes turbam
adsumunt eum ita ut erat²² in nauis·

Et aliae naues erant cum illo (37) et facta est procella magna uenti
et fluctus mittebat in nauem ita ut impleretur²³ nauis (38) et erat ipse in puppi

Fol. 26. supra ceruicel²⁴ dormiens et excitant eum··7

¹ V. om.

² triginta.

³ sexaginta.

⁴ super.

⁵ V. adds ponatur.

⁶ remetietur.

⁷ adicietur.

⁸ Qui.

⁹ illi.

¹⁰ homo iaciat.

¹¹ sementem.

¹² terram.

¹³ germinet.

¹⁴ adest messis.

¹⁵ parabola.

¹⁶ sicut.

¹⁷ seminatum.

¹⁸ minus.

¹⁹ parabolis.

²⁰ diserebat.

²¹ illa die.

²² erant.

²³ impleretur.

²⁴ cervical.

Et dicunt¹ magister nonadte pertinet quia perimus (39) etexurgens
 comminatus est uento etdixit mari tace² obmutescet cessauit uentus
 etfacta est tranquillitas magna (40) etait illis quid timidi estis necdum
 habitis³ fidem ettimebunt⁴ magno timore⁵ etdicebant adalterutrum quis
 [CAP. V.] putas est iste quia ad⁶uentus etmare obediunt⁷ ei (1) et uenerunt trans-
 fretum maris in regionem gera seniorum.....7

(2) **E**t exeuntes⁸ ei denauis statim occurrit ei demonumentis⁹ in spiritu
 immundo (3) qui domicilium habebat inmonumentis et neque catenis iam
 quisquam eum poterat ligare (4) quoniam sepe pedibus¹⁰ etcatenis uinctus
 disruptisset¹¹ catenas¹² etconpedes¹³ conminuisset¹⁴ etnemo poterat eum
 domare (5) etsemper nocte ac die inmonumentis etinmontibus erat etclamans
 etconcedens¹⁵ selapedibus¹⁶ (6) uidens¹⁷ autem ihesus¹⁸ alongare¹⁹ cucurrit²⁰
 etadorauit eum..

(7) **E**t clamans uoce magna dixit²¹ quid mihi ettibi ihesu filii dei Fol. 26 b.
 summi adiuro te perdeum ne me torques²² (8) dicebat enim illi exi²³ spiritus
 immunde abhominis (9) etinterrogabat eum quod tibi nomen est etdicit ei
 legio nomen mihi est quia multi sumus (10) etdeprecabatur eum multum
 ne se expelleret extra regionem (11) erat autem ibi circa montem grex
 porcorum magnus pascens (12) etdeprecabantur eum spiritus dicentes mitte
 nos inporcos utineos introeamus (13) etconcessit eis statim ihesus etex-
 euntes spiritus immundi introierunt inporcos etmagno inpetu grex precipitatus
 est inmare erant autem quassi²⁴ duo milia etsoffocati sunt inmare
 (14) qui autem pascebant eos fugerunt etnuntiauerunt inciuitate²⁵ etin-
 agros etegressi sunt uidere quid esset facti (15) etuenerunt²⁶ adihesum
 etuident eum²⁷ qui ademonia²⁸ uexabatur sedentem uestitum etsane mentis

1 V. adds ei.

2 V. adds et.

3 habetis.

4 timuerunt.

5 timore magno.

6 et.

7 obediunt.

8 exeuntes.

9 V. adds homo.

10 conpedibus.

11 disruptisset.

12 catenas.

13 conpedes.

14 conminuisset.

15 concidens.

16 lapidibus.

17 uidens.

18 Iesum.

19 longe.

20 cucurrit.

21 dicit.

22 torques.

23 Exi.

24 V. om this clause,
and has ad duo
milia.

25 ciuitatem.

26 veniunt.

27 illum.

28 daemonio.

Fol. 27. ettimuerunt (16) etnarrauerunt illis qui uiderant qualiter factum esset ei et¹qui demonium habuerat etdeporcis (17) etrogare eum coeperunt vtdiscidiret² afinibus eorum..

(18) **C**umque ascenderet in¹nauem cepit³ illum deprecari quia⁴ demonia⁵ uexatus fuerat vtesset cum illo (19) etnonadmissit⁶ eum sed ait illi uade indomum tuam adtuos etadnuntia illis quanta tibi dominus fecerit etmisertus est¹ sit tui (20) et⁷cepit³ predicare indecapuli⁸ quanta sibi fecisset⁹ dominus¹ ihesus etomnes mirabantur...7

(21) **E**t cum transcendisset ihesus innauis rursus transfretum conuenit turba multa adillum eterat circa mare (22) etuenit¹⁰ dearchi sinagogis¹¹ nomine iairus etuidens eum procedit¹² adpedes eius (23) etdeprecatur¹³ eum multum dicens quoniam filia mea inextremis est ueni inpone manus super eam..ut saluassit¹⁴ etuiuat (24) ethabit¹⁵ cum illo etsequabatur eum turba multa etconprimebant¹⁶ illum (25) etmulier que erat inprofluo¹⁷

Fol. 27 b. sanguinis annis·xii¹⁸·(26) etfuerat multa perpessa aconplurimis¹⁹ medicibus²⁰ eterogauerat omnia sua nec quicquam proficerat²¹ sed²² deterius habebat (27) et¹cum audisset deihesu uenit inturba retro ettetigit uestimentum eius (28) dicebat enim quia si uel uestimentum²³ tetigero²⁴ ²⁵ (29) etconfestim siccatus est fons sanguinis eius etsensit corpore quod sanata esset aplaga (30) etstatim ihesus cognoscens insemet ipso uirtutem que exierat deo²⁶ conuersus adturbam aiebat quis tetigit uestimenta mea (31) etdicebant ei discipuli sui uides turbam..7

Conprimentem te etdicis quis me tetigit (32) etcircumspiciebat uidere eam que hoc fecerat (33) mulier autem timens ettrepens sciens quo²⁷ factum esset insé uenit etprocidit ante eum etdixit ei omnem ueritatem (34) ille autem dixit²⁸ filia fides tua te saluam fecit uade inpace etesto sana aplaga tua (35) adhuc eo loquentē ueniunt abarchi sinagogo.²⁹

¹ V. om.

² discederet.

³ coepit.

⁴ qui.

⁵ daemonio.

⁶ admisit.

⁷ V. adds abiit et.

⁸ Decapoli.

⁹ fecisset.

¹⁰ V. adds quidam.

¹¹ archesynagogis.

¹² procidit.

¹³ deprecabatur.

¹⁴ sit.

¹⁵ abiit.

¹⁶ comprimebant.

¹⁷ profluo.

¹⁸ duodecim.

¹⁹ compluribus.

²⁰ medicis.

²¹ profecerat.

²² V. adds magis.

²³ V. adds eius.

²⁴ tetigero.

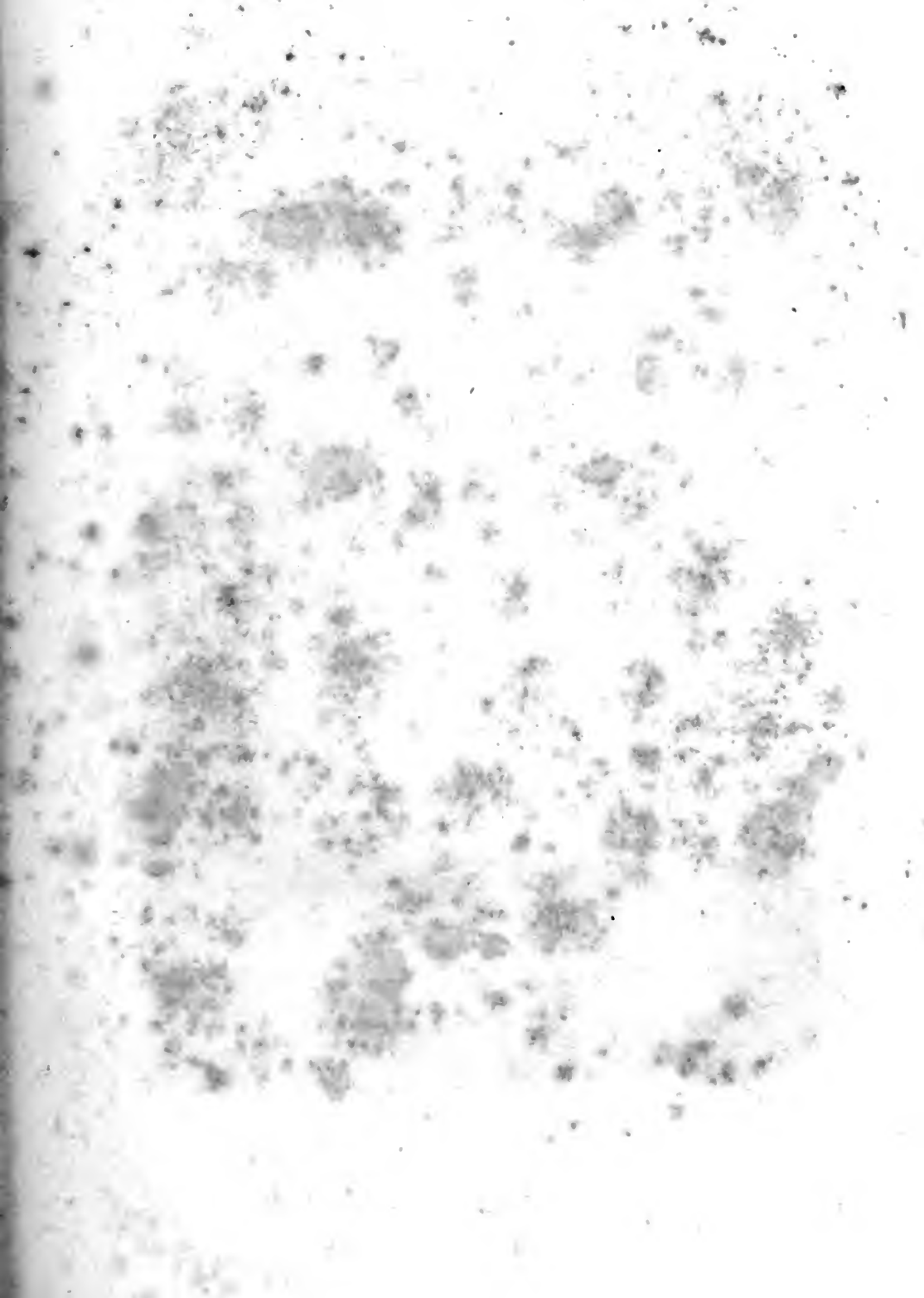
²⁵ V. adds salva ero.

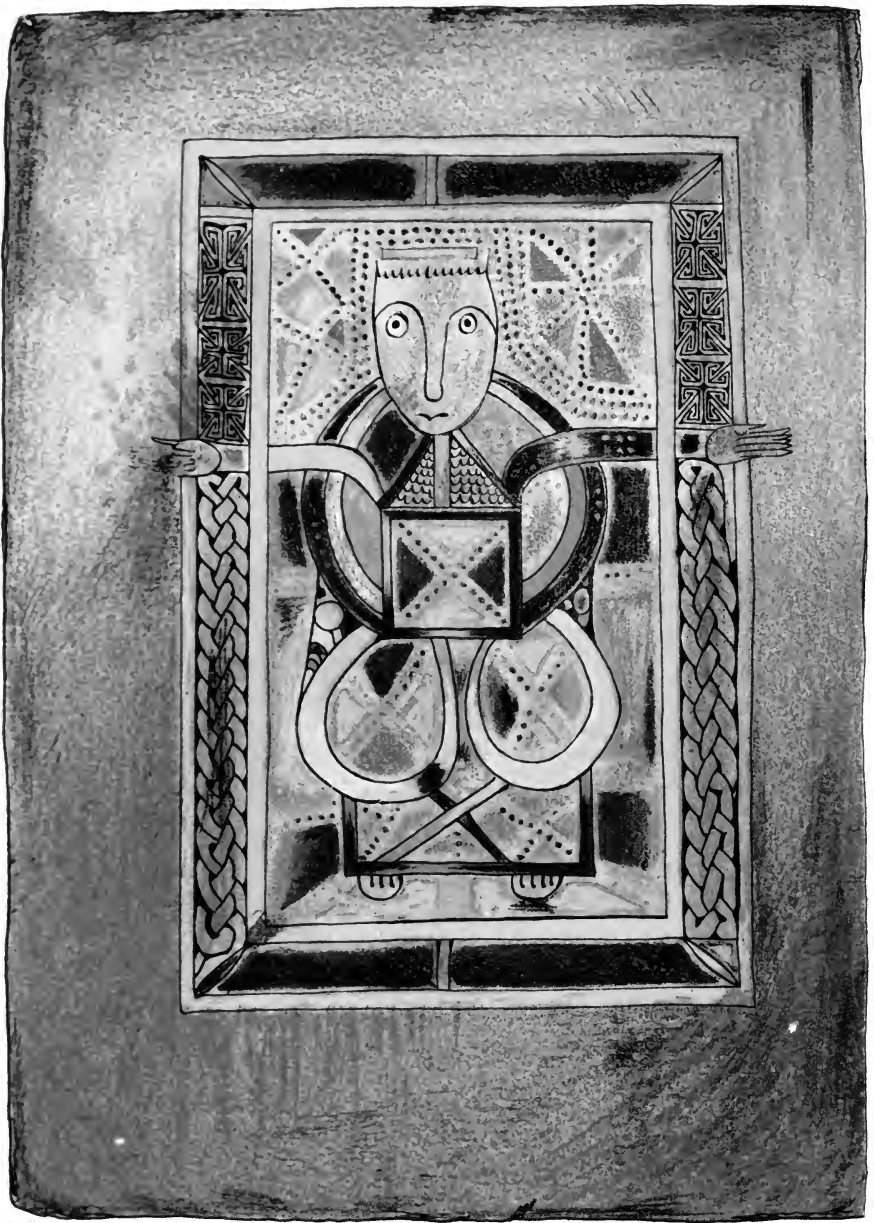
²⁶ de eo.

²⁷ quod.

²⁸ V. adds ei.

²⁹ archesynagogo.





Uoniam quide
 muta conata se
 ordinane nauia
 aonhu que in nobis
 plette puto nsum si
 cut tradidit nobis
 qui ab initio ipi uide
 nunt 7 in nra p
 stitit uisum 7 in
 ad pteuo pncipio omni
 bus diligenti exordie
 tibi penitentie obtine
 thlopile 7 cognor
 cap bonum ..



[CAP. I.] (1) **Q**uoniam quidem multi conati sunt ordinare narrationem Fol. 30.
 que innobis completæ sunt rerum (2) sicut traderunt¹ nobis qui abinitio
 ipsi uiderunt etmisistri fuerunt sermonis (3) uisumest etmihi adsecuto²
 principio³ omnibus⁴ diligenter exordine tibi scribere obtime⁵ theofile (4)
 vtcognoscas eorum··

Uerborum dequibus eruditus es ueritatem··7

Fol. 30 b.

(5) **F**uit indiebus herodis regis iude⁶ sacerdos quidam nomine zacharias
 deuce abia et uxor illi defiliabus aaron etnonen⁷ ei⁸ elizabéth⁹ (6) erant
 autem iusti ambo ante deum INcendentes¹⁰ inomnibus mandatis etiustifica-
 tionibus domini sine querilla¹¹ (7) etnon erat illis filius eo quod esset
 elizabéth⁹ sterelis etambo processissent indiebus suis·(8) factum est autem
 cum sacerdotio fungeretur inordine uicis sue ante deum (9) secundum con-
 suetudinem sacerdoti sorte¹² exiit utincensum poneret ingressus¹³ intemplum Fol. 31.
 domini (10) etomnis multitudo erat populi orans foris hora incensi (11)
 apparuit autem illi angelus domini adstans¹⁴ adextris altaris incensi (12)
 etzacharias turbatus est uidens ettimor inruit super eum (13) ait autem
 adillum angelus ne timeas zacharias quia¹⁵ exaudita est deprecatio tua etuxor
 tua elizabéth⁹ pari·¹⁶ filium etuocabis nomen eius iohannem (14) eterit
 gaudium tibi etexultatio etmulti innatiuitate eius gaudebunt (15) erit
 enim magnus coram domino etinum etsiceram¹⁷ nonbibet etspiritu sancto
 replebitur adhuc exutero matris sue (16) et multos filiorum israhel
 conuertit¹⁸ addominum deum ipsorum (17) etipse precidet¹⁹ ante illum·
 in spiritu etuirtute heliæ vtconuertat corda patrum²⁰ infilios etincredibiles
 adprudenciam iustorum parere domino plebem perfectam (18) etdixit Fol. 31 b.
 zacharias adangelum unde hoc sciam·Ego enim sum senex etuxor mea
 precessit²¹ indiebus suis··7

¹ tradiderunt.

² assecuto.

³ a principio.

⁴ omnia.

⁵ optime.

⁶ Iudaeae.

⁷ nomen.

⁸ eius.

⁹ Elisabet.

¹⁰ incedentes.

¹¹ querella.

¹² forte.

¹³ ingressus.

¹⁴ stans.

¹⁵ quoniam.

¹⁶ V. adds pariet and

tibi.

¹⁷ sicera.

¹⁸ convertet.

¹⁹ praecedet.

²⁰ patrum.

²¹ processit.

(19) **E**trespondens angelus dixit ei·Ego sum gabriel¹ qui adsto ante deum etmissus sum loqui adte et hæc tibi euangelizare··7

(20) **E**t ecce eris tacens nonpoteris loqui usque indiem quo hec fiant proequod non credisti² uerbis meis que inplebuntur³ intempore suo

(21) eterat plebs exspectans zachariam etmirabantur quod tardaret ipse intemplo·(22) egressus autem nonpoteret⁴ loqui adillos etcognouerunt quod uisionem uidisset intemplo etipse erat innuens eis etpermansit mutus·

(23) etfactum est⁵ utinpleti⁶ sunt dies officii⁷ eius abiit indomum suam : (24) post hos autem dies concepit elizabéth⁸ uxor eius et occultabat⁹ se mensibus quinque dicens·

(25) **Q**uia sic mihi fecit¹⁰ dominus indiebus quibus respexit auferre obprobrium meum interhomines (26) immense autem sexto misus¹¹ est angelus gabriel¹² adeo inciuitatem galile¹³ cui nomen nazareth (27) aduirginem¹⁴ disponstatam¹⁵ uiro cui nomen erat ioseph dedomo dauid etnomen uirginis maria (28) etingressus angelus adeam dixit haue gratia plena dominus tecum benedicta tu intermulieres¹⁶ (29) que cum audisset turbata est insermone eius etcogitabat qualis esset ista locutio¹⁷ (30) etait angelus ei ne timeas maria·INuenisti enim gratiam apud deum (31) ecce concipies inutero etparies filium etuocabis nomen eius ihesum·(32) hic erit magnus etfilius altissimi uocabitur etdabit illi dominus deus sedem dauid patris eius (33) etregnauit¹⁸ indomum¹⁹ iacob inæternum etregni eius nonerit Finis··7

Fol. 32 b. (34) **D**ixit autem maria adangelum quomodo fiat²⁰ istud quoniam uirum noncognosco (35) etrespondens angelus dixit ei spiritus sanctus super ueniat²¹ inte etuirtus altissimi obumbravit²² tibi ideoque²³ quod nascetur sanctum uocabitur filius dei··

(36) **E**cce elizabéth²⁴ cognata tua etipsa concepit filium insenecta sua

¹ Gabrihel.

² credidisti.

³ inplebuntur.

⁴ poterat.

⁵ facti sunt.

⁶ impleti.

⁷ officii.

⁸ Elisabet.

⁹ occultabat.

¹⁰ fecit mihi.

¹¹ missus.

¹² Gabrihel.

¹³ Galilaeae.

¹⁴ virginem.

¹⁵ desponsatam.

¹⁶ in mulieribus.

¹⁷ salutatio.

¹⁸ regnabit.

¹⁹ in domo.

²⁰ fiet.

²¹ superveniet.

²² obumbrabit.

²³ V. adds et.

²⁴ Elisabet.

et híc mensis est sextus illi que uocatur sterilis¹ (37) quia nonerit impossibile apud² deum omne uerbum (38) dixit autem maria ecce ancilla domini fiat mihi secundum uerbum tuum et discessit ab illa angelus (39) exurgens autem maria indiebus illis abiit in montana conpestatione³ inciuuitatem iuda (40) et intrauit in domum zachariæ et salutauit elizabeth⁴ (41) et factum est ut audiuit salutationem mariæ elizabeth⁴ exsultauit infans⁵ in utero eius et repleta est spiritu sancto elizabeth⁴ (42) et exclamauit uoce magna et dixit benedicta tu inter mulieres

Et benedictus fructus uentris tui (43) et uide hóc mihi ut ueniat Fol. 33. mater domini⁶ ad me (44) ecce enim ut facta est uox salutationis tue in auribus meis exultauit in gaudio infans in utero meo (45) et beata que credidit quoniam perficientur ea que dicta sunt ei a domino...7

(46) **M**agnificat anima mea dominum (47) et exsultauit⁸ spiritus meus in deo salutari meo (48) quia respexit humilitatem ancille sue ecce enim ex hóc beatum⁹ me dicent omnes generationes (49) qui¹⁰ fecit mihi magna qui potens est et sanctum nomen eius (50) et misericordia¹¹ eius in progenies¹² et progenies¹² timentibus eum (51) fecit potentiam in brachio suo dispersit superbos mente cordis sui (52) deposuit¹³ potentes de sede et exaltauit¹⁴ humiles (53) esurientes¹⁵ impleuit bonis et diuites dimisit¹⁶ inanes (54) suscepit israhel puerum suum memorari misericordie (55) sicut locutus est ad patres Nostros abraham et semini eius in secula...7

Fol. 33 b.

(56) **M**ansit autem maria cum illa quasi¹⁷ mensibus tribus et reuersa est in domum suam (57) elizabeth¹⁸ autem impletum¹⁹ est tempus pariendi...7

Et peperit filium (58) et audierunt uicini etcognati eius quia magnificauit dominus misericordiam suam cum illa et congratulabantur ei (59) et factum est indie octauo uenerunt circumcidere puerum et uocabant²⁰ eum zachariam nomine patris eius²¹ (60) et respondens mater eius dixit nequaquam es²² sed uocabitur iohannes (61) et dixerunt ad illam quia nemo est

¹ sterilis.² apud.³ cum festinatione.⁴ Elisabeth.⁵ infans.⁶ V. adds mei.⁷ V. adds Et ait Maria.⁸ exultavit.⁹ beatam.¹⁰ quia.¹¹ misericordia.¹² progenies.¹³ deposuit.¹⁴ exaltavit.¹⁵ esurientes.¹⁶ dimisit.¹⁷ quasi.¹⁸ Elisabeth.¹⁹ impletum.²⁰ uocant.²¹ nomine patris eius Zachariam.²² V. om.

Fol. 34.

incognitione tua qui uocetur hóc nomine (62) innuebant autem patri eius quem uellet uocari eum (63) etpostulans pugillarem¹ scripsit dicens² iohannes est nomen eius etmirati sunt uniuersi (64) apertum est autem ilico ós eius et lingua eius etloquebatur benedicens deum (65) etfactum est timor super omnes uicinos eorum etsuper omnia montana iudee Deuulgabantur omnia uerba hæc (66) etpossuerunt³ omnes qui audierant incorde suo dicentes quid putatis⁴ pueris⁵ te⁶ erit etenim manus domini erat cum illo (67) etzacharias pater eius inpletus⁷ est spiritu sancto etprophetauit dicens····7

(68) **B**enedictus dominus⁸ deus israhel quia uisitauit etfecit redemptionem⁹ plebis¹⁰ sue (69) eterexit cornu salutis nobis indomu¹¹ dauid pueri sui (70) sicut locutus est perós sanctorum quia¹² seculo sunt prophetarum eius (71) salutem exinimicis¹³ nostris etdemanu omnium qui nos oderunt (72) adfaciendum¹⁴ misericordiam cum patribus nostris etmemorari testamenti sui sancti (73) ius iurandum quod iurauit adabracham patrem nostrum daturum sé nobis (74) vtsine timore demanibus¹⁵ inimicorum nostrorum liberati seruiamus illi (75) insanctitate etiusticia coram ipso omnibus diebus nostris (76) ettu puer propheta altissimi uocaueris¹⁶ preibis enim ante faciem domini parare uias eius··7

Fol. 34 b.

(77) addandam scientiam salutis plebi eius inremisionem¹⁷ peccatorum eorum (78) peruiscera misericordia¹⁸ dei nostri inquibus uisitauit nos oriens exalto (79) et¹⁹inluminare hís qui intenebris et²⁰umbra mortis sedent addirigendos pedes nostros inuiam pacis··7

(80) **P**uer autem crescebat etconfortebatur²¹ in¹⁹spiritu eterat indesertis²² usque indiem ostentionis²³ sue adisrahél··

[CAP. II.] (I) **F**actum est autem indiebus illis exiit edictum accessare²⁴ agosto²⁵

¹ pugillarem.² dicens.³ posuerunt.⁴ putas.⁵ puer.⁶ iste.⁷ impletus.⁸ V. om.⁹ redemptionem.¹⁰ plebi.¹¹ domo.¹² qui a.¹³ ex inimicis.¹⁴ faciendam.¹⁵ de manu.¹⁶ uocaberis.¹⁷ remissionem.¹⁸ misericordiae.¹⁹ V. om.²⁰ V. adds in.²¹ confortabatur.²² deserto.²³ ostensionis.²⁴ Caesare.²⁵ Augusto.

vt describeretur uniuersus orbis (2) hæc descriptio prima facta est a presidente¹ siriae² cirino³ (3) et ibant omnes ut profiterentur⁴ singuli in suam ciuitatem.

(4) **A**scendit autem ioseph galilea de ciuitate nazaréth in iudiam⁵ in ciuitatem dauid que uocatur bethlem⁶ eo quod esset de domo et familia dauid (5) ut profiteretur⁷ cum maria disponsata⁸ sibi uxore pregnantem (6) factum est⁹ cum essent ibi impleti¹⁰ sunt dies ut pariret¹¹ (7) et peperit filium suum primogenitum et pannis eum.

inuoluit et reclinauit eum in presepio¹² quia non erat ei¹³ locus in diuersorio¹⁴.

(8) **E**t pastores erant in regione eadem uigilantes et custodientes uigilias noctis supra gregem suum.

(9) **E**t ecce angelus domini stetit iuxta illos et claritas domini¹⁵ circumfulsit illos et timuerunt timore magno (10) et dixit illis angelus nolite timere ecce enim euangelizo uobis gaudium magnum quod erit omni populo (11) quia natus est uobis hodie saluator qui est christus dominus in ciuitate dauid (12) et hoc uobis signum inuenietis infantem pannis inuolutum et positum¹⁶ in presepio.¹²

(13) **E**t subito facta est cum angelo multitudo exercitus¹⁷ caelestis laudantium deum et dicentium (14) gloria in altissimis deo et in terra pax hominibus bone uoluntatis.

(15) **E**t factum est ut descenderunt¹⁸ ab eis angeli in celum pastores loquebantur ad inuicem. Transeamus usque in¹⁹ bethlem et uideamus hoc uerbum quod factum est.

Quod²⁰ dominus²¹ ostendit nobis (16) et uenerunt festinantes et inuenerunt mariam et ioseph et infantem positum²² in presepio¹² (17) uidentes autem cognouerunt de uerbo hoc²³ dictum est²⁴ illis de puero hoc (18) et omnes qui audierunt mirati sunt et de his que dicta erant a pastoribus ad ipsos.

¹ V. om.

² Syriae.

³ Cyrino.

⁴ profiterentur.

⁵ Iudaeam.

⁶ Bethlem.

⁷ profiteretur.

⁸ desponsata.

⁹ V. adds autem.

¹⁰ impleti.

¹¹ pareret.

¹² praesepio.

¹³ eis.

¹⁴ diuersorio.

¹⁵ dei.

¹⁶ positum.

¹⁷ militiae.

¹⁸ discesserunt.

¹⁹ V. om.

²⁰ V. adds fecit.

²¹ V. adds et.

²² positum.

²³ V. om.

²⁴ erat.

