

The Old Latin Manuscripts of the Gospel of Luke

Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung



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The Old Latin Manuscripts of the Gospel of Luke

A New Edition of the Codex Vercellensis Luke
Based on Multi-Spectral Images

Edited by
Annette Weissenrieder

in cooperation with
André Luiz Visinoni

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*Dilectis collegis Almae Matris Hallensis
Stefan Schorch et Frank Ueberschaer*

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Index of Manuscripts

We here discuss only the manuscripts of the Gospel of Luke central to this book; the texts of the Church Fathers are listed separately in the chapters.

Siglum VL

a 3 *Vercellensis*, 4th century
Vercelli, Biblioteca e Archivio Capitolare, s. n.
Order of the Gospels: Matthew, John, Luke, Mark
lacunae: Luke 11:12–26; 12:37–59
The manuscript – probably the oldest surviving manuscript of the Latin Bible – has been traditionally attributed to Eusebius, the Bishop of Vercelli († 371). The state of preservation is very poor, to the point of fragmentary, since the codex was often used in swearing oaths. The literature usually posits proximity to the *Fragmenta Curiensia* (a², VL16) and the *Codex Sangallensis* (n, o, VL16).¹ In our view, the proximity to the *Codex Sangallensis* is of minor significance.

G. A. Irico, Sacrosanctus Evangeliorum Codex Sancti Eusebii Vercellensis, Milano 1748; J. Belsheim, Codex Vercellensis, Christiana 1897 (not recommended); A. Gasquet, Codex Vercellensis, 2 vol. (Collectanea Biblica Latina 3), Rome 1914.

A *Amiatinus*, around 700
Florence, BML, Amiatino 1
Order of the Gospels: Matthew, Mark, Luke, John
The *Codex Amiatinus* was probably copied in Naples in the sixth century and is presumably later than the *Codex Sangallensis* (Σ 1395). Chapman² shows that Victor of Papua (around 546) used chapter titles found in the *Amiatinus*, though this thesis has been criticized.³
The *Amiatinus* itself is characterized by *capitula* which precede each gospel. In addition, there is a list of liturgical commemorations, elaborated by texts from the respective biblical books. The readings of the *Codex Amiatinus* often do not coincide with the Vulgate. Thus, the list of special readings shared by the *Amiatinus* and the *Vercellensis*, found in chapter IV, is especially noteworthy.

D. J. Chapman, Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels, Oxford 1908; B. Fischer, Codex Amiatinus and Cassiodor, BibZ 6 (1962), 57–79; idem, Die lateinischen Evangelien bis zum 10. Jahrhundert I. Varianten zu Matthäus, AGLB 15, Freiburg 1989; H.A.G. Houghton, Chapter Divisions, Capitula Lists, and the Old Latin

¹ This thesis is espoused by the majority of researchers, including BAUER, *Vetus Latina – Lukas-evangelium*, 1; BURTON, *The Old Latin Gospels*, 21; HOUGHTON, *The Latin New Testament*, 211; GAMPER ET AL., *Die Vetus Latina-Fragmente*, 28; GRYSOON, *Altlateinische Handschriften*, 23 and more often.

² CHAPMAN, *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels*, 90–93.

³ HOUGHTON, “The Text of the Gospels on the Codex Amiatinus,” 78.

Versions of John, RB 212 (2011), 316–356; idem, “The Text of the Gospels in the Codex Amiatinus,” in: *All Roads Lead to Rome. The Creation, Context and Transmission of the Codex Amiatinus*, ed. J. Hawkes et al., Turnhout 2019.

- ar* 61 *Ardmachanus (Book of Armagh)*, 9th century
 Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 52
 Order of the Gospels: Matthew, Mark, Luke, John
 Parchment manuscript with alternating white and purple pages. Gold, silver, black, and red letters, often illuminated; copied in Ireland.
 Unlike in Acts, where the text contains echoes of Old Latin readings, the text of Luke is based on the Vulgate and offers a “Celtic mixed text” (shared with μ VL35; r^2 VL28; λ VL44)⁴; however, in some passages the manuscript exhibits peculiar spelling, such as *hyerusalem* for Jerusalem (13:22). In several passages, the codex shows proximity to VL35 and VL29 (*ipsi iudices uestri erunt* 11:19; *possedet* 11:21; *collegit* 13:23, 30), as well as to VL30 (*diuissum* 11:17; *belzebub* 11:15,18) and VL27 (13:25, 28). It is striking that Luke is preceded by a prologue along with a list of Hebrew names, while Matthew, described as a *novum opus*, is preceded by *capitula* for all the Gospels.

Th. J. Bauer, “Das fragmentum Rosenthal λ (44) als Zeuge der Vetus Latina des Lukasevangeliums. Edition, Rekonstruktion und Einordnung,” in: *Traditio et translatio*, Freiburg 2016, 135–198; J. Gwynn, *Liber Ardmachanus: The Book of Armagh*, Dublin 1913; E. Gwynn, *Book of Armagh. The Patrician Documents, Facsimiles in Collotype of Irish Manuscripts*, Dublin 1937; M. McNamara, *Studies on the Text of Early Irish Latin Gospels (A.D. 600–1200)*, Steenbrugge-Droedrecht 1990.

e-Codex: <https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/content/26/pdf/26.pdf>

- aur* 15 *Aureus Holmiensis*, 8th century
 Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, A 135
 Order of the Gospels: Matthew, Mark, Luke, John
 lacuna: Luke 21:8–30
 Parchment manuscript in uncial script with alternating white and purple pages; gold, silver, black, and red letters, often illuminated; copied in southern England, probably around 775⁵ in the monastery of Echternach, founded in 698 by the English monk Willibrord, to which numerous copies of the Gospels can be traced.
 In the first half of the Gospel of Luke, the codex transmits readings of the European text type; in the second half, however, the text approaches the Vulgate and also contains Jerome’s preface to the Vulgate.
 In addition to special readings, such as *belsebul* (11:19; 11:18: *belszebul*), *destribuet* (11:22), *quippent* (11:28) or *opportuit* (13:16), similarities with VL 15, 27, 29, 30, 51, 54 can be discerned (11:12: *porriget*; 11:13: *spiritum bonum*; 11:14: *et admiratae sunt*

⁴ More recently, Thomas Bauer, in his essay on the Rosenthal fragment, has argued against this attribution of λ 44 to the Celtic mixed text.

⁵ HOUGHTON, *The Latin New Testament*, 80.

turbae), and also with VL10, 15, 27, 30 (11:27: *lactaverunt*). The latter should be interpreted as following the Vulgate text. Furthermore, there is a proximity to the *Codex Moliensis* (μ, VL35), such as the reading *de caelo querebant* (11:16), where classical and new spellings of Latin are juxtaposed.

J. Belsheim, *Codex Aureus sive quattuor evangelia ante Hieronymum latine translata*, Oslo 1878; R. Gameson, *The Codex Aureus: An Eighth-Century Gospel Book*, Copenhagen 2002.

- b* 4 *Veronensis*, 5th century
 Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, VI
 Order of the Gospels: Matthew, John, Luke, Mark
 lacuna: Luke 19:26–21:9
 The first page of each Gospel is written in golden letters, the rest in silver; the marginal apparatus of Eusebius is also written in silver and golden letters; some abbreviations are of interest, such as the letters “M” and “N” or *dix(it)*, written above the line, sometimes further marked by a dot below the letter.
 The codex is considered the main witness for the Italian text of the Gospel of Luke, which Jerome used as his model in the revision of the Vulgate, and which probably used by Lucifer of Cagliari (no evidence for a², VL16; especially close relationship in the Gospel of Luke), Ambrose, and Ambrosiaster.⁶ The *Codex Veronensis* is connected with the *Codex Corbeiensis* (ff², VL8), *Codex Vindobonensis* (i, VL17), *Codex Rehdigeranus* (l, VL11), *Codex Monacensis* (q, VL13) and the *Codex Usserianus* (r¹, VL14) by numerous common readings, such as *ipsi iudices erunt vestri* (11:19), *ea quae possidet* (11:21), *colligit* (11:23), *loca quae non habent aquam* (11:24). In 1:1 *conati sunt*; 1:6 *iustificationibus*; 1:15 *coram domino*; 1:17 *ante illum*; 1:22 *quod*; 1:27 *domino* instead of *deo*; 1:72 *ad faciendam*; 1:77 *plebi*; 2:3 *singuli*; 2:15 *transeamus*; 2:26 *nisi prius*; 3:14 *concutiatis*; 3:18 *cum corriperetur*; 4:6 *ait*; 4:14 *uniuersam*; 5:12 *procidens*; 5:18 *portantes*; 5:33 *obsecrationes*; 6:18 *sanarentur*; 12:32 *pusillus grex*; 22:2 *uero*; reads with VL8 and A. In 13:16 the *Codex Veronensis* (b, VL4) reads *inclinare*, together with the Vulgate, the verb used by Caelius Aurelianus and Cassius Dio in describing epileptic seizures. In a few passages, such as 13:33, VL3, 4, 5, and 16 attempt to imitate the δεῖ – ἐνδέχεται construction of the Greek text. The Gospel of Luke as a whole is thought to have some proximity to Jerome’s Vulgate, but this is not the case in the parts of the text discussed here.
 E. S. Buchanan, *The Four Gospels from the Codex Veronensis (b)* (Old Latin Biblical Texts 6), Oxford 1911.
- c* 6 *Colbertinus*, 12th century
 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, latin 254 (Colb. 4051)
 Order of the manuscript: Matthew, Mark, Luke, John

6 GRYSO, Altlateinische Handschriften, 24.

Black ink with coloured ornaments and illustrations; each Gospel is introduced with a prologue and *capitula* and numbered in the marginalia based on the apparatus of Eusebius.

Numerous passages show older ‘Afra’ readings, such as in 11:14, where ἦν is translated with the perfect of the copula *esse* (also VL16). Some special readings found in c, VL6 are shared with a², VL16 such as *scitis* in 11:13 or *facultates eius* in 11:21. Particularly striking is 11:14; here only four Latin manuscripts (VL5, 6, 10, 16) attest to a longer version, extending the scenic introduction in v.14 and tracing the exposition of the exorcism from the parallel tradition. In a few places, moreover, a relationship with VL8 can be discerned, so that the European text is more prominent here, as can be seen in the resolution of the Latin diphthong in 11:14 *demonium* (VL6, 8, 13, 20, 45, 51, 61; see, for example 11:13: *bonum datum* VL4, 5, 6, 8). Additionally, according to Gryson, one finds a “gallische Deckschicht” shared with the *Codex Usserianus* (r¹, VL14), but this is not present in the *Vercellensis* Luke.⁷

J. Belsheim, *Codex Colbertinus Parisiensis: Quatuor Evangelia ante Hieronymum latine translata post editionem Petri Sabatier cum ipso códice collatam*, Christiana, 1888; J. Vogels, *Evangelium Colbertinum*, 2Bde. (Bonner Biblische Beiträge 4-5), Bonn 1953.

e-Codex: Bibl. nat. de France, Dép. des manuscrits, Lat. 254

- d 5 *Bezae Cantabrigiensis*, 4th–5th century
Cambridge, University Library, Nn. II. 41
Order of the Gospels: Matthew, John, Luke, Mark
The first three lines of each Gospel are written in red ink; copied about 400, possibly in Berytus.
The Latin text was initially corrected, resulting in bilingual additions; a later hand then adds entries in Greek only, such as content notes and liturgical references, including Eusebian section numbers. The codex closely resembles the *Codex Vercellensis* (a, VL3), the *Codex Palatinus* (e, VL2) and the *Fragments Curienensis*.
D.C. Parker, *Codex Bezae. An Early Manuscript and its Text*, Cambridge 1991; F. H. A. Scrivener, *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis*, Cambridge 1864; R.C. Stone, *The Language of the Latin Text of Codex Bezae*, Urbana, 2009; J.-M. Auwers, “Le Texte Latin des Évangiles dans le Codex de Bèze,” in: D.C. Parker, C.B. Amphoux, *Codex Bezae. Studies from the Lunel Colloquium*, June 1994, Leiden 1996, 183–216.
e-Codex: Cambridge University Library, MS Nn.2.41
- 8 27 *Sangallensis 48*, 9th century
St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 48
Order of the Gospels: Matthew, Mark, Luke, John
Greek-Latin bilingual manuscript with interlinear Latin reading; parchment with black letters; the manuscript contains the name Godescalc in the marginalia, as

⁷ GRYSO, *Altlateinische Handschriften*, 27; see also FISCHER, *Beiträge*, 200f.

well as an abbreviation for Sedulius. The Latin text is based on the vg^{oe} (11:12: *porri- get*; 11:19: *si autem*; 13:21: *sata tria*). In many places, the grammar conspicuously follows the Greek text because of the interlinear alignment. The Gospels are preceded by a poem by Hilary of Poitiers on the Gospels, along with tables of contents of the Gospels, a preface, and *capitula* before Matthew (f. 15ff.). Most overlapping readings for the chapters examined here are shared with *Codex Colbertinus* (c, VL6), as for example *alii autem* (11:16), *ipse dixit* (11:28), with the *Codex Bezae* (d, VL5), such as *numquid* (11:12) and *similabo* (13:18). Some readings are encountered in South Umbria as well, such as *in se ipso* (11:17 ar, VL15) and also in Ireland, for example *belzebug* (11:19 ar, VL61), *contra* and *ubi* (11:23; 13:28 d, VL5).

H. C. M. Rettig, *Antiquissimus quatuor evangeliorum canonicorum Codex Sangallensis, Graeco-Latinus interlinearis*, Zürich 1836; J. R. Rendel, *The Codex Sangallensis (Δ)*. A Study in the Text of the Old Latin Gospels, Cambridge, 1891; B. Bischoff, *Zur Rekonstruktion des Sangallensis (E) und der Vorlage seiner Marginalien*, *Biblica* 22 (1941) 147–158.

e 2 *Palatinus*, 4th century

Trient, Museo Nazionale (Castello del Buonconsiglio), 1589; a copy of the codex is preserved in the Bibliotheca Vallicelliana U. 66.

Order of the Gospels: Matthew, John, Luke, Mark

Purple parchment manuscript with silver and gold letters; of the Gospel of Luke, only 1:1–8:29; 8:49–11:3; 11:25–24:53 are extant. Houghton, referring to Augustine's *De doctrina*, points out that the highlighted first letters of each column are indicative of ancient book production.⁸

With regard to codicology, it appears that the manuscript is somewhat later than the *Codex Vercellensis* yet earlier than the *Fragmenta Curiensia*. The text is based on an 'Afra' base layer which shows proximity to Cyprian; proximity to the 'Afra' text type of the *Codex Colbertinus* (c, VL6) and *Fragmentum Carinthianum* (β, VL26) should also be emphasized. In addition to this 'Afra' basic layer, Thomas Bauer and Bonifatius Fischer posit a European layer assigned to the *Codex Corbeiensis secundus* (ff^c, VL8; especially 22:39–24:11);⁹ this thesis, however, cannot be confirmed for the chapters studied in our edition of the Gospel of Luke.¹⁰ Instead, readings shared with VL3, a and VL16, a² are found, especially in the common 13th chapter, such as *adsimilabo* (13:18, 20), *dixit* instead of *ait* (13:23), *operari* (13:26 VL5), *illic* (13:27), *oculorum* (13:28 VL16^{corr.}), *uulpi huic* (13:32). Some similarities with the *Codex Bezae* are also present (see, for example 13:17: *haec dicente eo om.*; 13:19:

⁸ HOUGHTON, *The Latin New Testament*, 43–44.

⁹ GRAYSON, *Altlateinische Handschriften*, 21; FISCHER, *Beiträge*, 198–201.

¹⁰ BAUER, *Vetus Latina – Lukasevangelium – Literatur*, 6; FISCHER, *Das Neue Testament in Lateinischer Sprache*, 32–33; no classification offered in HOUGHTON, *The Latin New Testament*, 210–211.

volatilia; 13:25: *ex quo*).¹¹ In the Synoptic Gospels, some readings agree with *De physicis* of Marius Victorinus.

