

Gryson, Roger. *Les palimpsestes ariens latins de Bobbio: contribution à la methodologie de l'étude des palimpsestes*, Armarium Codicum Insignium 2. Turnhout: Brepols, 1983. Translated by Todd R. Hanneken, unpublished, 2012.

[begin upper page 5 column a]

## Introduction

With reediting the texts contained in the Latin Arian Palimpsests of Bobbio,<sup>1</sup> we have been concerned, as with the scholia on the council of Aquilum<sup>2</sup> and for the collection of Veron,<sup>3</sup> with subjecting to a codicological and paleographical analysis the manuscripts which we have collated on that occasion. These are fragments of a theological collection, preserved today in part at the Vatican Library (ms. Lat. 5750), in part at the Ambrosian Library (S.P. 9/1-2),<sup>4</sup> and fragments of an commentary on Luke, preserved at the Ambrosian Library (S.P. 9/9).<sup>5</sup> We present here the results of the codicological study accompanied by a complete facsimile of the documents with respect to I/I.

The pagination of the manuscripts involved dates to the modern period. In the case of the theological fragments, which were already disassembled when the folios were given page numbers, we precede the number of the page with the letter A or V, according to whether this page of the manuscript is preserved at the Ambrosian or Vatican library (for example A17); in the fragments on Luke the question does not arise. To refer to a whole folio, considering both sides, we mention the number of the two pages, joined by a hyphen (for example f. A17-18). To speak of a bi-folio in its entirety, we give the references to two folios, separated by a slash (for example, folios A17-18/31-32. Given the necessity to distinguish the two sides of parchment, we attach an asterisk to the numbers of pages which, in the fragments, [begin upper page 5 column b] appear on the flesh side (for example p. A17\*). When it is necessary to refer precisely to a specific passage, the number of the lines considered is indicated in subscript behind the number of the page (for example p. A18<sub>1-2</sub>). When the codicological study makes it possible to reconstruct folio numbers according to the order of the original manuscript, these numbers are printed in italics, to avoid confusion with the actual pagination of palimpsests (for example f. 3); we write also in italics the numbers of booklets in the original manuscript. In the plans of composition, the lost folios are represented by the letter “P” (perdus).

We have to express our gratitude to those who facilitated our access to the precious documents that we had to handle. Monsignor Paul Canart at the Vatican Library, Monsignor Angelo Paredi and Monsignor Enrico Galbiati at the Ambrosian Library. We are grateful to

---

<sup>1</sup> *Scripta arriana latina*, vol. 1: *Collectio Veronensis, Scholia in concilium Aquileinse, Fragmenta in Lucam rescripta, Fragmenta theologica rescripta*, cura et studio R. Gryson, Turnhout 1982 (Corpus Christianorum, series latina, 87).

<sup>2</sup> R. Gryson, L. Gilissen, *Les scolies ariennes du Parisinus latinus 8907: un échantillonnage d'écritures latines du V<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Turnhout 1980 (Armarium codicum insignium, 1).

<sup>3</sup> R. Gryson, *Le recueil arien de Vérone (Ms. LI de la Bibliothèque Capitulaire et feuillets inédits de la collection Giustiniani Recanati): étude cocicologique et paléographique*, Steenbrugge 1982 (Instrumenta patristica, 13).

<sup>4</sup> *Clavis patrum latinorum*, number 705, CLA, vol. 1 number 31. The palimpsest to which the theological fragments belong was previously given at Milan the label E 147 sup.

<sup>5</sup> *Clavis patrum latinorum*, number 704, CLA, vol. 3 number 315. The palimpsest to which the fragments on Luke belong was previously given at Milan the label C 73 inf.

Monsignor Silvano Terragni for the hospitality which he showed us in his apartments of the Ambrosian Library, as has Mrs. Liliana Lazzarini and Palmira Torriani to facilitate for us the relations with the responsible parties of each institution. We thank equally *M. l'abbé* Louis Duval-Arnauld, *scrittore* to the Vatican Library, and don Pio Francesco Fumagalli, researcher at the Ambrosian Library, for responding graciously to the demands of information that we sent him before we visited.

