

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO MARK IN TWO LATIN MIXED-TEXT MANUSCRIPTS*

During work on the *Vetus Latina* edition of the Gospel according to John, two gospel codices were identified which preserved significant Old Latin evidence despite an overall correspondence with the Vulgate. The first was Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek M.p.th.f. 67, a gospel book in uncial script believed to have been written in Brittany around the year 800, and now entered in the *Vetus Latina* register as VL 11A.¹ The second was St Petersburg, National Library of Russia F.v.I.8, also known as Codex Fossatensis or the St Petersburg Insular Gospels, copied around the same time probably in Northumbria, which has been assigned the siglum VL 9A.² Attention was drawn to these witnesses by the pioneering collations of Bonifatius Fischer, which used computers to compare over 450 Latin Gospel manuscripts copied before the year 1000 in four substantial extracts from each gospel.³ This data has subsequently been used also to identify a new Old Latin witness to Mark, VL 19A.⁴ Although the collations appeared in print, a projected volume of statistical results was never completed: the figures of the total agreement between each manuscript and the Stuttgart Vulgate and an examination of manuscripts related to Codex Aureus (VL 15) was published posthu-

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1. H.A.G. HOUGHTON, ‘A Newly Identified Old Latin Gospel Manuscript: Würzburg Universitätsbibliothek M.p.th.f.67’, *JTS* ns 60.1 (2009) pp. 1–21. The latest version of the *Vetus Latina* register is R. GRYSO, ed., *Allateinische Handschriften/Manuscrits Vieux Latins*. (*Vetus Latina* 1/2A). Freiburg: Herder, 1999.

2. H.A.G. HOUGHTON, ‘The St Petersburg Insular Gospels: Another Old Latin Witness’, *JTS* ns 61.1 (2010) pp. 110–127.

3. Bonifatius FISCHER, *Die lateinischen Evangelien bis zum 10. Jahrhundert*. (AGLB 13, 15, 17, 18). Freiburg: Herder, 1988–91.

4. Jean-Claude HAELEWYCK, ‘Un nouveau témoin vieux latin de Marc. Le ms. Durham, Cathedral Library A.II.10 + C.III.13 + C.III.20’, *Revue bénédictine* 123.1 (2013) pp. 5–12.

mously several decades later.⁵ Following an enquiry to Herder publishers in late 2010, the author received a copy of the files from Fischer's original floppy disks which had been transferred to CD-ROM. These included a table with the percentages of agreement between each manuscript and the Vulgate in all sixteen test-passages. The data for these two manuscripts is given in Table 1 (with the overall non-Vulgate ranking in parentheses):

Passage	VL 9A	VL 11A
11 (Matt. 2:19–4:17)	96.7 (293)	91.9 (60)
12 (Matt. 8:2–9:8)	97.3 (198)	77.7 (7)
13 (Matt. 16:9–17:17)	97.8 (392)	79.5 (14)
14 (Matt. 26:39–58, 27:29–46)	91.4 (82)	85.0 (32)
21 (Mark 2:12–3:21)	90.3 (41)	87.6 (23)
22 (Mark 7:32–8:35)	90.4 (38)	88.6 (29)
23 (Mark 10:17–52)	70.6 (12)	65.7 (8)
24 (Mark 14:22–62)	65.4 (11)	86.8 (34)
31 (Luke 6:17–49)	93.6 (97)	91.0 (45)
32 (Luke 8:12–43)	91.6 (42)	92.0 (44)
33 (Luke 10:40–11:32)	88.0 (35)	74.3 (13)
34 (Luke 23:35–44, 24:8–13, 24–49)	91.5 (40)	90.3 (35)
41 (John 2:18–3:31)	87.4 (23)	84.3 (17)
42 (John 7:28–8:16)	89.4 (39)	90.1 (14)
43 (John 12:17–13:6)	90.5 (39)	74.2 (6)
44 (John 20:1–21:4)	87.0 (33)	–

Table 1: Percentages and rankings from Fischer's collations

These varying percentages confirm the general impression from Fischer's published collations that these manuscripts also preserve Old Latin material in the Synoptic Gospels. The high agreement between VL 9A and the Vulgate in Matthew is consistent with the codicological indications of a division between Matthew and the other gospels in this manuscript.⁶ In the other gospels, the agreement

5. Bonifatius FISCHER†, 'Die lateinischen Evangelien bis zum 10. Jahrhundert. Zwei Untersuchungen zum Text', ZNW 101 (2010) pp. 119–144.

6. The quire numbering begins from Mark, and the body of Matthew is in a different hand from the rest of the manuscript: see Olga BLESKINA, 'Eighth-century Insular Gospels (NLR, Lat. F.v.I.8): Codicological and Palaeographical

of around 90% indicates that there is divergence from the Vulgate characteristic of a mixed text but not at the level of the thoroughgoing Old Latin witnesses (80% or lower). The latter half of Mark is an exception, suggesting that VL 9A may preserve an Old Latin text here. The analysis of VL 11A in John indicated that this witness exhibited block mixture, with passages of Old Latin affiliation in John 1:1–5:40 and 12:34–13:10 alternating with a predominantly Vulgate text. The remarkably low percentage agreements in passages 12, 23 and 33 indicate that this also appears to be the case for parts of each of the Synoptic Gospels, while elsewhere the overall flavour is that of a mixed text.

A full analysis can only be carried out on the basis of a complete transcription of each manuscript. The recent inauguration of the *Vetus Latina* edition of Mark has prompted the present study in order to determine whether these codices should be cited as Old Latin witnesses in this Gospel as well as in John.⁷ Following the procedures developed by the International Greek New Testament project (IGNTP), also adopted for the *Vetus Latina Iohannes*, a full electronic transcription of Mark was made from digital images. This reproduced the page layout and matched the text exactly, including details of abbreviations, corrections and certain letter-forms.⁸ After proofreading, these files were each collated with the editorial text of the Stuttgart Vulgate using software developed for the IGNTP which automatically generated a verse-by-verse list of all textual differences.⁹ These collations were

Aspects', *Studies in Variation, Contacts and Change in English* 9 (2012), available online at <<http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/series/volumes/09/>>; in addition, Matthew has a different series of numbered divisions in its text and fuller Eusebian apparatus than the other gospels: see HOUGHTON, 'The St Petersburg Insular Gospels', p. 114.

7. Jean-Claude HAELEWYCK, ed., *Vetus Latina. Die Reste der allateinischen Bible. 17. Evangelium secundum Marcum*. Freiburg: Herder, 2013–. The third fascicle, containing Mark 1:44–4:15, was published during the production of the present study. For a review of the first two fascicles, see H.A.G. HOUGHTON in *JTS* ns 65.1 (2014) pp. 189–193.

8. For the electronic editions of the IGNTP, see <<http://www.iohannes.com>>. The process of making an electronic transcription is described in D.C. PARKER, 'Through a Screen Darkly: Digital Texts and the New Testament', *JSNL* 25 (2003) pp. 395–411, on pp. 405–8; see also H.A.G. HOUGHTON, 'The Electronic Scriptorium: Markup for New Testament Manuscripts', in Claire CLIVAZ, Andrew GREGORY and David HAMIDOVIC (edd.), *Digital Humanities in Biblical, Early Jewish and Early Christian Studies*, Leiden: Brill, 2014, pp. 31–60.

9. The tool for comparing two witnesses was created by Dr Catherine SMITH of ITSEE, University of Birmingham, who also undertook the conversion of the files to XML.

then edited to create a critical apparatus; purely orthographical variants and obvious errors were marked so that they could be eliminated from the textual comparison. The resulting lists of variants from the Vulgate were then compared with the Old Latin evidence presented in Jülicher's *Itala* and the collation data in Fischer's selections from Mark in order to assess their textual affiliation.¹⁰ Finally, the two transcriptions were converted into XML markup compatible with the Text Encoding Initiative P5 Guidelines and archived on the University of Birmingham Institutional Repository, where they remain available for consultation and re-use.¹¹

VL 11A

The transcription was initially made from digitised microfilm, but was proofread against new high-resolution colour images published online in 2013 in the Virtuelle Bibliothek Würzburg (<<http://vb.uni-wuerzburg.de/ub/mpthf67/index.html>>). A full description of the manuscript is given in the library catalogue.¹² It is written in a single eighth- or ninth-century uncial hand with insular features: one of the characteristics which suggests an origin in Brittany is the unusual division of words between lines, with scant regard for syllabification. One extreme example is the splitting of *me* on fol. 79v. The text is set out in two equal columns of twenty lines. Words or groups of words are separated by interpunctuation; otherwise, punctuation mainly consists of slightly larger capital letters although the relative size is often difficult to assess. There are a handful of decorative initials or symbols with interlacing patterns and red and yellow colouring. Marginal material is practically absent: there are no running titles,

10. Adolf JÜLICHER, with Walter MATZKOW and Kurt ALAND, *Itala. Das Neue Testament in allateinischer Überlieferung. II. Marcus-Evangelium. Zweite verbesserte Auflage*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1970; Bonifatius FISCHER, *Die lateinischen Evangelien bis zum 10. Jahrhundert: II. Varianten zu Markus* (AGLB 15). Freiburg: Herder, 1989.

11. The URLs are <<http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/1861>> (VL 9A) and <<http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/1862>> (VL 11A).

12. Hans THURN, *Die Pergamenthandschriften der ehemaligen Dombibliothek* (Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg, Bd. 3, Hälfte 1; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1984), pp. 52–4 <<http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/hs/kataloge/HSK0085.htm>>; see also Bernhard BISCHOFF and Josef HOFMANN, *Libri sancti Kyliani: Die Würzburger Schreibschule und die Dombibliothek im VIII. und IX. Jahrhundert* (Würzburg: F. Schönigh, 1952), esp. p. 109. The manuscript is number 1422 in E. A. LOWE, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, Part IX: *Germany: Maria Laach-Würzburg* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959).

chapter or section numbers in Mark.¹³ The standard of copying is poor, with frequent omissions of individual letters as well as longer passages due to eyeskip. The orthography is inconsistent, with *synagoga/sinagoga* and *gazofilatium/gazophilatium* appearing on the same page. There is frequent confusion between the letter-pair *e-i* and, less often, *b-p* and *d-t*. Both *ę* and *æ* are used, along with digraphs for *nt* and *or*. There are regular abbreviations for common words and syllables, as well as internal and final *m*, along with one instance each of the insular symbols for *enim* (Mark 9:40) and *autem* (Mark 10:51). Mark has relatively few corrections. However, the new zoomable images reveal a number of places where words appear to have been written *in rasura*, usually by the first hand, although the identification of these from digital surrogates is not entirely secure. The manuscript is tightly bound; the online images generally reveal more of the text in the gutter than the microfilm but this is not always the case.

On folio 66v, the final verses of Matthew are immediately followed by a heading in red capitals: *Sequentia sancti euangelii secundum Marcum*. (The term *sequentia*, unusual for a continuous-text manuscript but common in lectionaries, also appears in this manuscript in the heading for John and before the *chi-rho* decoration at Matthew 1:18.) On folio 67r, preceded by decorative capitals, begins the standard preface *Marcus euangelista dei et Petri in baptisate filius*, although it breaks off one-third of the way through at the word *praedicationis*. After an interlaced cross, decorated in red and yellow and with what seems to be a picture of a bird at its base, the first three verses of the gospel are written in a variant of the normal script.¹⁴ The initial *F* of Mark 1:4 is another coloured, zoomorphic and interlaced initial, covering a space of nine lines: after this the normal script resumes. There are no other coloured outsize initials in this gospel: the first letters of Mark 8:1 and 14:1 are written larger than usual in black.

The comparison between the transcription and the editorial text of Mark in the Stuttgart Vulgate produced a list of 517 variants after the removal of orthographic differences and impossible forms. Of these, 120 are omissions and 34 are changes in word order. There

13. The only exception is a later note, which seems to read *pro l l bacio*, in the left margin of fol. 87v alongside Mark 10:47.

14. Although it would be tempting to connect the bird with the use of the eagle as the evangelist symbol for Mark in Western tradition and the Book of Durrow, the absence of symbols before the other gospels tells against this.

is a particularly high concentration of variants in Mark 10:30–11:5, where 117 variants are found in 28 verses at a rate of over 4 per verse. The other non-Vulgate readings are spread throughout the gospel at a rate of 0.6 per verse. This short section, therefore, appears to be a pure Old Latin portion, comparable to the 27 verses of John 12:34–13:10; the similar length suggests that both represent a page missing from an exemplar which was supplied from another source. There is no physical indication of the change in affiliation, but the overlap with Fischer's passage 23 makes it possible to specify the start of the passage: Mark 10:27–28 are identical to the Vulgate, with the characteristic addition *sed non apud deum*; Mark 10:29 does not include *autem* and has *ait* rather than *dixit*, in keeping with the Vulgate, but omits *aut patrem* like VL 1, 3, 5, 8 and possibly 14. While the omission is not in itself conclusive, in the next verse there is the unique reading *centenos* (for *centies*),¹⁵ followed by the typically Old Latin *hoc saeculo* in place of *tempore hoc* (VL 6) and the addition of *accipiat* at the end of the verse. The Old Latin portion may thus be said to begin at Mark 10:30. The end is also pinpointed by the textual affiliation: there are multiple non-Vulgate readings in Mark 11:1–5, but 11:6–7 are practically identical to the Vulgate. Furthermore, Mark 11:5 ends with a conflated reading, *ubi ducitis eum quid facitis soluentes pullum*, combining a phrase unique to VL 6 with the majority form. In the context, this is a likely indication of a change of exemplar.

The high proportion of non-Vulgate readings in this short section warrants the presentation of the transcription in full. Original orthography is preserved, along with interpunction; abbreviations (apart from *nomina sacra*) are expanded in parentheses.¹⁶

[Fol. 86v] ... qui n(on) accipiat centenos tantum · nunc in hoc seculo
 · in futuro aut(em) sec(u)lo uita(m) et(er)na(m) · accipiat · multi
 sunt primi nouissimi · et nouissimi primi · Erant aut(em) ascen-
 dentes in uia · in hierusolimi · et p(re)cedebat illos ih̄s et pauebant ·
 qui seq(ue)bantur eu(m) et adsumens · illos · x̄i cepit illis · iteru(m)
 dicere · q(ue) sibi euentura essent · Qui[Fol. 87r]a · ecce ascendimus
 · hierulimam · filius hominis · tradetur · principib(us) sacerdotum ·
 et scribis · et damnabunt · eu(m) morti · et tradent · gentib(us) et
 inludent · eum · et conspuent · et flagellab(un)t · eum · et occident

15. Fischer's collation erroneously reads *centenes*.

16. For the suggestion that *ad dextris* in 10:37 and 10:40 (and elsewhere in this witness in Mark) is hypercorrection, see P.H. BURTON, *The Old Latin Gospels. A Study of Their Texts and Language*. Oxford: OUP, 2000, p. 39.