C. Tischendorf, *Evangelium Palatinum ineditum*, Leipzig 1847; H. J. Vogels, *Evangelium Palatinum: Studien zur ältesten Geschichte der lateinischen Evangelienübersetzungen*, Münster 1926.

- f* 10 *Brixianus*, 6th century
Brescia, Biblioteca civica Queriniana, s. n. (‘Evangelario purpureo’)
Order of the Gospels: Matthew, John, Luke, Mark
Manuscript from the sixth century on purple parchment with golden letters in the first three lines of each gospel, then followed by silver letters; the liturgical numberings of Eusebius are found in the left margin; the *praefatio Sanctus Petrus apostolus* precedes the gospels and discusses the translations of the biblical texts with examples from Greek, Latin and Gothic.
The manuscript is a Latin-Gothic bilingue, the text of which is most closely related to the Vulgate (such as in 11:12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 19).¹²
J. Wordsworth, H. J. White, *Novum Testamentum Latine*, Oxford 1889.
- ff*^e 8 *Corbeiensis secundus*, 5th century
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, latin 17225 (Corb. 195)
Order of the gospels: Matthew, John, Luke, Mark
lacunae: Lk 9:48–10:20; 11:45–12:6.
A distinctive feature of the Gospel of is the anti-Marcionite preface that follows the *capitula*; the first line of each Gospel is written in red letters and numbered in the marginalia.¹³
The *Codex Corbeiensis secundus* is typically used in conjunction with the *Codex Veronensis* (b, VL4; here, for example 11:13: *bonum datum*; 11:15, 18, 19: *belzebul*; 11:20: *sed si* with VL8, 17; 11:24: *loca quae non habent aquam*; 11:25: *et ornata* with VL4, 17; 11:26: *peior prioris* with VL4, 17; 11:28: *ad eos* with VL4, 17) and the *Codex Vin-dobonensis* (i, VL17; see here 11:14: *dum eicit*; 11:15, 18: *principem*; 11:20: *profecto prouenit*). Together, these are taken as representative of the Italian text, the main type of European text.¹⁴ 8 17: 11:2 *pater sancte*; 13:27 *nescio unde sitis*; 18:8 *uidic-tam*; 18:13 *propitiare*; 18:31 *iherosolima*; 22:6 *murmurauerunt*; 22:20 *reposita in sudario*; 19:29 *bethaniae*; 19:44 *super*; 22:7 *cum futura erunt*; 22:11 *et temptates*; 22:23 *quae ubera dant*; 22:25 *benigni*. Gryson also sees an “eindeutige” affinity with *Codex*

¹¹ See already MIZZI, “The African Element in the Latin Text of Mt. XXIV of Cod. Cantabrigiensis,” 33–66.

¹² GRYSON, *Altlateinische Handschriften*, 32; FISCHER, *Beiträge*, 206.

¹³ Cf. VEZIN, “Les divisions du texte dans les Évangiles,” 53–68.

¹⁴ Cf. BAUER, “Vetus Latina – Lukasevangelium – Literatur,” 7; FISCHER, *Das Neue Testament in Lateinischer Sprache*, 34–36; GRYSON, *Altlateinische Handschriften*, 31–32. HOUGHTON, *The Latin New Testament*, 214 characterizes it as an Italian text of the late fourth century, which is quite close to the type of text on which Jerome based his revision.

Colbertinus (c, VL6), though this is not relevant to the present edition.¹⁵ Vulgate readings are found throughout, but especially in 11:12, 13, 16, 21, 27.

J. Belsheim, *Codex f² Corbeiensis siue quattuor euangelia ante Hieronymum latine translata*, Christiana 1887; E. S. Buchanan, *The Four Gospels from the Codex Corbeiensis (ff²)* (Old Latin Biblical Texts 5), Oxford 1907.

e-Codex: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 17225

- ^{g¹} 7 *Sangermanensis primus*, 8th century
 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, latin 11553
 Order of the gospels: Matthew, Mark, Luke, John
 The Gospel of Matthew offers an Old Latin base layer, the other Gospels likely followed the Vulgate, though admittedly also including Old Latin readings; *capitula* have survived for all four Gospels; the manuscript is written in a minuscule and was copied in the ninth century (probably 810) in St-Germain-des-Prés on parchment with black letters and a few ornaments. Especially in the marginalia we find abbreviations of letters such as ¶, the so-called Tironian *et*, and ÷ for *est*. Some Old Latin readings are found, especially in the Gospel of Luke, which should likely be attributed to the core group of the Italian text type, including the *Codex Veronensis* or the *Codex Corbeiensis secundus*. Some readings point to the Vulgate, admittedly with an impact on Old Latin manuscripts, such as *et admiratae sunt turbae* (11:14) or *ipsi iudices uestri erunt* (11:19).

Pierre Sabatier, *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae seu Vetus Italica. Tomus Tertius*. Reims 1743 = Brepols 1976.

e-Codex: Bibl.nat. de France, Départ. des manuscrits, Lat. 11553.

- ^{g²} 29 *Sangermanensis secundus*, 10th century
 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, latin 13169
 Order of the Gospels: Matthew, Mark, Luke, John
 Parchment with black letters and colorful illuminations; copied in Brittany in the 10th century. In a Carolingian minuscule script, but with capitals in Matt1:18 and Luke 1:5; the Gospels are preceded by *Novum opus, Sciendum etiam, Plures fuisse, argumentum* and *capitula* for the Gospel of Matthew. These are missing for the other Gospels, although space has been reserved for this purpose; chapter- and pericope-divisions and markings are present in the marginalia.
 The text is often associated with a group of Gospels to which the Oxford Vulgate assigns the siglum DELQR: the *Liber Ardmachanus* (ar, 61), the Egerton Evangelien (vg^{oe}E; 609 British Library), the Liechfield Evangelien (vg^{oe}L), the *Cenannensis* (vg^oQ) and the Rushworth/Mac Regol Evangelien (vg^{oe}R).¹⁶ These share characteristics of Irish orthography, such as *bt* for *pt*. The text is mixed with insular characteristics. In addition, there are numerous Vulgate readings, such as *spiritum bonum*

¹⁵ GRYSON, *Altlateinische Handschriften*, 31.

¹⁶ HORTON, *The earliest Gospels*, 100; BERGER, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, 48.

(11:13), *beelzebub* (11:15, 18, 19), *erant* (13:30). Readings which first appear in the *Fragmenta Curiensia* and were then incorporated into the Vulgate from the early Italian text are also present, such as *daemonium* (11:14), *dicitis ... eicere* (11:18).

Pierre Sabatier, *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae seu Vetus Italica. Tomus Tertius*. Reims 1743 = Turnhout 1976.

e-Codex: Bibl.nat. de France, Départ. Des manuscrits, Lat. 13169.

gat 30 *Gatianus*, 8th century

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, nouv. Acq. Latin 1587

Order of the Gospels: Matthew, Mark, Luke, John

Copied in Brittany about 800 in a Celtic semi-uncial script on parchment with black letters and yellow and red ornamentation; the apparatus of Eusebius is found in the marginalia in red and white letters.

The text is mixed but clearly tends toward the Vulgate (see 11:14: *et admiratae sunt turbae*; 11:22: *aufert*). Nevertheless, some readings are shared with the *Codex Bezae*, such as 20:26 *responsione*; 22:22 *filius hominis traditur*.

The codex has some readings in common with the *Codex Ardmachanus* (ar, VL61) and the *Codex Aureus Holmiensis* (aur, VL15), as well as with the *Codex Amiatinus* (21:30 *similiter et secundus*; 22:8 *appropinquavit*). These commonalities may go back to the Egerton Gospels, but this cannot be proven (see 11:15: *belzebub*; 11:16: *diuissum*; 11:18, 19: *belzebub*; 13:18: *aestimabo*; 13:19: *missit*). Special readings can be found, including, for example, in 21:23 *praessura magna super terra*; 21:34 *grauetur cor uestrum*; 22:6 *paschae in quo necesse erat immolari pascha*; 22:31 *simoni petro*; 22:47 *appropinquavit*.

There are also two readings otherwise known from the *Fragmenta Curiensia*, as in *principe* (11:15), *aduersus* (11:23).

Pierre Sabatier, *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae seu Vetus Italica. Tomus Tertius*. Reims 1743 = Turnhout 1976. J.M. Heer, *Evangelium Gatianum*, Freiburg 1910.

e-Codex: Bibl.nat. de France, Départ. des manuscrits, NAL 1587.

gig 51 *Gigas*, 13th century

Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, A 148

Order of the Gospels: Matthew, Mark, Luke, John

A large format manuscript in a Carolingian minuscule with numerous abbreviations and other decorative elements and illuminations; the codex has become famous because of an illustration of the devil on leaf 289r; copied probably in the Benedictine monastery of Podlažice in Bohemia. In addition to writings by Isidore of Seville and Flavius Josephus, the manuscript contains the entire text of the Bible, largely according to the Vulgate. Nevertheless, several variants typical of early Latin translations are found in Luke, such as *omnes turbe stupuerunt* (11:14; *admiratae sunt turbae* vg), *quidam autem ex phariseis dixerunt* (11:15; *ex eis* vg), *quod si ego in beelzebub eicio* (11:19; *si autem ego in beelzebub eicio* vg), *et qui non colligit mecum spargit* (11:23; *dispergit* vg), *ambulat per loca quae non habent aquam* (11:24; *perambulatur per loca inaquosa* vg), *per angustum ostium* (13:24; *per angustam*

portam vg) or *recumbent in regno dei* (13:29; *accumbent in regno dei* vg). These variants show close correspondence with the late European text, such as with the *Codex Veronensis* (b, VL4), the *Codex Corbeiensis secundus* (ff², VL8) and the *Codex Vindobonensis* (i, VL17).

Acts and Revelation only: J. Belsheim, *Apostlarnes Gjærninger og Aabenbaringen i gammel latinsk Oversættelse efter det store Haandskrift „Gigas librorum“ i det kgl. Bibliothek i Stockholm, Oslo 1879.*

- h* 12 *Codex Claromontanus*, 7th century
 Vatikan; Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatic. Lat 7223
 Order of the Gospels: Matthew, John, Mark, Luke
 Uncial script on parchment with black letters; only the Gospel of Matthew is based on an Old Latin text belonging to the early Italian tradition and preceding the Vulgate¹⁷; the manuscript of the Gospel of Luke is based on a Vulgate text and is considered here only when the manuscript suggests a special reading which may be interpreted as an Old Latin reading.
- J. Belsheim, *Evangelium secundum Mattheum ante Hieronymum latine translatum e codice olim Claromontano nunc Vaticano, Christiana 1892. F. Crawford Burkitt, On Codex Claromontanus (h), JThS 4 (1903) 587–588.*
- i* 17 *Vindobonensis*, 5th century
 Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, lat. 3
 Probable order of the Gospels: Matthew, John, Luke, Mark
 Purple parchment with silver letters and golden nomina sacra; copied at the end of the fifth century; of the Gospel of Luke, only 10:6–14:22; 14:29–16:4; 16:11–23:10 are preserved.
- The text is old Latin and belongs to the core group of the Italian text type, along with the *Codex Veronensis* b, VL4 (see e.g. 10:20: *subiecti sunt*; 11:13: *bonum datum*; 11:18: *in principem*; 11:20: *sed si*; 11:26: *peior prioris*; 12:10 *eis*; 12:28 *modicae*; 13:17: *praeclariis*; 15:15 *uilla sua*; 17:2 *imponatur*; 19:7 *deuertit*) and the *Codex Corbeiensis secundus* ff², VL8 (10:31 *sacerdo autem*; 11:12: *porrigit*; 11:14: *dum eicit*; 11:15: *phariseis*; 11:18: *dicitis quoniam ... eicio*; 11:20: *profecto prouenit*; 19:6 *murmurerunt*; 19:17: *serue bone*; 20:9 *hanc parabolam*; 21:6 *hic in parietem*; 21:7 *cum futura erunt*; 21:11: *et tempestas*; 22:25 *benigni*). Some of its readings are first attested in the *Fragmenta Curiensia* (11:14: *fuit*; 11:15.18.19: *beelzebul*; 11:19: *quod si a² f ff² i q l r¹ gig*; 11:24: *immundus*; 11:26: *inhabitant*; 13:24: *ostium*).
- J. Belsheim, *Codex Vindobonensis membraneus purpureus, Leipzig 1885*; J. Bick, *Wiener Palimpseste, I. Teil: Cod. Palat. Vindobonensis 16, olim Bobbiensis, Wien 1908.*
- l* 11 *Rehdigeranus*, 8th century
 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Depot Breslau 5

17 HOUGHTON, *The Latin New Testament*, 46.

Order of the Gospels: Matthew, Mark, Luke, John

Parchment with black letters; lacuna in Luke 11:28–37; copied in the early eighth century in northern Italy; chapter numbers throughout in the left margin; before the Gospel of Luke there is a prologue as well as *capitula*. The text is especially significant as a representative of the Old Latin text of Luke with an impact on the core group of Italian text manuscripts from the fourth century, but especially the *Codex Veronensis* (b, VL4; 11:15: *pharisaeis*; 11,18: *belzebul*; 11:26: *ingressus*) and the *Codex Corbeiensis secundus* (ff², VL8; 11:13: *bonum datum*; 11:19: *fili*; 11:19: *ipsi iudices erunt uestri*; 11:23: *spargit*; 11,24: *loca quae non habent aquam*). Bauer also suspects an influence of the *Codex Monacensis* (q, VL13; 13:17: *praeclaris quae uiderant fieri*), which can only be found once in the present text. In addition, here again we find readings that first appear in *Fragmenta Curiensia* (11:11: *pisces*; 11:12: *porrigit*; 11:14: *illut*; 11:14: *fuit*; 11:15: *beelzebul*; 11:23: *aduersus*; 13:24: *poterint*).

H. J. Vogels, *Codex Rehdigeranus: Die vier Evangelien nach der lateinischen Handschrift R 169 der Stadtbibliothek Breslau* (Collectanea Biblica Latina 2), Rome 1913.

- μ 35 *Liber Moliensis (Book of Mulling)*, 8th century
 Dublin, Trinity College, MS 60
 Order of the Gospels: Matthew, Mark, Luke, John
 Parchment with black letters.
 The text is based on an Irish text type, but it reveals an Old Latin base layer in Luke 4-9. A blueprint of Tech-Moling Abbey (St Mullin) is added at the end of the Gospels.
 In addition to some Old Latin and European readings, for which the *Codex Veronensis* (b, VL4) and the *Codex Corbeiensis secundus* (ff², VL8) are basic (see, for example 11:14: *demonium*; 11:25: *et ornatam*; 11:28: *ad eos*; 13:18: *estimabo*), there are numerous Vulgate readings, as well as readings which connect the codex with the *Codex Aureus Holmiensis* (aur, VL15) and the *Codex Ardmachanus* (ar, VL61; 11:12: *porreget*; 11:13: *bona*; 11:15: *fariseis*; 11:20: *si autem*; 11:21: *possedet*; 11:23: *collegit*; 13,30: *erant*). These similarities may go back to the Egerton Gospels, but this cannot be proven.
 P. Doyle, *The Text of Luke's Gospel in the Book of Mulling*, *PRIA* 73 (1972): 177–200.
 e-Codex: MS 40618 British Library; edition of some sections can be found in Hugh Jackson Lawlor, *Chapters of the Book of Mulling*, Edinburgh 1897.
- p 54 *Perpinianensis*, 12th century
 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 321
 Order of the Gospels: Matthew, Mark, Luke, John
 Minuscule manuscript copied in the second half of the 12th century on parchment with black letters. The text is mixed with close proximity to the Vulgate, but some readings date back to the fifth century (vg 11:15.18.19: *beelzebul*). A number of readings attest to the monophthongization of the classical diphthong, such as 11:13.16: *celo* or 11:14: *demonium*.
 The manuscript is listed in the *Vetus Latina* catalog and is thus also included here.
 e-Codex: Bibl. nat. de France, Dép. des manuscrits, Lat. 321.