## 1. The Fragments on Luke

[begin lower page 5 column a]

The library of the Bobbio Abbey contained a copy of *Excerpts from Augustine* by Eugippius, listed under the number 23 in the inventory of 1461: “Excerpts of Augustine from his works *On the Resurrection of the Body* and *On Baptism*, without beginning or end; in letters large, ancient, uncial; a large volume.”<sup>6</sup> This manuscript was included in the lot which was transferred from Bobbio to the Ambrosian Library in 1606, at the initiative of Cardinal Frederico Borromeo.<sup>7</sup> It was cataloged until the last few years with the designation C 73 inf. It is found today dismembered and ranks among the palimpsests under the designation S.P. 9/9-10; each bifolio—or each pair of folios considered as such—is conserved between protective folders in cartons.

The manuscript was already mutilated in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, since the inventory of 1461 says that the beginning and end are missing (*sine principio et fine*); the contents indicated by the note (from his works on the resurrection of the flesh and on baptism) correspond exactly to the part that we have conserved. To say simply that the beginning and [begin lower page 5 column b] the end are missing is an optimistic view of the situation. In reality, the greater part of the manuscript is lost, since we have nine quires, while it originally consisted, if it contained the complete texts of *Excerpts*, about sixty; the nine quires preserved correspond to 165 pages of the edition of Knöll, which in its entirety totals 1100.<sup>8</sup> The collection was no doubt at one time connected with more booklets; in any case, the nine booklets preserved are part of a series corresponding to approximately the second third of the work. One encounters, in fact, on the back of the last folio, the medieval signatures [quire markers] consisting of the successive capital letters in alphabetical order. Two of them have been reported by Lowe: these are the letters R and T, which appear respectively on pages 96 and 128. Two more can be identified: these are the letter L on page 16, and the letter S on page 112. The other letters of the series no longer appear, either because they have been erased by the effect of use, or because they have been [begin page 6 column a] swept away with a shred of parchment; as they are flush with the trailing edge, they are found in a very vulnerable situation; the lower half of the S which has been reported and the lower trace of the L are half effaced. It is clear, however, that the pages 1-

---

<sup>6</sup> This inventory, which is preserved at the National Library of Turin (F IV 29), has been discovered and edited by A. Peyron, *M. Tulli Ciceronis orationum pro Scauro, pro Tullio et in Caudium fragmenta inedita*, Stuttgart-Tübingen 1824, p. 1-68, see page 6.

<sup>7</sup> O. Seebass, *Handschriften von Bobbio in der Vatikanischen und Ambrosischen Bibliothek*, in *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, vol. 13 (1896), pp. 1-12, 57-79.

<sup>8</sup> *Eugippii excerpta ex operibus S. Augustini*, edition and critical commentary by P. Knoell, Vienna 1885 (Corpus scriptorium ecclesiasticorum latinorum, vol. 19, part 1).

48 form three consecutive quires, marked L M N,<sup>9</sup> that the pages 49-144 form six consecutive quires, marked P Q R S T U,<sup>10</sup> and that it lacks a quire, marked O, between the pages 48 and 49.<sup>11</sup> The first booklet of this series ought to begin somewhere between pages 350 and 360 in the edition of Knöll, possibly at question 100 or 101 of *Excerpts* (p. 357 or 358).

The manuscript of Eugippius is one of a number of palimpsests which were re-scribed at Bobbio during the high Middle Ages, at a time when the cost of parchment was extreme.<sup>12</sup> The upper text is a small uncial of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, of rather mediocre order.<sup>13</sup> Under the text of Eugippius, one notes that the first three quires preserved (pp. 1-48) are from an Arian commentary on the Gospel of Luke, the other six (pp. 49-144) from a manuscript containing ancient Old Testament Pseudepigrapha in a Latin version. Only the Arian commentary interests us here; it is of it alone that will be investigated henceforth.<sup>14</sup>

