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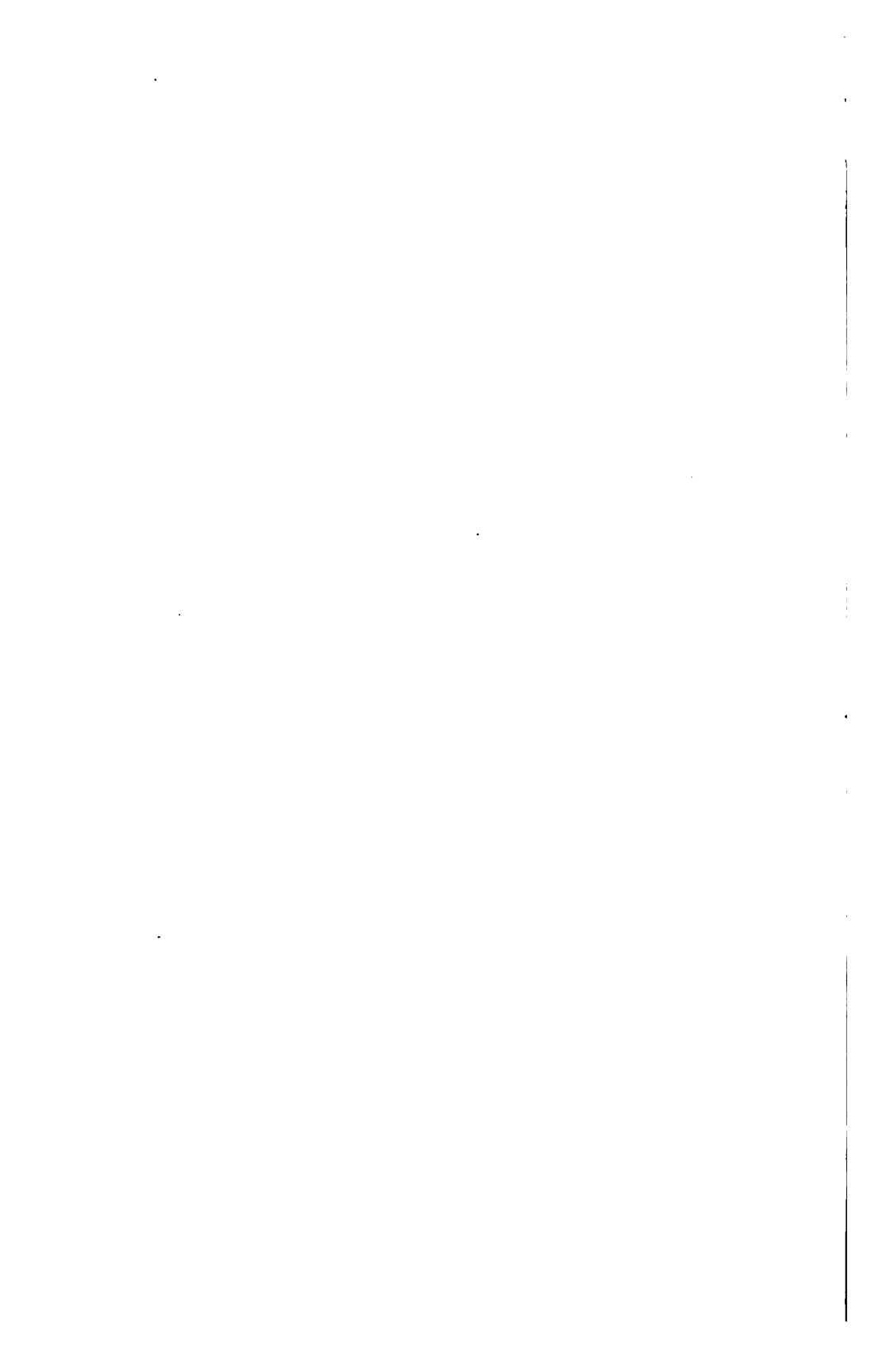
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A PLAIN INTRODUCTION
TO THE
CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

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A

PLAIN INTRODUCTION

TO THE

CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

FOR THE USE OF BIBLICAL STUDENTS

BY

FREDERICK HENRY AMBROSE SCRIVENER, M.A., D.C.L., LL.D.

PREBENDARY OF EXETER, VICAR OF HENDON.

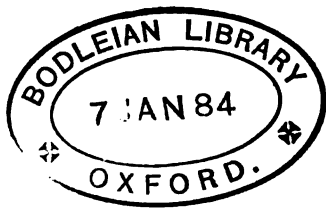
THIRD EDITION,

*THOROUGHLY REVISED, ENLARGED, AND BROUGHT DOWN TO THE
PRESENT DATE.*

In templo Dei offert unusquisque quod potest: alii aurum, argentum, et lapides pretiosos: alii byssem et purpuram et coccum offerunt et hyacinthum. Nobiscum bene agitur, si obtulerimus pelles et caprarum piloa. Et tamen Apostolus contentibillora nostra magis necessaria judicat.—HIERONYMI *Prologus Galceus*.

CAMBRIDGE:
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LONDON: GEORGE BELL AND SONS.

1883



TO HIS GRACE,
EDWARD,
LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

MY LORD ARCHBISHOP,

Nearly forty years ago, under encouragement from your venerated predecessor Archbishop Howley, and with the friendly help of his Librarian Dr Maitland, I entered upon the work of collating manuscripts of the Greek New Testament by examining the copies brought from the East by Professor Carlyle, and purchased for the Lambeth Library in 1805. I was soon called away from this employment—*ἐκὼν ἀέκοντί γε θυμῷ*—to less congenial duties in that remote county, wherein long after it was your Grace's happy privilege to refresh the spirits of Churchmen and Churchwomen, by giving them pious work to do, and an example in the doing of it. What I have since been able to accomplish in the pursuits of sacred criticism, although very much less than I once anticipated, has proved, I would fain hope, not without its use to those who love Holy Scripture, and the studies which help to the understanding of the same.

Among the scholars whose sympathy cheered and aided my Biblical labours from time to time, I have had the honour of including your Grace; yet it would be at once unseemly and fallacious to assume from that circumstance, that the principles of textual criticism which I have consistently advocated have

approved themselves to your judgment. All that I can look for or desire in this respect is that I may seem to you to have stated my case fairly and temperately, in earnest controversy with opponents far my superiors in learning and dialectic power, and for whom, in spite of literary differences, I entertain deep respect and true regard.

My Lord, you have been called by Divine Providence to the first place in our Communion, and have entered upon your great office attended by the applauses, the hopeful wishes, and the hearty prayers of the whole Church. May it please God to endow you richly with the Christian gifts as well of wisdom as of courage: for indeed the highest minister of the Church of England no less than the humblest will need courage in the coming time, now that faith is waxing cold and adversaries are many.

I am, my Lord Archbishop,

Your obliged and faithful servant,

F. H. A. SCRIVENER.

HENDON VICARAGE,
Whitsuntide, 1883.

PREFACE.

THE favourable reception bestowed on the two previous editions of this work, published in the years 1861 and 1874 respectively, has induced the author to spare no pains in correcting and improving it, in the hope of bringing up to the present date the information it contains. In this effort he has been assisted, as well by the Bishop of Durham, who has most kindly revised the section on the Egyptian versions of the New Testament contributed by his Lordship to the second edition, as by other scholars from whom he has received much unsought for and most welcome help. His obligations to the Dean of Chichester are very great, as every reader will easily perceive. The additional matter for which he is indebted to the Dean's *Letters to the Guardian* has been reduced to its proper place in the volume after p. 224: that which could not be so treated has been collected in the *Addenda et Corrigenda* annexed to this Preface, to which the students' constant attention is anxiously entreated. The author will be much rejoiced if the third edition shall be judged not less worthy than its predecessors to become a text book in Universities and Theological Colleges.

After the foregoing brief introduction, the author would have been glad to have left the fortunes of his book in the reader's hands, but he has been told by persons whose judgment he cannot mistrust that he is bound to state explicitly the relation in which the present volume stands to the "New Testament in the original Greek according to the text followed in the Authorised Version together with the variations adopted in the Revised Version," edited by him in 1881 for the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press. He should have imagined, for his own part, that it was obvious that the two publications are quite independent of each other. In the present work both the materials for textual criticism and the general results of its study are set forth from the author's point of view, and he holds himself responsible for every portion of its contents. Whether his principles or his application of them be right or wrong, they are the fruits of patient investigation pursued throughout a period extending over more than half a life-time. In the Greek Testament his aim was to make known what the Revisers of 1881 thought fit to change in the text favoured by the translators of the Authorised Version of 1611, and he spent some additional trouble in ascertaining more exactly than others had done before him the precise character of the Greek text actually followed in the Authorised Bible itself. Thus, for the Cambridge Greek Testament of 1881 he is the simple reporter of the decisions of the N. T. Company of Revisers, which will often be found at variance with his

own, as contained in the present "Plain Introduction." The accidental circumstance that he was one of the Revisers can have slight bearing on the subject, for no one could gravely suppose that the conclusions of that or any other large Company were arrived at by a series of unanimous votes, for each one of which every member was personally responsible.

While the author feels that it is neither necessary nor becoming for him to undertake a formal review either of the Revised Version or of the text from which it was made, he is happy to avow his firm opinion on three points with regard to it, which have been much controverted during the last two years. First, that the task of scrutinising the Greek text was one which the Revisers could not have shrunk from, without reducing their labour to a nullity: Secondly, that the text as adopted by them, especially in passages of primary interest and importance, is far less one-sided than is generally supposed: Thirdly, that the various readings recorded in the margin are nothing better than *rejected* readings, deliberately refused a place in the text, and set in the margin, if sometimes too lightly, yet always in a spirit of fairness to the unlearned reader of Holy Scripture.

ASCENSION DAY, 1883.

POSTSCRIPT (July 5, 1883). When the last sheets of this volume were about to go to press, I most unexpectedly received from Dean Burgon a catalogue of

about three hundred additional manuscripts of the New Testament or portions thereof, deposited in European libraries but hitherto unknown to scholars, which must hereafter be examined and collated by competent persons. The catalogue is compiled from replies to inquiries made of the several custodians by Dean Burgon, who has most liberally placed at my disposal the results of his pains and energy. Our chief obligations are due to the Papal Librarian, the Abbate Cozza-Luzi (*see below*, p. 115), who set three assistants on the search, and has contributed to the list no less than 179 separate codices in the Vatican, unaccountably overlooked by Birch and Scholz, the only critics who have had tolerable access to these treasures. The notices of copies in the library of Grotta Ferrata, near Frascati, are derived from the *Codices Cryptenses &c.* of the *Hieromonachus Rocchi*, 1882; those from Messina were furnished by Papas Filippo Matranga; those found at Berlin by Dr C. de Boor, and those at Milan by that great befriender of all honest study, Dr Ceriani. I had said (p. 246) that "the sum of extant copies must be considerably greater than we know of," without in the least anticipating so sudden an accession of fresh materials. Now that the Vatican Library is administered in a free spirit, it is hard to conjecture what light its contents may throw ere long upon this and other branches of sacred learning.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

- p. 24, line 13. Modify this statement from *below*, p. 175.
- p. 27, note 1. On the words *τρισά και τετρασά* see p. 513, note 2.
- p. 29, line 6. Correct this statement from p. 227, Cod. 481.
- p. 35, line 34. Cod. Alexandrinus in the Old Testament, but not in the New, frequently resembles Codd. Ephraemi and the Cotton Genesis in placing a straight line over *iota*, and more rarely over *upsilon*, instead of the single or double dots.
- p. 37, line 23. Cod. A is found in the simpler form in the Old Testament, but mostly with the horizontal line produced in the New.
- p. 43, line 30. Cod. N exhibits breathings, apparently by the original scribe, in Tobit vi. 9; Gal. v. 21 only.
- p. 49, line 6. For 41 read 33.
- p. 50, line 15. Many other examples of the use of *στίχοι* and *versus* in this sense will be found in that admirable monument of exact learning, now so little read, Prideaux *Connections*, An. 446.
- p. 52, line 14. For *την* read *την*. l. 15. For *κν* read *κν*. l. 24. See p. 323, note, on the red points in the Curetonian Syriac (B. M. Addit. 14451*) as representing a stichometrical system.
- p. 59, note 1. Now that attention has been specially directed to the matter, it is remarkable how many copies have the Ammonian sections without the corresponding Eusebian canons under them, sometimes even when (as in Codd. 572, 595, 597) the letter to Carpianus and the Eusebian tables stand the beginning of the volume. To the list here given must now be added Codd. T (see *below* Addenda to p. 159), 185, 187, 190, 193, 194, 207, 209, 214, 217, 367, 406, 409, 410, 414, 418, 419, 440, 456, 457, 494, 497, 501, 503, 504, 506, 508, 518, 544, 548, 550, 555, 558, 559, 564, 573, 575, 584, 586, 591, 592, 601, 602, 620: in all 71 MSS., as enumerated here and on p. 59.
- p. 66, column 5. The Ammonian *κεφάλαια* in the Gospels vary from the normal number in many copies, especially in 88. Matthew and Mark, but not considerably. The *ἀναγνώσματα* of the Gospels set down in column 7 are also given in Mendham, Evan. 562.
- p. 67, note. The whole subject of the verses is discussed in Dr Ezra Abbot's tract "De Editionibus Novi Testamenti Graece in versuum quos dicunt distinctione inter se discrepantibus" 1882, being part of his Prolegomena for Tischendorf's N. T., 8th edition.

p. 69, note. Several corrections must now be made in this note. Dele Vatic. 360, Evan. 131; Richard. 84, Evan. 368, and the Arras copy. Add Laurent. 53, Evan. 367; Vallicell. F. 17, Evan. 394; Phillipps 7682, Evan. 531.

p. 70, line 8. Add that the Pauline Epistles stand between the Acts and the Catholic Epistles in Phillipps 1284, Evan. 527; Parham 71. 6, Evan. 534; Upsal, Sparfwenfeldt 42, Acts 68; Paris Reg. 102 A, Acts 119; Reg. 103 A, Acts 120. In Oxford Bodl. Miscell. 74 the order is Acts, Cath. Epp., Apocalypse, Paul. Epp., but an earlier hand wrote from 3 John onwards. In Evan. 51 Dr C. R. Gregory points out minute indications that the scribe, not the binder, set the Gospels last. In the Memphitic and Thebaic the Acts follow the Catholic Epistles (*see pp. 390, 398*).

p. 71, note. The Epistle to the Hebrews precedes 1 Timothy also in Paul. 166, 281, and in all Bp Lightfoot's MSS. of the Memphitic except 7 and 16. In the Thebaic it follows 2 Cor. (*see p. 399*).

p. 75, line 10. The Athenian *'Eoria* of Oct. 3, 1882, speaks of 500 MSS., including many of the Gospels obtained from the Thessalian Monastery of Dousikon, now deposited in the National Library at Athens (Miss F. McPherson to Dean Burgon). Many such collections must exist in various Eastern Libraries.

p. 77, note, line 5. For ω read w .

p. 85, note 2. Evst. 261 (Brit. Mus. Addit. 11840) also reads Luke vii. 36—50 as the Gospel for September 16.

p. 86. Add from Evst. 228 and others, Aug. 1, τῶν ἀγίων μακκαβαίων Matth. x. 16, &c. So also in Evst. 229, July 20, Elijah, Luke iv. 22, &c.; in Evst. 298, May 21, Helena.

p. 86, note. The Golden Evangelistarium (Evst. 286) is fully described below, p. 299.

p. 88, l. 23. "In the Catholic Epistles the scribe has frequently contented himself with a column of 47 lines." J. Rendel Harris, *New Testament Autographs*, Baltimore (without date). This original and ingenious contribution to textual criticism has just been sent to me. I fear that the premisses are too precarious for much confidence to be placed in the conclusions they suggest, but I should have been glad if the pamphlet had fallen sooner into my hands.

ibid. note. Brugsch (*sic*) has published the fragment here referred to, but it is not after all a part of Cod. N. Another morsel, however, containing Gen. xxiv. 9, 10 and 41—43, now at S. Petersburg, really belongs to it.

p. 91, line 8. I am indebted for the following Memoranda on Cod. N to the kindness of the Dean of Derry and Raphoe.

i. It is demonstrable that the Eusebian Sections and Canons on the margin are contemporaneous with the text. For they are wanting from leaves 10 and 15. Now these leaves are conjugate; and they have been (on other grounds) noted by Tischendorf as written not by the scribe of the body of the N. T., but by one of his colleagues ("D") who wrote part of the O. T. and acted as Diorthota of the N. T. It thus appears that, after the marginal numbers had been inserted, the sheet containing leaves 10 and 15 was cancelled, and rewritten by a contemporary hand. The numbers must therefore have been written before the MS. was completed and issued.

ii. The exemplar whence these numbers were derived, differed considerably from that which the text follows. For, in some cases, the sectional numbers indicate the presence of passages which are absent from the text.

E.g. S. Mt. xvi. 2, 3, which is sect. 162, is wanting; and 162 is assigned to ver. 4, while the wrong canon (5 for 6) betrays the presence in the canonizer's exemplar of the passage omitted by the scribe. The same is true of S. Mk. xv. 28 (in which case the scribe is "D").

iii. The scribe who wrote the text was unacquainted with the Eusebian sections. For the beginning of a section is not marked, as in A and most subsequent MSS., by a division of the text and a large letter. On the contrary the text is divided into paragraphs quite independent of the Eusebian divisions, which often begin in the middle of a line, and are marked merely by two dots (:) in vermilion, inserted no doubt by the rubricator as he entered the numbers in the margin. The fact that the numbers of the sections as well as of the canons (not as in other MSS. of the Canons only) are in vermilion, points the same way.

iv. From the above it follows, (1) That while Cod. N proves the absence from its exemplar of certain passages, its margin proves the presence of some of them in a contemporaneous exemplar; (2) That while on the one hand the Eusebian numbers, coeval with the text, shew that the MS. cannot be dated before the time of Eusebius, on the other hand the form of the text, inasmuch as it is not arranged so as to suit them, and as it differs from the text implied in them, marks for it a date little, if at all, after his time—certainly many years earlier than A.

v. As regards the omission of the verses of S. Mk. xvi. 9—20, it is not correct to assert that Cod. N betrays no sign of consciousness of their existence. For the last line of ver. 8, containing only the letters $\rho\sigma\alpha\pi$, has the rest of the space (more than half the width of the column) filled up with a minute and elaborate "arabesque" executed with the pen in ink and vermilion, nothing like which occurs anywhere else in the whole MS. (O. T. or N. T.), such spaces being elsewhere invariably left blank. By this careful filling up of the blank, the scribe (who here is the diorthota "D"), distinctly shews that the omission is not a case of "non-interpolation," but of deliberate excision. John Gwynn, 21 May, 1883.

p. 102, line 12. Dele "the four Pastoral Epistles," which, as stated below, p. 277 Apoc. 91, are not contained in the modern writing now annexed to the great Cod. Vat. 1209. In Mai's edition, as we have said in p. 109 note, the gap is supplied from Vat. 1761, Paul. 192.

p. 141, line 28. Bianchini's description and *facsimile* of Cod. S are given in his *Evangeliarium Quadruplex*, Vol. II., Part I., pp. 504, 571 and Plate vi.

p. 142, line 31. T^a or T^{vol}. Bp. Lightfoot (*see* p. 395) gives reasons for thinking that this fragment was not originally a portion of T.

p. 143, line 30. Dr Hort kindly enables me to add to his description of T^a (*Addenda to Tregelles* N. T. p. 1070) that this "tiny morsel" is irregular in shape, frequently less than four inches in width and height, the uncial Greek letters being three-eighths of an inch high. There seem to have been two columns of either 8 or more probably of 24 lines each on a page, but no Coptic portions survive. "If of 24 lines the fragment might belong to the inner column of a bilingual MS. with the two languages in parallel columns, or to the outer column of a wholly Greek MS. or of a bilingual MS. with the section in the two languages consecutively, as in Mr Horner's Graeco-Thebaic fragment (*Evsst.* 299: *see* p. 398). In the latter case it might belong to the inner column of a wholly Greek MS. or of a bilingual MS. with the section in two consecutive

languages. The size of the letters renders it improbable however that the columns were of 8 lines only" (Hort).

p. 154, note. Add Cod. 573.

p. 159. The following uncial codices of the Gospels must now be added:

T. Brit. Mus. Additional 31919, formerly Blenheim 3. D. 13, purchased at Patrick's from the Sunderland sale in April 1882. Under a *Mænsum* (see our *Evst.* 282, p. 299) for the 28 days of February [dated 1431] fol., 108 leaves, Professors T. K. Abbott and J. P. Mahaffy of Trinity College, Dublin, most diligently catalogued at Blenheim in May 1881, *palimpsest* fragments of the Gospels of the eighth century, being 17 passages scattered over 33 of the leaves: viz. *Matth.* i. 1—14; v. 3—19; xii. 27—41; xxiii. 23—xxv. 30; 43—xxvi. 26; 50—xxvii. 17. *Mark* i. 1—42; ii. 21—iv. 1; 15—v. 1; 29—vi. 22; x. 50—xi. 13. *Luke* xvi. 21—xvii. 3; 19—37; xix. 15—31. *John* ii. 18—iii. 5; iv. 23—37; v. 35—vi. 2: in all 484 verses. It exhibits *Am.* (not *Eus.*) in gold, *ἀρχαί* and *τέλη*, but is very hard to read, and has not yet been collated. Of less account are palimpsest pieces of the eleventh century on some of the leaves, containing *Matth.* xi. 13, &c.; *Luke* i. 64, &c.; ii. 25—34, and a later cursive patch (fol. 23) containing *Mark* vi. 14—20.