- q 13 *Monacensis*, 6th century
 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6224
 Order of the Gospels: Matthew, John, Luke, Mark
 Parchment manuscript with black letters and colorful illuminations; two lacunae in Luke 23:23–35 and 24:11–39; presence of lectionaries in cursive script, only inserted in the seventh century in northern Italy.¹⁸ The *Codex Monacensis* is based on an Old Latin text layer of the European type, resembling the *Codex Veronensis* (b, 4), as may be shown by numerous passages such as 11:18: *dicitis quoniam ... eicio*; 11:18: *in principem*; 11:25: *et ornatam*; 11,28: *ad eos* or also 13:25: *ex quo*. According to Fischer and Bauer, the manuscript is representative of the European text together with the *Codex Rehdigeranus* (l, VL11); some passages in chapters 11 and 13 may support this interpretation (11:15, 18, 19: *beelzebul*; 11:16: *alii autem*; 11:23: *aduersus*; 11:23: *spargit*; 13:17: *praeclaris quae uiderant fieri*; 13:25: *estis*). The manuscript also shows similarities with the *Codex Corbeiensis* (ff², VL8) and the *Codex Colbertinus* (c, VL6), as can be seen, for example, in the 11:16 reading *celo* and in the 11:16 reading *querebant*.
- H. J. White, *The Four Gospels from the Munich Ms. Q, now numbered Lat. 6224 in the Royal Library at Munich (Old Latin Biblical texts 3)*, Oxford 1888.
- e-Codex: *Evangeliar* (*Codex Valerianus*) – BSB Clm 6224
- r^l 14 *Usserianus primus*, 6th or 7th century
 Dublin, Trinity College, MS 55
 Order of the Gospels: Matthew, John, Luke, Mark
 Parchment with black letters in an Irish semi-uncial script; characterized by the list of Hebrew names before the Gospel of Luke; the marginalia are not preserved, so that one cannot detect the Eusebian apparatus with certainty; the Gospels are subdivided according to chapters, and the first line is written, here as elsewhere, in colored letters; the Gospel of Luke begins with *κατά* and not *secundum*. The text is based on the Old Latin *Codex Veronensis* (b, VL4); shared readings are found, for example, in 11:11: *porrigit ei*; 11:13: *bonum datum*; 11:17: *cadit*; 11:18: *dicitis quoniam ... eicio*; 11:15, 18, 19: *belzebul*; 11:18: *in principem*; 11:24: *loca quae non habent aquam*.¹⁹
- At the same time, in some special readings, the manuscript resembles the Gallo-Irish group. According to Bauer, the presence of a European text type cover layer comparable to the *Codex Carinthianum* (β, VL26) may be detected. Moreover, the proximity to the text of the *Codex Vercellensis* and the *Fragmenta Curiensia* is remarkable; this is especially evident from readings that are preserved only in these two text types, such as 11:13: *cum eiceret*; 11:15: *illis*; 11:22: *illius*; 11:26:

18 Cf. BRUYNE, *Notes sur le manuscrit 6224 de Munich*, 75–80.

19 FISCHER, “Das Neue Testament in Lateinischer Sprache,” 82; GRYSOON, *Altlateinische Handschriften*, 37.

*intrans.*²⁰ Some readings also survive in other manuscripts with an Old Latin base layer, such as 11:12: *porrigit*; 11:13: *daemonium*; 11:21: *domum suam*; 13:24: *ostium*; 13:29: *discumbent* VL 3, 10, 14, 16. In addition, readings of the Vulgate text tradition are present, especially in chapter 11 (11:20: *profecto praeuenit*).²¹

T. K. Abbott, *Evangeliorum versio antehieronymiana ex codice Usseriano (Dublinensi) adiecta collatione codicis Usseriani alterius*, Dublin 1884.

e-Codex: Dublin, Trinity College – IE TCD MS 55

²⁰ This observation is usually missing from survey works published thus far.

²¹ This pattern of resemblances has also gone unnoticed in the survey works.

Abbreviations and Symbols

]	single square bracket in the apparatus: separates the reading present in the text from the readings of other Old Latin manuscripts
< ... >	<i>addendum</i> , encloses letters or words that have been added by the editors
{...}	<i>delendum</i> , encloses letters or words that should be deleted
[...]	encloses letters or words that have been lost through damage to the parchment
[[...]]	encloses letters or words that have been deleted by the ancient scribe
† ... †	<i>locus sesperatus</i> , encloses words that are corrupt
ạ	a dot below a letter marks faint traces of ink whose reading is uncertain
à	<i>expunctum</i> (dot above a letter) marks letters corrected by the scribe
a.r.	<i>ante rasuram</i> (written before an erasure)
lac.	marks a <i>lacuna</i> in the manuscript
ras.	<i>sub rasura</i> , marks text which has been scraped off in the manuscript
om.	<i>omittit</i> , marks letter, words or verses which are missing in the manuscript
VL	Vetus Latina

Preface

The present study has its origin in two kinds of intellectual curiosity.

One kind of curiosity concerned the possibility of reading a manuscript which has been multi-spectrally imaged and processed using Raman Spectroscopy. Dating most likely to the end of the first half of the fourth century, the *Codex Vercellensis* is a paginated (rather than foliated) manuscript consisting of 634 pages, with two columns to the page, preserved as disbound bifolia in the Archivio Capitolare di Vercelli. Many of the leaves have suffered irreparable damage ranging from the decay of the centers of the bifolia (leaving intact only the head and a corona of individual letters along parts of the margins) to the deterioration of the page as a whole, resulting in the fading of the text. In light of the state of the manuscript, one is justified in asking whether a fresh interpretation of its text is at all possible. This question is made all the more acute by the existence of 18th century editions made while the manuscript was still in a better condition.

In 2014, the *Codex Vercellensis* was imaged multi-spectrally in its entirety by the Lazarus Project with the collaboration of the early Manuscript Electronic Library (EMEL), a team of scientists and scholars headed by Prof. Dr. Gregory Heyworth of the University of Rochester. The team, consisting of imaging scientists Dr. Roger Easton (Rochester Institute of Technology), Dr. Keith Knox and Ken Boydston (Megavision Ltd.), as well as Michael Phelps (EMEL), Heyworth, and students from the University of Mississippi, deployed a portable MSI imaging system in the Archivio Capitolare di Vercelli. Functioning in three modes – reflectance, fluorescence, and transmission – the system was equipped with narrow-band sets of LEDs in 12 wavelengths ranging from the UV at 365nm to the near infrared at 940nm. Furthermore, the system incorporated the then-unique transmissive illuminating sheet designed to project light through the leaves from below and operating in four bands, green (535nm), red (635), and two varieties of infrared (870 and 940nm). All 318 bifolia were captured in a total of 30 bands (including fluorescence) per side, at a resolution of 700 ppi, producing a set of multispectral images along with highly accurate 8-band colour images. These were subsequently processed by Keith Knox and Roger Easton using deterministic and statistical algorithms.

We owe the new (special) readings of the manuscript almost entirely to these multi-spectral images. The findings may be illustrated using Luke 11:11–12 (420b) as an example:



Figure 1: UV-image



Figure 2: TX-image



Figure 3: VIS-image

A visit to Vercelli also provided the opportunity to compare the manuscript with the existing MSI-images, which in turn allowed us to verify the results gained from new, multi-spectral images. In this context, we were also able to detect further readings. While this initial imaging, along with the autopsy of the handwriting, proved exceedingly helpful, a second round of investigations subsequently performed was less fruitful. In accessing manuscripts other than the *Codex Vercellensis*, we have relied on the digitized copies available to us. The one exception was the *Codex Veronensis* (b, VL4), whose digitized copies are not particularly useful; in

this case, we resorted to the old edition by Edgar Simmons Buchanan, *The Four Gospels from the Codex Veronensis* (Oxford 1911).¹

In 2007, a team of Italian scientists led by Maurizio Aceto of the University of Eastern Piedmont performed material analysis on the inks and pigments of the *Codex Vercellensis* using Raman Spectroscopy and X-ray fluorescence (XRF). The objective was to identify the type and number of inks and pigments used, which would in turn help verify the primary character of an earlier hand present in the majority of the manuscripts from what were suspected to be one or more later interpolations.

Raman Spectroscopy exploits the fact that light refracts off and is absorbed by various substances in a pattern of wavelengths chemically unique to that substance or compound. In this process, light emitted from a high intensity laser refracts off ink or pigment, a portion of which produces a spectral fingerprint measurable by a spectrophotometer, which in turn detects a chemical histogram that can be matched to histograms of known substances. This technique is used especially for organic compounds such as inks and dyes made from plants. The XRF technique, on the other hand, uses X-rays to cause materials to fluoresce in a unique pattern of wavelengths. Unlike Raman Spectroscopy, XRF is especially useful for measuring the amounts of various types of metals, including those occurring in ink (e.g., iron, copper, zinc), as well as those found in parchment (calcium). When used for material analysis, both methods measure individual points or a series of points. Having taken Raman and XRF measurements on several folios, Aceto confirmed that the primary ink of the *Codex Vercellensis* is iron gall; the ink used on pages 1–2 and 634–635, however, turned out to be different, namely iron gall mixed with carbon, and to resemble the marginalia found on several leaves. The red pigment, meanwhile, could be distinguished into two types, cinnabar and minium.² Unfortunately, the result is not very helpful, since the difference between the first and last pages from the rest of the manuscript is immediately visible based on the writing, which likely belongs to the fifth century. In this context, closer focus on the paratexts would certainly have been helpful, as would the study random samples taken from different places in the Gospels conducted to verify that the ink is indeed always of the same consistency.

At the same time, our study was equally driven by another kind of curiosity, namely the interest in investigating the character of the Latin used in the *Codex Vercellensis* Gospel of Luke. Already in our work on the *Fragmenta Curiensia*, we

1 The MSI-images to be produced under the direction of Winfried Rudolf and Alexander J. Zawacki and to be edited by Annette Weissenrieder are of great importance.

2 See ACETO ET AL., “The Vercelli Gospels laid open,” 286–292.

were perplexed by the dissonance which emerged as we worked on the text: while the secondary literature unanimously and emphatically advances a particular theory of the textual history of the *Codex Vercellensis*, very little evidence in support of this theory is given, and the scholarship falls far short of that dedicated to, for instance, the *Codex Palatinus*. Again and again, one reads that the text of the *Codex Vercellensis* Gospel of Luke exhibits an “Italian influence” and that the Latin text of *Codex Bezae* may be classified as “zwischen dem *Codex Palatinus* und dem *Codex Vercellensis*.”³ How should we imagine the process of translation into Latin? On the face of it, the first Latin Bible translations are found in references made by Tertullian and Cyprian, both from Carthage, in the Roman province of Africa. Others continued their work in the next two centuries, and numerous sources show that biblical books were already available in Latin at this time, being used in churches for worship or read in the houses of church members. As Christianity spread throughout the Roman Empire, translations into Latin gained more ground, first in North Africa and then in Italy, as it is evident from the works of Cyprian, who corresponded with Roman clergy, and especially with the presbyter Novatian, whose biblical references in turn resemble the *Codex Vercellensis*.⁴ This project was also continued by Marius Victorinus, Fortunatianus, bishop of Aquileia, Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, and Augustine of Hippo, the author of *De doctrina Christiana*, which describes biblical texts in Latin using the term *Itala*.⁵ Investigations of word use and method of translation conducted in the 19th century⁶ were able to identify two primary groups of the Old Latin Bible texts, an ‘African’ or ‘Afra’ text type and an ‘European’ text type.⁷ However, recent research has demonstrated that the period during which Latin translations began to spread around the Christian world was long enough to allow many mutual influences and various interactions between the different traditions, so that it is difficult to achieve a rigid classification of the text families. This is especially true when we consider some manuscripts, such as the *Codex Palatinus* (e, VL2), which follows the ‘Afra’ recension also discernible in John

3 BAUER, “Der Codex Bezae und der lateinische Text der lukanischen Cantica,” 108; see also HOUGHTON, *The Latin New Testament*, 211; GRYSO, *altlateinische Handschriften* 1, 23.

4 MATTEI, “Recherches sur la Bible à Rome vers le milieu du III^e siècle,” 255–279.

5 Aug. *De doctrina Christiana* 2.15.22: *in ipsis autem interpretationibus, Itala ceteris praeferatur; nam est uerborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiae*. On the term *Itala*, see BURTON, “The Latin Version of the New Testament,” 168; HOUGHTON, *The Latin New Testament*, 15.

6 VON SODEN, *Das lateinische Neue Testament in Afrika zur Zeit Cyprians*; SANDAY, *Studia Biblica*, 234–239.

7 The terms ‘Afra’ and ‘European’ text are very misleading but are still standard in the literature on the Old Latin Bible.

Cyprian,⁸ or the *Codex Brixianus* (f, VL10) and *Monacensis* (q, VL13), which contain a mixed text often resembling the Vulgate.⁹ Despite all this, in the ideal case, a direct comparison between the manuscripts on the one hand and Bible quotations found in the Church Fathers on the other allows us to try and determine the time and place of the translation. The ‘Europeanisation’ of the text of the Bible might have begun with Cyprian and continued with Hilary of Poitiers and Ambrose of Milan. In our view, whether variations in the texts of both types not attested in the Church Fathers should be taken into account is still an open question. The two textual layers are distinguished by the later use of specifically ‘Christian’ terms, such as *baptizare*, ‘to dip in water’ instead of *tingere*, ‘to dye, make wet’.¹⁰ The ‘Afra’ substrate cannot, however, be reconstructed mechanically. One approach to disentangling the ‘Afra’ from the ‘European’ text involves taking the Vulgate and other European text forms as the basis of comparison, since later manuscripts, mostly from the sixth century and from several geographic regions, exhibit an amalgam of the ‘Afra’ and ‘European’ traditions.¹¹

The text of *Codex Vercellensis* itself – despite a few elements it has in common with later Italian texts – transmits several typical ‘Afra’ readings, that is, older variants reflecting the first attempts at translation. For instance, the manuscript often translates ὅτι with *quoniam* instead of with *quia* or *quod* (a total of 138 cases against 71 in the younger *Codex Veronensis*, normally regarded as a prototype of the “Itala” version). For the adverb ἐκεῖ, it tends to choose *illic* rather than *ibi* (Matt 25:30; Luke 13:2). It renders ἐπισυνάγειν as *colligere* rather than *congregare* (Mark 13:27), θλίψις as *praessura* (sic) rather than *tribulatio* (Matt 13:24), and πονηρός (adjective) as *nequam* rather than *malus* (Luke 6:45). The list could be extended farther, but we must also note that these earlier, so-called ‘Afra’ readings coexist with the subsequent ‘European’ textual variants, and that they are especially frequent in the Gospel of Luke. However, independent of its assessment as ‘Afra’ or ‘European’ text, the *Codex Vercellensis* exhibits many peculiarities of spelling, morphology, and syntax which give it a special place in the tradition of early Latin translations of the Bible. Over the course of our study, we will show just how important the manuscript is both for textual criticism of the New Testament and for the history of the Latin language.

8 HOUGHTON, *The Latin New Testament*, 211.

9 HOUGHTON, *The Latin New Testament*, 211; 216; 218.

10 For further details, see the excellent book by BURTON, *The Old Latin Gospels*.

11 For further examples, see BURTON, *The Old Latin Gospels*.

1 The Manuscript of the *Codex Vercellensis*

1.1 Introduction

The *Codex Vercellensis* (a, VL3) is considered to be the oldest surviving manuscript of the Latin Gospels. Hagiographical accounts from the seventh and eighth century¹ credit its composition to Eusebius († 371), the first bishop of Vercelli in Northern Italy. However, this late tradition has raised some doubts: pious stories about saints tend to exaggerate biographical details, so that there is no factual basis to support the claim that the Gospels of Vercelli were in fact translated by Eusebius.² If, however, the translation was indeed made during Eusebius' tenure as bishop of Vercelli, this could have happened either before 355 – the year in which Eusebius was exiled by Emperor Constantius II after refusing to sign the synod of Milan condemnation of Athanasius – or after 361, when Emperor Julian's ascent to the throne allowed Eusebius to return to Vercelli.