Figure 1 illustrates the layout of an original page for an example from a random folio. As is generally the case in the production current to Late Antiquity, the dimensions are not rigorously constant;<sup>15</sup> however, here they vary relatively little. The height of the folios is always close to 300 mm [*11.8 inches*]; the width falls between 230 and 240 mm [*9.0-9.5 inches*]. The area of text measures on average 165 x 225 mm [*6.5x8.9 inches*] and forms therefore a Pythagorean rectangle [*3:4 aspect ratio*]. All the folios consist of 23 lines per page, with the exception of one bi-folio (34-33\*/48\*-47), the four pages of which are each only 22 lines. This anomaly is easily explained when one knows the manner in which the scribe produced the layout. He begins by folding the bi-folio in half; then on the four corners of the first folio the punctures are made which guide the vertical rule, marking the justification, then to the interior of that, the series of punctures which guide the horizontal rule; the fact that all the punctures appear in exact symmetric manner on the two folios of a single bi-folio shows that the operation has been done on the folded bi-folio. Then, the scribe reopens the bi-folio and places it such that the flesh side is up. He traces with a dry point the vertical rules, guided by the corner punctures, then the horizontal rules, guided by the two beads of punctures which appear on the open bi-folio; these guides traverse the entire width of the bi-folio, crossing the margins of the gutter. Now we can explain the anomaly to which we return our attention. On this bi-folio, the scribe, when he

---

<sup>9</sup> Edition cited, p. 537.9 – 600.9 (our manuscript omits the section containing p. 542.1 – 550.17, but there is no lost material at this location); see below, p. 7.

<sup>10</sup> Edition cited, p. 616.18 – 730.2; see the works cited below, n. 14.

<sup>11</sup> Edition cited, p. 600.9 – 616.18; see the introduction by Knöll, p. x.

<sup>12</sup> C. H. Beeson, *The palimpsests of Bobbio*, in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, vol. 6, Rome 1946, p. 162-184 (Studi et testi, 126); M. van den Hout, *Gothic palimpsests of Bobbio*, in *Scriptorium*, vol. 6 (1952), pp. 91-93.; P. Collura, *Studi paleografici: la precarolina e la carolina a Bobbio*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Florence 1965 (Fontes Ambrosiani, 22); P. Engelbert, *Zur Frühgeschichte des Bobbieser Skriptoriums*, in *Revue Bénédictine*, vol. 78 (1968), p. 220-260.

<sup>13</sup> A. R. Natale, *Influence merovingiche e stui calligrafici nello scriptorium di Bobbio (sec. 7-9)*, in *Miscellanea G. Galbiati*, vol. 2, Milan 1951, p. 209-252 (Fontes Ambrosiani, 26); see especially p. 225.

<sup>14</sup> Concerning the other texts, see *Monumenta sacra et profana ex codicibus praesertim Bibliothecae Amrbosianae*, vol. 1, fascile 1, *Fragmenta latina evangelii S. Lucae, Parvae Genesis et Assumptionis Mosis*, etc., edited by A. M. Ceriani. Milan 1861, p. 1-64; *Le Testament de Moïse*. Translation with introduction and notes by E. M. Laperrousaz, Paris 1970 (Semitica, 19).

<sup>15</sup> See *Le recueil arien de Vérone*, p. 45-49.



this ink is not of the same tenacity as the ordinary ink. The scribe [*begin page 7 column a*] frequently, but not systematically, uses red ink to transcribe the verses of the Gospel of Luke which are being commented upon; at the edge instances or the lemma, and there alone, a line is sometimes written in red ink on the whole length; other times the scribe transcribes in red ink only the beginning of the line of a lemma and returns to the ordinary ink for the rest of the line; elsewhere he uses red ink to begin a line, even though the Gospel text is interrupted before the end of it; still elsewhere, the lemma is written in ordinary ink and is not distinguished from the commentary; in certain cases, scriptural citations other than the lemma are written in red ink.<sup>18</sup> Specialists in text-criticism of the New Testament regret this situation. Nevertheless, the passages invisible today can generally be restored with a high probability of precision, in taking into account the context, the length of gaps, and the type of Gospel text to which the commentator refers: it is an old Latin text from the family *Veronensis* (*b*), which is most especially apparent in *Monacensis* (*q*) and especially in *Rehdigeranus* (*l*).

