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Eusebian Canon Ten in Codex Fuldensis

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Eusebian Canon Ten in Codex Fuldensis:

Paratextual Confusion, Transmission, and Correction

Abstract: Eusebius of Caesarea innovated a system for locating Gospel parallels by sorting hundreds of sections into ten canons. Two centuries later, Victor of Capua produced Codex Fuldensis, a Vulgate New Testament replacing the separate Gospels with a harmony and the Eusebian apparatus. Whereas Eusebius's Canon X demarcated unparalleled material, Victor's scribe repeatedly wrote Canon X within episodes occurring in other Gospels. I argue that these paratextual solecisms illuminate the production of the codex. Victor occasionally wrote a single section number in the margin of his *Vorlage* to direct his scribe. The scribe then mislabeled the passage as Canon X. In later centuries, copies of the Fuldensis harmony reflect various attempts to correct these mistaken references. Paratextual criticism offers a new way to sort the Latin descendants of the Fuldensis text.

Keywords: Tatian – Diatessaron – Paratext – Victor of Capua

1 Introduction

Based on the earlier work of Ammonius of Alexandria, Eusebius of Caesarea assembled a cross-referencing system of canons and sections.¹ Each Gospel was divided into hundreds of sections, and each section was sorted into ten canons. Canon I identified stories or sayings appearing in all four Gospels, and Eusebius arranged various combinations of material found in two or three Gospels (Canons II–IX), while Canon X signified material unique to each Gospel. Eusebius's *Letter to Carpianus* explained how the elaborate tables facilitate comparisons across Gospels.² Centuries before chapters and verses, the Canon Tables and

* My thanks to the anonymous reviewer(s) for their encouraging and erudite feedback, especially the suggestion to clarify how my findings differ vis-à-vis previous reconstructions of Codex Fuldensis's reception. I also thank Matthew R. Crawford of Australian Catholic University, whose generous and helpful feedback has been incorporated. Finally, a quick turnaround grant from Western Kentucky University's Potter College of Arts & Letters facilitated access to microfilm copies of some of the MSS studied herein.

¹ The definitive work on the Eusebian apparatus is now M. R. Crawford, *The Eusebian Canon Tables: Ordering Textual Knowledge in Antiquity* (Oxford, 2019); earlier see C. Nordenfalk, *Die spätantiken Kanontafeln* (Göteborg, 1938).

² Eusebius's *Letter to Carpianus* and Canon Tables are included in recent editions of the Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece* (e.g., 28th ed., Stuttgart, 2012, *89-94), and the paratextual canons and sections are printed in the inner margins throughout the Gospels.

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paratextual numberings were copied into countless MSS of the Gospels, and Jerome's Vulgate incorporated the Eusebian apparatus.

Codex Fuldensis is an exceptional, early witness to the Vulgate New Testament.³ Victor of Capua oversaw its production, which was completed in the year 546. Victor's preface (ff. 1r-4r) explains its distinctive presentation of the Gospels. He had discovered an anonymous harmony of the four Gospels, and he deduced that it was Tatian's Diatessaron.⁴ Victor appreciated the structure of the harmony and decided to use it in lieu of the separate Gospels in the Fuldensis MS. Yet Tatian had been deemed a heretic, so Victor ensured that the Fuldensis harmony followed the Vulgate verbatim. To achieve this, Victor would have added pertinent references from the Eusebian apparatus to his harmony *Vorlage*. Thereafter his scribe could search and find the precise wording by comparing the harmony with a Vulgate

³ Fulda Bonifatianus 1 (Victor-Codex): [https://fuldig.hs-](https://fuldig.hs-fulda.de/viewer/image/PPN325289808/1/)

[fulda.de/viewer/image/PPN325289808/1/](https://fuldig.hs-fulda.de/viewer/image/PPN325289808/1/); see also E. Ranke, *Codex Fuldensis: Novum Testamentum Latine Interprete Hieronymo ex Manuscripto Victoris Capuani* (Marburg/Leipzig, 1868). Given this article's focus on text and paratext, I cite the chapter numbers and Eusebian apparatus as they appear in Codex Fuldensis; I also note Ranke's differences.

⁴ Modern scholarship has shown that Fuldensis is closely related to, but by no means identical with, Tatian's Diatessaron.

Gospel book equipped with the canons and sections.⁵ Moreover, the Eusebian apparatus was copied into the Fuldensis MS so that readers could likewise compare the harmony with the separate Gospels.

The feeding of the five thousand exemplifies this process. Since the story occurs in all four Gospels, Eusebius grouped it in Canon I, Matthean §147 (14:15-21), Markan §64 (6:35-44), Lukan §93 (9:12-17), and Johannine §49 (6:5-13). Once Victor recognized the story, he could have marked any one of these Gospel section numbers. He did not need to write all of them in the *Vorlage's* margins, for his scribe could readily identify any of those section numbers as belonging to Canon I. The scribe could then use the Canon Tables to locate all the parallels either by juggling multiple Gospel books or by flipping pages within a single Gospel book. Indeed, in Fuldensis ch. 80, Victor's scribe meticulously separated and recombined the four sources into one harmonious rendition. In fifty lines of f. 73, the scribe switched sources nine times, excising between three and forty-four words at each interval: Matt 14:15 (3); Luke 9:12

⁵ Codex Fuldensis is almost entirely the work of a single scribe, yet Victor—in his own discernibly different hand—made occasional notes and corrections; see especially the note from 2 May 546 at the end of the book of Acts (f. 433r; R. Hausmann, *Die theologischen Handschriften der Hessischen Landesbibliothek Fulda bis zum Jahr 1600* [Wiesbaden, 1992], 4, 6; N. J. Zola, "Tatian's *Diatessaron* in Latin: A New Edition of Codex Fuldensis" [PhD dissertation, Baylor University, 2014], 28).

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(24); Matt 14:16 (12); John 6:5-6 (14); Mark 6:38 (6); John 6:8-9 (28); Luke 9:13 (11); Matt 14:18 (7); Mark 6:39-40 (21); Matt 14:19-21 (44).

Victor might have had more difficulty locating some of the material unique to each Gospel, Eusebius's Canon X. A long and well known story like the raising of Lazarus would be easily identifiable as Johannine.⁶ Conversely, Jesus's short parable about seed growing secretly occurs only in Mark,⁷ so Victor must have known the scriptures extremely well to search and find each source. Victor and his scribe followed this *modus operandi* for the entirety of the fourfold gospel. Most of this background information is presupposed in contemporary Diatessaron studies, for Fuldensis has been closely scrutinized as the earliest extant western witness to Tatian's long lost harmony. In particular, by attending to Fuldensis's Eusebian apparatus and other paratextual features, Ulrich Schmid has commendably furthered our knowledge of the reception of the entire western Diatessaronic tradition.⁸ This article identifies a peculiarity in Fuldensis's canons and sections: the codex incorrectly designates numerous Gospel sections as Canon X, even though the story or saying is paralleled elsewhere

⁶ John 10:41-11:52; Eusebian §94; Fuldensis chs. 135-136, ff. 128r-131r.

⁷ Markan §43 (4:26-29) is mislabeled §44 in Fuldensis ch. 76 on ff. 69v-70r.

⁸ See esp. U. B. Schmid, "Before and After: Some Notes on the Pre- and Post-History of Codex Fuldensis," in *The Gospel of Tatian: Exploring the Nature and Text of the Diatessaron*, ed. M. R. Crawford and N. J. Zola (London, 2019), 171-90; see also Schmid's thoroughgoing *Unum ex Quattuor: Eine Geschichte der lateinischen Tatianiüberlieferung* (Freiburg, 2005).

and had been labeled differently by Eusebius.⁹ This is a recurring phenomenon throughout the MS,¹⁰ so this initial study must be representative rather than exhaustive.

The first half of this article focuses on three stories occurring within nine pages of Fuldensis (chs. 53-57; ff. 54v-58v).¹¹ Based on the text and paratext, I conclude that Gospel citations of a Eusebian section number alone—without an accompanying canon number—represent instances where Victor's scribe has replicated in Fuldensis exactly what Victor himself wrote in the margins of his harmony *Vorlage*. For example, Markan §47 appears without a canon number at the top of f. 55v, and these five lines of text do come from Mark 5:13-14; immediately thereafter the harmony transitioned to Matthew, so Victor likely aided his scribe by noting the sources here. Conversely, Gospel citations where a Eusebian section

⁹ In Codex Fuldensis, the standard Eusebian Canon Tables have been rearranged according to the order of the harmony, and the Fuldensis harmony does not include all the material Eusebius designated Canon X. Thus it is unsurprising to find Gospel sections lacking in Fuldensis's Canon X. But it is surprising to find Gospel sections in Fuldensis's Canon X that are not designated as such in the standard Eusebian apparatus.