(19) Maria autem conseruat¹ omnia uerba hec conferens in corde suo (20) et reuersi sunt pastores glorificantes et laudantes deum in omnibus que audierunt et uiderunt sicut dictum est ad illos..

(21) **E**t postquam consummati sunt dies octo ut circumcideretur uocatum est nomen eius ihesus quod uocatum est ab angelo prius quam in utero conciperetur..

Fol. 36. (22) **E**t postquam impleti² sunt dies purgationis eius secundum legem moysi³ tulerunt⁴ illum in hierusalem ut adsisterent⁵ illum⁶ domino (23) sicut scriptum est in lege domini quod⁷ omne masculinum et⁸ aperiens uulnam sanctum domino uocabitur (24) et ut darent hostias⁹ secundum quod dictum est in lege domini¹⁰ par turturum aut duos pullos columbarum..

(25) **E**t ecce homo erat in hierusalem cui nomen erat¹⁰ simeon et homo iste iustus et timoratus expectans consolationem¹¹ israel et spiritus sanctus erant¹² in ipso¹³ (26) et responsum acciperant¹⁴ a spiritu¹⁵ sancto non uisurum se mortem nisi prius uideret christum dominum¹⁶ (27) et uenit in spiritu in templum et cum inducerent puerum ihesum parentes eius ut facerent¹⁷ secundum consuetudinem¹⁸ legis pro eo (28) et ipse accepit¹⁹ eum in uulnas suas et benedixit deum et dixit..

(29) **N**unc demitte²⁰ seruum tuum domine secundum uerbum tuum in pace (30) quia uiderunt oculi²¹ mei salutare tuum (31) quod preparasti²² ante faciem omnium populorum (32) lumen ad reuelationem gentium et gloriam plebis sue²³ israel.. (33) et erat pater eius et mater mirantes super his que dicebantur de illo (34) et benedixit illos simeon²⁴.

Fol. 36 b. **E**t dixit ad mariam matrem eius ecce positus²⁵ est hic in ruinam et resurrectionem multorum in israel et in signum cui contradicetur (35) et tuam ipsius animam pertransiuit²⁶ gladius ut reuelentur ex multis cordibus cogita-

¹ conservabat.

² impleti.

³ Mosi.

⁴ tulerunt.

⁵ sisterent.

⁶ eum.

⁷ quia.

⁸ adaperiens.

⁹ hostiam.

¹⁰ V. om.

¹¹ consolationem.

¹² erat.

¹³ in eo.

¹⁴ acceperat.

¹⁵ ab Spiritu.

¹⁶ domini.

¹⁷ facerent.

¹⁸ consuetudinem.

¹⁹ accepit.

²⁰ dimittis.

²¹ oculi.

²² parasti.

²³ tue.

²⁴ Symeon.

²⁵ positus.

²⁶ pertransibit.

tiones (36) eterat anna Prophetiza¹ filia panuel² detribu asér héc proces-
serat indiebus multís etuixerat cum uiro suo annís·viii³ auirginitate sua
(37) et hec uidua usque adannos·lxxxiiii⁴·que nondiscendebat⁵ detemplo
ieiuniis etobsecrationibus seruiens deo⁶ nocte ac die (38) ethec ipsa hora
superuiniens⁷ confitebatur domino etloquebatur deillo omnibus qui ex-
pectabant redemptionem⁸ hierusalem (39) etut perfecerunt omnia secundum
legem domini reuersi sunt ingalileam inciuitatem suam nazaréth··7

(40) **P**uer autem crescebat etconfortabatur plenus sapientia etgratia dei⁹
inillo (41) etibant parentes eius peromnes annos inhierusalem indie sol-
empni¹⁰ pasce¹¹

(42) **E**t cum factus esset annorum·xii¹²·ascendentibus illis inhieru- Fol. 37.
solima¹³ secundum consuetudinem dies¹⁴ festi (43) consummatisque diebus
cum redirent remansit pueris¹⁵ ¹⁶inhierusalem etnoncognouerunt parentes
eius (44) existimantes autem illum esse inomitatu uenerunt inter¹⁷dici
etrequirebant eum intercognatos etnotos (45) etnoninuenientes regressi sunt
inhierusalem requirentes eum·(46) et factum est post triduum inuenerunt
eum¹⁸ intemplo sedentem inmedio doctorum audientem illos etinterro-
gantem illos⁶··7

(47) **S**tupebant autem omnes qui eum audiebant super prudentia etres-
ponsiosis¹⁹ eius (48) etuidentes admirati²⁰ sunt···7

Dixit²¹ mater eius adillum filii quid fecisti nobis sic⁶ ecce pater tuus
etego dolentes querebamus te (49) etait adillos quid est quod me queritis²²
nesciebatis quoniam²³ inhís que patris mei sunt oportet me esse (50) etipsi Fol. 37 b.
nonintellegerunt uerbum quod locutus est adillos (51) etdiscendit cum eis
etuenit nazaréth et erat subditus illis etmater eius conseruat²⁴ omnia uerba
hæc incorde²⁵ (52) ethís²⁶ proficebat²⁷ sapientia et⁶ætates etgratia aput²⁸
deum ethomines··7

¹ prophetissa.

² Phanuel.

³ septem.

⁴ octoginta quattuor.

⁵ discedebat.

⁶ V. om.

⁷ superveniens.

⁸ redemptionem.

⁹ V. adds erat.

¹⁰ sollemni.

¹¹ paschae.

¹² duodecim.

¹³ Hierosolyman.

¹⁴ diei.

¹⁵ puer.

¹⁶ V. adds Iesus.

¹⁷ iter.

¹⁸ illum.

¹⁹ responsis.

²⁰ ammirati.

²¹ V. adds et.

²² quaerebatis.

²³ quia.

²⁴ conservabat.

²⁵ V. adds suo.

²⁶ Iesus.

²⁷ proficiebat.

²⁸ apud.

[CAP. III.] (1) **A**nno autem quinto decimo imperii tiberii cæsar¹ procurante autem² pontio pilato iudeam tetracha autem galile³ herode pilipho⁴ autem fratre eius detracha⁵ iture⁶ ettrachonitidis⁷ regionis etlisania⁸ abiliane⁹ tetracha⁵ (2) subprincipibus sacerdotum anna et caipha¹⁰·7

Factum est uerbum domini¹¹ super iohannem zachariæ filium in deserto (3) etuenit in omnem regionem iordanis predicans bap-tismum penitentiae in remissionem¹² peccatorum¹³ (4) sicut scriptum est in libro sermonum essaie¹⁴ prophete· Uox clamantis in deserto parate uiam domini rectas facite semitas eius (5) omnis uallis implebitur¹⁵ et omnis mons et collis humiliabitur et erunt praua indirecta et aspera in uias planas (6) et uidebit omnis caro salutare dei·

Fol. 38.

(7) **D**icebat ergo ad turbas que exiebant ut bap-tizarentur ab ipso gemina uiperarum quis ostendit uobis fugere a futura¹⁶ ira (8) facite ergo fructus dignos penitentiae et nec operitis¹⁷ dicere patrem habemus¹⁸ abraham dico enim uobis quia potest deus delapidibus¹⁹ istis suscitare filios abrahe (9) iam enim securis ad radices²⁰ arborum posita²¹ est omnis ergo arbor non faciens fructum bonum²² excidetur²³ et in ignem²² mittetur²⁴··7

(10) **E**t interrogabant eum²⁵ turbæ dicentes quid ergo faciemus (11) respondens autem dicebat illis qui abet²⁶ duas tunicas det non habenti et qui habet escas similiter faciat (12) uenerunt autem et publicani ut bap-tizarentur et dixerunt ad illum magister quid faciemus (13) at ille dixit ad eos nihil amplius quam constitutum est uobis faciatis (14) interrogabant autem eum et milites dicentes quid faciemus et nōs et ait illis neminem concutiatis neque columniam²⁷ faciatis et contenti²⁸ est tōte²⁹ stipendiis³⁰ uestris (15) existimante autem populo et cogitantibus omnibus in cordibus suis

¹ Caesaris.

² V. om.

³ Galilæae.

⁴ Philippo.

⁵ tetrarcha.

⁶ Ituræe.

⁷ Trachonitidis.

⁸ Lysania.

⁹ Abilinae.

¹⁰ Caiapha.

¹¹ dei.

¹² remissionem.

¹³ peccatorum.

¹⁴ Esaie.

¹⁵ implebitur.

¹⁶ uentura.

¹⁷ coeperitis.

¹⁸ habemus.

¹⁹ lapidibus.

²⁰ radicem.

²¹ posita.

²² V. om.

²³ exciditur.

²⁴ mittitur.

²⁵ eum.

²⁶ habet.

²⁷ calumniam.

²⁸ contenti.

²⁹ estote.

³⁰ stipendiis.

deiohannén¹ eforte² ipse esset christus (16) respondit iohannes dicens omnibus··7

Ego quidem baptizo uos aqua³ uenit⁴ autem fortior me·cuius nonsum dignus soluere corrigiam calciamentorum eius ipse uós babtizauit⁵ in spiritu sancto.⁶

(17) **Q**uius uentilabrum in manu eius⁷ purgauit aream suam et congregauit⁸ triticum inorreu⁹ suum paleas autem comburet igni inextinguibili (18) multa quidem et alia exortans¹⁰ euangelizabat populum··7

(19) **H**erodis¹¹ autem detracha¹² cum corripere tur ab illo de herodia de¹³ uxore fratris sui et de omnibus malis que fecit herodis¹⁴ (20) adiecit ethoc Fol. 39. supra omnia et in cludit iohannem in carcerem¹⁵··7

(21) **F**actum est autem cum baptizaretur omnis populus et ihesu baptizato et orante apertum est celum (22) et descendit¹⁶ spiritus sancti¹⁷ corporali specie sicut columba in ipsum·et uox de celo facta est tu es filius meus¹⁸ in te bene¹⁹ conplacuit²⁰ mihi··7

(23) **E**t ipse ihesus erat incipiens quasi²¹ annorum·xxx²² ut putabatur²³ filius ioseph··7

Qui fuit eli²⁴

Qui fuit matthete²⁵

(24) Qui fuit leui

Qui fuit melchi

Qui fuit ianne

Qui fuit ioseph

(25) Qui fuit matthatic²⁶

Qui fuit amos

Qui fuit nauum²⁷

Qui fuit esli

Qui fuit nagae²⁸

(26) Qui fuit maata²⁹

Qui fuit matthatic²⁶

Qui fuit sime³⁰

Qui fuit iosech³¹

Qui fuit iuda³²

(27) Qui fuit iohanna

Qui fuit resa

¹ Iohanne.

² ne forte.

³ aqua baptizo vos.

⁴ ueniet.

⁵ baptizabit.

⁶ V. adds et igni.

⁷ V. adds et.

⁸ congregabit.

⁹ horreu.

¹⁰ exhortans.

¹¹ Herodes.

¹² tetrarcha.

¹³ Herodiade.

¹⁴ Herodes.

¹⁵ carcere.

¹⁶ descendit.

¹⁷ sanctus.

¹⁸ V. adds dilectus.

¹⁹ V. om.

²⁰ conplacuit.

²¹ quasi.

²² triginta.

²³ putaretur

²⁴ Heli.

²⁵ Mattat.

²⁶ Matthathiae.

²⁷ Naum.

²⁸ Naggae.

²⁹ Maath.

³⁰ Semei.

³¹ Iosec.

³² Ioda.

Fol. 39 b.

- Qui fuit iorobabel¹
 Qui fuit salathiel
 Qui fuit neri
 (28) Qui fuit melchi
 Qui fuit addi
 Qui fuit chosam²
 Qui fuit helmadam
 Qui fuit er³
 (29) Qui fuit iesu⁴
 Qui fuit eliezer
 Qui fuit zorum⁵
 Qui fuit matthat⁶
 Qui fuit leui
 (30) Qui fuit simeón⁷
 Qui fuit iuda
 Qui fuit ioseph
 Qui fuit iona
 Qui fuit eliachim
 (31) Qui fuit melcha⁸
 Qui fuit menna
 Qui fuit matthatia⁹
 Qui fuit nathan
 Qui fuit dauid
 (32) Qui fuit iesse
 Qui fuit obéth¹⁰
 Qui fuit boos¹¹
 Qui fuit salmón

- Qui fuit nassón¹²
 (33) Qui fuit aminadab
 Qui fuit aram¹³
 Qui fuit esrom
 Qui fuit phares
 Qui fuit iudae
 (34) Qui fuit iacob
 Qui fuit isác¹⁴
 Qui fuit abarcham¹⁵
 Qui fuit thare
 Qui fuit nachor
 (35) Qui fuit seruch
 Qui fuit ragau
 Qui fuit phalec
 Qui fuit eber
 Qui fuit sale
 (36) Qui fuit cainán¹⁶
 Qui fuit arfaxat
 Qui fuit sém
 Qui fuit noe
 Qui fuit lamééh
 (37) Qui fuit mathusa¹⁷
 Qui fuit enóc¹⁸
 Qui fuit ioréd¹⁹
 Qui fuit maleel²⁰
 (38) Qui fuit enos²¹
 Qui fuit adam²²

Fol. 40.

¹ Zorobabel.² Cosam.³ Her.⁴ Ihesu.⁵ Iorim.⁶ Matthat.⁷ Sytheon.⁸ Melea.⁹ Matthata.¹⁰ Obed.¹¹ Booz.¹² Naasson.¹³ Aran.¹⁴ Isaac.¹⁵ Abraham.¹⁶ Chainan.¹⁷ Matthusale.¹⁸ Enoch.¹⁹ Iared.²⁰ Malelehel.²¹ Cainan.²² Enos.



Qui fuit cainán¹
Qui fuit séth²

Qui fuit dei·····7·7

[CAP. IV.] (1) **I**hs³ autem plenus spiritu sancto regresus⁴ est tum⁵ abiordane
et agebatur in spiritu in desertum⁶ (2) et temptabatur⁷ a diabulo⁸·····7

¹ Seth.

³ Iesus.

⁵ V. om.

⁷ temptabatur.

² Adam.

⁴ regressus.

⁶ V. adds diebus quadraginta.

⁸ diabolo.

[CAP. I.] (1) **I**n PRINCIPIO erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud¹ deum et deus
 Fol. 42. erat uerbum (2) hoc erat in principio apud¹ deum (3) omnia per ipsum facta
 sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil quod factum est (4) in ipso uita est² et
 uita erat lux hominum (5) et lux in tenebris lucet et tenebre eam non con-
 prehenderunt³...7

(6) **F**uit homo missus⁴ a deo cui nomen erat iohannes (7) hic uenit
 Fol. 42 b. in testimonium ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine ut omnes crederent per il-
 lum (8) non erat ille lux sed ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine...7

(9) **E**rat lux uera que illuminat omnem hominem uenientem in
 mundum (10) in mundo erat et mundus per ipsum factus est et mundus eum
 non cognouit...

(11) **E**t propria uenit et sui eum non receperunt (12) quotquot autem
 receperunt eum dedit eis⁵ potestatem filios dei fieri his qui credunt in
 nomine eius (13) qui non ex sanguinibus neque ex uoluntate carnis⁶ neque
 ex uoluntate uiri sed ex deo nati sunt u⁷ (14) et uerbum caro factum est
 et habitauit in uobis⁸ et uidimus gloriam eius gloriam quasi⁹ unigeniti a patre
 plenum gratiae et ueritatis...7

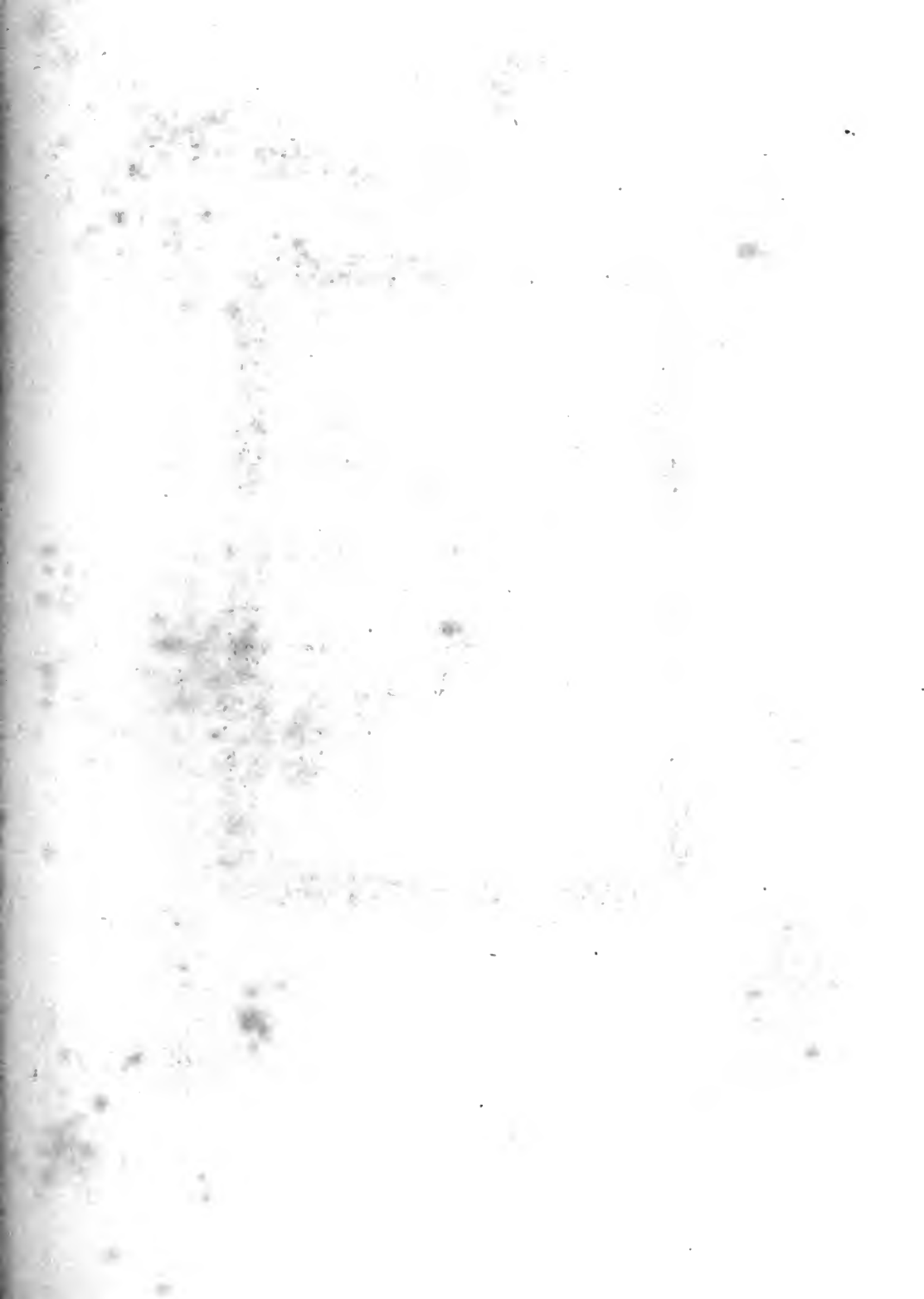
(15) **I**ohannes testimonium perhibet de ipso et clamat dicens hic erat
 quem dixi uobis qui post me uenturus est ante me factus est quia prior me
 erat...7

Fol. 43. (16) **E**t de plenitudine eius nos omnes accepimus¹⁰ gratiam pro gratia
 (17) quia lex per moysen¹¹ data est gratia autem⁷ et ueritas per ihesum
 christum facta est...7

(18) **D**eum nemo uidit umquam nisi⁷ unigenitus filius qui est in sinu
 patris ipse enarrauit...

(19) **E**t hoc est testimonium iohannis quando miserunt iudei ab hieroso-

¹ apud.⁴ missus.⁷ V. om.¹⁰ accepimus.² erat.⁵ illis.⁸ nobis.¹¹ Mosen.³ comprehenderunt.⁶ carnis.⁹ quasi.





In principio erat uer-
 bum et uerbum erat
 apud dñm et dñs erat uer-
 bum hoc erat in princi-
 pio apud dñm omnia per
 ipsum facta sunt et
 ne ipso factum est nihil
 quod factum est in ipso in-
 ta et uita erat. Uix ho-
 minum et uix in tenebris
 lucet et tenebris eam
 non comprehendunt
 sicut homo miratur ad dō
 cui nomen erat iohannes
 hic uisus in tenebris
 et tenebris perhibuit



limis¹ sacerdotes et leuitas ad eum ut interrogarent eum tu es quis²
 (20) et confessus est et non negauit et confessus est quia non sum ego christus
 (21) et interrogauerunt eum quid ergo helias es tu et dicit non sum propheta
 es tu et respondit non (22) dixerunt ergo et³ quis es ut responsum demus
 hiis⁴ qui miserunt⁵ nos quid dicis de te ipso...7

(23) **A**it ego uox clamantes⁶ in deserto dirigite uiam domini sic⁷ dixit
 issaias⁸ propheta.

(24) **E**t qui missi fuerant⁹ ex phariseis (25) ¹⁰interrogauerunt eum et
 dixerunt ei¹¹ quid ergo baptizas si tu non es christus...7

Queque helias neque propheta (26) respondit eis iohannes dicens Fol. 43 b.
 ego baptizo in aqua medius autem uestrum stetit quem uos nescitis¹²
 (27) ipse est qui post me uenturus est qui ante me factus est cuius ego
 non sum dignus ut soluam eius corrigiam calciamenti eius¹¹...7

(28) **H**æc in bethania facta sunt trans iordanem ubi erat iohannes bap-
 tizans (29) altera die uidit iohannes ihesum uenientem ad se...7

Et ait ecce agnus dei ecce¹¹ qui tollit¹³ peccatum mundi...7

(30) **H**IC est de quo dixi post me uenit uir qui ante me factus est quia
 prior me erat (31) et ego nesciebam eum sed ut manifestaretur pleni¹¹
¹⁴israhel et¹¹ propterea¹⁵ ueni ego in aqua baptizans (32) et testimonium
 perhibuit iohannes dicens¹⁶ quia uidi ipsum¹⁷ descendentem¹⁸ sicut¹⁹
 columbam de celo et mansit super eum (33) et ego nesciebam eum sed qui
 misit²⁰ me baptizare in aqua ille mihi dixit super quem uideris spiritum Fol. 44.
 descendentem¹⁸ et manentem super eum hic est qui baptizauit²¹ in spiritu
 sancto²² (34) ego uidi et testimonium perhibui quod hic est filius dei...7

(35) **A**ltera die iterum stabat iohannes et ex discipulis eius duo (36) et
 respiciens ihesum ambulans dicit ecce agnus dei (37) et audierunt eum
 duo discipuli loquentem et secuti sunt ihesum (38) conuersus autem ihesus

¹ Hierosolymis.

² Tu quis es?

³ ei.

⁴ his.

⁵ miserunt.

⁶ clamantis.

⁷ sicut.

⁸ Esaias.

⁹ V. adds erant.

¹⁰ V. adds et.

¹¹ V. om.

¹² non scitis.

¹³ tollit.

¹⁴ V. adds in.

¹⁵ propterea.

¹⁶ dicens.

¹⁷ spiritum.

¹⁸ descendentem.

¹⁹ quasi.

²⁰ misit.

²¹ baptizat.

²² V. adds et.

etuidens eos sequentes sé dicit eis quid queritis qui dixerunt ei rabbi quod dicitur interpretatum magister ubi habitas··7

(39) **D**icit eis uenite etuide te uenerunt etuiderunt ubi maneret et apud¹ cum manserunt die illo hora autem erat quasi²·x³·(40) erat autem andreas frater simonis petri unus de⁴duobus qui audierant abiohanne etsecuti fuerant eum··7

(41) **V**enit hic primum fratrem suum simonem etdicit ei inuenimus messiam quodestinterpretatum christus (42) etadduxit eum adihesum intuitus autem eum ihesus dixit tu es simón filius iohanna tu uocaueris cefas⁵ quod interpretatur petrus··7

Fol. 44 b. (43) **I**ncrastinum uoluit exire in galileam et inuenit philiphum⁶ etdicit ei ihesus⁷ sequere me (44) erat autem philippus⁸ abethsaitha⁹ ciuitate andræ¹⁰ etpetri (45) inuenit pilippus¹¹ nathanél¹² etdicit ei quem scripsit moyses¹³ in lege etprophete inuenimus ihesum filium ioseph·anazaréth¹⁴ (46) potest aliquid boni esse dicit ei pilippus⁸ ueni etuide (47) uidit ihesus nathanél¹² uenientem adsé etdicit deo·ecce uere uir⁷ israhel¹⁵ ita inq nonestdolus¹⁶ (48) dicit et¹⁷nathanél¹² unde me nosti·

Respondit ihesus etdixit ei priusquam te philippus uocaret cum esses subarbore⁷ ficu uidi té (49) etrespondit ei nathanél¹² etait¹⁸ rabbi tu es filius dei tu es rex israhel·(50) respondit ihesus etdixit ei quia dixi tibi uidete¹⁹ subficu credis·maius hís uidebis (51) etdicit eis²⁰··7··7··7

Amen amén dico uobis uidi²¹ celum apertum etangelos dei ascendentes etdiscendentes²² supra filium hominis··

[CAP. II.] (1) **E**t die tertio nuptiæ factæ sunt in chana²³ galilæ²⁴·et erat mater ihesu ibi (2) uocatus est autem ibi et²⁵discipuli eius adnuptias (3) etdeficiente uino··dicit mater ihesu ad eum uinum nonhabent·(4) etdicit ei

¹ apud.

² quasi.

³ decima.

⁴ ex.

⁵ Cephas.

⁶ Philippum.

⁷ V. om.

⁸ Philippus.

⁹ Bethsaida.

¹⁰ Andreae.

¹¹ Philippus.

¹² Nathanahel.

¹³ Moses.

¹⁴ V. adds Et dixit

ei Nathanahel

A Nazareth.

¹⁵ Israelita.

¹⁶ dolus non est.

¹⁷ ei.

¹⁸ et ait.

¹⁹ uidi te

²⁰ ei.

²¹ uidebitis.

²² descendentes.

²³ Chana.

²⁴ Galilæae.

²⁵ V. adds Iesus.

ihesus quid mihi et tibi¹ est mulier nondum uenit hora mea·(5) dicit mater eius ministris quodcumque² dixerit uobis·³

(6) **E**rant autem ibi lapidæ⁴ hidriæ⁵ expositæ⁶ secundum purificationem iudeorum capientes singule metretas binas uel ternas·(7) et⁷ dicit eis ihesus inplete⁸ idrias⁹ aqua·etinpleuerunt¹⁰ eas usque adsumum¹¹·(8) et dicit eis ihesus aurite¹² nunc et ferte architriclino¹³ ettulerunt¹⁴ (9) ut autem gustauit architriclinus¹⁵ aquam uinum factum¹⁶·et non sciebat unde esset ministri autem sciebant qui aurierant¹⁷ aquam·uoocat sponsum architriclinus¹⁵ (10) et dicit ei·omnis homo primum bonum uinum ponit¹⁸ inebriati fuerint tunc id quod deterius¹⁹ est tú seruasti bonum uinum usque adhuc (11) hóc fecit initium signorum ihesus in chana²⁰ galilææ·et manifestauit gloriam suam et crediderunt in eum discipuli eius··7

(12) **P**ost hóc descendit²¹ capharnaum·ipse et mater eius et fratres eius et discipuli eius·et tibi manserunt non multis diebus··

Fol. 45 b.

(13) **E**t proberabat pascha²² iudiorum²³ et ascendit hierusolima²⁴ ihesus··

(14) **E**t inuenit in templo uendentes boues et oues et columbas et nummularios²⁵ sedentes (15) et cum fecisset quasi flagillum²⁶ defuniculis··omnes eiecit²⁷ de templo··oues quoque et boues··et nummulariorum effudit aés· et mensas subuertit (16) et hís qui columbás uendebant dixit auferte ista hinc··Nolite facire²⁸ domum patris mei··domum negotiationis··

(17) **R**ecordati uero sunt discipuli eius··quia scriptum est zelus domus tue comedit me·(18) responderunt ergo iudei·et dixerunt ei·quod signum ostendis nobis quia hæc facis··

(19) **R**espondit ihesus et dixit illis²⁹ soluite templum hoc et in tribus diebus excitabo illud³⁰·(20) dixerunt ei³¹ ego³² iudei·quadraginta et sex annis

¹ tibi et mihi.