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century an erudite Milaner named Bugati attempted to decipher the original text and partially transcribed it; his reading notes have been inserted in the manuscript and to this day are preserved with it (S. P. 9/9, 1); they are very incomplete and often erroneous. No doubt following them Peyron reproduced two short passages in his commentary on the inventory of 1461.<sup>19</sup> All the text was edited by Mai in 1828;<sup>20</sup> as far as we know no others have returned to it since. The edition of Mai is very defective, because he worked under bad conditions. He used a hurried copy of the folios while he prepared to leave Milan, having been called to the Vatican Library; it is in Rome that that he developed his edition, without having direct recourse to the manuscript.<sup>21</sup> This makes apparent that there were very many copy errors in his text; it happens more than once that he jumps, without completely rendering, one or two whole lines and the edition is also marred by acrobatic corrections,<sup>22</sup> concerning which other scholars have subsequently expounded in vain.<sup>23</sup> A new edition was therefore necessary.<sup>24</sup>

The parchment is not top quality; it is relatively thick and has a number of defects. Its current state is precarious. Most bi-folios have been torn from the stitching, and the folios thus dissociated do not always appear in the correct order: thus folio 31-32\* is found today collected with folio 33\*-34, while they are arranged upside-down and therefore cannot have been connected originally; the folio 33\*-34 appeared originally on the same bi-folio as the folio 47-48\*, which is found preserved in the same folder as the folio 49\*-50, belonging to another

---

<sup>18</sup> All these cases appear in our edition of the text (cited above, n. 1), where the limits of lines and the restored passages are indicated.

<sup>19</sup> *M. Tulli Cieronis orationum fragmenta inedita*, p. 131-134.

<sup>20</sup> A. Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collection e Vaticanis codicibus edita*, vol. 3, 2<sup>nd</sup> part, Rome 1828, p. 191-207; this text has been reproduced in *Patrologiae latinae supplementum*, vol. 1, col. 327-344. [*Gryson means all the text of the commentary on Luke.*]

<sup>21</sup> [*Blank space appears where note 21 should be in the 1983 edition.*]

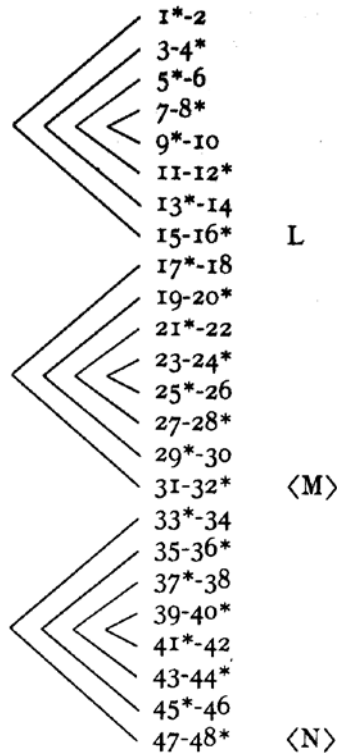
<sup>22</sup> Mai omits the following lines: p. 5, 17-19 (in part, by jumping from one phrase to an identical phrase); 16, 8; 16, 9-10 (in part, by jumping from one phrase to an identical phase); 32, 20; 36, 5; 48, 6; 48, 11.

<sup>23</sup> Notably Th. Zahn, *Lateinische Predigten eines Arianers über das Lukasevangelium aus dem 5. Jahrhundert*, in *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, vol. 21 (1910), p. 501-518.

<sup>24</sup> *Scripta arriana latina*, vol. 1, p. 197-225.

manuscript [*Jubilees 16:27—17:6*]! All this makes the composition of the booklets of the palimpsest far from obvious. Nevertheless, it is not in doubt when one considers together the upper text, the succession of parchment sides, the symmetry of punctures, and the signatures of the palimpsest, that pages 1-48 correspond to three quires assembled in compliance with the rule of Gregory, with the flesh side out, as shown in the following table.

[begin page 7 column b]



Of course from these three quires of the Eugippius palimpsest we cannot restore three booklets of the original manuscript. In the creation of the palimpsest the original manuscript is dismantled, and the bi-folios are washed and scraped separately, before being assembled without consideration of their original order. It is a difficult task to restore it when the text, otherwise unknown, is only fragmentarily preserved; we shall see more of this later with regard to the theological fragments. With patience, one always manages to arrange correctly the pieces of a puzzle when one has the complete set and the picture is provided on the cover of the box; however, if each of these conditions is not met, it is not always possible to put isolated pieces into place. In the present case, however, although the text is not preserved elsewhere and it exists here only very fragmentarily, it is easy to restore the original order of folios, for it contains a commentary on the Gospel of Luke, which closely follows the order of the biblical text. In this regard the edition of Mai is without error, and yet it is concerned only to specify properly the order of the folios: he believed that pages 33\* and 48\* could be read consecutively,<sup>25</sup> even though folio 34-33\* contains commentary on Luke 6:1-3 and folio 48\*-47 contains the commentary on Luke 6:9-11; eight pages are missing between the two.<sup>26</sup> The following table

<sup>25</sup> Edition cited, p. 207.