¹⁰ Some cases are more important than others, such as transcriptional errors. E.g., both the harmony text (f. 63r) and the Canon Tables (f. 11v) list Lukan §82 (8:19-21) as Canon X, but that section would be canon II; however, the Gospel text turns out to be Lukan §72 (7:29-30), which is indeed Canon X.

¹¹ Cf. chs. 54-58 in Ranke, *Codex Fuldensis*, 58-61.

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number is mislabeled as Canon X result from misinterpretation or reinterpretation on the part of Victor's scribe. It is inconceivable that Victor would have repeatedly and mistakenly written Canon X, for the correct canon number stood right before Victor in the Vulgate Gospel book with which he compared his harmony *Vorlage*. The simplest solution is that Victor wrote only the standalone section number. Sometimes the scribe misinterpreted that the material occurred only in the one Gospel cited. At other times the scribe repurposed Canon X to indicate unique phrases in one evangelist's version of a story occurring in another Gospel.

The second half of this article tracks the same three case studies across every extant Latin copy of the Fuldensis harmony. Already by the Carolingian period, scribes had observed the mistaken references to Canon X and resolved them in two ways. One approach extended the reinterpretation of Canon X as unique phrases within an episode found in multiple Gospels. Another approach streamlined the apparatus by eliminating the mistakes, thereby restoring the harmony's Canon X to Eusebius's original intent. Despite scribes' concerted attempts to correct the Eusebian apparatus, new mistakes arose. Fortunately, though, in some cases common errors offer new insights into the Fuldensis harmony's reception history.

2 The Production of the Gospel Harmony in Codex Fuldensis

The Eusebian canons and sections were indispensable for the material production of Codex Fuldensis. Victor marked them in his harmony *Vorlage*, and his scribe used them to disentangle the *Vorlage's* wording to match the Vulgate verbatim. Eusebius reserved Canon X

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for stories and sayings proper to each Gospel. Yet Fuldensis mislabeled sections as Canon X five times in six pages (ff. 54v-58r), specifically in the pericopes of the Gerasene exorcism (ch. 53), Levi's feast (ch. 56), and the sayings about Solomon's wisdom (ch. 57).¹² I argue that Fuldensis's erroneous references to Canon X come from Victor's scribe, not from Victor himself. In other words, I infer that Victor identified certain phrases as coming from one Gospel, and he noted the text's Eusebian section. Since Victor relied on a Vulgate MS equipped with the Eusebian apparatus, he would not have written Canon X in his harmony *Vorlage* where his corresponding Vulgate Gospel book had correctly marked the section as Canon II (Matthew, Mark, and Luke) or Canon V (Matthew and Luke) et cetera. In most of the cases below, Victor's scribe appears to have misinterpreted a lone Eusebian section number as material appearing in a single Gospel. At other places in Fuldensis, however, the scribe more likely reinterpreted Canon X as specific wording within a story found in multiple Gospels.¹³ Either way, such a reinterpretation of Canon X gained traction in the medieval transmission and reception of the Fuldensis harmony text.

¹² There are no mistaken Canon X references in the intervening chs. 54-55.

¹³ E.g., on f. 54r Lukan §105 is mislabeled Canon X for a single sentence (Luke 9:59), even though nine lines above Lukan §105 was correctly labeled Canon V along with Matthean §68.

2.1 The Gerasene Exorcism in Fuldensis ch. 53

In all three Synoptics, Jesus crosses the Sea of Galilee and exorcises demons in the region of the Gerasenes (Matt 8:28-34 // Mark 5:1-20 // Luke 8:26-39).¹⁴ Mark and Luke narrate one demon-possessed person calling himself Legion, whereas Matthew has two unnamed demon-possessed persons. Jesus casts the demons into a swineherd, which runs off a cliff and drowns in the sea. This long episode occurs in Fuldensis ch. 53, which contains several perplexing paratextual features. In Table 1, the middle column presents the Latin text of Fuldensis including its in-line Gospel citations; I have added *plene* spelling and underlined textual variants vis-à-vis the Vulgate.¹⁵ The left-hand column presents Fuldensis's marginal Eusebian apparatus with *sic* in brackets where canons and sections are mistaken. The right-hand column cites modern book, chapter, and verse more precisely than does Ranke's nineteenth-

¹⁴ Greek MSS of Matt 8:28 typically say Gadarenes, but Old Latin and Vulgate MSS read Gerasenes, which is harmonistic with Mark 5:1; some Greek MSS of Luke 8:26 refer to the Gergesenes, but here too the Old Latin and Vulgate MSS read Gerasenes.

¹⁵ The addition of *unus enim* in Luke 8:27 is necessitated by the harmony having two demon-possessed persons; the addition of *eos* in Mark 5:10 along with the reading *est* rather than *sit* in Mark 5:19 are attested in Old Latin MSS of Mark.

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century edition of Fuldensis.¹⁶ The text and paratext, despite their mistakes, offer valuable insight into the making of the codex.

Table 1: Gerasene Exorcism (Fuldensis ch. 53)		
Mt LXVII [sic]	[f. 54v] <i>et cum venisset trans fretum in regionem</i>	Matt 8:28
X [sic]	<i>Gerasenorum</i>	
	<i>quae est contra Galilaeam. et cum egressus esset ad</i>	Luke 8:26-27
	<i>terram</i>	
	<i>occurrerunt ei duo habentes daemonia de</i>	Matt 8:28
	<i>monumentis. et exeuntes saevi nimis ita ut nemo</i>	
	<i>posset transire per viam illam</i>	
Lc LXXXIII	Lc <u>unus enim</u> <i>habebat daemoniam iam temporibus</i>	Luke 8:27
X [sic]	<i>multis et vestimento non induebatur neque in domo</i>	
	<i>manebat sed in monumentis.</i>	
	<i>et neque catenis iam quisquam eum poterat liga</i> [f.	Mark 5:3-5
	55r]re. <i>quoniam saepe conpedibus et catenis</i>	
	<i>vinctus disruptisset catenas et conpedes</i>	

¹⁶ Ranke, *Codex Fuldensis*, 58-59. Ranke's scripture citations always need to be checked, and a helpful resource for doing so is the Vulgate Gospel synopsis by A. Brassac, *Nova Evangeliorum Synopsis* (Paris, 1922).

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	<i>comminuisset. et nemo poterat eum domare</i>	
	<i>et semper nocte ac die in [...] montibus erat</i>	
	<i>clamans et concidens se lapidibus.</i>	
Mt VIII [sic]	Mt Mr Lc <i>Videns autem Iesum a longe <u>occurrit</u> et</i>	Mark 5:6-7
II	<i>adoravit eum et clamans voce magna dicit</i>	
Mr XLVII		
Lc LXXXIII		
	<i>quid nobis et tibi</i>	Matt 8:29
	<i>Iesu Fili Dei altissimi</i>	Mark 5:7 = Luke 8:28
	<i>venisti [...] ante tempus torquere nos</i>	Matt 8:29
	<i>dicebat enim illi <u>Iesus</u> exi spiritus inmunde.</i>	Mark 5:8
	<i><u>dic</u> quod tibi nomen est</i>	Mark 5:9b = Luke 8:30b
	<i>at ille dixit Legio quia intraverunt daemonia multa</i>	Luke 8:30c-31
	<i>in eum. et rogabant illum ne</i>	
	<i>expelleret <u>eos</u> extra regionem</i>	Mark 5:10
	<i>et ne imperaret illis ut in abyssum irent.</i>	Luke 8:31
	<i>erat autem non longe ab illis grex porcorum</i>	Matt 8:30-32
	<i>multorum pascens. daemones autem rogabant eum</i>	

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	<i>dicentes· si eicis nos mitte nos in gregem porcorum.</i>	
	<i>et ait illis· ite. at illi exeuntes abierunt in porcos</i>	
	<i>et magno impetu [f. 55v] grex praecipitatus est in</i>	Mark 5:13c
	<i>mare.</i>	
Mr XLVII	<i>Mr ad duo milia et suffocati sunt in mare. qui</i>	Mark 5:13c-14
	<i>autem pascebant eos fugerunt et nuntiaverunt in</i>	
	<i>civitatem et in agros</i>	
Mt LXVIII [sic]	<i>omnia. Mt et ecce tota civitas exiit obviam Iesu. et</i>	Matt 8:33, 34
	<i>viso eo</i>	
	<i>Mt Lc et hominem sedentem a quo daemonia</i>	Luke 8:35
	<i>exierant vestitum ac sana mente ad pedes eius et</i>	
	<i>timuerunt</i>	
	<i>Mt Mr Lc et rogabant ut transiret a finibus eorum</i>	Matt 8:34b
	<i>Mr Lc cumque ascenderet navem</i>	Mark 5:18
	<i>rogabat eum vir a quo daemonia exierant ut cum eo</i>	Luke 8:38
	<i>esset.</i>	
	<i>et non ammisit eum sed ait illi vade in domum tuam</i>	Mark 5:19ab
	<i>ad tuos et</i>	
	<i>narra quanta tibi</i>	Luke 8:39a
	<i>Dominus fecerit. et misertus <u>est</u> tui et abiit</i>	Mark 5:19b-20

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<i>praedicans</i>	Luke 8:39b
<i>in Decapolim</i>	Mark 5:20a
<i>quanta illi fecisset Iesus</i>	Luke 8:39b
<i>et omnes mirabantur</i>	Mark 5:20a
Mt <i>et ascendens in naviculam transfretavit et venit</i>	Matt 9:1
<i>in civitatem suam.</i>	

The paratext accompanying Fuldensis ch. 53 (f. 54v) begins inauspiciously with a reference to Canon X, Matthean §67. Both numbers are incorrect. The opening line about crossing over to the region of the Gerasenes comes from Matthew 8:28, which is Canon II, Matthean §69. Victor likely wrote Matthean §67 because that section ends in Matthew 8:18 with Jesus crossing the sea (*trans fretum*), the two words recurring at the beginning of the Gerasene pericope in Matthew 8:28. Even by following the incorrect reference, Victor's scribe probably arrived within a page of the correct text.¹⁷ Both Matthean §67 and §69 belong to Canon II, so it is highly unlikely that Victor mislabeled the canon number. A likelier scenario is that Victor wrote the section number, and his scribe misinterpreted the standalone Matthean section as occurring only in that Gospel.