² quodcumque.

³ V. adds facite.

⁴ lapideæ.

⁵ hydrise.

⁶ sex positæ.

⁷ V. om.

⁸ Implete.

⁹ hydriæ.

¹⁰ impleuerunt.

¹¹ summum.

¹² Haurite.

¹³ architriclino.

¹⁴ tulerunt.

¹⁵ architriclinus.

¹⁶ factam.

¹⁷ hauserant.

¹⁸ V. adds et cum.

¹⁹ deterius.

²⁰ Chana.

²¹ descendit.

²² pascha.

²³ Iudeorum.

²⁴ Hierosolyma.

²⁵ nummularios.

²⁶ flagellum.

²⁷ eiecit.

²⁸ facere.

²⁹ eis.

³⁰ illud.

³¹ V. om.

³² ergo.

ædificatum est templum est¹ hoc·ettucibus² diebus excitabis illut³·
(21) ille autem dicebat detemplo corporis sui (22) cum ergo surrexisset⁴
amortuis··7

Fol. 46.

Recordati sunt discipuli eius·quia hoc dicebat etcrediderunt
scripturæ·etsermoni quem dixit ihesus·(23) cum autem esset et¹hierosolim⁵
inpascha indie festo multi crediderunt innomine eius·uidentes signa eius
que faciebat·(24) ipse autem ihesus noncredebat semet ipsum eis·eoquod
ipse nosset omnes·(25) et quia opus et⁶non erat vtquis testimonium
perhiberet dehomine ipse enim sciebat quo⁷ esset inhomine··7

[CAP. III.] (1) **E**rat autem⁸ exphariseis nicodimus⁹ nomine princeps iudeorum·
(2) hic uenit adeum nocte·etdixit ei rabbi·scimus quia adeo uenisti magister
nemo enim potest hec signa facire¹⁰ que tu facis·nisi fuerit dominus¹¹ cum
eo (3) respondit ihesus etdixit ei·

Amén amen dico tibi nisi quis natus fuerit denouo¹² nonpotest
uidere regnum dei·(4) dicit adeum nicodemus quomodo potest homo nasci
cum senex sit numquid potest inuentrem matris suæ rursus¹³ introire etnasci
(5) respondit ihesus·

Amén amen dico tibi nisi quis renatus fuerit exaqua¹ etspiritu non-
potest introire inregnum dei (6) quod natum est excarne caro est·et quod
Fol. 46 b. natum est exspiritu sanctus¹⁴ est·(7) nonmireris quia dixi tibi·oportet uos
nasci denouo¹⁵·(8) spiritus ubi uult spirat etuocem eius audis¹⁶ non uos¹⁷
unde ueniat etquo uadat·

Sic enim¹⁸ omnis qui natus est exspiritu (9) respondit nicodimus¹⁹
etdixit ei et²⁰ quomodo possunt hæc ex²⁰fieri·(10) respondit ihesus etdixit
ei tu es magister²¹ israhel et hęc ignoras·

(11) **A**men amen dico tibi quia quod scimus loquimus²² ²³ testamur·et-

¹ V. om.² tu tribus.³ illud.⁴ resurrexisset.⁵ Hierosolymis.⁶ ei.⁷ quid.⁸ V. adds homo.⁹ Nicodemus.¹⁰ facere.¹¹ deus.¹² denuo.¹³ iterato.¹⁴ spiritus.¹⁵ denuo.¹⁶ V. adds sed.¹⁷ scis.¹⁸ est.¹⁹ Nicodemus.²⁰ V. om.²¹ V. adds in.²² loquimur.²³ V. adds et quod
uidimus.

testimonium nostrum nonaccipitis (12) sí terréna dixi uobis etnoncredistis¹ quomodo sídixero uobis celestia credistis²·

(13) **E**t nemo ascendit incælo³ nisi qui descendit⁴ decelo filius hominis quiest incelo (14) etsicut moyses⁵ exaltauit serpentem indeserto·ita exaltari oportet filium hominis (15) vtomnis qui credit inipso nonperiat⁶ sed habeat uitam eternam··7

(16) **S**ic enim dilexit deus hunc⁷ mundum vtfilium suum unigenitum daret vtomnis qui credit ineum nonpereat sed habeat uitam æternam··7

(17) **N**on enim misit deus filium suum immundum vtiudicet mundum sed vt saluetur mundus peripsum·(18) qui credit ineum noniudicatur qui autem noncredit iam iudicatus est quia noncredit⁸ innomine unigeniti filii dei··7

(19) Hoc est autem iudicium·qui lúx uenit immundum vtiudicet⁷ et·Fol. 47. diléxerunt homines magis tenebras·quam lucem··erant enim eorum mala opera·(20) Omnis enim qui male agit odit lucem etnonuenit adlucem vt nonarguantur opera eius··(21) Qui autem⁹ ueritatem uenit adlucem vtmanifestantur¹⁰ opera¹¹ eius·quia indeo sunt facta··7

(22) **P**ost hæc uenit ihesus etdiscipuli eius inudeam terram·etillic demorabatur¹² cum eis etbaptizabat··7

(23) **E**rat autem etiohannes bapuzans inænón iuxta salim quia aquæ multæ erant illi¹³ etadueniebant multi¹⁴ etbaptizabantur··7

(24) **N**on¹⁵ enim misus¹⁶ fuerat incarcerationem iohannes··

(25) **F**acta¹⁷ ergo quæstio exdiscipulis iohannis cum iudeis depurificatione·

(26) etinuenerunt¹⁸ adiohannem etdixerunt ei rabbi··qui erat tecum transiordanén cui tu testimonium perhibuisti ecce¹⁹ bapuzat·etomnes ueniunt ad eum·(27) respondit iohannes·etdixit nonpotest homo accipere quicquam ··nisi fuerit ei²⁰ datum decelo··(28) Ipsi uos mihi testimonium perhibetis quod dixirim²¹ ego nonsum christus sed quia misus¹⁶ sum ante illum····7··7

¹ creditis.

² credetis.

³ caelum.

⁴ descendit.

⁵ Moses.

⁶ pereat.

⁷ V. om.

⁸ credit.

⁹ V. adds facit.

¹⁰ manifestentur.

¹¹ eius opera.

¹² morabatur.

¹³ illic.

¹⁴ V. om.

¹⁵ nondum enim.

¹⁶ missus.

¹⁷ V. adds est.

¹⁸ uenerunt.

¹⁹ V. adds hic.

²⁰ ei fuerit.

²¹ dixirim.

Fol. 47 b. (29) **Q**ui habet sponsam sponsus est·amicus autem sponsi qui stat etaudite¹ eum·cum² gaudio gaudet propter uocem sponsi hoc ergo gaudium meum inpletum³ est·(30) illum oportet crescere me autem minui·
 (31) qui desursum uenit supra omnes est qui est deterra·deterra est etterra loquitur··Qui decelo uenit supra omnes est (32) etquod uidet etaudit⁵ hoc testatur ettestimonium eius nemo accipit··(33) Qui accipit eum⁶ testimonium signauit quia deus uerax est (34) quem enim misit deus· uerba dei loquitur nonenim admensuram dat deus spiritum··7
 (35) **P**ater diligit filium etomnia dedit inmanus eius··(36) Qui credit infilium habet uitam æternam··qui autem incredulus est infilio² nonuidebit uitam sed ira dei manet super eum··

[CAP. IV.] (1) vtergo cognouit ihesus quia audierunt farisei⁷··quia ihesus plures discipulos facit etbaptizat⁸ quam iohannes·(2) quamquam ihesus nonbaptizaret sed discipuli eius··7

(3) **R**elinquit⁹ iudeam ethabít¹⁰ iterum ingalileam··(4) Oportebat enim¹¹ transire persamariam (5) uenit ergo inciuitatem samariæ que dicitur sichár¹² iuxta predium quod dedit iacob ioseph filio suo·(6) erat autem ibi fons iacob··7··7

Fol. 48. **I**HESUS ergo fatigatus exitenere··sedebat sic super fontem hora erat quasi sexta (7) uenit mulier desamaria aurire¹³ aquam dicit ei ihesus dá mihi bibere (8) discipuli enim eius abierant inciuitatem··vtcibos emerent·(9) dicit¹⁴ ei mulier illa samaritana··Quomodo¹⁵ iudeus cum sis bibere ame poscis que sum mulier samaritana nonenim coutuntur iudei samaritanis··

(10) **R**espondit ihesus etdixit ei·si scires donum dei etquis est qui dicit tibi dá mihi bibere tú forsitan petisses abeo et dedisset tibi aquam uiuam·
 (11) dicit ei mulier domine neque inquo aurias¹⁶ habes·etputeus altus est

¹ audit.² V. om.³ impletum.⁴ V. adds de.⁵ audivit.⁶ eius.⁷ Pharisæi.⁸ V. adds magis.⁹ reliquit.¹⁰ abiit.¹¹ autem eum.¹² Sychar.¹³ haurire.¹⁴ V. adds ergo.¹⁵ V. adds tu.¹⁶ haurias.

unde ergo habes aquam uiuam (12) numquid tu maior es patre nostro iacob quidedit nobis puteum et ipse exeo¹ bibit etfilii eius etpecora eius·

(13) **R**espondit ihesus etdixit ei omnis qui bibit exaqua hác sitiát² iterum qui autem biberit exaqua quam ergo³ dabo ei··Nonsitiet inæternum (14) sed aqua quam ego dabo ei··Fiet in eo fons aque salientis inuitam æternam··(15) Dicit ei⁴ mulier domine dá mihi bibere⁵ hanc aquam·· utnonsitiam neque ueniam húc aurire··(16) Dicit ei ihesus uade uoca uirum tuum etuení húc⁵·(17) respondit mulier etdixit nonhabeo uirum dicit ei ihesus benedixisti··7

Quia nonhabeo uirum·(18) quinque enim uirós habuisti etnunc Fol. 48 b. quem habes nonest tuus uir hoc uere dixisti (19) dicit ei mulier domine·· uideo quia propheta es tu··(20) patres nostri in monte hoc adorauerunt etuos dicitis quia inhierusolimís⁶ locus ubi adorare oportet·(21) dicit ei ihesus mulier crede mihi quia uiniet hora quando neque in monte hóc neque inhierusolimís⁶ adorabitis patrem (22) uos adoratis quod nescitis··Nos adoramus quod scimus quia salus exiudeis est (23) sed uenit hora etnunc est quando ueri adoratores adorabunt patrem··INspiritu etueritate nam etpater tales querit eos⁵ qui adorent eum··(24) spiritus est deus eteos qui adorent⁷ eum in spiritu etueritate oportet adorare·(25) Dicit ei mulier scio quia misias⁸ qui dicitur christus·

Cum ergo uenit⁹ ille nobis adnuntiauit¹⁰ omnia (26) dicit ei ihesus ego sum qui loquor tecum (27) etcontinuo uenerunt discipuli eius etmira bantur··quia cum muliere loqueretur¹¹ nemo tamen dixit ei⁵ quid queris aut quid loqueris cum ea (28) relinquit¹² ergo hidriam¹³ suam mulier·ethabiit¹⁴ inciuuitatem··et dicit illis hominibus·(29) uenite etuidete hominem·qui dixit mihi omnia·que cumque feci··numquid ipseest christus (30) exierunt Deciuuitate etuinebant¹⁵ ad eum (31) interea rogabant eum discipuli eius⁵ Fol. 49. dicentes rabbi manduca··(32) ille autem dixit eis ego cibum¹⁶ manducare

¹ ex eo ipse.

² V. om.

⁹ uenerit.

¹³ hydriam.

² sitiet.

⁶ Hierosolymis est.

¹⁰ adnuntiauit.

¹⁴ abiit.

³ ego.

⁷ adorant.

¹¹ loquebatur.

¹⁵ ueniebant.

⁴ ad eum.

⁸ Messias.

¹² reliquit.

¹⁶ V. adds habeo.

quem uos nescitis¹ (33) dicebant ergo discipuli adinuicem numquid aliquis attulit ei manducare·(34) dicit eis ihesus meus cibus est ut faciam uoluntatem eius qui misit² me ut perficiam opus eius (35) nonne uos dicitis quod adhuc quatuor³ menses sunt·et mensis⁴ uenit·Ecce dico uobis leuate oculos⁵ uestros et uidete regiones quia albi⁶ sunt⁷ ad messem (36) et qui mitit⁸ mercedem⁹ accipiet¹⁰·Et congregat fructum in uitam æternam·ut et qui seminat simul gaudeat et qui metit (37) in hoc enim est uerbum uerum· quia alius est qui seminat¹¹ alius est qui metit⁸·(38) Ego misi uos me¹² tere quod uos non laborastis alii laborauerunt·et uos in laborem eorum introistis·(39) ex ciuitate autem illa multi crediderunt in eum samaritanorum propter uerbum mulieris testimonium perhibentis·quia dixit mihi omnia que cumque feci·(40) Cum uenissent ergo ad illum samaritani rogauerunt eum ut ibi¹³ maneret et mansit ibi duos dies¹⁴ (41) multo plures crediderunt propter sermonem eius (42) et mulieri dicebant·Quia iam non propter tuam loquellam credimus ipsi enim audiuimus et scimus quia hic est uere¹⁵ saluator mundi··

(43) **P**ost duos autem dies exiit inde et habiit¹⁶ in galileam·(44) Ipse enim ihesus testimonium perhibuit qua propheta in sua patria¹⁷ non habet·

(45) **C**UM ergo uenisset in galileam exceperunt eum galilæe cum omnia uidissent que fecerat hierosolymis¹⁸ in die festo et ipsi enim uenerant in diem¹⁹ festum·(46) uenit ergo iterum in channa²⁰ galilæe²¹ ubi fecit aquam uinum··7

Et erat quidam regulus cuius filius infirmabatur in²² capharnaum²³ (47) hic cum audisset quia ihesus adueniret a iudea in galileam·abiit ad eum et rogabat eum ut discenderet²⁴ et sanaret filium eius·INCIPIEBAT ENIM MORI (48) dixit ergo ihesus ad eum nisi signa ad prodigia uideritis non creditis (49) dicit ad eum regulus·domine discende²⁵ priusquam moriatur filius meus

¹ non scitis.

² misit.

³ quattuor.

⁴ messis.

⁵ oculos.

⁶ albae.

⁷ V. adds iam.

⁸ metit.

⁹ mercedem.

¹⁰ accipit.

¹¹ V. adds et.

¹² metere.

¹³ ut ibi.

¹⁴ V. adds et.

¹⁵ vere hic est.

¹⁶ abiit.

¹⁷ V. adds honorem.

¹⁸ Hierosolymis.

¹⁹ ad diem.

²⁰ Cana.

²¹ Galilæe.

²² V. om.

²³ Capharnaum.

²⁴ descenderet.

²⁵ discende.

(50) dicit ei ihesus uade filius tuus uidit¹ credit homo sermoni quem dixit ei ihesus etibat·(51) iam autem eo discendente² serui occurrerunt ei adnuntiauerunt³ ei⁴ dicentes·quia filius eius uiueret (52) interrogabat ergo horam ab eis inqua melius habuerit . et dixerunt ei quia heri hora septima reliquit eum febris··7

(53) **C**ognouit ergo pater quia⁵ illa hora erat inqua dixit ei ihesus·· Fol. 50.
filius tuus uidit⁶··etcredidit ipse etdomus eius tota (54) hoc iterum secundum signum fecit ihesus cum uenisset aiudea ingaliliam⁷····7

[CAP. V.] (1) **P**ost hæc erat dies festus iudeorum etascendit ihesus hierusolimís⁸··

(2) est⁹ hierusolimís⁸ super probatica piscina que cognominatur ebreice¹⁰ bedsaida¹¹··quinque porticus habens (3) inhís iacebat multitudo magna languentium··cecorum claudorum·aridorum··expectantium aque motum (4) angelus autem domini secundum tempus discendebat¹² inpiscinam etmouebat aquam quique¹³ ergo primus discendisset¹⁴ post motionem¹⁵ aque sanus fiebat··alanguore quo cumque¹⁶ tenebatur··

(5) **E**rat autem ibi¹⁷ homo quidam¹⁸ annos habens ininfirmirate sua (6) hunc cum uidisset ihesus iacentem et cognouisset quia multum iam tempus habet dicit ei·uis sanus fieri··(7) respondit ei languidus·domine hominem nonhabeo utcum turbata fuerit aqua mittat me inpiscinam dum uenio enim ego··alius ante me descendit¹⁹··

(8) **D**icit ei ihesus·surge et⁴ tolle grabatum tuum·et ambula (9) Fol. 50 b.
etstatim sanus factus est homo··etsustulit grabatum²⁰ suum·et ambulabat erat autem sabbatum inillo die (10) dicebant iudei illi qui sanus²¹ fuerat·· sabbatum est nonlicet tibi tollere grabatum²⁰ tuum··(11) respondit eis qui me fecit sanum··ille mihi dixit tolle grabatum²⁰ tuum etambula (12) interrogauerunt ergo eum·quis est ille homo qui tibi dixit²² tolle

¹ vivit.

² descendente.

³ et nuntiauerunt.

⁴ V. om.

⁵ quod.

⁶ vivit.

⁷ Galilaeam.

⁸ Hierosolymis.

⁹ V. adds autem.

¹⁰ hebraice.

¹¹ Bethesda.

¹² descendebat.

¹³ qui.

¹⁴ descendisset.

¹⁵ motum.

¹⁶ a quocumque languore.

¹⁷ quidam homo ibi.

¹⁸ V. adds triginta octo.

¹⁹ descendit.

²⁰ grabattum.

²¹ sanatus.

²² dixit tibi.

grabatum¹ tuum etambula.. (13) is autem qui sanus fuerat effectus nesciebat quis esset..ihesus enim declinauit aturba constituta inlocum² (14) postea inuenit eum ihesus intemplo..etdixit illi ecce sanus factus es iam noli peccare ne deterius tibi aliquid contingat³ (15) abiit ille homo.. ET nuntiauit iudeis quia ihesus esset qui eum⁴ fecit sanum.(16) propterea⁵ persequebantur iudei ihesum quia hæc faciebat insabbato·ihesus autem respondit eis pater meus usque modo operatur etego operior⁶·propterea⁷ ergo magis querebant eum iudei interficere.. Quia nonsolum solvebat sabbatum sed ad⁸patrem suum dicebat deum æqualem sé faciens deo··7

Fol. 51.

Respondit itaque ihesus etdixit eis..

(19) **A**mén amen dico uobis nonpotest filius⁹ facire¹⁰ quicquam nisi quod uiderit patrem facientem que cumque enim ille fecerit hæc similiter etfilius faciet¹¹ (20) pater enim diligit filium etomnia demonstrat¹² ei que ipse facit·etmaiora hīs¹³ demonstraui¹⁴ et¹⁵ opera·utuos miremini (21) sicut enim pater suscitatur mortuos etuiuificat·sic etfilius quos uult uiuificat (22) neque enim pater iudicat quemquam·sed iudicio¹⁶ omne dedit filio· (23) vtomnes honorificent filium sicut honorificauit¹⁷ patrem··7

Qui nonhonorificent¹⁸ filium nonhonorificat patrem qui misit illum··

(24) **A**mén amén dico uobis qui uerbum meum audit etcredit ei·qui missit¹⁹ me habet uitam eternam·etiniudicium nonuenit²⁰ sed transit²¹ amorte·²²

(25) **A**mén amén dico uobis quia uenit hora etnunc est quando mortui audient uocem filii dei etqui audierint uiuent (26) sicut enim pater habet uitam insemet ipso sic dedit etfilio uitam habere insemet ipso (27) etpotes- tatem dedit ei a²³iudicium facere quia filius hominis est (28) nolite mirari hoc quia uenit hora··7

Fol. 51 b.

Inqua omnes qui inmonumentis sunt·audient uocem eius (29) et-

¹ grabattum.² loco.³ contingat.⁴ fecit eum.⁵ propterea.⁶ operor.⁷ propterea.⁸ et.⁹ V. adds a se.¹⁰ facere.¹¹ et filius similiter

facit.

¹² demonstrat.¹³ his.¹⁴ demonstrabit.¹⁵ ei.¹⁶ iudicium.¹⁷ honorificant.¹⁸ honorificat.¹⁹ misit.²⁰ ueniet.²¹ transiet.²² V. adds in uitam.²³ et.

procedent qui bona fecerunt in resurrectionem uite qui vero mala egerunt in resurrectionem iudicii (30) non possum ego a me ipso facere¹ quicquam sicut audio² iudicio et iudicium meum iustum est³.

Quia nonqua³ ergo⁴ uoluntatem meam sed uoluntatem eius qui misit me⁵.

(31) **S**i ego testimonium perhibeo de me testimonium meum non est uerum⁶.
 (32) alius est qui testimonium perhibet de me et scio quia est uerum⁶ testimonium quod perhibet⁷ de me. (33) uos misistis ad iohannem et testimonium perhibuit ueritati (34) ego autem non ab homine⁸ testimonium accipio sed hæc dico ut uos salui sitis (35) ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens uos autem uoluisti⁹ exultare¹⁰ ad horam in luce eius (36) ego autem habeo testimonium maius iohanne opera enim que dedit mihi pater ut perficiam ea ipsa opera que ego facio testimonium perhibent de me quia pater me misit (37) et qui misit me pater ipse testimonium perhibuit de me.

Neque uocem eius audistis¹¹ unquam neque speciem eius uidistis. (38) et uerbum eius non habetis in uobis manens quia quem misit ille huic¹² uos non creditis. (39) Scrutamini scripturas quia uos putatis in ipsis uitam æternam habere et ille sunt que testimoni perhibent de me (40) et non uultis uenire ad me ut uitam habetis¹². (41) Claritatis¹³ ab hominibus non accipio (42) sed cognoui uos quia dilectionem dei non habetis in uobis¹⁴.

(43) **E**go ueni in nomine patris mei et non accipistis¹⁴ me. Si alius uenerit in nomine suo illum accipietis¹⁵. (44) et gloriam que a solo est deo non queritis. (45) Nolite putare quia ego accusaturus sim uos apud¹⁶ patrem quia¹⁷ accuset¹⁸ uos moyses¹⁹ in quo uos speratis. (46) Si enim crederitis²⁰ mosi crederitis²⁰ forsitan et mihi de me enim²¹ scripsit. (47) Si autem illius litteris non creditis quomodo meis uerbis creditis²².

¹ facere.

² iudico.

³ non quaero.

⁴ V. om.

⁵ me misit.

⁶ uerum est.

⁷ perhibet.

⁸ ab homine.

⁹ uoluistis.

¹⁰ exultare.

¹¹ unquam audistis.

¹² habeatis.

¹³ claritatem.

¹⁴ Accipitis.

¹⁵ V. adds Quomodo

potestis vos cre-

dere, qui gloriam

ab inuicem accipi-

tis.

¹⁶ apud.

¹⁷ est qui.

¹⁸ accusat.

¹⁹ Moses.

²⁰ crederetis.

²¹ V. adds ille.

²² credetis?

[CAP VI.] (1) **P**ost hæc habiit¹ ihesus transmare galiliæ² quodest tiberiades³
 (2) adsequatur⁴ cum multitudo magna quia uidebant⁵ signa que faciebat
 super hiis⁶ qui infirmabantur (3) subiit⁷ ergo in montem⁸ ihesus et ibi
 sedebat cum discipulis suis...7...7

Fol. 52 b. (4) **E**rat autem proximum pascha dies festus iudeorum..

(5) **C**um subleuasset ergo oculos⁹ ihesus et uidisset quia multitudo
 maxima uenit ad eum dicit ad phippum¹⁰ unde ememus panes vt manducent
 hii¹¹ (6) hoc autem dicebat temptans¹² eum ipse enim sciebat quid esset
 futurus¹³ (7) respondit ei philippus ducentorum denariorum panes Non
 sufficiunt eis vt unus quisque modicum quid accipiat (8) dicit ei unus
 ex discipulis eius andreas simonis frater petri (9) est puer unus hic qui
 habet u¹⁴ panes ordiacios¹⁵ et duos pisces sed hec quid sunt inter tantos
 (10) dixit ergo ihesus facite homines discumbere erat autem fenum multum
 in loco discuberunt¹⁶ ergo uiri numero quasi u¹⁴ milia (11) accipit¹⁷ ergo
 panes ihesus et cum gratias egisset disibuit¹⁸ discumbentibus similiter expis
 cibus quantum uolebant (12) vt autem impleti¹⁹ sunt dixit discipulis suis
 colligite que superauerunt fragmenta²⁰ ne pereant (13) colligentur²¹ ergo
 et impleuerunt²² xii²³ cophinos fragmentorum ex u¹⁴ panibus hordiacis²⁴
 qui²⁵ superauerunt hiis²⁶ qui manducauerunt (14) illi ergo homines cum
 uidissent quod fecerat signum dicebant quia hic est uere propheta qui
 uenturus est in mundum (15) ihesus ergo cum cognouisset quia uenturi
 essent ut raperent eum et facerent eum regem..

Fol. 53.

Eugit iterum in montem ipse solus (16) vt autem sero factum est
 discenderunt²⁷ discipuli eius ad mare (17) Et cum ascendissent nauem
 uenerunt trans mare in capharnaum²⁸ et tenebre iam factæ erant et non uenerat
 adeos ihesus (18) mare autem uento magno flante exurgebat (19) cum

¹ abiit.

² Galilæae.

³ Tiberiades.

⁴ et sequebatur.

⁵ uidebat.

⁶ his.

⁷ subiit.

⁸ in monte.

⁹ oculos.

¹⁰ ad Philippum.

¹¹ hi?

¹² temptans.

¹³ facturus.

¹⁴ quinque.

¹⁵ hordiacios.

¹⁶ Discubuerunt.

¹⁷ Accepit.

¹⁸ distribuit.

¹⁹ saturati.

²⁰ fragmentorum.

²¹ collegerunt.

²² impleuerunt.

²³ duodecim.

²⁴ hordiaciis.

²⁵ quæ.

²⁶ his.

²⁷ descenderunt.

²⁸ Capharnaum.

remigassent ergo quassi¹ stadia·xxu²·aut·xxxxta³·uident ihesum ambulantem supra mare et proximum nauifieri··ettimmerunt (20) ille autem dixit⁴ eis ego sum nolite timere⁵ (21) uoluerunt ergo accipere eum in nauis⁶··et statim fuit nauis ad terram in aquam⁷ ibant⁸··

(22) **A**ltera die turba que stabat trans mare uidit quia nauicula alia nonerat ibi nisi una··et quia non introisset cum discipulis suis⁹ in nauem¹⁰ sed soli discipuli eius abissent··(23) Aliae uero super uenerunt naues·atiberiade¹¹ iuxta locum ubi manducauerunt panem··gratias agentes dominum¹² (24) cum ergo uidisset turba quia ihesus non esset ibi neque discipuli eius¹³ in nauem sed soli discipuli eius abissent··

Aliae uero super uenerunt naues·atiberiade iuxta locum ubi manducauerunt panem gratias agentes dominus cum ergo uidisset turba quia ihesus non esset ibi discipuli eius¹³ ascenderunt nauiculas et uenerunt capharnaum¹⁴ querentes ihesum (25) et eum inuenissent eum trans mare dixerunt¹⁵ rabi¹⁶··Quando huc uenisti (26) respondit eis ihesus·et dixit··

Amen amen dico uobis queritis me non quia uidistis signa sed quia manducastis ex panibus et saturati estis (27) operamini non cibum que perit¹⁷ sed qui permanet in uitam aeternam quem filius hominis uobis dabit··hunc enim pater signauit deus··(28) dixerunt ergo ad eum quid faciemus ut operemur pera¹⁸ dei··

(29) **R**espondit ihesus et dixit eis hoc est opus dei·ut credatis in eum quem misit ille··(30) dixerunt ergo ei quod ergo tu facis signum ut credamus et credamus¹⁹ tibi quid operaris··(31) patres enim²⁰ manducauerunt in deserto·Sicut scriptum est panem de celo dedit eis manducare·(32) dixit ergo eis ihesus··

Amen amen dico uobis non moyses²¹ dedit uobis panem de celo sed pater meus dat uobis panem de celo uerum (33) panis enim dei est qui dis-

¹ quasi.

² viginti quinque.

³ triginta.

⁴ dicit.

⁵ timere.

⁶ in nauem.

⁷ quam.