The story is further complicated by the fact that we do not find indication of any other manuscripts, originating from Vercelli in this period, which suggests that the codex was not produced in Vercelli.³ The *Fragmenta Curiensia* (a², VL16) is the only manuscript whose direct dependence to the *Codex Vercellensis* can be proven. Nonetheless, the manuscript is still traceable to the middle of the fourth century, a dating which is also plausible from a paleographical and codicological point of view. While we can be certain that both manuscripts were written in Italy, much else remains unclear. Paleographic and linguistic comparisons with other Old Latin manuscripts reveal a proximity to the *Codices Palatinus* (VL2) and *Bezae* (VL5), the details of which will be discussed in chapter 4.

1 Cf. UGHELLI, *Vita antiqua* 4, 754: *Pugnabat autem contra immanissimas bestias Ariomanitas, qui eum expulerunt de ciuitate, persecutione populi contra eum excitata: at ille ne populus in eum peccaret, quos postea delectabatur habere filios, sciens scriptum: Si uos persecuti fuerint in una ciuitate, fugite in aliam; ultra flumen Padum transiit, et ad castrum quod dicitur Credonensium perueniens, ibi tribus mensibus degens, in honorem B. Dei genitricis construxit Oratorium; ubi etiam adhuc longius degens Euangelium Christi propria manu scripsit; cuius miraculum in eodem codice 4. Euangeliorum, non solum uerbis Christi, sed et eiusdem Patris tanta uirtus coruscat, ut si aliquis seductus a Diabolo, falsum super eum sacramentum fecerit, citius super eum plaga corporis ostenditur; ita ut aut morte mulctetur, aut perditis oculis spirituale, et corporale lumen amittat, aut ariditate membrorum mancus uel claudus efficiatur, aut inuasionem Daemonum pene usque ad exitum dilanietur.*

2 For further discussion, see LEVINE, "Evidence for Calligraphic Activity in Vercelli," 564–567.

3 Cf. LEVINE, "Evidence for Calligraphic Activity in Vercelli," 561–581.

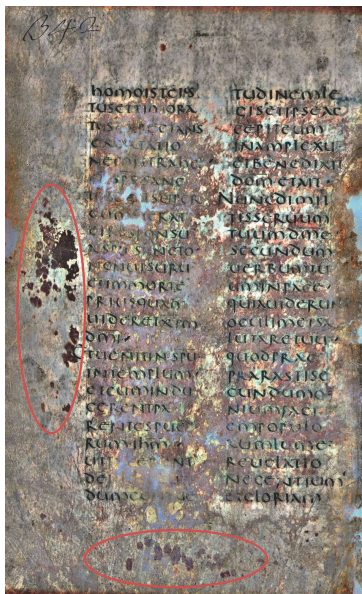


Figure 1.1: Purple blotches on a leaf of the manuscript, indicating a fungal infection with aspergillus.

1.2 Current State

By any standards, the *Codex Vercellensis* is in poor condition. The writing is faded throughout, and in many places the iron gall ink has thinned the parchment and chemically degraded to the point of invisibility. On some folios, the vitriol in the ink has etched deeply enough into the substrate to leave a few letters visible in relief, but mostly it has caused parts of the pages to crumble away, leaving various lacunae. Furthermore, the parchment has decayed due to humidity, water stains, and mold, as well as one particularly interesting pathology represented by purple blotches frequently appearing in the margins as well as in the text block. These blemishes are namely indicative of a fungal infection with aspergillus, a fungus most likely transmitted to the parchment by liturgical use and in the swearing of oaths, when people affected by aspergillosis – a lung infection common in those suffering from tuberculosis – touched and kissed the manuscript, leaving traces of sputum which grew in the humid storage conditions;⁴ this in turn provides evidence that the *Codex Vercellensis* had the status of a holy relic and was used accordingly.

⁴ For the pathological condition and its influence on old manuscripts, see POLACHECK ET AL., “Damage to an ancient parchment manuscript by *Aspergillus*,” 89–93.

Moreover, there are several missing leaves, three of them from the Gospel of Luke: 11:14–26 (one leaf); 12:38–13:1 (two leaves). Since the page numbers added in the 18th century are continuous, this shows that the leaves were already missing at the time of pagination. It was probably one of these missing folios that Agostino Ferrero, Bishop of Vercelli, presented as a relic of Eusebius to some envoys from Switzerland in 1515.⁵ The record mentions two *oratores*, D. Iacobus Cistercien and D. Petrus Ebult de Salus, from the diocese of Lausanne. The patron of the church in Salus was St. Eusebius, and the envoys accordingly expressed a great desire to take back with them one leaf of the Gospels believed to have been written by the saint.

In 1908, Franz Ehrle, the famed conservator at the Vatican Library, took steps to prevent the further decay, disbinding the manuscript and encasing the bifolia in clear gelatin which prevented bacterial and fungal growth and held the fragile leaves together.⁶ In 2014, Gregory Heyworth of the Lazarus Project produced multi-spectral images of the complete manuscript, the processed versions of which form the basis of our study.⁷ The method used to recover illegible text involves digital photography in multiple wavelengths of light (MSI), both visible and invisible, ranging from the ultraviolet to the infrared. In this case, imaging was conducted using 12 wavelengths, from ultraviolet at 365nm to infrared at 940nm, in three modes – reflectance, fluorescence, and transmission – yielding a set of raw images that enhanced the contrast between the faded text and the parchment. These raw images were then processed by Keith Knox using deterministic models to bring out both faded and invisible text. The result are pseudo-colour images which reveal details of codicological and paleographic interest and allow a new analysis of the manuscript's language and textual peculiarities.

1.3 Codicological Description

The manuscript consists of 634 extant pages, measuring 25.5 cm by 16 cm on average, with the writing occupying an average area of 19.5 by 12 cm. The text is divided into two parallel columns, each with 24 lines. This page layout shares significant similarities with that of the *Fragmenta Sangallensia* (n, o, VL16) and *Curiensia* (a²,

5 Cf. GARLANDA, “Evangelionario eusebiano,” 39. Therefore, not in 1575, as stated in GASQUET, *Codex Vercellensis*, xiv.

6 Cf. GARLANDA, “Il restauro del Codex Vercellensis Evangeliorum nel primo Novecento,” 131–151. For the edition of the text by Gasquet based on the restored parchment, see chap. 2.3.

7 On multispectral imaging of ancient manuscripts, see DAVIES, ZAWACKI, “Making Light Work: Manuscripts and Multispectral Imaging,” 183–199.

VL16) whose texts are – to a greater or lesser extent – related to the *Codex Vercellensis*.⁸



Figure 1.2: *Fragmenta Curiensia* (f. 1) and *Codex Vercellensis* (p. 342).

The four Gospels appear in the Western order (Matthew, John, Luke, and Mark), as in other Latin manuscripts of this period,⁹ and their titles are written in smaller letters at the top of each page, centered between the columns: on the left-hand page, we read *secundum*, *secund.*, and, in the Gospel of Luke, *sec.*; on the right-hand page, *mattheum*, *iohannem* but also *iohannem*, *lucanum*, and *marcum*. There are a few pages on which the names of the evangelists were abbreviated: in the Gospel of Luke, we find *lucan* for *lucanum* only on page 327. Another irregularity in the running titles can be observed on page 331, where the scribe wrote *mattheum* instead

⁸ For a detailed discussion on the relation between the three manuscripts, see WEISSENIEDER, VISINONI, “*Fragmenta Curiensia*,” 23–30.

⁹ For example, codices *Palatinus* (VL2), *Veronensis* (VL4) or *Bezae* (VL5).

of *lucanum*. The ink used is dark, though not black, as often claimed,¹⁰ but rather brownish, apart from the first three lines and the excipits of each Gospel, which are written in red.



Figure 1.3: Running title *mattheum* instead of *lucanum* (p. 331).

There are not many corrections of any kind. Letters accidentally left out or insertions of longer text passages are found written in smaller uncials between the lines,¹¹ in rare instances at the lower margins, with the omission signs *hd* (*hic deorsum* for “here, look downwards”) at the place of the missing passage and *hs* (*hic sursum* for “here, look upwards”) above the addendum;¹² these signs are typical of early Italian manuscripts and can also be observed in the *Fragmenta Curiensia*. Minor scribal errors which may be ignored are marked by placing a common *expunctum* over the letters¹³ or simply by crossing them out;¹⁴ sometimes, both devices are used.¹⁵ In addition, at least two errors were mechanically deleted by scraping the parchment (*rasura*).¹⁶ An interesting indication of the work of later correctors is found at the bottom of page 65 in Matt, where the remark *usque hoc ego esemendau*, “I have corrected up to here,” is written in cursive letters.

¹⁰ Cf. HOUGHTON, *The Latin New Testament*, 211.

¹¹ See, e. g., p. 376^a, l. 10–11: (*ec*)*ce in oculo tuo tra(bes)*.

¹² See, e. g., p. 519^b: *ardens in uia cum adaperiebat nobis*. Cf. LOWE, “The Oldest Omission Signs in Latin Manuscripts,” 36–79.

¹³ See, e. g., p. 388^b, l. 22–23: *interrogabatnt to interrogabant*.

¹⁴ See, e. g., p. 387^b, l. 13: *macdalelne to macdalene*.

¹⁵ See, e. g., p. 362^b, l. 4: *sociis to socii*.

¹⁶ See p. 456^a, l. 15–16: *qui di Dimissam to qui dimissam*; p. 453^a, l. 17: *amotuos to amotus*, even if the unnecessary *o* was also deleted through *expunctum*. In the case of p. 342^b, l. 16–17 (*praeprarasti to praeparasti*), the images are not clear enough, but the superfluous *r* seems to be a little blurry compared to the surrounding letters.

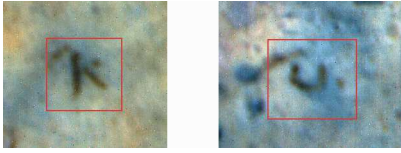


Figure 1.4: Letters for quire signatures in Luke (p. 478) and Mark (p. 632).

As observed by previous editors, the signature of some of the quaternions is still visible.¹⁷ What has been overlooked so far, however, are the letters in front of the usual Roman numbering in the Gospels of Luke and Mark, which were revealed by the MSI-images. The order of these letters – from B (page 356) to M (page 510) in Luke, and from N (page 526) to U (page 632) in Mark – gives evidence for an additional numbering of the quaternions not present in Matt and John. This discovery is remarkable since scholarship on Latin manuscripts has so far assumed that the use of letters for quire signatures only emerged at the end of the fifth century;¹⁸ with the *Codex Vercellensis*, however, we have much earlier evidence for this practice.

1.4 Paleographical Description

The *Codex Vercellensis* exhibits the main paleographic characteristics of Latin manuscripts from the fourth century. The text is written in very regular uncials, left-justified and continuous (*scriptio continua*), with no distinction between majuscules and minuscules; the letters measure 0.5 in breadth by 0.5 to 0.6 cm in height, depending on the extent to which they break the upper and bottom lines. Only a slight prominence of unabridged initials (*ekthesis* and *litterae notabiliores*) projecting into the margin is observed, indicating the beginning of each new sense unit. However, in the Gospel of Luke, we find these initials in the middle of a passage, sometimes even of a sentence, as on page 378^b (*ipse Aedificabant nobis*), on page 450^a (*proferte Stolam priorem*), on page 456^a (*qui Dimissam*) and on page 518^a (*dicentes Etiam uisionem*). These irregularities are certainly scribal errors, and, in the case of *qui Dimissam*, the mistake was corrected directly in the manuscript.¹⁹ Also typical for Latin manuscripts from this period is the use of *spatia*, which, in the same way as *ekthesis* and *litterae notabiliores*, serve as punctuation marks, though separating

¹⁷ In the Gospel of Luke: XXIII, XXV, XXX and XXX[III]. Cf. GASQUET, *Codex Vercellensis*, xiii.

¹⁸ LOWE, “More Facts about Our Oldest Latin Manuscripts,” 43–62.

¹⁹ Cf. chap. 2, p. 14.

shorter sense units, mostly sentences, from each other. However, the *Codex Vercellensis* exhibits a peculiarity in the use of *spatia*: they are often filled with a colon (:) in the manuscript,²⁰ and it is not obvious to what extent the colons differ from the regular *spatia*, found at other places in the manuscript.

Another typical feature of the oldest uncial manuscripts is the use of abbreviations and ligatures at the end of a line. In the *Codex Vercellensis*, the nasal consonants *m* and *n* are marked by a transversal stroke with a dot underneath (superline), the dative and ablative plural case marker *-bus* of *is* is shortened to a dot (*notae communes*), whereas *-ae*, *-nt*, *-unt*, *-ur* and *-us* are written as nexus. In the Gospel of Luke, the only irregularity is found on page 389^a (8:9), where the ligature *-ae* appears in the middle of the pronoun *haec*.

The *Codex Vercellensis* exhibits an early system of *nomina sacra*, using DMS (*dominus*), DMI (*domini*), DÖM (*dominum*), DMO (*domino*), or DME (*domine*) instead of DÑS, DÑI, DÑM, DÑO or DÑE, which are found in later manuscripts.²¹ However, there are some exceptions, all in Matt and John, where the vocative DÑE instead of DME is sometimes used, along with uncommon forms such as DÑUS (Matt 22:44, page 126^a) and DOMS (John 21:7, page 318^a) for the nominative, DÑUM (Matt 22:45, page 126^a) and DOÑM (John 21:7, page 318^a) for the accusative.

The details of the calligraphy of the *Codex Vercellensis* are currently subject of scientific investigations. While the allographs found in the codex are generally dated to the fifth century, together with the *Fragmenta Curiensia*, and paleographically comparable to the *Codex Veronensis* (VL4), the text of the *Codex Vercellensis* shows similarities with fourth-century manuscripts. In general, the form of the letters is representative of the most finely wrought and elegant uncials, with light weight, symmetrical balance, and artful transitions between hairline and flat-pen strokes. All these features together characterize the earliest form of the script, which in the late fourth century quickly gave way, as Edward Maunde Thompson has argued, to a heavier ductus.²²

The columns are also exceedingly narrow, often accommodating scarcely more than a single word. As Franca Arduini, Guglielmo Cavallo,²³ and other scholars have shown, this is also a mark of earliest uncial *mise-en-page*. Finally, the *Codex Vercellensis* includes occasional dots between words or at the end of lines, which are

²⁰ See, e. g., p. 379^a, l. 16: *et facit: his auditis*.

²¹ TRAUBE, "Nomina sacra," 167–193.

²² THOMPSON, *Handbook of Greek and Latin Paleography*, 192.

²³ ARDUINI/CAVALLO, *The Shape of the Book*; see also BISCHOFF and MANIACI, "Pergament – Handschriftenformate – Lagenkonstruktion," 277–319.

typical of writings preceding the fourth century, and which had largely disappeared by the end of the third century.



Figure 1.5: Dots between words in p. 367^b.

Generally speaking, a comparison of the form of the allographs with palimpsests and manuscripts from the fourth and fifth century is most instructive:

- (1) The hasta on the “E” is distinctively high, being higher than that found in the fourth-century palimpsest from Cicero’s *De re publica* (Cod. Vat. Lat. 5757).²⁴ Since the “E” descends to the middle of the line in manuscripts dating from the middle of the fifth century and thereafter,²⁵ this may be taken as a sign of a fourth-century manuscript:

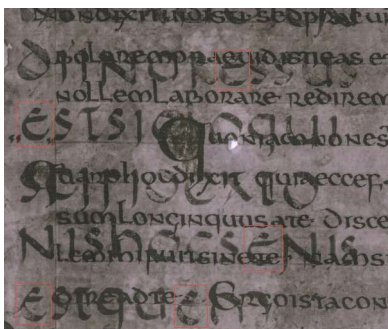


Figure 1.6: Hastas of “E” in Cod. Vat. Lat. 5757.