<sup>26</sup> See below, p. 10.

shows the order in which each should be read with respect to the original text, the pages of the palimpsest, and the verses of the gospel text commented upon in each fragment.

Pages	20*-19	Luke	1:1-2
	30-29*		1:3-4
	40*-39		1:6-7
	<i>[begin page 8 column a]</i>		
	42-41*		1:17-19
	17*-18		1:24-25
	7-10		1:31-34
	36*-35		1:43-46
	46-45*		1:52-56
	31-32*		1:57-58
	22-21*		4:5-8
	28*-27		4:17-18
	12*-11, 14-13*, 4*-3, 6-5*		4:43—5:4
	26-25*, 37*-38		5:8-12
	43-44*, 24*-23		5:13-15
	16*-15		5:17-19
	2-1*		5:27-29
	34-33*		6:1-3
	48*-47		6:9-11

To determine what was the original exact place in the manuscript of each of the folios preserved requires a little more work. We must first investigate how the booklets of this manuscript were assembled.

To this end, the first thing to make is a restoration, if possible, of the original signatures *[quire markers]*. Whoever has experience with palimpsests knows how difficult this can be. In fact, those who prepared the parchment for reuse, even when the text is lightly scraped, damage the signatures, for it is expected that they will not be covered by the second text and that they might be a source of confusion for assembling the new manuscript; for the same reason, the signatures which are vigilantly scraped are sometimes scraped again subsequently. Furthermore, the corrosive “revealing” chemicals used in the 19<sup>th</sup> century were applied from left to right, and if the book is placed on an inclined desk the coating accumulates and makes a spot on the lower right corner.

In the present case, three of the original signatures exist on the folios preserved. They consist of the letter “q” with a bar over it (abbreviation for *quaternio*), followed by Roman numeral; they appear on the verso of the folio, in the lower right corner;<sup>27</sup> thus they appear on the last page of a booklet. One of these signatures is quite visible and has been noted by Mai: it is that of booklet 2, at the bottom of page 41\*. Another is more difficult to decipher, for it has been especially attacked by the treatment of chemicals; we nevertheless are able to read it without hesitation in the macro-photographs taken in ultraviolet light: it is the number 22 on the bottom of page 1\*. A third, finally, is barely visible: it is the number 5, of which infrared light reveals a trace at the bottom of page 32\*. Each of these three signatures is on the flesh side, with the result that the original numbers appear on the exterior flesh side.

<sup>27</sup> This method of designating the booklets is most current in the ancient Latin manuscripts; see E. A. Lowe, *Some facts about our oldest latin manuscripts*, in *The Classical quarterly*, vol. 19 (1925), p. 207-208; *More facts about our oldest latin manuscripts*, *ibid.* vol. 22 (1928), p. 59-60.

Conversely, the central bi-folio of the original booklet has the flesh side on the interior, which is to say that the open booklet in its middle shows a flesh side. There are two cases, in fact, in which the text reads consecutively from the second to the third page of a bi-folio, which is only possible on the central bi-folio of a booklet: that is on folios 7-8\*/9\*-10, for one, and on folios 14-13\*/4\*3, for the other, which both have the flesh side on the interior. If the rule of Gregory is respected—and one ought to admit, until proven otherwise, that it is the case in a manuscript of great age and quality—the fact that the closed booklet [*begin page 8 column b*] leaves showing the same side of parchment as the booklet open in the middle, implies that the bi-folios are of an even number. Upon examination, one notes that the booklets of the original manuscript necessarily consisted of more than two bi-folios. There are two cases in which are preserved two neighboring bi-folios, which are found originally inserted next to each other; that is folios 12\*-11/6-5\*, in which are inserted folios 14-13\*/4\*3, and folios 26-25\*/24\*-23, in which are inserted folios 37\*-38/43-44\*; in fact, the text reads consecutively on page 11 and 14, 3 and 6, 25\* and 37\*, 44\* and 24\*. We already know that the folios 14-13\*/4\*3 are the central bi-folio of a booklet; if the bi-folio in which it has been inserted is the exterior bi-folio of the booklet, in other words, if the booklet was a two-sheet, the page 5\* would be the last of the booklet and ought to have a signature, but it does not; two other bi-folios at least adjoin thus to the two above to make up a booklet.