⁸ ibat.

⁹ V. adds Iesus.

¹⁰ nauem.

¹¹ Tiberiade.

¹² domino.

¹³ Thirty-two words are here repeated.

¹⁴ Capharnaum.

¹⁵ V. adds ei.

¹⁶ Rabbi.

¹⁷ perit.

¹⁸ opera.

¹⁹ credamus.

²⁰ V. om. and adds nostri mannam.

²¹ Moses.

ceudit¹ decelo·etdat uitam mundo (34) dixerunt ergo ad eum domine
semper nobis² dá panem hunc panem semper hunc³··7

Fol. 54. (35) **D**ixit autem eis ihesus ego sum panis uitæ··qui uenit⁴ ad me non esuriet⁵ et qui credit in me non sitiet unquam (36) sed dixi uobis··quia et uidentis me et non creditis⁶···7

(37) **O**mne quod dat mihi pater ad me ueniet··

Et enim⁷ qui uenit ad me non eiciam foras (38) quia descendi⁸
de celo non ut faciam uoluntatem meam sed uoluntatem eius qui misit me··7

(39) **N**ec est autem uoluntas eius qui misit me patris ut omne quod
dedit mihi non perdam ex eo·quicquam⁹ sed resuscitem illum in nouissimo
die (40) hæc¹⁰ enim uoluntas patris mei qui misit me ut omnis¹¹ uideat filium
et credat in eum¹²··et resuscitabo ego eum in nouissimo die···7

(41) **M**urmurabant ergo iudei de illo quia dixisset ego sum panis qui
de celo descendi¹³·(42) et dicebant nonne hic est ihesus filius ioseph cuius¹⁴
nouimus patrem et matrem quomodo ergo hic¹⁵ dicit quia de celo descendi¹³··

(43) **R**espondit ergo ihesus et dixit eis nolite murmurare¹⁶ inuicem·(44)
nemo potest uenire ad me nisi pater qui misit me traxerit eum et ego resus-
citabo eum in nouissimo die··7 (45) est scriptum in prophetis et erunt omnes
docibiles¹⁷ dei omnis qui audit¹⁸ a patre¹⁹ uenit ad me (46) non quia patrem
uidit quisquam nisi his²⁰ qui est a deo hic uidit patrem··

Fol. 54 b.

(47) **A**mén amén dico uobis qui credit in me habet uitam æternam··

(49) **E**go sum panis uitæ··(49) patres uestri manducauerunt in deserto
mannam et mortui sunt·(50) hic est panis de celo descendens²¹ ut si quis ex ipso
manducauerit non moriatur··(51) Ego sum panis uiuus qui de celo descendi²²··
Si quis manducauerit ex hoc pane uiuet in æternum et panis quem ego dabo
caro mea est promundi uita··7

(52) **L**itigabant ergo iudei ad inuicem dicentes quomodo potest

¹ descendit.

² da nobis.

³ V. om. last three
words.

⁴ ueniet.

⁵ esuriet.

⁶ creditis.

⁷ eum.

⁸ descendi.

⁹ V. om.

¹⁰ V. adds est.

¹¹ V. adds qui.

¹² V. adds habeat

uitam æternam.

¹³ descendi.

¹⁴ V. adds nos.

¹⁵ dicit hic.

¹⁶ V. adds in.

¹⁷ docibiles.

¹⁸ audivit.

¹⁹ V. adds et didicit.

²⁰ is.

²¹ descendens.

²² descendi.

hic nobis carnem suam¹ dare admanducandum·(53) dixit ergo eis ihesus··

Amen amen dico uobis nisi manducaueritis carnem filii hominis·· et biberitis eius sanguinem non habebitis uitam in uobis (54) qui manducat meam carnem et bibit² meum sanguinem habet³ uitam eternam et ego resuscitabo eum in nouissimo die··⁷

(55) **C**aro enim mea uere est cibum⁴· et sanguis⁵ meus uere est potus··

(56) **Q**ui manducat meam carnem· et bibit meum sanguinem in me manet et ego in illo··⁷

(57) **S**icut misit pater uiuens⁶ et ego uiuo propter patrem et qui manducat me et ipse uiuens⁷ propter me··(58) hic est panis qui de celo descendit⁸·· Non sicut manducauerunt patres uestri mannam et mortui sunt· qui manducat hunc panem uiuet in aeternum··

(59) **H**aec dixit in synagoga⁹·· docens in capharnaum··(60) multi ergo audientes ex discipulis eius dixerunt durus est hic sermo·· quis potest eum audire··(61) sciens autem ihesus apud¹⁰ semet ipsum quia murmurarent de hoc discipuli eius dixit eis hoc uos scandalizat··

(62) **S**i ergo uideritis filium hominis ascendentem ubi erat prius (63) spiritus est qui uiuificat caro non prodest quicquam··

Uerba que ego locutus sum uobis spiritus et uita sunt¹¹ (64) quidam ex uobis qui non credunt··

Sciebat eum¹² ab initio ihesus qui essent credentes et cuius¹³ traditurus esset eum··(65) Et dicebat propterea¹⁴ dixi uobis quia nemo potest uenire ad me nisi fuerit e datum a patre meo··(66) Ex hoc multi discipulorum eius abierunt retro etiam non cum illo ambulabant··(67) Dixit ergo ihesus· ad xii¹⁵ num¹⁶ et uos multis¹⁷ abire··⁷

(68) **R**espondit ergo ei simon petrus domine ad quem ibimus uerba uite Fol. 55 b.

¹ carnem suam nobis.

⁶ me uiuens pater.

¹⁰ apud.

¹⁴ Propterea.

² bibit.

⁷ uiuet.

¹¹ V. adds sed sunt.

¹⁵ duodecim.

³ habet.

⁸ descendit.

¹² enim.

¹⁶ numquid.

⁴ cibus.

⁹ synagoga.

¹³ quis.

¹⁷ uultis.

⁵ sanguis.

æternæ habes (69) etnós credimus¹··etcognouimus quia tu es christus filius dei···

(70) **R**espondit eis ihesus nonne ego uós·xii²·elegii³·etexuobis unus diabolus⁴ est··(71) dicebat autem iudam simonem⁵ sariothis⁶ hic enim erat traditurus eum cum esset unus exduodecim··7

[CAP. VII.] (1) **P**ost hec autem⁷ ambulabat ihesus ingalilea⁸ nonenim uolebat iniudeam ambulare··quia querebant eum iudei interficere·(2) erat autem inproximo dies festus iudeorum scenopigia⁹···7

(3) **D**ixerunt autem ad eum fratres eius transi hinc et uade iniudeam vt det¹⁰ discipuli tui uideant opera¹¹ que facis··(4) nemo quippe¹² innoculto quid¹³ facit··et querit ipse in palam esse sí hæc facis manifestate¹⁴ ipsvm mundo (5) neque enim fratres eius credebant in eum.

(6) **D**icit ergo eis ihesus tempus meum nondum uenit··tempus autem uestrum semper¹⁵ paratum (7) non potest mundus odisse uós me autem odit quia ego testimonium perhibeo de illo··Quia opera eius mala sunt (8) uós ascendite ad diem festum hunc ego non ascendo ad diem festum istum·quia meum tempus nondum impletum¹⁶ est··(9) hæc cum dixisset ipse¹⁷ ingalilea··

Fol. 56.

(10) vt autem ascenderunt fratres eius tunc et ipse descendit¹⁸ ad diem festum non manifeste sed quasi¹⁹ innoculto (11) iudei ergo querebant eum in die festo··et dicebant ubi est ille·(12) et murmur multus²⁰ erat de eo in turba quidam enim dicebant quia bonus est··alii autem dicebant non sed seducit turbas (13) nemo tamen palam loquebatur de illo··propter metum iudeorum·(14) iam autem die festo mediante ascendit ihesus in templum·et docebat (15) et mirabantur iudei dicentes quomodo hic literas²¹ scit cum nondedicerit²²··

(16) **R**espondit eis ihesus·et dixit mea doctrina non est mea sed eius qui misit me (17) si quis uoluerit uoluntatem eius facire²³ cognoscit²⁴ doctrina

¹ credidimus.

² duodecim.

³ elegi.

⁴ diabolus.

⁵ Simonis.

⁶ Scariothis.

⁷ V. om.

⁸ Galilaeam.

⁹ scenopogia.

¹⁰ Vt et.

¹¹ V. adds tua.

¹² Enim.

¹³ aliquid.

¹⁴ manifesta te.

¹⁵ V. adds est.

¹⁶ impletum.

¹⁷ V. adds mansit.

¹⁸ ascendit.

¹⁹ quasi.

²⁰ de eo erat.

²¹ litteras.

²² didicerit?

²³ facere.

²⁴ cognoscet de.

utrum ex deo sit an ego ame ipso loquar (18) quia¹ a se ipso loquitur gloriam propriam querit qui autem querit gloriam eius qui misit illum · hic uerax est et iniustitia in illo non est (19) nonne moyses dedit uobis legem · 7

Et nemo ex uobis facit legem · (20) quid me queritis interficere · · respondit · turba et dixit demonium habes quis te querit interficere · ·

(21) **R**espondit · ihesus et dixit eis unum opus feci et omnes miramini² (22) propterea moyses³ dedit uobis circumcisionem⁴ non quia ex moyses⁵ est sed ex patribus et in sabbato circumciditis hominem ·

(23) **S**i circumcisionem accipit homo in sabbato ut non saluatur⁶ lex moysi · Fol. 56 b. mihi indignamini quia totum hominem sanum feci in sabbato · · (24) Nolite iudicare secundum faciem sed iustum iudicium iudicate · (25) dicebant ergo quidam ex hierosolimis⁷ nonne hic est quem querunt interficere · · (26) Etece palam loquitur et nihil ei dicunt numquid uere cognouerunt principes quia hic est christus (27) sed hunc scimus unde sit · · christus autem cum uenerit nemo scit unde sit · ·

(28) **C**lamabat ergo docens in templo ihesus⁸ dicens et nescitis⁹ et unde sim scitis¹⁰ (29) ego scio eum quia ab ipso sum · et ipse me misit · ·

(30) **Q**ueriebant ergo eum adprehendere¹¹ et nemo misit in illum manus quia nondum uenerat hora eius · · (31) deturba autem multi crediderunt in eum et dicebant christus cum uenerit numquid plura signa faciet quamque hic fecit¹² (32) audierunt farisei¹³ turbam murmurantem de illo haec · · 7

Et miserunt principes · · et pharisei ministros ut adprehenderent¹⁴ · (33) Dixit ergo ihesus adhuc modicum tempus uobis cum sum · et uado ad eum qui misit me (34) queritis me et non inuenietis et ubi sum ego uos non potestis uenire · (35) Dixerunt ergo iudei ad se ipsos quo hic iturus est Fol. 57. quia non inueniemus eum numquid indisersionem gentium iturus est et docturus gentes (36) quis est hic sermo quem dixit queritis me et non inuenietis me¹⁵ et ubi sum ego non potestis uenire (37) in nouissimo autem die

¹ Qui.

² miramini.

³ Moses.

⁴ circumcisionem.

⁵ Mose.

⁶ solvatur.

⁷ Hierosolymis.

⁸ V. adds et.

⁹ et me scitis.

¹⁰ V. adds et a me ¹¹ apprehendere.

ipso non ueni sed ¹² facit ?

est uerus qui misit

me, quem uos ne-

scitis.

¹³ Pharisei.

¹⁴ Apprehenderent eum.

¹⁵ V om.

mognouit¹ festiuitatis stabat ihesus et clamabat dicens··quis² sitit ueniat ad me et bibat (38) qui credit in me sicut dixit scriptura flumina de uentre eius fluent³ aque uiuæ··

(39) **H**oc autem dixit de spiritu⁴ accepturi⁵ erant credentes in eum non enim erat spiritus datus quia ihesus nondum fuerat glorificatus··7

(40) **E**xilla ergo turba cum audissent⁶ hos sermones eius dicebant hic⁷ uere propheta (41) alii dicebant hic est christus··

Quidam autem⁸ numquid galiliæ⁹ christus uenit (42) nonne scriptura dicit quia ex semine dauid¹⁰ debethlem¹¹ castello ubi erat dauid uenit christus··(43) Dissensio¹² itaque facta est in turba propter eum··7

(44) **Q**uidam¹³ ex iudeis uolebant¹⁴ apprehendere¹⁵ eum sed nemo misit super illum manus (45) uenerunt igitur¹⁶ ministri ad pontifices et fariseos¹⁷ et dixerunt eis illi quare non conduxistis¹⁸ eum (46) responderunt ministri·

Fol. 57 b. numquam sic locutus est homo sicut hic homo··(47) Responderunt ergo eis pharisei··Numquid¹⁹ et uos seducti estis (48) numquid aliquis ex principibus credidit in eum aut ex fariseis²⁰ (49) sed turba hec que²¹ nouit legem maledicti sunt (50) dicit nicodemus²² adeos ille qui uenit ad eum nocte qui unus erat ex iudeis·

(51) **Q**uidam lex nostra iudicat hominem nisi audierit prius²³ ab ipso etcognouerit quid faciat·

(52) **R**esponderunt²⁴ dixerunt ei numquid et tu galileus es·scrutare et uide quia propheta galilea non surgit··(53) et reuersi sunt unus quisque in domum suam··7

[CAP. VIII.] (1) **I**hesus autem perrexit in montem oliueti²⁴··(2)²⁵ de luculo²⁶ iterum uenit in templum et omnis populus uenit ad eum·et sedens docebat eos··

¹ magno.

² Qui.

³ fluent.

⁴ V. adds quem.

⁵ accepturi.

⁶ audissent.

⁷ V. adds est.

⁸ V. adds dicebant.

⁹ Galilæa.

¹⁰ V. adds et.

¹¹ Bethleem.

¹² dissensio.

¹³ V. adds autem.

¹⁴ uolebant.

¹⁵ apprehendere.

¹⁶ ergo.

¹⁷ Phariseos.

¹⁸ adduxistis.

¹⁹ Numquid.

²⁰ Phariseis.

²¹ V. adds non.

²² Nicodemus.

²³ Ab ipso prius.

²⁴ Oliveti.

²⁵ V. adds et.

²⁶ diluculo.

(3) **A**ducunt¹ autem scribæ et pharisei mulierem inadulterio deprehensam et statuerunt eam in medio (4) et dixerunt ei magister. Hæc mulier modo deprehensa est inadulterio (5) in lege autem moyses² mandauit nobis. Huiusmodi lapidare tu ergo quid dicis (6) hæc autem dicebant temptantes³ eum ut possint⁴ accusare⁵ eum. ihesus autem inclinans se deorsum digito scribebat in terram⁶ (7) cum autem perseuerauerant⁷ interrogantes eum. 7 **E**rexit se et dixit eis quis⁸ in peccato est uestrum primus in illam lapidem Fol. 58. mittat. (8) et iterum se inclinans, scribebat in terram⁶ (9) audientes autem unus post unum exibant⁹ incipientes a senioribus et remansit solus et mulier in medio stans. (10) Erigens autem se ihesus dixit ei mulier ubi sunt qui te accusabant¹⁰ nemo te condemnauit. (11) que dixit nemo domine. dixit autem ihesus nec ego te condemnabo uade. et amplius iam noli peccare. (12) Iterum¹¹ locutus est eis ihesus dicens. 7

Ego sum lux mundi qui sequitur me non ambulauit¹² in tenebris sed habebit lumen¹³ uite. 7

(13) **D**ixerunt ergo ei farisei¹⁴ tu dete ipso testimonium perhibes testimonium tuum non est uerum.

(14) **R**espondit ihesus et dixit eis etsi ego testimonium perhibeo de me ipso uerum est testimonium meum quia scio unde ueni et quo uado. uos autem nescitis unde ueni aut quo uado. (15) uos secundum carnem iudicatis. Ego non iudicio¹⁵ quemquam (16) etsi iudicio¹⁵ ego iudicium meum uerum est quia solus non sum. sed ego et qui misit¹⁶ me pater. (17) et in lege uestra scriptum est quia duorum hominum testimonium uerum est. (18) Ego sum qui testimonium perhibeo de me ipso. et testimonium perhibet de me pater¹⁷. Fol. 58 b. qui me¹⁸ misit pater. (19) dicebant ergo ei ubi est pater tuus.

Respondit ihesus. neque me scitis. neque patrem meum si me sciritis¹⁹ forsitan et patrem meum sci¹⁹.

¹ Adducunt.

² Moses.

³ temptantes.

⁴ possent.

⁵ accusare.

⁶ terra.

⁷ perseuerarent.

⁸ Qui sine.

⁹ exibant.

¹⁰ V. om. these three words.

¹¹ V. adds ergo.

¹² ambulabit.

¹³ lucem.

¹⁴ Pharisei.

¹⁵ iudico.

¹⁶ me misit.

¹⁷ V. om.

¹⁸ misit me.

¹⁹ sciretis.

(20) **H**æc uerba locutus est ingazofilacio¹ docins² docens intemplo ..et nemo adprehendit³ eum ..quia nec dum uenerit⁴ hora eius ..7

(21) **D**ixit ergo iterum eis⁵ ego uado etqueritis me etinpeccato uestro moriemini quo ego uado uós nonpotestis uenire .(22) Dicebant ergo iudei numquid interficiet semet ipsum ..quia dicit quo ego uado uós nonpotestis uenire (23) etdicebat eis ..uós⁶ deorsum estis ..Ego desupernis sum ..uos demundo hoc estis ..Ego nonsum dehóc mundo .(24) dixi ergo uobis quia moriemini inpeccatis uestris sí enim noncrediretis⁷ ..quia ego sum moriemini inpeccato uestro ..(25) dicebant ergo ei et² tú quis es dicit⁸ eis ihesus principium qui⁹ ethæc² loquor uobis (26) multa habeo deuobis loqui etiudicare sed qui misit me uerax est et ego que audiui habeo¹⁰ hec loquor inmundo (27) etnongnouerunt quia patrem eis dicebat ..7

(28) **D**ixit ergo eis ihesus ..cum exaltaueritis filium hominis tunc cognoscetis quia ego sum ..etame¹¹ ipso facio nihil sed sicut docuit me pater hec loquor (29) et qui misit¹² me mecum est .

Fol. 59.

Ronreliquit me solum quia ego que placita sunt ei facio semper (30) hec illo loquente multi crediderunt ineum (31) dicebat ergo ihesus adeos qui crediderunt ei iudeos sí uós permanseritis¹³ insermone meo ..uere discipuli mei ..eritis (32) etcognoscetis ueritatem ..etueritás liberauit¹⁴ uós .(33) responderunt ei ..semen abrache¹⁵ sumus etnemini seruiimus umquam quomodo tú dicis liberi critis ..(34) respondit eis ihesus ..7

Amén amén dico uobis quia omnis qui facit peccatum seruus est peccati ..(35) seruus autem nonmanet indomo inæternum filius manet inæternum ..7

(36) **S**i ergo filius uós liberauerit ..uere liberieritis .(37) scio quia filii abrache¹⁵ estis ..sed queritis me interficere quia sermo meus noncapit inuobis (38) Ego quod uidi aput¹⁶ patrem loquor etuos qui¹⁷ uidistis aput¹⁶ patrem uestrum facitis (39) responderunt etdixerunt ei pater noster abraham¹⁸ est .

¹ gazophylacio.

² V. om.

³ apprehendit.

⁴ uenerat.

⁵ V. adds Iesus.

⁶ V. adds de.

⁷ credideritis.

⁸ dixit.

⁹ quia.

¹⁰ ab eo.

¹¹ et a me.

¹² me misit.

¹³ manseritis.

¹⁴ liberabit.

¹⁵ Abrahæ.

¹⁶ apud.

¹⁷ quæ.

¹⁸ Abraham.

dicit¹ eis ihesus sí filii abrache² estis·opera abrache² facite·(40) Nunc autem queritis me interficere hominem qui ueritatem locutus sum quam audiui·adeo hoc abraham nonfecit·(41) Uós autem³ facias⁴ opera patris uestri dixerunt itaque ei·Nós exfornicatione nonsumus nati·7 Unum Fol. 59 b. patrem habemus deum·(42) Dixit ergo eis ihesus·

Sí deus pater uester⁵·diligentis me utique⁶ ego enim processi⁷ aexdeo etuenio⁸ neque enim ame ipso ueni sed ille me misit·(43) quare loquellam meam noncognoscetis⁹ quia nonpotestis audire sermonem meum (44) uos expatre·zabulo¹⁰ estis etdesideria patris uestri uultis facire¹¹ ille homicida erat abinitio etinueritate nonstetit quianonest ueritas in eo qui¹² loquitur mendacium expropríis loquitur quia mendax est etpater eius (45) Ego autem qui¹³ ueritatem dico noncredit mihi (46) quis exuobis arguit me depeccato sí ueritatem dico quare uós noncredit mihi (47) qui exdeo¹⁴ est uerba dei audit propterea uós nonauditis quia exdeo nonestis· (48) Responderunt igitur iudei et dixerunt ei nonne benedicimus nos quia samaritanus es tu etdemonium habes·(49) respondit·ihesus ego demonium nonhabeo sed honorifico patrem meum etuós·inhonorastis¹⁵ me (50) ego autem nonquero gloriam meam·est qui querit etiudicat·

(51) **A**mén amén dico uobis siquis sermonem meum seruauerit mortem nonuidebit inæternum·7

(52) **D**ixerunt ergo iudei nunc cognouimus quia demonium habes Fol. 60. abraham mortuus est etprophete·ettu dicis si quis sermonem meum seruauerit mortem¹⁶ nongustauit inæternum (53) numquid tu maior es·patre nostro abraham qui mortuus est etprofete¹⁷ mortui sunt·quem te ipsum facis·(54) respondit ihesus sí ergo¹⁸ glorifico me ipsum·gloria mea nihil est¹⁹ pater meus qui glorificat me quem uos dicitis quia deus noster est (55) etnongnouistis²⁰ eum·Ego autem noui eum·etsi dixero quia nonscio eum·ero similis uobis mendax sed scio eum etsermonem eius seruo

¹ Dixit.

² Abrahae.

³ V. om.

⁴ facitis.

⁵ V. adds esset.

⁶ utique me.

⁷ ex deo processi.

⁸ ueni.

⁹ cognoscitis.

¹⁰ diabolo.

¹¹ facere.

¹² cum.

¹³ quia.

¹⁴ est ex deo.

¹⁵ inhonoratis.

¹⁶ non gustabit mortem.

¹⁷ prophete.

¹⁸ ego.

¹⁹ V. adds est.

²⁰ cognouistis.

(56) abraham pater uester exultauit vt uideret diem meum et uidit et gauisus est ..

(57) **D**ixerunt ergo iudei ad eum quinquaginta annos nondum habes et abraham uidisti (58) dixit eis ihesus ..

Amén amén dico uobis antequam abraham fieret ego sum (59) tulerunt ergo lapides ut iactarent¹ in eum ihesus autem abscondit se et exiit de templo ..

[CAP. IX.] (1) **E**t preteriens uidit iohannem² cecum anauitate³ (2) et interrogauerunt eum⁴ discipuli eius⁵ rabbi quis peccauit⁶ neque⁴ parentes eius ut cecus nasceretur ..

Fol. 60 b. (3) **R**espondit ihesus neque hic peccauit neque parentes⁷ sed ut manifestantur⁸ opera⁹ dei in illo (4) meo¹⁰ pro operari opera eius¹¹ qui misit me donec dies est ..⁷

Venit nox quando nemo potest operari (5) quandiu¹² in hoc mundo sum lux sum mundi (6) hec cum dixisset et⁴ exiit in terram et fecit lutum ex sputo¹³ et linuit¹⁴ lutum super oculos¹⁵ eius (7) et dixit ei uade et¹⁶ lauauit in aqua siloæ quod interpretatur misus¹⁷ abiit ergo et lauauit et uenit uidens (8) itaque uicini et qui uidebant eum prius quia mendicus erat¹⁸ dicebant nonne hic est qui sedebat .. et mendicabat (9) alii dicebant quia hic est .. alii autem nequaquam .. sed similis est eius ille dicebat quia ego sum (10) dicebant ergo ei quomodo aperti sunt oculi¹⁹ tibi (11) Respondit ille homo quid dicitur ihesus lutum fecit et unxit²⁰ oculos²¹ meos .. et dixit mihi uade ad natatorium siloæ et lauauit et uidi (12) dixerunt ei ubi est ille ait .. Nescio (13) adducunt eum ad fariseos²² qui cecus fuerat (14) erat autem sabbatum .. quando lutum fecit ihesus et aperuit oculos²¹ eius (15) Iterum ergo interrogabant eum farisei²³ quomodo uidisset ille autem dixit

¹ iacerent.

² hominem.

³ nativitate.

⁴ V. om.

⁶ sui.

⁶ V. adds hic aut.

⁷ V. adds eius.

⁸ manifestetur.

⁹ opus.

¹⁰ me oportet.

¹¹ eius.

¹² Quandiu.

¹³ ex sputo.

¹⁴ leuit.

¹⁵ oculos.

¹⁶ V. om.

¹⁷ missus.

¹⁸ V. adds et.

¹⁹ oculi.

²⁰ unxit.

²¹ oculos.

²² Phariseos.

²³ Pharisei.

eis lutum possuit¹ mihisup er² etlauri etuideo³·(16) dicebant ergo ex-
fariseis³ quidam nonest homo híc a deo qui⁴ sabbatum noncustodit⁵·

Alli dicebant quomodo potest homo peccator hæc signa facire⁵ Fol. 61.
etscisma erat incis⁶·

(17) **E**t⁶dicunt ergo ceco iterum tuquid dicis deeo quiaperuit oculos⁷
tuos ille autem dixit quia profeta⁸ (18) noncrediderunt ergo iudei deillo
qui⁹ cecus fuisset etuidisset donec uocauerunt parentes eius quiuiderat (19)
etinterrogauerunt eos dicentes hic est filius uester quem uos dicitis quia
cecus natus est quomodo ergo nunc uidet (20) responderunt eis parentes
eius etdixerunt·scimus¹⁰ híc¹¹ filius noster¹⁰·Et quia cecus natus est·(21)
quomodo autem nunc uidet¹² nescimus aut quis eius aperuit oculos⁷ ¹³ne-
scimus·ipsum interrogate ætatem habet ipse dese loquatur¹³·(22) hæc
dixerunt parentes eius quia timebant iudeos iam enim conspirauerant iudei·
vtsiquis cum confiteretur christum extra sinagogam¹⁴ fieret (23) propterea
parentes eius dixerunt qui¹⁵ habet ætatem ipsum interrogate (24) uocauerunt
ergo rursum hominum¹⁶ qui fuerat cecus etdixerunt ei¹⁵·Dá gloriam deo
nós scimus quia híchomo peccator est (25) dixit ergo ille sí peccator est
nescio unum scio·quia cecus cum essem modo uideo·(26) dixerunt ergo
illi quid fecit tibi quomodo aperuit tibi oculos⁷·(27) Respondit eis dixi
uobis iam etaudistis quid iterum uultis¹⁷ discipuli eius¹⁷·

Fieri (28) male dixerunt ei·etdixerunt tú discipulus illius es¹⁷· Fol. 61 b.
Nos autem moysi¹⁸ discipuli sumus (29) nos scimus quia¹⁹ mosi locutus est
deus hunc autem nescimus unde sit¹⁹·(30) Respondit·ille homo²⁰ dixit eis
inhoc enim mirabile est·quiauós nescitis unde sit etaperuit meos oculos⁷
(31) scimus quia peccatores deus nonaudit sed sí quis dei cultor est
etuioluntatem eius facit hunc exaudit (32) aseculo nonest auditum quia
aparuit²¹ quis oculos⁷ ceci nati²¹·(33) Nisi esset hic adeo·nonpoterat²²

¹ posuit.

² V. adds oculos.

³ Phariseis.

⁴ quia.

⁵ facere.

⁶ V. om.

⁷ oculos.

⁸ propheta est.

⁹ quia.

¹⁰ V. adds quia.

¹¹ V. adds est.

¹² videat.

¹³ V. adds nos.

¹⁴ synagogam.

¹⁵ quia ætatem habet.

¹⁶ hominem.

¹⁷ V. adds audire?

numquid et vos uul-
tis.

¹⁸ Mosi.

¹⁹ quoniam.

²⁰ V. adds et.

²¹ aperuit.