¹⁷ The intervening verses in Vulgate Matt 8:19-27 comprise 654 letters; cf. Codex Sangallensis 1395 having ca. sixteen letters per line, twenty-four lines per column, and two columns per page, i.e. more than 750 letters.

The next marginal paratext is Lukan §83, which is the correct Gospel section, but this too is mislabeled Canon X.¹⁸ The story is in all three Synoptics, so Lukan §83 belongs to Canon II, as the scribe correctly noted on the following page (f. 55r). Victor had likely located the details of the demon-possessed person's nakedness and homelessness in Luke. The scribe then misinterpreted a solitary Gospel reference as belonging to Canon X. Another possibility is that the scribe reinterpreted Canon X to indicate a detail only found in Luke, even though the story occurs in all three Synoptics. In that case, though, it is odd that Mark goes uncited in the ensuing lines. Six lines below the marginal reference to Lukan §83, the scribe begins a string of fifty-one words from Mark (5:3-7; ff. 54v-55r), the longest continuous quotation from a single Gospel in this 311-word pericope. The scribe had to copy from a Vulgate MS of Mark, which is the only Gospel to mention the demon-possessed man's crying out night and day as well as cutting himself with rocks (5:5). There is no Markan citation in-line or marginally, so the Fuldensis paratext creates the mistaken impression that Mark 5:3-5 comes from Luke.¹⁹

The scribe finally notes Markan §47 and Lukan §83 as Canon II (f. 55r) along with Matthean §9, which should have read §69.²⁰ In-text the scribe lists Matthew, Mark, and Luke,

¹⁸ Lukan §83 is also included under ch. 54 in Canon Table X on f. 11v; this is ch. 53 in the harmony text on f. 54v.

¹⁹ Ranke's edition (p. 58) duplicates a reference to Markan §47 in the margin and adds in-line citations to Mark 5:3-7, but these do not appear in Codex Fuldensis.

²⁰ The Table also lists Matthean §9 [*sic*: 69], Markan §47, and Lukan §83 under Canon II (f. 6v).

and the rest of the page intricately harmonizes the Synoptics. Near the top of the following page (f. 55v) there is a standalone reference to Markan §47, and the accompanying text does come from Mark 5:13-14; yet the scribe did not add Canon X. The final Eusebian annotation for this chapter is a standalone citation of Matthean §68, which is wrong for the third time in three pages;²¹ nor did the scribe add Canon X at this point.

The misidentified canon numbers do not likely come from Victor. As he compared his harmony *Vorlage* with a Vulgate copy of Matthew, Victor would have seen either Matthean §67 or §69 marked as Canon II. In fact, it is odd that the full list of Canon II references do not appear at the beginning of the story. I infer that at the beginning of ch. 53 (f. 54v) Victor simply noted a section number near the words *trans fretum* in Matthew 8. Accordingly, Victor expected his scribe to fill in the apparatus more completely, as eventually occurred on f. 55r. My hypothesis is that the designations of Canon X for both Matthean §67 and Lukan §83 on f. 54v come from Victor's scribe, who misinterpreted the standalone Eusebian section numbers, which Victor had noted in the *Vorlage's* margins, as belonging to Canon X. Even when Lukan §83 was correctly identified as Canon II on f. 55r, the scribe did not look back to correct the earlier reference to Canon X; the mistaken reference to Matthean §9 on f. 55r is likely an attempt to write §69, and it too went uncorrected.

²¹ Both Matthean §67 and §68 are included under ch. 54 in Canon Table X on f. 11r; this is ch. 53 in the harmony text on ff. 54v-55v.

2.2 Levi's Feast in Fuldensis ch. 56

In all three Synoptics, Jesus calls a tax collector to be one of the disciples. The Gospel of Matthew (9:9) calls the tax collector Matthew, whereas Mark (2:14) and Luke (5:27) name him Levi. Immediately thereafter in the canonical accounts, Jesus and the disciples attend a feast at the publican's house. They are joined by tax collectors and sinners, thereby drawing scrutiny from scribes and Pharisees, and later there is a question as to why Jesus and his disciples do not fast. To mitigate the discrepancy in naming the tax collector, the Fuldensis harmony placed the initial call of the tax collector Matthew (ch. 20; ff. 37v–38r) long before the feast at the home of Levi (ch. 56; f. 57). Fuldensis combined the Synoptic feast story as follows: Luke 5:29a; Matt 9:10; Mark 2:15b-17b; Matt 9:13;²² Luke 5:33a.

Lukan §39 is the correct section number for Levi's feast, which Fuldensis introduces: *et fecit ei convivium magnum Levi in domo sua* (f. 57r; Luke 5:29a). The canon and section numbers align with this line of text in the right-hand margin in the middle of the page: the word "great" (*magnum*) occurs at a line break, so right beside *mag* is Lc. XXXVIII; directly underneath is an X for the canon number, and a long horizontal line is drawn underneath the X. The paratextual problem here in Fuldensis is the canon number. Since the story occurs in all the Synoptics, it should be Canon II. Once again, the likeliest scenario is that Victor noted the Lukan section number in the harmony *Vorlage*, and his scribe misleadingly added Canon X in the margin of Fuldensis.

²² Matthew 9:13 adapts *in paenitentiam* from Luke 5:32 when transitioning to Luke 5:33a.

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The scribe recognized that something was askew at this point. Directly underneath the horizontal line in the margin is a vertical list of Canon II, Matthean §72, Markan §22, and Lukan §186. The Lukan number is not immediately clear, for the annotation looks like this: Lc C\XXXVI.²³ At first glance, the Roman numeral L appears to have been marked out, as though the reference is Lukan §136. What looks like strikethrough is not, however. Instead, the scribe began to write the Roman numeral X after the C. Rather than rub out the mistake, the scribe simply wrote the L over the top of the left-to-right downward stroke of the X.

It is crucial to decipher the section number as 186, because it explains the scribe's weightier mistake vis-à-vis the canon number. Lukan §186 (15:1-2) is where Pharisees and scribes, on a separate occasion, say that Jesus eats with tax collectors and sinners. Eusebius considered the disdain for Jesus's dining companions a motif, so the standard Eusebian apparatus locates a Lukan doublet. Proceeding in the order of Matthew's Gospel, Eusebius's Canon Tables first present Canon II, Matthean §72, Markan §22, and Lukan §39 to indicate the feast at Levi's house. The following line of standard Canon Tables lists Matthean §72, Markan §22, and Lukan §186, which Victor's scribe used at this point.²⁴

As in the Synoptics, Fuldensis continued with the question about fasting. Near the bottom of f. 57r, the scribe wrote Canon II with Matthean §73 and Markan §22 [*sic*: 23], yet the

²³ Ranke (*Codex Fuldensis*, 60) correctly prints the Lukan section number as CLXXXVI.

²⁴ The modified Canon Tables in Fuldensis list Matthean §72, Markan §22, and Lukan §186 in Canon II (f. 6v) while mistakenly relegating Lukan §39 to Canon X (f. 11v).

scribe wrote the abbreviation for Luke without a section number.²⁵ As the story continues on f. 57v, three times the scribe wrote the correct Eusebian Canon II, Matthean §73, Markan §23, and Lukan §40. Surprisingly, neither Victor nor his scribe corrected the confusion surrounding the Lukan section numbers on the previous page (f. 57r).