P            P            12\*-11   14-13\* /   4\*-3            6-5\*            P            P

The other case is different, but no less demonstrable. The bi-folio which is inserted into the other there has the hair side in, while the other has the hair side out; thus the first cannot be the central bi-folio of a booklet, and the other cannot be the exterior bi-folio; certainly two bi-folios were joined to these to constitute a booklet, one inside, another outside.

P            26-25\*    37\*-38            P /            P            43-44\*    24\*23            P

Upon examining the bi-folios preserved, one discovers there is no reason that the bi-folios would be more than four to each booklet. This leads to the conclusion that the original manuscript was constructed, very traditionally, of quires showing a hair side on the exterior and bearing the signature on the back of the last folio.

It is possible, therefore, to reconstruct the place which a given bi-folio originally occupied within a booklet. A bi-folio which has the flesh side out and bears a signature is the first of a quire; a bi-folio which has the flesh side in and where the text does not read consecutively is the second, a bi-folio which presents the flesh side out and does not bear a signature is the third; a bi-folio which has the flesh side in and the text follows consecutively is the fourth. The three signatures preserved permit, moreover, as one comes to see, the numbering of all the booklets to which the preserved bi-folios pertain and consequently the numbering of all the folios in the original manuscript. Therefore let the bi-folios be systematically reviewed according to their original order, as appears in the table below.<sup>28</sup>

Folios 20\*-19/30-29\* contain the commentary on Luke 1:1-2 and 1:3-4; the beginning of the work is missing. This bi-folio, which has the flesh side out and which does not have a signature is the third bi-folio of the first quire, corresponding to folios 3 and 6 of the original manuscript; four pages are lost at the beginning of the work and four pages between 19 and 30.

---

<sup>28</sup> The reader who takes pain to follow the demonstration could be aided by the plan of composition presented below, page 10.



The next bi-folio, 40\*-39/42-41\*, is not problematic; it is one of those containing a signature. The mark Q2 on page 41\* indicates that it belongs to the first bi-folio in the second booklet; we have no other bi-folios in this booklet; therefore four pages are lost between pp. 29\* end 40\*, then [*begin page 9 column a*] twelve pages between 39 and 42. This bi-folio contains commentary on Luke 1:6-7 and 1:17-19; it represents folios 9 and 16 of the original manuscript.

The next folio (17\*-18) contains the commentary on Luke 1:24-25. Currently isolated, it certainly appeared in the original state of the palimpsest with folio 31-32\*.<sup>29</sup> However, this bi-folio does not belong as it is to the original manuscript; it has been assembled by bonding two unconnected folios, which were found disconnected for one reason or another; in fact the pages 31-32\* contain the commentary on Luke 1:57-58, which implies a distance of more than 12 pages between pp. 18 and 31. An isolated folio is more difficult to situate than a bi-folio, for the possibilities are more numerous from a codicological perspective. However, we are able to restore the original place of folio 17\*-18 by considering first the following bi-folio; that is 7-8\*/9\*-10, which contains the commentary on Luke 1:31-34. The text reads consecutively on these four pages, which signifies that the bi-folio fits in the middle of a booklet. This booklet cannot be the third, for if that were the case only six pages separate pages 41\* and 7; six pages would not suffice to contain the commentary on Luke 1:19-31 and folio 17\*-18 could not be found in between because p. 17\* does not follow p. 41\*, nor p. 7 to 18. Folios 7-8\*/9\*-10 form therefore the central bi-folio of the fourth booklet, and 22 pages separate pp. 41\* and 7. Where in this interval does folio 17\*-18 belong? The text of the gospel commented upon in the 22 pages involved occupies 27 lines in Nestle's edition of the New Testament.<sup>30</sup> On these 27 lines, 13 have been commented upon in the interval before folio 17-18, which itself corresponds approximately to three lines of the gospel text; in the space separating pp. 18 and 7 would be the commentary on the remaining 11 lines. The part between 41\* and 17\* therefore ought to be considerably more than between 18 and 7, for the commentary generally unfolds in a regular rhythm. Consequently, folio 17\*-18 is situated in the second half of the third booklet, closer to page 7 than to page 41\*. As the first page of this folio is on the flesh side, it can only be the seventh folio of the booklet, which is to say folio 23 of the original manuscript. Twelve pages are missing between 41\* and 17\*, and eight pages between pp. 18 and 7.