²² V. adds facere.

quicumquam (34) responderunt et dixerunt ei in peccatis natus es totus et tu doces nos et acierunt¹ eum foras (35) audiuit ihesus quia ecierunt¹ eum foras et cum inuenisset eum dixit² et tū dixisset⁴ et in filium dei (36) respondit ille et dixit quis est domine ut credam in eum (37) et dixit ei ihesus et uidisti eum et qui loquitur tecum ipse est (38) at ille ait 7

Credo domine et procedens⁵ adorauit eum (39) et⁶ dixit ei ihesus in iudicium ego in hunc mundum ueni ut qui non uident uideant et qui uideant⁷ caecificent (40) et audierunt ex fariseis⁸ 7 Quicum ipso erant et dixerunt ei numquid et nos caeci sumus (41) dixit eis ihesus si caeci essetis non haberetis peccatum nunc uero dicitis quia uidemus peccatum uestrum manet 7

Fol. 62.

[CAP. X.] (1) **A**men amen dico uobis qui non intrat per ostium in ouile ouium sed ascendit aliunde ille fur est et latro (2) qui autem intrat per ostium⁹ postor¹⁰ est ouium 7

(3) **H**uic ostiarius aperit et oues uocem eius audiunt et proprias oues uocat nominatim et educit eas (4) et cum proprias ouis¹¹ emiserit ante eas uadit et oues illum secuntur quia sciunt uocem eius (5) alienum autem non secuntur¹² sed fugiunt¹³ ab eo quia¹⁴ uoluerunt¹⁵ uocem alienorum (6) hoc prouerbiū dixit eis¹⁶ ihesus illi autem non cognouerunt quid loqueretur eis (7) dixit ergo eis iterum ihesus 7

Amen amen dico uobis quia ego sum ostium ouium (8) omnes quot quot uenerunt fures sunt et latrones sed non audierunt eos oues (9) ego sum ostium perme si quis introierit saluabitur et ingredietur et egredietur et pascua inueniet (10) fur non uenit nisi ut furetur et mactet et perdat ego ueni ut uitam habeant et abundantius¹⁷ habeant 7

(11) **E**go sum pastor bonus 7 bonus pastor animam suam dat pro ouibus¹⁸ 7

Fol. 62 b.

(12) **M**ercenarius et qui non est pastor cuius non sunt oues propriae uidit¹⁹ lupum uenientem: et dimittit²⁰ oues et fugit et lupus rapit et dispergit oues

¹ eiecerunt.² V. adds ei.³ V. om.⁴ credis.⁵ prociens.⁶ V. om.⁷ vident.⁸ Phariseis.⁹ per ostium.¹⁰ pastor.¹¹ oues.¹² non sequuntur.¹³ fugient.¹⁴ V. adds non.¹⁵ uoluerunt.¹⁶ illis.¹⁷ et abundantius.¹⁸ pro ouibus.¹⁹ uidet.²⁰ dimittet.

(13) mercinarius¹ autem fugit·quia mercinarius¹ est etnonpertinet ad eum deouibus (14) ego sum pastor bonus·etcognosco meas etcognoscunt me·²

(15) Sicut nouit me pater etego cognosco³ patrem·Et animam meam pono proouibus·

(16) **E**t alias oues habeo que nonsunt ex hoc ouili·etillas oportet me adducere etuocem meam audient etfiet unum ouile·etunus pastor (17) propterea me pater diligit quia ego pono animam meam·vtiterum sumam eam·

(18) nemo tollit eam ame·sed ego pono eam ame·ipso potestatem habeo ponendi eam etpotestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam·hoc mandatum accipi⁴ a patre⁵·

(19) **D**iscensio⁶ iterum facta est iter⁷ iudeos propter sermones hos·

(20) dicebant autem multi exipsis demonium habet⁸ insanit quid eum auditis·(21) Alii dicebant hæc uerba nonsunt·demonium habentis numquid demonium potest cecorum oculos⁹ aperire····7

(22) **F**acta sunt autem incenia¹⁰ in hierosolimís¹¹ ethiempserat¹² (23) Fol. 63. etambulabat ihesus in templo in portico¹³ salomonis·(24) circumdederunt ergo eum iudei etdicebant ei··7

Quo usque animam nostram tollis sítues christus dic nobis palam·

(25) Respondit·eis ihesus loquor uobis etnon creditis opera que ego facio in nomine patris mei·Hec testimonium perhibent de me·(26) sed uos non creditis quia non estis¹⁴ ouibus meis (27) oues meæ uocem meam audiunt·etego cognosco eas etsecuntur me·(28) etego uitam eternam dono¹⁵ eis etnon peribunt in eternum·et¹⁶ non rapiet eas quisquam de manu mea (29) pater meus quod dedit mihi maius omnibus¹⁷ etnemo potest rapere de manu patris mei·

(30) Ego etpater unum sumus (31) sustulerunt¹⁸ lapides iudei vt lapidarent eum·(32) Respondit·eis ihesus multa opera bona ostendi uobis ex patre meo propter quod eorum opus me lapidatis·(33) Responderunt ei iudei de bono opere non lapidamus te¹⁹ de blasfemia²⁰ etquia tu homo cum sis·facis te

¹ mercennarius.

² V. adds meae.

³ agnosco.

⁴ accepi.

⁵ V. adds meo

⁶ Dissensio.

⁷ inter.

⁸ V. adds et.

⁹ oculos.

¹⁰ encenia.

¹¹ Hierosolymis.

¹² hiems erat.

¹³ porticu.

¹⁴ V. adds ex.

¹⁵ do.

¹⁶ V. om.

¹⁷ V. adds est.

¹⁸ sustulerunt.

¹⁹ V. adds sed.

²⁰ blasphemia.

ipsum deum[·](34) Respondit·eis ihesus nonne scriptum est in lege uestra·
 Fol. 63 b. Quia ego dixi dii estis·(35) et illos dixit deos et² quos sermo dei factus est
 et non potest solui scriptura (36) quem ergo³ pater sanctificauit et misit
 inmundum uos dicitis qui⁴ blasphemat⁵ quia dixi filius dei sum[·]

(37) **S**i non facio opera patris mei nolite credere mihi·(38) si autem facio
 etsi mihi non uultis credere operibus credite ut cognoscatis et credatis quia
 in me⁶ pater et ego in patre[·]·

(39) **Q**uerebant ergo eum adprehendere⁷ et exiuit de manibus eorum (40)
 et abiit iterum trans iordanem in eum locum ubi erat iohannes baptizans
 primum et mansit illic[·]·7

(41) **E**t multi uenerunt⁸ ad eum et dicebant quia iohannis⁹ quidem sig-
 num fecit nullum (42) omnia¹⁰ quecunque¹¹ dixit iohannis⁹ de hoc uera
 erant et multi crediderunt in eum[·]·7

[CAP. XI.] (1) **E**rat autem quidam languens lazarus ab ethania de castro marie
 et marthe sororis eius (2) maria autem erat que unxit¹² dominum unguento
 et extersit pedes eius capillis eius¹³ cuius frater lazarus infirmabatur (3) mis-
 serunt¹⁴ ergo sorores ad eum dicentes domine ecce quem amas infirmatur
 Fol. 64. (4) audiens¹⁵ ihesus dixit eis infirmitas hec non est ad mortem[·]· sed pro gloria
 dei ut glorificetur filius dei per eum¹⁶ (5) diligebat autem ihesus martham
 et sororem eius mariam et lazaram (6) ut ergo ut¹⁷ audiuit quia infirmabatur
 tunc quidem mansit in eodem loco duobus diebus (7) deinde post hec dicit
 discipulis suis[·]· Eamus in iudiam¹⁸ iterum (8) discipuli¹⁹ dicunt rabi²⁰
 nunc querebant te iudei lapidare²¹ et iterum uadis illuc[·]·

(9) **R**espondit ihesus nonne duocem²² hore sunt diei si quisambu-
 lauerit in die non offendit quia lucem huius mundi uidet·(10) si autem
 ambulauerit nocte offendit²³ quia lux non est in eo[·]·7

1 Si.

2 ad.

3 V. om.

4 quia.

5 blasphemias.

6 V. adds est.

7 prendere.

8 ueniebant.

9 Iohannes.

10 V. adds autem.

11 quaecumque.

12 unxit.

13 suis.

14 miserunt.

15 V. adds autem.

16 per eam.

17 V. om.

18 in Iudaeam.

19 Dicunt ei discipuli.

20 Rabbi.

21 lapidare Iudaei.

22 duodecim.

23 offendet.

(11) **H**ecait etpost hoc dicit eis·lazarus amicus noster dormit sed uado vtasumno¹ exsuscitem eum·(12) dixerunt ergo discipuli eius domine sí dormit saluus erit·(13) dixerat autem ihesus demorte eius illi autem putuerunt quia dedormitione somni² diceret··7

(14) **N**unc ergo dixit eis ihesus manifeste lazarus mortuus est (15) et gaudeo propter uos vtcredatis quoniam noneram³ sed eamus ad eum··(16) dixit ergo thomas qui dicitur dedimus⁴ adcondiscipulos suos⁵ eamus etnos utmoriamur cum eo····7··7

(17) **V**enit itaque ihesus etinuenit eum quatuor⁶ diebus⁷ iam in monumento iacentem⁸·(18) Erat autem bethania iuxta hierusolimam⁹ quasi¹⁰ stadis¹¹ quindecim (19) multi autem ex iudeis uenerant ad martham··et mariam vtconsularentur¹² eas defratre suo··7

(20) **M**artha ergo utaudiuit quia ihesus uenit occurrit illi maria autem domi sedebat···7

(21) **D**ixit ergo martha et¹³ ihesum domine sí tú¹⁴ fuisses hic frater meus non fuisset mortuus (22) sedet nunc·scio quia que cumque poposceris adeo dabit tibi deus¹⁴·(23) dicit illi ihesus resurget frater tuus·(24) dicit ei martha scio quia resurget in resurrectione in nouissimo¹⁵ die··(25) dixit ei ihesus·Ego sum resurrectio et uita qui credit in me etiam sí mortuus fuerit uiuit¹⁶ (26) et omnis qui uiuit et credit in me non morietur in æternum···7

Credis hoc (27) at¹⁷ illa¹⁸ utique domine·¹⁹ credidi quia tu es christus filius dei qui in mundum uenisti (28) et cum hec dixisset abiit et uocauit mariam sororem suam silentio dicens magister adest ad¹⁴ uocat te (29) illa vt audiuit surgit cito···7

Et uenit ad eum (30) nondum enim uenerat ihesus in castellum Fol. 65. sederat adhuc in illo loco ubi acurrerat²⁰ ei martha (31) iudei igitur quierant cum ea²¹ in domo et consulabuntur²² eam cum uidissent mariam quam²³ cito

¹ somno.

² somnii.

³ V. adds ibi.

⁴ Didymus.

⁵ V. om.

⁶ quattuor.

⁷ dies.

⁸ habentem.

⁹ Hierosolyma.

¹⁰ quasi.

¹¹ stadiis.

¹² consolarentur.

¹³ ad.

¹⁴ V. om.

¹⁵ in nouissima.

¹⁶ uiuet.

¹⁷ Ait.

¹⁸ illi.

¹⁹ V. adds ego.

²⁰ occurrerat.

²¹ illa.

²² consolabantur.

²³ quia.

surrexit et exiit¹ secuti sunt eam dicentes quia uadit ad monumentum ut pleret ibi (32) maria ergo cum uenisset ubi erat ihesus uidens eum cecidit ad pedes eius et dixit ei domine si fuisses hic non esset mortuus frater meus (33) ihesus ergo uide² uidit eam plorantem et iudeos qui uenerant cum ea plorantes fremuit spiritu³ turbant⁴ se ipsum (34) et dixit ubi possuisti⁵ eum dicunt ei domine ueni et uide (35) et lacrimatus est ihesus (36) dixerunt ergo iudei ecce quomodo amabat eum (37) quidam autem dixerunt ex ipsis non poterat hic qui aperuit oculos⁷ ceci facire⁸ ut et hic non morietur⁹ (38) ihesus ergo rursus fremens in semet ipso uenit ad monumentum erat autem spelunca et lapis super positus¹⁰ erat ei (39) ait ihesus tollite lapidem dicit ei martha soror eius qui mortuus fuerat 7

Fol. 65 b.

Domine iam factet quadriduanus enim est (40) dicit ei ihesus nonne ego⁶ dixi tibi quoniam si credideris¹¹ uidebis gloriam dei (41) tolle¹² ergo lapidem ihesus autem eleuatis sursum . . . 7 oculis¹³ dixit pater gratias ago tibi quoniam audisti me (42) ego autem sciebam quia semper me audis sed propter populum qui circumstant¹⁴ dixi ut tulerunt quia tu me misisti (43) hec cum dixisset uoce magna exclamauit¹⁵ lazare ueni foras (44) et statim prodit¹⁶ qui fuerat mortuus ligatus pedes et manus in stitit et facies illius sudario erat ligata dicit ihesus eis soluite eum et sinite abire (45) multi ergo ex iudeis qui uenerant ad mariam et uiderant que fecit crediderunt in eum (46) quidam autem ex ipsis abierunt ad fariseos¹⁷ et dixerunt eis que fecit ihesus (47) colligerunt¹⁸ ergo pontifices et pharisei fecerunt⁶ concilium et dicebant quid facimus quia hic homo multa signa facit (48) si dimittimus eum sic omnes credent¹⁹ in eum et uenient romani et tollent nostrum et locum et gentem (49) unus autem ex ipsis caiphas²⁰ 7

Fol. 66.

Cum esset pontifex anni illius dixit eis uos nescitis quicquam nec cogitatis quia expedit nobis ut unus moriatur homo pro populo et non tota gens pereat . .

¹ exiit.² ut.³ V. adds et.⁴ turbauit.⁵ posuistis.⁶ V. om.⁷ oculos.⁸ facere.⁹ moreretur.¹⁰ positus.¹¹ credideris.¹² Tulerunt.¹³ oculis.¹⁴ circumstat.¹⁵ clamauit.¹⁶ prodit.¹⁷ Phariseos.¹⁸ collegerunt.¹⁹ credunt.²⁰ Caiaphas.

(51) **H**oc autem a semet ipso nondixit sed cum esset pontifex anni illius prophetavit quia Ihesus moriturus erat pro gente (52) et non tantum pro gente sed et ut filios dei qui erant dispersi congregaret in unum ··7

(53) **A** billo ergo die cogitauerunt ut interficerent eum · (54) Ihesus ergo iam non in palam ambulabat apud iudeos ·· sed abiit in regionem iuxta desertum in ciuitatem que dicitur effrem¹ et ibi morabatur cum discipulis suis² ··7

(55) **P**roximum autem erat pascha iudeorum · Et ascenderunt multi in² hierusolima³ de regione⁴ pascha⁵ ut sanctificarent se ipsos (56) querebant ergo ihesum ·· et conloquebantur ad inuicem in templo stantes quid putatis quia non uenit⁶ ad diem festum (57) dederant autem pontifices et farisei⁷ mandatum ut si quis cognouerit ubi sit indicet ut adprehendant⁸ eum ·

[CAP. XII.] (1) **I**hesus ergo antea⁹ ex die pasche ··7 uenit in² bethaniam ubi fol. 66 b. lazarus¹⁰ fuerat mortuus quem suscitauit¹¹ ihesus ··

(2) **E**ccecerunt autem ei cenam ibi et martha ministrabat lazarus uero unus erat ex discumbentibus cum eo · (3) maria ergo accipiens¹² libram ungenti nardi pistici pretiosi unxit¹³ pedes ihesu ·· et extersit capillis suis pedes eius ·· et domus inpleta¹⁴ est odore¹⁵ ungenti (4) dicit ergo unus ex discipulis eius iudas scariothis¹⁶ · qui erat eum traditurus (5) quare hoc ungentum non uenit¹⁷ trecentis¹⁸ denariis¹⁹ · et datum esset²⁰ egenis (6) dixit autem hoc non quia de egenis pertinebat ad eum sed quia fur erat et oculos habens ea que mittebantur portabat ··7

(7) **D**ixit ergo ihesus sine illa ut in diem²¹ sepulture mee seruet illud · (8) pauperes enim²² habebitis²³ uobiscum me autem non semper habebitis · (9) cognouit ergo turba multa ex iudeis quia illic est et uenerunt non propter

¹ Efrem.

² V. om.

³ Hierosolyma.

⁴ V. adds ante.

⁵ pascha.

⁶ ueniat.

⁷ Pharisei.

⁸ apprehendant.

⁹ ante sex dies.

¹⁰ fuerat Lazarus.

¹¹ suscitauit.

¹² accepit.

¹³ unxit.

¹⁴ impleta.

¹⁵ ex odore.

¹⁶ Scariothis.

¹⁷ uenit.

¹⁸ trecentis.

¹⁹ denariis.

²⁰ est.

²¹ in die.

²² V. adds semper.

²³ habetis.

ihesum tantum sed vt lazarus uiderent quem suscitauit amortuis·(10)
Cogitauerunt autem principes sacerdotum vt¹ lazarus interficerent· (11)

Fol. 67.

quia multi propter illum abibant exiudeis et credebant in ihesum···7

(12) **E**ncrastinum autem turba multa que uenerat addiem festum cum audissent quia uenit ihesus· hierusolima (13) acceperunt ramós palmarum et processerunt obiam² ei· et clamabant ós anna benedictus qui uenit in nomine domini réx israhél···7

(14) **E**tinuenit ihesus asellum³ sedit super eum sicut scriptum est·(15) nolli⁴ timere filia sión· ecce rex tuus uenit sedens super pullum asinae··

(16) **H**ec non cognouerunt discipuli eius primum· sed cando⁵ glorificatus est ihesus tunc recordati sunt· quia hæc scripta⁶ erant deo· et hæc fecerunt ei·(17) testimonium ergo perhibebat turba que erat cum eo· quando lazarus uocauit demonum et suscitauit eum amortuis (18) propterea et uiam⁷ uenit ei turba qui⁸ audierunt eum fecisse hoc signum (19) farisei⁹ ergo dixerunt ad semet ipsos uidetis· quia nihil proficimus· ecce mundus totus post eum abiit (20) erant autem gentiles quidam ex eis¹⁰···7

Qui ascenderant vt adorauerunt¹¹· indie festo hii¹² ergo accesserunt ad pilippum¹³ qui erat abethsaida galiliae¹⁴ et rogabant eum dicentes domine uolumus ihesum uidere··

Fol. 67 b.

(22) **U**enit pilippus¹⁵ et dicit andrea¹⁶· andrias¹⁷ rursus¹⁸· et pilippus¹⁵ dixerunt¹⁹ ihesu·(23) Ihesus autem respondit eis dicens uenit hora· vt clarificetur²⁰ filius hominis···7

(24) **A**mén amén dico uobis quia²¹ nisi granum frumenti cadens in terram mortuum fuerit·(25) ipsum solum manet· si autem mortuum fuerit multum fructum adfert· qui amat animam suam perdet eam· et qui odit animam suam· in hoc mundo in uitam eternam custodit eam·(26) si quis mihi ministrat me sequatur· et ubi sum ego illic²² minister meus erit· si quis

¹ V. adds et.

² obviam.

³ V. adds et.

⁴ Noli.

⁵ quando.

⁶ erant scripta.

⁷ obviam.

⁸ quia.

⁹ Pharisaei.

¹⁰ ex his.

¹¹ adorarent.

¹² hi.

¹³ Philippum.

¹⁴ Galilaeae.

¹⁵ Philippus.

¹⁶ Andreae.

¹⁷ Andreas.

¹⁸ rursus.

¹⁹ dicunt.

²⁰ glorificetur.

²¹ V. om.

²² V. adds et.

mihi ministravit¹ honorificavit² eum pater meus·(27) Nunc anima mea turbata est etquiddicam pater salui fica me exhac³ hora·

Sed propterea ueni inhoram hanc (28) pater clarificatum⁴ nomen uenit ergo uox decelo et clarificaui et iterum clarificabo (29) turba ergo que stabat et audiebat⁵ dicebat⁶ tonitruum factum esset⁷ alii dicebant Fol. 68. angelus ei locutus est··7

(30) **R**espondit ihesus et dixit non propter me uox hec uenit sed propter nos (31) nunc iudicium est mundi nunc princeps mundi⁸ huius eicietur foras·

(32) **E**t ego si exaltatus fuero a terra omnia traham ad me ipsum·(33) hoc autem dicebant⁹ significans qua morte esset moriturus·(34) Respondit·ei turba nos audiuius ex lege qui christus manet in aeternum· et quomodo iudicis oportet exaltari filium hominis¹⁰··7

(35) **D**ixit ergo eis¹¹ ihesus adhuc modicum lumen in uobis est ambulate dum lucem habetis ut non tenebre uos comprehendant· et qui ambulat in tenebris nescit quo uadat (36) dum lucem habetis· credite in lucem ut filii lucis sitis· haec locutus est¹² ihesus et abiit et abscondit se ab eis·(37) Cum autem tanta signa fecisset coram eis non credebant in eum·(38) ut sermo esaiæ prophete inpleretur quem dixit domine quis credit¹³ auditui nostro et brachium domini· cui reuelatum est·(39) propterea non poterant credere quia iterum dixit esaias¹⁴ (40) excecauit deus¹⁵ oculos¹⁶ eorum· et indurauit eorum cor· ut uideant¹⁷ oculis¹⁸ et intellegant corde et conuertantur Fol. 68 b. et sanem eos·

(41) **H**ec dixit esaias¹⁴ quando¹⁹ gloriam eius et locutus est deo²⁰ (42) uerum tamen²¹ ex principibus multi crediderunt in eum sed propter fariseos²² non confitebantur ut de synagoga²³ nonei²⁴ querentur (43) dilexerunt enim gloriam hominum magis quam gloriam dei··7

¹ ministrabit.

² honorificabit.

³ ex hora hac.

⁴ clarifica tuum.

⁵ audierat.

⁶ dicebant.

⁷ esse.

⁸ huius mundi.

⁹ dicebat.

¹⁰ V. adds quis est iste
filius hominis.

¹¹ V. om.

¹² V. adds eis.

¹³ credit.

¹⁴ Esaias.

¹⁵ V. om.

¹⁶ oculos.

¹⁷ non uideant.

¹⁸ oculis.

¹⁹ V. adds uident.

²⁰ de eo.

²¹ V. adds et.

²² Phariseos.

²³ synagoga.

²⁴ non eicerentur.

(44) **I**hesus autem clamauit et dixit qui credit in me non credit in me sed in eum qui misit me (45) et qui uidet me uidet eum qui misit¹ me ··7

(46) **E**go lux in mundum ueni ut omnis qui credit in me in tenebris non maneat ·· (47) etsi quis audierit uerba mea et non custodierit ego non iudico eum non enim ueni ut iudicem mundum sed ut saluificem mundum (48) qui spernit me ·· et² accipit uerba mea ·· habet qui iudicet eum sermo quem locutus sum ille iudicauit³ eum in nouissimo die (49) quia ego ex me ipso non sum locutus est⁴ sed qui misit me pater ipse mihi mandatum dedit quid dicam et quid loquar (50) et scio quia mandatum eius uita eterna est que⁵

Fol. 69. ego loquor · sicut dixit mihi pater sic loquor ·· ·7

[CAP. XIII.] (1) **A**NTE diem autem festum pasche⁶ sciens ihesus quia uenit eius hora ut transcat de hoc mundo ad patrem cum dilexisset suos qui erant in mundo usque⁴ in finem dilexit eos · (2) et cena facta est⁴ cum zabulus⁸ iam misisset⁹ in corde ut traderet eum iudas simon scariothis¹⁰ · (3) Sciens quia omnia dedit ei pater in manus¹¹ et quia adeo exiuit et ad deum uadit ··

(4) **S**urgit a cena et ponit uestimenta sua et cum accepisset¹² linteam precinxit¹³ se (5) deinde mittit aquam in peluam¹⁴ et coepit lauare pedes discipulorum · Et extergere linteo quo erat precinctus · (6) uenit ergo ad simonem petrum · et dicit ei petrus domine tu mihi lauas pedes ··7

(7) **R**espondit ihesus et dicit ei quod ego facio et tu nescis modo ·· scies autem postea (8) dicit ei petrus non lauis¹⁵ mihi pedes in aeternum ··

Respondit ei¹⁶ ihesus etsi¹⁷ non lauero te non habebis¹⁸ partem mecum · (9) dicit ei simon petrus domine non tantum pedes meos sed et manus et caput ··7

Fol. 69 b. (10) **D**icit ei ihesus qui locutus¹⁹ est non indiget ut lauet²⁰ sed est mundus totus et uos mundi estis ·· sed non omnes (11) sciebat enim quisnam esset qui traderet eum propterea dixit non estis mundi omnes (12) postquam

¹ misit.

² V. adds non.

³ iudicabit.

⁴ V. om.

⁵ V. adds ergo.

⁶ paschae.

⁷ ex.

⁸ Diabolus.

⁹ misisset.

¹⁰ Simonis Scariothis.

¹¹ manus.

¹² accepisset.

¹³ praecinxit.

¹⁴ peluem.

¹⁵ lauabis.

¹⁶ Iesus ei.

¹⁷ si.

¹⁸ habes.

¹⁹ lotus.

²⁰ nisi ut pedes lauet.

ergo lauit pedes eorum·etaccipisset¹ uestimenta sua cum recubuisset² iterum dixit eis·scitis quid fecerim uobis (13) uós uocatis me magister· etdomine etbenedictis³ sum etenim

(14) **S**i ergo⁴ laui pedes uestros dominus etmagister etuos debetis alter alterius lauare pedes·(15) exemplum·enim dedi uobis·vtquemadmodum ego feci uobis·ita⁵ etuós faciatis··

(16) **A**mén amén dico uobis nonest seruus maior domino suo·neque apostulus maior eo qui misit illum (17) sí hæc scitis beati eritis sí facieritis⁶ ea··

(18) **D**onde omnibus uobis dico ego enim⁷ scio quos elegeri⁸ sed vtinpleatur scriptura·qui manducat mecum panem leuauit⁹ contra me calcaneum suum··(19) Amodo dico uobis priusquam fiat vt cum factum fuerit credatis¹⁰ quia ego sum···7

(20) **A**mén amén dico uobis qui accipit sí quem misero¹¹ me accipit qui autem me accipit accipit eum qui me misit¹²····7

(21) **C**um hec dixisset ihesus turbatus est spiritu etprotestatus est etdixit··7 Fol. 70.

Amén amén dico uobis quia unus exuobis tradet me··

(22) **A**spiciebant ergo adinuicem discipuli hessitantes¹³ de quo diceret·

(23) Erat ergo recumbens unus exdiscipulis eius insinu ihesu quem diligebat ihesus (24) innuit ergo huic simón petrus etdicit ei quis est de quo dicit (25) itaque cum recubuisset¹⁴ ille supra pectus ihesu dicit ei·· Domine quis est (26) cui·respondit ihesus illeest cui ego intinctum panem porrexero etcum intinxisset panem··dedit iudæ simoni scariothis¹⁵ (27) etpost bucellam¹⁶·tunc introuit inillum·satanas··7

Dicit ei ihesus·quod facis facitius·(28) hócautem nemo sciuit discumbentium adquid dixerit ei (29) quidam enim putabant quia locolos¹⁷ habebat iudas quia dicit ei ihesus eme ea que opus sunt nobis addiem

¹ accepit.

² recubuisset.

³ dicitis.

⁴ V. adds ego.

⁵ V. adds et.

⁶ feceritis.

⁷ V. om.

⁸ elegerim.

⁹ leuabit.

¹⁰ ut credatis cum factum fuerit.

¹¹ misero.

¹² misit.

¹³ hesitantes.

¹⁴ recubuisset.

¹⁵ Simonis Scariothis.

¹⁶ bucellam.