Nevertheless, these uncorrected errors reveal two significant aspects of the production of Fuldensis. Again, the mistaken canon references more likely come from the scribe rather than Victor. Also, at least in this instance, the scribe's Vulgate Gospel book listed only the Eusebian section number for each individual Gospel. To be sure, there are early Vulgate examples of complete Gospel cross-references at each point of every Gospel. For example, without exception Codex Amiatinus writes Canon II and lists all three section numbers (Matthean §72, Markan §22, Lukan §39) at the tax collector's feast in Matthew (f. 810v), Mark (f. 833v),²⁶ and Luke (f. 858r). Schmid has suggested that Victor was already working with this

²⁵ Ranke (*Codex Fuldensis*, 60) corrected the Markan section number and added the Lukan section number.

²⁶ At the Markan rendition, Amiatinus adds Lukan §186 under §39 (f. 833v); for the digitized MS, see <https://www.wdl.org/en/item/20150/view/1/1/>.

type of Eusebian apparatus.²⁷ Yet this is highly unlikely in the instance of Levi's feast:

Fuldensis would not have mislabeled Lukan §39 as Canon X (f. 57r) if the section numbers of all three Synoptics were marked as Canon II in the scribe's Vulgate Gospel book. Moreover, the odd reference to Lukan §186 makes the most sense if the scribe simply copied the wrong line from a set of prefatory Canon Tables.

2.3 Solomon's Wisdom in Fuldensis ch. 57

At various points in all three Synoptics, different people ask Jesus to perform a sign, and he promises to perform the sign of Jonah. This episode occurs once in Matthew (12:38-42), once in Mark (8:11-13), and twice in Luke (11:16, 29-32; 16:1-2a, 4).²⁸ Eusebius grouped Matthean §127 (12:38) with Lukan §128 (11:16) in Canon V, and he also grouped Matthean §128 (12:39-42) with Lukan §132 (11:29-32) in Canon V.

Fuldensis ch. 57 (f. 58r) begins this pericope by noting Canon V, Matthean §127, Lukan §128 in the right-hand margin. The harmony text copies from Matthew 12:38-42 verbatim,

²⁷ Schmid ("Before and After," 176-77) differentiates between the "horizontal" apparatus in the Canon Tables, where parallel sections are listed side by side, and the "vertical" apparatus in the margins, where the pertinent section is noted first and its Gospel parallels are stacked underneath; the vertical arrangement is attested early in Vulgate MSS (e.g. Codex Sangallensis 1395, Codex Amiatinus, and the Lindisfarne Gospels).

²⁸ See K. Aland, *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum* (Stuttgart, ¹³1986), 170-71 (§119).

although part of vv. 41-42 are omitted. Fuldensis skips from the first part of the Ninevites' condemnation of the present generation on judgment day to the last part of the Queen of the South's coming to hear the wisdom of Solomon. This omission results from parablepsis based on the phrase *ista et condemnabunt/condemnabit eam quia*: Matthew 12:41 uses *condemnabunt*, and v. 42 uses *condemnabit*; Fuldensis skips from *ista et condemnab...* in v. 41 to *condemnabit eam quia* in v. 42.²⁹ Thereafter Fuldensis attributes another version of the wisdom of Solomon saying to Luke (11:31bc): *dico autem vobis quia multi venerunt a finibus terrae audire sapientia Salomonis. et ideo maior Salomon hic* (f. 58). The Lukan saying is correctly designated §132 but is incorrectly labeled Canon X [*sic*: V].

The scribe's mislabeling of Canon X likely indicates that the scribe stopped using Matthew as a source at this point. The most peculiar aspect of this pericope is that the wisdom of Solomon saying is doubled in the first place,³⁰ and it is possible that Victor's harmony *Vorlage* only had one such saying. Regardless, Victor intended Fuldensis to match the Vulgate as closely as possible, and the wisdom of Solomon saying agrees verbatim in Matthew 12:42b and Luke 11:31bc: *quia venit a finibus terrae audire sapientiam Salomonis. et ecce plus quam Salomon hic*. The Lukan version does not appear to have been altered in the Vulgate's transmission, since this precise wording is visible in Codex Sangallensis 1395 (p. 199),³¹ which is

²⁹ A later hand has noted *·/· minus habet* here on f. 58r.

³⁰ As will be discussed below, later MSS corrected the text in different ways.

³¹ <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/1395/199/0/Sequence-749>.

generally regarded as the oldest extant Vulgate MS. Amiatinus has the same Vulgate wording in Matthew (f. 814r), and the only Lukan variant is the omission of *quam* before Solomon (f. 866r).

Nevertheless, vis-à-vis the Vulgate, there are four variants in Fuldensis's purportedly Lukan saying. First, Fuldensis adds the introductory phrase *dico autem vobis*, which appears to be harmonizing to the nearby context of Matthew 12:36. Second, the Queen of the South has been deleted, so that in Fuldensis (f. 58r) "many" (*multi*) came to hear the wisdom of Solomon. Third, Fuldensis (f. 58v) says "greater" (*maior*) instead of "more than" (*plus quam*) Solomon is here. Finally and most significantly, the Vulgate says "look" (*ecce*), whereas Fuldensis (f. 58v) appears to say "therefore" (*ideo*). I suggest, though, that *ideo* more likely represents a transliteration of ἰδοὺ ("look" = *ecce*), which stands here in the Greek text of Matthew and Luke. Although none of these variants are previously attested in Old Latin MSS of Luke 11:31,³² I posit that Victor's scribe copied the wisdom of Solomon saying directly from the harmony

³² See A. Jülicher, *Itala: Das neue Testament in altlateinischer Überlieferung: III*

Lucasevangelium (Berlin, 1954), 135; idem, *Itala: Das neue Testament in altlateinischer Überlieferung: I Matthäusevangelium* (Berlin, 1972), 78.

Vorlage, which was in Old Latin.³³ In other words, Victor had noted the Lukan location of the parallel saying, but the scribe did not bother to look it up in a Vulgate MS of Luke. The harmony *Vorlage's* saying was very close to the Matthean version, which had just been copied, so the scribe took a shortcut.

This argument is bolstered by the ensuing saying about the return of the unclean spirit, which concludes Fuldensis ch. 57 (f. 58v). The MS correctly labels the passage Canon V, Matthean §129 (12:43-45), Lukan §130 (11:24-26). However, the text comes exclusively from Matthew. Besides the marginal Eusebian apparatus, Fuldensis also abbreviates Gospel sources in-line in red ink. Matthew and Luke are both noted at the beginning of the unclean spirits material, and Matthew alone is noted before the last sentence (*sic erit et generationi huic pessimae*). The initial Mt Lc designation certainly does not indicate that these seventeen lines of text are harmonizing Matthew and Luke.³⁴ Though the two renditions are highly similar, there are sufficient idiosyncrasies to identify Matthew as the sole source at this point of the

³³ This possibility was raised by J. Rathofer, "Die Einwirkung des Fuldischen Evangelientextes auf den althochdeutschen 'Tatian': Abkehr von der Methode der Diatessaronforschung," in *Literatur und Sprache im europäischen Mittelalter: Festschrift für Karl Langosch zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. A. Önnersfors, J. Rathofer, and F. Wagner (Darmstadt, 1973), 256-308, at 280.

³⁴ It is also conceivable that the *Vorlage* alternated between Matthew and Luke but that Victor's scribe stayed in Matthew to save time.

harmony.³⁵ Thus the Mt Lc in-line notation merely indicates that the harmony's Matthean sentences are paralleled in Luke. The scribe did not turn to Luke regarding the return of the unclean spirit.

These textual and paratextual observations support the following reconstruction. At a minimum, Victor annotated his *Vorlage* with Matthean §127 for the sign of Jonah and wisdom of Solomon material, and Victor marked a saying about the wisdom of Solomon as Lukan §132. Victor would not have marked the saying as Canon X, so this canon number likely comes from Victor's scribe. Most importantly, the scribe did not copy the second wisdom of Solomon saying from Vulgate Luke 11:31, even though Luke is cited in the margins. Before transitioning to the sign of Jonah in ch. 57, the scribe had ended ch. 56 with a verbatim quotation of Luke 5:39, the saying about old wine being preferable to new wine. Rather than relocate within his Vulgate Gospel book(s) at that point, the scribe copied the second wisdom of Solomon saying directly from the harmony *Vorlage*, which was in Old Latin. This is a significant find in itself, for such "Old Latin remnants" are precisely the kind of evidence called for in recent

³⁵ E.g., in the opening sentence, Fuldensis (f. 58v) not only includes the conjunction *autem*, which is present in Matthew (12:43) and absent from Luke (11:24), but also uses Matthew's preposition *ab* rather than Luke's *de*; in the next sentence, Fuldensis describes the deserted place as *arida* as in Matthew (12:44) rather than *inaquosa* as in Luke (11:24).

Diatessaron studies.³⁶ Albeit with an eye skip in vv. 41-42, Matthew 12:38-45 accounts for all the Vulgate text in Fuldensis ch. 57 on both sides of f. 58. The scribe eventually turned to Canon X, Lukan §131 (11:27-28) in Fuldensis ch. 58 (f. 58v), but not before the scribe had taken a nearly untraceable shortcut. The wisdom of Solomon saying attributed to Luke in Fuldensis did not come from the Vulgate at all.