· et post · t(er)tia die · resurget · et accesser(un)t ad eum · iacob et iohannis · filii · zebethei · magist(er) · quodcu(m)q(ue) petierimus · fac nobis · quib(us) ipse dix(it) quid uultis · ut facia(m) uobis · illi aut(em) dixerunt · ei · da nobis · <ut un(us)>¹⁷ ad dextris · tuis · alius · ad sinistris · sedeamus · in gloria tua · dicit illis *īh̄s* nescitis · quid petatis · potestis bibere calice(m) · que(m) ego bibiturus su(m) · aut baptissu(m) · baptizare que(m) ego baptizari · habeo ·¹⁸ at illi dixerunt · possumus · ait illi *īh̄s* · calicem quidem · que(m) biberi · bibetis · et baptismum · baptizemini sedere aut(em) · ad dextris · uel ad sinistris · n(on) meu(m) dare · uobis · aliis paratu(m) · e(st) · hoc audito · ceteri · de iacobo · et iohan(ne) · quos cum · aduocasset · *īh̄s* ait · illis · scitis · quia uident · principari · gentiu(m) · dominantur eoru(m) · et maiores illorum · potestate(m) habent eoru(m) · in uobis · aute(m) n(on) ita · e(st) · sed quicu(m)q(ue) uoluerit · e(ss)e · maior erit · u(este)r · [Fol. 87v] minist(er) · et quicu(m)q(ue) uoluerit in uobis · e(ss)e · primus erit · om(n)iu(m) · seruus · sicut filiu(m) hominis · n(on) uenit · ministrari · s(ed) ministrare · et dare · anima(m) sua(m) · redemptionem · pro multis · et uenerunt · in hiericho · <et factum · e(st) · cum exisset · ab hiericho · cu(m) multa turba · ecce quida(m) cecus · filius · time barithimeī>¹⁹ sedebat · circa uia(m) mendicans · qui cum audisset q(uo)d *īh̄s* · nazareus · e(ss)et · qui transiebat · cæpit clamare et dicere · miserere mei · *īh̄u* fili dauid · et co(m)minabantur · illi · ut taceret · Ille magis · magisq(ue) clamabat · miserere mei · fili dauid · resistens uero *īh̄s* · iussit illum · uocare et abierunt · uocare eum dicentes · anime · q(u)ior es tu surge uocate te · ille uero ut audiuit · proiecit uestim(en)ta sua · et exiliens uenit ad eum · cui dix(it) · *īh̄s* · quid uis · ut facia(m) tibi · cecus (autem) dix(it) · rabbi · ut uidea(m) · *īh̄s* uero dix(it) ei · uade fides tua · te saluu(m) facit · et confestim · ut uidit sequebat(ur) eum · in uia · cu(m) au(tem) adpropinquasset · hierusolime et bethanię ad montem · oliueti²⁰ · misit duos · ex discipulis suis · et ait illis · ite in castellu(m) · q(uo)d · [Fol. 88r] contra uos · e(st) · Et introeuntes · statim · inuenietis · pullu(m) asine · alligatum · nouellum · sup(er) quem · nemo sedit · soluite illum · et adducite · Et si quis uobis · dixerit · quid facitis · dicite · *đñs* opera ei(us) · desiderat mitte illum · et abierunt · illi duo · et inuener(un)t ad osteum · foris secus · transitum · pullum · ligatu(m) · et cu(m) uellent · illum · soluere quida(m) · de circu(m)stantib(us) dixerunt²¹ eis · ubi ducitis · eum · quid facitis · soluentes · pullum ·

17. *ut un(us)* is written by the first hand on an erasure of six letters.

18. *habeo* · is erased.

19. The four lines *et factum est ... barithimeī* appear to have been rewritten by the first hand *in rasura*.

20. Later altered to *oliuele*.

21. *Dixerunt* is written in full despite also having an abbreviation line above the *x*.

The overwhelming textual affiliation of this section is with VL 6 (the twelfth-century Codex Colbertinus). Fischer's unpublished data files show that, in the whole of passage 23, VL 11A is the closest of all witnesses to VL 6, with an agreement of 69.4%, followed by VL 15 (67%). What is more, the full collation presents at least fourteen occasions when VL 6 and VL 11A share an otherwise unique reading. Several of these are striking, such as the omission of the long clause *domos ... persecutionibus* from 10:30, *quibus ipse dixit* for *at ille dixit eis* in 10:36, the word order *in uobis autem non ita est* in 10:43, *cum exisset* for *proficiscente eo* in 10:46, *magis magisque* for *multo magis* in 10:48, and *ille uero ut audiuit proiecit uestimenta sua* for *qui proiecto uestimento suo* in 10:50. These parallels continue in Mark 11:1–5, where Jülicher's edition shows that a number of extensive rewritings are only present in VL 6, such as *dominus opera eius desiderat* in 11:3 and the entire text of 11:4. Most, but not all, of the other non-Vulgate readings are shared with VL 6 and a handful of other witnesses, especially those related to VL 15: the omission of *et senioribus* from 10:33 is paralleled in numerous Old Latin manuscripts but not VL 6, while the omission of *uolumus ut* from 10:35 and *quo ego baptizor* from 10:39 is only matched by VL 1. There are a few readings unique to VL 11A among all gospel manuscripts of the first millennium: most are omissions which may be copying oversights, but *centenos* for *centies* in 10:30, *sunt* for *erunt* in 10:31, *resistens* in 10:49, *ut uidit* in 10:52 and *mitte illum* in 11:3 may all have a claim to be otherwise unpreserved Old Latin forms. This identification of a partner witness to the unusually variant text of VL 6, albeit only for a small passage of Mark, is a significant reminder that only a small proportion of Old Latin codices have been preserved and readings which now seem unique may have circulated more widely.²²

Of the variations from the Vulgate found elsewhere in Mark in VL 11A, just over 200 find parallels in the Old Latin witnesses reported in Jülicher's *Itala*. There is no consistent similarity with any single surviving witness. The most compelling similarities with VL 6 are *mulcauerunt* in 12:4 (where most other manuscripts read *in capite uulnerauerunt*) and *non relicto semine* rather than *nec iste reliquit semen* in Mark 12:21. Other individual correspondences include *canes* for *catelli* with VL 17 in Mark 7:28 and *diuersorium* for *refectio* with

22. On the unusually high number of variant readings in Mark in VL 6, see HAELEWYCK, *Evangelium secundum Marcum*, pp. 90–102.

VL 13 in Mark 14:14. The situation is similar regarding VL 8 (Codex Corbeiensis), with *extulit* in 1:12 (Vulgate *expellit*), *nosse mysterium* in 4:11 (Vulgate *mysterium regni*) and *galliculis* in 6:9 (Vulgate *sandaliis*); *lumen* rather than *splendorem* in 13:24 is present in both VL 6 and VL 8. A handful of readings are shared only with VL 10 (Codex Brixianus), such as *discumberet* in 2:15 (Vulgate *accumberet*; also in both at 6:39), *additamentum* in 2:21 (Vulgate *adsumentum*), the form *scariothen* in 3:19, *per* in 6:40 (Vulgate *in*) and *redeuntes* in 7:4 (Vulgate *cum uenerint*). There are also some striking readings matching VL 3 (Codex Vercellensis): *centeni et quinquageni* in 6:40 (Vulgate *per centenos et per quinquagenos*); *substantiam suam* in 12:44 (*uictum suum* in all other manuscripts); *tanto magis dicebat* in 14:31 (*amplius loquebatur* in most witnesses). Parallels with VL 1 (Codex Bobiensis) attest to the antiquity of certain readings. *Fici arborem* in 11:13, *erunt* in 11:24, *illius* in 14:9 and the lexeme *reus* rather than *uinctus* in 15:6 are peculiar to these two manuscripts, while others are found in VL 1 and other Old Latin codices, including *sermonem* for *uerbum* in 11:29, *torcular* for *lacum* in 12:1, *omnes* in place of *acceperunt eam* in 12:22 and *prima* for *una* in 16:2. Some readings are typical of the Old Latin tradition more generally, such as the addition of *homines* (in 8:9 and 13:13), *baptisma* rather than *baptismum* (11:30), *accipis personam hominum* in 12:14 (Vulgate *uides in faciem hominis*), *fustibus* rather than *lignis* in 14:43 and 14:48, and the verb form *negabis* for *es negaturus* in 14:30.

The much fuller collations provided by Fischer show that readings not present in Jülicher may be attested in other manuscripts. There are multiple correspondences with the first-hand of the sixth-century Gospels of St Augustine (Jx*; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 286) and with VL 109 (Codex Complutensis primus, Sx; Madrid, Universidad 31), including *additamentum* in 2:21, *an* in 2:27 (Vulgate *et non*), *tunc* in 3:4 (Vulgate *et*), *adsumens* in 14:33 (Vulgate *adsumit et*), the addition of *cum omni sollicitudine* in 14:44 and *nudus* for *super nudo* in 14:51. The possibility that these have ancient roots is supported by attestation in known Old Latin witnesses: only these three manuscripts and VL 6 and 8 have *uenientes* and no conjunction in 2:18 (Vulgate *ueniunt et*); Jx* and VL 3 are the only possible matches for VL 11A's *tanto magis dicebat* in 14:31; *additamentum* in 2:21 is the reading in Ambrosiaster on Galatians 5:2. Some poorly-attested readings appear in a handful of other witnesses, includ-

ing the word-order *istam turbam* in 8:2, the addition of *non* before *introibunt* in 10:23, the omission of *tu* from 14:30 and *alium* for *aliud* in 14:58, but these are less likely to be of significance for the early text.

Despite the breadth of witnesses adduced by Fischer, some readings remain unique to VL 11A. There is no other manuscript with *obloquebantur* in 8:16 (Vulgate *cogitabant*), *mussitatis* in 8:17 (Vulgate *cogitatis*), *eum* in 10:26 (Vulgate *semetipsos*) or the addition of *dominum* before *Iesum* in 14:53,²³ as well as the five readings between 10:30 and 11:5 mentioned above. Searching in the Brepols *Library of Latin Texts* and *Vetus Latina Database* has not identified any patristic parallels for these. The substitution of *tunc* for the initial *et* in 14:53 is unique to this manuscript, but it is part of a wider pattern, also occurring at 3:4 (where the only match in Fischer is VL 109) and 7:29 (with no parallel in Jülicher). In each case, no variant is reported to the form $\kappa\alpha\lambda\iota$ in Greek, suggesting that the variation is an intra-Latin change perhaps on stylistic grounds: the same variation is found in 14:60 in VL 6 and 8, suggesting that it may have formed part of an Old Latin revision.²⁴ Similarly, the participle *adsumens* in place of *adsumit* ... *et* is found at both 9:1 and 14:33 (with VL 109 again) despite the finite verb $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\lambda\alpha\mu\beta\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota$ each time. More minor readings peculiar to this manuscript in Fischer's collation include *spicos* rather than *spicas* in 2:21 (cf. *spico* and *spicos* in 4:28, which demonstrate that this form is consistent), the spelling *amathar* in 2:26,²⁵ *milibus* rather than *milis* in 8:19, *retro a me* in 8:33 and *illi statim* rather than *illis* in 14:48.

Elsewhere in the gospel, there are 45 non-Vulgate readings which do not find a parallel among the manuscripts cited by Jülicher. These are listed in the collation below. Among the most noteworthy are those which involve a different word, such as *iuxta* in 1:16 (Vulgate *secus*; VL 11A seems to be a harmonisation to Matthew), *etsi* in

23. *Dominus Iesus* is also added at Mark 14:17: the reverential addition is widespread in Matthew as well as present in Luke and John and may reflect the use of an antigraph for liturgical reading (see HOUGHTON, 'A Newly-Identified Old Latin Gospel Manuscript', p. 20.)

24. HAELEWYCK, *Evangelium secundum Marcum*, reports that *tunc* is found for *et* in the writings of Peter Chrysologus at Mark 3:3, 3:4 and 3:6; compare also Cummianus of Durrow at 4:1.

25. Interestingly, the same change is seen in 12:36, where VL 11A, like VL 5 and 13, reads *scamellum* rather than *scabillum*. This might indicate phonetic rather than simply orthographic factors at work.

6:23 (Vulgate *licet*, some Old Latin manuscripts *etiam si*), *discipulos suos* in 6:51 (Vulgate *illos*), *de publico* in 7:4 (*a foro* in all other manuscripts), *male* in 7:10 (*morte* in all other manuscripts; probably an error in VL 11A), *fecit* in 12:1 (*fodit* in all other manuscripts), *itaque* in 12:27 (Vulgate *ergo*) and *uiantes* in 15:29 (*praetereuntes* in almost all other manuscripts). Again, the *Library of Latin Texts* does not offer any matches in Christian authors. There are also changes of construction, including *extenta manu* in 1:41 (Vulgate *extendit manum suam et*), *quia non scitis* in 12:24 (Vulgate *non scientes*) and *tollere* in 15:21 (Vulgate *ut tolleret*); in 9:14, the plural *omnes populos* matches the plural verb. Several involve changes in the prefixes of compound verbs, as in *exeamus* in 1:38, *ortus* in 4:6, *substrauerunt* in 11:8, *excissum* in 15:38 and *denuntiavit* in 16:10. The addition of the negative in *qui legit non intellegat* (Mark 13:14) could be read as a statement of the copyist's own ignorance! The same alteration, however, is also seen at 10:23 (*in regnum dei non introibunt*), where it may again have been inspired by the sense of the passage. Fischer's collation records four other manuscripts which add *non* in 10:23, demonstrating once more that the absence of a reading from Jülicher is not a guarantee of uniqueness.

The additional clause *cum omni sollicitudine* in Mark 14:44, corresponding to Greek ἀσφαλῶς, is particularly interesting. Some Vulgate traditions have *caute* here, while Old Latin codices offer *diligenter* or *firmissime*. Fischer lists six other manuscripts with this reading (Jo Jx* Nd Sb Sx Ot). Although there is no surviving quotation of the verse in this form, the phrase is attested in a handful of early Christian texts, beginning with a letter from the clergy of Rome to Cyprian (*Epistula* 8 in Cyprian's corpus) and Rufinus' translation of Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica*. It is a favourite of Gregory the Great, appearing in six of his letters, and also appears in the Rule of Benedict. It is probably overinterpreting the evidence to see it as a peculiarly Roman locution, although the two oldest manuscripts (Jx* Jo), both known as the Gospels of St Augustine, are believed to have been copied in Rome in the sixth and seventh centuries respectively and it is tempting to speculate that it may have been introduced as part of a revision with connections to Rome. Again, the unique reading of *de publico* rather than *a foro* in 7:4 might be claimed to be a deliberate alteration in a context where *forum* had a specialised meaning, such as Rome. Another intriguing item of vocabulary is

uiantes in 15:29: first attested in Apuleius, the word only becomes widespread in Ambrose and other Christian writers in fourth-century Italy.

An apparatus follows of non-Vulgate readings in VL 11A outside the passage given in full above. The *lemma* is that of the Stuttgart Vulgate (fifth edition); the variant reading is that of VL 11A. First hand readings are marked as *p.m.* and corrections as *s.m.* An asterisk means that the reading (or a close parallel) is not found in Jülicher's *Itala*. Comparative information is added from Jülicher: VL indicates a form widely attested in Old Latin codices, while elsewhere manuscripts are identified using the *Vetus Latina* numbers; (vg) indicates a variant which Jülicher notes is attested in the Vulgate. Variants attributable to orthography and obvious nonsense readings have been excluded, as have changes of word order or omissions not paralleled in Old Latin sources. The orthography of VL 11A has been retained throughout, with abbreviations expanded.