- (2) The “M” consists of two-strokes, beginning with a curved upward stroke and a turning of the pen; this shape is found in the fourth-century Cicero palimpsest,

²⁴ THOMPSON, “Handbook of Greek and Latin Paleography,” 192.

²⁵ See, e. g., the Viennese and Parisian Livius, fifth century, Z.W. Ex. 18,19; Bibli. Nat. lat. 5730; CLA V 562.

and also in North-African manuscripts, in which proto-uncial forms of various letters are seen to compete with each other:²⁶

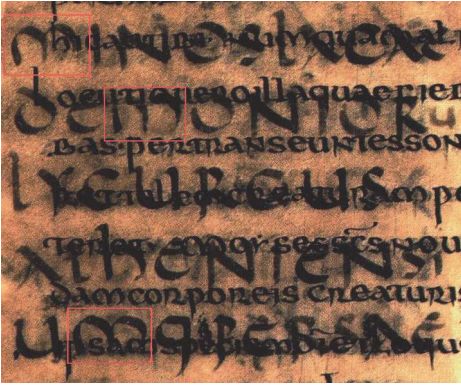


Figure 1.7: Two-stanza “M” in Cod. Vat. Lat. 5757.

- (3) The “S” is of narrow girth, with symmetrical upper and lower bows resembling those found in earlier rustic capitals. This form differs from other early examples, including the Cicero palimpsest, and also from the seventh century *Codex Amiatinus*, which has the tendency to widen the letter, making either the upper or the lower bow asymmetrically wider.

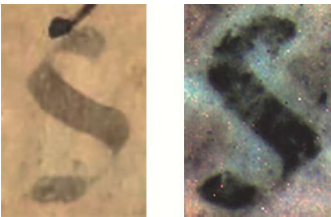


Figure 1.8: Comparison between the “S” in Cod. Vat. Lat. 5757 and in the *Codex Vercellensis*.

- (4) The most convincing similarity is the “R”, whose long vertical shaft runs far beyond the ligature, while its right shaft runs almost horizontally. This

²⁶ HÜBNER, “Exempla Scripturae Epigraphicae Latinae,” 1147f.; WEISSENIEDER, VISINONI, *Fragmenta Curiensia*, 19; see also ULLMAN, “Ancient Writing and its Influence,” 65.

allograph is an indication of a transitional stage between rustica small capitals and uncials, also seen in the “R” of the third century Latin proto-uncial *Oxyrhynchus 30*, which is morphologically closest to the oldest Latin proto-uncials.

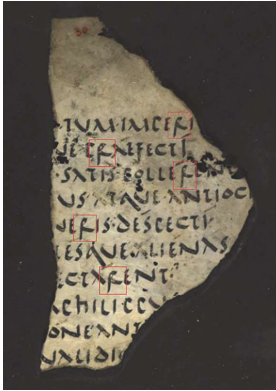























Figure 1.9: P. Oxy. I 30, *De Bellis Macedonicis* by L. Arruntius.

-  A has an upright, triangular shape, but is distinguished by a loop for the left leg (a shadow stroke and a hair-stroke), which together form a prominent acute angle, not infrequently far below the base-line.
-  B, in contrast to older Roman cursive script, is two-storey: the upper belly is much smaller and less pronounced than the lower.
-  C, E and G have almost the same basic shape and differ from each other only by the additional hair-strokes of E and G.
-  D is round, similar to a cursive δ , but the ascender is straight, leaning over to the left and sometimes ending in a rounded tip; this “hook-like” form is characteristic of the manuscript’s *manus prima*.
-  E consists of a curved stroke and resembles an uncial ϵ ; the medial tongue, a hair-stroke frequently projecting beyond the base, is written in a very high position, an indication of the manuscript’s early date.
-  F is narrow and projects over the base-line; the two horizontal lines are very short and hardly visible at the top.
-  G projects over the base-line with a long hair-stroke; this cauda is written so finely that it is often barely visible.
-  H projects over the head-line through the left shaft; the rounded bow on the right is half high and is connected with the vertical shaft by a hair-stroke.
-  I consists of a single vertical stroke and ends in a hair-stroke to the left; unlike F, the letter only occasionally projects over the base-line.

-  L, like F and I, occupies a small space; the letter is tall and descends from the head-line, ending in a fine, barely visible stroke, which extends horizontally on the base-line.
-  M in the earlier form is broad and has a vertical left shaft, followed by two bows (three pen-lifts); however, an older form is mostly found, rounded, ending with an inward bow (two pen-lifts); this form exhibits great similarity to the writing pattern of the *Fragmenta Curiensia*.
-  N is characterized by two vertical strokes and a diagonal stroke, slightly rounded at the top; the left shaft often ends in a hair-stroke projecting through the base-line.
-  O is almost round, written with two strokes.
-  P has a long vertical shaft that projects over the base-line; the belly is smaller than that of the R and always ends in a fine hair-stroke which leaves the belly almost open.
-  Q is minuscule-like and often has a very long, vertical cauda on the right side; the belly on the left fills almost the entire space between the two lines.
-  R has a long and curved shoulder; the belly has a pronounced curve, which reaches the middle of the shaft and then flows smoothly to the right, almost connecting to the following letter.
-  S is narrow and elongated, ending in a fine hair-stroke to the left.
-  T has roughly the basic form of a τ; the letter has a slightly curved bar, which ends in a fine hair-stroke and projects slightly beyond the shaft.
-  U consists of a rounded shaft at the base-line, ending in a hair-stroke, whereas the second shaft is completely straight.
-  X consists of a shadow-stroke to the right and a hair-stroke to the left, both written entirely between the head-line and the base-line.
-  Z consists of two parallel lines, which are connected in the middle by a shadow stroke.

The paleographic evidence, combined with historical and theological considerations, identify the period following Eusebius's accession to the episcopate of Vercelli, between 341 and 350, as the likely time of composition of the *Codex Vercellensis*.

1.5 Paratextual Description

While the *Codex Vercellensis* exhibits none of the characteristic paratexts of fifth century Latin manuscripts, such as chapter titles (*capitula*) or division according to the Eusebian canon, several liturgical notes and signs were added to the margins of the manuscript in the period following its composition. The paleographical character of these additions points to an eighth century Lombardic cursive,²⁷ which suggests the

²⁷ Cf., e. g. the deed of Grimoaldus IV, Duke of Benevento, of the year 810.

use of the manuscript in church service or for the study of scripture. This date in turn coincides with the emergence of the first accounts attributing the creation of the manuscript to Eusebius. The still visible liturgical notes and signs in the Gospel of Luke are listed below; here it is important to observe that Gasquet's charts of the paratextual material present in the *Codex Vercellensis* are often inaccurate and incomplete.²⁸

Table 1: Liturgical notes and signs in the Gospel of Luke.

page	verse	notes and signs
341	2:21	<i>kalend. i[a]nu[a]r[ii]</i>
347	3:2	<i>[do]minica ante natalem dñi</i>
352	3:38	Ⲡ
372	6:23	Ⲡ
379	7:11	ⲧ
384	7:36	ⲧ
388	8:5	<i>in sexagesima</i> ⲧ
398	9:1	ⲧ ²⁹
403	9:23	Ⲡ
410	10:1	ⲧ
418	11:1	ⲧ
427	12:4	<i>in sc̄i systi</i>
439	14:1	ⲧ ³⁰
440	14:7	<i>domineca tertia</i>
446	14:35	<i>quarta</i> Ⲡ
448	15:11	ⲧ
452	16:1	ⲧ
456	16:19	<i>[do]menica secunda</i>
460	17:8	Ⲡ
466	18:9, 10	<i>incipit</i> Ⲡ ⲧ
472	19:1	Ⲡ
516	24:11	<i>tercia feria in albis</i>
516	24:13	ⲧ
520	24:36	<i>[se]xta feria in albis</i>

28 Cf. GASQUET, *Codex Vercellensis*, xvi–xix. For the other Gospels, see, e. g., the incorrect page references (p. 68 instead of p. 67 in Matt 13:24), the incorrect transcriptions (p. 64 in Matt 13:3: *in sexaghesima* instead of *in sexaginsima*), the questionable additions that are either no longer visible at all or were simply added by the editor (p. 148 in Matt 26:1 the manuscript lacks the ending [*do*-*menica*] *secunda in advent. dñi.*) and the omitted notes or attention signs (p. 46 in Matt 10:16: *in sancturum* followed by a cross, p. 49 at the end of Matt 10:33: *finit*, p. 234 in Joh 8:12: ⲧ).

29 Overlooked by Gasquet.

30 Overlooked by Gasquet.

Two attention signs can be distinguished. The first one (Ϡ) is most likely the chi-rho siglum known as *chresimon*, a technical sign present both in ancient papyri and medieval manuscripts.³¹ Its graphic form resembles that of *staurograms*, which are employed in the oldest witnesses of the Latin Gospels, such as in the *Codex Bobbiensis* (VL1) and in the *Codex Palatinus* (VL2), as an abbreviation for the various cases of Χριστός. In the Early Middle Ages, the two symbols were conflated, and this is also the case in the *Codex Vercellensis*. The result of this process was a convention in which the *chresima* pointed to passages of theological relevance. This analysis receives strong support from Cassiodorus' tables of technical signs, where *chresima* are used as indices for important doctrines.³² In light of the list above, we can see which sections of the Gospel of Luke the manuscript readers regarded as especially significant, for instance, the Temptation narrative (Luke 4:1) and the Sermon on the Plain (Luke 6:24).

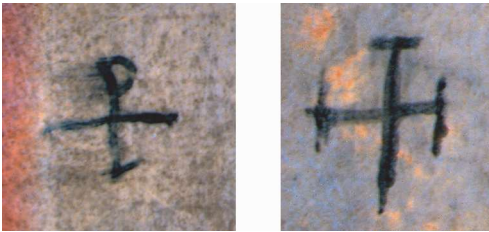


Figure 1.10: *chresimon* on page 472 and cross on page 448.

The second of these signs is the cross, a symbol associated with Christianity. Nevertheless, the origins of the cross as a technical sign are pre-Christian since it is found in first century Greek papyri from Egypt as well. But, just like with the *chresimon*, the Christian connotation certainly contributed to its dissemination in the Early Middle Ages, which lent it a variety of new purposes, for instance as an attention sign, dialogue marker or lesson sign, making it often difficult to determine the sign's exact function.³³ The list above, however, allows us to surmise the meaning of at

³¹ For further discussion on the origins and functions of *chresima*, see STEINOVÁ, “Notam Superponere Studui,” 271–272.

³² Cf. CASSIODORUS, *In Psalterium Expositio* (BNF lat. 14491): *diuersas notas more maiorum certis locis aestimabimus effigiendas. has cum explanationibus suis subter adiuncimus. ut quicquid lector uoluerit inquirere per similitudines earum, sine aliqua difficultate debeat inuenire. Ϡ hoc in dogmatibus ualde necessariis.*

³³ Cf. STEINOVÁ, “Notam Superponere Studui,” 273.

least some of the crosses added to the *Codex Vercellensis* Gospel of Luke. It is noteworthy that many of these mark the beginning of a new chapter, as on pages 398 (9:1), 410 (10:1), 418 (11:1), 439 (14:1) and 452 (16:1), suggesting that the sign was here employed as a text-structuring instrument, and possibly as an alternative to the traditional text divisions, which would become common in later manuscripts. This is also a further indication that the manuscript was used for liturgical reading, as it will be discussed in other chapters.³⁴



Figure 1.11: Pictorial formula for the Golgotha mounds (p. 466^a).

The symbol appearing as a marginal postscript in Luke 18:9f. (466^a) deserves special attention, especially in light of its potential liturgical function.³⁵ The Italian paleographers A. Felle and G. Cavallo have made the plausible suggestion that the three circles present a common pictorial formula for the Golgotha mounds and thus refer to the martyrdom of Jesus. We assume that this pictorial formula indicates the Easter Vigil lectionary, which is rightly made in connection with Luke 23:26–49, the execution of Jesus and the two criminals at the place of the skull. It is in this passage that the verb φοβεῖν occurs for the last time in the conversation of the crucified, in which the God-fearing criminal utters the fear in a negated rhetorical question, asking the unbelieving criminal if he does not fear God (οὐδὲ φοβῆ σὺ τὸν θεόν). Thus, the invective directed against Jesus is interpreted as an offense against God. Several Latin witnesses take up this aspect of the verse, translating the question as *non times tu dominum* (VL5, 8), thus departing from the more standard *nec times deum*. *Dominum* is the translation of *Kyrios*, the central Christological title in the Gospel of Luke, which Martin Buber already identified as a key term in the Gospel. While

³⁴ Cf. chap. 4.1, p. 88.

³⁵ GAMBER, “Documenta Liturgiae Italiae,” 89 assumes that these liturgical signs belong to the seventh century.

the Greek tradition is consistent in its usage, the *Codex Vercellensis* often alternates between *deus* and *dominus*. This may indicate that the Latin translators no longer saw a significant distinction between the two terms and therefore often chose arbitrarily between them. One also cannot exclude the possibility that the confusion was caused by the similarity of the abbreviations used for *nomina sacra*, e.g., DS (*dominus*), DMI (*domini*), DŌM (*dominum*), DŌO (*domino*), or DME (*domine*), a resemblance not present in the Greek text (e.g., between κς and θς).

Taken together, historical and paratextual evidence, reinforced by damage to the leaves likely due to the codex's use as a relic of St. Eusebius upon which people swore oaths by laying hands on particular passages between the 9th and 12th centuries – a practice that has left palm imprints on the manuscript in several places – makes it plausible that the manuscript was used for liturgical readings.

2 Previous Editions and New Insights on the *Codex Vercellensis*

In what follows, we will compare the previous editions of the manuscript with the new series of MSI-images. Our aim is to work out how the various editions available differ from each other and to identify the ways in which the present edition may offer improvements over its predecessors.

2.1 Giovanni Andrea Irico (1748) and Giuseppe Bianchini (1749/1845)

The first edition of the *Codex Vercellensis* was produced in 1748 by the Italian biblical scholar Giovanni Andrea Irico (*Sacrosanctus Evangeliorum Codex Sancti Eusebii Vercellensis*). This was followed, a year later, by Giuseppe Bianchini's work (*Evangeliarium Quadruplex Latinae Versionis Antiquae seu Veteris Italicae*) which, in addition to the text of the manuscript itself, also provided a transcription of the Old Latin Gospel codices *Veronensis* (VL4) on the facing pages, along with the *Corbeiensis secundus* (VL8) and *Brixianus* (VL10) in the bottom margins; more recently, Bianchini's edition was reproduced in the series *Patrologia Latina* 12.141–338 (*Sancti Eusebii Episcopi Vercellensis Opera Omnia*, 1845).

As stated above, the *Codex Vercellensis* is in poor condition, a fact which was ascertained before the publication of the first editions.¹ Considering that the parchment has deteriorated even further since then and that some passages are now irrecoverably lost, the editions of Irico and Bianchini are of indispensable value.² Irico's publication presents some advantages: alongside footnotes providing variants from the Vulgate, Irico offers a transcription of the manuscript, arranging the text line by line, column by column and page by page, and he makes use of majuscules exclusively, which allow for an accurate representation of the original uncial script. Likewise, he attempts to give information on the many paleographic features

¹ Cf. 1.2, p. 8f. There are at least two early reports on the precarious conservation state of *Codex Vercellensis*, cf. MABILLON, "Iter Italicum," 9: *Certe membrana situ fere corrupta est, characteres pene fugientes ac semideleti*; MONTFAUCON, *Diarium italicum*, 444: *Codicem uetustissimum ibidem inspeximus, in charta membranacea tenuissima exaratum. Codex multis in partibus labefactus putrefactusque est; quod casu, plusquam uetustate, euenisse dictitabant, narrabantque diu in flumine demersum.*

² In Luke, especially in the first chapters, as in pp. 328–340.

of the manuscript, recording *litterae notabiliores*,³ *ekthesis*⁴ and blank spaces⁵ within a line – which the scribe employed as punctuation marks – abbreviations, hanging lines and *nomina sacra*;⁶ corrections are shown by equivalent *expuncta*, while textual additions are printed in smaller letters where necessary. The result is a layout close to that of the codex itself, which helps the reader localize any particular passage in the transcription and verify it in light of the manuscript. Bianchini, in turn, adds paratextual information, such as verse and chapter numbers, which is an improvement on Irico's edition. Bianchini follows the sequence of lines, but not that of columns and pages. In the same way, none of the various paleographic elements are marked, and abbreviations, hanging lines and *nomina sacra* are all spelled out. In addition, Bianchini uses minuscules throughout the transcription, reserving capital letters for the beginning of each verse and chapter and for the *nomina sacra*, so that it becomes difficult to identify where the scribe used *litterae notabiliores*.