2.4 Summary

Some of the Eusebian section numbers in Codex Fuldensis are clearly mislabeled as Canon X, for they are found within stories occurring in multiple Gospels. In these cases, I infer that Victor's scribe has added the mistaken canon number, whereas Victor himself merely indicated a section number to help the scribe locate a given pericope. These solecisms nonetheless offer valuable insight into the production of the codex, and in the wisdom of Solomon saying we likely get a rare glimpse at the Old Latin wording of Victor's harmony *Vorlage*.

³⁶ Schmid, "Before and After," 189; see also p. 190: "A more adequate reframing of the research question might be to properly isolate the non-Vulgate—and in particular the non-Codex Amiatinus (and allies)—elements in the harmony text of Fuldensis, which in turn may provide the safest route for accessing the harmony source behind Codex Fuldensis."

3 The Transmission and Reception of the Fuldensis Harmony

The second half of this article clarifies the transmission and reception of the Fuldensis harmony text from Carolingian scribes to its first printed edition. Including Fuldensis, I work with twenty-six MSS, sixteen of which are unpublished and currently unavailable online; I have not seen three of these MSS cited in any previous Diatessaron study. In what follows, I introduce these witnesses and then trace their textual and paratextual transmission via the three case studies above. Previous scholars have grouped witnesses according to various phenomena: whether MSS begin with Luke 1:1-4 or John 1:1-5;³⁷ the narrative sequence of the nativity, particularly the timing of the magi's visit;³⁸ the number of chapters in a given harmony;³⁹ and whether MSS are glossed.⁴⁰ Each of these provides important data, but none emerges as a genetic marker that could predict the text or paratext of a given MS from one

³⁷ W. Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron: Its Creation, Dissemination, Significance, and History in Scholarship* (Leiden, 1994), 490, i.e. Appendix 2.

³⁸ U. Schmid, "'... So That Those Who Read the (Biblical) Text and the Commentary Do Not Correct One after the Other' (Zachary of Besançon): Some Observations on the Textual Traditions of Two 12th-Century Latin Gospel Harmony Commentaries," in *Paratext and Megatext as Channels of Jewish and Christian Traditions*, ed. A. den Hollander, U. Schmid, and W. Smelik (Leiden, 2003), 136-51, at 141-44.

³⁹ Schmid, *Unum ex Quattuor*, 108-31.

⁴⁰ Schmid, *Unum ex Quattuor*, 131-44.

place to another. I adduce editorial interventions in the Eusebian apparatus as additional—albeit still somewhat unpredictable—means of classifying witnesses.

The three oldest extant copies of the Fuldensis harmony date to the ninth century. These are Codex Sangallensis,⁴¹ Codex Cassellanus,⁴² and Reims MS 46;⁴³ Munich BSB Clm 23346 is dated to the tenth century.⁴⁴ Witnesses dating from the twelfth to sixteenth centuries include Houghton Library (Harvard University) MS Richardson 25,⁴⁵ Valenciennes MS 15, Copenhagen GKS 1350 4°, Mazarin MS 292, Cambrai MS 361, and British Library Add MS

⁴¹ St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek Cod. Sang. 56 presents in parallel columns Victor's Latin harmony along with a translation into Old High German; <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/thumbs/csg/0056/Sequence-262>.

⁴² Kassel Landesbibliothek 2° MS Theol. 31; https://orka.bibliothek.uni-kassel.de/viewer/image/1327304807613/29/LOG_0011/.

⁴³ Reims MS 46; <http://beta.biblissima.fr/ark:/43093/mdatae6ce77b7fa875d40adc4069fc15abc398a062a36>.

⁴⁴ I used microfilm for Munich BSB Clm 23346, which is now online: <https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/0011/bsb00115818/images/index.html?id=00115818&groesser=&fip=xssdaseayawqenxdsydxdsydxsdxsdsydwsdas&no=2&seite=1>.

⁴⁵ Houghton Library (Harvard University) MS Richardson 25; <https://curiosity.lib.harvard.edu/medieval-renaissance-manuscripts/catalog/34-990098858370203941>; I have not seen this important MS cited in any previous study.

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21060.⁴⁶ In the mid-twelfth century, Zacharias Chrysopolitanus (a.k.a. Zachary of Besançon, died ca. 1155) wrote a commentary on the Fuldensis text;⁴⁷ one MS associated with Zachary is Cambridge Corp. Chr. Coll. MS 476,⁴⁸ and another is Darmstadt MS 1003.⁴⁹

In the late-twelfth century, Peter Cantor (a.k.a. Peter the Chanter, died 1197) wrote another commentary on the Fuldensis text. Leipzig MS 192 presents the Gospel harmony (ff. 1v-27v) followed by the Canon Tables and *capitula* (ff. 28r-33r) along with the commentary (ff. 33r-237v). Similarly, in British Library (hereafter BL) Royal MS 2 C IX, the preface and *capitula*

⁴⁶ I have used microfilm for Valenciennes MS 15, Copenhagen GKS 1350 4^o, Mazarin MS 292, and Cambrai MS 361. BL Add MS 21060 has not been microfilmed and is exquisitely adorned with gold leaf. It is dated to the sixteenth century and cannot date to the twelfth century (cf. Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, 468). Due to cost constraints, I have not been able to view the MS in person or attain images of the entire MS, but via select images I can confirm that ff. 20r-25r follow the Fuldensis sequence for the nativity, uninfluenced by Peter Cantor. I thank Jeff Kattenhorn of the British Library for identifying the folios needed for that determination.

⁴⁷ Printed editions of Zachary's commentary include the 1473 Strasbourg incunable, the 1535 Cologne edition, and in 1854 Migne's PL 186,11-620.

⁴⁸ Cambridge Corp. Chr. Coll. MS 476;

<https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/rz376mp0778>.

⁴⁹ I have used digital images for Darmstadt MS 1003, which I have not seen cited in any previous Diatessaron study.

(ff. 1r-2v) precede the harmony (ff. 3r-26r) and the commentary (ff. 27r-178r). As Schmid has scrupulously shown, Peter Cantor argued that the nativity sequence of the Fuldensis text should be rearranged according to the liturgy. That is, the magi arrive on Epiphany when Jesus was thirteen days old, after the circumcision on day eight and before Mary's purification on day forty.⁵⁰ From the twelfth century onward, the majority of MSS follow this sequence. These include Vatican Cod. Reg. lat. 47,⁵¹ Bodleian MS 2761 (formerly Auct. D. 1. 8), Arras MS 291, Laon MS 100, SB Berlin MS Phill. 1707, British Library Royal MSS 2 C IX, 2 D XXV, 3 B VIII, 3 B XV, 4 A IV,⁵² Leipzig MSS 192 and 193,⁵³ and Brussels KBR MS 2748-49.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Schmid, "... So That Those Who Read the (Biblical) Text," 141-44.

⁵¹ https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Reg.lat.47; I have not seen an assigned date for this MS, but based on *mise-en-page* comparable to Bodleian MS 2761, Cambria MS 361, and Leipzig MS 192, I approximate the thirteenth century.

⁵² I have used microfilm for Bodleian MS 2761, Arras MS 291, Laon MS 100, SB Berlin MS Phill. 1707, and BL Royal MSS 2 C IX, 2 D XXV, 3 B VIII, 3 B XV, and 4 A IV.

⁵³ For Leipzig MSS 192 and 193, see <https://www.ub.uni-leipzig.de/forschungsbibliothek/digitale-sammlungen/mittelalterliche-handschriften/handschriften-der-ms-signaturenreihe/>.

⁵⁴ Brussels KBR MS 2748-49 ff. 69v-166r (microfilm); I have not seen this MS cited in any previous Diatessaron study. This is a paper MS dated 1449; J. van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, vol. 1.* (Brussels, 1901), 88.

A few provisos are necessary. There is no way to know how many MSS have been lost, particularly ones that could be intermediaries between extant witnesses. Thus I caution against connecting any two MSS too simplistically. My attention to canon and section numbers is also of limited scope, since only half of these twenty-six MSS include the Eusebian apparatus. Moreover, scribes could make the same correction independently by consulting Vulgate MSS of the separate Gospels equipped with the Canon Tables. It is even possible that one MS derived from two *Vorlagen*, as I suggest in at least one instance. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that scribes would make the same mistake independently, and my case studies reveal common errors that allow different and potentially more accurate groupings of MSS than previously adduced criteria have attained.