1:5	regio] a regio*	1:44	dicit] dixit 3 10 14
	flumine] <i>om.</i> VL	2:1	intrauit] introibit (<i>pro</i> introiuit)
1:6	uestitus] + ex 10		capharnaum] in capharnaum 2 3 5
1:8	baptizaui] baptizo VL	2:2	neque] usque VL
	aqua] in aqua VL	2:9	an] aut VL
	spiritu] in spiritu VL	2:10	terra] terram VL
1:12	expellit] extulit <i>cf.</i> 8	2:11	surge] + et 5 6 (vg)
	desertum] deserto VL	2:15	accumberet] discumberet 10
1:13	et erat in deserto] <i>om.</i> 3	2:18	ueniunt et] uenientes 6 8
1:15	euangelio] in euangelio VL	2:21	adsumentum] additamen- tum 10
1:16	secus] iuxta*		aufert] auferet (vg)
1:21	ingrediuntur] ingresi <i>cf.</i> 3 10 11		fit] fiet 14
	et] <i>om.</i> 6	2:22	nouellum] nouum VL
1:23	exclamaui] clamauit 13 15		effunditur] effundetur VL (vg)
1:29	egredientes] egrediens 8 11 (vg)	2:23	discipuli eius coeperunt] ceperunt discipuli eius 14
	uenerunt] uenit VL		spicas] spicos*
1:30	decumbebat] discumbebat 15 (vg)	2:24	ei] <i>om.</i> VL
	dicunt] dixerunt*	2:25	quando] quomodo*
1:34	loqui ea] ea loqui VL	2:26	quomodo] et quomodo*
1:38	eamus] exeamus*		abiathar] amathar*
1:41	extendit manum suam et] extenta manu*		

2:27	et non] an*		spica] spico*
3:4	et] tunc*	4:40	magno timore] timore
	licet] si licet* ²⁶		magno VL
3:5	extendit et restituta est		oboediunt] obaudiunt VL
	manus] extendit manus et	5:2	occurrit ei] occurrit 14 17
	restituta est illius*		(vg)
3:6	faciebant] fecerunt*	5:6	cucurrit] occurrit 14 15 (vg)
3:9	naucula] in naucula (vg)	5:7	dicit] dixit VL
3:17	iacobum] iacobo 10 14	5:10	deprecabatur]
	iohannem fratrem iacobi		deprecabantur 8 15 ^{b.m.} (vg)
	et] iohanni fratri eius <i>cf.</i> 14	5:13	mare] + erant enim 14
3:19	scarioth] scariothen 10	5:14	facti] factum VL
3:20	ueniunt] uenerunt 10	5:17	de] a VL
3:22	daemonum] demoniorum	5:18	ascenderet] ascenderent*
	VL		<i>cf.</i> 2
3:26	consurrexit] consurrexerit	5:19	sit] est VL
	10 11 15 (vg)	5:21	in nau] <i>p.m. in rasura</i> ²⁷
3:28	blasphemauerint]	5:23	manus] manum 8 10 15
	blasphemauerunt 15 (vg)	5:25	et] ecce <i>p.m.</i> 6 8
3:29	in spiritum] spiritum 3 4 13	5:28	quia] <i>om.</i> VL
3:30	habet] habere VL	5:29	sanata] sana 5 14
3:31	ueniunt] uenerunt 6 10	5:30	de] ab <i>cf.</i> 8
3:33	fratres] qui sunt fratres 2	5:31	sui] eius VL
	3 6 10 (vg)	5:33	quod] quid 5
4:2	eos] illos VL (vg)	5:38	ueniunt] uenit 3 6 8 10
4:6	exortus] ortus*		uidet] uidit 8 10 11 (vg)
4:7	spinas] spinis 3 6 10 (vg)	6:1	sui] illius 8 17 (vg)
	offocauerunt]	6:3	faber] fabri VL
	suffocauerunt VL		mariae] et marie VL
4:10	eo] illo*	6:5	uirtutem ullam] ullam
4:11	mysterium regni] nosse		uirtutem 4
	misterium 8	6:9	sandaliis] galliculis <i>cf.</i> 8
4:18	alii sunt] alii 4 6		induerentur] + in*
4:21	nonne] et non 5 8 14 17	6:11	audierint uos] audierint 11
4:22	enim est] est enim 5		14
	factum est] factum 6	6:14	resurrexit] surrexit 4 (vg)
	palam] + non <i>cf.</i> 6		inoperantur] operantur VL
4:24	et adicietur uobis] <i>om.</i> VL		(vg)
	(vg)	6:23	licet] etsi* <i>cf.</i> 4 6 8
4:26	iaciat] iactat <i>cf.</i> 14 17	6:25	statim] <i>om.</i> 11
4:28	spicam] spicos*	6:32	in nau] nauem 13 14 (vg)

26. Fischer's collation reports numerous manuscripts with this variant, none of which feature in Jülicher.

27. It is possible that the erased text was one of the Old Latin forms *contra* or *ultra*.

6:35	iam hora 2] hora iam VL (vg)	8:16	cogitabant] obloquebantur*
6:37	emamus] ememus VL dabimus] damus*		habemus] haberent VL
6:39	accumbere] discumbere <i>cf.</i> 10	8:17	cogitatis] mussitatis*
6:40	in] per <i>cf.</i> 10 per centenos] centeni 3 per quinquagenos] quinquageni 3	8:19	milia] milibus*
6:45	ascendere] + in VL (vg)	8:20	in] <i>om.</i> 1 tulistis et] tulistis VL (vg)
6:48	eis] <i>om.</i> VL	8:22	rogabant] rogant 15 (vg)
6:51	illos] discipulos suos*	8:33	retro] + a*
6:55	se] <i>om.</i> VL	8:34	post] <i>om.</i> 3 16
7:1	conueniunt] conuenerunt VL (vg)	8:38	confundetur] confidetur <i>s.m. cf.</i> 11
7:3	enim] autem VL	9:1 ²⁸	adsumit ... et ducit] adsumens ... duxit*
7:4	a foro] de puplico* + redeuntes 10	9:4	et respondens petrus ait iesu] <i>om.</i> 1 hic nos] nos hic VL (vg)
7:5	interrogant] interrogabant VL (vg)	9:9	cum] quod 5
7:10	morte] male*	9:14	omnis populus] omnes populos* stupefactus est] + et expauerunt* <i>cf.</i> VL
7:15	possit] posset 8	9:18	dicit] dixit VL (vg)
7:19	introit] introiit <i>s.m.</i> VL uentrem] + uadit* <i>cf.</i> 17	9:21	et] nam 6 10 et in ignem] in ignem VL
7:25	intrauit] introiuit 6	9:25	eo] illo* (also in 9A below)
7:26	mulier] <i>om.</i> 4 6 8 17	9:27	eum] + dicentes VL (vg)
7:28	dicit] dixit 6 8 nam] sed VL catelli] canes 17	9:43	uermis ... moritur] uermes ... moriuntur <i>cf.</i> 4
7:29	et] tunc*	9:45	uermis ... moritur] uermes ... moriuntur <i>cf.</i> 4
7:33	auriculas] + eius VL	9:47	uermis ... moritur] uermes ... moriuntur <i>cf.</i> 4 extinguitur] extinguetur <i>s.m.</i> VL
8:2	turba] turbam istam* <i>cf.</i> VL triduo] triduum VL	10:5	uobis] + moyses 5 10
8:6	supra] super VL (vg) dabat] dedit VL	10:16	eos et] eos VL
8:9	milia] + hominum VL	10:19	matrem] + tuam VL (vg)
8:13	ascendens] + nauem VL (vg) iterum] + et VL	10:20	et] at VL conseruau] obseruau VL
		10:23	introibunt] non introibunt*

28. Note that the verse numbering of the Stuttgart Vulgate differs from Jülicher and Nestle–Aland by one verse for the whole of Mark 9.

- 10:24 regnum] in regnum 13 15
(vg)
- 10:25 intrare] *om.* 1 3 5 8
- 10:26 semet ipsos] eum*
- 10:29 aut patrem] *om.* VL
- 10:30 to 11:5 *see transcription above.*
- 11:8 strauerunt] substrauerunt
s.m.
- 11:10 regnum] + dei *cf.* 13
- 11:11 hierosolyma] hierusolimam
VL (vg)
- 11:13 ficum] fici arborem 1^{s.m.} *cf.*
VL
- 11:15 introisset] + in VL
- 11:16 uas transferret] transferret
uas VL (vg)
- 11:18 principes] princeps*
- 11:19 egrediebatur]
egredi<e>bantur VL (vg)
- 11:23 in corde] corde 6
- 11:24 orantes] oratis et 3 5 6 8
quia] et*
ueniet] erunt 1
- 11:29 uerbum] sermonem 1 6 15
- 11:30 baptismum] baptisma VL
- 11:31 credidistis] credetis*
- 11:32 esset] fuisset*
- 12:1 in] hanc*
fodit] fecit*
lacum] torcular 1 3 8 17
- 12:2 ad agricolas in tempore] in
tempore ad agricolas *cf.* 14
ab agricolis] *om.* VL
- 12:3 ceciderunt] cederunt *p.m.*
corr.
dimiserunt] remiserunt 10
11 17
- 12:4 capite uulnerauerunt]
mulcauerunt *cf.* 6
- 12:6 unum] unicum 3 13
reuerbuntur] uerebuntur
5 14 17 (vg)
- 12:11 factum est istud et est
mirabile] factus est et hic
est mirabilis VL
- 12:14 uides in faciem hominis]
accipis personas hominum
cf. VL
dabimus] *om.* VL
- 12:15 uersutiam] uersutias 8 13
17
- 12:16 et] *om.* 4
inscriptio] scriptio* (also
in 9A below)
- 12:17 iesus] *om.* 14
- 12:19 accipiat] ut accipiat VL
(vg)
- 12:21 mortuus] ipse mortuus 1 6
(vg)
nec iste reliquit semen]
non relicto semine 6
- 12:22 acceperunt eam] omnes 1 6
- 12:23 cum resurrexerint] *om.* 1 5
6 14
de his] *om.* 1 6 14
- 12:24 non scientes] quia non
scitis*
- 12:27 deus] + ergo*
ergo] itaque*
- 12:32 est et] est VL
- 12:34 respondisset] + ei*
- 12:36 scabillum] scamellum 5 13
- 12:37 est filius est] filius eius
est 4
audiuit] audiebat VL (vg)
- 12:44 uictum suum] substantiam
suam 3
- 13:2 uides] uidetis VL
- 13:3 sederet] sedisset *p.m. corr.*
ex disset
montem] monte 5
templum] + et*
- 13:10 primum] + autem VL
- 13:11 estis uos] uos estis VL
(vg)
- 13:13 omnibus] + hominibus 6 8
13
- 13:14 intellegat] non intellegat*
- 13:15 quid] aliquid VL (vg)
- 13:18 fiant] fiat hæc *cf.* VL
- 13:21 ecce] uel ecce VL

- 13:22 et 1] *om.* 5 17
 13:24 splendorem] lumen 6 8
 13:25 stellae caeli erunt] erunt
 stellæ celi 15 (vg)
 13:28 quia] quod 5 6 13 17
 13:29 sic] sicut*
 13:34 praecipiat] precepit VL
 (vg)
 14:2 populi] in populo 10 14 ?
 17 (vg)
 14:3 recumberet] discumberet
p.m. corr. cf. 6 8
 14:9 eius] illius 1
 14:10 de] ex 1 3 13 17
 14:14 refectio mea] diuorsorium
cf. 13
 14:16 praeparauerunt]
 parauerunt VL
 14:17 facto] + dominus iesus*
 14:20 intinguit] tingit *cf.* VL
 14:21 bonum] + esset*
 non esset natus] natus non
 esset *cf.* 8
 14:25 illud] illum 3 11
 nouum] *om.* 13
 14:28 resurrexero] surrexero 1 3
 5 17 (vg)
 14:30 es negaturus] negabis VL
 14:31 amplius loquebatur] tanto
 magis dicebat 3
 14:32 ueniunt] uenerunt 1 6 10
 14:33 adsumit ... et] adsumens*
 14:38 ut] *om. cf.* VL ?
 14:40 illorum] eorum VL
 14:43 lignis] fustibus VL
 14:44 ducite] + cum omni
 sollicitudine*
 14:48 illis] illi statim*
 lignis] fustibus VL
 14:51 super nudo] nudus*
 14:53 et] tunc*
 iesum] dominum iesum*
 conueniunt] conuenerunt
 VL
 14:54 intro] *om.* 1 3 5 11 (vg)
 14:61 interrogabat]
 interrogauit*²⁹
 14:65 ei] *om.* 8
 14:68 foras] foris 3 6
 14:69 quia] + et VL
 14:72 bis] *om.* VL
 15:6 dimittere solebat] sollebat
 dimittere *cf.* 8
 uinctis] reis *cf.* 1
 15:7 fecerant] fecerat VL
 15:10 per] in*
 15:17 purpuram] purpura 14 (vg)
 15:20 purpuram] purpura 14 15
 (vg)
 15:21 ut tolleret] tollere*
 15:29 praetereuntes] uiantes*
 aedificat] + illud 5 6 8
 15:31 fecit] facit*
 15:33 facta] + est 5
 15:38 scissum] excissum*
 15:40 quas et] quas VL
 15:41 et cum] que et cum VL
 sequebantur] sequebatur 5
 15:44 accersito] accessito 11^{p.m.}
 15:46 et deponens] deponens *cf.*
 VL
 sindone] in sindonem VL
 (vg)
 16:2 una] prima 1 13
 16:7 dixit] dixi 8 13
 16:10 nuntiauit] denunciauit*
 fuerant] erant 6 15 16

29. Fischer's collation lists 17 other manuscripts with this reading.

VL 9A

The transcription was made from colour images of the manuscript published on CD-ROM in 2001.³⁰ The Insular Gospels are described in two recent articles and feature in the standard catalogues of Latin gospel books.³¹ They are Vulgate in format, with the standard order of books, a prologue and set of *capitula* before each gospel, and Eusebian apparatus in the margin. The initial material consists of Jerome's *Letter to Damasus*, the preface *Plures fuisse*, a Latin version of Eusebius' *Letter to Carpianus* and some richly-decorated canon tables. The text is written in two columns, in short sense units indicated by projecting rubricated capitals: there is hardly any other punctuation. The hand has been described as insular half-uncial; insular minuscule is occasionally used at the end of columns, while lines are sometimes completed in blank space at the end of the line above or below. Apart from *nomina sacra* and corrections, abbreviations are largely restricted to line ends. The identification of corrections is not always straightforward due to the variety of letter-forms used by the first hand: some of the corrections appear to have been made in the scriptorium, where at least two exemplars were used by several copyists. In many places, the original text has been erased and is no longer legible: often, however, an Old Latin form which exactly fits the gap (and any remaining letters) can be reconstructed from other witnesses. The analysis of the text of John demonstrated that VL 9A preserves a significant proportion of very early Old Latin forms despite having been brought into correspondence with the Vulgate for the most part.