Φ may be the provisional notation of another palimpsest, at the Great Greek Convent of the Holy Cross at Jerusalem, numbered *Γραφή θεία δ*, seen by Mr F. W. Pennefather in 1875, containing portions of Jesus the son of Sirach and of the New Testament, in two columns of square uncials, slightly tipped, said to have been collated by some Russian in 1860, and bound up in a folio codex of early cursive characters, containing the Pentateuch, Ruth, and some of the Prophetical books in single columns. Has this copy been examined by other scholars?

p. 160, note 1, line 1. Spell the name of the Dean of Derry and Raphoe not Gwynne but Gwynn.

p. 162, line 24. A *facsimile* of Cod. L (formerly G), being part of 1 John v., faces p. 558 of Bianchini's *Evan. Quadr.* Vol. II., Pt. 1.

p. 163, line 19. The labours of Euthalius (see p. 61) should hardly be called a commentary.

p. 173, line 10. For 123 read 131.

ibid. line 25. Dr C. R. Gregory has read a few words more of the B. M. portion of Cod. M, now detached and numbered 5613*.

p. 182. *Evan.* 22 has recently been fully collated by the Rev. W. F. Rose (see *Evan.* 563, p. 238). It contains 232 leaves, beginning *Matth.* ii. 2, six leaves containing *Matth.* v. 25—viii. 4 being misplaced before it. *Κεφ. τ., τίτλ., κεφ., Am., Eus.* (partial). No *lect. ἀρχ.* or *τέλ.* p. m. A beautiful copy with slight illuminated headings to the Gospels, which I recently had the pleasure of inspecting.

p. 183, line 7. For 6551 read 6511.

p. 185. Mr E. B. Nicholson, Bodley's Librarian, informs me that Cod. 50 is also *mut.* in *Matt.* xvii. 12—24.

ibid. The last line of Cod. 51 should stand (see *Codd.* 54, 60, 113, 440, 507, 508. *Acts* 23. *Apoc.* 28. *Evst.* 5).

pp. 185—6. Dr C. R. Gregory, who has just inspected them, believes that *Codd.* 47, 56, 58 are in the same hand, and one of them copied from Cod. 54.

p. 188. Dr C. R. Gregory has noticed in Cod. 63 a mutilated double leaf of an *Evangelistarium* in two columns [ix or x] containing part of *Ὠσα γ'* (see p. 83).

p. 189 and note. Dean Burgon in 1880 found this celebrated copy in the

library of the Marquis of Bute, and has traced the curious history of its rovinings. From Dr Goad (d. 1638) it came into the keeping of Primate Ussher, by whose hand the modern chapters seem to have been written in the margin. Then towards the end of the 17th century (as his signature proves) it belonged to one John Jones: a later hand puts in the date Saturday, May 25, 1728. It was undoubtedly at Trinity College up to 1742. It has also the book plate of John Earl of Moira (d. 1793). Then we trace it to James Verschoyle, afterwards Bishop of Killala from 1793 to 1834. Thence it came into the possession of the Earls of Huntingdon for two generations, and was purchased at the Donnington Park sale by Lord Bute, who may fairly call it his own, whatever be the means by which it left Trinity College. There is no question that this is the long lost Cod. 64, the *Usser* 2 and *Em.* of Mill: it was recognised at once by the reading in John viii. 8. Dean Burgon describes it as [xii or xiii] now in two volumes, bound in red morocco about 150 years since. It has 440 leaves, 4½ inches by 3¼ in size. *Carp.*, *Eus. t.*, *τίτλ.*, *κεφ.*, *Am.* (gilt), *Eus.* (carmine), *lect.*, *ἀρχαί* and *τέλη*. At the end are 14 leaves of *syn.*, *ἐκλογάδιον*. Though beautifully written, it has no *piet.* or elaborate headings. Previous collators had done their work very poorly, as we have reason to know. Out of about 60 variations in Mark i.—v., Mill has recorded only 26. Over each proper name of a *person* stands a little waved stroke: cf. *Evan.* 530.

p. 190, line 24. From Nichol's *History of Leicestershire* (Vol. i. p. 505, Vol. iii. p. 459) I find that Hayne died in 1645, and left his other books also to the Town Library. It appears also that Mill was permitted to use Cod. 69 at Oxford in 1671 (?), and that a collation made by John Jackson and William Tiffin was lent to Wetstein through Cæsar de Missy and a Presbyterian minister, Th. Gee, of But Close, Leicester.

p. 197, note 1. Add to the Barberini codices Paul. 213.

p. 198. Cod. 121 is safe at S. Geneviève's, A. O. 34: 241 leaves, one quarterion being lost, the last twelve being *syn.*

ibid. note 1. Correct this by *Addendum* on Cod. 436 below, p. 222.

p. 199. Cod. 131, as Birch assures us, does not contain the Apocalypse. Dele Apoc. 66.

p. 200. Cod. 157 is dated 1128.

pp. 200—202. Dean Burgon (*Guardian*, August 23, 1882) calls to our notice the descriptions and *facsimiles* of Roman codices exhibited in Bianchini's great work, *Evangeliarium Quadruplex Latinae Versionis Antiquæ*, given as a kind of Appendix in Vol. ii. Pt. 1. Codd. 145, 147 on p. 505 and Plate vi. Philip Vitali, a monk of the Basilian order which is so honourably devoted to these studies, continues the subject in a letter to Bianchini, describing (with *facsimiles*) Cod. 169 at pp. 530—1; *Evan.* 170 at pp. 533—4 (the later scribe from Luke xvi. 8 calling himself *ἐγγελοσ θύρης*); *Evan.* 172, of 218 leaves, at pp. 529—30. The pictures of the Evangelists are elsewhere given by Bianchini from this manuscript. Again, *Evan.* 173 [from the *facsimile*, xi] is described on p. 516: it has 165 leaves and *Carp.*; *Evan.* 174 on p. 517, dated 7 Sept. 1053, where *οὐκὼν ἐν πόλει ταβερνώω* can hardly be rendered with Scholz "tabernis habitante." Cozza, the present Papal librarian, himself a Basilian monk, notices the fact that most of these Basilian copies came from Calabria, a statement recently confirmed by the history of Cod. Σ (*see above* p. 158). Next we have *Evan.* 175 described by Vitali at pp. 519—21 with *facsimile*, as is *Evan.* 176 on p. 518, this latter, said to exhibit an extraordinary text, containing only Matth. x. 22—John i. 40.

Evan. 177 (p. 525), with very remarkable pictures, has no *facsimile*. Evan. 178, of 272 leaves, is described with *facsimile* p. 561. It once belonged, like L (formerly G) of the Acts, to Cardinal Passionei. Evan. 179, of 219 leaves, is described, without *facsimile*, by Vitali, pp. 562—3. Fol. 219 is illegible, and is followed by *syn.* of 29 leaves on paper.

p. 204. Cod. 201 is m^{ss} in the Gospels, p^{ss} in Act. Paul.

p. 205. Cod. 204 is also Paul. 105.

ibid. Cod. 206 is now Apoc. 101 (*vide infra*).

p. 211. Of these copies 265—270 Burgon states that the grand 4^o Cod. 265 seems to contain an important text, 270 a peculiar text, though less beautiful externally than 266, 267, 269. Cod. 268 in double columns has *Eus. t.* very superb, but *piet.* of Evangelists only sketched in ink. Cod. 269, once belonging to Henry IV. (in which the last leaf of S. Luke is missing), is in its ancient binding, and is full of very uncommon representations of Gospel incidents.

p. 212. Cod. 294. For Reg. 218 read Reg. 118.

p. 217. Cod. 367 is now Apoc. 86 (*vide infra*).

p. 218. Evan. 394, the whole New Testament on 350 leaves is described without *facsimile* in Bianchini, *Evang. Quadr.* Vol. II. Pt. I. p. 531. This should be numbered in the Apocalypse 105.

p. 219. Cod. 400 is Paul. 220, not Paul. 200.

p. 222. Cod. 436 has no connection with Meermann, as stated above, in p. 198 note. Its earlier history is unknown. The copy bought, with others, at Meerman's sale, is Cod. 562, which see in its place.

p. 231, line 22. Evan. 515 consists of 270 leaves, and has ἀρχαί and τέλη.

p. 235. Cod. 545 *mut.* also Matth. xiii. 37—44; xxii. 31—xxiii. 4; Luke viii. 3—16; John viii. 1—28; xiii. 18—24; xiv. 11—26.

p. 238, line 37. The library was given at Evelyn's sole request, and for reasons he assigns in his *Diary* (Vol. II. pp. 20, 122: edn. 1850).

p. 244, line 11. For B.-C. I. 10 read B.-C. I. 1.

ibid. line 36. Add to manuscripts of the Gospels Nos. 618—21, described on p. 305.

p. 247. Act. 9 is stated by Dr Hort to be rich in detached good readings in the Cath. Epp., not in Act. Paul.

p. 260, to bottom line add: These two contain also S. Paul's Epistles, numbered by Burgon Codd. 284 and 285. See Appendix.

p. 262. Cod. 220, Theodoret's Prologues are ten, not eight: and one ῥῶς stands before Hebr.

ibid. Cod. 224, w^{ss} in the Gospels, is k^{ss} in the Acts.

p. 281. Evst. 26. The earlier writing [ix], being the second and seventh leaves of a quire, containing Mark iii. 15—32; v. 16—31, in single columns, has 26 lines on a page. *Am.*, *Eus.*, κεφ., and some colours.

p. 282. Evst. 29 contains 156 leaves and has 23 lines on a page.

p. 287, line 1. Apparently 1156, not 1256. See our Index I. p. 671, note.

p. 289. Evst. 157, dated 1253, written by Demetrius, a reader, τοῦ βριζῶ τουλου.

ibid. note. Evst. 164. To S. Saba add 14.

p. 292. Evst. 206 contains 276 leaves. These last four Bodleian Evst. were also inspected by C. R. Gregory.

p. 294. Evst. 226 [xiii], 306 pages, the Menæum complete up to Aug. 6.

p. 296, line 16. Evst. *250 has but one column on a page (*see* p. 280), and only

83 leaves remain. It measures $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $7\frac{1}{2}$, begins at John xiv. 18 *αἰτίου-
γρα* (Sabbath of 6th week) and the Menology ends with March 15. Four leaves
have also been cut out. Like the Gale copy (*see* p. 85, note 2) it contains the
lesson for S. Euphemia's day.

p. 296, line 26. For 15 read 151.

p. 300. *Evst.* 288, 289 are also Bodl. Auct. T *infra* 7, 8. *ibid.* line 12.
Add Nos. 291—8 from p. 306.

pp. 303—4. On examination of these Lambeth copies I find that they should
be more fully described as follows:

57. Lambeth 1190 [xiii] 4°, 260 pages, with musical notes in red.

59. Lambeth 1191 [xiii] 4°, 150 pages (83—86 in another hand, 111—2 on
paper, late), *mut.* at the beginning and end.

60. Lambeth 1194 [xiii] 4°, 218 pages, containing 51 lessons from the
Gospels (and so numbered by Burgon, *Evst.* 363), 48 from the Epistles, elegant,
with musical notes in red, *mut.*, the Mensæum ending in June.

61. Lambeth 1195 [xiv] 4°, 146 pages, paper, *mut.* at the beginning.

62. Lambeth 1196 *sic* [xiii] 4°, 438 pages, *mut.* at the end.

Five copies in all, with the lessons carefully indexed, apparently by Prof.
Carlyle (*see* p. 230).

p. 304, Apost. 74, line 6. For p. 300, read p. 301.

p. 305. Apost. 78 should now receive the asterisk indicating collation.

p. 307, line 10. Add Θ^h (p. 153) to list of Greek and Arabic manuscripts.

p. 315, line 10. For p. 312 read p. 314.

p. 339, note 2, line 2. For 344 read 346.

p. 358, line 5. The proper class mark of the Bushworth MS. is *Auct. D. ii. 19.*

p. 363. Prebendary Wordsworth is now Canon of Rochester, and Oriol
Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture.

p. 386, last line but one. For (15) read (16).

p. 533, last line. For "their" read "his."

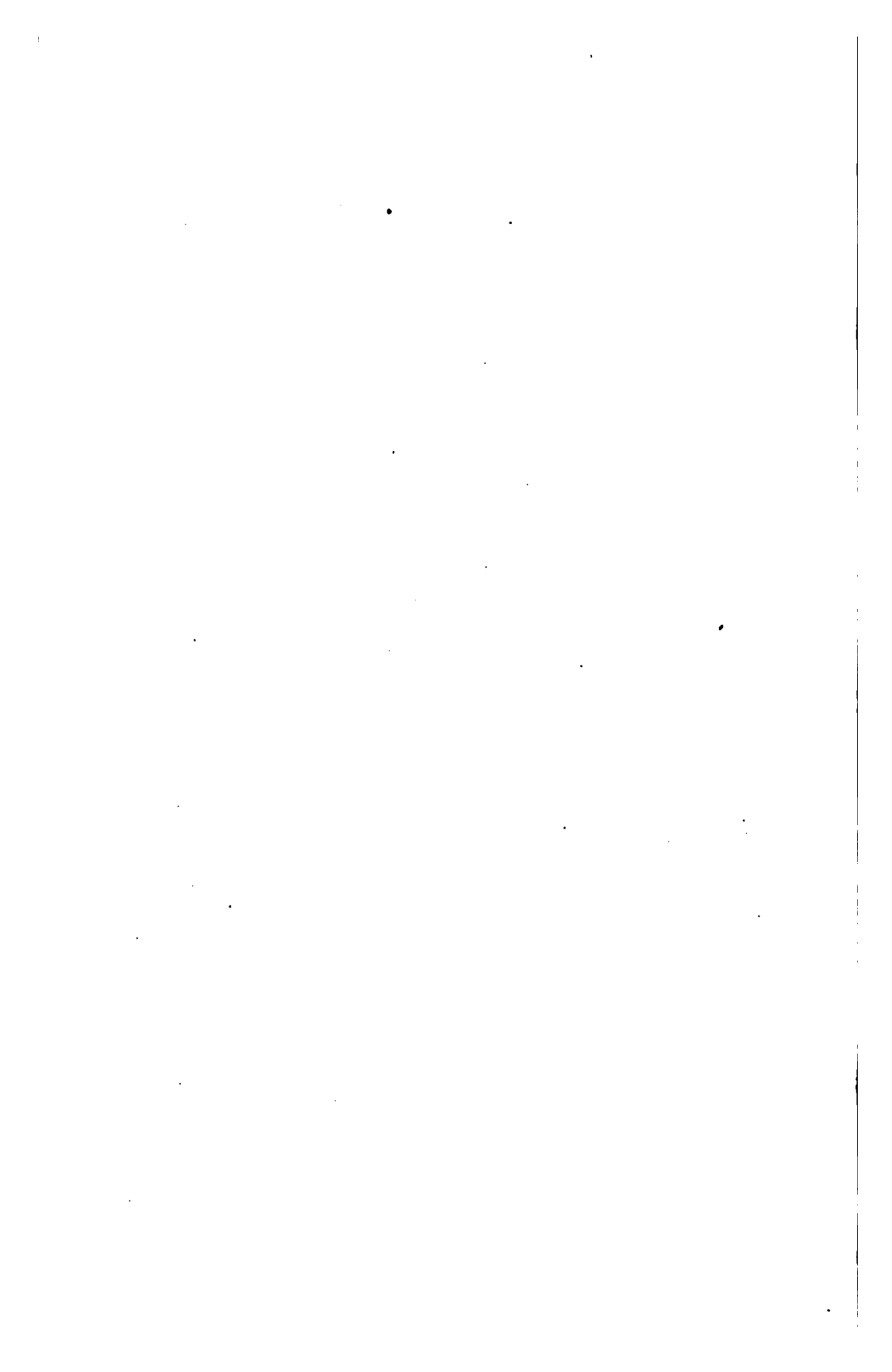
p. 535, line 9. Dele the stop after "standard."

p. 543, line 26. This interpolation occurs also in *mac-regol* and *Oxon. C. C.*
(p. 358), not in *Bodl.* (p. 355).

p. 564, line 26. For 42 read 49.

p. 612, line 11. Burgon's Cod. 629 (*see* Appendix) also has the *pericope* at
the end of the Gospel.

ibid. line 33. Mr J. R. Harris (*see above* Addenda on p. 86, l. 23) thinks that
the true place for the *pericope* is between ch. v. and ch. vi., as for other reasons
which we cannot depend upon, so from our illustrating the mention of the
Mosaic Law in ch. viii. 5 by ch. v. 45, 46.



APPENDIX

(see Postscript to the Preface, p. ix).

EVANGELIA.

622. (Act. 242, Paul 290, Apoc. 110) Crypta Ferrata, A. a. i. [xiii or xiv], foll. 386, bombycinus, a beautiful codex of the entire New Testament. Described by the custodian Rocchi (*Codices Cryptenses, &c.* 1882), pp. 1, 2.

623. Crypta Ferrata, A. a. ii. [xi], foll. 337, a beautiful codex brought from Corcyra in 1729. Described by Rocchi, pp. 2—4.

624. Crypta Ferrata, A. a. iii. [xi], foll. 234 in 2 columns, a beautiful codex: written probably at Rhegium.

625. Crypta Ferrata, A. a. iv. [xi], foll. 245: from S. John xix. 21 in a more recent hand.

626. Crypta Ferrata, A. a. v. [xi], foll. 176: with beautiful Eusebian tables. Described by Rocchi, pp. 5, 6.

627. Crypta Ferrata, A. a. vi. [xi], foll. 209. Begins at S. Matth. xiii. 28. Described by Rocchi, pp. 6, 7.

628. Crypta Ferrata, A. a. viii. [xiii], foll. 118: S. Luke and S. John *mut.* Described by Rocchi, p. 8.

629. Crypta Ferrata, A. a. xvii. [xii], foll. 69. A fragment only, beginning at S. Luke xix. 35. The *pericope de adulteris* is supplied at the end of the codex—imperfect after verse 6.

630. Messina (Public University Library) PA (Evst. 361) [xrv], foll. 260, *chart*, beautifully illuminated, with exquisite Eusebian tables of Canons. All in good preservation.

631. Messina PE [xiii], 8vo. foll. 125, S. Luke i. to xxii. with a Commentary.

632. Berlin (Hamilton Library). No. 244 in the printed Catalogue, where it is assigned to xiith cent., and described as a 4to. codex, superbly illuminated and adorned with effigies of S. Matthew and of the Virgin and Child, on gold ground. The Eusebian Canons written in gold between human figures standing on columns supporting arched Arabesque friezes finely painted in gold and colours.

633. Paris 227 *Suppl.* [xvi or xvii], foll. 212. Only Amm., *τιτλ.*, a Western codex.

634. Paris 911 *Suppl.*, written A.D. 1043, by Euphemius *δωαγνώστης*, in black, blue and red ink. S. Luke, Greek and Arabic, in 2 columns. Only Amm.