3.1 Textual Transmission of the Men of Nineveh and Solomon's Wisdom

The Fuldensis scribe's eye skipped from the first part of the Ninevites' condemnation of the present generation on judgment day to the last part of the saying about Solomon's wisdom (Fuldensis ch. 57; f. 58r). Every extant copy has revised the text by inserting the missing Matthean phrases (12:41-42) about the Ninevites and Queen of the South. Yet some witnesses eliminated the duplicated saying about Solomon's wisdom. This is one of dozens of test passages initially compiled by Johannes Rathofer and built upon by Ulrich Schmid;⁵⁵ I expand

⁵⁵ Rathofer, "Einwirkung des Fuldischen Evangelien textes," 279-81; Schmid, *Unum ex Quattuor*, 310.

their work by including additional MSS.⁵⁶ Table 2 presents a synopsis of the three variations of these sayings; the corresponding witnesses are listed beneath each text.⁵⁷

Table 2: Synopsis of the Men of Nineveh and the Wisdom of Solomon		
<u>Parablepsis plus Parallel</u>	<u>Correction plus Parallel</u>	<u>Correction minus Parallel</u>
<i>Viri ninevitarum surgent in iudicio cum generatione ista et condemnabit eam</i>	<i>Viri ninevitarum surgent in iudicio cum generatione ista et condemnabunt eam quia paenitentiam egerunt in</i>	<i>Viri ninevitarum surgent in iudicio cum generatione ista et condemnabunt eam quia</i>

⁵⁶ Schmid (*Unum ex Quattuor*, 310) rightly noted that this text is missing in BL Royal MS 3 B XV, yet he called BL Royal MS 3 B VIII unreadable even though it clearly eliminates the doublet. Schmid's list did not include Darmstadt MS 1003, Houghton MS Richardson 25, BL Royal MS 2 D XXV, Vatican Cod. Reg. lat. 47, or Brussels KBR MS 2748-49.

⁵⁷ I have standardized the spelling and punctuation. Substantial variants are discussed in the main text below. Less consequential variants include the following. Berlin MS Phillipps MS 1707 (f. 14v) omits *ista* in Queen of the South saying. Laon MS 100 (f. 37r) switches *sapientiam Salomonis* to *Salomonis sapientiam* and omits *ecce* before *plus quam Salomon hic*. BL Royal MS 2 D XXV reads *condemnabunt* rather than *condemnabit* in the Matthean Queen of the South saying. BL Royal MS 3 B VIII (f. 20v) not only adds *venit a finibus terrae* in the Ninevite saying but also rearranges the word order of the Queen of the South saying as follows: *surgit in generatione ista cum iudicio et condemnabit eam*.

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<p><i>quia venit a finibus terrae audire sapientiam Salomonis. et ecce plus quam Salomon hic. dico autem vobis quia multi venerunt a finibus terrae audire sapientiam Salomonis. et ideo maior Salomon hic.</i></p>	<p><i>praedicatione Ione. et ecce plus quam Iona hic. Regina austri surget in iudicio cum generatione ista et condemnabit eam quia venit a finibus terrae audire sapientiam Salomonis. et ecce plus quam Salomon hic. (Lc) Dico autem vobis quia multi venerunt a finibus terrae audire sapientiam Salomonis. et ideo [v.l. ecce] maior Salomon hic.</i></p>	<p><i>paenitentiam egerunt in praedicatione Ione. et ecce plus quam Iona hic. Regina austri surget in iudicio cum generatione ista et condemnabit eam quia venit a finibus terrae audire sapientiam Salomonis. et ecce plus quam Salomon hic.</i></p>
<p>Fuldensis f. 58.</p>	<p>Sangallensis p. 93; Cassellanus f. 27r; Reims MS 46 f. 41v; Munich BSB Clm 23346 f. 16r; Houghton MS Richardson 25 f. 26v; Valenciennes MS 15 f. 32v; Cambrai MS 361 f. 25v; BL Royal MSS 2 C IX f. 8r, 2 D XXV f. 20v, and 4 A IV f. 33v.</p>	<p>Zacharias Chrysopolitanus (e.g. Cambridge Corp. Chr. Coll. 475 f. 31v and Darmstadt MS 1003 f. 17v); Mazarin MS 292 f. 23r; Copenhagen GKS 1350 4^o f. 43r; Arras 291 f. 6v; Laon MS 100 f. 37r; Bodleian MS 2761 ff. 35v–36r; Vatican Cod. Reg. lat. ff. 30v–31r; Leipzig MSS</p>

Eusebian Canon X in Codex Fuldensis

		<p>192 f. 8v and 193 f. 55v; Berlin MS Phillipps MS 1707 f. 14v; Brussels KBR MS 2748-49 f. 92r; BL Royal MS 3 B VIII f. 20v.</p>
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In terms of textual affiliation, I offer two additional observations concerning MSS that have corrected Fuldensis's parablepsis but maintained the parallel Lukan saying about Solomon's wisdom. First, in Reims MS 46 (f. 41v) the glossator wrote dots below and *ecce* above the word *ideo* in the Lukan parallel. Cambrai MS 361 (f. 25v) and BL Royal MS 4 A IV (f. 33v) are both glossed, and their main texts read *ecce* rather than *ideo* at this point, so these three could be interrelated. However, a second observation cautions against connecting any two MSS too simplistically. The *Vorlage* of BL Royal MS 2 D XXV (f. 20v) included the Lukan parallel, but the scribe also knew a MS without the additional saying, because the letters *va* are written above the first word *dico* and *cat* is written above the last word *hic* to mark these sentences missing (*vacat*) in another source.⁵⁸ In this case, then, one scribe used two *Vorlagen*, a *modus operandi* that could underlie other complex textual and paratextual phenomena.

⁵⁸ As best I can tell, the interlinear *vacat* comes from the same hand as the main text; cf. the last line of f. 21r for *vade* and *bat* in *ambulate* just one line below on f. 20v.

3.2 Paratextual Transmission of Levi's Feast

Paratextual features may prove just as important as textual data for reconstructing the transmission of the Fuldensis harmony. The Eusebian apparatus is present in Fuldensis, Sangallensis, Reims MS 46, Munich Clm 23346, Houghton MS Richardson 25, Cassellanus, Leipzig MSS 192 and 193, as well as Cambrai MS 361, Vatican Cod. Reg. lat. 47, Bodleian MS 2761, and MSS associated with Zacharias Chrysopolitanus—for example, Cambridge Corp. Chr. Coll. MS 476 and Darmstadt MS 1003.⁵⁹

The paratext of Fuldensis misidentified Lukan §39 as Canon X at the beginning of Levi's feast (ch. 56; f. 57r). Underneath a horizontal line, the marginal apparatus labeled the pericope as Canon II with the correct Matthean §72 and Markan §22 along with the Lukan doublet in §186. Nearly half of the MSS equipped with the Eusebian apparatus replicated the Fuldensis paratext in this way,⁶⁰ but the remaining MSS evince editorial interventions. Cambrai MS 361 (f. 24v) and Vatican Cod. Reg. lat. 47 (f. 30r) maintained the mistaken reference to Canon X, but these MSS have corrected the Synoptic grouping so that Lukan §39 appears with Matthean §72 and Markan §22; in these MSS both Lukan section numbers 186/39 are listed separately a few lines below. Similarly, albeit lacking Eusebian canon numbers,

⁵⁹ Leipzig MS 192 and the Bodleian MS include section numbers but not canon numbers.

⁶⁰ Codex Sangallensis p. 91; Reims MS 46 f. 40v; Munich BSB Clm 23346 f. 16r; Houghton MS Richardson MS 25 ff. 25v–26r; Leipzig MS 193 f. 54r. Centuries later than the original scribe of Reims MS 46 (f. 40v), the glossator added Lukan §39 under Canon II.

Leipzig MS 192 (f. 8v) grouped Lukan §39, Matthean §72, and Markan §22 at the beginning of the pericope; after the first sentence, Lukan §186 is noted by itself in the margin.

The remaining witnesses eliminated altogether the references to Lukan §186 in this pericope. The earliest extant MS to make this change is Codex Cassellanus (f. 26v), where the original scribe wrote from top to bottom ch. 57, Lukan §39, Canon II, Matthean §72, and Markan §22.⁶¹ Cambridge Corp. Chr. Coll. MS 476 (ff. 30v–31r) does the same thing at this point.⁶² Albeit lacking Eusebian Canon II, Bodleian MS 2761 (f. 35r) likewise groups these Synoptic section numbers without Lukan §186. Table 3 summarizes the three approaches to the Eusebian apparatus at Levi's feast with the corresponding MSS listed below each one.

⁶¹ A later scribe of Cassellanus has obfuscated the Eusebian apparatus by reinserting a reference to Lukan §186 at Levi's feast. This notation clearly comes from a later hand. The shade of ink differs slightly from that of the other section numbers, and this ink matches another marginal correction found on f. 45v. More importantly, out of 184 numbered chapters in the harmony, this chapter is the only one with a Eusebian section number written on the same line as the chapter number; the scribe inserted an ampersand beside Lukan §39 to connect upward to 186, which lacks the customary abbreviation for Luke (Lc).

⁶² Another MS keyed to the Zacharias Chrysopolitanus commentary, Darmstadt MS 1003 (f. 17r) mistakenly wrote Lukan §38 rather than 39 but is otherwise the same as the Corpus Christi MS.