The prefatory material to Mark begins on fol. 75r, one of three folios inserted before the gospel. Despite the heading *incipiunt cap(itula) sec(undum) Marcum*, the preface *Marcus euangelista Dei* comes first. The *capitula* themselves are preceded by the title *incipi-*

30. *The Insular Gospels of the 8th Century in the Collection of the National Library of Russia, Saint Petersburg*. (Electronic version of Manuscript Lat.F.v.I.8). CD-ROM. National Library of Russia/Spaero Co., 2001. Folio 83v is missing from the single-folio view, but is fortunately present and legible in the smaller image of the entire opening.

31. See HOUGHTON, 'The St Petersburg Insular Gospels', pp. 113–116 and BLESKINA, 'Eighth-century Insular Gospels'; the manuscript is number 1605 in E. A. LOWE, *Codices Latini Antiquiores, Part XI* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), and 126 in Patrick MCGURK, *Latin Gospel Books from AD400 to AD800* (Les Publications du Scriptorium, 5; Paris: Érasme, 1961), where fuller information is given in the *Addenda*.

unt capitula lectionum, the typical formulation for the Type C *capitula* associated with Wearmouth-Jarrow.³² The *capitula* break off after 41 (Mark 12:41); the thirteen rubricated numbered divisions in the text of the gospel do not correspond exactly to Type C or any of the others reported by De Bruyne, although they derive from the thirteen-chapter series of Types A and B.³³ The gospel begins a new quire on fol. 78r, with a decorative initial page featuring zoomorphic interlaced initials and red, green and yellow colouring. Unusually, the verso only has 18 lines per column; fol. 79r has the more normal 24 lines, but the final page of this quire (numbered I) has 27. There is neither incipit nor explicit to the gospel, apart from the commendation *gloria tibi domine* written by the first hand after four blank lines at the end of Mark (fol. 111v).³⁴

Once orthographic variants and nonsense forms had been removed from the collation, a total of 922 non-Vulgate readings remained in the critical apparatus for the whole of Mark.³⁵ Fischer's collations, quoted at the top of the present article, suggest that the textual character of the manuscript shifts in the middle of the gospel. This is confirmed by the density of non-Vulgate readings. For Mark 1–8 (343 verses), there are 216 variants at an average of 0.6 per verse. In the second half of the gospel, this rate increases more than three-fold: in Mark 9–16 (354 verses), the 706 differences from the Vulgate occur at an average of two per verse as shown in Table 2:

	Mark 9	Mk 10	Mk 11	Mk 12	Mk 13	Mk 14	Mk 15	Mk 16
Total	51/49	121/52	95/33	99/44	74/37	166/72	70/47	30/20
Average	1.04	2.33	2.88	2.25	2	2.31	1.5	1.5

Table 2: Non-Vulgate readings per verse in VL 9A

32. See H.A.G. HOUGHTON, 'Chapter Divisions, *Capitula* Lists, and the Old Latin Versions of John', *Revue bénédictine* 121.2 (2011) pp. 316–356, especially p. 334.

33. [D. DE BRUYNE], *Sommaires, divisions et rubriques de la Bible latine*. Namur: Godenne, 1914, pp. 508–12. The divisions occur at 1:16 (ii), 2:23 (iii), 3:31 (iiii), 5:21 (v), 6:30 (vi), 7:24 (vii), 9:29 (viii), 10:31 (viii), 11:27 (x), 13:3 (xi), 14:3 (xii), 15:12 (xiii).

34. It is interesting that the preface to Luke on fol. 112 (another inserted page) appears to be written by the hand responsible for the body of Mark rather than the customary hand for prefaces and *capitula*. The archaic preposition in the heading, *incip(it) argumentum cata lucam* seems to be an indication of Old Latin associations.

35. This figure is comparable to the 1,096 in John (see HOUGHTON, 'The St Petersburg Insular Gospels', p. 116).

This is not as high as the proportion of non-Vulgate readings in the Old Latin portion of VL 11A analysed above. In order to assess whether any portion of the witness is Old Latin in affiliation, a list of 366 ‘distinctive Vulgate readings’ was drawn up: this consisted of all readings in the apparatus of Jülicher reported as attested only by the Vulgate and a maximum of two other manuscripts.³⁶ The first hand of VL 9A was then mapped onto the list, with VL 5, 11 and 15 for the sake of comparison. The figures for each chapter, as well as Fischer’s latter two passages, are given in Table 3:

	VL 9A	VL 5	VL 11	VL 15
Mark 9	60% (15/25)	0% (0/25)	56% (14/25)	32% (8/25)
Mark 10	41.3% (19/46)	2.2% (1/46)	71.7% (33/46)	19.6% (9/46)
Mark 11	26.7% (8/30)	3.3% (1/30)	70% (21/30)	26.7% (8/30)
Mark 12	63.3% (38/60)	1.7% (1/60)	80% (48/60)	42.4% (25/59)
Mark 13	43.5% (10/23)	4.4% (1/23)	73.9% (17/23)	34.8% (8/23)
Mark 14	34.3% (24/70)	4.3% (3/70)	77.1% (54/70)	34.3% (24/70)
Mark 15	68.6% (48/70)	5.7% (4/70)	84.3% (59/70)	32.9% (23/70)
Mark 16	69% (29/42)	0% (0/42)	73.8% (31/42)	31% (13/42)
Fischer 23	70.6% (12 th)	63.8% (6 th)	90% (43 rd)	80.7% (19 th)
Fischer 24	65.4 (11 th)	56.8% (6 th)	88.9% (40 th)	78.5% (18 th)

Table 3: Percentages of Vulgate agreement in ‘distinctive readings’ and Fischer’s collations

From this, it emerges that VL 9A is neither a pure Old Latin witness such as VL 5 (Codex Bezae), nor a predominantly Vulgate text like VL 11 (Codex Rehdigeranus). Instead, between Mark 10 and 14, the chapters in which there is an elevated proportion of non-Vulgate readings in Table 2, it is a mixed text comparable to VL 15 (Codex Aureus). Although VL 15 has an equal or lower number of ‘distinctive Vulgate readings’ in each chapter, VL 9A scores significantly lower in Fischer’s two collations based on the entire text. In part,

36. The same methodology was used in HOUGHTON, ‘A Newly-Identified Old Latin Gospel Manuscript’ (p. 6), although there the criterion was attestation in the Vulgate and one other manuscript. The predominantly Vulgate affiliation of VL 11 in Mark justifies the relaxing of these criteria, which are anyway only intended as broadly indicative: sometimes, the ‘Vulgate’ reading is also attested by VL 1, while at Mark 14:38 and 16:15 it is the *Itala* reading reconstructed by Jülicher!

this reflects the nature of the mixture in VL 9A, with the continual alternation of Vulgate and Old Latin forms. It also confirms that the arbitrary selection of ‘distinctive Vulgate readings’ is a less precise tool than an exhaustive collation of every variation unit, although it remains useful for indicating the extent to which a text reveals the influence of the Vulgate.

The overall picture for Mark, as for John, is of an Old Latin text largely conformed to the Vulgate over the course of several copyings, with the ongoing process evident in the manuscript itself. For example, at Mark 13:3, the first hand reading has been corrected to *oliuarum*, as found in the Vulgate. The fifth, sixth and seventh letters of the word are written over an erasure of three characters, suggesting that the original text was the Old Latin *oliuetem*. Similarly, the fifth line of column 2 on fol. 110v reads *Erat enim quippe magnus ualde*, with a rubricated capital, before two lines which have been completely erased: a correcting hand which appears to be the same as that responsible for the prefaces and *capitula* has added the Vulgate beginning of Mark 16:4 at the end of the line above. However, the Old Latin tradition reverses the order of the phrases: what has happened is that the corrector has turned the Old Latin start of the verse (marked with the projecting capital) into the Vulgate conclusion, erasing the subsequent Old Latin material.³⁷ There is already a trace of Vulgate influence in this phrase, however, with the presence of both *enim* and *quippe*: the latter is characteristic of the Vulgate end of the verse, the former of the Old Latin beginning. Several other conflated readings betray confusion over how to incorporate corrections written in an exemplar, such as *stupuerunt et expauerunt* in 9:14, *diuersorium meum et refectio mea* in 14:14, *conuenientia testimonia et aequalia* in 14:56, and *circumadstantibus* in 14:70 (where all other witnesses have *circumstantibus* or *adstantibus*). In 16:9, the erased letter *d* following *prima* appears to be the first hand beginning to write the Old Latin *die* but erasing it immediately, presumably having subsequently noticed a deletion mark. Even the form *summi sacerdotum* in 14:1 and 15:1 may be a conflation: the manuscript elsewhere normally has the Old Latin form *principes sacerdotum* rather than the Vulgate’s *summi sacerdotes*. In these two verses, only the first

37. Compare also the rubricated capital on *mane* at the beginning of Mark 11:20, although there is no surviving Old Latin parallel for this.

word has been altered and the second overlooked. This punctual ‘Vulgatisation’ against the consistent rendering of the rest of the manuscript illustrates the haphazard nature of the corrections.

Certain verses with a higher proportion of non-Vulgate readings appear to be Old Latin texts which have escaped later revision. These often remain in close correspondence with the form of the verse in Greek, even when the renderings are not paralleled elsewhere in the Latin tradition, such as Mark 12:12:

Nestle-Aland: καὶ ἐζήτουν αὐτὸν κρατῆσαι, καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν τὸν ὄχλον, ἔγνωσαν γὰρ ὅτι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν παραβολὴν εἶπεν. καὶ ἀφέντες αὐτὸν ἀπήλθον.

Vulgate: *et quaerebant eum tenere et timuerunt turbam cognouerunt enim quoniam ad eos parabolam hanc dixerit et relicto eo abierunt.*

VL 9A: *et quaerebant illum occidere et timuerunt populum intellexerunt enim quia de ipsis dixit similitudinem hanc et relicto eo abierunt.*

The most variant forms here are *occidere* for κρατῆσαι, probably a harmonisation (e.g. John 5:18, 7:1), and *de ipsis* for πρὸς αὐτοὺς, a construction found in some Old Latin codices. Mark 14:16 shows a greater divergence from standard forms:

Nestle-Aland: καὶ ἐξῆλθον οἱ μαθηταὶ καὶ ἦλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ εὔρον καθὼς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἠτοίμασαν τὸ πάσχα.

Vulgate: *et abierunt discipuli eius et uenerunt in ciuitatem et inuenerunt sicut dixerat illis et praeparauerunt pascha.*

VL 9A: *euntes discipuli fecerunt ita ut illi praecipit et parauerunt pascha.*

This looseness may reflect the paraphrastic nature of the early Latin translations: it is difficult to imagine that *euntes* would be introduced into a later version when καὶ ἐξῆλθον appears to be the only Greek form, but there is an identical Old Latin parallel at Mark 8:11 (VL 3). *Fecerunt* rather than *inuenerunt* and the absence of *eius* are matched by Greek witnesses, even though there is no other example of the omission of the middle phrase. More extreme rewriting may be seen in Mark 13:27:

Nestle-Aland: καὶ τότε ἀποστελεῖ τοὺς ἀγγέλους καὶ ἐπισυνάξει τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς [αὐτοῦ] ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων ἀπ’ ἄκρου γῆς ἕως ἄκρου οὐρανοῦ.

Vulgate: *et tunc mittet angelos suos et congregabit electos suos a quatuor uentis a summo terrae usque ad summum caeli.*

VL 9A: *et tunc mittet angelos suos et congregabunt (congregabit corr.) electos suos ab extremis caelorum usque ad ultimum terrae.*

There are no surviving Old Latin witnesses which match the second half of the verse: despite its formulaic appearance, no obvi-

ous parallels can be found apart from the synoptic correspondence at Matthew 24:31, where some pre-Vulgate witnesses seem to have had *extremis caelorum*, and *ultimum terrae* in Acts 1:8. Again, such looseness in a Latin translation would normally have been corrected fairly early on and brought into conformity with Greek manuscripts.

The antiquity of the Old Latin stratum of the text in VL 9A is demonstrated by non-Vulgate readings which are also attested in VL 1 (Codex Bobiensis). These include *relinquimus* in 10:28 (Vulgate *dimisimus*), *uenturo* in 10:30 (Vulgate *futuro*), *remittite* in 11:25 (Vulgate *dimittite*), *mittebant* in 12:41 (Vulgate *iactabant*), *uide* in 13:1 (Vulgate *aspice*), *opus suum* in 13:43 (Vulgate *operis*), *potuit* in 14:5 (Vulgate *poterat*), *amphoram* in 14:13 (Vulgate *laguenam*), *dedit* in 14:44 (Vulgate *dederat*) and *iterum* in 14:69 (Vulgate *rursum autem*). In fact, on a surprisingly high number of occasions, VL 1 is the only surviving parallel for the text of VL 9A, including *interrogavit* in 9:32, *mandavit* in 10:3, *continuo* in 10:52, *populum* and *quia* in 12:12, *cum sederet* in 12:41, *est* in 13:16, *illi* in 14:12, *ille autem* in 14:31, *processit* and *transeat* in 14:35, *dixit* in 14:37, *quasi* in 14:48, *dixit* in 14:63, *et dixit illis* in 15:9 and *dicentes* in 15:31. Several other forms unique to VL 9A find their closest parallel in this manuscript, such as *maiorum* in 10:42 or *cum exissent* in 16:8. These two witnesses also share a number of omissions (as in 11:17; 12:14, 13:20 and 13:30, joined by other manuscripts at 11:22, 11:28, 12:23 and 14:31): although omissions are usually poor indicators of genetic relationship, the fact that the earliest Latin translations of the gospels are characterised by paraphrases and small omissions mean that these may be more significant than would normally be the case.

There are other notable correspondences with early codices. Several forms match VL 3 (Codex Vercellensis): *plus* in 12:33 (Vulgate *maius*), *caelorum* in 13:32 (Vulgate *in caelo*), *ubicumque* in 14:14 (Vulgate *et quocumque*), *dicens* in 14:22, *uobiscum in templo* in 14:49 and *hunc* in 14:71. The addition of *domus* in 2:2 is present in VL 2 (Codex Palatinus), while VL 13 (Codex Monacensis) provides an example of *indignati sunt* rather than *coeperunt indignari* in 10:41, as well as the addition of *mecum* in 14:37 and *iterum* in 14:40. VL 5 alone also has *Iesum autem flagellis caesum tradidit illis* in 15:15. Both VL 3 and 5 attest to *recumbentibus* in 6:26, the addition of *statim* in the next verse, *facient* in 13:22 and the perfect tense *egit et* in 14:23. Some of these are harmonising readings which may be found in a handful of

other witnesses in Fischer's collations, either independently or deriving from the tendency of early Latin versions to harmonise. Quite a large proportion of the variants from the Vulgate in VL 9A are harmonistic, such as the additions of *bone* in 10:20 (cf. 10:17 and parallels) and *prophetarum* in 14:49 (cf. Matt. 26:56), *discipulis suis* for *eis* in 14:22 (cf. Matt. 26:26), *cantet* for *uocem dederit* in 14:30 (cf. 14:72 and parallels) and *uadam illuc orare* rather than *orem* in 14:32 (cf. Matt. 26:36) or the lengthy omission in 10:30 bringing it into line with Luke 18:30. In total, almost 200 non-Vulgate forms in VL 9A match the majority reading of Old Latin manuscripts or the form reconstructed by Jülicher, ranging from alternative translations to changes of tense and mood or differences in word order. These are indicated by the generic VL siglum in the apparatus below.