635. Berlin 4to. 39 [xii]. Note, that the *pericope de adulterâ* is found in this Evan. as well as in Evan. 636, 637, 638, 641 and 642.
636. Berlin 4to. 47 [xiii], with Eusebian Canons.
637. Berlin 4to. 55 [xiii].
638. Berlin 4to. 66 [xii].
639. Berlin 4to. 67 [xi].
640. Berlin 8vo. 3 [xii].
641. Berlin 8vo. 4 [xi]. Contains from S. Matth. ii. 15 to S. John xix. 32.
642. (Act. 252. Paul 302) Berlin 8vo. 9 [xi]: probably once contained all the New Testament. It begins now with S. Luke xxiv. 53: *mut.* after 1 Thess.
643. Vat. 350 [xi or xii], foll. 313 *folio*, beautifully illuminated: "scriptus tempore Comnenorum." With Menology.
644. Vat. 384, *chart*, foll. 135. S. Mark, with Victor of Antioch's Commentary.
645. Vat. 526, foll. 352. S. Matthew, with Commentary of Chrys. Part I. II. III. Written in A.D. 1566. *folio*.
646. Vat. 527 [xvi], foll. 382. S. Matthew, with Commentary of Chrys. *folio*.
647. Vat. 528 [xiv], *chart*, foll. 404. Same contents as the last.
648. Vat. 529 [xii], foll. 263. Same contents as Evan. 646.
649. Vat. 530 [xiii], foll. 377. Same contents as Evan. 646.
650. Vat. 531 [xiii], foll. 232. Same contents as Evan. 646.
651. Vat. 532 [xiv], foll. 396. Written by one 'Callistus.' Same contents as Evan. 646.
652. Vat. 533 [xiii], foll. 296. *Chart*. Same contents as Evan. 646.
653. Vat. 534 [xi or xii], foll. 365. Same contents as Evan. 646. It formerly belonged to the monastery of Petra or the Forerunner at C.P.
654. Vat. 535 [xii], foll. 299. Same contents as Evan. 646.
655. Vat. 537 [xii], foll. 213. S. John, with Commentary of Chrys. Same history as Evan. 653.
656. Vat. 538 [x], foll. 364. Same contents as the last.
657. Vat. 539 [x], foll. 179: the first 19 in a more modern hand. Same contents as Evan. 655.
658. Vat. 540 [x], foll. 196. Same contents as Evan. 655. At the beginning and end 4 leaves in uncial writing.
659. Vat. 541, written by one 'Ignatius,' in A.D. 1371. *Chart*, foll. 338. Same contents as Evan. 655.
660. (Apos. 114) Vat. 542, written in A.D. 1331: foll. 369. S. John, with Commentary of Chrys. Also, the Apocalypse, with Commentary of Andreas.
661. Vat. 543 [xii], foll. 233. S. John, with Commentary of Chrys. *folio*.
662. Vat. 544, written by the monk of Antonius at the bidding of Dositheus, A.D. 1143, palimpsest: foll. 157. Same contents as the last. *folio*.
663. Vat. 545 [x], foll. 345. Same contents as Evan. 661. *folio*.
664. Vat. 546 [x], foll. 214. Same contents as Evan. 661. *folio*.
665. Vat. 547 [xvii], foll. 143. S. John, with Commentary of Chrys. S. Luke, with Commentary of Titus Bostr. *folio*.
666. Vat. 641, written by one 'Gerasimus,' A.D. 1287. *Chart*, foll. 467. The Gospels, with Theophylact's Commentary.
667. Vat. 642 [xii], foll. 180. S. Matthew and S. Mark, with Theophylact's Commentary.
668. Vat. 643 [xii], foll. 584. The Gospels, with Theophylact's Commentary.

669. Vat. 644, written by order of Michael Palaeologus, A. D. 1280, foll. 349. Same contents as the preceding. *Chart.*
670. Vat. 645 [xii], foll. 391. S. Luke and S. John, with Theophylact's Commentary.
671. (Paul 311) Vat. 647 [xv], foll. 338, *chart.* Gospels and Epistles, with Commentary of Theophylact.
672. Vat. 759 [xv], foll. 221, *chart.* S. Luke, with a Commentary.
673. Vat. 1068, written by one "Germanus," by order of the monk Theodoret, A. D. 1175. The Gospels, with a Commentary and Menology. *folio.*
674. Vat. 1090 [xvi], foll. 509. The Gospels, with Commentary of Peter of Laodicea. Part I. and II. *Chart.*
675. Vat. 1191 [xii], written by one 'Arsenius,' foll. 402. S. John, with Theophylact's Commentary.
676. Vat. 1221 [xii], foll. 400. The Gospels, with Theophylact's Commentary. *folio.*
677. Vat. 1271 [xii], foll. 104, with Commentary.
678. Vat. 1625 [xii], foll. 361 : a fine codex.
679. Vat. 1741 [xv], foll. 126. S. Mark, S. Luke, S. John, with a Commentary.
680. Vat. 1895 [xv], foll. 223.
681. Vat. 1909 [xvi], foll. 244, with a Commentary.
682. Vat. 1915 [x], foll. 88, with Commentary of Cyril and Chrys.
683. Vat. 1933 [xvii], foll. 624, *chart.* S. Luke, with a Catena.
684. Vat. 1996 (Basil 85) [xii], foll. 245, with a Commentary.
685. Vat. 2004 (Basil 43) [xii], foll. 293, with Commentary by Chrys.
686. Vat. 2028 (Basil 67) [xii], foll. 231, with Commentary by Chrys.
687. Vat. 2117 (Basil 156) [xi], foll. 164 : a beautiful Evangelium.
688. Vat. 2126 [x], foll. 339, came from the convent of S. Sylvester de Urbe. S. Matthew, with Commentary by Chrys.
689. Vat. 2138, foll. 91. "Fuit olim Cryptensis, scriptus A. D. 991, a Cyriaco Capuano."
690. Vat. 2160 [xi], foll. 180. "Venit e familia principe Romanæ & Alterii, cujus stemma argenteum in tegmine habet."
691. Vat. 2187 [xii], foll. 383, "olim Columnensis." S. John, with Commentary of Theophylact.
692. Vat. 2247, foll. 228 : a fine codex with pictures, "fuit Columnensis."
693. Vat. 2275 [xvi], foll. 137, *chart.* S. Matthew and S. Mark, with scholia.
694. Vat. 2290, A. D. 1197, foll. 218 : a splendid codex. It has been numbered 2161.
695. Alexand. Vat. 2 [xii], foll. 326. S. John, with Commentary of Chrys. "Fuit monasterii τοῦ μεγάλου Σπηλαιου in Achaia."
696. Alexand. Vat. 3 [xiii], foll. 256. S. Luke and S. John, with Commentary of Chrys.
697. Alexand. Vat. 5 [xv], foll. 489, *chart.* S. Matthew, with a Commentary.
698. (Paul 324, Apoc. 117) Alexand. Vat. 6 [xvi], foll. 336. The Gospels, with Commentary of Nicetas of Naupactus; S. Paul, with Commentary of Theophylact; Apoc., with the Commentary of an anonymous writer.
699. Alexand. Vat. 9 [xi], foll. 297. S. John, with a Commentary.

700. Alexand. Vat. 14 [xi], foll. 394. S. Matthew, with Commentary of Chrys. *folio*.
701. Alexand. Vat. 36 [xvi], foll. 292, *chart*. S. John, with Commentary of Chrys.
702. Vat. Ottob. 10 [xi], foll. 359. Same contents as the preceding. Pars i. et ii. "Fuit olim Altemprianus."
703. Vat. Ottob. 37 [xii], foll. 248, with the Commentary of Theophylact. Pars i. et ii. "Fuit olim Altemprianus."
704. Vat. Ottob. 100 [xvi], foll. 105, *chart*. Portions of the Gospels, with Commentary.
705. Vat. Ottob. 208 [xv], foll. 255, *chart*. A fine Evangelium, with pictures.
706. Vat. Ottob. 401 [xii], foll. 162. S. Matthew, with Commentary of Chrys. Part i. and ii.
707. Vat. Ottob. 453 [xiii], *chart*. The Gospels, with Theophylact's Commentary.
708. Vat. Ottob. 454, like the preceding.
709. Vat. Ottob. 455, like the preceding.
710. Palatino-Vat. 2 [x], foll. 265. S. Matthew and S. Mark, with a Commentary.
711. Palatino-Vat. 28 [x], foll. 227, some *chart*. S. Matthew and S. Luke, with Commentary of Chrys.
712. Palatino-Vat. 30 [x or xi], foll. 253. S. Matthew, with Commentary of Chrys. *folio*.
713. Palatino-Vat. 33 [xi], foll. 181. S. John, with Commentary of Chrys. *folio*.
714. Palatino-Vat. 208 [xv], *chart*. S. John, with Theophylact's Commentary.
715. Palatino-Vat. 257 [x], foll. 370. S. Matthew, with Commentary of Chrys. *folio*.
716. Palatino-Vat. 273 [xv], foll. 274. S. Luke, with a Catena.
717. Palatino-Vat. 373 [xi], foll. 436. S. John, with Commentary of Chrys. *folio*.
718. Palatino-Vat. 382 [xi], foll. 382. S. Matthew, with Commentary of Chrys.
719. Urbin. Vat. 20, foll. 363, written by one 'Gregory,' A.D. 992. S. Matthew, with Commentary of Chrys.
720. Urbin. Vat. 21, foll. 392. Same history and contents as the preceding.
721. Urbin. Vat. 22 [xi], foll. 237, *mut*. S. John, with Commentary by Chrys.
722. Urbin. Vat. 23 [xvii], foll. 187, *chart*. Same contents as the preceding.
723. Angelic. B. 1. 5 [xi]. S. Matthew and S. Mark, with a Catena.
724. Angelic. B. 2. 9 [xii], foll. 239. S. John, with Commentary of Chrys.
725. Angelic. B. 1. 11 [xi], foll. 279. S. Matthew, with Commentary of Chrys. "In fine signatur nomen, Ἰωάννης Παλαιόλογος Κατακουζηνός."
726. Angelic. D. 3. 8 [xiii], foll. 442. S. Luke, with Commentary of Theophylact. See Bianchini (Vol. II. P. I. p. 563), where this codex is described by Vitali. It is figured opposite to p. 560. [Card. Passionei. Is this the same MS. as our Cod. 611?]
727. Barb. iv. 29 (*olim* 21) [xiv], foll. 227. With Theophylact's Commentary, *palimpsest*.
728. Barb. vi. 14 (*olim* 227) [xvi], foll. 380, *chart*. S. Matthew and S. John

with Origen's Commentary, viz. Tom. xxxi. on S. John, and xii. to xvii. on S. Matthew. Note that there is besides (viz. in Barb. iv. 52, *olim* 226) [xiv], foll. 363—Tom. xxxi. of Origen on S. John, and of Tom. xvii. of his Commentary on S. Matthew.

729. Barb. iv. 86 (*olim* 228) [x], foll. 381. S. John, with Cyril's Commentary.

730. Barb. iv. 77 (*olim* 210) [xvii], *chart.* S. John, with Books v. and vi. of Cyril's Commentary.

731. Barb. vi. 19 (*olim* 29) [xii], foll. 376, a large and very fine codex, undated. S. John's Gospel, with 59 Homilies of Chrys.

732. Borgian. L. vi. 10, A. D. 1301, foll. 165. The Gospels, with Menologium. "Birchius eo usus est:" but he makes no mention of it.

733. Vallicell. C. 7, foll. 142, with Theophylact's Commentary.

734. Vallicell. B. 16, foll. 265, *fragm.* S. John, with Commentary of Chrys. It is now missing.

735. Vallicell. D. 17 [x or xi], foll. 211. S. John, with Commentary of Chrys.

To the above list of Foreign Manuscripts I can now add two copies of the Gospels deposited in England:

736. Bought of Muller, the London bookseller, by H. B. Swete, D.D., Rector of Ashdon, Essex (*see* p. 632) [xi or xii], 4°, 254 leaves, 7½ inches by 6, in modern binding. After signature 28 seven leaves [xiv?] containing Jo. xviii. 39, *ὡμίη ἴνα* to end are supplied. *Syn., men.* on the first 19 leaves, *prot.,* metrical verses, *κεφ. τ., κεφ.,* but no *Am. Eus.*, since the book was designed for Church use, and has full rubrical directions inserted in the body of the text in red ink, which has miserably faded. In the margin are textual corrections, some *primâ manu.* The readings are sometimes curious: (*see below*, p. 614, note 2).

737. Oxford, Bodl. Cod. Gr. Misc. 314 (Auct. T *infra* i. 4), found at Rhodes in 1882, procured through Mr Edmund Calvert, and made known to me by Messrs E. B. Nicholson and F. Madan of the Bodleian [xi] small 4°, 118 leaves. *Κεφ. τ., κεφ., Am., Eus., lect. Mut.* Matth. i. 1—xxi. 1; Luke xv. 4—Jo. ix. 11; xiii. 3—xv. 10; xvi. 21—xxi. 25. A later hand [xiii] supplies Luke iii. 25—iv. 11; vi. 25—42 in palimpsest, over writing not much earlier than itself. There is a Harmony at the foot of the pages (*see* p. 128), and *Am., Eus.* besides.

ACT., CATH. EPP.

240. (Paul. 282, Apoc. 109) Paris 'Arménien 9' (*olim* Reg. 2247). A bilingual codex.

241. (Paul. 283) Messina PKZ [xii], *chart.*, foll. 224, *mut.* Begins at Acts viii. 2, ends at Hebrews viii. 2. Has a commentary.

242. (=Evan. 622, Paul. 290, Apoc. 110) Crypta Ferrata.

243. (Paul. 291) Crypta Ferrata, A. β. i. [x], foll. 139, in two columns. Mat. to I John v.

244. (Paul. 292) Crypta Ferrata, A. β. iii. [xi or xii], foll. 172, in two columns.

245. (Paul. 298) Crypta Ferrata, A. β. vi. [xi], foll. 198, *mut.* at the end.

246. (Paul. 294) Vat. 1208. Abbate Cozza-Luzi confirms Berriman's account (pp. 98, 99) of the splendour of this codex. It is written in gold letters and is said to have belonged to Carlotta, Queen of Jerusalem, Cyprus, and

Armenia, who died at Rome, A.D. 1487, and probably gave this book to Pope Innocent VIII, whose arms are painted at the beginning. It contains effigies of S. Luke, S. James, S. Peter, S. John, S. Jude, S. Paul.

247. (Paul. 295) Palatino-Vat. 38 [xi].
 248. (Paul. 298) Berlin (Hamilton) (No. 625 in printed Catalogue, where it is erroneously called a 'Lectionarium'). It contains the Acts, Cath. Epp., and S. Paul, as Dr C. de Boor informs us. See above, p. 301.
 249. (Paul. 299) Berlin, 4to, 40 [xiii], same contents as the preceding.
 250. (Paul. 300) Berlin, 4to, 43 [xi], same contents as the preceding, but commences with the Psalms.
 251. (Paul. 301) Berlin, 4to, 57 [xv], *chart.*, same contents as Act. 248.
 252. (=Evan. 642, Paul. 302) Berlin.
 253. (Paul. 304) Vat. 369 [xiv], foll. 226, *chart.*
 254. Vat. 548 [xvii], foll. 303, with commentary of Chrys.
 255. (Paul. 316) Vat. 1654 [x or xi], foll. 211, with commentary of Chrys.
 256. (Paul. 322) Vat. 2099 (Basil. 138) [x], foll. 120. Though numbered from 'Acts', it contains only the Cath. Epp.
 257. Vatt. Ottob. 445 [xi], foll. 307, with commentary of Chrys.
 258. Palatino-Vat. 11 [xiv], foll. 333, *chart.*, with commentary of Chrys.
 259. (Paul. 332) Barb. iii. 86 (*olim* 22) [xi], foll. 328.
 260. (Paul. 333) Barb. iii. 10 (*olim* 259) [xiv], foll. 296, *chart.*, excerpts, which begin at fol. 152, *mut.* at the end.
 261. (Paul. 336) Casanatensis G. ii. 6, Catholic and Pauline Epistles with a catena.

PAUL.

282. (= Act. 240, Apoc. 109) Paris. 283. (= Act. 241) Messina.
 284. (= Act. 195) Modena. 285. (= Act. 196) Modena.
 286. Milan E. 2 *inf.* The catena of Nicetas "textus particulatim præmittit commentariis."
 287. Milan A. 241 *inf.*, "est catena ejusdem auctoris ex initio, sed non complectitur totum opus."
 288. Milan D. 541 *inf.* [x or xi]. Text and catena on all S. Paul's Epistles, "textus continuatus, catena in marginibus." It was brought from Thessaly.
 289. Milan C. 295 *inf.* [x or xi], with a catena. "Textus continuatus, catena in marginibus."
 290. (=Evan. 622, Act. 242, Apoc. 110) Crypta Ferrata.
 291. (= Act. 243) Crypta Ferrata. 292. (= Act. 244) Crypta Ferrata.
 293. (= Act. 245) Crypta Ferrata. 294. (= Act. 246) Vat.
 295. (= Act. 247) Palatino-Vat.
 296. Barberini iv. 85 (*olim* 19), written A.D. 1324. For my knowledge of this codex, I am indebted to Berriman, p. 102.
 297. Barberini vi. 13 (*olim* 229) (xi), foll. 195, with scholia.
 298. (= Act. 248) Berlin. 299. (= Act. 249) Berlin.
 300. (= Act. 250) Berlin. 301. (= Act. 251) Berlin.
 302. (=Evan. 642, Act. 252) Berlin.
 303. Milan N. 272 *inf.*, "excerpti loci." 304. (= Act. 253) Vat.
 305. Vat. 549 [xii], foll. 360, with Theophylact's commentary.
 306. Vat. 550 [xii], foll. 290, Romans with commentary of Chrys.

307. Vat. 551 [x], foll. 288, some of S. Paul's Epistles with Commentary of Chrys.
308. Vat. 552 [xi], foll. 155, Hebrews with Commentary of Chrys.
309. Vat. 582 [xv], foll. 146, with Commentary of Chrys.
310. Vat. 646 [xv], foll. 250, *chart.*, with Commentary of Theophylact and Euthymius, Pars I et II.
311. (=Evan. 671) Vat.
312. Vat. 648, written A.D. 1232 at Jerusalem by Simeon "qui et Saba dicitur", foll. 338, *chart.*
313. (=Act. 239) Vat. 652.
314. Vat. 692 [xii], foll. 93, *mut.* Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, with Commentary.
315. Vat. 1222 [xvi], foll. 437, with Theophylact's Commentary.
316. (=Act. 255) Vat.
317. Vat. 1656 [xii], foll. 182, Hebrews with Commentary of Chrys., *folio.*
318. Vat. 1659 [xi], foll. 444, with Commentary of Chrys.
319. Vat. 1971 (Basil. 10) [x], foll. 247, *en τοῖς τοῦ Ἑβραίου.*
320. Vat. 2055 (Basil. 94) [x], foll. 292, with Commentary of Chrys.
321. Vat. 2065 (Basil. 104) [x], foll. 358, Romans with Commentary of Chrys.
322. (=Act. 256) Vat. 2099 (Basil. 138).
323. Vat. 2180 [xv], foll. 294, *chart.*, with Commentary of Theophylact.
324. Alexand. Vat. 4 [x], foll. 256, Romans with Commentary of Chrys. "Fuit monasterii dicti."
325. (=Evan. 698, Apoc. 117) Alexand. Vat.
326. Vat. Ottob. 74 [xv], foll. 291, *chart.*, Romans with Theodoret's Commentary.
327. Palatino-Vat. 10 [x], foll. 268, with a Patristic Commentary, "Folkman adnotat."
328. Palatino-Vat. 204 [x], foll. 181, with Commentary of Œcumenius.
329. Palatino-Vat. 325 [x], foll. 163, *mut.* Timothy with Commentary of Chrys.
330. Palatino-Vat. 423 [xii], partly *chart.*, Coloss. and Thessalon. with Commentary.
331. Angelic. T. 8. 6 [xii], foll. 326, with Commentary of Chrys.
332. (=Act. 259) Barberini.
333. (=Act. 260) Barberini.
334. Barb. v. 38 (*olim* 30) [xi], foll. 219, *mut.* Hebrews with Commentary of Chrys.
335. Vallicell. F. 9 [xv], *chart.*, with Commentary.
336. (=Act. 261) Casanatensis.

APOCALYPSE.

109. (=Act. 240, Paul. 109). Paris.
110. (=Evan. 622, Act. 242, Paul. 290). Crypta Ferrata.
111. Dresden A. 124 [xv]. 112. Dresden A. 187 [xvi].
113. Messina PA, 8vo foll. 138. Text with Commentary of Œcumenius.
114. (=Evan. 660). Vat.
115. Vat. 1882 [xvi], foll. 211. Greek and Latin.

116. Vat. 1976 (Basil 15), [xvii], foll. 114, *chart.*, with Commentary of Andreas.
117. (= Evan. 698, Paul. 324). Alexand. Vat.
118. Vat. Octob. 283. 'Scriptus A.D. 1572 a Jo. Euripoto.' With Commentary of Andreas.
119. Palatino-Vat. 346 [xv], foll. 86. With Commentary of Andreas, *folio*.
120. Angelic. A. 4. I, A.D. 1447, *chart.* With Commentary of Andreas.
121. Angelic. B. 5. 15 [xv], *chart.*
122. Ghig. R. V. 33 [xiv], foll. 347, *chart.* With Commentary of Andreas and Eecumenius,

EVANGELISTARIA.