Irigo's transcription of the *Codex Vercellensis* had an impact on all subsequent investigations of the manuscript, and later editors were not seldom misguided by its inaccuracies, so that many mistakes found in Irigo's transcription have been replicated in later editions. This is particularly true with regard to some scribal errors, such as *hac* instead of *haec* in Luke 7:12 (380^a), the dittography *quod{d}* in Luke 7:43 (386^a), and the haplography *pos<t> tertium* in Luke 9:22 (403^a), just to name a few examples taken from the better-preserved pages. The propagation of such errors suggests that, in many cases, the parchment was not inspected diligently, and that scholars relied heavily on Irigo's work instead.

Some of these mistakes reproduced in later editions are especially striking:

3 See, e. g., p. 325^a (*Quoniam*), IRICO, Sacrosanctus Evangeliorum, 630.

4 See, e. g., p. 450^a (*Stolam*), IRICO, Sacrosanctus Evangeliorum, 880.

5 See, e. g., p. 356^a (*hic et*), IRICO, Sacrosanctus Evangeliorum, 692.

6 See, e. g., p. 351^a (*sp̄s* for *spiritus*), IRICO, Sacrosanctus Evangeliorum, 682; 355^b (*uisu* for *uisum*), IRICO, Sacrosanctus Evangeliorum, 691.



Figure 2.1: Luke 4:27 (357^a).

In Luke 4:27 (357^a), all editors follow Irico and read *set* (i. e. *sed*) *nullus*, where the manuscript in fact contains the conjunction *et*. It could be argued that the page is now visible only in the TX-images and that the text was probably not fully legible at the time when Irico was working on the parchment; however, *et* is not only the reading of all other manuscripts, but also found in all known Greek *Vorlagen* (καὶ οὐδέις). The Latin witnesses of Luke tend to be consistent in this respect since *sed* is usually the first translational choice to render ἀλλά and, to lesser degree, δέ, but not καί.⁷ This means that previous editors made no effort to consult any other witness of the text while producing their transcription, and also that they had complete confidence in Irico's readings.

⁷ Cf., e. g., Luke 5:14; 6:27; 7:7; 8:16; 9:56; 11:4; 12:7; 13:5; 14:10; 16:21; 17:8; 18:13; 20:21; 21:9; 22:36; 23:55; 24:22 (ἀλλά) and 5:5; 6:44; 9:61; 14:12; 15:30 (δέ).

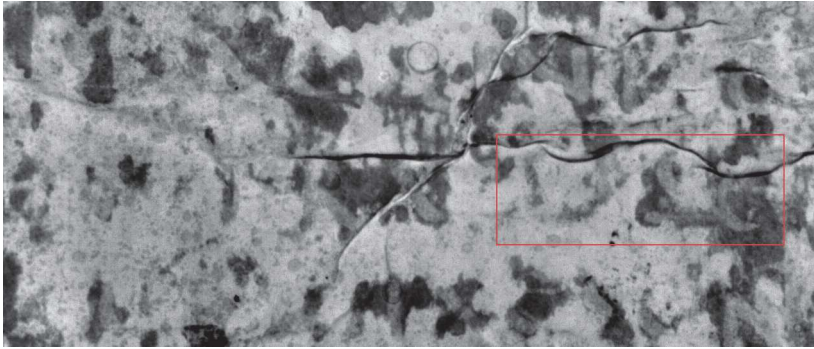


Figure 2.2: Luke 11:35 (423^a).

A similar problem can be found in Luke 11:35 (423^a) as well, where Irice offers the grammatically meaningless variant *tenebrae rese [..]atae*, later reproduced by all editors as *tenebrae rese [qua]ntae*. It is true that the passage is quite damaged and challenging to decipher even in the TX-images. However, a simple examination of the other witnesses together with a more careful understanding of the Latin text would have made the identification of the phrase *tenebrae ipse [qua]ntae* possible. The difficulty seems to have been the trivial orthographical irregularity contained in the manuscript, which has *ipse* for *ipsae*, a typical case of monophthongization.⁸ Moreover, the variant agrees with all major Old Latin Gospels witnesses (*tenebrae quantae* VL5; *ipse tenebre quante* VL4) which, in turn, may derive from the text of D, 05 (τὸ σκότος πόσον).

⁸ Cf. below 5.1.2, p. 203.

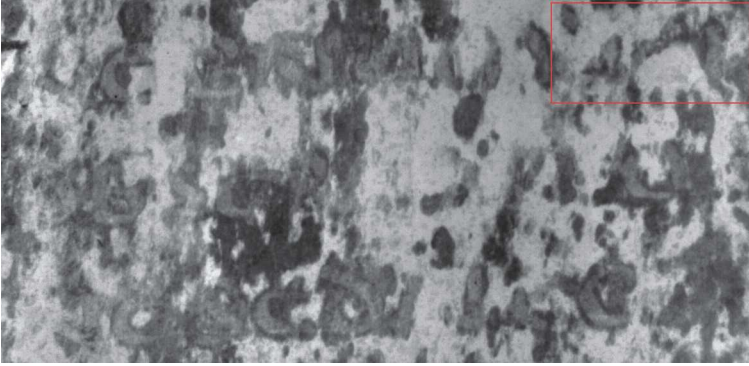


Figure 2.3: Luke 17:20 (462^a).

One last example will make clear how decisive Irico's transcription was for later editions of the *Codex Vercellensis*. In Luke 17:20 (462^a), all editors follow Irico's reading of the passage in printing *regnum cum obseruatione*. On this reading, the scribe would have skipped the genitive *dei* after *regnum*, present in all Latin and Greek witnesses (ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ παρατηρήσεως). There is indeed an omission here, but the TX-image of the page reveals that what the scribe left out was in fact the preposition *cum*, and not the *nomen sacrum*. One cannot say with certainty if this is a scribal lapse or a kind of translation strategy: the Latin text can still be understood without the preposition since the phrase *regnum dei obseruatione* suggests the use of an instrumental ablative. This interpretation is further corroborated by the absence of any sign of correction or later addition in these lines.

Irigoien's edition formed the basis of all later editions. For one thing, the manuscript was in a better condition and remained legible in some places where we only have lacunae today. Moreover, the careful textual observation of the autographs preserved in the library of Vercelli makes his edition still worth consulting despite the errors contained therein.

2.2 Johannes Belsheim (1894)

The edition by the Norwegian teacher Johannes Belsheim, who transcribed and edited several Old Latin Gospels manuscripts in the 19th century, requires only brief treatment. As other scholars have observed, Belsheim's texts "have been found

unreliable in many places,⁹ and this critical judgement also applies to his work on the *Codex Vercellensis* (*Quatuor Evangelia ante Hieronymum Latine Translata ex Reliquiis Codicis Vercellensis Saeculo ut videtur Quarto scripti et ex Editione Iriciana Principe*). Although Belsheim states that he inspected the manuscript in autumn of 1889, it seems obvious that he only copied Irco's transcription, simply turning it into continuous text and adding verse and chapter numbers, along with punctuation:¹⁰ all imprecisions present in Irco's edition can be found here as well, including some additional blunders and curious oddities. For example, Belsheim incorporates the erroneous conjecture *caepit* instead of *coepit* in Luke 4:21 (355^b), 18:43 (472^a) and 20:9 (482^a), which is certainly wrong and possibly due to a typographical error in Irco's edition. This is striking, since pages 355 and 472 are among the few pages which remain well-preserved even today and which allow a conclusive reading of the text, even with the naked eye. At any rate, Belsheim produced an edition of the *Codex Vercellensis* which omits the important paleographical features of the manuscript, just as Bianchini did before him.

2.3 Francis Aidan Gasquet (1914)

The most cited edition of the *Codex Vercellensis* so far was published at the beginning of the 20th century. It is the work of Francis Aidan Gasquet, an English Benedictine monk and scholar of (ancient) history, later elevated to Cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church (*Codex Vercellensis iam dudum from Irco et Bianchino bis Edutus Denuo cum Manuscripto*, 1914). He was appointed by Pius Xth as president of the newly established Pontifical Commission for Revision of the Vulgate in 1907, which was entrusted with the task of producing a new edition.¹¹ It was in this context that Gasquet decided to re-examine the *Vercellensis*. To this end, several restoration measures were carried out on the parchment. The manuscript was sent to the laboratory of the Vatican Apostolic Library under the direction of Cardinal Franz Ehrle in 1908, where it was disbound, divided into bifolia, and mounted in clear gelatin. Each bifolium was then put in a cardboard folder and subsequently placed in three walnut wooden boxes. Furthermore, the guard paper inside the

⁹ BURTON, *The Old Latin Gospels*, 9. See also GASQUET, *Codex Vercellensis*, XV, who describes Belsheim's edition of *Codex Vercellensis* as being "of not much value."

¹⁰ Except for some trivial modifications, e. g., in 14:4, where Irco misprints *adprhendens*, while Belsheim's edition offers the correct *adprehendens*.

¹¹ Cf. SCHELKENS, *Catholic Theology of Revelation on the Eve of Vatican II*, 134.

folders was replaced with anti-acid paper and the folders were distributed among four new cypress wood containers, less subject to attack by parasites.¹²

Thanks to this meticulous restoration of the parchment, Gasquet was able to eliminate many inaccuracies contained in the previous editions. He also added some of the necessary paratextual information which enabled easier navigation of the manuscript, including pagination and divisions by chapter and verse. Gasquet's edition distinguishes between readings no longer visible but presented in the editions by Irico and Bianchini on the one hand and the text supplied by Gasquet himself on the other: the former is indicated by italics, while the latter is marked by italics within square brackets. Suspensions,¹³ running titles,¹⁴ and superlines for the nasal consonants "N" and "M" were also marked.¹⁵ A convenient tool of Gasquet's edition is the annotation of the differences between Irico's and Bianchini's readings contained in the footnotes, even though the readings adopted are not always correct. For instance, in Luke 17:16 (461^b), Gasquet prints *samaritanus*, the same reading found in Irico's edition. Nonetheless, the manuscript has *samarites* instead, a reading already established by Bianchini. Gasquet seems to have overlooked the discrepancy, or, at least, there is no footnote showing that he was aware of it.¹⁶ The same applies to *fulgul* in Luke 17:24 (462^b): Gasquet not only fails to notice the misspelling of the noun, which had been correctly identified by Irico and Bianchini, reading the standard form *fulgur* instead, but also claims in a footnote that Irico prints the same reading. Accordingly, we must note that Gasquet's edition unfortunately does not accurately reproduce the *Codex Vercellensis*.

Equally unfortunate are some careless replications of typographical errors from Irico's transcription. Two examples of these errors may suffice: in Luke 10:27 (415^b), Gasquet borrows from Irico the readings *totta* and *tottis* and, in Luke 16:23 (457^a), *occulos*. These spellings in fact do seem to have been widespread in Late Antiquity: gemination of consonants after stressed long vowels or diphthongs can be observed as early as the 5th century, when we see them explicitly rejected by the

12 For a detailed description of the restoration of the manuscript, see GARLANDA, "Il restauro del Codex Vercellensis," 132.

13 See, e. g., 377^b (*aurib* for *auribus*), GASQUET, *Codex Vercellensis*, 41.

14 See, e. g., 326^{a-b} (*secundum lucanum* for *sec lucanum*), GASQUET, *Codex Vercellensis*, 2–3. However, Gasquet did not take notice of the wrong running title on p. 331, where the scribe wrote *mattheum* instead of *lucanum*.

15 See, e. g., 445^b (*alioquin du* for *aliquion dum*), GASQUET, *Codex Vercellensis*, 94.

16 Cf. GASQUET, *Codex Vercellensis*, 106.

grammarian Consentius as barbarisms *per adiectionem litterae*,¹⁷ many of these forms would eventually evolve to standard orthography in Romance languages, but, in the Old Latin Gospels witnesses, there is no sign of this development yet. Moreover, Bianchini read the more grammatical spellings *tota*, *totis* and *oculos* as they are found in the manuscript, a fact which shows the dependence of Gasquet's edition on Irico's transcription.¹⁸

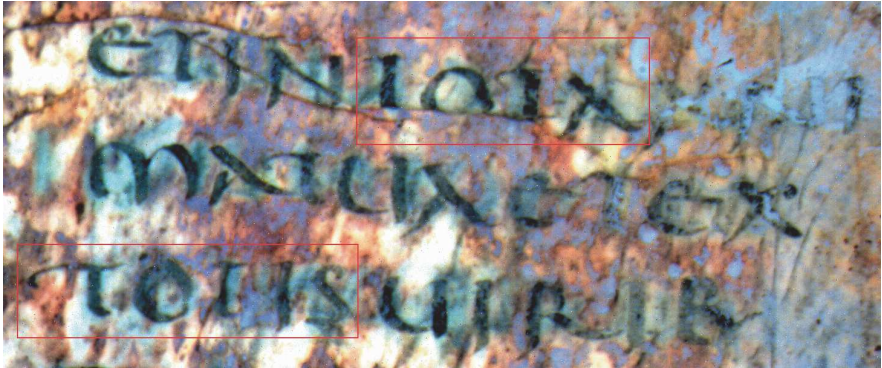


Figure 2.4: Luke 10:27 (415^b).

Another shortcoming concerns the recording of a considerable number of paleographical features of the *Vercellensis* Luke, such as *expuncta*, *rasurae* and additions. There are, for example, many instances where Gasquet's transcription of *litterae notabiliores* and *ekthesis* does not agree with the text of the manuscript: in Luke 7:45 (386^a), Gasquet reads *osculum* for *Osculum*, in Luke 9:51 (408^b), *Factum* for *factum*, in Luke 11:40 (423^b), *nonne* for *Nonne*, in Luke 15:30 (451^b), *cum* for *Cum*, in Luke 21:5 (489^a), *et* for *Et*, in Luke 23:49 (513^a), *stabant* for *Stabant*; in three instances (Luke 9:51; 15:30; 23:49), the error is found in Irico's transcription as well, showing, again, how Gasquet's edition is largely based on it.

¹⁷ Cf. CONSENTIUS, *Ars de barbarismis et metaplasmis*, 10: *per adiectionem litterae sic fit, ut si quis dicat coperit pro operit, gruit pro ruit, tottum pro toto, cottidie pro cotidie, quamdius pro quamdiu*. See also VÄÄNÄNEN, *Introduction au latin vulgaire*, 59–60.

¹⁸ Surprisingly, Gasquet adopts *oculos* in 6:20 (371^b), even though Irico reads *occulos* (col. 723, l. 23) in this passage as well.



Figure 2.5: *litterae notabiliores* in Luke 7:45 (386^v), in Luke 21:5 (489^v), and in Luke 23:49 (513^v).

In a similar vein, there is also no record of the scribal error in Luke 16:18 (456^v), where the text reads *et qui{t} dimissam a marito ducit*. Initially, however, the scribe broke off in the middle of the sentence, after copying *qui{t}*, jumped to the following line, and resumed by writing the perfect participle *dimissam*, capitalizing the first syllable. The mistake seems to have been noted immediately, since *di* was erased, and the syllable, now correctly written in minuscules, was added into the previous line after *qui{t}*. None of this, however, is present in Gasquet's edition.