Even after the removal of nonsense forms, well over one-third of the 922 non-Vulgate readings in VL 9A are not attested in the Old Latin manuscripts reported by Jülicher. Some of these are of minor importance, such as the absence of words or syllables or the reversal of the sequence of pairs of words: even the addition of connectives or the replacement of pronouns may not derive from an exemplar but have been introduced during copying.³⁸ Nonetheless, there are at least seventy instances of a unique form which appears in VL 9A alone of all the manuscripts in Jülicher and sometimes even of those in Fischer's collation.³⁹ For example, *super hos sermones* for ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ in 10:24, *dimisit* for ἀφῆκεν in 10:29 (compare the Vulgate at 1:31), *ueruntamen sedere a dextris*, a close translation of τὸ δὲ καθίσαι ἐκ δεξιῶν at 10:40, *qui uidentur esse principes ... in illis* at 10:42 (οἱ δοκοῦντες ἄρχειν ... αὐτῶν) and *gaude* for θάρσει in 10:49 are not preserved in any other Latin gospel book copied in the first millennium or any author in the *Vetus Latina Database*. However, the fact that these are all plausible renderings of the Greek and that many of the other non-Vulgate readings are matched or closely

38. One feature which could be characteristic of the copyist is the addition of *deus* after *spiritus*: the inappropriate addition at Mark 1:23 (*spiritu deo inmundo!*) is deleted, but *spiritus dei* at Mark 1:10 is without parallel. The addition of this word at 12:32 and 14:61 is paralleled in other witnesses.

39. Unique forms are marked with an asterisk in the collation below; among these, those following verses are particularly noteworthy: 2:15, 3:10, 4:4, 5:26, 5:32, 7:8, 7:37, 9:14, 9:21, 9:24, 9:27, 9:37, 9:42, 10:4, 10:12, 10:13, 10:16, 10:24, 10:29, 10:35, 10:40, 10:42, 10:46, 10:49, 11:3, 11:4, 11:13, 11:15, 11:25, 11:30, 11:33, 12:3, 12:12, 12:24, 12:26, 12:34, 12:37, 12:44, 13:7, 13:11, 13:18, 13:27, 13:30, 13:33, 14:2, 14:8, 14:16, 14:28, 14:32, 14:35, 14:40, 14:41, 14:44, 14:49, 14:55, 14:64, 15:10, 15:11, 15:16, 15:28, 15:32, 15:36, 15:37, 15:46, 16:8.

paralleled by surviving Old Latin witnesses suggests that they may have Old Latin roots. Patristic quotations can also play a part in confirming the early circulation of certain forms. For example, where other biblical codices read *circa uiam*, *iuxta uiam* or *secus uia* in Mark 4:4, VL 9A's *in uia* is also attested in Augustine's *Questiones euangeliorum* 2.41 and some manuscripts of Quodvultdeus *De ultima quarta feria* 2.1.⁴⁰

Among the parallels with manuscripts reported in Fischer's collation, there are similarities with insular codices generally (e.g. *si licet* in 3:4, *discipuli sui* in 3:21, *indignati sunt* in 10:41, the addition of *cuiusdam* in 10:46 and *mecum* in 14:37) and, more specifically, with the Egerton Gospels alone (*enim* in 3:10) and VL 29 (addition of *discipuli tui* in 2:24 and of *dicens* in 14:35). Two unusual readings are shared only with the Bobbio Gospels in insular script (Ji; Milan, Bibl. Ambros. I.61 sup) and a ninth-century French manuscript (Cf; Erlangen, Universitätsbibl. 10): the word order *illi manus* in 3:5 and *magis* in 7:37 (other manuscripts *amplius*). VL 109 is the only other manuscript with *a me* rather than *ab illo* at 14:35, and also adds *pater* in the previous verse. The most striking similarity, however, is with the seventh/eighth-century Durham Gospels (Durham, Cathedral A.II.16), the sole other witness to add *in israhel* in 2:12 and *Iesus* in 8:14, and which also supports *coepissent* in 2:23, *et cum* in 3:11, *panem* in 8:14 and the addition of *Iesus* in 8:10, 10:17 and 10:32. Given the probable Northumbrian origin of VL 9A as well, this suggests that the Durham Gospels (or one of its precursors) may have been used for some of the corrections in VL 9A or an antigraph.

Certain characteristic non-Vulgate trends in Mark suggest that the ultimate ancestor of VL 9A in Mark was an Old Latin version which had been translated with some consistency. The use of *principes sacerdotum* to render *οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς* has already been mentioned above: most witnesses (including the Vulgate) have a number of renderings, yet VL 9A has *principes sacerdotum* on fifteen out of eighteen occasions in addition to the two conflate readings where it appears that only the former word has been replaced.⁴¹ In keeping with the reconstruction

40. See HAELEWYCK, *Evangelium secundum Marcum*, ad loc.; on *παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν* compare also F.C. BURKITT, 'Secus', *JTS* os 9 (1908) 297–300.

41. VL 9A reads *princeps sacerdotum* with the Vulgate at 2:26, 10:33, 11:18 and also at 11:27, 14:10, 14:47, 14:53–5, 14:63, 14:66, 15:3, 15:11 and 15:31. Only *principibus* is found at 14:33, while the phrase is omitted by the first

of *montem oliuetem* at 13:3 is the same rendering at 11:1, although 14:26 has *montem oliuarum*. For the thirteen verses in Mark with ὄλος, the Vulgate varies between *omnis*, *totus* and *uniuersus*: VL 9A matches the three instances of *uniuersus* (6:55, 14:9 and 15:1) as well as using this translation at 12:44, 14:55 and 15:16. It also has *uniuersus* for πᾶς at 12:33 (cf. 11:18 in the Vulgate). *Adstare* is found for παραστῆναι at 14:70 and 15:35, as well as being implied by the conflate reading at 14:69, but the Vulgate *circumstare* remains at 14:47. The use of *tunc* at the beginning of verses instead of *et* has already been observed in VL 11A: this is also a feature of VL 9A at 10:13, 10:35 (alone in Fischer's collation) and 15:28. In both 13:10 and 14:9 *praedicari hoc euangelium* renders κηρυχθῆναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, which is likely to be a harmonisation to verses with a demonstrative such as Matt 24:14 and 26:13.

A particularly unusual feature of VL 9A is the form of introductions to direct speech in the second half of Mark, affecting some 24 verses. Although this can sometimes reflect the influence of liturgical reading, the absence of standard formulae indicate that this is not the case here. Instead, many can be explained with reference to the Greek. For example, *dixit autem illi Iesus* in 9:22 and *dixit ad illum Iesus* in 10:52 are probably alternative renderings peculiar to this manuscript but *interrogauerunt illum dicentes* at 12:14 reflects an attested Greek variant to that underlying the Vulgate's *dicunt ei*. On three occasions, VL 9A is the only Latin manuscript corresponding to the editorial text of Nestle–Aland rather than the Majority Text. These are 9:37 (9:38 in the Greek), with *dixit Iohannes ad Iesum* from ἔφη αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰωάννης and not ἀπεκρίθη δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰωάννης λέγων, 12:24 (*dixit illis Iesus* from ἔφη αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς and not καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς) and 13:5 (with the absence of *respondens*/ἀποκριθεὶς); in addition, it joins other Old Latin witnesses matching the earliest Greek form at 10:5 (*dixit illis Iesus*, cf. VL 6) and 11:33 (*dixit autem Iesus*, cf. VL 1, 3, 10). These forms illustrate a preference in VL 9A for *dixit* rather than *ait* and the absence of *respondit* or *respondens* against the Greek Majority Text. These traits are also exemplified at 10:14, 10:24, 11:14, 11:22 and 14:48, however, when no Greek parallel appears in Nestle–Aland

hand. At 8:31 and 14:60–1, it has *summus sacerdos*, like the Vulgate, probably as the result of a correction: the conflate readings described above are found at 14:1 and 15:1. For the comparative manuscript data in all four gospels, see F.C. BURKITT, “Chief Priests” in the Latin Gospels’, *JTS* os 9 (1908) 290–7.

although there are some Old Latin correspondences. Equally, there are several instances of apparent inaccuracy in VL 9A: *respondere* for εἶπεν at 10:4 and 12:32; *dixit* for ἤρξατο λέγειν at 10:28 and 13:5, and for ἔλεγεν at 15:14; the addition of *et dixit eis* at the beginning of 12:10; the recasting of 14:64 as direct speech. It is possible that the translator's preferred form was extended to other instances of direct speech in VL 9A as a form of harmonisation: a certain degree of looseness at such points is paralleled in the early Old Latin tradition, although it remains possible that it may reflect Greek readings which have not been preserved. Nonetheless, when parallels or known alternatives are extant, it is appropriate to consider these forms as further evidence for the Old Latin tradition and even, sometimes, the earliest Greek.

The following critical apparatus is similar in format to that for VL 11A: the *lemma* is the Stuttgart Vulgate, first hand and corrector readings are indicated by *p.m.* and *s.m.* respectively and comparative information is added from Jülicher (supplemented by the collation of 11A above). Readings not given in Jülicher are indicated by an asterisk although it should be noted that in the passages used for Fischer collations many of these are paralleled, some by a single witness, others by a large number: a double asterisk indicates a reading reported by Fischer as unique to VL 9A. Unlike the apparatus for VL 11A, however, illegible or reconstructed first-hand text (indicated by angled brackets, sometimes with the number of illegible characters, e.g. <3>), omissions and changes in word order have been retained because of the greater likelihood that they may preserve an Old Latin form. Nonsense readings and purely orthographic variants have been removed.

1:10	spiritum] + dei*	1:29	egredientes] egrediens iesus* <i>cf.</i> 10 11 11A (vg)
1:12	expellit] expulit VL (vg)		uenerunt] uenit VL
1:13	illi] ei VL	1:30	decumbebat] discumbebat 11A 15 (vg)
1:15	quoniam] quia 3		illa] ipsa 15
1:18	relictis retibus] retibus relictis*	1:31	ministrabat] ministrauit*
1:21	synagogam] in synagogam VL	1:32	eum] iesum*
1:22	et non sicut scribae] <i>om.</i> * 9A ^{p.m.}	1:34	quoniam] qui 9A ^{p.m.} , quia 9A ^{s.m.} 15 (vg)
1:23	spiritu] + deo* 9A ^{p.m.}	1:36	persecutus] <3>secutus 9A ^{p.m.} (<i>cf.</i> consecutus 11), secutus 9A ^{s.m.} 15 (vg)
1:24	qui] quia 15 (vg)		

	illo] eo VL	3:9	naucula] in naucula 11A
1:38	ut et] ut*		14 17 (vg)
1:40	deprecans] et deprecans*		deseruiet] deseruient 14
	9A ^{p.m.}		17 (vg)
1:43	comminatus] + est VL (vg)	3:10	quotquot] + enim*
1:44	uade] + <et> 9A ^{p.m.} cf. 2	3:11	inmundi] inmundos 2 3 10
1:45	in ciuitatem introire]		(vg)
	introire in ciuitatem 5 8		cum] et cum*
2:2	caperet] + domus 2	3:14	praedicare] + euangelium
2:6	illic quidam] quidam illic*		9A ^{s.m.} VL
2:7	quid] dicentes quid VL	3:19	qui et] qui 3 13 14 15 17
	sic] <i>om.</i> * 9A ^{p.m.}		(vg)
2:8	dicit] dixit VL	3:21	sui] discipuli sui*
2:9	surge et tolle] surge tolle	3:22	daemonum] demoniorum
	10 11 13 (vg)		VL
2:12	admirarentur] mirarentur*	3:23	eis] his*
	honorificarent]	3:26	consurrexit] consurrexerit
	honorificabant**		10 11 11A 15 (vg)
	uidimus] + in israhel*	3:27	alliget] alligauerit 2 4 10
	9A ^{p.m.}		(vg)
2:13	rursus] + iesus 3	3:31	eius] <i>om.</i> * 9A ^{p.m.}
2:15	publicani] puplicanorum**	3:33	eis ait] ait 9A ^{p.m.} 11, ait
	peccatores] peccatorum**		eis* 9A ^{s.m.}
2:16	publicanis] + et 5 14	4:2	eos] illos VL (vg)
	eius] suis*	4:4	circa uiam] in uia*
2:20	illa die] illis diebus VL		uolucres] + caeli 3 5 13 14
	(vg)		17
2:21	aufert] auferet 9A ^{s.m.} 5 11A	4:6	exortus] exortum*
	17 (vg)		et eo] eo* 9A ^{s.m.}
2:22	dirumpet] rumpet 9A ^{p.m.} 15	4:7	offocauerunt]
	effunditur] effundetur 6 10		suffocauerunt VL
	11 13 15 (vg)	4:10	hii] hi 9A ^{s.m.} 10 11
2:23	coeperunt] coepissent*		cum duodecim] duodecim
2:24	ecce] + discipuli tui cf. VL		11 15 (vg)
2:26	introiit] intrauit 4 6 13		parabolas] de parabolis 15
	licet] licebat VL	4:11	mysterium] scire
	nisi] + solis VL		mysterium 10 11 (vg)
3:1	iterum] + iesus in cf. 2 10	4:15	uiam] + sunt 11
3:2	illum] eum 5 6 8 11 14 15		aufert] auferet VL
	(vg)		corda] corde 4 11 13 14
3:4	licet] si licet*		(vg)
3:5	contristatus] + est 8 10 17	4:16	accipiunt] accipient*
	dicit] dixit 5 6 8 10 13	4:19	aerumnae] aerumnas*
	manus illi] illi manus*		9A ^{s.m.}
3:6	statim] <i>om.</i> 9A ^{p.m.} VL		efficitur] efficietur*