300. Messina ZA (*intus* PA), foll. 318, 2 columns [xii], with musical notes, *folio*.
- †301. Messina ZB [viii or ix], foll. 256, *fragm., folio*.
302. Messina ZE (*intus* K) [xiii], foll. 186, *mut.* at beginning and end.
303. Messina OS [xii], foll. 298.
304. Messina OH (*intus* SZ), A.D. 1148, foll. 275.
305. Messina PB [xii], 2 columns, foll. 223, written at Messina by Nilus the monk in the monastery of S. Salvador: he records (at p. 26 b) the earthquake which happened 26 Sept. 1173, Codex Græco-Siculus.
306. Messina PT [xiv], fol., *chart.*, written by three different calligraphers.
307. Messina PH, foll. 184, in 2 columns, *mut.* at beginning, breaking off at 24 Sept. in the menology: *folio*.
308. Messina PIA (*intus* PS) [xii], 4to, foll. 119, in 2 columns, *mut.* at beginning and end.
309. Messina PKS (*intus* PΘ) [xii], 4to, foll. 146, in 2 columns, *mut.* as before.
310. Messina PAH (in fol. 8 PMA) [xiii], 4to, foll. 187, in 2 columns, *mut.* as before.
311. Messina SB (*intus* PZ) [xiii], foll. 186, in 2 columns, *mut.* from pp. 42 to 75: *folio*.
312. (Apost. 112). Messina, *fragm.*
313. Crypta Ferrata, A. a. vii. [xii], foll. 45 in 2 columns; *σαββαροκυπ.* mutilated.
314. Crypta Ferrata, A. a. ix. [xii], foll. 292, *mut.* 2 columns; a beautiful codex, and very full in its lections.
315. Crypta Ferrata, A. a. x. [xi or xii], foll. 246, a very beautiful codex, with musical notes: 2 columns.
316. Crypta Ferrata, A. a. xi. [xv], foll. 181, *mut.* *σαββαροκυπ.*
317. Crypta Ferrata, A. a. xii. [xiv], foll. 97, *mut.*
318. Crypta Ferrata, A. a. xiii. [xv], foll. 62, *mut.*
319. Crypta Ferrata, A. a. xiv. [xii], foll. 73, *mut.*
320. Crypta Ferrata, A. a. xv. [xi], foll. 69. Closely resembles Evst. 83.
321. Crypta Ferrata, A. a. xvi. [x or xi], foll. 65, in 2 columns, *fragm.*
322. (Apost. 90) Crypta Ferrata, A. β. ii. [xi], foll. 259, with many excerpts from Fathers.
323. (Apost. 91) Crypta Ferrata, A. δ. ii. [x], foll. 155, *mut.*
324. Crypta Ferrata, A. δ. iii. [xii], foll. 107.

325. (Apost. 92) *Crypta Ferrata*, A. δ . iv. [xiii], foll. 257. Written by 'Johannes Rossanensis'. Contains lections from Old and New Testament.
326. *Crypta Ferrata*, A. δ . v. [xi], foll. 162, *mut.*
327. (Apost. 93) *Crypta Ferrata*, A. δ . vi. [xiii], foll. 87, *mut.*
328. (Apost. 94) *Crypta Ferrata*, A. δ . ix. [xii], foll. 117, in 2 columns, *mut.*
329. *Crypta Ferrata*, A. δ . x. [xi], foll. 83.
330. *Crypta Ferrata*, A. δ . xi. [xii—xv], lessons from Old and New Testament.
331. *Crypta Ferrata*, A. δ . xvi. [x], foll. 284, *palimpsest.*
- +332. *Crypta Ferrata*, A. δ . xvii. [x], *palimpsest*, foll. 25, *mut.*
- +333. *Crypta Ferrata*, A. δ . xix. [x], *palimpsest*, foll. 39, *mut.*
334. (Apost. 95) *Crypta Ferrata*, A. δ . xx. [xii], foll. 21, *mut.*
335. *Crypta Ferrata*, A. δ . xxi. [x], *palimpsest*, foll. 97, *mut.*
336. *Crypta Ferrata*, A. δ . xxii. [x or xi], *palimpsest*, foll. 113, *mut.*
- +337. (Apost. 96) *Crypta Ferrata*, A. δ . xxiv—*fragmentary*, and partly uncial and *palimpsest.*
338. *Crypta Ferrata*, Γ . a. xviii. [xvii], foll. 170, *Evangelia $\epsilon\omega\theta\upsilon\omega\delta$.*
339. (Apost. 97) *Crypta Ferrata*, Γ . β . ii. [xi], contains only a few lections.
340. (Apost. 98) *Crypta Ferrata*, Γ . β . iii. [xv], foll. 201. Contains only a few lessons.
341. (Apost. 99) *Crypta Ferrata*, Γ . β . vi. [xiii or xiv], foll. 101. Contains only a few lections.
342. *Crypta Ferrata*, Γ . β . vii. [ix or x], foll. 178. Contains only a few lections.
343. *Crypta Ferrata*, Γ . β . viii. [xii], foll. 145. Contains only a fragment.
344. (Apost. 100) *Crypta Ferrata*, Γ . β . ix. [xvi], foll. 95. Contains only a few lections.
345. *Crypta Ferrata*, Γ . β . xi. [xii], foll. 20. Contains only a few lections.
346. (Apost. 101) *Crypta Ferrata*, Γ . β . xii. [xiv], foll. 98. Contains only a few lections.
347. (Apost. 102) *Crypta Ferrata*, Γ . β . xiii. [xiii], foll. 118. Written by 'Johannes Rossanensis'.
348. *Crypta Ferrata*, Γ . β . xiv. [xiii], foll. 54. *Euchologium* with a few lections.
349. (Apost. 103) *Crypta Ferrata*, Γ . β . xv. Contains only a few lections.
350. (Apost. 104) *Crypta Ferrata*, Γ . β . xvii. [xvi], foll. 269. The Saturday and Sunday lessons begin at fol. 121.
351. (Apost. 105) *Crypta Ferrata*, Γ . β . xviii. [xiv]. Contains very few lections.
352. (Apost. 106) *Crypta Ferrata*, Γ . β . xix. [xvi]. The *Apostolo-Evangeliarium* begins at fol. 16.
353. (Apost. 107) *Crypta Ferrata*, Γ . β . xxiii. [xvii]. It is an *Euchologium* with a few lections.
354. (Apost. 108) *Crypta Ferrata*, Γ . β . xxiv. [xvi] foll. 302.
355. *Crypta Ferrata*, Γ . β . xxxv. [xiii]. Contains only a few lections.
356. (Apost. 109) *Crypta Ferrata*, Γ . β . xxxviii. [xvii]. Contains only a few lections.
357. (Apost. 110) *Crypta Ferrata*, Γ . β . xlii. [xvi], foll. 844.
358. (Apost. 111) *Crypta Ferrata*, Δ . β . xxii. [xviii], foll. 77. Contains only a few lections.
359. *Crypta Ferrata*, Δ . γ . xxvi. [xviii]. The *Evangelia* [*$\epsilon\omega\theta\upsilon\omega\delta$*].

360. *Crypta Ferrata*, A. 3. vi. *Fragments*.
361. (=Evan. 630), Messina, PA. [xiv], part of a beautiful codex.
362. Syracuse ('Seminario'), 4to. [xi], foll. 255.
363. Lambeth 1194, has (on 218 pp.) 56 lessons from Gospels—48 from Acts and Epistles. [See above, Addenda, p. xvii].
364. Paris 27 *Suppl.*, A.D. 1234. S. John viii. 8—11 for Oct. 8th and April 1st, pp. 157, 6, 2.
365. Paris 50 *Suppl.* Contains only a few lections, given to the library by Napoleon III.
366. Paris 74 *Suppl.* [xiv or xv]. Formerly Huet's, who gave it to the Jesuits. Contains the *Evangelia lectionaria*. It is rather an *Euchologium*, and is of little value.
367. Paris 567 *Suppl.* Apparently modern. Given by the same to the library. Saturday and Sunday lections.
368. Hamilton (No. 245 in printed Catalogue, where it is described as a magnificent specimen, adorned with 12 large and 21 small miniatures, and stated to be of the xth cent.). Now at Berlin.
369. Hamilton (No. 246 *ibid.*). At the beginning of the volume is a fragment of a more ancient *Evangelium*, not extending beyond the Eusebian tables of Canons, superbly illuminated. [These MSS. are cursorily named above, p. 801, and Appendix, Acts 248].
370. Berlin, 51 fol. [xiii].
371. Berlin, 52 fol. [xii].
372. Berlin, 53 fol. [xii].
373. Berlin, 44, 4to. [xiii], ends with the Saturday of Pentecost.
374. Berlin, 61, 4to. [xiii], begins with the Saturday after Pentecost, and contains the *Menologium*.
375. Berlin, 64, 4to. [xii, xiii], mutilated at the commencement.
376. Vat. 352 [xi], foll. 244, with menology.
- +377. Vat. 353 [x], foll. 237. Gospel lections.
- +378. Vat. 355 [x], foll. 315.
- +379. Vat. 357 [x], foll. 322.
380. Vat. 362 [x], foll. 200.
381. (Apost. 117) Vat. 774 [xiii], foll. 160.
382. Vat. 781 [xii], foll. 152, "fuit Blasii prap. *Crypta Ferrata*."
383. Vat. 1534, a fine codex, foll. 223.
384. Vat. 1601 [xiii], foll. 193.
385. Vat. 1813 [xiii], foll. 266. *Evangelia lectionaria*.
386. Vat. 1886 [xiii], foll. 110.
387. (Apost. 118) Vat. 2012 (Basil 51), [xv], foll. 211. Contains only a few Gospel lections.
388. Vat. 2100 (Basil 139), [xv], foll. 79, with a Commentary.
389. Vat. 2129 [xv], foll. 701. Lections during Lent.
- +390. Vat. 2144 [viii?], foll. 193. Brought from Constantinople.
391. Vat. 2165 [xi], foll. 239. *Olim* 'Columnensis'.
392. Vat. 2167 [xiii], foll. 361. *Olim* 'Columnensis'.
- +393. Vat. 2251, *chart.* *Olim* 'Columnensis'. At the beginning and end, four leaves of an *Evst.* in uncial writing.
394. Alexand. Vat. 44 [xvii], *chart.*, foll. 355, by different hands, with a Commentary.

395. (Apost. 121) Alexand. Vat. 59 [xii], foll. 137. Gospels and Epistles for Holy Week.
1896. Vat. Ottob. 444 [viii or ix], two leaves in uncial writing, with fragments of Gospels.
397. Palatino-Vat. 1. Also a fragment in uncial writing.
398. Palatino-Vat. 221 [xiii], *chart.* Pars. i et ii, foll. 397: with the Commentary of Xiphilinus.
399. Palatino-Vat. 239 [xv], foll. 122: *chart.* with a Commentary.
400. (Apost. 123) Palatino-Vat. 241 [xv], foll. 149, *chart.* Contains only a few lections.
401. Pio-Vat. 33 [xiii], foll. 158, *mut.*
402. Urbino-Vat. 4 [xvii], foll. 126, *chart.*
403. Barberini iv. 43 (*olim* 184), [xii], foll. 221, beautifully illuminated.
404. Barb. iv. 30 (*olim* 223), [xii], foll. 223.
405. Barb. iv. 53 (*olim* 114), [xiii], foll. 161, *chart.*
406. Barb. iv. 13 (*olim* 82), [xii], foll. 143. Contains only a few lections.
407. Barb. iv. 25 (*olim* 233), [xiv], foll. 159. Contains only certain lections.
408. Barb. iv. 1 (*olim* 250), [xiv], foll. 323, *chart.* Contains only a few lections.
409. Barb. iii. 22 (*olim* 107), [xv], foll. 254, *chart.* Contains only a few lections.
410. (Apost. 124) Barb. iii. 129 (*olim* 234), [xiv], foll. 189.
411. Barb. vi. 18 (*olim* 360), [xii], beautifully illuminated with menology.
412. Borgia L. vi. 6 [xii], foll. 160, with menology.
413. Borgia L. vi. 9 [xii], folio, with menology: illuminated.
- †414. Ghig. R. vii. 52 [ix], 'cod. nobilissimus, charact. uncialibus: habet titulum *Hebdomadæ magnæ Officium Græcorum*: e CP. advectus est ad Conventum Collis Paradisi, et hinc ad Bibliothecam Chisianam.'

APOSTOLOS.

82. Messina III, foll. 331, 8vo., perfect.
83. Crypta Ferrata, A. β. iv. [x], foll. 139, Praxapostolos.
84. Crypta Ferrata, A. β. v. [xi], foll. 245, a most beautiful codex.
85. Crypta Ferrata, A. β. vii. [xi.], foll. 64, Praxapostolos.
86. Crypta Ferrata, A. β. viii. [xii or xiii], fragments of foll. 127, Praxapostolos.
87. Crypta Ferrata, A. β. ix. [xii], foll. 104. Praxapostolos.
88. Crypta Ferrata, A. β. x [xiii?], 16 fragmentary leaves, with unusual Saints' days.
89. Crypta Ferrata, A. β. xi. [xi], foll. 191, *mut.*
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|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 90. (=Evst. 322) Crypta Ferrata. | 91. (=Evst. 323) Crypta Ferrata. |
| 92. (=Evst. 325) Crypta Ferrata. | 93. (=Evst. 327) Crypta Ferrata. |
| 94. (=Evst. 328) Crypta Ferrata. | 95. (=Evst. 334) Crypta Ferrata. |
| 96. (=Evst. 337) Crypta Ferrata. | 97. (=Evst. 339) Crypta Ferrata. |
| 98. (=Evst. 340) Crypta Ferrata. | 99. (=Evst. 341) Crypta Ferrata. |
| 100. (=Evst. 344) Crypta Ferrata. | 101. (=Evst. 346) Crypta Ferrata. |
| 102. (=Evst. 347) Crypta Ferrata. | 103. (=Evst. 349) Crypta Ferrata. |
| 104. (=Evst. 350) Crypta Ferrata. | 105. (=Evst. 351) Crypta Ferrata. |
| 106. (=Evst. 352) Crypta Ferrata. | 107. (=Evst. 353) Crypta Ferrata. |

108. (=Evst. 354) *Crypta Ferrata*. 109. (=Evst. 356) *Crypta Ferrata*.
 110. (=Evst. 357) *Crypta Ferrata*. 111. (=Evst. 358) *Crypta Ferrata*.
 112. (=Evst. 312) *Messina, Fragm.*
 113. *Syracuse ('Seminario') chart. foll. 219, mut., given by the Card. Landolina.*
 114. (=Evan. 155) *Alex. Vat.*
 115. *Vat. 2068 (Basil 107), [xiii], foll. 232, Praxapostolos.*
 116. *Vat. 368 (Praxapostolos) [xiii], foll. 186.*
 117. (=Evst. 381) *Vat.* 118. (=Evst. 387) *Vat.*
 119. *Vat. 2116 (Basil 155) [xiii], foll. 111.*
 120. *Alexand. Vat. 11 (Praxapostolos), [xv], foll. 169.*
 121. (=Evst. 395) *Alexand. Vat.*
 122. *Alexand. Vat. 70, A.D. 1544, foll. 18: "in fronte pronunciatio Græca Latinis literis descripta."*
 123. (=Evst. 400) *Palatino-Vat.* 124. (Evst. 410) *Barb.*
 125. *Praxapost. Barb. iv. 11 (olim 193), A.D. 1566, chart., foll. 158.*
 126. *Praxapost. Barb. iv. 60 (olim 116), [xi], foll. 322; a fine codex with menologium.*
 127. *Barb. iv. 84 (olim 117), [xiii], foll. 185, with menologium, mut.*

[N.B. Out of the above list we observe two copies of the Gospels dated in the tenth century (Codd. 699, 719), and eight Evangelistaria (†301, †332, †333, †337, 342, †390, †396, 414), six being uncials, assigned to a yet earlier date, and no less than thirty-one probably referred to the tenth century. We have therefore no addition to make to the list of 97 uncial copies named above, p. 75, although the cursives now amount to 1997, viz. Gospels 737, Acts, Cath. Epp. 261, Paul. 336, Apocalypse 122, Evangelistaria 414, Apostolos 127, the whole amount of uncials and cursives together being 2094. The other manuscripts in the list will need re-examination by experienced critics before the foregoing descriptions can be fully depended upon. The sixty-six codices at Grotta Ferrata have been elaborately described in "Codices Cryptenses seu Abbatiae Cryptæ Ferratæ in Tusculano digesti et illustrati cura et studio D. Antonii Rocchi Hieromonachi Basiliani Bibliothecæ custodis," 4°, Libreria Spithöver Roma, 1882, whence we have made a few additions to Dean Burgon's Catalogue. In a brief *Monitum* on the cover Rocchi gives us a summary account of the Society of the Basilian monks, first settled at Rossano (where Cod. Z was found, see p. 158), then transferred to Latium in the eleventh century for fear of the Saracens, thence to Tusculum in 1504, where the monastery is said to occupy the site of Cicero's *Tusculanum*. It had the good fortune to escape sacrilegious hands at the recent suppression of religious houses in Italy, and "in nobiliora Italianæ nationis *Monumenta* accenseri placuit, nimirum...propter Codicum græcorum copiam, cui, nisi quæ habeatur in maximis Italianæ bibliothecis, alia præterea nulla facile sit comparanda."

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DESCRIPTION OF THE CONTENTS OF THE
LITHOGRAPHED PLATES.

N.B. The dates are given within brackets: thus [vi] means writing of the sixth century of the Christian era. For abridgements in the ancient writing, see p. 48. In later manuscripts Proper names are often distinguished by a horizontal line placed over them, but no such examples occur in these Plates.

PLATE I. Three alphabets selected from (1) the ROSETTA STONE (see p. 29) [B.C. 196], (2) the COD. SINAITICUS [iv], with HN abridged at the end (see pp. 30, 90), (3) the Cod. Alexandrinus [v], see p. 30.

PLATE II. Similar alphabets from (4) the COTTON FRAGMENT N (see p. 185), Titus C. xv [vi], and (5) from Cod. Nitrensis B (see p. 140), B. M. Add. 17211.

PLATE III. Similar alphabets from (6) Cod. Dublinensis Z (see p. 147), (7) Cod. Harleian. 5598 [dated A.D. 995], Evst. 150, see p. 288, (8) Cod. Burney 19 [x], Evan. 569, see pp. 41, 289. Above psi in (7) stands the crosslike form of that letter in Apoc. Cod. B. [viii]: see p. 176.

PLATE IV. (9) Extract from HYPÉRIDES' Δόγος ἐπιτάφιος (Babington, 1858), dating between B.C. 100 to A.D. 100, on Egyptian papyrus, in a running hand (see p. 40). λυτῶσ πνα τῶν πολίτων αἰκίως δεσμαι ὑμῶν και ἐτικῆκαι ἀντιβολικῆ κελευσαι καμε καλεσαι|τους συνερουντας >: see pp. 42, 48. (10) Extract from PHILODEMUS περὶ κακιῶν (*Herculapensium voluminum quae supersunt*, fol., Tom. III. Col. xx. ll. 6—15: see pp. 29, 31, 48). οὕτως πολυμαθεστατον προσ|αγορευομενον οἰεται παντα|δυνασθαι γινωσκειν και ποι|ειν ουχ οἶον εαυτων ος ερισω|ουδεν τι φωραται κατεχων | και ου συνωρων οτι πολλα δε|ιται τριβησαν και απο της αυ|της γινηται με-θοδου καθα|περ τα της ποιητικης μερη και | διοτι περι τους πολυμαθεισ|. (11 a) Cod. FRIDERICO-AUGUST. [iv], 2 Sam. vii. 10, 11, Septuagint. σεαντων καθωσ αρχησ και αφ ημερω| ων εταξα κριτας| επι τον λαον μου | ισλ και εταπνω|σα απαντας τους | εχθρους σου και | αυξησω σε και ο |: see pp. 80, 87. (11 b) Cod. SINAITICUS N [iv]. Luke xxiv. 33—4: τη ωρα ὑπεστρε|ψαν εισ ἱερουσα|λημ και ευρον η|θροισμενους τους | ενδεκα και τους | συν αυτοις λεγθ |: see pp. 80, 82 note 2, 48. (11 c) Cod. Sin. 1 Tim. iii. 16, το της ευσεβειας | μυστηριον ος ε with a recent correction: see p. 637. There are no capital letters in this Plate.

PLATE V. (12) Cod. ALEXANDRINUS. A [v] Gen. i. 1—2, Septuagint. These four lines are in bright red, with breathings and accents: see pp. 43—4, 96, 517 note 1. Henceforth capital letters begin to appear. Εν αρχη| ἐποίησεν ο̅ θ̅ς τον̅ ουραν̅ον και την̅ γη̅ν ἢ δε̅ γη̅ ἦν̅ ἀ|δρατος και ἀκατασκευαστος̅ | και σκότος̅ ἐπάνω της̅ αβύσσου. | (13) *Ibid.* Act. xx. 28, in common ink: see pp. 621, 623. Προσε-

χετε εαυτοις και παρτι τω | ποιμνω· εν ω υμας το πνα το | αγιον εθετο επισκοπουσ· |
 ποιμαινεν την εκκλησιαν|του κυ ην περιποιουσατο δια|του αιματος του ιδιου· | (14)
 Cod. COTTON. Titus C. xv, N of the Gospels [vi], see p. 135, and for the Ammonian section and Eusebian canon in the margin, p. 60. John xv. 20. του λογον
 ου | εγω ειπον υμων· ουκ εστιν | δουλος μεζω | του κυ αυτου.