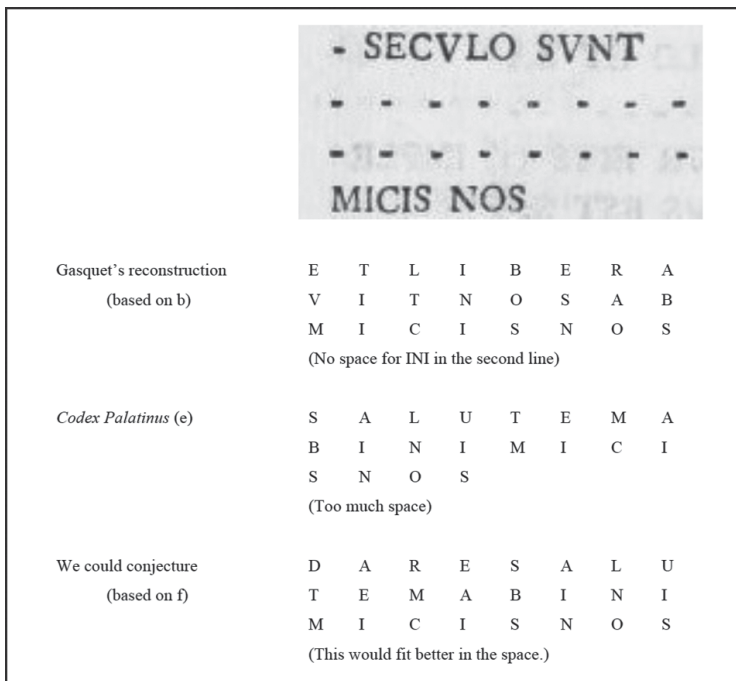


Figure 2.6: Luke 1:71 (336³).

The most striking flaw in Gasquet's edition of the *Codex Vercellensis* can be seen in his reconstructions of the text. In Luke 1:71 (336³), he reconstructs [*et liberavit | nos ab ini*]micis, the reading transmitted in the *Codex Veronensis* (VL4), which is too long for the space available; on the other hand, the reading of the *Codex Palatinus* (VL2), [*salutem ab in*]micis, is too short. Thus, we may conjecture [*dare salu | tem (ex) ini*]micis instead, the reading found in *Codex Brixianus* (VL10). Of course, it is not possible to reconstruct the preposition with certainty since *ab* or *de* would fit the available space as well. In any case, this reconstruction takes up the variants found in the codices *Palatinus* (VL2) and *Bezae* (VL5), and the literal translation of the Greek σωτηρίαν ἐξ ἐχθρῶν.

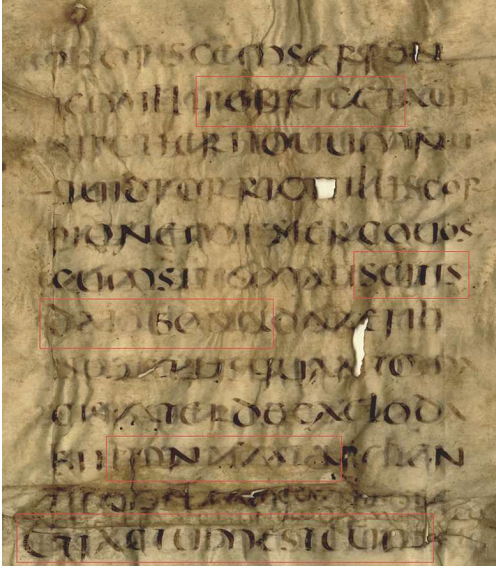


Figure 2.7: Luke 11:12–14 in the *Fragmenta Curiensia* (a², VL16).

Even more perplexing are Gasquet’s text supplementations in Luke 11:12–14, where the text of the *Vercellensis* Luke is not extant due to two missing pages. Gasquet mentions in his introduction that he supplied long passages from *Fragmenta Curiensia* (VL16), which have been “recognized as practically the same version of the Vercelli Ms.”¹⁹ Yet, when it comes to the important reconstruction of chapter 11, Gasquet hesitates to use the fragments and again resorts to the text of *Codex Veronensis* (VL4). Accordingly, he completes the missing text with *porrigit* instead of *porriget* (Luke 11:12), *nostis* instead of *scitis*, *bonos datos* instead of *data bona*, *bonum datum* instead of *bona data* (Luke 11:13) and *et erat eiciens daemonium* instead of *et factum est cum eiceret* (Luke 11:14). The reconstructions *nostis* instead of *scitis* and *bonos datos* instead of *data bona* are especially debatable since *Fragmenta Curiensia* share this reading with the *Codex Bezae* (VL5), which suggests an older tradition for this passage in the *Codex Vercellensis*, differing from the other Italian manuscripts and the Vulgate.

To summarize this analysis of Gasquet’s edition of the *Codex Vercellensis*, we may say that Gasquet deserves credit for eliminating several mistakes of previous transcriptions, the correction of which was mainly due to the restored parchment

¹⁹ Cf. GASQUET, *Codex Vercellensis*, XV.

available to him. Nevertheless, Gasquet handed down many of the imprecisions found in these earlier editions, and especially those in Irico's transcription. Furthermore, Gasquet did not always make accurate use of these earliest editions since he often failed to notice significant differences between them. Most importantly, however, Gasquet's reconstructions are based on later textual traditions, so that we may conclude that he clearly underestimated the relations between the *Vercellensis* Luke and the earlier witnesses of the Latin Gospels, such as codices *Palatinus* (e, VL2) and *Bezae* (d, VL5).

2.4 Adolf Jülicher (1938), Walther Matzkow (1938–1954), and Kurt Aland (1963–1971)

Another edition of the *Codex Vercellensis* which deserves attention is the *Itala* by the German scholar and biblical exegete Adolf Jülicher,²⁰ revised some years later by Walther Matzkow and Kurt Aland (1938–1954, 1963–1971). The *Itala* is not exactly a new edition of the manuscript but rather a collation of the most important Old Latin Gospels, including the *Codex Vercellensis*; for the text, Jülicher et al. rely – apart from some changes and corrections – on Gasquet's work. However, as other scholars have already noted,²¹ the major deficiency of the *Itala* is the underlying concept adopted by its authors: they print an upper line of text giving a version designated as "Itala," and a lower line showing what is called "Afra." This format is problematic from two perspectives: it takes for granted both an absolute division between earlier and later textual traditions of the Old Latin Gospels and, most critically, a high degree of uniformity within them. This issue is further aggravated by the fact that Jülicher et al. do not follow any particular manuscript in the "Itala" line as they did in the "Afra," where they rely on the text of the codices *Bobbiensis* (VL1) and *Palatinus* (VL2); instead, they established a text based on various witnesses, giving no plausible justification for the reconstruction. Besides, in order to compress as many textual variants as possible into this format, Jülicher et al. were often forced to neglect details concerning abbreviations, *nomina sacra* and orthography, features of the individual manuscripts which uncover relevant information about the relationship between them. In this way, the editions of the individual

²⁰ JÜLICHER ET AL., *Itala: Das Neue Testament in altlateinischer Überlieferung*.

²¹ Cf. BURTON, *The Old Latin Gospels*, 9–10.

manuscripts often show spelling peculiarities, even though Jülicher et al. print the usual standard forms.²²

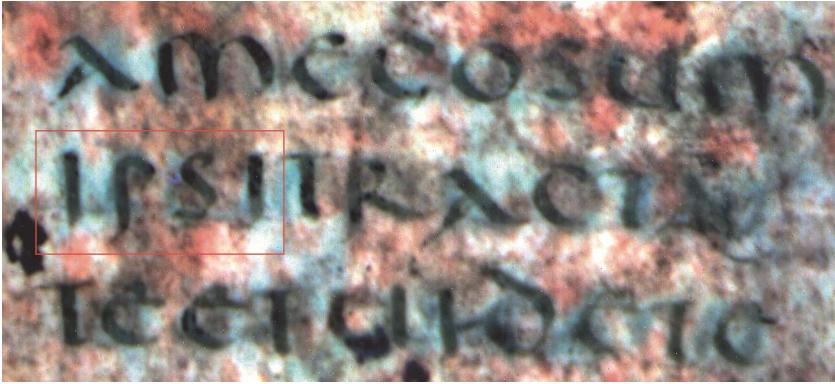


Figure 2.8: Luke 24:39 (520^b).

Partly due to this lack of attention to orthographical deviations, the author was not able to avoid some curious blunders in his *Itala*. An example of this can be found in 24:39: Jülicher et al. consider that *Codex Vercellensis* omits the pronoun *ipse* in the sentence *quia ego sum ipse* (VL8, 4; *quoniam ego ipse sum* VL2; *quia ego ipse sum* VL5; *quia ipse ego sum* A) when, after the resurrection, Jesus reveals himself to two of his disciples while they are walking on the road to Emmaus. In fact, the text of the manuscript clearly transmits the pronoun *ipsi* instead of the *ipse* of the other witnesses, which Jülicher et al. inadvertently displaces into the next sentence since they conclude that *ipsi* is a nominative masculine plural and, therefore, stands in morpho-syntactical agreement with the imperative verbs *tractate et uidete* (*palpate et uidete* cet.). This, in turn, is taken to indicate an omission of *ipsi* in the other texts. However, given the typical confusion between *e* and *i* in the manuscript, there is no doubt that *ipsi* is merely a non-standard spelling of *ipse*. Thus, in contrast to what Jülicher's et al. collation indicate at first glance, the text of the *Codex Vercellensis* exhibits no textual difference in this verse but merely contains an orthographical irregularity.

²² This especially applies to the *Codex Corbeiensis secundus* (ff², VL8), whose scribe used very peculiar spelling. See, e. g., Luke 2:16 (*presipio* for *praesepio*), 6:45 (*densauro* for *thesauro*, corrected to *tensauro*), Luke 8:31 (*habissum* for *abyssum*) etc.

Another problem in Jülicher's et al. *Itala* relates to the text reconstructions in the *Codex Vercellensis*. In many passages,²³ the authors are excessively cautious and do not attempt any kind of conjecture, even if the missing texts leave little room for doubt. Two examples of this can be found in the account of Jesus's genealogy in Luke 3:23–38. In v. 28, Cosam's descendant is called *addi* in all Latin witnesses, with the exception of *Codex Palatinus* (e, VL2), which reads *abdi*; according to NA²⁸, the Greek text offers Αδδῖ to the exclusion of any variants. Moreover, both Irigoien and Bianchini indicate two missing letters after *ad-* (*ad. .*), so that there is no clear reason to hesitate in supplying *-di*, resulting in the reconstruction *addi*.

QVI AD . . QVI
 COSAN QVI
 ELMADAN QVI
 ER QVI IESE
 QVI ELIGER
 QVI IORIM QVI
 MATTHATAE
 QVI LEVI QVI
 SIMON QVI
 IVDA QVI IOSE
 PH QVI IONA
 QVI ELIACIM
 QVI ERAM
 . . . MATTHA

Figure 2.9: The *lacunae* in Irigoien's transcription (Luke 3:28–31).

The *lacuna* in v. 31 is puzzling as well: in the whole passage, the scribe is consistent and writes *qui* followed by the name of Joseph's ancestor in the genitive, instead of *fili* (VL2), *qui fuit* (VL4 and A) or *filius* (VL8). Since Irigoien and Bianchini assume three missing letters in this line, it seems more than plausible to conjecture *qui* in this verse too. An identical objection applies to 4:2, in the temptation pericope. After *ed-*, there is space for two letters. All other Latin witnesses transmit *manducauit*, indicative perfect active of *manducare*, corresponding to the Greek aorist ἔφαγεν. We can thus supply, with a high degree of probability, the ending *-it*, resulting in the reconstruction *edit*, indicative perfect active of *edere*, a characteristic variant of

²³ See pp. 351^{a-b} and 352^{a-b}, JÜLICHER ET AL., *Itala: Das Neue Testament in altlateinischer Überlieferung*, 33–37.

manducare in older textual traditions of the Latin Gospels; however, following Gasquet, Jülicher et al. here again mark a lacuna.

Finally, Jülicher's et al. *Itala* volumes are now obsolete in one crucial respect. The text of the Vulgate cited is John Wordsworth and Henry Julian White's critical edition, the so-called "Oxford Vulgate," which was successively published between 1889 and 1954.²⁴ This has been supplanted by the "Stuttgart Vulgate", edited by Robert Weber and Roger Gryson from 1969 onwards. The *Itala* also has some inconsistencies in references to the textual variants of the Vulgate. In Luke 6:49, for instance, Jülicher et al. read the phrase *in quam inlisis est* from the Vulgate, recording no possible deviations, which are usually showed by brackets (vg). Yet, *Codex Amiatinus* clearly transmits *in qua inlisis est* instead: considering that Wordsworth and White do not report the variant in the *apparatus criticus* of their 1911 *editio minor*, it is even possible to deduce that Jülicher et al. used this publication as their source, and not the *editio critica maior*.

The *Itala* of Jülicher/ Matzkow/ Aland is the basis of numerous New Testament and early church studies and is therefore of central importance to biblical scholarship. The edition largely follows Gasquet's transcription. It is worth mentioning, however, that the edition of the *Itala* lacks numerous details, such as *nomina sacra* and important paratextual information including, for instance, the liturgical signs in the manuscript's margins.²⁵

2.5 Corrections of Previous Editions

A comparison of these printed editions thus reveals a considerable number of verbal differences; determining which of these is the correct reading is of obvious importance, especially in light of the new multispectral images. In what follows, some important corrections made possible by the new images will be discussed:

²⁴ All Gospels appeared in the first fascicle from 1889.

²⁵ Cf. pp. 11–15.

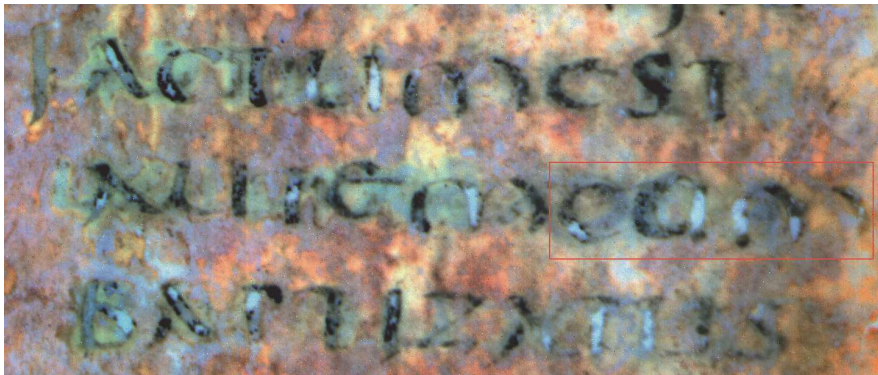
1. Luke 2:21 (341^a) and Luke 3:21 (350^b): *cum* – *com*

Figure 2.10: Luke 3:21 (350^b): *cum*, apparently corrected into *com*.

The orthographic interchangeability of *u* and *o* is a common feature of the text of Luke in the *Codex Vercellensis*, found, for instance, in Luke 10:21 (*paruolus* for *par-uulus*), and in Luke 22:41 (*abolsus* for *auulsus*).²⁶ While previous editors were able to detect these two peculiar forms, they failed to identify the non-standard spellings of *lucrari* in 9:25 (403^b) and, again, of *cum* in 20:16 (483^a), where the MSI-images show *locrari* and *com* respectively. A further interesting case of such orthographic variation can be found in Luke 3:21 (350^b), where the standard spelling of the conjunction *cum* seems to have been corrected to *com*, probably by the scribe himself.

²⁶ For a detailed discussion on the orthography of the *Codex Vercellensis*, see pp. 192ff.