¹⁷ loculos.

festum aut egenis vtaliquid daret·(30) cum ergo accipisset¹ ille bucellam²·
exiuit continuo·erat enim³ nox····7

Fol. 70 b. (31) **E**um ergo exisset dicit ihesus nunc clarificatus est filius hominis·
et deus clarificatus est in eo·(32) si⁴ clarificatus est in eo·et deus clarifi-
cabit eum·in semet ipso·et contin⁵ clarificabit eum··7

(33) **F**ilioli adhuc modicum uobiscum sum queritis me·etsicut dixi
iudeis quo ego uado uos non potestis uenire et uobis dico modo (34) manda-
tum nouum·do uobis ut diligatis inuicem·sicut dilexi uos vt det⁶ uos
diligatis inuicem (35) in hoc cognoscent omnes·quia mei discipuli estis si
dilectionem habueritis ad inuicem⁷··7

(36) **D**icit ei simon petrus domine quo uadis·respondit·ihesus quo ego
uado non potes me modo sequi·sequeris autem postea·(37) Dicit ei
petrus quare non possum sequi⁸ te modo·animam meam prote ponam·
(38) Respondit·ihesus animam tuam pro me pones··7

Amen amen dico tibi non cantauit⁹ gallus donec ter¹⁰ me neges··7

[CAP. XIV.] (1) **M**onturbetur cor uestrum creditis in deum et non me¹¹ credite (2) in-
domo patris mei mansionis¹² multe sunt si quominus dixissem uobis quia
Fol. 71. uado parare uobis locum (3) et si abiero·et preparauero uobis locum iterum
uenio et accipiam uos ad me ipsum vt ubi sum ego et uos sitis·(4) et quo ego
uado scitis·et uiam scitis·(5) dicit ei thomas domine nescimus quo uadis
et quomodo possumus uiam scire·(6) dicit ei ihesus··

Ego sum uia et ueritas et uita nemo uenit ad patrem nisi per me··7

(7) **S**i cognouistis¹³ me et patrem meum utique cognouissetis utique¹⁴
amodo cognoscetis¹⁵ eum·et uidistis eum·(8) Dicit ei filippus¹⁶ domine
ostende nobis patrem et sufficit nobis··

(9) **D**icit ei ihesus tanto tempore uobiscum sum et non cognouistis me
filippe¹⁷ qui uidet¹⁸ me uidet et patrem quomodo tu dicis ostende nobis patrem

¹ accepisset.

² bucellam.

³ autem.

⁴ V. adds deus.

⁵ continuo.

⁶ ut et.

⁷ inuicem.

⁸ te sequi.

⁹ cantabit.

¹⁰ me ter.

¹¹ et in me.

¹² mansiones.

¹³ cognouissetis.

¹⁴ et.

¹⁵ cognoscitis.

¹⁶ Philippus.

¹⁷ Philippe.

¹⁸ uidit.

(10) noncredis¹ quia ego inpatre etpater inme est·uerbaque ego loquor uobis ame ipso nonloquor pater autem inme manens ipse facit opera (11) non-creditis quia ego inpatre etpater inme est·(12) alioquin propter operam² ipsam credite··

Amen amen dico uobis qui credit inme opera que ego facio etipse faciet etmaiora horum faciet·quia ego adpatrem uado··7

Fol. 71 b.

(13) **E**t quod cumque petieritis innomine meo hoc faciam vtglorificetur pater infilio·(14) Siquit³ petieritis⁴ innomine meo hoc faciam·(15) Si diligitis me mandata mea seruare·(16) et ego rogabo patrem etalium paraclitum⁵ dabit uobis vtmaneat uobiscum inæternum (17) spiritum ueritatis quem mundus nonpotest accipere quia nonuidet eum nescit⁶ eum·uos autem cognoscetis⁷ eum quia aput⁸ uós manebit etinuobis erit (18) nonrelinquam uos orfanos⁹ et¹⁰uos (19) adhuc modicum etmundus me iam nonuidet uos autem uidetis me quia bitis¹¹ ego uiuo etuós uiuetis (20) inillo die uox¹² cognoscetis quia ego sum inpatre meo etuos inme etego inuobis (21) qui habet mandata mea etseruat ea ille·qui diligit me··

Qui autem diligit me diligitur apatre meo·etego diligam eum etmanifestabo et¹³ me ipsum··

(22) **D**icit ei iudas nonille scariothis¹⁴ domine quid factum est quia nobis manifesturus¹⁵ es te ipsum etnonmundo···7

(23) Respondit·ihesus etdixit ei si quis diligit me sermonem¹⁶ seruabit· Fol. 72. etpater meus diligit¹⁷ eum·7 Et adeum ueniemus etmansionis¹⁸ aput⁸ eum faciemus·(24) qui nondiligit me sermonem meum¹⁹ aput eum faciemus· qui nondiligit me sermonem meum²⁰ nonseruat··7

Etsermo²¹ quemaudistis nonest meus sed eius qui missit²² me patris (25) hæc locutus sum uobis aput⁸ uos manens··7

(26) **P**araclitus²³ autem inspiritus²⁴ sanctus quem mittet pater innomine

¹ creditis.

² opera ipsa.

³ Si quid.

⁴ V. adds me.

⁵ paracletum.

⁶ nec scit.

⁷ cognoscitis.

⁸ apud.

⁹ V. adds veniam.

¹⁰ ad.

¹¹ V. om.

¹² Vos.

¹³ ei.

¹⁴ Scariotis.

¹⁵ manifestaturus.

¹⁶ V. adds meum.

¹⁷ diliget.

¹⁸ mansiones.

¹⁹ sermones meos.

²⁰ a repetition.

²¹ sermonem.

²² me misit.

²³ paracletus.

²⁴ spiritus.

meo ille uos docebit omnia etsurgeret¹ uobis omniaquecunque dixero uobis·(27) pacem meam dó uobis pacem relinquo uobis²·Nonquomodo mundus dat ego do uobis nonturbetur cor uestrum neque formidet (28) audistis quia ego dixi uobis uado etuenio et³ uos si diligeretis me gauderetis utique quia uado adpatrem quia pater maior me est·

(29) **E**tnunc dixi uobis priusquam fiat utcum factum fuerit credatis (30) iam nonmulta loquar uobiscum uenit enim princeps mundi huius etinme nonhabet quicquam (31) sed utcognoscat mundus quia diligo patrem etsi⁴ [CAP. XV.] mandatum dedit mihi pater sic facio surgite eamus hinc (1) ego sum uitis uera et pater meus agricola⁵ est (2) omnem palmitem·inme nonferente⁸ Fol. 72 b. fructum tollet eum··etomnem qui fert fructum purgauit⁷ eum utfructum plus adferat (3) iam uos mundi estis propter sermonem quem loquutus⁸ uobis (4) manete inme etego inuobis si⁹ palmes nonpotest facere¹⁰ fructum· aemet ipso nisi manserit inuite·sic nec uos nisi manseritis¹¹ INme··7

(5) **E**go sum uitis uos autem¹² palmites qui manet inme etego in eo hic fert fructum multum quodsine me nihil potestis facere (6) si quis inme nonmanserit·mittetur foras sicut palmes etaruit··etcolligent eum¹³ etinignem mittent¹⁴·7 Et ardent (7) si manseritis inme·etuerba mea inuobis manserint quod cumque uolueritis petetis et fiet uobis··

(8) **I**n hoc clarificatus est pater meus utfructum plurimum adferatis et efficiamini mei discipuli (9) sicut dilexit me pater·etego dilexi uos manete indilectione mea·(10) si precepta mea seruaueritis manebitis indilectione mea sicut etego patris mei precepta seruaui etmaneo in eius dilectione·(11)

Fol. 73. **H**æc locutus sum uobis utgaudium meum inuobis sit·etgaudium uestrum inpleatur (12) hoc est preceptum meum utdiligatis inuicem sicut dilexi uos·· (13) **M**aiorem hæc dilectione¹⁵ nemo habet ut animam suam·quis ponat proamicis suis (14) uos amici mei estis si feceritis que ego precipio uobis

¹ suggeret.² Pacem relinquo uobis, pacem meam do uobis :³ ad.⁴ et sicut.⁵ agricola.
⁶ ferentem.
⁷ purgabit.⁸ locutus sum.⁹ sicut.¹⁰ ferre.¹¹ in me manseritis.¹² V. om.¹³ eos.¹⁴ mittunt.¹⁵ dilectionem.

(15) iam nondico uos seruos quia seruus nescit quid facit dominus eius uos autem dixi amicos quia omnia que cunq̄e audiui apatre meo nota feci uobis.

(16) Non uos me elegistis sed ego uos¹ elegi etposui² uos uteat̄is etfructum adferatis³ etfructus uester maneat utquod cunq̄e petieritis patrem in nomine meo dat̄⁴ uobis.

(17) **H**æc mando uobis utdiligatis inuicem (18) si mundus uos odit scitote quia me priorem uobis odio habuit. (19) si demundo fuissetis mundus quodsuum erat diligeret quia uero demundo nonestis sed ego elegi uos demundo propterea⁵ odit uos mundus.

(20) **M**ementote sermonis mei quem ego dixi uobis nonest seruus maior domino suo.

Si me persecuti sunt etuos persequentur si sermonem meum serua- Fol. 73 b.
uerunt etuestrum seruabunt.

(21) **S**ed hec omnia facient uobis propter nomen meum quia nesciunt eum qui⁶ me misit.

(22) **S**i nonuenisem etlocutus fuisset eis peccatum nonhaberent nunc autem excussationem⁷ nonhabent depeccato suo (23) qui me odit etpatrem meum odit.

(24) **S**i opera nonfecissem in eis que nemo alius fecit peccatum nonhaberent. nunc autem etuiderunt etoderunt me etpatrem meum (25) sed utinpleatur sermo qui in lege eorum scriptus est qui⁸ oderunt⁹ me gratis. (26) cum autem uenerit paraclitus¹⁰ quem ego mittam uobis apatre spiritum ueritatis qui apatre procedit ille testimonium perhibet¹¹

[CAP. XVI.] deme (27) etuos testimonium perhibetis quia abinitio mecum estis (1) hec locutus sum uobis. utnon scandalizemini (2) absque sinagogis¹² facient uos. sed uenit hora utomnis qui interfecit uos arbitretur obsequium se prestare deo (3) et hæc facient quia nonnouerunt patrem neque me (4) sed hæc locutus sum uobis utcum uenerit hora eorum. reminiscemini¹³ quia¹⁴ dixi uobis.

¹ elegi uos.

² posui.

³ afferatis.

⁴ det.

⁵ propterea.

⁶ misit me.

⁷ excussationem.

⁸ quia.

⁹ odio me habuerunt.

¹⁰ paraclitus.

¹¹ perhibebit.

¹² synagogis.

¹³ reminiscamini.

¹⁴ V. adds ego.

Fol. 74. (5) **H**aec autem uobis ab initio nondixi quia uobiscum eram·at nunc uado ad eum qui me misit¹ et nemo ex uobis interrogat me quo uadis (6) sed quia haec locutus sum uobis tristitia² inpleuit cor uestrum (7) sed ego ueritatem dico uobis expedit uobis ut ego uadam·sienim non habiero³ paraclitus⁴ non ueniet ad uos·si autem abiero mittam eum ad uos·(8) et cum uenerit ille arguet mundum de peccato·et de iudicio⁵ et de iustitia (9) de peccato quidem quia non credunt in me (10) de iustitia uero quia ad patrem uado·etiam non uidebitis⁶ me (11) de iudicio autem quia princeps huius⁷ mundi iudicatus est (12) adhuc multa habeo uobis dicere sed non potestis portare modo (13) cum autem uenerit ille spiritus ueritatis docebit uos in omnem ueritatem non enim loquetur·a se ipso se⁸ cumque audiet loquetur⁹ adnuntiabit¹⁰ uobis (14) ille me¹¹ quia de meo accipiat¹²·et adnuntiabit uobis··7

(15) **O**mnia que cunq̄ue habet pater mea sunt·propterea¹³ dixi quia de meo accipiet et adnuntiabit uobis (16) modicum·etiam non uidebitis me·et iterum modicum et uidebitis me quia uado ad patrem et¹⁴ (17) dixerunt ergo ex discipulis eius ad inuicem quid est hoc quod dicit¹⁵ modicum¹⁶ (18) nescimus quid loquitur·(19) cognouit autem ihesus quia uolebant illum¹⁷ interrogare et dixit eis de hoc queritis inter uos quia dixi modicum et non uidebitis me·et iterum modicum et uidebitis me··7

(20) **A**men amen dico uobis quia plorabitis et flebitis uos·mundus autem gaudebit·uos autem contristabimini¹⁸·sed tristitia uestra uertetur in gaudium·(21) mulier cum parit tristitiam habet quia uenit hora eius·cum autem peperit¹⁹ puerum iam non meminit pressuræ²⁰ propter gaudium quia natus est homo in mundum·(22) et uos igitur nunc quidem tristitiam habebitis·Iterum autem uidebo uos et gaudebit cor uestrum et gaudium

¹ misit.² tristitia.³ non abiero.⁴ paraclitus.⁵ iustitia et de iudicio.⁶ uidebitis.⁷ mundi huius.⁸ sed quaecumque.⁹ V. adds et quae uen-

tura sunt.

¹⁰ annuntiabit.¹¹ clarificabit.¹² accipiet.¹³ propterea.¹⁴ V. om.¹⁵ V. adds nobis.¹⁶ V. adds et non uide-

bitis me, et iterum

modicum et uide-

bitis me? et quia

uado ad patrem?

Dicebant ergo Quid

est hoc quod dicit

modicum?

¹⁷ eum.¹⁸ contristabimini.¹⁹ pepererit.²⁰ pressuræ.

uestrum nemo tollet¹ auobis (23) etillo² die me interrogabitis³ quicquam ··7

Amen amen dico uobis si quid petieritis patrem innomine meo dabit uobis (24) usque modo nonpetitis⁴ quicquam innomine meo·petite et accipietis utgaudium uestrum sit plenum ··7

(25) **H**æc inprouerbis⁵ locutus sum uobis uenit hora cum iam nonin- Fol. 75.
prouerbis⁵ loquar uobis sed palam depatre adnuntiabo⁶ uobis in⁷ (26) illo die innomine meo petitis⁸ etnondico uobis quia ego rogabo patrem deuobis (27) ipse enim pater amat uos quia uos me amatis et credistis⁹ quia ego⁷ adeo (28) exiui¹⁰ apatre etueni inmundum·Iterum relinquo mundum etuado adapatrem (29) dicunt ei discipuli eius ecce nunc palam loqueris etprouer- bium nullum dicis (30) nunc scimus quia seis omnia etnonopus est tibi vtquis te interrogat¹¹ inhoc credimus quia adeo existi ··7 ··

(31) **R**espondit eis ihesus modo creditis (32) ecce uenit hora¹² uenit vtdispergamini unus quisque inpropria etme solum relinqua¹³ etnonsum solus relinquantis etnonsum solus¹⁴ quia pater mecum est ··7

[CAP. XVII.]

(33) **H**æc locutus sum uobis vtinme pacem habeatis inmundo¹⁵ presuram¹⁶ habeatis¹⁷ sed confidite¹⁸ ego uici mundum (1) hæc locutus est ihesus et- subleuatis oculis¹⁹ incelum dixit pater uenit hora clarifica filium tuum vtfilius tuus clarificat²⁰ te (2) sicut dedisti ei·potestatem²¹ carnis vtomme Fol. 75 b.
quos²² dedisti ei det eis uitam æternam ··

(3) **H**æc est autem uita æterna vtcognoscant te solum deum uerum etquod²³ misisti ihesum christum (4) et²⁴ ego te clarificaui super terram opus consummaui quod dedisti mihi vtfaciam²⁵ (5) etnunc clarifica me tu pater aput²⁶ temet ipsum claritate quam habui priusquam mundus esset aput²⁶ te (6) manifestaui nomen tuum hominibus quos dedisti mihi demundo tui erant et mihi eos dedisti etsermonem tuum seruauerunt (7) nunc cog-

¹ tollit.

² et in illo.

³ non rogabitis.

⁴ petistis.

⁵ proverbiis.

⁶ annuntiabo.

⁷ V. om.

⁸ petetis.

⁹ credidistis.

¹⁰ V. adds Exiui.

¹¹ interroget.

¹² V. adds et jam.

¹³ relinquantis.

¹⁴ repetition.

¹⁵ mundum.

¹⁶ pressuram.

¹⁷ habebitis.

¹⁸ confidete.

¹⁹ oculis.

²⁰ clarificet.

²¹ V. adds omnis.

²² quod.

²³ quem.

²⁴ V. om.

²⁵ faciam.

²⁶ apud.

nouerunt quia omnia que dedisti mihi abste sunt (8) quia uerba que dedisti mihi dedi eis et ipsi acceperunt··etcognouerunt uere quia ate exiui et crediderunt quia tu me misisti·(9) ego proeis rogo·nonpromundo rogo sed prohis quos dedisti mihi quia tui sunt (10) et mea omnia tua sunt·ettua mea sunt et clarificatus sum in eis (11) etiam non sum in mundo ethi in mundo sunt··7

Et ego ate¹ uenio pater sanctus² serua eos in nomine tuo quos dedisti mihi·utsint in³ unum sicut et uos (12) cum essem cum eis ego seruabam eos in nomine tuo quos dedisti mihi custodiui··

Fol. 76.

Et nemo ex his perit⁴ nisi filius perditionis vtscriptura inpleatur (13) nunc autem ad te uenio ethæ loquor in mundo vt habeant gaudium meum inpletum in semet ipsis·(14) ego dedi eis sermonem tuum et mundus odio eos habuit quia non sunt de mundo sicut et ego non sum de mundo (15) non rogo vt tollas eos de mundo sed vt serues eos ex malo (16) de mundo·non sunt sicut et ego non sum de mundo (17) sanctifica eos in ueritate··

Sermo tuus ueritas est·(18) sicut me misisti inmundum et ego missi⁵ eos inmundum··7

(19) **E**t proeis ego sanctifico me ipsum. vtsint·et ipsi sanctificati in ueritate··(20) Non prohis autem tantum⁶ rogo sed et proeis qui credituri sunt·per uerbum eorum·in me (21) vt omnes vt unum sint··sicut tu pater in me et ego in te vt ipsi⁷ in nobis⁸ ut mundus credat·quia tu me misisti (22) et ego claritatem quam dedisti mihi dedi illis ut sint unum sicut et⁹ nos unum sumus (23) ego in eis et tu in me vtsint consummati in unum etcognoscat mundus quia tu me misisti¹⁰ et dilexisti eos sicut ad¹¹ me dilexisti (24) pater quos dedisti mihi uolo vt ubi ego sum·et illi sint mecum vt uideant¹² claritatem meam quam dedisti mihi quia dilexisti me ante constitutionem mundi··

Fol. 76 b.

(25) **P**ater iuste et mundus te non cognouit ego autem te cognoui··7

Et hii¹³ cognouerunt quod tu me misisti (26) et nomen feci eis nomen

¹ ad te.² sancte.³ V. om.⁴ peribit.⁵ misi.⁶ rogo tantum.⁷ ut et ipsi.⁸ V. adds unum sint.⁹ V. om.¹⁰ misisti.¹¹ et.¹² videant.¹³ hi.

tuum et notum faciam vtdilectio qua dilexisti me inipsis·sit etego inipsis·

- [CAP. XVIII.] (1) **H**æc cum dixisset ihesus egressus¹ est cum discipulis suis transtorientem cedrón·ubi erat hortus·Inquem introiuit ipse etdiscipuli eius·7
- (2) **S**ciebat autem etiudas qui tradebat eum locum quod² frequenter conuenerat³·ihesus illuc cum discipulis suis·7
- (3) **I**udas ergo cum accepisset⁴ cohortem etapontificibus etphariseis ministros·vt⁵ uenit illúc cum lanternis etfacibus etarmis·7
- (4) **I**HESUS itaque sciens omnia queuentura erant⁶ processit etdicit eis·quid⁷ queritis (5) responderunt⁸ ihesum nazarenum⁹·dicit eis ihesus ego sum stabat autem etiudas qui tradebat eum cum ipsis·(6) vtergo dixit eis ego sum abierunt retrorsum etceiderunt¹⁰ interram (7) iterum ergo eos interrogauit quem queritis·7 Illi autem dixerunt ihesum nazarenum⁹ (8) Fol. 77. respondit ihesus dixi uobis quia ego sum si ergo me queritis sinete¹¹ hos abire (9) vtinpleretur sermo quemdixit quiaquos dedisti mihi nonperdidi exipsis quemquam·
- (10) **S**imon ergo petrus abens¹² gladium eduxit eum etpercussit seruum¹³ pontificis etabscidit eius auriculam dextram·Erat autem nomen seruo malchus·(11) dicit¹⁴ ergo ihesus petro mitte gladium inuaginam·7
- Calicem quem dedit mihi pater nonbibam illam·
- (12) **C**ohors¹⁵ ergo ettribunus etministri iudeorum comprehenderunt ihesum etligauerunt eum·7
- (13) **E**t adduxerunt eum adannam primum·erat autem¹⁶ socer caiphe¹⁷ quia erat pontifex anni illius·(14) Erat autem caiphas¹⁸ qui consilium dedit¹⁹ iudeis·quia expedit unum hominem mori propopulo·
- (15) **S**equebatur autem ihesum simon petrus etalius discipulus·dis-

¹ egressus.

² quia.

³ Iesus conuenerat.

⁴ accepisset.

⁵ V. om.

⁶ V. adds super eum.

⁷ Quem.

⁸ V. adds ei.

⁹ Nazarenum.

¹⁰ ceciderunt.

¹¹ sinite.

¹² habens.

¹³ pontificis seruum.

¹⁴ Dixit.

¹⁵ Cohors.

¹⁶ enim.

¹⁷ Caiaphæ.

¹⁸ Caiaphas.

¹⁹ dederat.

cipulus autem ille erat notus pontifici et introiuit cum ihesu in atrium pontificis⁷

Fol. 77. (16) **P**etrus autem stabat ad hostium¹ foris⁷

Exiit ergo discipulus alius² qui erat notus pontifici et dixit ostiarie et introduxit petram³·

(17) **D**icit ergo petro ancilla ostiaria numquid et tu ex discipulis es hominis istius· dicit ille non sum⁷

(18) **S**tabant autem serui et ministri ad prunas quia frigus erat et calefaciebant⁴ erat autem cum eis· et petrus stans et calefaciens se (19) pontifex ergo interrogauit ihesum⁵ discipulis suis et de doctrina eius⁷

(20) **R**espondit⁶ ihesus ego palam locutus sum mundo· Ego semper docui in synagoga⁷ et in templo quo omnes iudei conueniunt et in occultum⁸ loquutus⁹ sum nihil (21) quid me interrogas· Interroga eos qui audierunt quid locutus sum ipsis ecce hii¹⁰ sciunt que dixim¹¹ ego (22) hæc autem cum dixisset unus adsistens ministrorum dedit aliam palam ihesu dicens·

Fol. 78. **S**ic respem¹² discipulo· (23) Respondit ei ihesus si male loquutus⁹ sum testimonium perhibe de malo· si autem bene quid me cedis· (24) et misit¹³ eum annas ligatum· ad caiphan¹⁴ pontificem· (25) Erat autem simon petrus stans et calefaciens se dixerunt ergo ei· numquid¹⁵ tu ex discipulis eius es negauit ille et dixit non sum· (26) dicit unus ex seruis pontificis cognatus eius· cuius abscidit petrus auriculam· nonne ego te uidi in horto¹⁶ cum illo (27) iterum ergo negauit petrus· et statim gallus cantauit· (28) adducunt ergo ihesum ad caiphan¹⁷ in pretorium· Erat autem mane et ipsi non introierunt in pretorium ut non contaminarentur sed manducarent pascha·

(29) **E**xiit ergo pilatus ad eos foras· et dixit quam accusationem¹⁸ adfertis aduersus hominem hunc· (30) responderunt¹⁹ ei si non esset hic malefactor²⁰ non tibi tradissemus²¹ eum· (31) dixit ergo eis pylatus²² accipite ergo²³ eum²⁴

¹ ad ostium.

² ille.

³ Petrum.

⁴ calefaciebant.

⁵ V. adds de.

⁶ V. adds ei.

⁷ synagoga.

⁸ occulto.

⁹ locutus.

¹⁰ hi.

¹¹ dixerim.

¹² Sic respondis pontifici.

¹³ misit.

¹⁴ Caiaphan.

¹⁵ V. adds et.

¹⁶ in horto.

¹⁷ a Caiapha.

¹⁸ accusationem.

¹⁹ V. adds et dixerunt.

²⁰ malefactor.

²¹ tradidissimus.

²² Pilatus.

²³ V. om.

²⁴ V. adds vos.

etsecundum legem uestram iudicate eum·dixerunt ergo iudei·nobis non licet interficere¹ quemquam (32) vtsermo ihesu inpleretur quem dixit significans qua morte²esset moriturus·(33) Introiuit ergo iterum in pretorium pylatus³·et uocauit ihesum et dixit ei tu es rex iudeorum···7

(34) **E**t respondit ihesus a temet ipso hoc dicens an alii tibi dixerunt de me· Fol. 78 b.

(35) respondit eis⁴ pylatus³·numquid et ego iudeus⁵ gens tua et pontifices tradiderunt te mihi quid fecisti·

(36) **R**espondit ihesus regnum⁶ non est de hoc mundo si de hoc mundo esset meum regnum⁹ ministri mei utique⁴ decertarent¹⁰ vt non traderer¹¹ iudeis·Nunc autem meum regnum non est hinc·(37) dixit¹² ei pylatus³·ergo rex es tu·respondit ihesus tudicis·quia rex sum ego ego in hoc natus sum·et adhuc ueni in hunc⁴ mundum vt testimonium¹³ perhibeam ueritati omnis qui est ex ueritate audit meam¹⁴·(38) dicit ei pylatus³·quid est ueritas et cum hoc dixisset iterum exiit foras⁴ ad iudeos et dixit¹⁵ eis ego nullam inuenio in eo causam·(39) est autem consuetudo uobis vt unum uinctum⁴ dimittam uobis IN pascha uultis ergo ego⁴ dimittam uobis regem iudeorum·(40) clamauerunt rursus omnes dicentes·Non hunc sed barabam¹⁶ erat autem barabas¹⁷ latro··

[CAP. XIX.] (1) **T**unc ergo adprehendit pylatus³ ihesum et flagellauit¹⁸ eum⁴·(2) Fol. 79.

¹⁹ milites plectentes choronam²⁰ despinis·Inpossuerunt²¹ capiti eius et uestem²² purpuram·circumdederunt eum (3) et ueniebant ad eum²³ dicebant autem²⁴ rex iudeorum·et dabant ei palmasset²⁵··

(4) **E**xiit²⁶ iterum pylatus³ foras et dicit eis·ecce adduco²⁷ eum foras vt cognoscatis quia in eo nullam causam inuenio·

(5) **E**xiit²⁶ ergo ihesus portans spineam coronam·et purpuream²⁸ uestimentum·et dicit eis ecce homo (6) cum ergo uidissent eum pontifices

¹ interficere.

² esset morte.

³ Pilatus.

⁴ V. om.

⁵ V. adds sum.

⁶ V. adds meum.

⁷ mundo hoc.

⁸ ex.

⁹ regnum meum.

¹⁰ decertarent.

¹¹ traderer.

¹² V. adds itaque.

¹³ testimonium.

¹⁴ V. adds uocem.

¹⁵ dicit.

¹⁶ Barabban.

¹⁷ Barabbas.

¹⁸ flagellauit.

¹⁹ V. adds et.

²⁰ coronam.

²¹ inposuerunt.

²² veste purpurea.

²³ V. adds et.

²⁴ Have.

²⁵ alapas.

²⁶ Exiit.

²⁷ V. adds uobis.