PLATE VI. (15) Cod. BURNSEY 21 [dated A.D. 1292], Evan. 571, see pp. 41 and note 2, 239. John xxi. 17—8: προβατα μου· αμηρ αμηρ λεγω σοι· | οτε ησ νευτε-
 ρουσ, εξιωνυσεσ εαυτον και περιπατησ οπου ηθε|λεισ· οταν δε γηρδωσ, εκτενεισ |
 (16) Cod. ARUNDEL 547, Evst. 257 [ix or x], see pp. 33, 46, 296. The open work indicates stops and musical notes in red. John viii. 13—14: Αυτω δι φαρισαι |
 αι + συ περι σεαυτον | μαρτυρεισ η μαρ|τυρια σου· ουκ εστιν αληθησ + απει | (17)
 Cod. NITRIENSIS, B of the Gospels, a palimpsest [vi]: see pp. 25, 140 and note 2. Luke v. 26. ξαζων τον θν | και επλησθησαν φοβου λε|γωντες οτι|.

PLATE VII. (18) Cod. DUBLIN. Z of the Gospels, a palimpsest [vi] from BARRÉTT; see pp. 147—9. Matth. xi. 33—4: ανοσιγωσιν οι οφθαλμοι ημων |
 Cπλαγχιωσθεισ δε ο ιω | ηψατο των ομματω | αυτων και ευθεωσ|. (19) Cod. CYPRIUS, K of the Gospels [ix], John vi. 52—8: 'Εμάχοντο ούν προς άλληλους δι ιουδαίωι
 λε|γωντες· πως δυναται ούτος ημίν την σάρ | κα δούναι φαγειν· ειπεν ούν αυτοίσ ο ισ·
 α|. For the margin see p. 133.

PLATE VIII. (20) Cod. VATICANUS, B of the Gospels, Acts and Epistles [iv], see p. 104, taken from Burgon's photograph of the whole page. Mark xvi. 3—8: μίν τών λιθών εκ τής | θήρας τού μνημείου | και αναβλέψασαι θεω|ρούσων οτι
 άνακεκλισται ο λιθος ην γάρ | μέγας σφόδρα και ελ|θούσαι εις τó μνημείο|ον ειδον
 νεανισκον | καθήμενον εν τóωι | δεξιόωι περιβεβλημένον στολήν λευκήν | και εξεθαμ-
 βήθησαν | ο δε λέγει αυτοίωσ μη | εκθαμβείσθε εϋ ζητει | τε τόν ναζαρηνόν τó | εσταυ-
 ρωμένον ηγήρηθη ουκ εστιν ωδε ιδε | ο τόπος οπου εθηκά | αυτών άλλα υπάγετε |
 ειπατε τóωσ μαθητáωσ | αυτοσ και τώ πέτρω | οτι προάγει υμάσ εις | την γαλιλιάν
 εκεί αυτών εψεσθε καθώσ ειπεν υμίν και εξελθούσαι εφυγον από τού | μνημείου
 ειχεν γάρ | αυτáωσ τρόμος και εκστασισ και ουδενι ουδεν ειπον εφοβού|το γάρ:
 Here again, as in Plate IV, no capital letters appear. What follows on the Plate is by a later hand.

PLATE IX. (21) Cod. REGIUS 62, L of the Gospels [viii], as also (23) below, are from photographs given by Dean Burgon: see pp. 133—4. In the first column stands Mark xvi. 8 with its proper section (σλγ or 233) and Eusebian canon (β or 2): Καλ εξελθουσαι εφυγον απο τ.υ.μνημειου + ει|χεσ δε αυτασ τρομοσ και
 κωστασεισ· | και ουδενι ουδεν | ειπον + εφοβου|το γάρ· + In the second column, after the strange note transcribed by us (p. 584) εστιν δε και | ταυτα φερωμενα
 μετα το | εφοβου|το γαρ + | 'Αναστας δε πρωι|πρωτη σαββατs + (ver. 9). Xi much resembles that in Plate XI, No. 27. (22) Cod. NANNIANUS, U of the Gos-
 pels, retraced after Tregelles. Burgon (*Guardian*, Oct. 29, 1873) considers this facsimile unworthy of the original writing, which is "even, precise and beau-
 tiful." Mark v. 18: Βάντος αυτου | εις τó πλωϊω | παρεκλειε αυτών ο δαιμο|
 νισθεισ ινα. For the margin see p. 144: add that Cod. U has *Capr.*, *Eus. t.*, *κεφ. t.*, *τίτλωσ, κεφ., pict.*, with much gold ornament. (23) Cod. BASIL. of the Gospels, Evan. 1, [x?], see pp. 41, 179. Luke i. 1, 2 (the title: εναγγε|λιον κατά λουκαν·
 being under an elegant arcade): Cπειδηπερ πολλοι επεχειρησαν αναταξασθαι | διή-
 γησω περι τών πεπληροφορημένων | εν ημίν πραγματων· καθώσ παρεδωσαν ημι | οι
 άπαρχησ αυτáωσ και ύπηρεται γενόμενοι|. The numeral in the margin must indicate the Ammonian section, not the larger κεφάλαιον (see p. 55).

PLATE X. (24) COD. EPHRAEMI, C, a palimpsest [v], from Tischendorf's *facsimile*: see pp. 25, 117, 638. The upper writing [xii?] is τοῦ τῆν πληθύν τῶν ἐμῶν ἁμαρτημῶν || σομαι· οἶδα ὅτι μετὰ | τῆν γνώσιν ἡμαρτων. translated from S. Ephraem the Syrian. The earlier text is 1 Tim. iii. 15—6: *ωμὰ τῆσ ἀληθείασ* | *Καὶ ομολογουμενὸσ μέγα ἔστιν τὸ τῆσ ἐνσεβειασ μυστηριον· ἧγ ἔφανερωθη ἐν σαρκὶ ἐδικαιωθῆ ἐν πνι.* For the accents &c. see p. 119. (25) COD. LAUD. 35, E of the Aots [vi], Latin and Greek, see pp. 159—61, in a sort of stichometry (p. 52). Act. xx. 28, *regere* | *ecclesiam* | *domini* || *πομερειν* | *τῆν ἐκκλησιαν* | *τοῦ κυ.* Below are specimens of six letters taken from other parts of the manuscript. (26) Matth. i. 1—3, Greek and Latin, from the Complutensian Polyglott, A. D. 1514: see p. 424.

PLATE XI. (27) COD. BASIL., E of the Gospels [viii or vi], from a photograph given by Dean Burgon, Mark i. 5—6: *Πρὸσ αὐτὸν. πᾶσα ἡ ἰουδαία* | *χωρὰ. καὶ οἱ ἰεροσολυμίται·* | *καὶ ἐβαπτίζοντο πάντες,* | *ἐν τῷ ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ἐξομολογούμενοι τὰσ ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν·* | *Ἡδὲ δὲ ὁ ἰωάννης ἐνδεδυμένοσ.* The harmonising references below are explained above, p. 128, the punctuation p. 46. The next two specimens are retraced after Tregelles: see p. 41, note 1. (28) COD. BORKELI, F of the Gospels [ix or x], see pp. 128—9. Mark x. 13 (Ammonian section only, ρ5 or 106). *Καὶ προσέφερον* | *αὐτῷ παῖδια* | *ἵπ' ἀψῆται αὐτῶν· οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ ἐπετίμων.* (29) COD. HARLEIAN. 5684, G of the Gospels [x], see pp. 130—1. Matth. v. 30—1: *βληθῆ· εἰσ γεινῶν· ἴε τῆσ λε* [see p. 129]. | *Ἐρρηθη δέ·* "Οτι ὁσ | ἀν' ἀπολυση τῆν | γυνῆκα αὐτοῦ· | ἄρ (ἀρχῆ) stands in the margin of the new lesson. (30) COD. BODLEIAN., A of the Gospels [x or ix], in *slipping* uncials, see pp. 39 note, 154. Luke xviii. 26, 27 and 30. *σῶντες· καὶ τίσ,* | *δύναται σωθῆναι·* | *ὁ δὲ ἴσ. εἶπεν·* || *τοῦτω· καὶ ἐν | τῷ αἰῶνι τῷ ἐρχομένῳ ζῆν.*

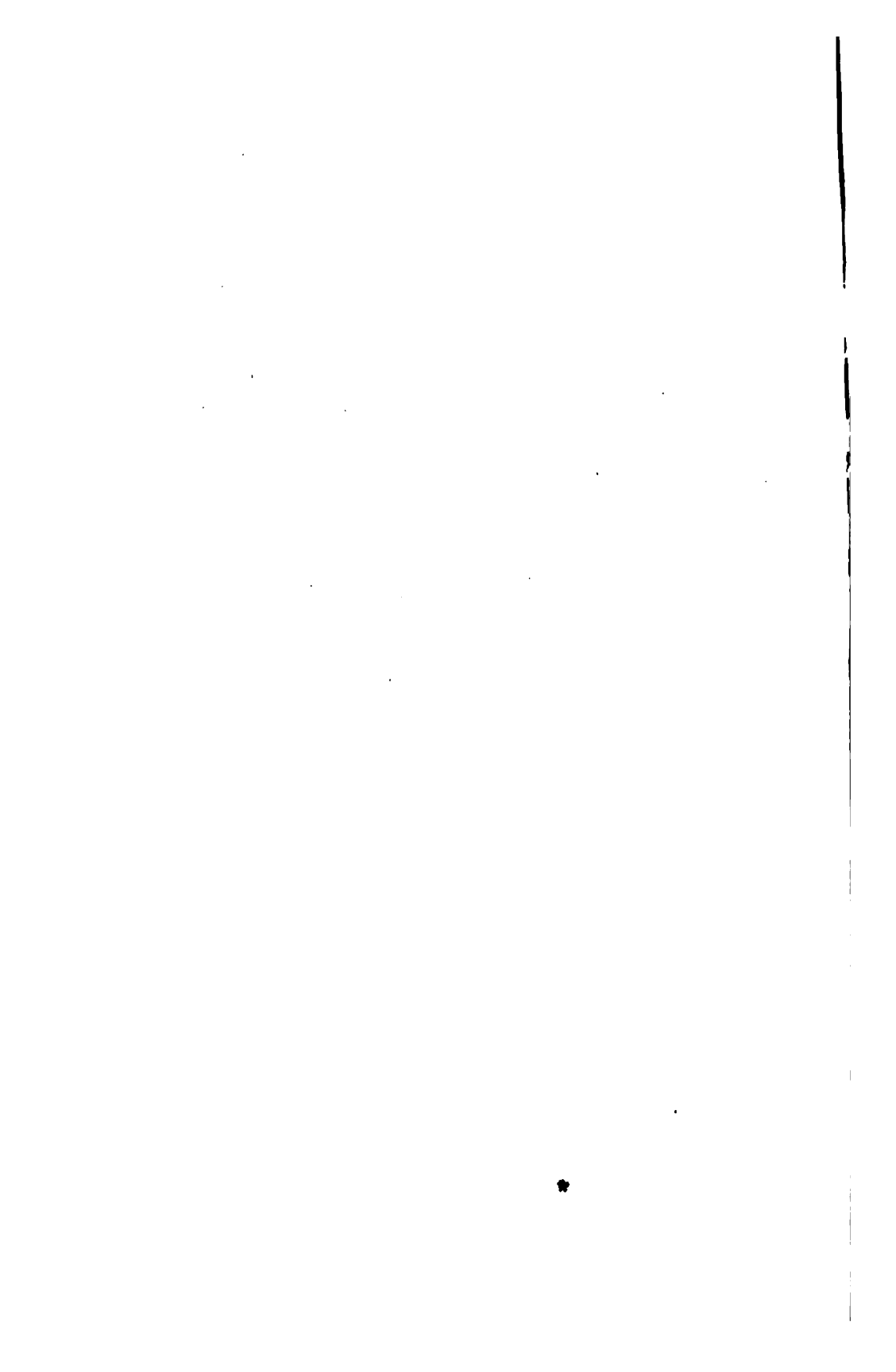
PLATE XII. (31) COD. WOLFFI B, H of the Gospels [ix], see pp. 130—1. John i. 38—40: *τοῦσ ἀκολουθοῦντας λέγει αὐτοῖσ + τι ζητεῖτε + οἱ δε· εἶπον αὐτῷ + ραββί· ὁ λέγειται ἐρμηνευόμενον διδάσκαλε τοῦ μένεις + λέγει αὐτοῖσ + ἔρχεσθε καὶ ἴετε + ἡλ.* Retraced after Tregelles: in the original the dark marks seen in our *facsimile* are no doubt red musical notes. (32) COD. CAMPIANUS, M of the Gospels [ix], pp. 134—5, from a photograph of Burgon's. John vii. 53—viii. 2: *Καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν ἑκαστοσ: εἰσ τὸν οἶκον | αὐτοῦ· ἴσ δὲ ἐπορεύθη εἰσ τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν· ὄρθρον δὲ πᾶλ.* The asteriak and *v* (for ὑπαγε) are referred to in p. 611. (33) COD. EMMAN. COLL. CANTAB. Act. 53, Paul. 30 [xii], see pp. 49, 251. This minute and elegant specimen, beginning Rom. v. 21, *χρ τοῦ κυ ἡμῶν* and ending vi. 7, *δεδικαιώται ἄ,* is left to exercise the reader's skill. (34) COD. RUBEZ, M of St Paul [x], see pp. 173—4. 2 Cor. i. 3—5: *παρακλήσεωσ ὁ παρακαλῶν | ἡμᾶσ ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῆσ θλίψει· εἰσ τὸ | δύνασθαι ἡμᾶσ παρακαλεῖν | τοῖσ ἐν πάσῃ θλίψει διὰ τῆσ παρακλήσεωσ ἧσ παρακαλούμεθα αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν θῦ. ὅτι καθὼσ.* (35) COD. BODLEIAN., Γ of the Gospels [ix], see pp. 39 note, 149. Mark viii. 33: *πιστραφεισ καὶ ἰδὼν τοῖσ μαθητᾶσ αὐτοῦ. ἐπετίμησεν τῷ | πέτρῳ λέγων. ὕπαγε ὀπίσω μτ.*

PLATE XIII. (36) PARHAM. 18, Evst. 234 [dated A. D. 980], see pp. 41 note 8, 295. Luke ix. 34. *γοντοσ ἐγένετο νεφέλη καὶ ἐπεσκίασεν | αὐτοσ ἐφοβήθησ.* Annexed are six letters taken from other parts of the manuscript. (37) COD. BURNBY 22, Evst. 259 [dated A. D. 1319], see pp. 41, 297. The Scripture text is Mark vii. 30: *βεβλημέν ὡσ ἐπὶ τῆν κλίσην ἔ | τὸ δαμόνιον ἐξεληλυθῶσ:—*The subscription which follows is given at length in p. 42, note 1. (38) COD.

ΜΟΝΑΧΚΗΣΙΣ, X of the Gospels [ix], see p. 146: retraced after Tregelles. Luke vii. 25—8: *τίους ἡμφιεσμένον· ἴδου δὲ | ἐν ἱματισμῷ ἐνδοξῷ καὶ τρυφῇ ὑπάρχοντες ἐν τοῖς βασιλεί | οἱσ ἐσίν· ἄλλα τί ἐξεληλυθα |*. (39) Cod. REQUIS 14, or 33 of the Gospels, see pp. 41, 183: from a photograph of Burgon's. Luke i. 8—11: *ξεῖ τῆς ἐφημερίας αὐτῶν ἕνατι τοῦ κυ κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς ἱερατείας. Ἐλαχεν τοῦ θυμῶ|σαι εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ κυ· καὶ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἦν περ λαῶν προσευχόμενον ἔξω τῆ | ᾠρα τοῦ θυμῶματος· ᾤφθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος κυ ἐστῶς ἐκδεξιῶν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, τῶν θυ|. (40) Cod. LEICESTRENSIS, 69 of the Gospels, Paul. 37 [xv], see pp. 23, 26, 42, 190, 637. 1 Tim. iii. 16: *τῆς εὐσεβεί(?)ας μυστήριον· ὁ θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί· ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι· ᾤφθη ἀγγέλοις | ἐκηρύχθη ἐν ἔθνεσιν· ἐπί|εβήθη ἐν κόσμῳ ἀνελή—*.*

PLATE XIV. Contains specimens of open leaves of the two chief bilingual manuscripts. (41) Cod. CLAROMONTANUS or D of S. Paul's Epistles (1 Cor. xiii. 5—8), pp. 163—6. (42) Cod. BEZÆ or D of the Gospels and Acts (John xxi. 19—23), pp. 120—7. For the stichometry, see pp. 50—52. On the breathings, &c. of the Pauline *facsimile* (which we owe to Dean Burgon's kindness) see p. 165. These codices, so remarkably akin as well in their literary history (see p. 122, note 2) as in their style of writing (pp. 124, 165) and date (vι or v), will easily be deciphered by the student. (43) Cod. ROSSANENSIS or Σ of the Gospels (pp. 157—9), though as yet most imperfectly known, and that through no fault of the scholars who brought its existence to light, is one of the most interesting, as it is the latest of our discoveries. Our passage (the only complete one published) is Matth. vi. 13, 14: *πονηροῦ σι | σου ἐστιν ἡ βα|σιλεια καὶ ἡ δυν|αμις καὶ ἡ δο|ξα εἰς τοὺς αἰ|ῶνας ἀμην. | Ἐὰν γὰρ ἀφήτε | τοὺς ἀνο|ισ τὰ | παραπτωματα |*. In the margin below the capital Ε is the proper Ammonian section μδ (44) and the Eusebian canon 5 (6). For *ανοισ* see p. 48. All is written in silver on fine purple vellum.

The reader will have observed throughout these specimens that the breathings and accents are usually attached to the *first* vowel of a diphthong.



(1)

Α Β Γ Δ Ε Ι Η Θ Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ξ Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ Φ

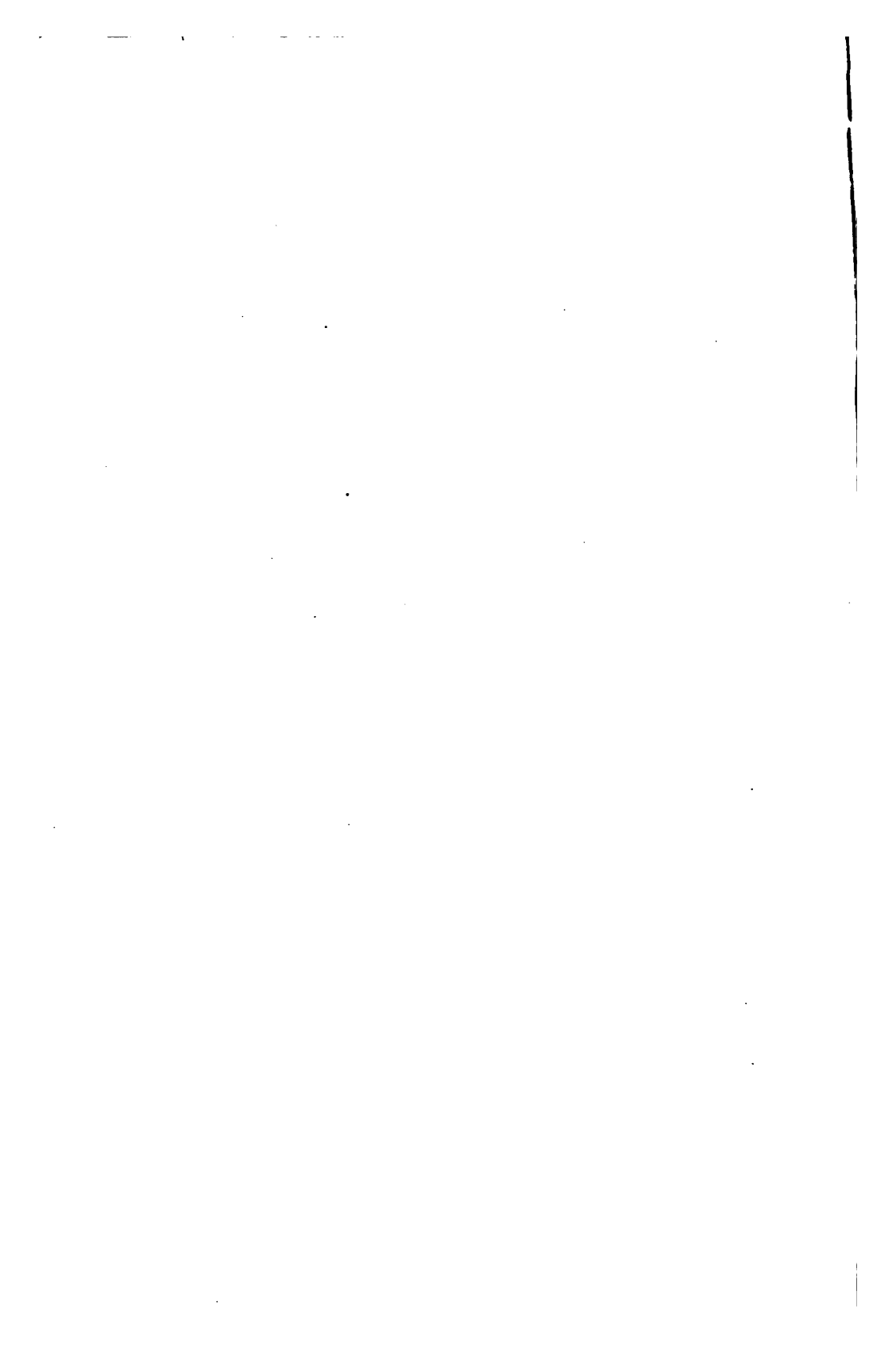
Χ Ψ Ω.