- 4:20 super] supra 10 13 15 17
(vg)
- 4:24 uobis] $\text{nob}<2+\text{*12}>$ 9A^{p.m.}
- 4:26 homo iaciat] faciat (*pro*
iaciat) homo*
- 4:27 ac] et VL
increscat] crescat 6 8 13 15
- 4:31 in terra 2] super terram 8 17
- 4:35 illa die] in die illa*
- 4:36 erat in nau] in nau] erat*
9A^{p.m.}, in nau] erant 9A^{s.m.}
cf. 6 11 13 15 (vg)
- 4:40 et uentus] uentus 9A^{p.m.} 3
5 10 11 15 (vg)
- 5:2 exeunti ei] exeunti*
- 5:4 quoniam] quia 4
disrupisset] dirumpisset*
9A^{s.m.}
conpedes comminisset]
comminuit conpedes*
- 5:5 in montibus] $<6>$ ibus*
9A^{p.m.}
- 5:6 cucurrit] occurrit 11A 14
15 (vg)
- 5:7 iesu] *om.** 9A^{p.m.}
- 5:8 illi] + iesus 5 8 13 14
- 5:9 interrogabat] interrogat*
quod] quid* 9A^{p.m.}
mihi est] est mihi VL
- 5:17 de] a VL
- 5:18 daemonio] a demonio VL
- 5:23 deprecabatur] precabatur 11
- 5:26 conpluribus] conplurimis*
cf. 6 10
profecerat] proficeret*
- 5:28 enim] + intra se VL
- 5:31 sui] illius *cf.* 17
- 5:32 fecerat] faciebat*
- 5:35 ab archisynagogo] ad
archisynagogum 8
- 5:40 ingreditur] ingrediuntur
9A^{p.m.} 11 15 (vg)
- 5:43 id] hoc 3 10 17
- 6:1 sui] illius 8 11A 17 (vg)
- 6:4 in cognatione] cognatione*
- 6:6 et mirabatur propter
incredulitatem eorum]
*om.** 9A^{p.m.}
eorum] illorum 9A^{s.m.} VL
- 6:7 circumibat] + iesus 8 10
- 6:11 exeuntes] euntes*
inde] + $<5>$ * 9A^{p.m.}
- 6:13 sanabant] + eos*
- 6:14 et propterea] propterea*
inoperantur uirtutes]
uirtutes operantur 3 15
(vg)
illo] eo 3 4
- 6:17 ac] et VL
- 6:23 quicquid] quod* (*cf.*
quodcumque 3 4 6 8 15)
- 6:25 in disco caput iohannes
baptistae] caput iohannes
baptistae in disco*
- 6:26 contristatus] + est VL
recumbentes]
recumbentibus 3 5
- 6:27 sed] + statim 3 5
misso speculatore]
speculatore misso* 9A^{p.m.}
praecepit] + et
- 6:29 corpus eius] corpus*
- 6:33 illuc] illic* 9A^{p.m.}
- 6:34 exiens uidit multam
turbam iesus] exiens iesus
uidit turbam multam 10
quia] qui 3 4 5 (vg)
- 6:35 eius] + ad iesum*
iam hora praeteriuit] hora
iam praeteriuit VL
- 6:38 dicit] dixit 3
dicunt] + ei 6 (vg)
quinque] + panes VL
- 6:39 facerent] facer $<2>$ t* 9A^{p.m.}

42. At least the first two characters of the following line are written in rasura; if the whole line has been erased, there may have been additional words as in VL 10 or 13.

	omnes] <i>om.*</i>	7:29	ait illi] + iesus 14 (vg)
6:40	in] per 11A <i>cf.</i> 10 per quinquagenos] quinquagenos 3 6 11 14 17 (vg)	7:30	abisset] + in 5 8 10 15 supra] super 6 exisse] + ab ea 4 <i>cf.</i> 6
6:41	ponerent] <1>ponerent* ⁴³ 9A ^{p.m.}	7:32	deprecantur] deprecabantur VL inponat] inponeret VL (vg)
6:46	cum] dum*	7:33	auriculas] + <4> 9A ^{p.m.} , + eius 9A ^{s.m.} VL et expuens] expuensque 15 (vg)
6:47	solus] + <4> 9A ^{p.m.} (<i>cf.</i> iesus 8 15)	7:36	eis] <i>om.*</i>
6:52	intellexerant] intellexerunt 3 6 17 (vg)	7:37	amplius] magis* facit audire] audire fecit <i>cf.</i> 13 15 (vg)
6:56	ciuitates] in ciuitates 3 5 8 11 (vg)	8:1	conuocatis] + autem*
7:2	panes] panem VL	8:2	turba] turbam istam 9A ^{p.m.} 11A, turbam 9A ^{s.m.} me] + cum * 9A ^{p.m.}
7:3	enim] autem VL manducant] manducant*	8:6	supra] super VL (vg)
7:4	foro] + redeunt <i>cf.</i> 10 11A	8:8	sportas] + plenas 9A ^{p.m.} 14 17 (vg)
7:5	interrogant] interrogauerunt 3 10	8:9	et] + statim** 9A ^{p.m.}
7:6	esaias de uobis] de uobis iesaias*	8:10	ascendens] + iesus* suis] <i>om.*</i> 9A ^{p.m.}
7:7	docentes] dicentes* doctrinas] + et 3 6 10 15 17 (vg)	8:12	quaerit signum] signum quaerit 10 13 14
7:8	tenetis] tenentes enim* <i>cf.</i> 3 5 6 8 13 traditionem] mandata*	8:13	iterum] + nauem 4 6 10 (vg)
7:10	aut] uel*	8:14	panes] panem* 9A ^{p.m.}
7:13	tradidistis] t<4>istis* 9A ^{p.m.} multa] <i>om.*</i> 9A ^{p.m.}	8:15	uidete] + et 6 10 11 15 (vg)
7:14	me omnes] omnes me*	8:17	habetis] hab<4-5>* 9A ^{p.m.} nec] neque 14 (vg)
7:21	enim] autem 5 6 8 10 11	8:22	bethsaida] bethsaidam VL
7:22	dolus inpudicitia] inpudicitiae dolus* 9A ^{p.m.} , dolus inpudicitiae* 9A ^{s.m.} blasphemia] blasfemiae 4 6	8:23	adprehendens manum] adprehensa manu 2 3 6 15 (vg)
7:23	communicant] coinquant 3 13 16	8:29	uero] autem 2 3 5 13 dicitis esse] esse dicitis 8
7:24	surgens] + iesus 6 8	8:31	illos] + iesus*
7:28	domine] <i>om.*</i> 9A ^{p.m.} catelli] catuli*	8:33	me] <i>om.*</i> 9A ^{p.m.} satana] satanas VL

43. There does not seem to be enough space for the Old Latin *adponerent*.

	sunt hominum] hominum sunt*		eo] illo 11A
8:34	suis] <i>om.</i> 9A ^{p.m.} 8 sequi] <uenire> 9A ^{p.m.} 6 11 15	9:26	eius] illius* eleuauit] leuauit 13 illum] eum 3 6 8 10 13 15 (vg)
8:36	enim] <i>om.</i> * 9A ^{p.m.}	9:27	introduisset in] uenisset* interrogabant] interrogauerunt* eum] + dicentes VL nos non] non 14 eum eicere] eicere eum 10 11 15 (vg)
8:37	quid] quam 3 15 16	9:30	occisus] post 1 3 6
8:38	confusus] confessus 9A ^{s.m.} <i>cf.</i> 2 4 5 11 14 (vg) confundetur] confitetur 9A ^{s.m.} 11 <i>cf.</i> 11A ^{s.m.} sanctis] suis 11 ^{p.m.}	9:31	timebant] timuerunt*
9:4 ⁴⁴	ait] + <ad> 9A ^{p.m.} VL	9:32	interrogabat] interrogauit 1
9:10	uenire primum] primum uenire VL	9:33	esset illorum maior] illorum maior esset 3
9:11	primo] primum 3 5 6 8 14	9:34	omnium] <i>om.</i> * 9A ^{p.m.}
9:14	stupefactus est] stupuerunt et expauerunt <i>cf.</i> 11 11A et adcurrentes] occurrentesque*	9:35	complexus] complectus* 9A ^{p.m.} esset] + et*
9:16	mutum] inmundum 3 4 13 (vg)	9:36	quisquis] + enim* recepit] recepit* suscepit non me suscipit sed] <12-14> 9A ^{p.m.} (<i>cf.</i> recipit recipit 10)
9:18	eis dicit] ait eis* 9A ^{p.m.} <i>cf.</i> 3 15, eis ait* 9A ^{s.m.}	9:37	respondit illi iohannes dicens] dixit iohannis (iohannes ^{s.m.}) ad iesum* magister] domine*
9:20	interrogauit] + iesus 3 6 10 14 eius] + dicens 3 10 (vg) at] et 14 (vg) ait] dixit ei* <i>cf.</i> 5 6 15	9:38	est enim] enim est 1
9:21	et in ignem] in ignem VL si] <i>om.</i> * 9A ^{p.m.} misertus] + esto*	9:40	quisquis enim] nam quicumque* <i>cf.</i> 3 10 quia christi estis] <i>om.</i> * 9A ^{p.m.}
9:22	iesus autem ait illi] dixit autem illi iesus* possibilia] + sunt 6 10 11 15 (vg)	9:41	collo] in collo* in mare mitteretur] mittatur in mare* <i>cf.</i> 3
9:23	credo] + domine 3 4 6 10 15 (vg)	9:42	scandalizauerit te] te scandalizauerit* abscide] excide*
9:24	comminatus est] inrepaui* surde et mute] mute et surde 2 5 6 8	9:43	uermis ... moritur] uermes ... moriuntur 11A <i>cf.</i> 4
9:25	clamans] exclamans 3 4 14 (vg)		

44. Note that the verse numbering of the Stuttgart Vulgate differs from Jülicher and Nestle–Aland by one verse for the whole of Mark 9.

- 9:44 te scandalizat] scandalizat
te VL
amputa] abscide 5 10
illum] eum 1 10
- 9:45 uermis ... moritur] uermes
... moriuntur 11A *cf.* 4
- 9:47 uermis ... moritur] uermes
... moriuntur 11A *cf.* 4
- 10:1 ultra] et trans *cf.* VL
eum] illum 1 3
sicut consueuerat] *om.*
9A^{p.m.}, sicut consuerat
9A^{s.m.} 5 (vg)
illos] eos 5 10 13 14 (vg)
- 10:2 interrogabant]
interrogauerunt 13
eum] illum 4 5 8 14
- 10:3 eis] illis 6 8
uobis praecepit] mandauit
uobis *cf.* 1
- 10:4 qui dixerunt]
responderunt*
- 10:5 quibus respondens iesus
ait] dixit illis iesus*
ad] secundum*
istud] hoc 3 6 8
- 10:7 ad uxorem suam] uxori
suae 3 6 10 14 15 (vg)
- 10:8 iam] *om.* 1 5 8
- 10:11 et dicit] ille autem dixit*
quicumque] si quis* *cf.* 3
- 10:12 et] item*
uxor dimiserit uirum
suum] mulier exierit a
uiro 13
alii] alio 3 10
- 10:13 et] tunc*
illi] ei 3 13
autem] + eius 3 5 6 8 10
- 10:14 quos cum uideret iesus
indigne tulit et ait illis]
dixit autem illis iesus*
- ne prohibueritis eos] nolite
eos prohibere *cf.* VL
- 10:15 quisque] quisquis 11 (vg)
- 10:16 manus] manum 4 6
benedicebat] benedixit*
eos] illos 3
- 10:17 esset] + iesus*
uiam] uia 4 5 11 13 15 (vg)
eum] illum dicens**¹⁵ *cf.* VL
aeternam] *om.*** 9A^{p.m.}
percipiam] accipiam 6
- 10:18 ei] illi VL
- 10:19 ne adulteres] non
adulterabis 10 *cf.* 13
ne occidas] non occides 8
10 (vg)
ne fureris ne falsum
testimonium dixeris ne
fraudem feceris] non
fraudabis non fureris
non falsum testimonium
dixeris**
- 10:20 et] at VL
magister] + bone*
conseruauit] custodiui 6 8 15
a iuuentute] ab
adoliscentia 3
- 10:21 iesus autem intuitus eum
dilexit eum et] respiciens
illum iesus** *cf.* 13
quaecumque habes uende]
uende quaecumque habes 6 8
- 10:22 possessiones multas]
multas possessiones 6 8 15
(vg)
- 10:24 discipuli autem] + illius**
obstupescabant]
mirabantur 10
in uerbis eius] super hos
sermones**
at iesus rursus respondens ait]
iesus autem dixit** *cf.* 1 3
est] *om.** 9A^{p.m.}

45. Fischer erroneously has *eum* rather than *illum*.

- confidentes] fidentes**
 9A^{p.m.}
 pecuniis] pecunias 5
 regnum dei introire]
 intrare in regnum dei*
 10:25 est] *om.* 9A^{p.m.} 3
 est] + autem 13
 10:26 qui] illi 1 3 10 13
 fieri] esse*
 10:27 illos iesus ait] iesus ait
 illos** 9A^{p.m.}, iesus illos ait
 9A^{s.m.*}
 impossibile] hoc impossibile 4 5
 sed non] *om.* VL
 deum I] + autem VL
 omnia enim possibilia
 sunt apud deum] omnia
 possibilia sunt 4 6 14 15
 10:28 coepit petrus ei dicere]
 petrus uero dixit ad
 iesum**
 dimisimus] relinquimus 1 13
 10:29 respondens] + autem 1 5 6
 8 13
 relinquerit] dimisit**
 aut fratres aut sorores
 aut matrem aut patrem
 aut filios] aut filios aut
 uxorem aut sorores aut
 fratres aut patres aut
 matrem** *cf.* 10 13
 aut agros] aut possessiones 10
 me et] me aut 5
 10:30 accipiat] accipiet 3 5 13
 (vg)
 nunc] *om.* 3 13
 in tempore hoc] in hoc
 tempore 5 8 13
 domos et fratres et sorores
 et matres et filios et agros
 cum persecutionibus]
*om.** cf.* 1 6
 futuro] uenturo 1 3 4 5 8
 10:32 iterum] + iesus *cf.* 14
 illis] illos* 9A^{p.m.}
- 10:33 hierosolyma]
 hierusolymam *cf.* 14
 damnabunt]
 condemnabunt 13 *cf.* 10
 eum] illum 1 6 8
 10:34 ei] illum**
 interficient] occident 6 8
 11A 15
 eum] illum 3
 et tertia die resurget]
*om.** 9A^{p.m.}*
 10:35 et] tunc*
 accedunt] accesserunt VL
 10:36 at ille] iesus autem 10
 10:37 et] qui 3 13 14 17 (vg)
 dixerunt] + illi 1
 ad dexteram tuam] a
 dextris tuis 6 *cf.* 11A
 ad sinistram tuam] a
 sinistris tuis *cf.* 6 11A
 10:38 ait] dixit 1 3 13
 10:39 ei] *om.* 9A^{p.m.} VL
 iesus autem ait eis] dixit
 iesus illis (illis iesus^{s.m.})**
cf. VL
 baptizabimini]
 baptizamini 9A^{p.m.} VL
 10:40 sedere autem] ueruntamen
 sedere**
 ad dexteram meam] a
 dextris *cf.* 6 11A
 ad sinistram] a sinistris 6
 11A
 dare] + uobis 6 10 11 14
 (vg)
 10:41 coeperunt indignari]
 indignati sunt 13
 10:42 hii] hi 9A^{s.m.} VL
 qui] qui<1-2>* 9A^{p.m.}
 principari] esse
 principes**
 principes eorum]
 maiorem** *cf.* 1
 ipsorum] in illis**
 10:43 autem] *om.* VL
 uoluerit] uol<et> 9A^{p.m.} 1