Let us move on to the eighth and ninth folios preserved, 36\*-35/46-45\*, where are read the commentary on Luke 1:43-46 and 1:52-56. This bi-folio, which has the flesh side out and does not have a signature, was the third bi-folio of the fifth booklet, corresponding to folios 35 and 38 of the original manuscript. Six pages are missing between pp. 10 and 36\*, and four between pp. 35 and 46.

We return now to folio 31-32\*, which has already been considered above;<sup>31</sup> it contains the commentary on Luke 1:57-58. Given that the explication of Luke 1:56 begins already at the bottom of page 45\*, the distance between pp. 45\* and 31 ought to be short; it could not exceed two pages, which would mean that folio 31-32\* is the last of the fifth quire, which is to say folio 40 of the original manuscript. The signature is almost completely effaced; one finds, nevertheless, the trace of the number 5 on the good photographs taken in infrared light.

---

<sup>29</sup> See above, page 7.

<sup>30</sup> This edition gives the text of the Vulgate, while the text commented upon by our manuscript is an old Latin text. However, the edition of the old Latin gospel by Jülicher is not presented in the form of regular lines, and an edition of the Vulgate can suffice for an approximate estimate.

<sup>31</sup> See above, page 9.

Afterwards a significant number of pages are lost, corresponding to several booklets. In fact, the next bi-folio, 22-21\*/28\*-27, contains the explication of Luke 4:5-8 and Luke 4:17-18; so we are missing the last third of Luke 1 [*begin page 9 column b*] recounting the birth of John the Baptist, all of chapters 2 and 3, and the beginning of chapter 4. The bi-folio at hand has the flesh side in, without continuous text between the third and fourth pages; it is the second bi-folio of a booklet; eight pages are missing between pages 21\* and 28\*. Since we cannot find a new signature, it is not possible to determine the numbering of the booklet. Indeed, the interval between pages 32\* and 22 is too great for one to estimate the number in proportion to gospel text on which commentary is missing. We will temporarily designate the booklet number N.

The next two bi-folios are 12\*-11/6-5\* and 14-13\*/4\*-3. The second was inserted into the first, since the original text reads consecutively in order 12\*, 11, 14, 13\*, 4\*, 3, 6, 5\*; the two bi-folios, consequently, are the middle of a quire. This quire cannot be booklet N+1; if that were the case only six pages would separate pages 27 and 12\*. However, pages 12\* and following contain the interpretation of Luke 4:43—5:4, while p. 27 explicates Luke 4:18; six pages would not suffice to explicate 24 verses of the Gospel (Luke 4:19-42), if one can judge by the normal rate of the commentary. Therefore a booklet between pages 27 and 12\* has been lost; the distance between them is 22 pages; the two bi-folios thus were originally in the middle of the booklet N + 2.

The following two bi-folios are also neighbors; they are 26-25\*/24\*-23 and 37\*-38/43-44\*, where the original text reads in the order 26, 25\*, 37\*, 38, 43, 44\*, 24\*, 23. In the present case, however, there is a continuity issue between pages 38 and 43; pages 26, 25\*, 37\*, 38 contain the commentary on Luke 5:8-12, pages 43, 44\*, 37\*, 38 contain the commentary on Luke 5:13-15; but the explication of Luke 5:12 is not completed on page 38, and the that of Luke 5:13 does not begin on page 43; four pages are lost in the middle. These two bi-folios, of which the first shows the hair side out, and the other hair side in, are the second and third bi-folios of the booklet N + 3; 6 pages are lost between 5\* and 26.