(2)

Α Β Γ Δ Ε Ζ Η Θ Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ξ Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ Φ Χ Ψ Ω Η

(3)

Α Β Γ Δ Ε Ζ Η Θ Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ξ Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ Φ Χ Ψ Ω.

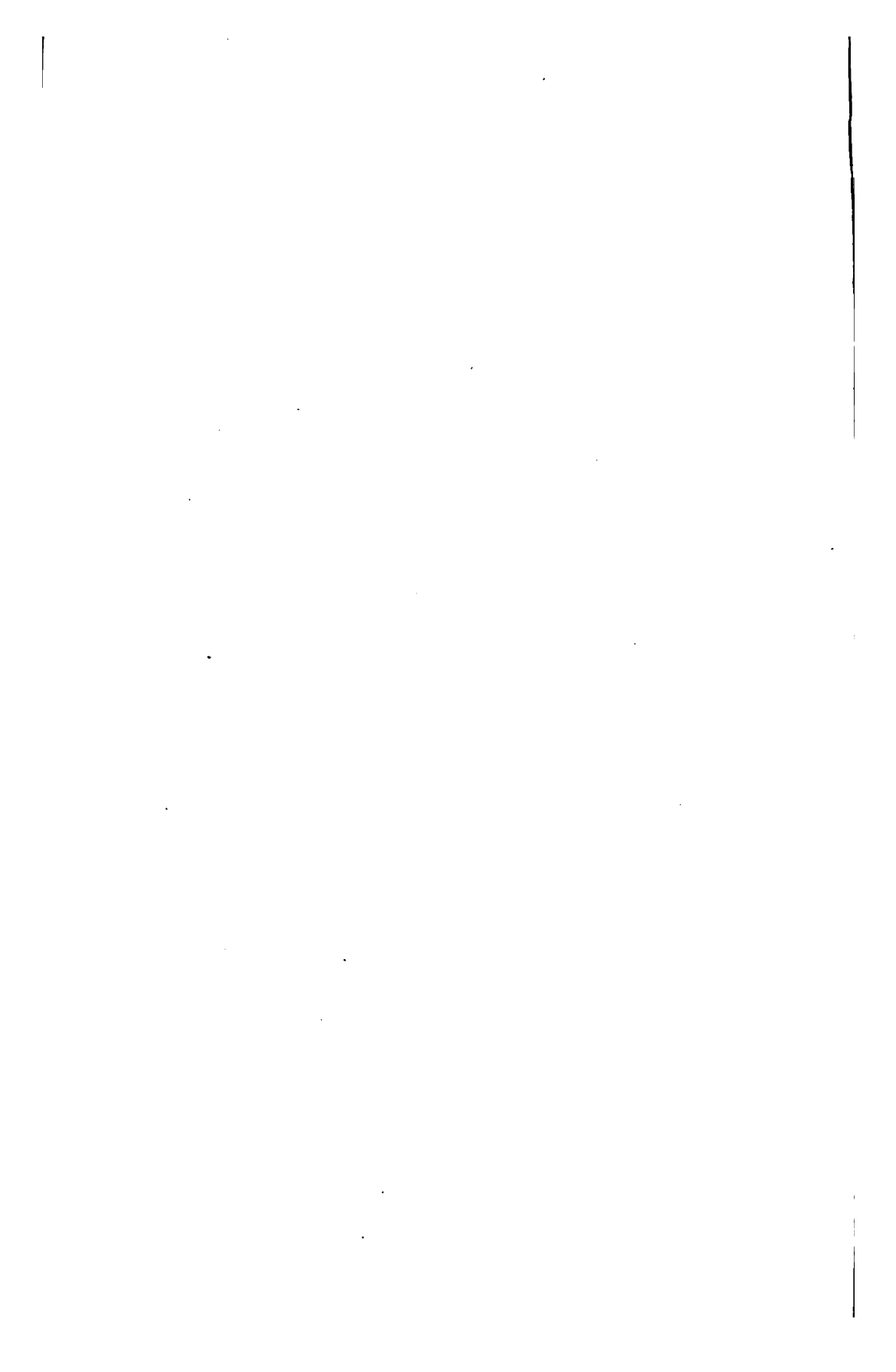


(4)

Α Β Γ Δ Ε Ζ Η Θ Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν
Ξ Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ Φ Χ Ψ Ω

(5)

Α Β Γ Δ Ε Ζ Η Θ Ι Κ Λ Μ
Ν Ξ Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ Φ Χ Ψ Ω



1

2

(9)

ΛΗΝ ΓΑΣΤΡΗΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΠΙ
 ΛΠΩΝ ΔΑΙΚΩΣ ΔΕΘ
 ΜΝΥΜΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΩΙ
 ΚΩΛΗΤΗ ΒΟΛΩΙ ΚΕ
 ΛΕΥΣΗ ΙΟΜΕΤΑΛΣΗ
 ΤΟΥΣ ΥΝΕΡΟΥΝΤΑΣ

(10)

ΟΝ ΤΩΣ ΠΟΛΥΜΑΘΕΣ ΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΠΙ
 ΑΓΟΡΕΥΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΟΙΕΤΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΑ
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 ΠΕΡ ΤΑΤΗΣ ΣΠΟΙΗΤΙΚΗΣ ΜΕΡΗ ΚΑΙ
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(II a)

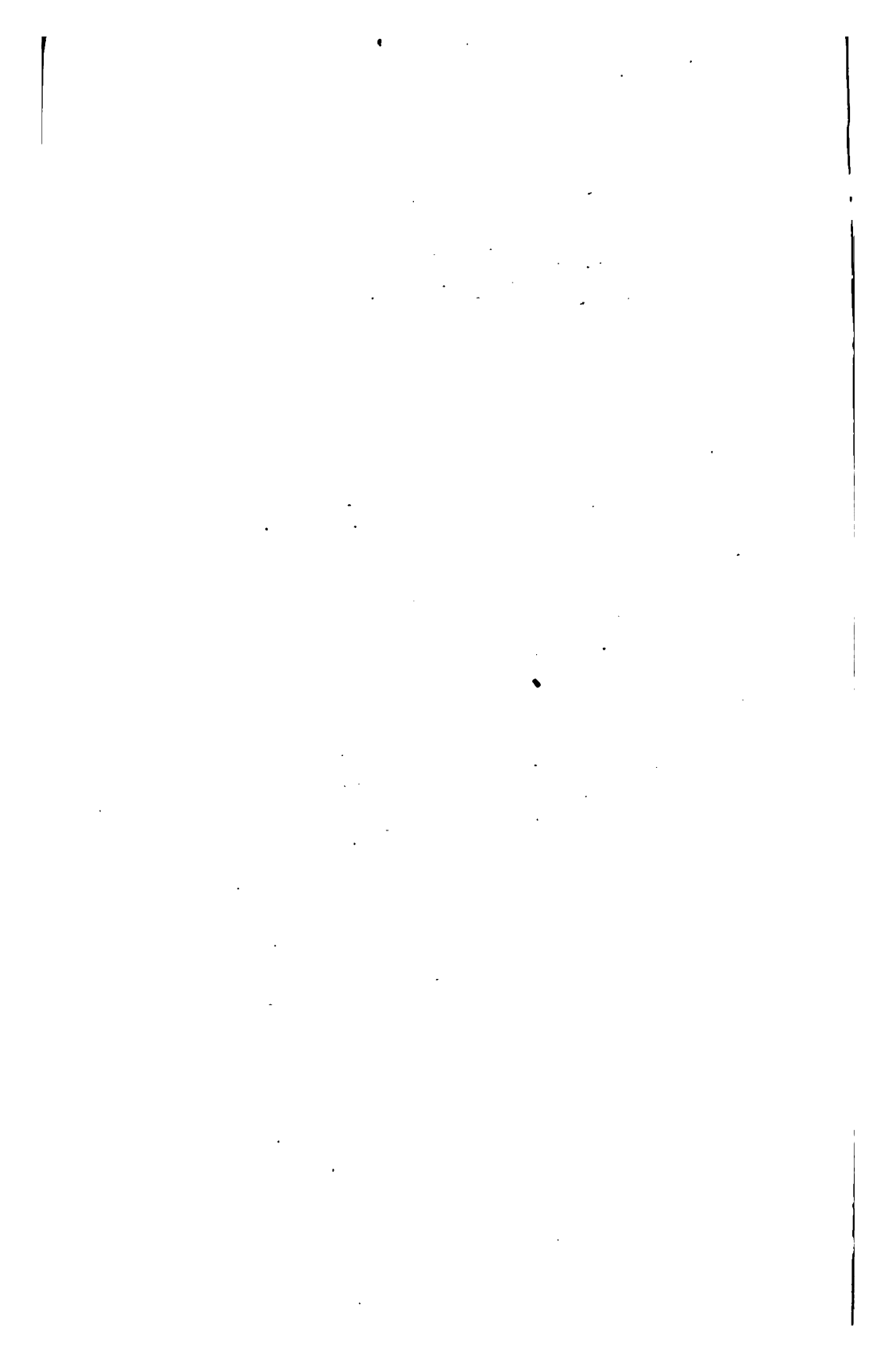
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 ΣΑ ΠΑΝΤΑΣ ΤΟΥΣ
 ΕΧΘΡΟΥΣ ΣΟΥ ΚΑΙ
 ΛΥΣΗ ΣΩΣΕ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ

(II c)

(II b)

ΤΗΩ ΡΑΥ ΠΕΣΤΡ
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ΤΟΤΗ ΣΕΥΣ ΕΒΕΛΑΣ
 ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΟΣΕ



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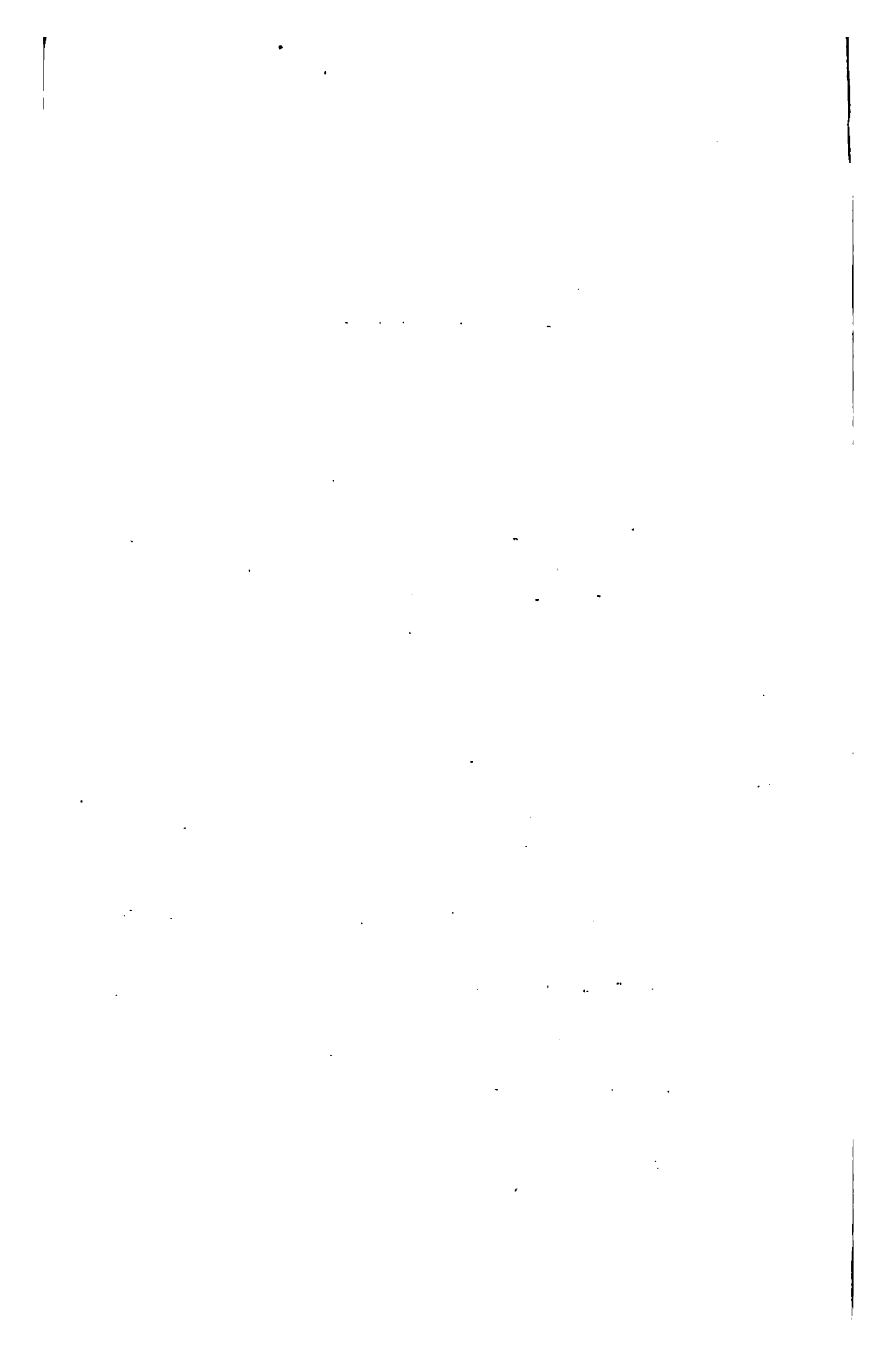
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ΤΤΟΣ ΕΧΕΤΕ ΕΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΚΑ ΠΑΝΤΙ ΤΩ
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(14)

ΡΛΘ
 Γ ΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΟΥ
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(15)

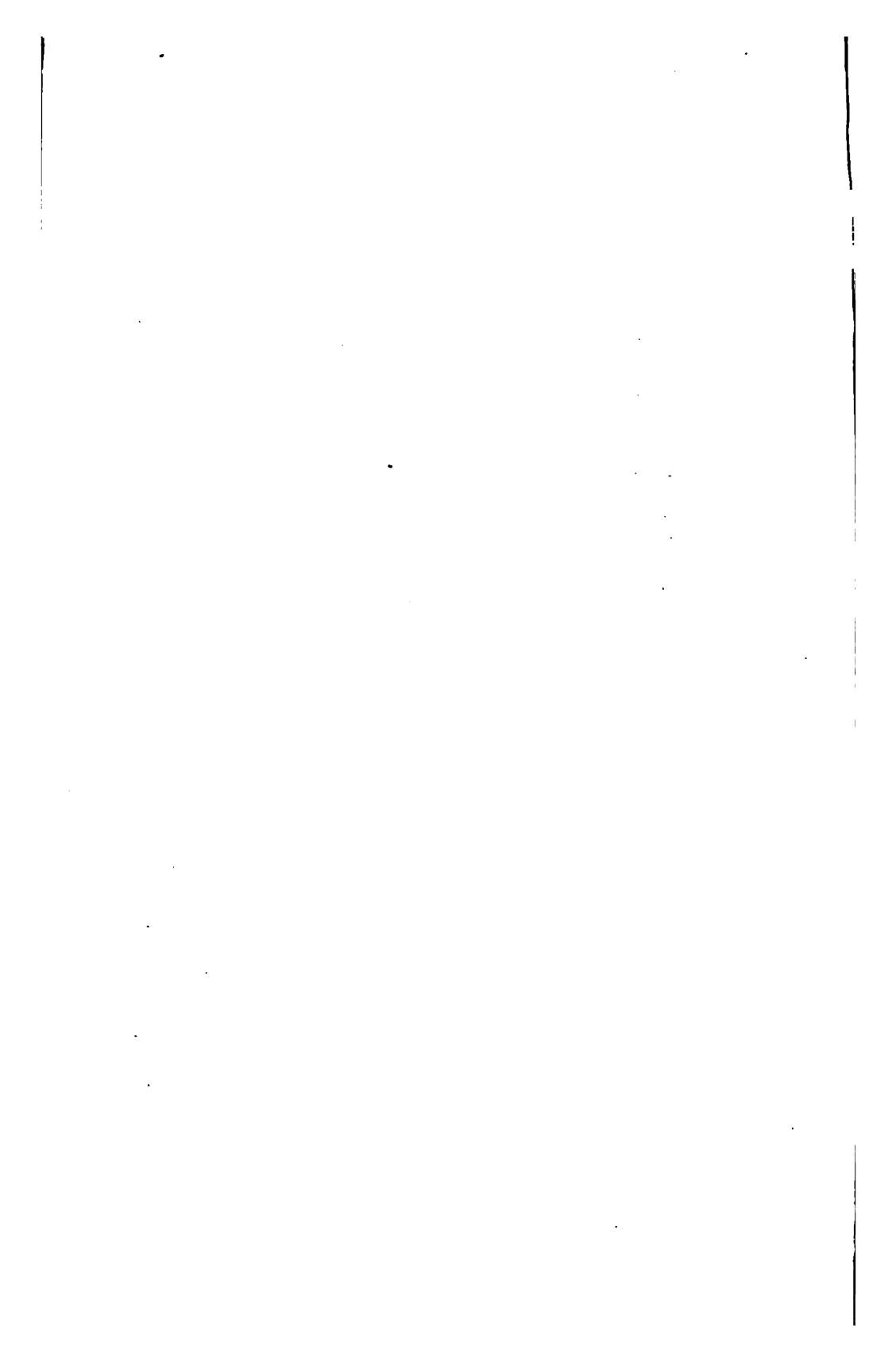
πρὸ πατρίμου· ἀμβλῶ ἀμβλῶ / ἄσοο
 ὅτ' ἢ σ' ἢ β' ὅτ' ἢ τ' ἢ ρ' ὅτ' ἢ ζ' ὅτ' ἢ δ' ὅτ' ἢ θ'
 αὐτῶν· ἢ αὐτῶν ἢ β' ἢ γ' ἢ δ' ἢ ε' ἢ ς' ἢ ζ' ἢ δ'
 λ' ὅτ' ἢ αὐτῶν ἢ β' ἢ γ' ἢ δ' ἢ ε' ἢ ς' ἢ ζ' ἢ δ'

(16)

ΑΥΤῶΙΦΑΡΙΣΑΙ
 ΟΥΝ ΠΕΡΙΣΕΑΥΤῶΝ
 ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΙΣ ἩΜῶΝ
 ΤΥΡΙΑΣ ΟΥΝ ΚΕΙ
 ΤΙΝ ΑΛΗΦΗ ΣΑΠΕ

(17)

ΖΑΖΟΝΤΟΝΕΝ
 ΚΑΙ ΕΠΑΗΣΘΗ
 ΣΑΝΦΟΒΟΥΛΕ
 ΓΟΝΤΕΣΟΤΙ



(18)