- fieri maior] maior esse in uobis 8 10 13
 10:45 suam] + in** 9A^{p.m.}46
 10:46 hierichum] hiericho 5 6 11 15 (vg)
 eo] iesu*
 et] cum VL
 eius] suis VL
 plurima multitudine]
 turba multa 6 15
 filius] + cuiusdam*
 10:47 nazarenus est] transiret*
cf. 6 11A
 fili david iesu] iesu filii (fili^{s.m.}) dauid 3 10 11A
 10:48 fili] filii* 9A^{p.m.}
 10:49 praecepit] et iussit VL
 et uocant caecum dicentes ei] at illi dixerunt caeco 3 animaequior esto] gaude**
 10:50 eum] illum 1
 10:51 respondens] *om.* 6 11A 15
 illi iesus dixit] dixit illi iesus 8 10
 uis] + ut 4 6 11A 15 (vg)
 tibi faciam] faciam tibi VL
 10:52 iesus autem ait illi] dixit ad illum iesus**
 saluum] + <2>* 9A^{p.m.}
 confestim] continuo 1
 sequebatur]
 conseqeabatur**
 in uia] *om.**
 11:1 adpropinquarent]
 adpropinquaret VL
 hierosolymae]
 hierusolymam *cf.* 6 11 17
 bethaniae] bethania 1 3 4 10 13
 oliuarum] oliuete 11A^{s.m.}
 mittit] misit 1^{s.m.} 3 4 6 10 11A 15
 11:2 illis] eis 3
 statim] *om.* 9A^{p.m.} 1
 super quem] in quo*
 hominum] *om.* 6 11A
 illum et adducite] et adducite illum*
 11:3 facitis] soluitis illum* *cf.* VL
 quia] *om.* 9A^{p.m.} VL
 dimittet] dimittit VL
 huc] *om.* 1 6 11A 15
 11:4 abeuntes] cum abissent*
 ligatum] alligatum 3 5
 ante ianuam foris in biuio et soluunt] <20>unt* 9A^{p.m.}
 11:5 illic stantibus] stantibus (+ illic^{s.m.})*
 dicebant illis] dixerunt VL
 11:6 qui] at illi 5 10 13
 eis] illos 5
 11:7 duxerunt] adduxerunt 5 6 10 13 (vg)
 inponunt] inposuerunt 6 10 13 (vg)
 illi] super illum* *cf.* 1
 11:11 introiuit] cum introisset VL
 hierosolyma] in hierusolyma 5
 uespera] uespere*
 esset hora] hora esset 6
 bethania] bethaniam VL
 11:12 exirent] isset* *cf.* VL
 11:13 cumque] cum*
 a longe ficum] fici arborem a longe* *cf.* 1^{s.m.} 11A
 habentem folia uenit si quid forte inueniret in ea] *om.**
 et cum uenisset ad eam] uenit ad illam*
 nihil] et non*
 inuenit] + in ea 6 10 13

46. First hand reading not reported by Fischer.

- praeter folia] nisi folia
tantum VL
non enim erat tempus
ficorum] *om.**
- 11:14 et respondens dixit ei]
dixit ad illam* *cf.* VL
iam non] *om.* 11A
in aeternum ex te
manducet quisquam
fructum] ex te fructus non
manducetur in aeternum*
- 11:15 ueniunt] uenerunt 3 6 8 10
introisset] + in VL
eicere] expellere*
- 11:17 docebat] + illos* *cf.* 6 8 15
eis] *om.* 4 6 8 15
non] nonne 3 10 13 15 (vg)
omnibus gentibus] *om.*
9A^{p.m.} 1
eam] illam 6 8
- 11:18 eum] illum 3 5 6 8
perderent] + et 3
enim] *om.* 3
eum] illum*
doctrina] doctrinam VL
(vg)
- 11:19 uespera facta] sero factum
3 ?
- 11:20 et cum] *om.** 9A^{p.m.}
transirent] <9>* 9A^{p.m.}
ficum] fici arborem* *cf.* 1
6 8 13
- 11:21 dicit] dixit 1 (vg)
ei] illi VL
- 11:22 et respondens iesus ait
illis] dixit illis iesus*
habete] + in uobis 8
dei] *om.* 9A^{p.m.} 1 3 6 14
- 11:23 uobis] + quia VL
huic monti] monti huic 1 3
tollere] tolle <te> 9A^{p.m.} 3
6 10
- 11:24 orantes] oratis et 3 5 6 8 11A
quia] qui 5
- 11:25 stabitis ad orandum]
oratis*
dimittite] remittite 1 3 6
aduersus] aduersum 5 (vg)
in caelis est] est in caelis
3 4 5
- 11:26 quod] quo 9A^{p.m.}
- 11:27 ueniunt rursus] iterum
ueniunt* *cf.* 3 5 6 10 13 15
ambulet] + iesus*
accedunt] accesserunt 4 15
summi sacerdotes]
principes sacerdotum 6 8
13 15
et seniores] *om.**
- 11:28 et dicunt] dicunt*
et quis tibi dedit hanc
potestatem ut ista facias]
om. 9A^{p.m.} 1 5
- 11:29 iesus autem respondens ait
illis] *om.** 9A^{p.m.}
interrogabo] interrogo VL
uerbum] sermonem 1 6
11A 15
et respondete] dicite*
dicam] ego dicam 5 6 8
- 11:30 erat] fuit 6
respondete] respondite 15
(vg)
- 11:31 dicet] + nobis VL
- 11:32 sed dicemus] si dixerimus
VL
timebant] timemus VL
- 11:33 dicunt] dixerunt VL
iesu] ad iesum VL
respondens iesus ait] dixit
autem iesus* *cf.* 1 3 10
dico] dicam*
- 12:1 illis] iesus 6
pastinauit] plantauit 3 5 6
10 13 14 17
- 12:3 qui] illi autem*
eum] illum*

- ceciderunt] <2>ce<1-
 2>derunt 9A^{p.m.}, cederunt
 9A^{s.m.} 11A^{s.m.}
 et dimiserunt uacuum]
 <22>* 9A^{p.m.}
- 12:4 capite] in capite VL
 adfecerunt] <8-10> 9A^{p.m.},
 afficerent* 9A^{s.m.}
- 12:5 alium] + seruum 8
 illum] ipsum 6
- 12:6 nouissimum] nouissime 3
 12:7 eum] illum 1 3 14
 12:8 et adprehendentes eum]
 quem adprehensum VL
 eiecerunt extra uineam]
 extra uineam proiecerunt*
cf. 3 8 13
- 12:9 colonos] agriculas illos* *cf.*
 6 15
- 12:10 nec] et dixit eis nec*
- 12:11 factum] factus VL
 istud] *om.* 4
 mirabile] mirabilis 3 4 5
 11A 13
- 12:12 eum tenere] illum
 occidere*
 turbam] populum 1
 cognouerunt]
 intellexerunt*
 quoniam] quia 1
 ad eos] de ipsis* *cf.* 14
 parabolam hanc dixerit]
 dixit similitudinem hanc*
cf. 1
- 12:13 mittunt] miserunt 1 6
 et] cum*
 eum] illum*
- 12:14 qui uenientes] *om.* 9A^{p.m.}
cf. 1
 dicunt ei] interrogauerunt
 illum dicentes* *cf.* 1 4 6 13
 quoniam] quia VL
 doces] + dic ergo nobis VL
 dari] dare 8
 an] aut 9A^{p.m.} VL
- dabimus] *om.* VL
- 12:15 qui] iesus autem 5 14 17
 ait] dixit*
- 12:16 adtulerunt] obtulerunt ei 15
 ait illis] dixit eis*
 inscriptio] scriptio* 9A^{p.m.}
 11A
 dicunt] dixerunt 1 3 6 8
 illi] ei 13 (vg)
- 12:18 interrogabant]
 interrogantes*
 eum] illum 1
- 12:19 nobis scripsit] scripsit
 nobis 1 3 6 8 13 15 (vg)
 reliquerit] relinquerit 17
 (vg)
 eius] illius 3 14
- 12:20 erant] + apud nos VL
- 12:21 reliquit] reliquens*
 et tertius similiter] *om.*
 9A^{p.m.} VL
- 12:22 acceperunt eam similiter
 septem] similiter (*om.*
^{s.m.}) et omnes septem
 acceperunt eum (eam^{s.m.})*
cf. 1
 reliquerunt] relinquerunt 17
 defuncta] mortua VL
- 12:23 cum resurrexerint] *om.*
 9A^{p.m.} 1 5 6 11A 14
 septem enim habuerunt
 eam uxorem] *om.* 9A^{p.m.} 1 6
- 12:24 et respondens iesus ait
 illis] dixit illis iesus*
 non] nonne VL
 non scientes] nec
 intellegentes* *cf.* VL
- 12:25 nubent] nubunt VL
- 12:26 resurgant] resurgunt 1 3 13
 dixerit] locutus est*
 inquiens] dicens VL
- 12:27 deus] *om.** 9A^{p.m.}
- 12:28 scribis] + ad iesum*
 quod esset] dicens
 magister quid est*, *cf.* VL

- 12:29 noster] tuus 6 15 (vg)
 12:30 diliges] diligis 5 8 11 (vg)
 12:31 diliges] diligis 5 8 (vg)
 12:32 et ait] respondit*
 magister] + et* 9A^{s.m.}
 est] + deus VL
 12:33 et ut] ut VL
 maius] plus 3
 omnibus holocaustomatibus
 et sacrificiis] quam
 uniuersa holocausta et
 sacrificia* *cf.* 4
 12:34 iesus autem uidens] uidens
 autem iesus 4 8 14 17
 dixit] et dixit*
 iam audebat eum] ultra
 ausus est illum*
 12:35 christum filium esse] quia
 christus filius est 9A^{p.m.} 3
 6 *cf.* 1 5
 12:36 dixit] dicit 1 8 13 15
 12:37 eum] illum 1 6
 et unde] quomodo ergo *cf.* 4
 est filius eius] filius eius
 est 4 11A
 multa turba] omnis
 populus*
 eum libenter] libenter eum
 VL
 12:38 et] ille autem*
 eis] illis 13
 in doctrina sua] *om. cf.* VL
 12:39 discubitus] discubitos 4 8
 13 15 (vg)
 12:40 hii] hi 9A^{s.m.} VL
 accipient] accipiunt 6 15^{p.m.}
 17 (vg)
 12:41 sedens] cum sederet 1
 et multi] multi autem*
 iactabant] mittebant 1 3 6
 8
 12:42 autem] *om.**
 pauper] *om.* 9A^{p.m.} VL
 12:43 et] iesus autem* *cf.* 1
 conuocans discipulos suos]
 conuocatis discipulis suis*
 miserunt] mi<5> 9A^{p.m.}
 12:44 omnes] uniuersi* *cf.* 12:33
 abundabat] habundat
 9A^{p.m.} 5 11
 illis] *om.** 9A^{p.m.}
 totum uictum suum] *om.**
 9A^{p.m.}
 13:1 ait] dixit*
 aspice] uide 1 14
 lapides] + <sint> 9A^{p.m.} 15
 (vg)
 structurae] + templi VL
 13:2 uides] nonne uides 4 6 8
 14 17 (vg)
 omnes] *om.* 2 3 5 14
 13:3 montem] monte 5 11^{s.m.} (vg)
 oliuarum] oliu<ete>m
 9A^{p.m.} VL
 interrogabant]
 interrogauerunt 6 8
 eum] illum 1 3 16
 13:4 fient] fiant 17^{p.m.}
 13:5 et respondens iesus coepit
 dicere illis] ille autem
 dixit eis*
 13:6 sum] + christus 4 6 11 (vg)
 seducent] seducunt 6
 13:7 audieritis autem] autem
 uideritis* 9A^{p.m.}, autem
 audieritis 9A^{s.m.} VL
 ne timueritis] nolite
 conturbari* *cf.* 3 16
 fieri] haec fieri 4 8 15
 nondum] + erit* *cf.* 3 4 5
 16 (vg)
 13:8 autem] enim 3 5 6 8 15 16
 (vg)
 super] contra 4 5 14
 13:9 conciliis] in conciliis VL
 praesides et reges] reges et
 praesides 13
 13:10 euangelium] hoc
 euangelium *cf.* 6

- 13:11 praecogitare] cogitare VL
loquamini] dicatis*
sed quod datum uobis
fuerit] dabitur enim
uobis*
id] quid 8
loquimini] loquamini*
sanctus] + qui loquitur in
uobis 11
- 13:12 consurgent] insurgent VL
eos] illos 1 6 8
- 13:13 omnibus] + <5-6>bus 9A^{p.m.}
(*cf.* hominibus 6 8 11A 13,
gentibus 14)
- 13:14 debet] oportet VL
- 13:15 quid] aliquid VL
- 13:16 et] + <is>* 9A^{p.m.}
erit] est 1
- 13:18 uero] autem 1 13 (vg)
hieme non] non hieme 5 6
8 13
fiant] fiat fuga uestra uel
sabbato* *cf.* 1
- 13:19 dies illi] in illis diebus* *cf.*
VL
- 13:20 quos elegit] *om.* 9A^{p.m.} 1
- 13:21 et] *om.**
christus] + <3> 9A^{p.m.} (*cf.*
aut/uel VL)
ne credideritis] nolite
credere 1 3 5 6 8 13
- 13:22 dabunt] facient 3 5
portenta] prodigia 3 5 6 8
13 15 17
- 13:24 sed in illis] in illis autem*
post tribulationem illam]
*om.**
contenebrabitur]
obscurabitur 3 6 8 13 14 15
splendorem] lumen 6 8 11A
- 13:25 erunt stella caeli
decidentes] stella cadent
de caelo* *cf.* 2
quae sunt] *om.* VL
caelis] celo*
- 13:27 congregabit]
congregabunt* 9A^{p.m.}
a quattuor uentis a summo
terrae] ab extremis
caelorum*
summum caeli] ultimum
terrae* *cf.* 6 8 13
- 13:28 sit] *om.* 9A^{p.m.} *cf.* 1 ?
- 13:29 haec] + omnia 6 8 13 14
- 13:30 quoniam] *om.* 9A^{p.m.} 1
transiet] praeteribit*
- 13:32 autem illo] illa autem*
9A^{p.m.}, autem illa 9A^{s.m.} VL
(vg)
uel] et VL
in caelo] caelorum 3
nisi] + solus 6 *cf.* 1 3
- 13:33 tempus sit] ueniat tempus*
cf. 1 2
- 13:34 sicut] + enim 6
qui] *om.* VL
reliquit] reliquens 2 13
seruis suis potestatem]
potestatem seruis suis*
cuiusque] unicuique VL
operis] opus suum 1 2 3 8
ianitori] hostiario VL
praecipiat] praecepit VL (vg)
uigilet] uigilaret VL
- 13:35 dominus domus ueniat]
ueniat dominus domus 6 8
- 14:1 sacerdotes] sacerdotum
9A^{p.m.}
eum] illum 5
dolo] *om.* 3 14 17
- 14:2 ne forte] *om.* 9A^{p.m.} VL
fieret] fiat 8
populi] in plebe*
- 14:3 esset] + iesus VL
bethaniae] in bethania VL
et recumberet] recumbente
illo VL
- 14:4 erant autem quidam
indigne ferentes intra