The next bi-folio, 16\*-15/2-1\*, is held together thanks to an adhesive back on the booklet from the modern era. However, it is certain that the two folios involved were originally attached, for the punctures are exactly symmetric. The bi-folio also has the flesh side out, and the last page has a signature; it is difficult to see on direct examination, but the macro-photography taken in ultraviolet light reveals it perfectly: it is the signature of booklet 22. The bi-folio in question contains the explication of Luke 5:17-19 and 5:27-29; 2 pages are missing between pages 23 and 16\*, containing the explication of part of verse 15, all of verse 16, and part of verse 17; 12 pages are missing between pages 15 and 2, containing the explication of part of verse 19, verses 20-26, and part of 27. As this bi-folio belongs to booklet N + 4, we now know the numbers of booklet N, N + 2, and N + 3 to be respectively 18, 20, and 21, and consequently we can number the folios of these booklets according to the original manuscript.

Pages	22-21* Folio	138
	28*-27	143
	12*-11	155
	<i>[begin page 10 column a]</i>	
	14-13*	156
	4*-3	157
	6-5*	158
	26-25*	162
	37*-38	163

43-44*	166
24*-23	167
16*-15	169
2-1*	176

We also know that 12 booklets are missing from booklets 6 to 17, between pages 32\* and 22, such that the distance between them, if one adds to these 12 booklets the first folio of booklet 18, is 194 pages.

It remains to discuss the last bi-folio preserved, 34-33\*/48\*-47. Mai believed incorrectly that these four pages read consecutively, but the first two explicate Luke 6:1-3, and the other two Luke 6:9-11. As this bi-folio has the flesh side in, it ought to be the second bi-folio of a booklet; eight pages are missing between 33\* and 48\*. In the other part, between pages 1\* and 34, we are missing the explication of the last ten verses of Luke 5. This explication could not fit in two pages; therefore a booklet is completely lost between pages 1\* and 34, so the total separation is 18 pages. The bi-folio at hand belongs to booklet 24, corresponding to folios 186 and 191 in the original manuscript.

If the author explicated the complete Gospel of Luke—and nothing suggests that he would stop in the middle—his commentary would be a huge work. The last bi-folio preserved takes us no further than the first quarter of the gospel text; therefore the complete commentary amounted to a hundred booklets, which would be 1600 pages. The Arians of the west did not retreat from a work of such a magnitude; this is demonstrated by the *Incomplete Work on Matthew*, which we have preserved in considerably large portions, covering roughly the complete gospel. *[begin page 10 column b]* The commentary on the Gospel of Luke, as the few fragments preserved permit us to reconstruct it, would have been comparable in size.

The plan of composition here synthesizes the conclusion of the preceding analysis. The numbers of the booklets appear in the left column; for each fragment are then given the page numbers in the palimpsest and the folio numbers of the original manuscript in italics.

<i>I</i>	P	P	20*-19 (3)	P	/	P	30-29* (6)	P	P
<i>II</i>	40*-39 (9)	P	P	P	/	P	P	P	42-41* (16)
<i>III</i>	P	P	P	P	/	P	P	17*-18 (23)	P
<i>IIII</i>	P	P	P	7-8* (28)	/	9*-10 (29)	P	P	P
<i>V</i>	P	P	36*-35 (35)	P	/	P	46-45* (38)	P	31-32* (40)
<i>VI-XVII</i>						<i>Perdus</i>			
<i>XVIII</i>	P	22-21* (138)	P	P	/	P	P	28*-27 (143)	P
<i>XVIII</i>	P	P	P	P	/	P	P	P	P
<i>XX</i>	P	P	12*-11 (155)	14-13* (156)	/	4*-3 (157)	6-5* (158)	P	P
<i>XXI</i>	P	26-25* (162)	37*-38 (163)	P	/	P	43-44* (166)	24*-23 (167)	P
<i>XXII</i>	16*-15 (169)	P	P	P	/	P	P	P	2-1* (176)
<i>XXIII</i>	P	P	P	P	/	P	P	P	P
<i>XXIIII</i>	P	34-33* (186)	P	P	/	P	P	48*-47 (191)	P
<i>XXV-ca. C</i>						<i>Perdus</i>			