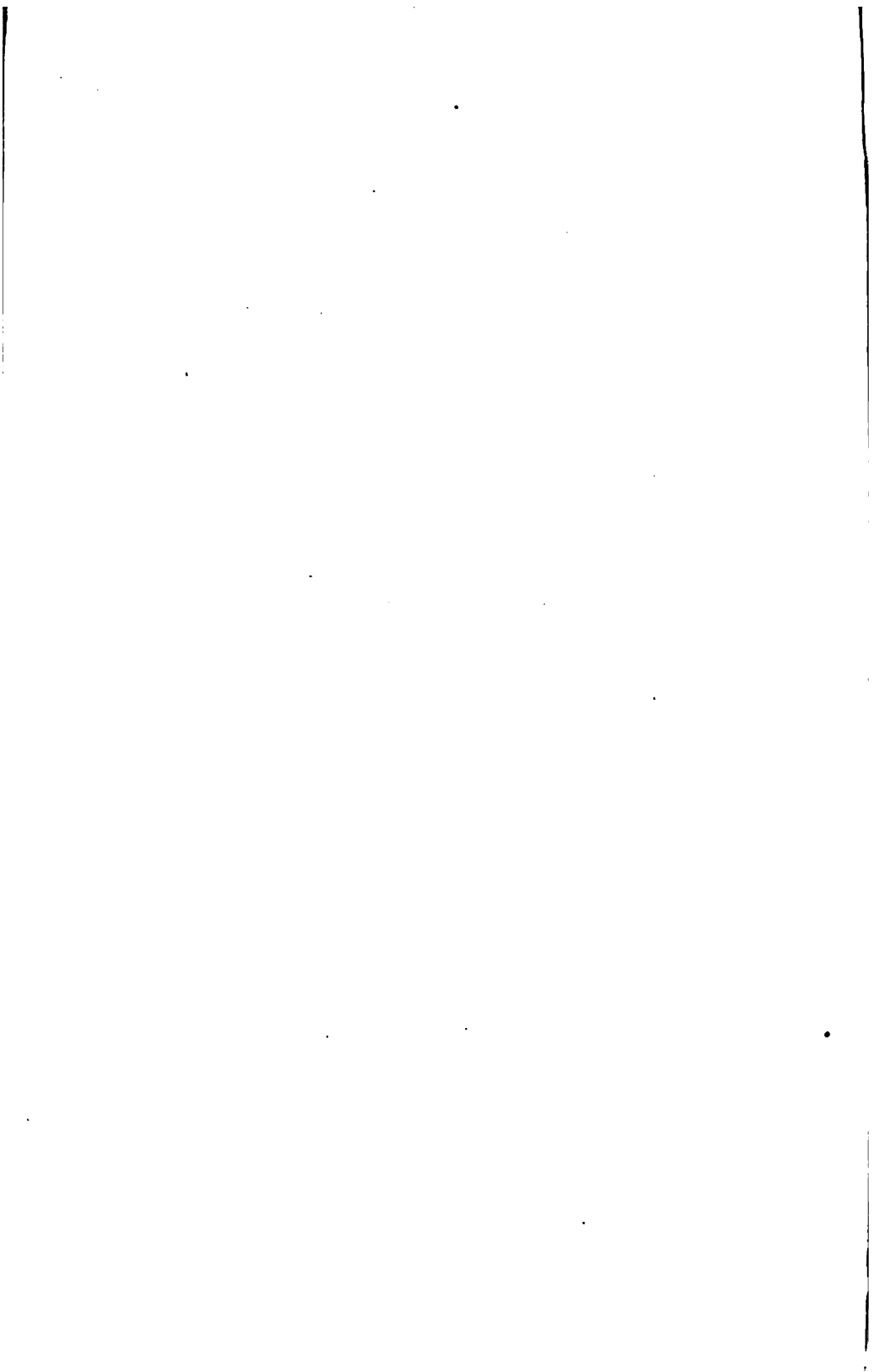
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ΣΤΡΑΤΑΧΝΙΣΘΕΙΣΔΕΘΙΣ
ΗΨΑΤΟΤΩΝΟΠΠΑΤΩ
ΔΥΤΩΝ ΚΑΙΕΥΘΕΩΣ

(19)

ἘΜΑΧΟΝΤῸΥΝΠΡΟΣΜῆΝΟΥΣΟΪΟΥΔΑΙΟΙ ΔΕ
ΓΟΝΤΕΣ ΠΡΟΣΑΥΝΑΤΑΪΟΥΤῸΓΗΝΑΙΝ ΤῆΝΣΑΡ
ΚΑΔΟΥΝΑΙΦΑΓΕΙΝ· ΕΙΠΕΝΟΥΝΑΥΤΟΙΣΟΙΣ· Α

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ΚΑΙ ΕΞ ΕΛΠΙΤΟΥΣΑΙΣ
 ΦΥΓΟΝΑΠΟΤΟΥ
 ΛΙΝΗΜΕΙΟΥ· ΕΙ
 ΧΕΝΔΕΑΥΤΑΣΤΡΟ
 ΚΛΟΣΙΣΑΙΘΚΕΤΑΣΕΙΣ·
 ΚΑΙ ΟΥΔΕΝΙΟΥΔΕΝ
 ΕΙΠΟΝ· ΕΦΟΒΟΥΝ
 ΤΟΓΑΡ·
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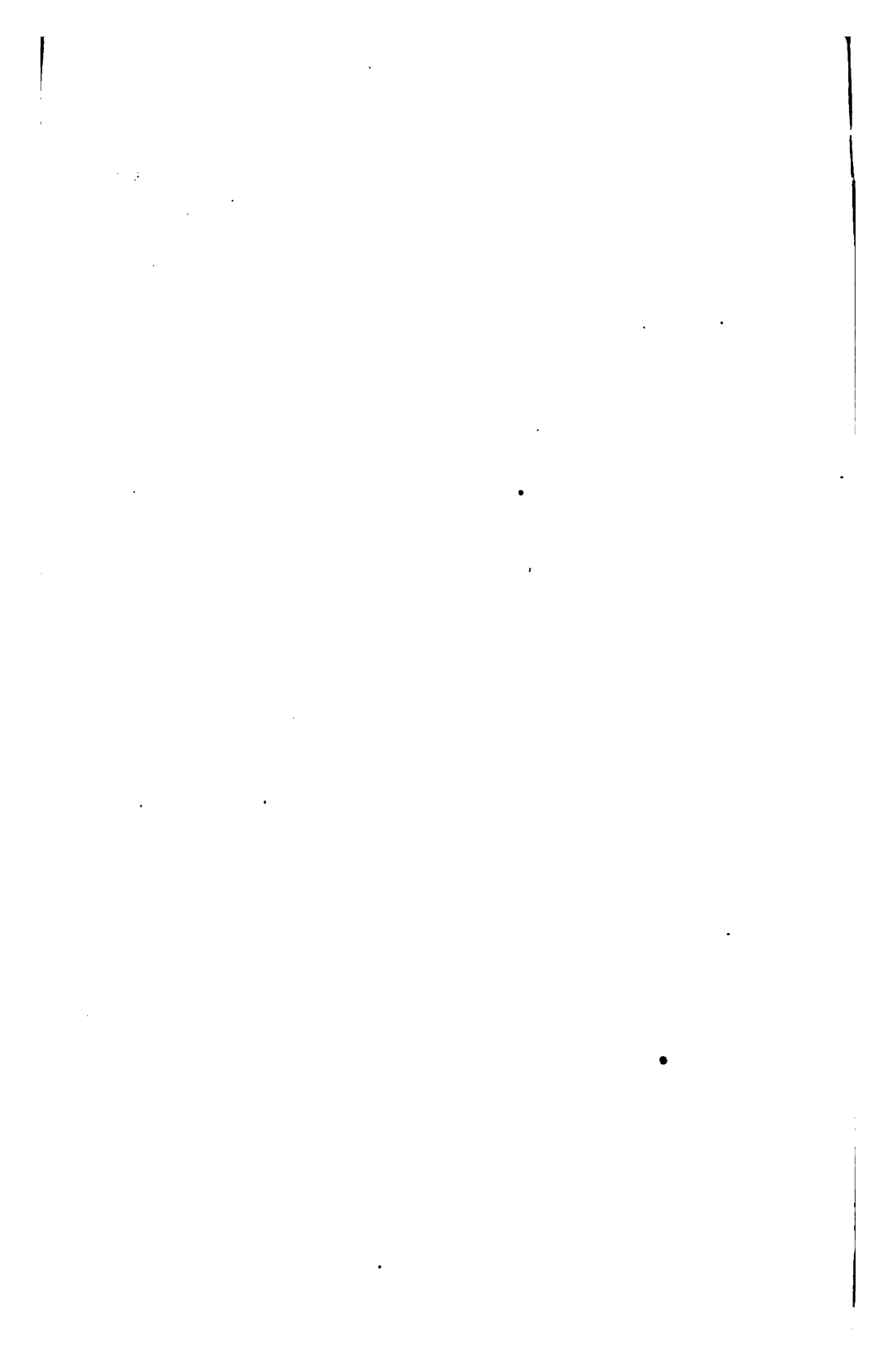
ΕΣΤΙΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ
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 ΕΦΟΒΟΥΝΤΟ
 ΓΑΡ·
 ΝΑΣΤΑΣ ΔΕ ΠΡΩΤΗ
 ΠΡΩΤΗΣ ΑΒΒΑΤΩ·

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^{ΜΗ}
²
^{ΒΣ}
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ΒΑΝΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΩ
 ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΠΛΟΙΟΝ
 ΠΑΡΕΚΑΛΕΙΑΥ
 ΤΟΝ ΟΔΑΙΜΟ
 ΝΙΣΘΕΙΣ ΙΝΑ

(28)





(24)

ωπλητис αληθειας
του ηνμαθου ενωρθου
και ομοιο του κενωσμεγα
εστησαν εν αφανερω
ηνεπρωθεν κηρατκλ
ωθενεπαμνη
οιδωσθη
αδωτι
μαλα

(25)

ΚΕΧΕΚΕ
ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΩ
ΔΟΩΜΙ
Β Θ Φ

ΠΟΙΜΕΝΕΙΝ
ΤΗΝ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΩΝ
ΤΟΥ ΚΥ
Α Ξ Ψ

Το κατά ματατοιο αγιο ενανγγελιομ. Cap. I.

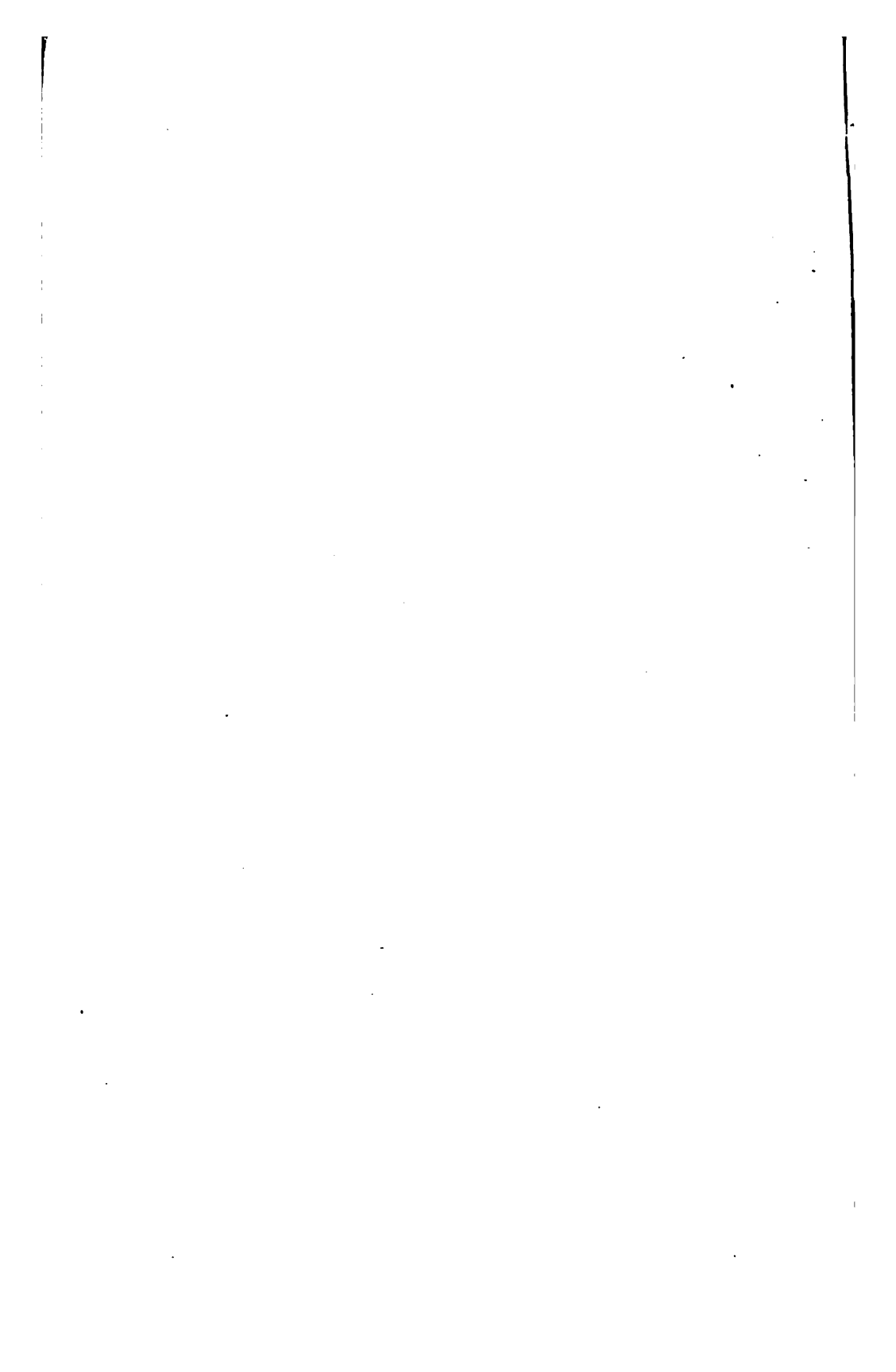


ιβλος γενεσεως ησου χριστου
του υιου αυτου υιου αυραμ
αβρααμ ευερμνησε τον ισαακ
σαακ δε ευερμνησε τον ηακωβ
και τον αδελφους αυτου
ηακωβ δε ευερμνησε τον ιουδαμ
και τον αδελφους αυτου
ιουδας δε ευερμνησε τον ιουδαμ
και τον αδελφους αυτου
ιουδας δε ευερμνησε τον ιουδαμ
και τον αδελφους αυτου
ιουδας δε ευερμνησε τον ιουδαμ
και τον αδελφους αυτου

Evangelium scdm Mattheu. Cap. i.



Abet gnatiois iesu christi
fili dand filij abraa
Abraa genuit isaac
isaac aut genuit iacob
iacob aut genuit iudam
et fratres eius Judas autem genuit
pbares et zaram de thamar. ooooo



ΠΡΟΣΛΥΤΟΝ ΠΑΣΑΝ ἸΟΥΔΑΙΑ Plate XI.

ΧΩΡΑ. ΚΑΙ Οἶ ΕΡΩΣΟΛΥΜΙΤΑΙ.
ΚΑΙ ΕΒΛΠΤΙΖΟΝ ΤΟ ΠΑΝΤΕΣ,
ΕΝ Τῷ ἸΟΡΔΑΝΗ ΠΟΤΑΜῶ Ὑ
ΠΑΥΤΟΥ. ΕΞΟΜΟΛΟΓΟΥΜΕ
ΝΟΙ ΤΑΣ ἸΜΑΡΤΙΑΣ ΛΥΤῶΝ.

ἮΝ ΔΕ Οἶ ἸΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΕΝ ΔΕ ΔΥΜΕΝΟΙ

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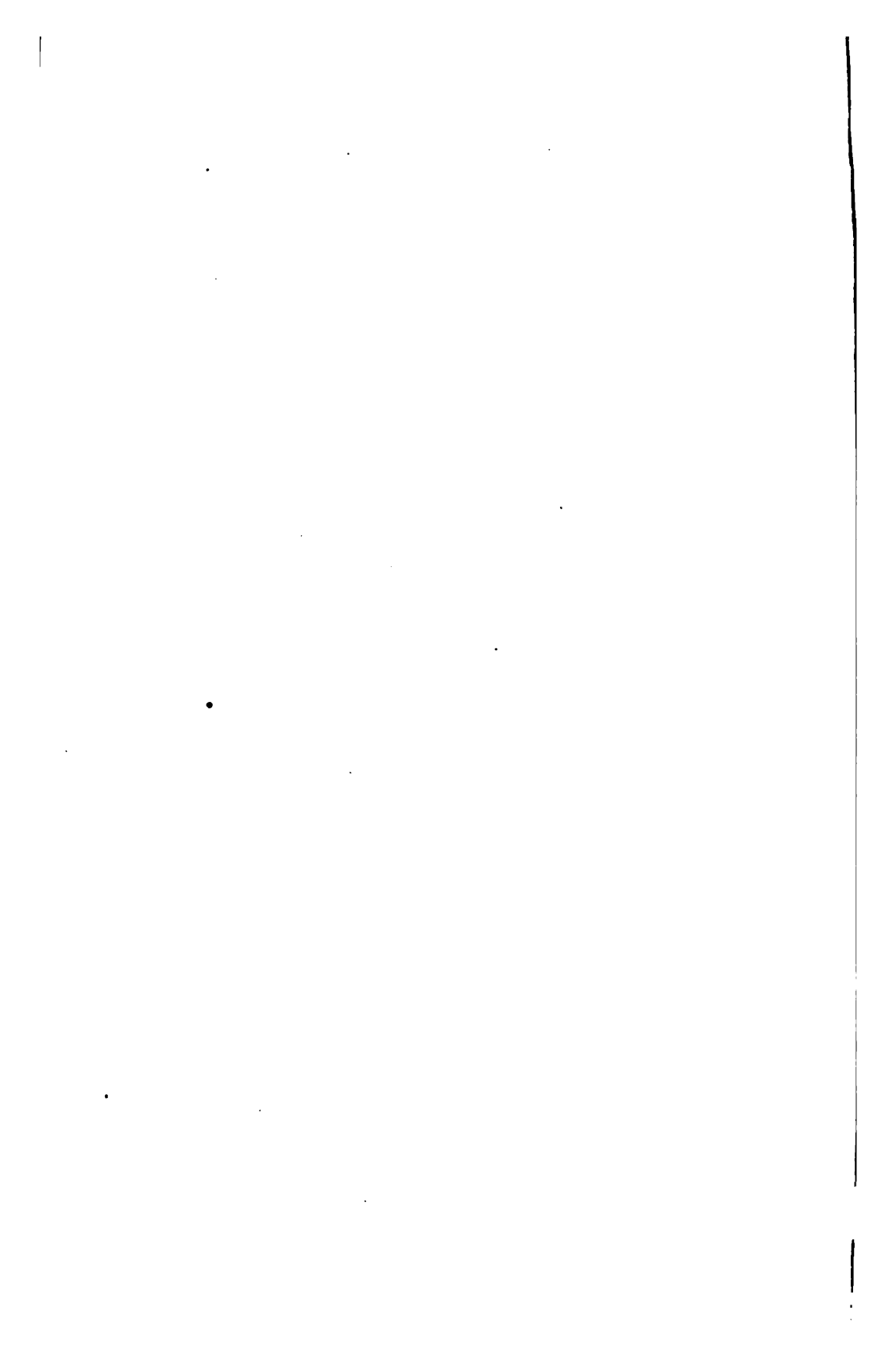
(20)
ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΕΦΕΡΟΝ
ΑΥΤῷ ΠΑΙΔΙΑ
ἸΝΑ ΦΗΤΑΙ ΑΥ
ΤῶΝ ὈΪΔΕΜΑ ΦΗ
ΤΑΙ ΕΠΕΤΙΜΩΝ