²⁸ purpureum.

et ministri clamabant dicentes crucifige¹ eum² dicit eis pylatus³ accipite cum uos et crucifigite ego enim non inuenio⁴ causam. (7) Responderunt ei iudei et dixerunt² nos legem habemus et secundum legem debet mori quia filium dei se fecit. (8) cum ergo audisset pylatus³ hunc sermonem magis timuit (9) et ingressus⁵ est pretorium iterum et dicit ad ihesum unde es tu ihesus autem responsum non dedit ei. (10) dicit ei ergo pylatus³ mihi non loqueris nescis quia potestatem habeo crucifigere te et potestatem habeo dimittere te. 7

Fol. 79 b. (11) Respondit ihesus non habetis⁶ potestatem aduersum me ullam nisi tibi datum⁷ esset desuper propterea qui tradidit me tibi maius peccatum habet (12) exinde querebat pylatus³ dimittere eum. Iudei autem clamabant dicentes si hunc dimittis non es amicus cesaris⁸ omnis qui se regem facit contra dicit⁹ (13) pylatus³ ergo cum audisset hos sermones adduxit foras ihesum et sedit pro tribunali in loco¹⁰ quid dicitur lithostrotus hebreice autem gabbatha¹¹. (14) erat autem parasceve¹² paschae hora quasi sexta et dicit eis¹³ ecce rex uester (15) illi autem clamabant tolle tolle crucifige eum. 7

Dicit eis pylatus³ regem uestrum crucifigam responderunt pontifices non habemus regem nisi caesarem¹⁴. (16) Tunc¹⁵ tradidit eis illum ut crucifigeretur suscipierunt¹⁶ autem ihesum et duxerunt (17) et baiolans¹⁷ sibi crucem et² exiit in eum locum² qui dicitur caluarie¹⁸ hebreice¹⁹ golgotha (18) ibi²⁰ eum crucifixerunt. Et cum eo alios duos latrones² hinc ethinc medium autem ihesum. (19) scripsit autem et titulum pylatus³ et possuit²¹ super crucem erat autem scriptum ihesum nazareus²² rex iudeorum (20) hunc ergo titulum multi legerunt iudeorum qui²³ pro peccatitate erat locus ubi crucifixus est ihesus.

Fol. 80.

Et erat scriptum hebreice grece²⁴ latine. (21) dicebant²⁵ pylato²

¹ V. adds crucifige.² V. om.³ Pilatus.⁴ V. adds in eo.⁵ ingressus.⁶ haberes.⁷ esset datum.⁸ Caesaris.⁹ V. adds Caesari.¹⁰ locum.¹¹ Gabbatha.¹² parasceve.¹³ Iudaeis.¹⁴ Caesarem.¹⁵ V. adds ergo.¹⁶ susceperunt.¹⁷ baiulans.¹⁸ V. adds locum.¹⁹ hebraice.²⁰ ubi.²¹ posuit.²² Iesus Nazareus.²³ quia.²⁴ V. adds et.²⁵ V. adds ergo.

pontifices iudeorum¹·noli scribere réx iudeorum sedquia ipse dixit rexsum iudeorum·(22) respondit pylatus² quod scripsi scripsi·(23) milites ergo cum crucifigessent³ eum acciperunt⁴ uestimenta sua⁵ et fecerunt quatuor partes·unicuique militi partem et tunicam·erat autem tunica inconsutilis desuper texa⁶ pertotum·

(24) Dixerunt⁷ inuicem nonscindamus eam·sed sortiamur deilla cuius sit·vtscriptura⁸ inpleatur·dicens partiti sunt uestimenta mea sibi et·super⁹ uestem meam misserunt¹⁰ sortem·etmilites quidem hec fecerunt··

(25) Stabant autem iuxta crucem·ihesu mater eius·etsoror matris eius maria cleope etmaria magdalenæ (26) cum uidisset ergo ihesus matrem· etdiscipulum stantem quem diligebat ihesus¹·

Dicit matris¹¹ suæ mulier·ecce filius tuus·(27) deinde dicit discipulo ecce mater tua·Etexilla hora suscipit¹² eam discipulus insuam¹³· (28) postea sciens ihesus quia iam¹⁴·consummata sunt vtconsummaretur scriptura··7

Dicit sitio (29) uas ergo possitum¹⁵ erat aceto plenum illi autem spungiam¹⁶ plenum¹⁷ aceto hissopo¹⁸ circumponentes obtullerunt¹⁹ ori eius·· Fol. 80 b.
(30) Cum ergo accipisset²⁰ ihesus acetum·dixit consummatum est capite²¹ inclinato·tradidit spiritum²²·cum autem exspirasset uelum templi seisum est medium·asommo usque addeorsum²²·(31) Iudei ergo quoniam parasciue²³ erat·vtnonremanerent ineruce corpora sabbato·erat enim dies²⁴ magnus illa²⁵ sabbati·rogauerunt pylatum²⁶ vtfrangerent²⁷ eorum crura ettollerentur·(32) uenerunt ergo milites etprimi quidem·fregerunt crura etalterius qui simul¹ crucifixus est cum eo·(33) addominum²⁸ autem cum uenissent²⁹ vtuiderunt eum iam mortuum nonfrangerunt³⁰ eius crura (34) sed unus militum lancea latus eius aperuit etcontinuo exiuit sanguis etaqua·

¹ V. om.

² Pilatus.

³ crucifixissent.

⁴ acceperunt.

⁵ eius.

⁶ contexta.

⁷ V. adds ergo ad.

⁸ scriptura.

⁹ in.

¹⁰ miserunt.

¹¹ matri.

¹² accepit.

¹³ in sua.

¹⁴ V. adds omnia.

¹⁵ positum.

¹⁶ spungiam.

¹⁷ plenam.

¹⁸ hysopo.

¹⁹ obtulerunt.

²⁰ acceperunt.

²¹ et inclinato capite.

²² V. om. these 12 words.

²³ parasciue.

²⁴ magnus dies.

²⁵ ille.

²⁶ Pilatum.

²⁷ frangerentur.

²⁸ ad Iesum.

²⁹ uenissent.

³⁰ fregerunt.

Fol. 81. (35) **E**t qui uidit testimonium perhibuit et uerum est eius testimonium. et ille scit quia uera dicit ut¹ uos credatis. (36) facta sunt enim haec ut scriptura inpleatur os² eius³ non comminetis⁴ ex eo. (37) et iterum alia scriptura dicit in quem transfixerunt uidebunt. (38) post haec autem rogauit pylatum⁶ ioseph abarimathia eo quod esset discipulus ihesu occulte⁷ autem propter metum iudeorum ut tolleret corpus ihesu et permisit pylatus. uenit ergo et tollit⁸ corpus ihesu (39) uenit autem et nicodemus⁹. qui uenerat ad ihesum nocte primum. ferens mixturam mirre¹⁰ et olivae¹¹ quasi libras centum (40) acciperunt¹² ergo corpus ihesu et ligauerunt eum linteis. Cum aromatibus sicut mos iudeis est sepelire. (41) erat autem in loco ubi crucifixus est hortus et in eo³ orto¹³ monumentum nouum in quo nondum quisquam positus¹⁴ erat (42) ibi ergo propter parasceue¹⁵ iudeorum quia iuxta erat monumentum possuerunt¹⁶ ihesum . . . 7

[CAP. XX.] (1) **U**na autem sabbati maria magdalenae uenit mane cum adhuc tenebre essent ad monumentum¹⁷ et uidit lapidem sublatum a monumento¹⁸ . . . (2) Cucurrit ergo et uenit ad simonem petrum et¹⁹ alium discipulum quem amabat ihesus et dicit eis tulerunt²⁰ dominum de monumento¹⁸ et nesci²¹ ubi possuerunt¹⁶ eum.

Fol. 81 b. (3) **E**xiit ergo petrus et ille alius discipulus et uenerunt ad monumentum¹⁷. (4) currebant autem duos²² simul et ille alius discipulus praecurrit²³ citius petro et uenit prius²⁴ ad monumentum¹⁷ (5) et cum se inclinasset uidit²⁵ positam²⁶ linteamina²⁷ non tamen introiit in monumentum¹⁸. (6) Uenit ergo simon petrus subsequens²⁸ eum. et introiit²⁹ in monumentum¹⁷. et uidit²⁵ linteamina²⁷ positam²⁶ (7) et sudarium quod fuerat super³⁰ caput³¹ eius. non cum linteaminibus³² positum sed separatim. in uolutum in unum

¹ V. adds et.² Os.³ V. om.⁴ comminuetis.⁵ Videbunt in quem transfixerunt.⁶ Pilatum.⁷ occultus autem.⁸ tulit.⁹ Nicodemus.¹⁰ murrae.¹¹ aloes.¹² acceperunt.¹³ horto.¹⁴ positus.¹⁵ parasceuen.¹⁶ posuerunt.¹⁷ monumentum.¹⁸ monumento.¹⁹ V. adds ad.²⁰ Tulerunt.²¹ nescimus.²² duo.²³ praecurrit.²⁴ primus.²⁵ uidet.²⁶ posita.²⁷ linteamina.²⁸ sequens.²⁹ introiit.³⁰ supra.³¹ caput.³² linteaminibus positum.

locum·(8) Tunc ergo introiuit et ille discipulus·qui uenerat prius¹ admonementum² et uidit³ et credit⁴ (9) nondum enim sciebat scripturam quia⁵ amortuis opereret eum resurgere (10) abierunt ergo⁶ ad semet ipsos discipuli·

(11) **M**aria autem sedebat⁷ admonementum² foris plorans dum ergo fleret inclinauit se et prospexit in monumentum² (12) et uidit duos angelos in albis sedentes unum ad caput⁸ et unum ad pedes ubi positum⁹ fuerat corpus ihesu·

(13) **D**icunt ei illi mulier quid ploras dicit eis quia tulerunt¹⁰ dominum meum et nescio ubi possuerunt¹¹ eum·(14) hæc cum dixisset conuersa est retrorsum et uidit³ ihesum stantem et non sciebat quia ihesus est (15) dicit ei ihesus mulier quid ploras·Quem queris illa existimans quia hortulanus¹² est¹² dicit ei domine si tu sustulisti eum dicito mihi ubi possuisti¹³ eum et ego¹⁴ tollam (16) dicit ei ihesus maria conuersa illa dicit¹⁵ rabboni·quod dicitur magister·(17) dicit eis¹⁶ ihesus 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 deum meum et deum uestrum·(18) uenit maria magdalene et nuntians¹⁷ discipulis quia uidi dominum et hæc dixit mihi··7

(19) **C**um esset ergo sero die¹⁸ sabbatorum et fores¹⁹ essent clausæ ubi erant discipuli propter metum iudeorum·Uenit ihesus et tetit in medio et dixit²⁰ eis pax uobis·(20) et hoc cum dixisset ostendit eis manus et latus··7

Gausi sunt ergo discipuli uiso domino·(21) dicit²¹ eis iterum pax uobis·sicut me²² misit pater et ego mitto uos·(22) hoc cum dixisset insoflauit²³ accipite spiritum²⁴··7

(25) **Q**uorum remisieritis²⁵ peccata remittentur²⁶ eis²⁷·quorum retinueritis²⁸ detenta²⁹ sunt··7

¹ primus.

² monumentum.

³ uidet.

⁴ credidit.

⁵ oporteret eum a mortuis resurgere.

⁶ V. adds iterum.

⁷ stabat.

⁸ caput.

⁹ positum.

¹⁰ tulerunt.

¹¹ posuerunt.

¹² esset.

¹³ possuisti.

¹⁴ V. adds eum.

¹⁵ V. adds ei.

¹⁶ ei.

¹⁷ annuntians.

¹⁸ V. adds illo una.

¹⁹ fores.

²⁰ dicit.

²¹ dixit ergo.

²² misit me.

²³ insuflavit et dicit eis.

²⁴ V. adds sanctum.

²⁵ remisieritis.

²⁶ remittentur.

²⁷ V. adds et.

²⁸ retinueritis.

²⁹ retenta.

Fol. 82 b. (24) **T**homas autem unus ex·xii¹·qui dicitur dedimus² nonerat cum eis quando uenit ihesus (25) dixerunt ergo ei alii discipuli uidimus dominum ille autem dixit eis·nisi uidero inmanibus eius figuram clauorum etmittam digitum meum inlocum clauorum·etmittam manum meam inlatus eius noncredam··7

(26) **P**ost dies octo iterum·erant discipuli eius intus et thomas cum eis· Uenit ihesus ianuis clausis etstetit inmedio eorum³··7

Et dixit pax uobis (27) deinde dicit thomæ infer digitum tuum huc etuide manus meas et adfer⁴ manum tuam etmitte inlatus meum etnoli⁵ esse incredulus sed fidelis·(28) Respondit thomas etdixit ei dominus meus etdeus meus·(29) Dicit ei ihesus quia uidisti⁶ etcredidisti·Beati qui non- uiderunt etcrediderunt··

(30) **M**ulta quidem etalia signa fecit⁷ que nonsunt scripta inconspectu discipulorum suorum inhoc libro··

(31) **N**ec autem scripta sunt·vteredatis quia ihesus est christus filius dei etut credentes uitam habeatis innomine eius··7··7

[CAP. XXI.] (1) **P**ostea manifestauit sé iterum ihesus admare tibriadis⁸·Manifest-
Fol. 83. auit autem sic (2) erant ⁹simon petrus simul et thomas qui dicitur dedimus² etnathanél¹⁰ qui erat ahanna¹¹ galileæ etfilii zebeidei¹²··7

Et alii exdiscipulis eis¹³ duo·(3) dicit eis simon petrus·uado piscari·dicunt ei uenimus étnos tecum·¹⁴Exierunt etascenderunt innauem etilla nocte nihil coeperunt¹⁵·(4) Mane autem iam facto stetit ihesus inlitore nontamen cognouerunt discipuli quia ihesus est·(5) dicit ergo eis ihesus pueri numquid palmentarium¹⁶ habetis responderunt¹⁷ non·(6) Dixit¹⁸ eis mittite indexteram partem³ nauim¹⁹ rete etinuiniētis·²⁰Dixerunt autem pertotam noctem laborantes nihil coepimus··INuerbo autem tuo

¹ duodecim.

² Didymus.

³ V. om.

⁴ adfer.

⁵ noli.

⁶ V. adds me.

⁷ V. has, Iesus, in con-
spectu discipulorum
suorum, quæ non
sunt scripta.

⁸ Tiberiadis.

⁹ simul Simon Petrus.

¹⁰ Nathanahel.

¹¹ a Cana.

¹² Zebedæi.

¹³ eius.

¹⁴ V. adds et.

¹⁵ prendiderunt.

¹⁶ pulmentarium.

¹⁷ V. adds ei.

¹⁸ dicit.

¹⁹ navigii.

²⁰ V. om. these 12 words.

mittimus·Misserunt¹ ergo etiam non ualuerunt² illud trahere a multitudine piscium···7

(7) **D**icit ergo discipulus ille quem diligebat³ ihesus petro dominus est simon petrus cum audisset quia dominus est·tonicam⁴ precinxit⁵ se erat enim nudus et misit se in mare·

(8) **A**lii autem discipuli nauigio uenerunt non enim longe erant a terra Fol. 83 b. sed quasi⁶ cubitis·ectis⁷·trahentes rete piscium·

(9) **U**t ergo descenderunt⁸ in terram·uiderant⁹ prunas possitas¹⁰·et piscem super positum¹¹·et panem·(10) Dicit eis ihesus adferte de piscibus quos preendistis¹² nunc···7

(11) **A**scendit simon petrus et trahit¹³ rete in terra¹⁴ plenum magnis¹⁵ piscibus quasi¹⁶·cl¹⁷·et¹⁶ tribus etcum tanti essent non est piscium¹⁸ rete·

(12) **D**ixit¹⁹ eis ihesus uenite prandite²⁰

Et nemo audiebat²¹ ex discipulis¹⁶ 22 interrogare eum tu quis es scientes quia dominus esset·

(13) **E**t uenit ihesus et accepit panem et dedit eis et piscem similiter·

(14) **H**oc iam tertio manifestatus est ihesus discipulis cum surrexisset²³ a mortuis (15) cum ergo prandisset²⁴·

Dicit simoni petro ihesus simon iohannis diligis me plus his dicit ei etiam domine²⁵ scis quia amote dicit ei pasce agnos meos···7

(16) **D**icit ei iterum simon iohannis diligis me·ait ei illi²⁶ etiam domine tu scis quia amo te dicit ei pasce agnos meos···7

(17) **D**icit ei tertio simon iohannis²⁷ amas me contristatus est petrus quia Fol. 84. dixit²⁸ amas me et¹⁶ dicit ei·domine tu omnia scis²⁹ quia amo te···

Dicit ei pasce oves meas·(18) amen amen dico tibi cum esses

¹ miserunt.

² non ualabant.

³ diligebat.

⁴ tunicam.

⁵ succinxit.

⁶ quasi.

⁷ ducentis.

⁸ descenderunt.

⁹ uiderunt.

¹⁰ positas.

¹¹ positum.

¹² prendistis.

¹³ traxit.

¹⁴ terram.

¹⁵ magnis.

¹⁶ V. om.

¹⁷ centum quinquaginta.

¹⁸ scissum.

¹⁹ Dicit.

²⁰ prandete.

²¹ audiebat.

²² V. adds discumben-

tium.

²³ resurrexisset.

²⁴ prandissent.

²⁵ V. adds tu.

²⁶ ille.

²⁷ Iohannis.

²⁸ V. adds ei tertio.

²⁹ V. adds tu scis.

iunior cingebas te et ambulabas ubi uolebas cum autem senueris extendis¹ manus tuas et alius te cinget et ducit² quod³ nonuis quo nonuis⁴. (19) hoc autem dixit significans qua morte clarificaturus esset deum ethoc cum dixisset⁵ dicit ei sequere me (20) conuersus petrus uidit illum discipulum quem diligebat ihesus sequentem quietrecubuit incena super pectus eius et dicit⁶ domine quis est qui tradet⁷ te (21) hunc ergo cum uidisset petrus Dixit⁸ ihesu domine hic autem quid (22) dicit⁹ ihesus sic eum uolo manere donec ueniam. Quid ad te tu me sequere.

(23) **E**xiuit ergo sermo iste infratres quia discipulus ille non moritur¹⁰ non dixit ei ihesus non moritur sed sic eum uolo manere donec uenio. quid ad te (24) hic est discipulus qui testimonium perhibet de his et scribit hæc et scimus qui¹¹ uerum est testimonium eius. (25) sunt autem et alia multa que fecit ihesus quae si scribantur¹² singula nec ipsum arbitror mundum capere eos qui scribendi sunt libros¹³. . . . 7 . . . 7

ExPLICIT⁴ euangelium secundum iohannem⁴. . . . 7

¹ extendes.

² ducet.

³ quo.

⁴ V. om.

⁵ dixisset.

⁶ dixit.

⁷ tradit.

⁸ dicit.

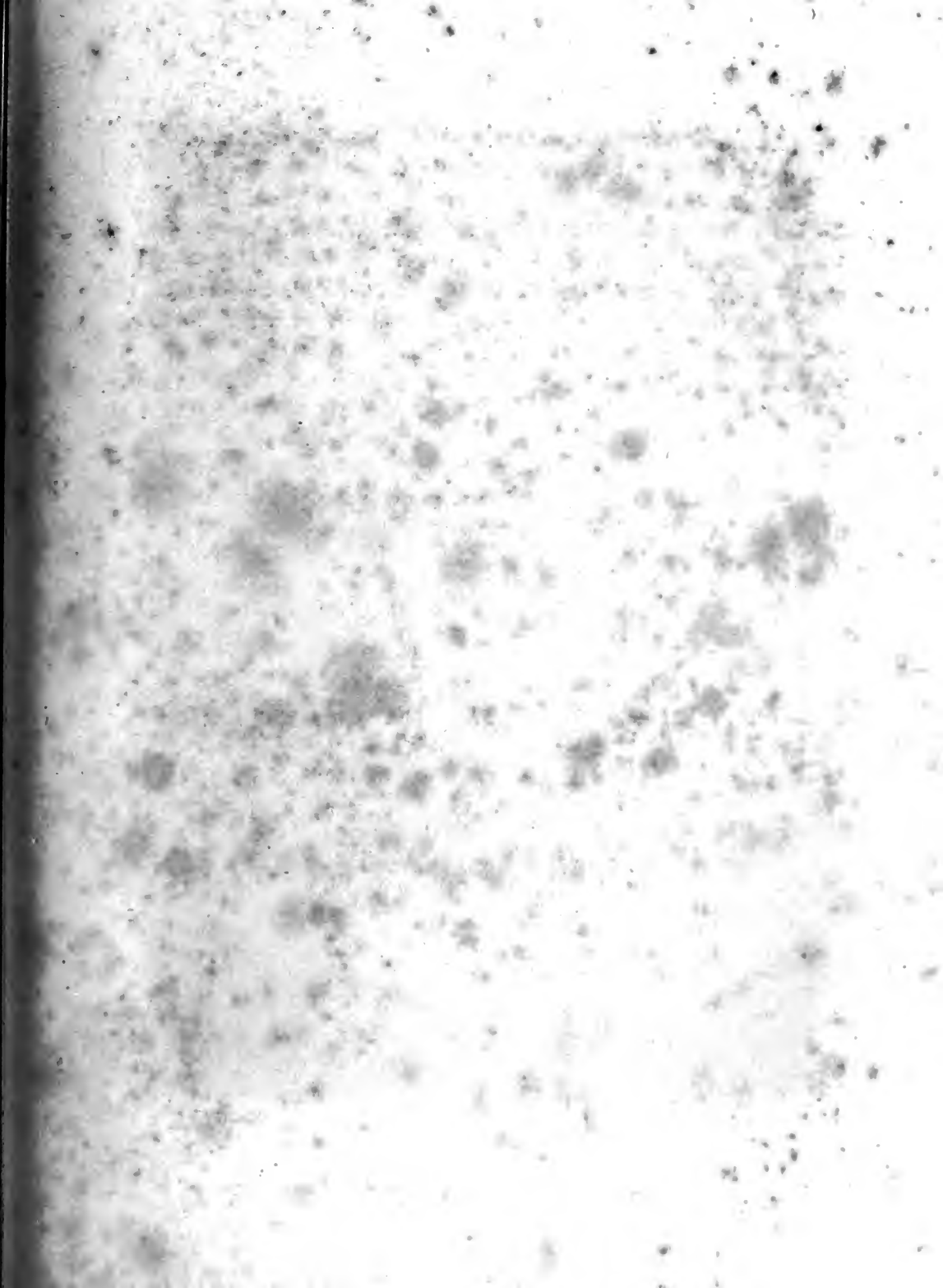
⁹ V. adds ei.

¹⁰ V. adds et.

¹¹ quia.

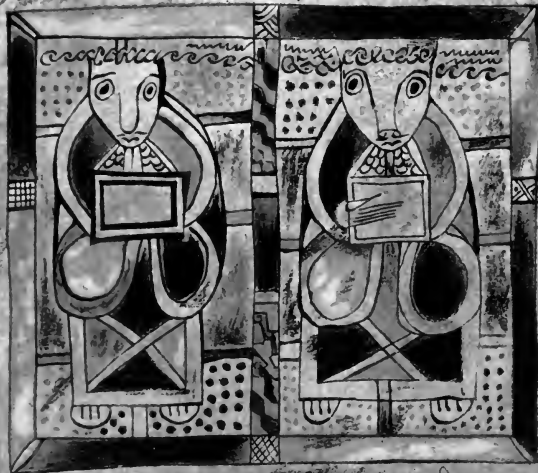
¹² V. adds per.

¹³ V. adds Amen.



qui chamomum p[ro]hibet de h[er]b[is]
p[er]hibet h[er]b[is] p[er]hibet qui m[er]it[us]
et chamomum h[er]b[is] p[er]hibet autem
p[er]hibet multa que p[er]hibet h[er]b[is] quas
p[er]hibet p[er]hibet p[er]hibet n[on] p[er]hibet
autem n[on] mundam capite h[er]b[is]
qui p[er]hibet p[er]hibet lib[er] p[er]hibet ... 7 ...

Explicit euangeliu[m] p[er] iohannem ... 7



1917

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
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1917



Item oratio an dominicam orationem
 necnon matutinum omnium op
 spanum unum anam in celo 7 mēna
 originum huius trinitatis. p̄ti an
 nelsioray p̄ss exillo macestribley
 lucy. trono tuo p̄p̄cepe 7 mēlm̄ap̄m
 7 anaphni hōdēffay cūcūm
 p̄tantum laudē. exaudi p̄p̄ n̄am
 b̄igie p̄necationē. p̄n̄m q̄q̄. ūp̄ p̄m

Liba nōy chie amilo d̄ne x̄p̄e ih̄u
 cur̄p̄ nōy p̄m̄p̄ n̄p̄m̄ op̄e bona
 p̄m̄p̄t̄ q̄c̄c̄on omnium bonorum
 d̄p̄ euaam nōy ut̄ay. 7 n̄p̄le nōy
 uirtutibus bonis. p̄te x̄p̄e ih̄u.
 H̄m̄m̄ d̄ub̄ p̄ac̄p̄ate d̄au.

Corpus cum sanguine d̄ni n̄h̄ ih̄u
 x̄p̄i p̄ntay p̄t̄ tibi iuram p̄p̄t̄a
 7 salutem
 R̄p̄p̄ta x̄p̄i compone s̄ sanguine
 7 t̄mp̄m̄ dicamur. d̄ne alt̄ alt̄
 q̄rat̄uit animam man̄m̄ 7 animā
 7 h̄m̄m̄m̄ p̄ac̄p̄ate bonis. at̄ at̄
 7 p̄ac̄p̄ic̄it̄ p̄ac̄p̄ic̄im̄ laud̄m̄
 7 inque exultatione. at̄ at̄



Credo indeum patrem omni potentem · Creatorem caeli et terre — Fol. 85.
 Et in ihesum christum filium eius · unicum dominum nostrum · Qui
 conceptus est de spiritu sancto · —
 Natus ex maria uirgine · passus sub pontio pylato · Crucifixus et sepultus ·
 Descendit ad inferna ·
 Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis · ascendit in celum · sedit ad dexteram dei
 patris omni potentis · ·
 Inde uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos · Credo et in spiritum sanctum
 sanctamque aeclesiam catholicam · sanctorum communionem · remissionem
 peccatorum ·
 Carnis resurrectionis uitam eternam amen · · · 7

Forchubus caichduini imbia arrath inlebrán collí · aratardda ben-
 dacht foranmain intruagáin rodscribai · · ·

“(Be it) on (the) conscience of every one in whom shall be for grace
 the booklet with splendour: that he give a blessing on (the) soul of the
 wretch who wrote it.”

Item oratio ante dominicam orationem

Fol. 28 b.

Creator naturarum omnium deus et pater uniuersarum in celo et in terra
 originum háis tremantis populi tui relegiosas preces ex illo inaccessibileis

lucis trono tuo suscipe et inter hiphin et zaphin indefessas circumstantium
 laudes exaudi spei non ambigue preces. Pater noster. quies. usque
 infinem

Libera nos Domine amalo Domine christe ihesu custodi nos semper
 in omni opere bona fons et auctor omnium bonorum deus euacua nos uitii.
 et reple nos uirtutibus bonis. per te christe ihesu :—

His unde dubei sacra facce dau. 7

Here give the sacrifice to him.