- semet ipsos et dicentes]
 <28> 9A^{p.m.} *cf.* VL
 intra semet ipsos et
 dicentes] et dicentes intra
 semet ipsos* 9A^{s.m.}
- 14:5 poterat] potuit 1 3 14
 istud ueniri] istum
 uenundari 11 (vg)
 et fremebant in eam] *om.**
 9A^{p.m.}
- 14:6 dixit] + eis*
 eam] illam 6 8
- 14:7 semper enim pauperes]
 pauperes enim semper*
 habetis] habebitis 9A^{p.m.} 13
 15 (vg)
 et cum uolueritis potestis
 illis benefacere] *om.** 9A^{p.m.}
 habetis] habebitis 9A^{p.m.}
 VL (vg)
- 14:8 quod habuit haec] haec
 enim quod habuit*
- 14:9 euangelium istud] hoc
 euangelium 6 10 15
 uniuersum mundum]
 uniuerso mundo 3 15 (vg)
 fecit haec] haec fecit 6 15
 (vg)
- 14:10 summos sacerdotes]
 principes sacerdotum 6 8
 10 13 15
 proderet eum] eum
 proderet 1
- 14:11 qui] illi autem*
 audientes] *om.* 9A^{p.m.} VL
- 14:12 primo] prima VL
 dicunt] dixerunt 10
 ei] illi 1
- 14:13 mittit] misit VL
 et dicit] dicens VL
 eis] illis 1 6
 laguenam] anphoram
 (amphoram^{s.m.}) 1 13
 baiulans] portans VL
- 14:14 et quocumque] ubicumque 3
 refectio mea] diuersorium
 meum et refectio mea* *cf.*
 11A 13
- 14:16 et abierunt] euntes*
 eius] *om.**
- et uenerunt in ciuitatem]
*om.**
- et inuenerunt] fecerunt VL
 sicut dixerat illis] ita ut
 illi præcipit*
 praeparauerunt]
 parauerunt VL
- 14:19 dicere ei singillatim]
 coeperunt singuli dicere*
cf. VL
 ego] + sum 10 (vg)
- 14:20 qui ait illis] quibus dixit*
cf. VL
 mecum] + manum VL (vg)
- 14:21 autem] *om.** 9A^{p.m.}
 traditur] tradetur* (vg)
 bonum] + est 9A^{s.m.} (vg)
- 14:22 benedicens] benedixit 1 3
 5 11
 eis] discipulis suis*
 et ait] dicens 3
 sumite] accipite VL
- 14:23 accepto calice] accipiens
 calicem 5
 agens] egit et 3 5
- 14:24 ait] dixit 1 3
 effunditur] effundetur VL
- 14:27 ait eis iesus] dixit illis* *cf.* 3
 scandalizabimini] uos
 scaldalum (*pro* scandalum)
 patiemini in me VL
 quia scriptum est]
 scriptum est enim 1 15
- 14:28 posteaquam] cum** *cf.* 11
 surrexero] surrexero 1 3
 5 11A 17 (vg)
- 14:29 ei] illi VL
 sed non ego] <8-20>
 9A^{p.m.} (*cf.* sed ego non
 scandalizabor VL)

- 14:30 priusquam] antequam 3 8
11 13
bis] *om.* VL
uocem dederit] cantet VL
es negaturus] negabis VL
- 14:31 at ille] ille autem 1
simul] *om.* 1 3 6 10
conmori] mori 3 10
tibi] tecum VL
- 14:32 praedium] locum 1 10
nomen] + est 1 5 10 (vg)
orem] uadam illuc orare**
- 14:34 ait] dixit**
- 14:35 processisset] processit
9A^{p.m.} 1
procidit] + in faciem
suam* *cf.* VL
super terram] *om.* 6
orabat] orauit dicens
pater* *cf.* 1
ut si fieri posset] si fieri
potest 1 3 5 8 13
transiret] transeat 1
ab eo] a me*
hora] + haec 5 13 14 17
- 14:36 possibilia tibi sunt] sunt
tibi possibilia**
sed] et**
- 14:37 uenit] + ad discipulos suos
6 (15)
eos] illos 1 3
ait] dixit 1
uigilare] + mecum 13
- 14:38 ut non] ne VL
uero] autem VL
- 14:39 abiens] abiit et* *cf.* VL
- 14:40 et reuersus denuo] et uenit
ad discipulos suos et** *cf.* 1 3
eos] + iterum 13
illorum] eorum VL
ingrauati] grauati VL
- 14:41 ecce traditur] ut
tradetur**
- 14:42 qui me tradit prope est]
adpropinquabit qui me
tradet VL
- 14:43 turba] + multa 5 6 11 (vg)
lignis] fustibus missi 15
a summis sacerdotibus et a
scribis et a] a principibus
et** *cf.* VL
- 14:44 dederat] dedit 1 3 6 14
traditor eius] qui tradebat
illum** *cf.* 1 3 6
eis] *om.* VL
ducite] + caute 9A^{s.m.} (vg)
- 14:45 ait] + haec 3 4 (6) 15
- 14:46 et tenuerunt eum] *om.**
9A^{p.m.}
- 14:47 quidam] *om.* VL
summi sacerdotis]
principis sacerdotum VL
illi auriculam] auriculam
eius 6 8 15
- 14:48 et respondens iesus ait]
iesus autem dixit VL
tamquam] quasi 1
existis] uenistis 1 3 8 10
lignis] fustibus VL
- 14:49 in templo apud uos]
uobiscum in templo 3
ut adimpleantur]
impleantur VL (vg)
scripturae] +
prophetarum*
- 14:51 amictus] amictu* 9A^{s.m.}
super nudo] supra nudum
3 8 13
- 14:52 reiecta] reiecta VL
profugit] fugit 9A^{p.m.} VL
- 14:53 summum sacerdotem]
principem sacerdotum VL
conueniunt] conuenerunt
ibi** *cf.* VL
sacerdotes] principes
sacerdotum 6 8
scribae et] + pharisaei
et** *cf.* 1 ? 14

- 14:54 secutus est] sequebatur VL
eum] illum 1
intro] *om.* 1 3 5 11 11A
(vg)
summi sacerdotis] principis
sacerdotum 8 13 15
- 14:55 summi uero sacerdotes]
principes autem
sacerdotum VL
et omne concilium] cum
uniuerso concilio** *cf.* VL
testimonium] falsum
testimonium* *cf.* 1^{s.m.}
eum] illum**
nec] et non VL
- 14:56 testimonium falsum]
falsum testimonium VL
conuenientia testimonia] +
et aequalia** *cf.* 3 4
- 14:57 et quidam surgentes] alii
autem exsurgentes 6 15
- 14:58 quoniam] quia 3
dissoluam] soluam 9A^{p.m.} 13
templum hoc] hoc
templum 13
- 14:60 respondes] respondis 11 13
(vg)
quicquam] *om.* 9A^{p.m.} VL
- 14:61 nihil respondit] respondit
nihil**
filius] + dei*
- 14:62 cum] in*
- 14:63 summus sacerdos] princeps
sacerdotum 3 10 13
ait] dixit 1
desideramus] egemus 10
testes] testimonium* *cf.* 3
- 14:64 blasphemiam] + eius 5 13
(vg)
qui omnes condemnauerunt
eum esse reum] illi autem
dixerunt reus est*
- 14:65 prophetiza] + nobis christe
qui est qui te percussit*
cf. 15
- 14:66 et cum] cum autem* *cf.* 6 15
deorsum] domus*
uenit] + ad illum 3 6 8
summi sacerdotis]
principis sacerdotum 3 13
- 14:67 cum uidisset petrum
calefacientem se aspiciens
illum ait] dixit illi*
tu cum ... eras] tu eras
cum*
- 14:68 scio neque noui] noui
neque scio*
- 14:69 rursus autem] iterum 1 5
8 13
uidisset] <au>disset 9A^{p.m.} 8
illum] eum 5 13
ancilla] <pu>ella 9A^{p.m.} 3
circumstantibus]
circumadstantibus*
- 14:71 autem] *om.** 9A^{p.m.}
anathematizare] deuotare
VL
iurare quia] dicere 5 13
istum] hunc 3
- 14:72 statim] *om.**
ei] illi VL
cantet bis] cantet 9A^{p.m.}
VL, bis cantet* 9A^{s.m.}
- 15:1 confestim mane] cum
mane factum esset *cf.* 6 15
sacerdotes] sacerdotum*
uniuerso] cum uniuerso*
- 15:2 at ille] ille autem*
- 15:3 et accusabant eum
summi sacerdotes in
multis] principes autem
sacerdotum multa
accussabant eum* *cf.* VL
- 15:4 rursum] *om.* 9A^{p.m.} VL
eum] illum 1
uide] ecce 3 6
- 15:6 festum] sollemnem 6 8 15
- 15:7 autem] + in carcere *cf.* 6
fecerant] fecerat VL
- 15:9 eis et dixit] et dixit illis 1

- 15:10 tradidissent eum | illum
tradiderunt*
summi sacerdotes | *om.**
9A^{p.m.}
- 15:11 pontifices | principes
sacerdotum 5 8
autem concitauerunt
turbam | qui et turbis
suasserunt* *cf.* 14
magis | *om.**
- 15:12 autem | uero*
respondens ait | dixit* *cf.* 1
- 15:13 iterum | *om.* VL
- 15:14 pilatus uero dicebat eis |
dixit illis pilato* *cf.* 1 3
- 15:15 et tradidit iesum flagellis
caesum | iesum autem
flagellis caesum tradidit
illis 5
- 15:16 eum | illum*
intro | <5> 9A^{p.m.} (*cf.* intus
5), *om.* 9A^{s.m.} VL
conuocant | conuocauerunt
VL
totam | uniuersam*
- 15:17 induunt | induerunt 5 15
purpuram | purpura 11A 14
(vg)
- 15:20 illum | eum VL
purpuram | purpura 11A 14
15 (vg)
eum | illum 6 8 (vg)
educunt | eduxerunt* *cf.* VL
eum | *om.* 9A^{p.m.} 6 15
- 15:24 mittentes sortem | sortem
mittentes 16
- 15:26 eius | ipsius*
- 15:27 eo | illo*
eius | *om.* 9A^{p.m.} VL
- 15:28 et | tunc*
- 15:29 tribus diebus | tri<duo
illud ?>* 9A^{p.m.} *cf.* 1 16
- 15:31 summi sacerdotes |
principes sacerdotum 8 16
ludentes | inludentes*
- dicebant | dicentes 1
- 15:32 ut | et *cf.* 6 15
credamus | + ei VL
conuiciabantur |
maledicebant*
ei | illi*
- 15:33 per | super 9A^{s.m.} VL (vg)
- 15:35 circumstantibus |
adstantibus 17
- 15:36 et implens | implebit *cf.* 1 8
ei | illi 17
ad deponendum | et
liberat*
- 15:37 emissa | clamans*
- 15:38 sursum | summo VL
- 15:39 ex | *om.** 9A^{p.m.}
- 15:40 de | a VL
et | erat VL
- 15:41 ministrabant ei |
ministra<2-6> 9A^{p.m.} (*cf.*
ministrant 13)
ascenderant | ascenderunt
1 15
- 15:43 qui | *om.**
introiit | intrauit 8 16
- 15:44 mirabatur | miratus est 16
accersito centurione |
uocauit centurionem* *cf.* VL
- 15:46 mercatus | + est*
inuoluit | + in VL
sindone | sindon<1-3>*
9A^{p.m.} (*cf.* sindonem VL ?)
aduoluit | adposuit*
monumenti | + et abiit 5
- 15:47 autem | *om.** 9A^{p.m.}
- 16:1 eum | iesum*
- 16:4 et respicientes ... ualde |
erat enim quippe magnus
ualde <20-35> 9A^{p.m.} *cf.*
VL, et respicientes ...
lapidem erat enim quippe
magnus ualde 9A^{s.m.} *cf.* (vg)
- 16:5 monumento | monumentum
VL
in | a *cf.* VL

	coopertum] amictum 8		uiderant] uiderunt* 9A ^{p.m.}
16:6	dicit] dixit VL		resurrexisse] +
	expauescere] timere 5 16		nuntiantibus illis* <i>cf.</i> 13 16
16:7	et] et̄ 9A ^{p.m.} , <i>om.</i> 9A ^{s.m.} VL		crediderant] crediderunt VL
16:8	exeuntes] cum exissent* <i>cf.</i> 1	16:15	eis] + iesus 16 ^{s.m.} (vg)
16:9	autem] + iesus 6 8 15 (vg) prima] + ð 9A ^{p.m.} <i>cf.</i> 16	16:16	uero] autem 16
16:10	uadens] abiit et 16 lugentibus] + eiş 9A ^{p.m.} <i>cf.</i> 6	16:19	quidem] + iesus 9A ^{p.m.} VL eis] illis VL
16:11	et illi audientes] at illi autem ut audierunt* <i>cf.</i> 13 uiueret] resurrexit <8-10> (et ^{s.m.}) uiueret*	16:20	praedicauerunt] + <et docuerunt> 9A ^{p.m.} 16 et sermonem] <uermo ?>* 9A ^{p.m.} , et sermone 9A ^{s.m.} 15 16 (vg)
16:14	nouissime] + autem VL illorum] eorum 6		

CONCLUSION

Once again, the value of Fischer's collations for identifying previously-unnoticed Old Latin witnesses has been proven. Although the recent publication of the total figures is welcome, the percentages of agreement for the sixteen individual passages remain the key data for isolating instances of block mixture and textual affiliation more generally. The full collations of VL 9A and 11A are consistent with the data from the test passages: an agreement with the Stuttgart Vulgate in the 80-90% range is indicative of a mixed text likely to preserve Old Latin forms, while anything below 80% has significance for the pre-Vulgate tradition. It remains an indication of the remarkable stability of the Vulgate Gospels that, in each passage, around 90% of the copies produced before the year 1000 have an agreement of 90% or more with the editorial text of the Stuttgart Vulgate.

Some general insights emerge from the analysis of these two manuscripts, as well as more specific conclusions. The Old Latin section between Mark 10:30 and 11:5 in VL 11A shows that VL 6 is no longer an isolated witness to its unusual text of Mark, which circulated in insular regions three or four centuries earlier. The partial correction of VL 9A and its ancestors towards the Vulgate demonstrates how early Old Latin texts were gradually brought into

line with the Vulgate over generations of copying, and that such alterations may often have been confined to small groups of verses. Even though mixed-text manuscripts have a significant Vulgate component, they should still be cited in Old Latin editions: their evidence may not just be significant for the Latin tradition but also have parallels with early Greek texts. It is hoped that the present article appears in time for its findings to be incorporated into the latter half of the *Vetus Latina* edition of Mark, where the evidence of these witnesses is most pertinent; VL 11A is undoubtedly also worthy of inclusion among Old Latin witnesses to Matthew and Luke⁴⁷.

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47. For an analysis of VL 11A in Luke, see now H.A.G. HOUGHTON, "The Gospel according to Luke in VL 11A" in T.J. BAUER, ed., *Traditio et Translatio. Studien zur lateinischen Bibel zu Ehren von Roger Gryson*. AGLB 40. Freiburg: Herder, 2016, pp. 117–34