Table 3: Paratext at Levi's Feast	
1) Lukan §39 as Canon X [<i>sic</i>]; Matthean §72, Markan §22, and Lukan §186 as Canon II.	Fuldensis f. 57r; Sangallensis p. 91; Reims MS 46 f. 40v; Munich BSB Clm 23346 f. 16r; Houghton MS Richardson MS 25 ff. 25v–26r; Leipzig MS 193 f. 54r (without canon numbers).
2) Lukan §39 as Canon X [<i>sic</i>]; Matthean §72, Markan §22, and Lukan §39 as Canon II; Lukan §§186/39 below.	Cambrai MS 361 f. 24v; Vatican Cod. Reg. lat. 47 f. 30r.
3) Matthean §72, Markan §22, and Lukan §39 alone.	Codex Cassellanus f. 26v; Cambridge Corp. Chr. Coll. MS 476 ff. 30v–31r; Darmstadt MS 1003 f. 17r [Lukan §38 <i>sic</i>]; Bodleian MS 2761 f. 35r.

3.3 Paratextual Transmission of the Gerasene Exorcism

The MSS that include the Eusebian apparatus can be further sorted according to their editorial interventions in the Gerasene pericope; for comparison, the text and paratext of this story according to Codex Fuldensis are presented above in Table 1. Fuldensis (ch. 53; ff. 54r-55r) and Sangallensis (pp. 86-87) mistakenly cited Matthean §67 when Jesus crossed into Gerasene territory (*et cum venisset trans fretum*) and Matthean §9 when the demon-possessed man saw Jesus (*videns autem Iesum*). Both references should have been Matthean §69,

corrections that stand at these points in every other extant harmony equipped with the Eusebian apparatus.⁶³

Fuldensis and Sangallensis cited Markan §47 for the number of pigs (*ad duo milia*) and Matthean §69 for the entire city asking Jesus to leave (*et ecce tota civitas*). Beneath each of these section numbers, Reims MS 46 (f. 39v), Munich BSB Clm 23346 (f. 15v), and Leipzig MS 193 (f. 52v) have added Canon X. This clearly represents a reinterpretation of that canon as identifying unique wording within a paralleled story—not a unique story as Eusebius intended. Once there were two references to Canon X in close proximity, a scribe could take a shortcut: Houghton MS Richardson 25 (f. 25r) simply wrote one Canon X between Markan §47 and Matthean §69. This scribal innovation engendered a mistake in subsequent MSS. Cambrai MS 361 (f. 23v) and Vatican Cod. Reg. lat. 47 (f. 28v) have Canon V between Markan §47 and Matthean §69 at *ad duo milia*. This erroneous canon number likely resulted from graphic confusion: if the diagonal strokes do not extend far enough downward, then an X looks more like a V. Also, a scribe copying the Eusebian apparatus would be accustomed to writing V, not X, between two biblical citations.⁶⁴ I stop short of claiming any one of these as a direct copy of another, but the Cambrai and Vatican MSS again appear closely related, and they must

⁶³ The only exception is a transposition reading XLIX instead of LXIX in Vatican Cod. Reg. lat. 47 (f. 28v).

⁶⁴ Yet material common to Matthew and Mark would be Eusebian Canon VI rather than Canon V, which denotes Matthew-Luke parallels.

descend from a MS like the Houghton one, which I have not seen cited in any previous Diatessaron study.

Reims MS 46 and Codex Cassellanus both date to the ninth century, and they practically represent a fork in the Carolingian transmission of the Fuldensis harmony. Reims complexified the Eusebian apparatus by conscientiously reinterpreting Canon X as material unique to one source even within pericopes found in multiple Gospels; thus there are more references to Canon X than in earlier extant MSS. Conversely, Cassellanus reduced the harmony's Eusebian apparatus to its bare necessities. In all three Synoptics, Jesus calmed the storm at sea just before he arrived in the Gerasene region. So at the beginning of the sea crossing, Cassellanus (f. 25v) writes from top to bottom Matthean §69, Canon II, Markan §47, and Lukan §83.

Throughout the storm miracle and Gerasene exorcism, Cassellanus's only other Eusebian annotation comes at the end, when Jesus tells a formerly demon-possessed person to go and proclaim what had happened. Mark (5:18-20) and Luke (8:37b-39) conclude the story in this way, so Eusebius designated it Canon VIII. Fuldensis (f. 55v), Sangallensis (p. 88), and Reims MS 46 (f. 39v) cited Mark and Luke (*cumque ascendere navem*) without Eusebian canon or section numbers.⁶⁵ Relying on a text of the separate Gospels equipped with the Eusebian apparatus, Cassellanus (f. 26r) dutifully added Markan §48, Canon VIII, and Lukan §84. The simplified apparatus in Cassellanus also eliminated the handful of mistaken references to

⁶⁵ The glossator of Reims MS 46 added Markan §48, Canon VIII, and Lukan §84.

Eusebian Canon X in the Gerasene pericope. Centuries later, Zacharias Chrysopolitanus (e.g. Cambridge Corp. Chr. Coll. MS 476 f. 30r and Darmstadt MS 1003 f. 17r) replicated the abbreviated and corrected apparatus represented by Cassellanus.

One last Gerasene annotation facilitates grouping of MSS. Fuldensis (ff. 54v-55r) gave the mistaken impression that several lines about the demon-possessed persons' unrestrainable screaming and self-harm came from Luke. These lines begin with *et neque catenis iam*, and Fuldensis (f. 54v) failed to cite Mark in-line or Markan §47 in the margin; Sangallensis (p. 87) replicated Fuldensis in this way.⁶⁶ Unsurprisingly, the minimalist paratext of Zacharias Chrysopolitanus did not call attention to these lines, since the Markan section had been noted in the previous chapter (e.g. Cambridge Corp. Chr. Coll. 475 f. 31v and Darmstadt MS 1003 f. 16r).⁶⁷ Apparently the earliest innovation was the addition of an in-line citation to Mark at *et neque catenis iam*. Six MSS generally include the Eusebian apparatus, but

⁶⁶ There are no in-line citations in Berlin MS Phillipps MS 1707 (f. 13v). There are in-line citations in Arras MS 291, but the Gerasene pericope is part of a long gap of Fuldensis chs. 15-56 between ff. 5v and 6r. As is the case throughout Mazarin MS 292 (f. 21r) and BL Royal MS 3 B XV (f. 38r), there is blank space for an in-line citation at this point; scribes apparently intended to add in-line citations and large capitals in a different color of ink, but these MSS were never finished. I do not yet know what BL Add MS 21060 does at this point.

⁶⁷ Also, a single witness, viz. BL Royal MS 3 B VIII (f. 19r), generally lacks the Eusebian apparatus and lacks an in-line citation of Mark at *et neque catenis iam*.

they lack a reference to §47 here, although Mark is cited in-line.⁶⁸ Similarly, four MSS generally lack the Eusebian apparatus, although they have added an in-line Markan citation here.⁶⁹ Yet another strategy was to add the Eusebian section number,⁷⁰ while some MSS incorrectly cite

⁶⁸ Viz. Cassellanus (f. 26r), Reims MS 46 (f. 39v), Munich BSB Clm 23346 (f. 15r), Houghton MS Richardson 25 (f. 24v), Cambrai MS 361 (f. 23v), and Bodleian MS 2761 (f. 33v).

⁶⁹ Viz. BL Royal MSS 2 C IX (f. 7v), 2 D XXV (f. 18v), and 4 A IV (f. 30v); also, Brussels KBR MS 2748-49 (f. 90r) moved in-line Gospel citations to the margins, and the MS has no Eusebian apparatus.

⁷⁰ Leipzig MS 193 (f. 51v) includes an in-line citation of Mark along with a marginal reference to Markan §47, which the scribe (mis)labeled as Canon X; this is the only MS with a Canon X reference at this point, so it is likely that the thirteenth-century scribe continued the reinterpretation of Canon X as a unique phrase within a paralleled episode.

Eusebian Canon X in Codex Fuldensis

Matthew or Luke here.⁷¹ This pericope is the most complicated of my three case studies, and

Table 4 summarizes the main MS clusters; additional subdivisions could be elaborated.⁷²

Table 4: Main Types of Eusebian Annotations for the Gerasene Exorcism		
1)	Mistaken References to Matthean §67 and §9	Fuldensis f. 54v; Sangallensis p. 86.
2a)	Canon X reinterpreted as unique wording in Markan §47 and in Matthean §69	Reims MS 46 f. 39v; Munich BSB Clm 23346 f. 15v; Leipzig MS 193 f. 52v.
2b)	Canon X/V written in between Markan §47 and Matthean §69	Houghton MS Richardson 25 f. 25r; Cambrai MS 361 f. 23v; Vatican Cod. Reg. lat. 47 f. 28v.

⁷¹ Laon MS 100 (f. 34r) and Copenhagen GKS 1350 4^o (f. 40v) incorrectly cite Matthew in-line, whereas Valenciennes MS 15 (f. 30r) mistakenly cites both Mark and Luke in-line.