Corpus cum sanguine domini nostri ihesu christi sanitas sit tibi in uitam
 perpetua et salutem

Refecti christi corpore et sanguine tibi semper dicamus domine alleluia
 alleluia

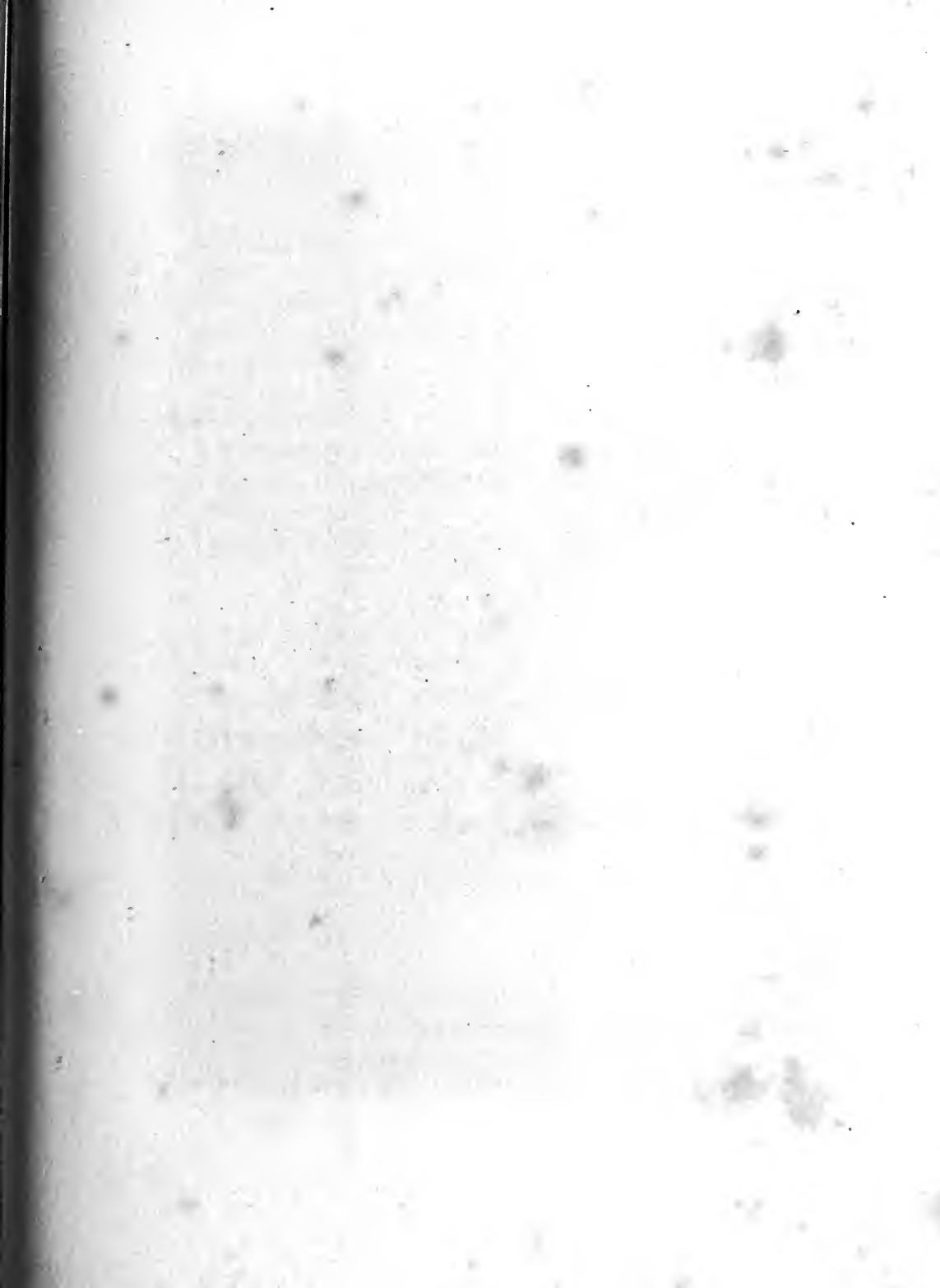
Qui satiauit animam inanem et animam essurientem satiauit bonis
 alleluia alleluia

Et sacrificent sacrificium laudis et usque exultatione. alleluia alleluia

Fol. 29.

Calicem salutaris accipiam et nomen domini inuocabo. alleluia alle-
 luia

Refecti christi corpore. alleluia alleluia :



Omnes istam generationem ab ab
nacham usque ad adam generationem
xiiii. Et ad adam usque ad
tunc migrationem babilonem ge
nerationem xiiii. Et ad tunc mig
rationem babilonem usque ad xpm
generationem xiiii. 7

Hinc prologus. Item incipit ne
stianus secundum mathiam. 7

Coluicille 7 dno rax me cor gnes arialu
rangator ahi mannoatp dia doib go
nie abborcooboz 7 hede epudhne nobomoz
migi bucan apugian 7 hie nochnonaz doib
igachiaz paxin ipahie zobnatch omagnasi
7 ochoree. rangator apachle ren fcatchiaz
ele 7 donactin nicolucille p iappallan donat
de 7 donoloz quimomasi. hede zondap
tabpas do 7 nichapat 7 rogab me do galay
iaphie nagluec 7 nobomaneb act matobc
iaphin dochno imon dactae nagluec zondindh

2. d. 10

binacde lfr imc gandrud planto do 7 dopat
7 fobant uacloic 7 cippat gonice chloie ptece
me geymar dojonpat in binacde 7 tanc
plante do; Jaryen dopat collucille do dpor
tan ichadpauis rhy 7 norabiac 7 ponacarb 7 bue
thi gede apud pur nabao blitrec buacace tan
gat dāra dportan apurcathay ppi collucille
polabom collucille bedean anm dhamm imace;
Comgeall me toa dopat uacora nice puyine
docollucille 7 do dportan. Morudac me moycumy.
dopat ptece me geymar 7 achad toche tinn.
7 bahe nobomomay 7 nobochorfe. Natam
me casull dopat euc moymom takt 7 caln me
bacin dopat euc tompes. Domnall me gpye
7 malbrige me chathail dopat ptece imulenn.
do dportan. Cathal me moycumy dopat achad
naglfite do dportan. Domnall me jukdpu 7
malcolu me culeon dopat pat hidbin do dia 7 do
dportan. Malcolu me emacha dopat euc
jms ibtrobm 7 ptece me gobnong 7 da dabls
uaccam norabapd. Malcolu me moilbrige
dopat toelhe. Malynfete me lulois dopat



Laudate dominum omnes gentes alleluia alleluia
 Gloria·reflecti christi·alleluia alleluia
 et nunc·Et semper·Reflecti
 Sacrificate sacrificium iustitiæ etsperate indomino

Deus tibi gratias agimus perquem misteria sancta celebrauimus et ate
 sanctitatis dona deposcimus miserere nobis domine saluator mundi·Qui
 regnas in secula seculorum amen·finit

Columcille acusdrostán mac cósgreg adálta tangator áhí marroalseg Fol. 3.
 día doib goníc abbordobóir acusbéde cruthnec robomormáer búchan araginn
 acusessé rothídnaig dóib ingathráig sáin insaere gobraith ómormaer acus-
 óthóséc·tangator asááthle sen incathraig ele acusdoráten ricolumcille sí
 iarfallán dórath dé acusdorodloeg arinmormáer·i·béde gondas tabrád dó
 acusnítharat acusrogab mac dó galár iarnéré nagleréc acusrobomaréb act Fol 3 b.
 mádbec iarsén dochuíd inmōr dattác nagleréc góndendæes ernacde les inmac
 gondisád slánté dó acusdórat inedbaírt doib uácloic intiprat gonice chlóic
 pette mic garnáit doronsat innernacde acustanic slante dó; Iarsén dorat
 collumcille dódrostán inchadráig sén acusrosbenact acusforacaib imbrether
 gebe tisad ris nabad blienec buadacc tangator deara drostán arseartháin fri
 collumcille rolaboir columcille bedear ánim óhúnú ímácé ;

Columcille and Drostán son of Cosgrach his pupil came from I as
 God had shown to them unto Abbordoboir and Bede the Pict was mormaer
 of Buchan before them, and it was he that gave them that town in freedom
 for ever from mormaer and tosech. They came after that to the other
 town, and it was pleasing to Columcille, because it was full of God's grace,
 and he asked of the mormaer to wit Bede that he should give it to him;
 and he did not give it; and a son of his took an illness after [or in con-
 sequence of] refusing the clerics, and he was nearly dead [lit. he was dead
 but if it were a little]. After this the mormaer went to intreat the clerics

that they should make prayer for the son that health should come to him, and he gave in offering to them from Cloch in tiprat to Cloch pette mic Garnait. They made the prayer, and health came to him. After that Columcille gave to Drostan that town and blessed it and left as (his) word "Whosoever should come against it, let him not be many-yeared [or] victorious." Drostan's tears (deara) came on parting with Columcille. Said Columcille "Let Dear be its name henceforward."—

Cómgeall mac éda dorat úaorti níce fúrené docolumcille acusdrostán. Moridac mac morcunn dorat pett mic garnait acusáchad toche temní·acusbahé robomormair acusrobothosec·Mataín mac caerill dorat cuít mormoir inálteri acuseullí mac batín dorat cuít toiséig·Domnall mac gíric acusmalbrigte mac chathail dorat pett inmulenn·dodrostán·Cathal mac morcunt dorat áchad naglerec dodrostán·Domnall mac ruádri acusmalcolum mac culeón doratsat bidbín dó dia acusdódrostán·Malcoloum mac cinathá dorat cuít ríig íbbidbín acusinpett mic gobróig acusdádabég uactair rósábard·Malcoloum mac moilbrigte dorat indelerc·Málsnecte mac

Fol. 4. lulóg dorat pett maldúib dó drostán ; Domnall mac meic dubbacín robaíth nahúle edbarta rodrostán arthabárt áhule dó·Robáíth cathál árachóir chetna acuitíd thoisíg acusdorat próiní chét cecnolloce acuseccase dó dia acusdó drostán·Cainnéch mac meic dobarcon acuscathal doratsat alterín alla úethé na camone gonice in béith edarda álterin ; Dorat domnall acuscathál étdanin dó dia acusdó drostán·Robaíth cainnec acusdomnall acus cathál nahúle edbarta ri dia acusrí drostan othósach *goderad issáere omor·acus othosech culaithi bratha·*¹

"Comgeall son of Ed gave from Orti to Furene to Columcille and to Drostan. Moridach son of Morcunn gave Pett meic Garnait and Achad toche temni; and it was he that was mormaer and was tosech·Matáin son of Caerell gave the mormaer's share in Altere and Culi son of Baten gave (the) toisech's share·Domnall son of Girec and Maelbrigte son of Cathal, gave Pett in Mulenn to Drostan·Cathal son of Morcunt gave Achad

¹ The words between asterisks are written in ink of a different colour from the others. See Preface, pp. xxiv. xxvi.

pte malrub do dhoran; Don all me meic
 dubhaem nobaich nahule ebanca jodnor
 tan aichabairt ahule do. nobaich cathal
 anachom cetna acuraio donis 7 donat
 pnyon ehte ceenolloc 7 cecap do dia
 7 do dhoran. Caunneh me meic do bancon
 7 cathal donatpat altin alla ilche
 neadale gomec 7 berth foand altin;
 donat donnall 7 cathal eto dain
 do dia do dhoran. Nobaich Caunne
 7 donall 7 cathal nahule eobanca pu
 dia pu dhoran ocofac ^{subant bida} 500 ^{one} ^{loqre}

Sare nan me cannech jere 7 gungill nichel
 donatpat peemecobnis mecor eptio eclaf
 qmre ptem abrcol 7 do colu eill e 7 do dhoran
 ptonahulid volozib eobanayca do coymic
 epeob vanicall em. In oemad bliadi mseda
 7 qab qraf neeam epeob ab gloor ab bneam
 maledoni me meh eao 7 al gnu me gual maad
 m monum mapp 7 macati hincem 7 alle eme
 me eomare mal ptem me donall 7 pongara
 7 glegia eumhuad 7 alle colad me mhedis 7 ub
 m me mal colad 7 do dhoran 7 do colu eill do dhoran
 Donat ptem nan 7 gungill emed. ball dom ipor ipor
 7 qre 7 alle call me pcam 7 pona me mal
 one me gualin



nagléréch ("the clerics' field") to Drostan. Domnall son of Ruadri and Maelcoluim son of Culéon, gave Bidbin to God and to Drostan. Maelcoluim son of Cinaed, gave (the) king's share in Bidbin and in Pett meic Gobroig and two davochs of Upper Rosabard. Maelcoluim, son of Maelbrigte, gave the Delerc. Maelsnechte, son of Lúlóg, gave Pett Maelduib to Drostan. Domnall, son of Mac Dubbacín, immolated all the offering to Drostan, giving the whole of it to him. Cathal immolated in (the) same way his toisech's share, and gave a dinner of a hundred every Christmas and every Easter to God and to Drostan. Cainnech son of Mac Dobarcon (otter's son) gave Alterin alla bhethé (birch-cliff) na camone as far as the birch-tree between (the) two Alterins. Domnall and Cathal gave Etdanin to God and to Drostan. Cainnech and Domnall and Cathal immolated all these offerings to God and to Drostan from beginning * to end in freedom from morraer and from toisech to (the) day of judgment." *

Gartnait mac cannech acuséte ingengillemicel dóratsat petmeccóbrig
ricoseerad éclasi crist acuspetir abstoil acusdocolumcille acusdodrostan sér
ónáhulib dolodib cónánascad dócórmaic éscob dunicallenn·ínómad blfádi·
rígi·dá Testibus istis·néctan·escop abberdeon·acusléot áb bréciní acus-
máledouni mac mic bead·acusálgune mac árcill·acusruadri mórmair márr
acusmatadin bríthem·acusgillecrist mac córmaic·acusmalpetir mac dom-
naill·acusdomongart ferleginn turbruad·acusgillecolaim mac muredig·
acusdubni mac mál colaim

Dorat gartnait acusingillemicel báll dómin ipet ipáir dochrist acus-
docolimcilli acusdodrostan Teste·gillecalline sacart·acusferadac mac mál-
brécin·acus malgirc mac tralin

"Gartnait son of Cainnech and Ete daughter of Gille Michel gave Pet-mec-Cobrig for (the) consecration of a Church of Christ and Peter (the) apostle both to Columcille and to Drostan free from all the exactions (?) With the gift (?) of them to Cormac Bishop of Dunkeld in the eighth year of David's reign. *Testibus istis* Nectán Bishop of Aberdeen, and Leot Abbot of Brechin, and Maledoun son of Mac Be[th]ad, and

Algune son of Arcell, and Ruadri mormaer of Mar and Matadin (the Brehon and Gille Christ son of Cormac, and Mael-petir son of Domnall, and Domongart ferleginn (reader) of Turbruad and Gillecolaim son of Muredach, and Dubni son of Maelcolaim·

Gartnait and the daughter of Gillemichel gave *Ball Domin* in Pet Ipuir to Christ and to Columcille and to Drostan.

Teste Gillecalline, Priest, and Feradach son of Maelbhricin, and Maelgirc son of Tralin.”

Fol. 4 b. ACUSBENNACT INCHOMDED ARCECMORMAR ACUSARCECTOSECH CHOMALLFAS ACUSDANSIL DANEIS.

“AND THE LORD’S BLESSING ON EVERY MORMAER AND ON EVERY TOISECH WHO SHALL FULFIL (THIS) AND TO THEIR SEED AFTER THEM.”

Donchad mac mec bead mec hídid dorat acchad madchór dochrist acusdodrostan acusdocholuimcille insóre gobrád malechí acuscómgell acugillecrist mac fingúni innáienasi intestes·acus malcoluim mac molíní·Cormac mac cennedig dorat goñige scáli merlec·Comgell mac cáennaig táesec clande canan dórat dochrist acusdodrostan acusdócholuim cille gonige ingort lie mór igginn inffus isnesu daldín alenn ódubúci gólurcháirí etarsliab acusachad·* issaeri othesseach cubráth acusabennacht arcachhén chomallfas araer cubrath acusamallact arcachén ticfa ris ; *

Donchad son of Mac Bethad son of Ided gave Achad Madchor to Christ and to Drostan and to Columcille in freedom for ever : Malechi and Comgell and Gille-Christ son of Fingune in witness whereof in testimony, and Maelcoluim son of Molíne·Cormac son of Cennedig gave as far as Scale Merlech·Comgell son of Caennech, chief of Clan Canan, gave to Christ and to Drostan and to Columcille as far as the Gort-lie-Mór at (the) hither(?) End which is nearest to Aldin Alenn from Dobaci to Lurchari both mountain and field * in freedom from chief for ever ; and his blessing on every one who shall fulfil (this) and his curse on every one who shall go against it.” *

Robaid colbain mormær buchan acuseua ingen gartnait abenphústa Fol. 5.
 acusdonnachac mac sithig tœsech clenni morgainn nahuli edbarta ri dia
 acusridrostán acus riacolumceilli acusrípetar apstal onahulib dolaidib archuit
 cetri dabach do nithíssad armandaidib alban cucotchenn acusarhard-
 chellaib·Testibus his brocein acuscormac abb turbruid acusmorgunn mac
 donnchid acusgilli petair mac donnchaid acusmalæchín acusda mac matni
 acusmathe buchan huli naiaidnaisse in helaín ; —

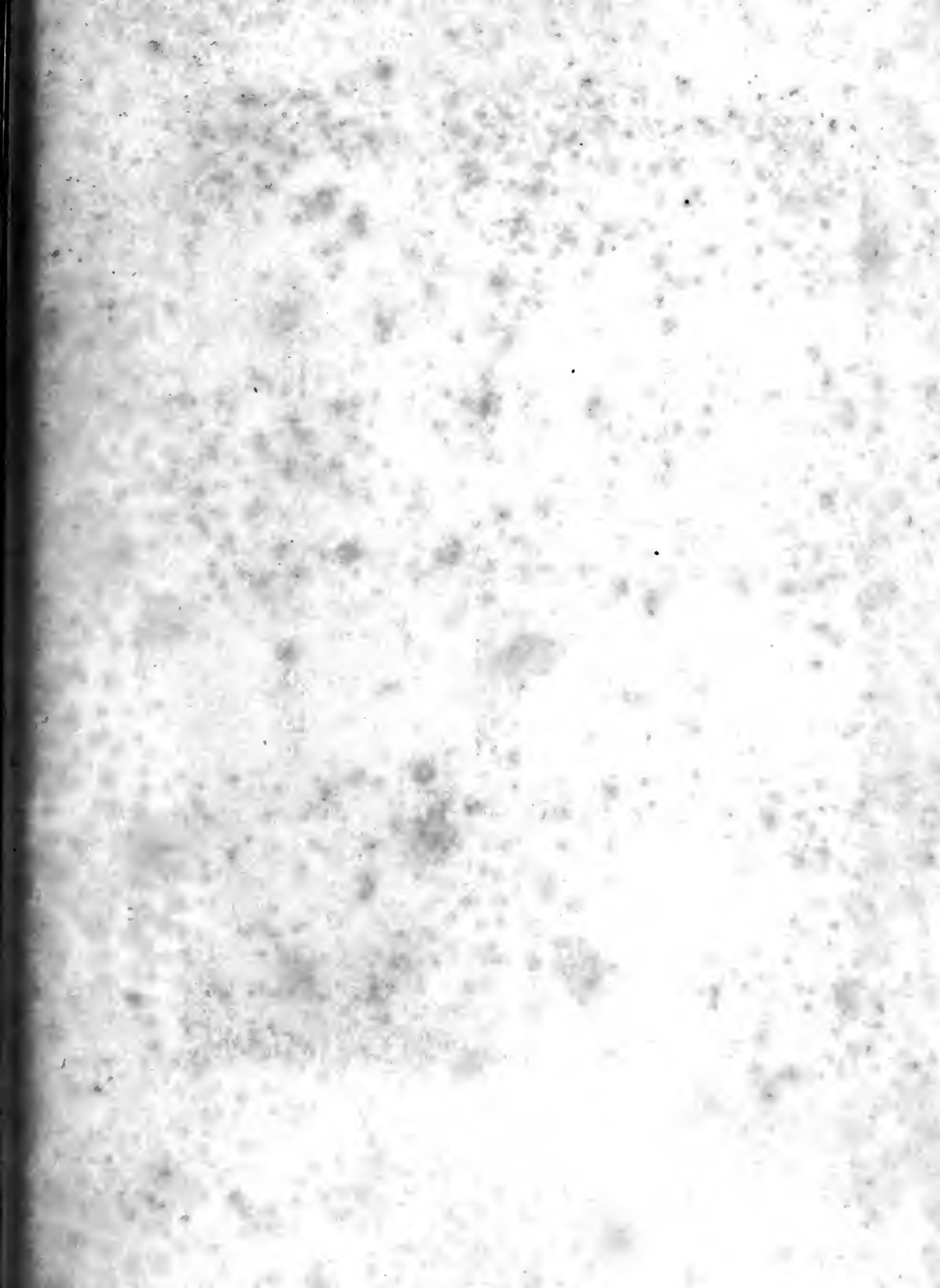
Colbain mormaer of Buchan, and Eva daughter of Garnait, his wedded wife, and Donnachae, son of Sithech, chief of Clann Morgainn, immolated all the offerings to God and to Drostán and to Columcille and to Peter the apostle from all the burthens for a share of four davochs of what would come on the chief residences of Scotland generally and on chief churches, *Testibus his* Broccín and Cormac Abbot of Turbrúaid and Morgunn, son of Donchad, and Gille-Petair son of Donnchad, and Malaechin, and Matne's two sons, and (the) nobles of Buchan, all in witness hereof in Elan.

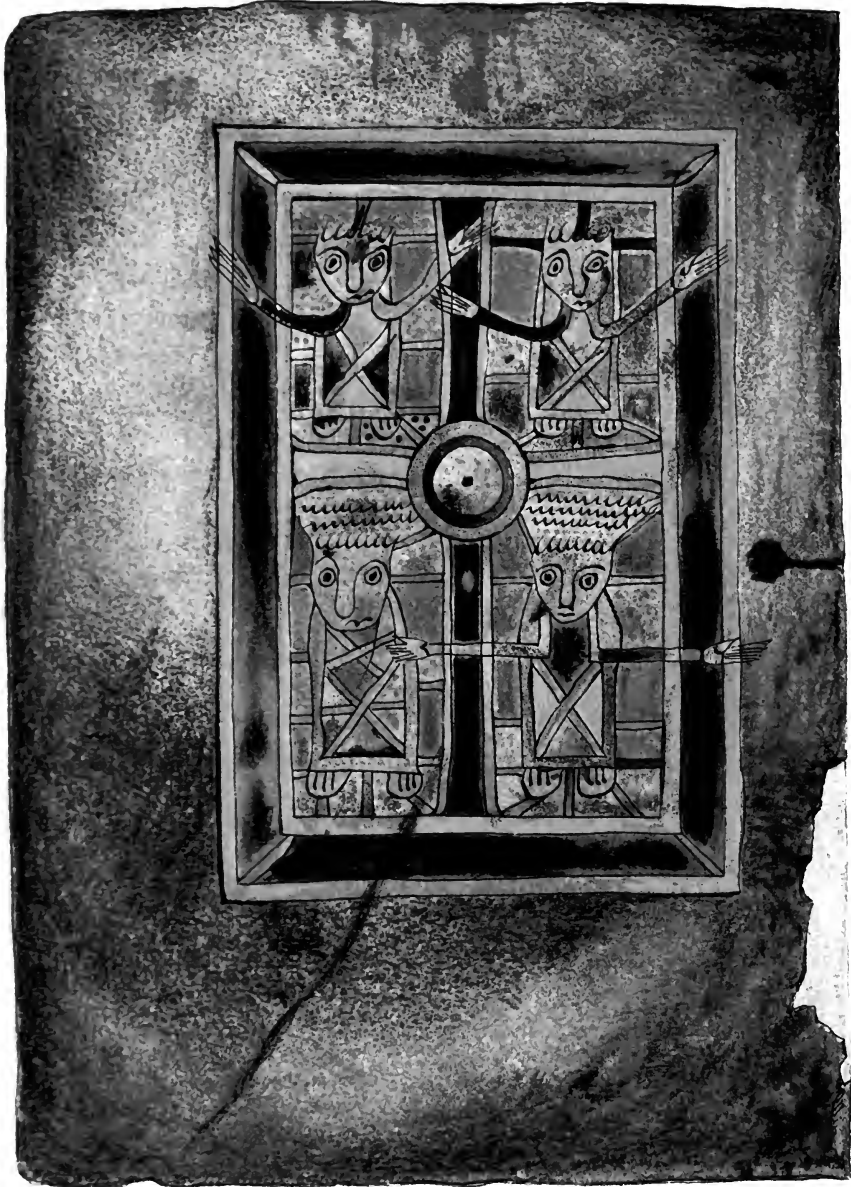
Dauid·rex scottorum omnibus probis hominibus suis·salutes·

Fol. 40.

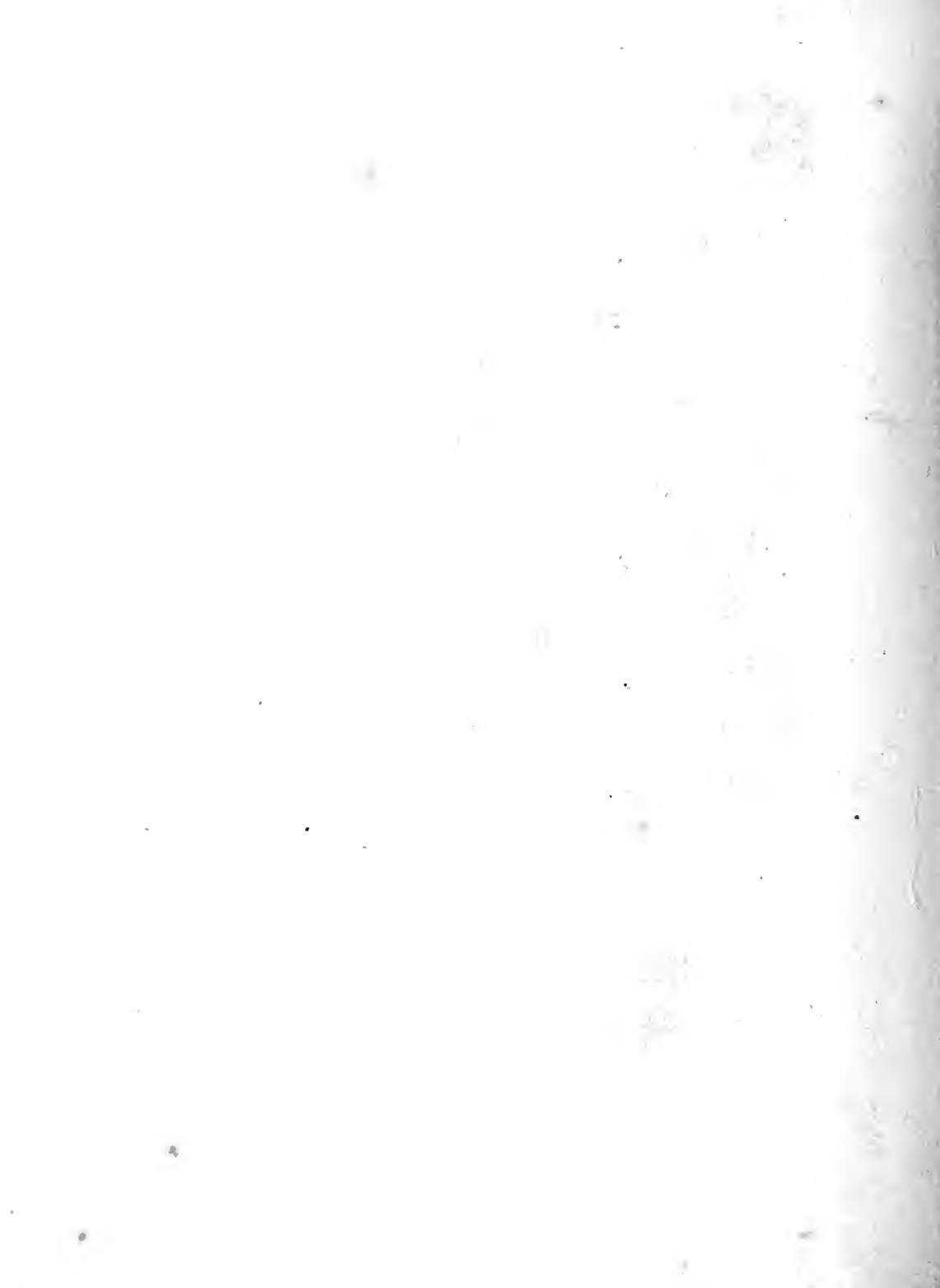
Sciatis quod clerici·dedér·sunt quieti etimmunes abomni laicorum
 officio·etexactione indebita sicut inlibro eorum scribtum est·etdirationa-
 uerunt apud·bánb·etiurauerunt apud abberdeon·quapropter firmiter
 precipio·utnullus eis·aut eorum catellis·aliquam iniuriam inferre pre-
 sumat·Teste·gregorio episcopo·deduncallden·Teste·andrea episcopo·decat·
 Teste·samsone episcopo·debrechin·Teste·doncado comite·defib·etmalmori·
 dathótle·etgillebrite·comite·dénigus·etghillcomded·mac æd·etbrocin·
 etcormac·deturbrud·etadam·mac·ferdomnac·etgillendrias·mac·mátne·apud·
 abberdeon·







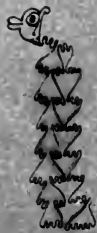








Fol. 44.



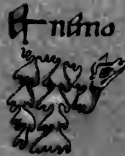
Fol. 45.



Fol. 51.



Fol. 66.



Fol. 75.



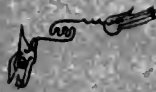
Fol. 51.



Fol. 54.



Fol. 76.



Fol. 70^b



Fol. 71^b



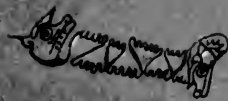
Fol. 72^b



Fol. 67



Fol. 71^a



Fol. 83^b



Fol. 75



Fol. 72^a



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