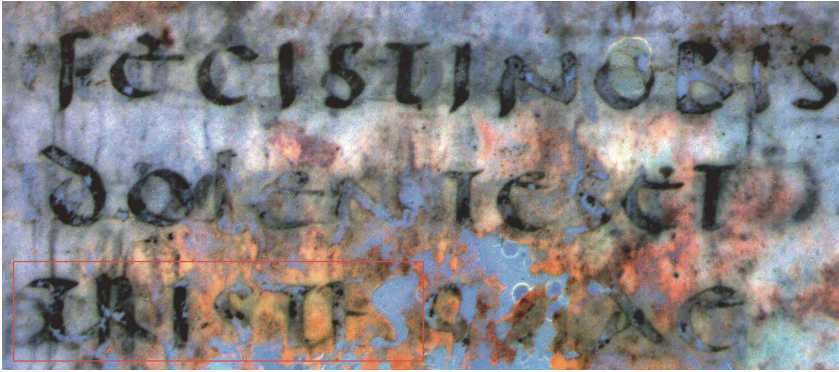
2. Luke 2:48 (346^a): *tristes* – *tristis*

Figure 2.11: Luke 2:48 (346^a): *tristis*, apparently corrected into *tristes*.

Orthographic confusion between *e* and *i* is a well-attested characteristic of most Latin manuscripts.²⁷ In this regard, the Gospel of Luke as transmitted in the *Codex Vercellensis* is no exception: there are numerous deviations from standard spelling involving the interchange of these vowels, some of which were not identified by any of the previous editors. Further examples are *pauperes* – *pauperis* in Luke 6:20 (372^a), *dicentes* – *dicentis* in Luke 7:32 (383^b), *ciuitates* – *ciuitatis* in Luke 8:1 (387^a).

²⁷ For a detailed discussion, see chap. 5.1.1, 192ff.

3. Luke 3:8 (348^a): *uocabis* Irico; *uobis* Bianchini/ Gasquet/ Jülicher et al.; *uocabis*

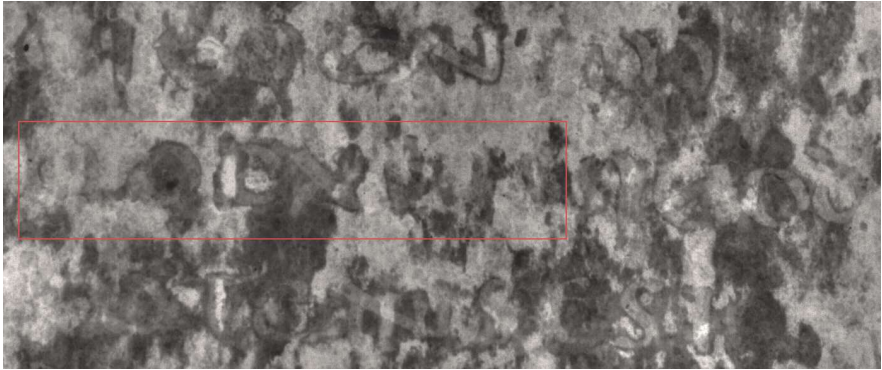


Figure 2.12: Luke 3:8 (348^a).

This is obviously a scribal error resulting in the nonsensical reading *dico enim uo{ca}bis* for λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν. The text of the manuscript was correctly identified and transcribed by Irico, but it was neglected by the following editors. There is no sign of any attempt at correction by the scribe or another hand in the manuscript.

4. Luke 4:23 (356^b): *quaecumque* – *quaecumquae*

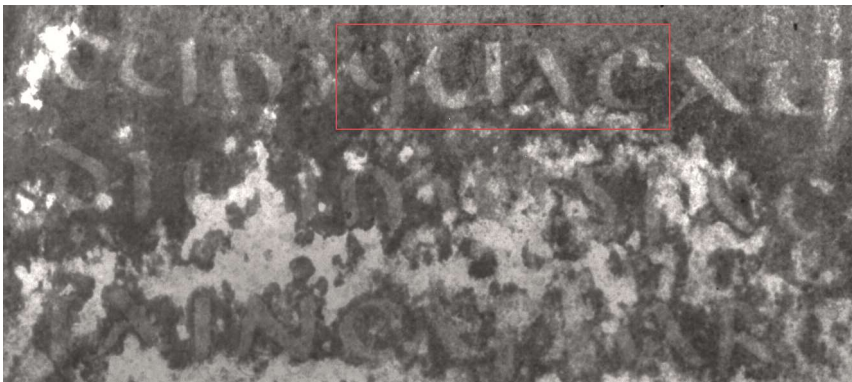


Figure 2.13: Luke 4:23 (356^b).

Though the monophthongization of *ae* to *e* is not common in the *Codex Vercellensis*, some words written with *e* are spelt with *ae* instead, a phenomenon which may be considered an example of hypercorrection.²⁸ However, previous editors rarely took note of this major orthographic feature of the manuscript. Other examples which could be identified through the analysis of the MIS-images are found in Luke 7:23 (382^a) and 11:28 (421^a), where we read *baeatus* instead of *beatus* and *baeati* instead of *beati* respectively, or in Luke 22:22 (497^b), which has *uaerum* instead of *uerum*.

5. Luke 4:28 (357^a): *repleti* – *inpleti*

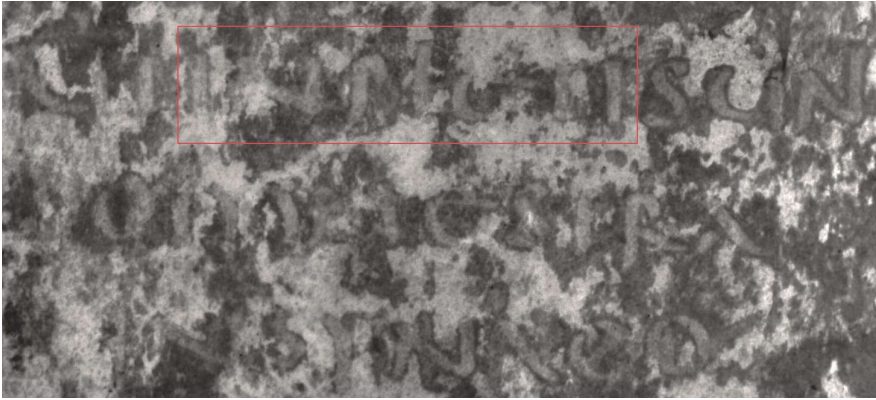


Figure 2.14: Luke 4:23 (356^b).

Here, the manuscript reads *inpleti* with the codices *Palatinus* (VL2) and *Bezae* (VL5), and not *repleti* with later witnesses, such as the codices *Veronensis* (VL4) and *Corbeiensis secundus* (VL8). This variant, revealed only through the MSI-images, thus gives further evidence that the *Codex Vercellensis* resembles the older traditions of Luke more than hitherto supposed.²⁹ Here, too, we may conjecture that the reading *repleti* printed by earlier editors is the result of the mistaken conception of the manuscript as a later witness to the text.

²⁸ See also chap. 5.1.1, 192ff.

²⁹ For an in-depth discussion of the relations between the codices *Vercellensis*, *Palatinus* (VL2) and *Bezae* (VL5), see chap. 4.3.

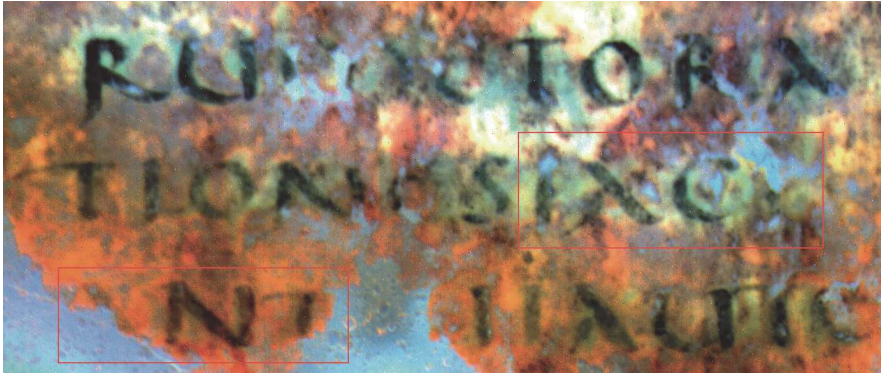
6. Luke 5:33 (367^a): *faciunt* – *faciant*

Figure 2.15: Luke 5:33 (367^a).

It is difficult to determine precisely on what grammatical grounds the text has a present subjunctive (*faciant*) instead of the present indicative (*faciunt*) which is found in all Latin and Greek witnesses (ποιοῦνται). The scribe was very likely misled by the ending of the other verbs in the clause (*ieiunant* and *maducant*), inflecting *facere* in the same way. At any rate, the peculiar variant, which was ignored by all previous editors, can be clearly observed in the MSI-images of the parchment.

7. Luke 7:33 (384^a): [e]dere Irigo; *manducans* Bianchini; [mandu]cans Gasquet; *manducans* Jülicher et al.; [e]dens

Figure 2.16: Luke 7:33 (384^a): The “D” of [e]dens is still visible.

Both the direct consultation of the manuscript and the MSI-images suggest that *-dens*, which may be reconstructed as [e]dens, originally stood in the passage. This finding partly confirms Irico's transcription *-dere* and invalidates Bianchini's and Gasquet's text *manducans*, which was later incorporated into Jülicher's et al. *Itala*. Since *edere* (instead of *manducare*) is considered a characteristic rendering of ἐσθίειν in the earlier traditions of the Latin Gospels, the restored text thus provides a further instance of an older variant in the *Vercellensis* Luke.³⁰

8. Luke 8:16 (390^a): *uase* – *uaso*

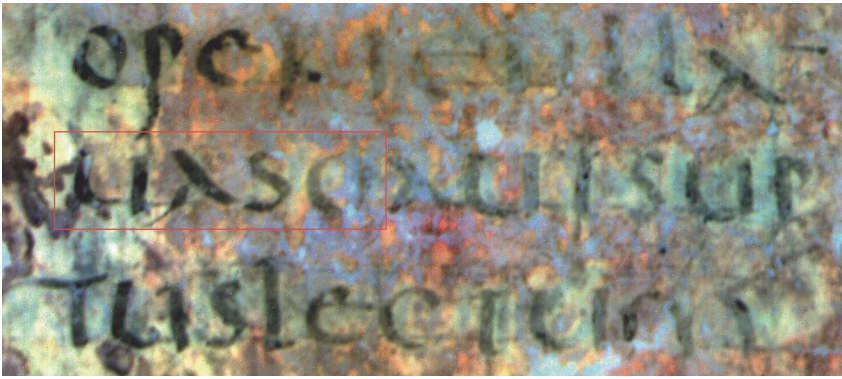


Figure 2.17: Luke 8:16 (390^a).

The restored reading *uaso*, ablative singular of the masculine *uasus*, is one of the few examples of the reduction of gender classes in the *Codex Vercellensis*; in this case, variant in conformity with classical usage would be *uase*, ablative singular of the neuter *uas*.³¹ This is noteworthy because *uaso* is found throughout the Old Latin tradition, with only the text of the Vulgate following the standard register. This passage thus poses another case in which the previous editors were misguided by the later witnesses.

³⁰ For the earlier readings in the text, see chap. 5.4.1, p. 245f.

³¹ For a detailed discussion of the reduction of inflectional classes in the manuscript, see chap. 5.2.2, pp. 215ff.

9. Luke 8:23 (391^b): *periculabantur* – *periclitabantur*

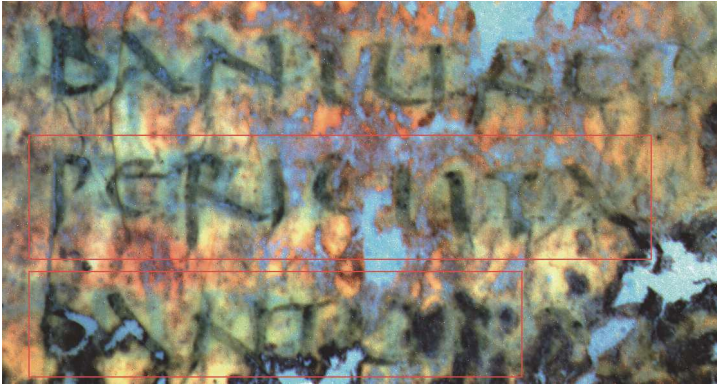


Figure 2.18: Luke 8:23 (391^b).

In this verse, all previous editors took the variant *periculabantur* for a unique reading of the *Vercellensis* Luke. However, the MSI-images show that there is no deviation from the other Latin authorities, and that the textual transmission was consistent in this case. At the same time, the form *periculari* is attested only once in classical literature,³² whereas *periclitari* is the most frequent term meaning “to be in danger.”

³² Cf. Cato ap. *Fest.* 242.

10. Luke 9:14 (401^b): *autem* – *enim*

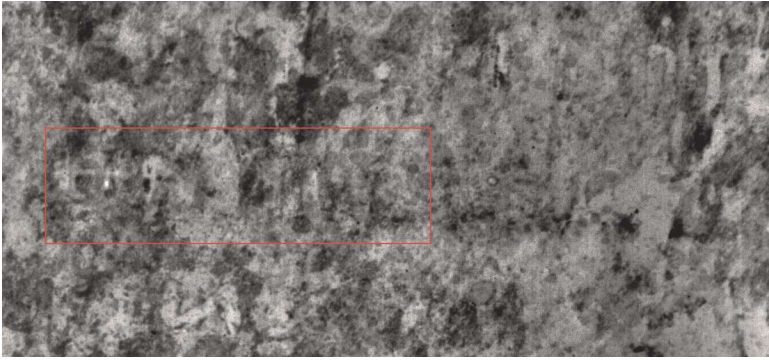


Figure 2.19: Luke 9:14 (401^b).

The restored text follows the variant found in most Latin witnesses, as well as in the oldest Greek authorities (Ⲙ B C D). The reading *autem*, on the other hand, printed by all previous editors of the *Codex Vercellensis*, is widespread in the manuscripts of the Vulgate and in later Greek witnesses (Ⲙ^{*2b} L). In this way, our edition speaks in favor of positing γάρ instead of δέ as the original reading of the Gospel of Luke.

11. Luke 9:59 (410^a): *illum* – *alium*



Figure 2.20: Luke 9:59 (410^a).

Once more, the restored text shows that there is no deviation from the Greek text of the passage, which has ἕτερον. Most Latin witnesses here have *alterum*, with the exception of the *Codex Bezae* (VL5), which reads *alium* as well. In this way, the MSI-images give further evidence for the many similarities between the codices *Vercellensis* and *Bezae*.

12. Luke 11:28 (421^a): *illi* – *illis*

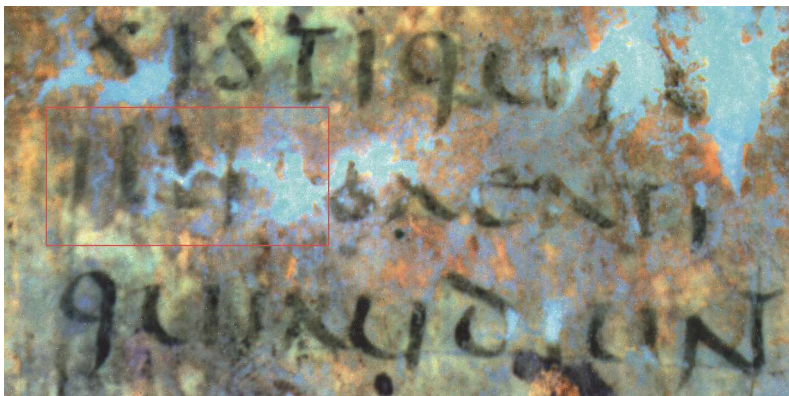


Figure 2.21: Luke 11:28 (421^a).

The restored plural *illis* shows that the manuscript partially follows the majority of Old Latin witnesses in this passage, which read *ad eos*. Noteworthy is the fact that older literature lists the reading *illi* printed by earlier editors as an important difference between the *Codex Vercellensis* and the *Fragmenta Curiensia* (VL16).³³ However, the MSI-images show that both manuscripts agree in this point in reading *illis*.

³³ Cf. WORDSWORTH ET AL., *Old Latin Biblical Texts*, ccxiv.