⁷² E.g., Vatican Cod. Reg. lat. 47 has the most complicated Eusebian apparatus for this pericope. This MS has in common with Cambria MS 361 the erroneous Canon V between Markan §47 and Matthean §69. Yet the Vatican MS also has a notation for Canon VIII at *cumq ascendat* as in the MSS associated with Zacharias Chrysopolitanus and Peter Cantor. Albeit lacking canon numbers, Bodleian MS 2761 (ff. 33v-34r) mostly resembles the minimalist Eusebian apparatus, but there are citations of Matthew, Mark, and Luke at *et ecce tota civitas*; unfortunately those numbers are unreadable in my scan of the microfilm.

3)	Minimalist Eusebian Apparatus	Cassellanus ff. 25v–26r; Cambridge Corp. Chr. Coll. MS 476 f. 30r; Darmstadt MS 1003 f. 17r.
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3.4 Summary

In previous research, both Rathofer and Schmid meticulously examined shared textual variants across dozens of test passages in the Fuldensis tradition.⁷³ Rathofer established Sangallensis as a copy of Fuldensis,⁷⁴ and Schmid concurred;⁷⁵ I too have found Fuldensis and Sangallensis to be the most closely related among extant MSS. Based on the prefaces and chapter numberings of ninth-century MSS, Schmid further reconstructed a stemma whereby Fuldensis branched into Codex Sangallensis and a hypothetical text that innovated the 184-chapter system; Schmid’s 184-chapter archetype then branched into Reims MS 46 and Munich BSB Clm 23346, and the Munich MS was revised toward Fuldensis before serving as the source for Codex Cassellanus.⁷⁶

⁷³ Schmid, *Unum ex Quattuor*, 307-23.

⁷⁴ Rathofer, “Einwirkung des Fuldischen Evangelientextes.”

⁷⁵ Schmid, *Unum ex Quattuor*, 66.

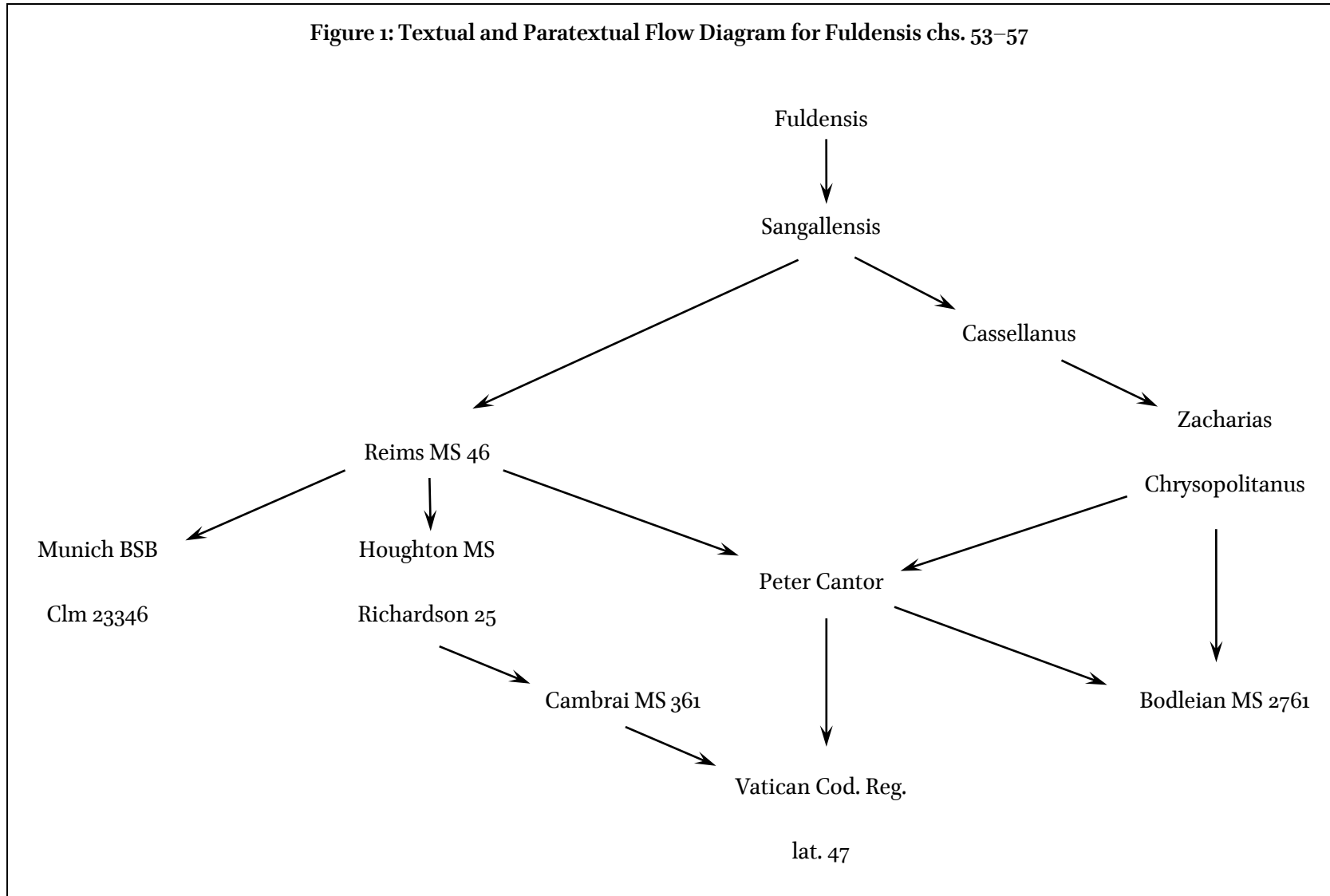
⁷⁶ Schmid, *Unum ex Quattuor*, 68-70, 183-89.

Eusebian Canon X in Codex Fuldensis

I have focused on three case studies. For the wording of Solomon's wisdom, I have adduced MSS not cited in previous studies. For Levi's feast and the Gerasene exorcism, I have examined variants in the Eusebian apparatus. This amounts to an admittedly small data set, but my initial findings complexify the reception history of the Fuldensis harmony. As I see it, Sangallensis derives from Fuldensis. Potentially stemming from Sangallensis, Reims MS 46 and Cassellanus establish a fork in the transmission. Yet their separate paths converge in the work of Peter Cantor. Other MSS similarly appear to combine multiple sources. I readily admit that there could be numerous lost MSS that have influenced our extant witnesses, and my study accounts for a tiny fraction of the harmony's text and paratext. Further investigation of additional case studies could present a very different picture of Fuldensis's genealogy. For now, though, I summarize the results of my inquiry in Figure 1, a sketch of the textual and paratextual flow of the MSS equipped with the Eusebian apparatus.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ I do not intend to exaggerate the distance among the ninth- and tenth-century witnesses to the Fuldensis harmony. Toward the top of my diagram, I have simply tried to show that Cassellanus apparently influenced Zachary's simplified Eusebian apparatus, whereas the Munich MS does not appear to have influenced the twelfth- and thirteenth-century MSS.

Figure 1: Textual and Paratextual Flow Diagram for Fuldensis chs. 53–57



4 Conclusions

Recent scholarship has renewed interest in the Diatessaron,⁷⁸ the Eusebian Canon Tables,⁷⁹ and even the distinctive Canon Tables in Codex Fuldensis.⁸⁰ Extending this line of inquiry, I have identified a tendency within Fuldensis to mislabel material as Canon X. I conclude that Victor of Capua simply noted a Eusebian section number to help his scribe locate a passage. Thereafter the scribe added the mistaken Canon X annotation. Distinguishing between Victor's markings and his scribe's additions forges a new path in Diatessaron studies. Albeit narrow, this path can be promising, for it brings the material production of Fuldensis into sharper focus. In a key instance, I offer confirmation of an earlier suggestion that one of the Wisdom of Solomon sayings comes from Victor's Old Latin harmony *Vorlage*.⁸¹ Moreover, corrections to Eusebian solecisms provide additional data for sorting later copies. In general, a considerable number of editorial interventions preceded the work of Peter Cantor. In particular, Houghton MS Richardson 25 has not been studied heretofore, but it emerges as a likely intermediary between Reims MS 46 and Cambrai MS 361. Subsequent studies along these lines can further disentangle the Fuldensis Gospel harmony's transmission, which spanned a millennium.

⁷⁸ E.g., Crawford and Zola, eds., *Gospel of Tatian*.

⁷⁹ E.g., Crawford, *Eusebian Canon Tables*.

⁸⁰ E.g., Schmid, "Before and After," 174-78.

⁸¹ *dico autem vobis quia multi venerunt a finibus terrae audire sapientia Salomonis. et ideo maior Salomon hic* (f. 58); Rathofer, "Einwirkung des Fuldischen Evangelien textes," 280.