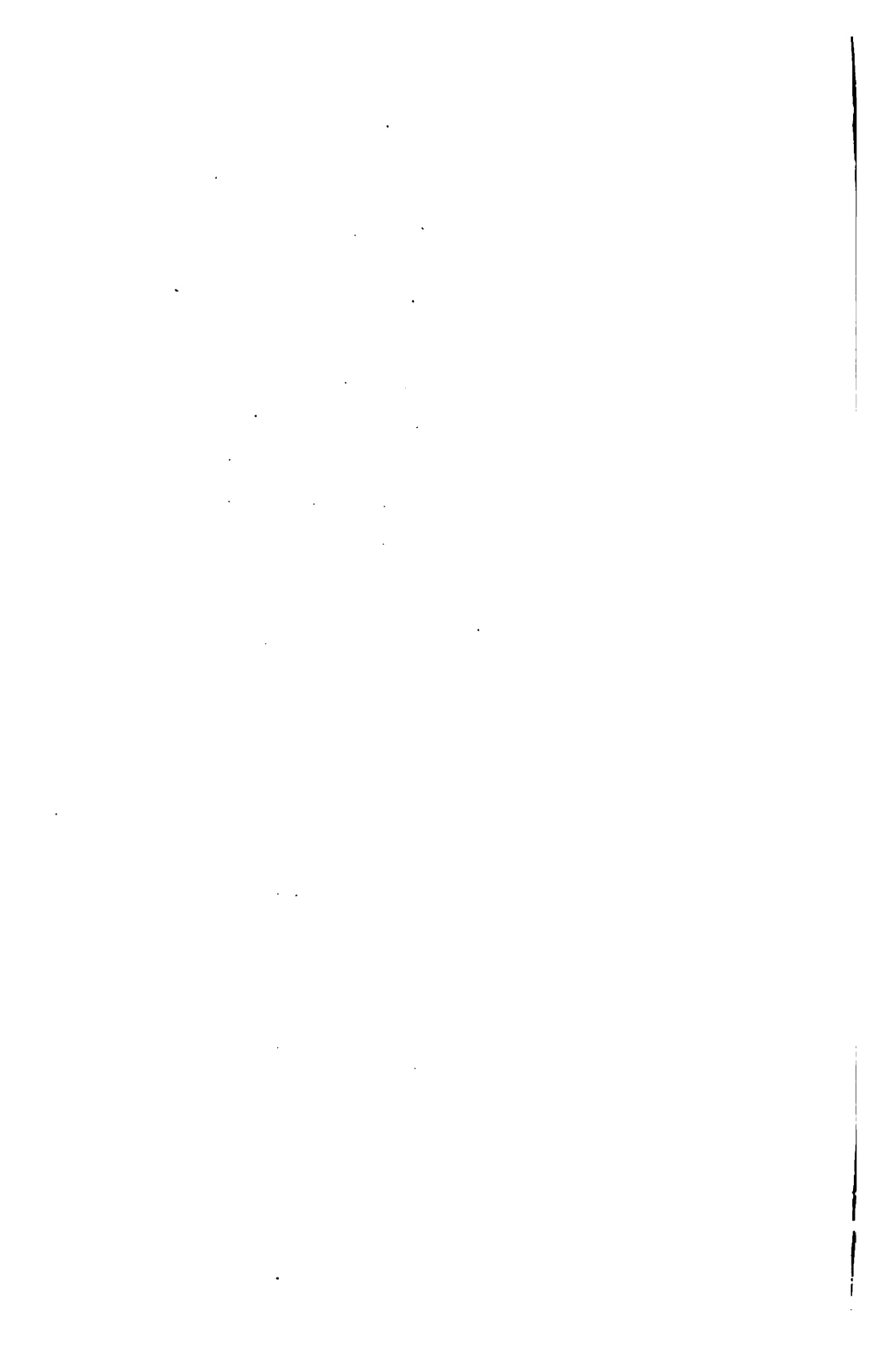
(20)

ΒΛΗΘΗ· ΕΙΣ ΓΕΕΝ
ΝΑΝ· ΤΕ ΤΗΣ Λ.
ΕΡΡΗΘΗ ΔΕ· ὍΤΙ ὍΣ
ΑΝ ΔΠΟΛΥΣΗ ΤΗΝ
ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ ΑΥΤΟΥ·

(30)

ΣΑΝΤΕΣ· ΚΑΙ ΤΙΣ ΠΡῶΤῳ· ΚΑΙ ΕΝ
ΔΥΝΑΤΑΙΣ ΘΗΝΑΙ· Τῷ ΔΕ ἸΩΑΝΝΗ
ἸΠΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΩ ΤΩΝ
ἸΠΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΩ ΤΩΝ





(39) Ζετισος φησιν αυτοι εγραψεν το βυβαλιον το εσπεροισι. ελαχθη του θυμου
 σαφελος φησιν αυτοις. και παρ το πολυ λιποσιν. εβη λαιου προσδουχομεν οβζωτι
 εορτασεν του θυμου. εφθθη δαυτο εφθθη. εφθθη δαυτο εφθθη. εφθθη δαυτο εφθθη.

ΓΟΝΤΟΣ ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟΝΕ
 ΦΕΛΗΚΑΙ ΕΠΕΣΚΙΑΣΕΝ
 ΑΝΤΟΥΣ ΕΦΟΒΗΦΗΣΑ

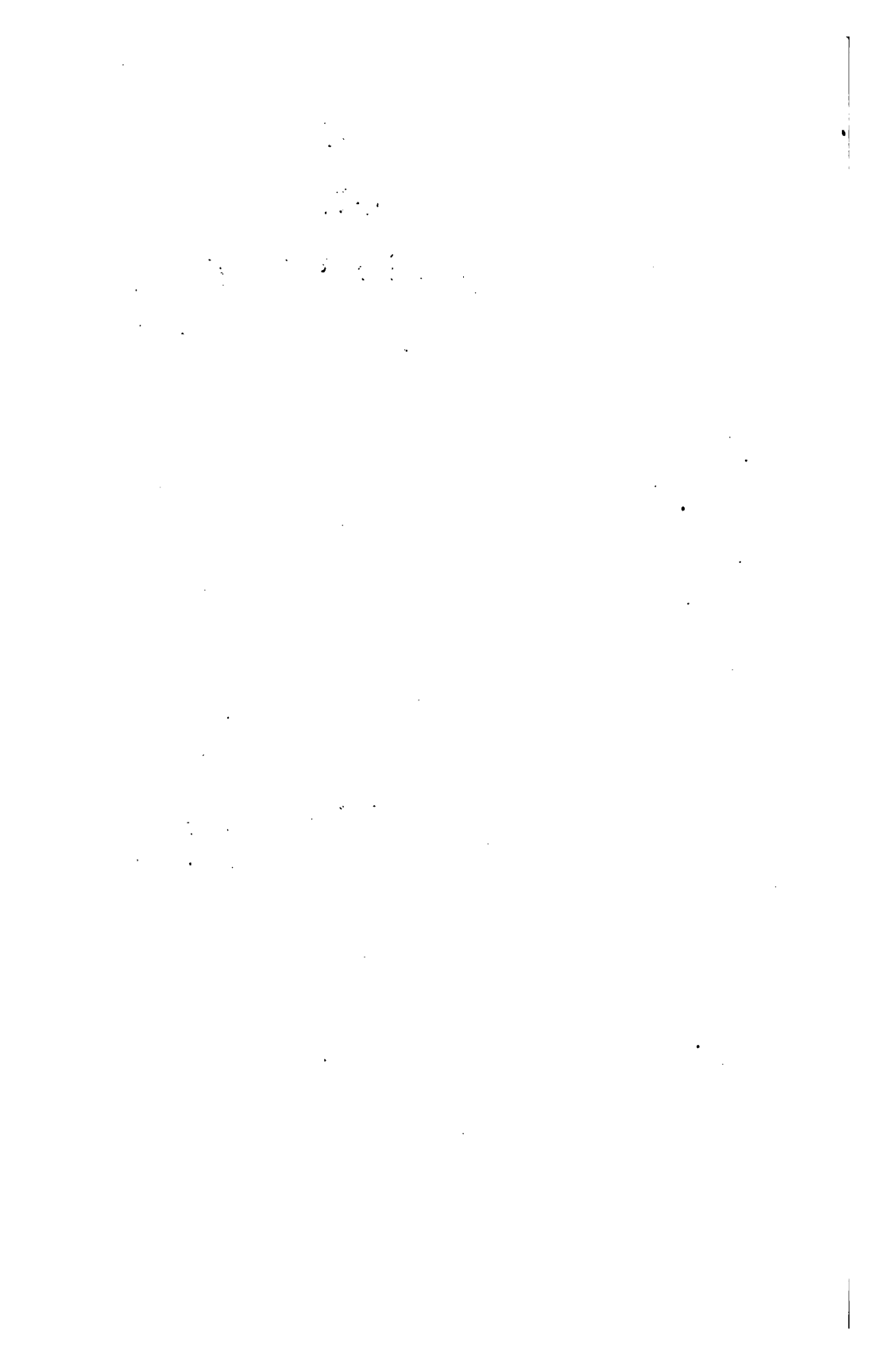
Α Ζ Θ Σ Ρ Ψ
 (37)

μευληνδρ ορθ
 πιτη κλημη κ
 τοδαιμοριομοζε
 λιλυθωσ:-

Θρωοππε
 γιορα κητκ
 του γαμου κητος
 ζω κη βηχ εθ +

πες ωσδ νας μεφριον. οθε εφωρεσ ωθη ωσφ
 αφ. εβδωσ ωθη εν πναυματι. ωφωλη αιτγλωικ.
 ειαφρυθη εν εφωρεσ. ωπι εφωρεσ εν ανμοσεσ. αιβηλη -

ΤΙΟΙΣ ΚΑΛΦΙΕΣ ΜΕΝΟΝ ΙΑΟΥΟΙ
 ΕΝΙΜΑΤΙΣ ΜΩΝΑ ΟΣΩΚΑΙ ΤΡΥ
 ΦΗΝ ΠΑΡΧΟΝΤΕΣ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙ
 ΟΙΣ ΕΙΣΙΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΤΙΣ ΕΛΗΛΥΘΑ





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INTRODUCTION TO THE CRITICISM
OF THE
TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS.

1. **W**HEN God was pleased to make known to man His purpose of redeeming us through the death of His Son, He employed for this end the general laws, and worked according to the ordinary course of His Providential government, so far as they were available for the furtherance of His merciful design. A revelation from heaven, in its very notion, implies supernatural interposition; yet neither in the first promulgation nor in the subsequent propagation of Christ's religion, can we mark any *waste* of miracles. So far as they were needed for the assurance of honest seekers after truth, they were freely resorted to: whensoever the principles which move mankind in the affairs of common life were adequate to the exigences of the case, more unusual and (as we might have thought) more powerful means of producing conviction were withheld, as at once superfluous and ineffectual. Those who heard not Moses and the prophets would scarcely be persuaded, though one rose from the dead.

2. As it was with respect to the *evidences* of our faith, so also with regard to the volume of Scripture. God willed that His Church should enjoy the benefit of His written word, at once as a rule of doctrine and as a guide unto holy living. For

this cause He so enlightened the minds of the Apostles and Evangelists by His Spirit, that they recorded what He had imprinted on their hearts or brought to their remembrance, without the risk of error in anything essential to the verity of the Gospel. But this main point once secured, the rest was left, in a great measure, to themselves. The style, the tone, the language, perhaps the special occasion of writing, seem to have depended much on the taste and judgment of the several penmen. Thus in St Paul's Epistles we note the profound thinker, the great scholar, the consummate orator: St John pours forth the simple utterings of his gentle, untutored, affectionate soul: in St Peter's speeches and letters may be traced the impetuous earnestness of his noble yet not faultless character. Their individual tempers and faculties and intellectual habits are clearly discernible, even while they are speaking to us in the power and by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost.

3. Now this self-same parsimony in the employment of miracles which we observe with reference to Christian evidences and to the inspiration of Scripture, we might look for beforehand, from the analogy of divine things, when we proceed to consider the methods by which Scripture has been preserved and handed down to us. God *might*, if He would, have stamped His revealed will visibly on the heavens, that all should read it there: He *might* have so completely filled the minds of His servants the Prophets and Evangelists, that they should have become mere passive instruments in the promulgation of His counsel, and the writings they have delivered to us have borne no traces whatever of their individual characters: but for certain causes which we can perceive, and doubtless for others beyond the reach of our capacities, He has chosen to do neither the one nor the other. And so again with the subject we propose to discuss in the present work, namely, the relation our existing text of the New Testament bears to that which originally came from the hands of the sacred penmen. Their autographs *might* have been preserved in the Church as the perfect standards by which all accidental variations of the numberless copies scattered throughout the world should be corrected to the end of time: but we know that these autographs perished utterly in the very infancy of Christian history. Or if it be too much to expect that the autographs of the inspired writers should escape the fate which has over-

taken that of every other known relique of ancient literature, God *might* have so guided the hand or fixed the devout attention both of copyists during the long space of fourteen hundred years before the invention of printing, and of compositors and printers of the Bible for the last four centuries, that no jot or tittle should have been changed of all that was written therein. Such a course of Providential arrangement we must confess to be quite possible, but it could have been brought about and maintained by nothing short of a continuous, unceasing miracle;—by making fallible men (nay, many such in every generation) for one purpose absolutely infallible. If the complete identity of all copies of Holy Scripture prove to be a fact, we must of course receive it as such, and refer it to its sole Author: yet we may confidently pronounce beforehand, that such a fact could not have been reasonably anticipated, and is not at all agreeable to the general tenour of God's dealings with us.

4. No one who has taken the trouble to examine any two editions of the Greek New Testament needs be told that this supposed complete resemblance of various copies of the holy books is not founded in fact. Even several impressions derived from the same standard edition, and professing to exhibit a text positively the same, differ from their archetype and from each other, in errors of the press which no amount of care or diligence has yet been able to get rid of. If we extend our researches to the manuscript copies of Scripture or of its versions which abound in every great library in Christendom, we see in the very best of them variations which we must at once impute to the fault of the scribe, together with many others of a graver and more perplexing nature, regarding which we can form no probable judgment, without calling to our aid the resources of critical learning. The more numerous and venerable the documents within our reach, the more extensive is the view we obtain of the variations (or VARIOUS READINGS as they are called) that prevail in manuscripts. If the number of these variations was rightly computed at thirty thousand in Mill's time, a century and a half ago, they must at present amount to at least fourfold that quantity.

5. As the New Testament far surpasses all other remains of antiquity in value and interest, so are the copies of it yet existing in manuscript and dating from the fourth century of our

era downwards, far more numerous than those of the most celebrated writers of Greece or Rome. Such as have been already discovered and set down in catalogues are hardly fewer than two thousand; and many more must still linger unknown in the monastic libraries of the East. On the other hand, manuscripts of the most illustrious classic poets and philosophers are far rarer and comparatively modern. We have no complete copy of Homer himself prior to the thirteenth century, though some considerable fragments have been recently brought to light which may plausibly be assigned to the fifth century; while more than one work of high and deserved repute has been preserved to our times only in a single copy. Now the experience we gain from a critical examination of the few classical manuscripts that survive should make us thankful for the quality and abundance of those of the New Testament. These last present us with a vast and almost inexhaustible supply of materials for tracing the history, and upholding (at least within certain limits) the purity of the sacred text: every copy, if used diligently and with judgment, will contribute somewhat to these ends. So far is the copiousness of our stores from causing doubt or perplexity to the genuine student of Holy Scripture, that it leads him to recognise the more fully its general integrity in the midst of partial variation. What would the thoughtful reader of Æschylus give for the like guidance through the obscurities which vex his patience, and mar his enjoyment of that sublime poet?

6. In regard to modern works, it is fortunate that the art of printing has well-nigh superseded the use of *verbal* or (as it has been termed) *Textual* criticism. When a book once issues from the press, its author's words are for the most part fixed, beyond all danger of change; graven as with an iron pen upon the rock for ever. Yet even in modern times, as in the case of Barrow's posthumous works and Pepys's Diary and Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, it has been occasionally found necessary to correct or enlarge the early editions, from the original autographs, where they have been preserved. The text of some of our older English writers (Beaumont and Fletcher's plays are a notable instance) would doubtless have been much improved by the same process, had it been possible; but the criticism of Shakespeare's dramas is perhaps the most delicate and difficult problem in the whole history of literature,

since that great genius was so strangely contemptuous of the praise of posterity, that even of the few plays that were published in his lifetime the text seems but a gathering from the scraps of their respective parts which had been negligently copied out for the use of the actors.

7. The design of the science of TEXTUAL CRITICISM, as applied to the Greek New Testament, will now be readily understood. By collecting and comparing and weighing the variations of the text to which we have access, it aims at bringing back that text, so far as may be, to the condition in which it stood in the sacred autographs; at removing all spurious additions, if such be found in our present printed copies; at restoring whatsoever may have been lost or corrupted or accidentally changed in the lapse of eighteen hundred years. We need spend no time in proving the value of such a science, if it affords us a fair prospect of appreciable results, resting on grounds of satisfactory evidence. Those who believe the study of the Scriptures to be alike their duty and privilege, will surely grudge no pains when called upon to separate the pure gold of God's word from the dross which has mingled with it through the accretions of so many centuries. Though the criticism of the sacred volume is inferior to its right interpretation in point of dignity and practical results, yet it must take precedence in order of time: for how can we reasonably proceed to investigate the sense of holy writ, till we have done our utmost to ascertain its precise language?

8. The importance of the study of Textual criticism is sometimes freely admitted by those who deem its successful cultivation difficult, or its conclusions precarious; the rather as Biblical scholars of deserved repute are constantly putting forth their several recensions of the text, differing not a little from each other. Now on this point it is right to speak clearly and decidedly. There is certainly nothing in the nature of critical science which ought to be thought hard or abstruse, or even remarkably dry and repulsive. It is conversant with varied, curious, and interesting researches, which have given a certain serious pleasure to many intelligent minds; it patiently gathers and arranges those facts of *external* evidence on which alone it ventures to construct a revised text, and applies them according to rules or canons of *internal* evidence, whether sug-

gested by experience, or resting for their proof on the plain dictates of common sense. The more industry is brought to these studies, the greater the store of materials accumulated, so much the more fruitful and trustworthy the results have usually proved; although beyond question the true application even of the simplest principles calls for discretion, keenness of intellect, innate tact ripened by constant use, a sound and impartial judgment. No man ever attained eminence in this, or in any other worthy accomplishment, without much labour and some natural aptitude for the pursuit; but the criticism of the Greek Testament is a field in whose culture the humblest student may contribute a little that shall be really serviceable; few branches of theology are able to promise even those who seek but a moderate acquaintance with it, so early and abundant reward for their pains.

9. Nor can Textual criticism be reasonably disparaged as tending to precarious conclusions, or helping to unsettle the text of Scripture. Even putting the matter on the lowest ground, critics have not *created* the variations they have discovered in manuscripts or versions. They have only taught us how to look ascertained phænomena in the face, and try to account for them; they would fain lead us to estimate the relative value of various readings, to decide upon their respective worth, and thus at length to eliminate them. While we confess that much remains to be done in this department of Biblical learning, we are yet bound to say that, chiefly by the exertions of scholars of the last and present generations, the debateable ground is gradually becoming narrower, not a few strong controversies have been decided beyond the possibility of reversal, and while new facts are daily coming to light, critics of very opposite sympathies are learning to agree better as to the right mode of classifying and applying them. But even were the progress of the science less hopeful than we believe it to be, one great truth is admitted on all hands;—the almost complete freedom of Holy Scripture from the bare suspicion of wilful corruption; the absolute identity of the testimony of every known copy in respect to doctrine, and spirit, and the main drift of every argument and every narrative through the entire volume of Inspiration. On a point of such vital moment I am glad to cite the well-known and powerful statement of the great

Bentley, at once the profoundest and the most daring of English critics: "The real text of the sacred writers does not now (since the originals have been so long lost) lie in any MS. or edition, but is dispersed in them all. 'Tis competently exact indeed in the worst MS. now extant; nor is one article of faith or moral precept either perverted or lost in them; choose as awkwardly as you will, choose the worst by design, out of the whole lump of readings." And again: "Make your 30,000 [variations] as many more, if numbers of copies can ever reach that sum: all the better to a knowing and a serious reader, who is thereby more richly furnished to select what he sees genuine. But even put them into the hands of a knave or a fool, and yet with the most sinister and absurd choice, he shall not extinguish the light of any one chapter, nor so disguise Christianity, but that every feature of it will still be the same¹." Thus hath God's Providence kept from harm the treasure of His written word, so far as is needful for the quiet assurance of His church and people.

10. It is now time for us to afford to the uninitiated reader some general notion of the nature and extent of the various readings met with in manuscripts and versions of the Greek Testament. We shall try to reduce them under a few distinct heads, reserving all formal discussion of their respective characters and of the authenticity of the texts we cite for a later portion of this volume (Chapter IX).

(1). To begin with variations of the gravest kind. In two, though happily in only two instances, the genuineness of whole passages of considerable extent, which are read in our printed copies of the New Testament, has been brought into question. These are the weighty and characteristic paragraphs Mark xvi. 9—20 and John vii. 53—viii. 11. We shall hereafter defend these passages, the first without the slightest misgiving, the second with certain reservations, as entitled to be regarded authentic portions of the Gospels in which they stand.

(2). Akin to these omissions are several considerable interpolations, which, though they have never obtained a place

¹ "Remarks upon a late Discourse of Free Thinking by Phileleutherus Lipsiensis," Part 1. Section 82.

in the printed text, nor been approved by any critical editor, are supported by authority too respectable to be set aside without some inquiry. One of the longest and best attested of these paragraphs has been appended to Matth. xx. 28, and has been largely borrowed from other passages in the Gospels (see below, class 9). It appears in several forms, slightly varying from each other, and is represented as follows in a document as old as the fifth century :

“But you, seek ye that from little things ye may become great, and not from great things may become little. Whenever ye are invited to the house of a supper, be not sitting down in the honoured place, lest should come he that is more honoured than thou, and to thee the Lord of the supper should say, Come near below, and thou be ashamed in the eyes of the guests. But if thou sit down in the little place, and he that is less than thee should come, and to thee the Lord of the supper shall say, Come near, and come up and sit down, thou also shalt have more glory in the eyes of the guests¹.”

We subjoin another paragraph, inserted after Luke vi. 4 in only a single copy, the celebrated Codex Bezae, now at Cambridge: “On the same day he beheld a certain man working on the sabbath, and said unto him, Man, blessed art thou if thou knowest what thou doest; but if thou knowest not, thou art cursed and a transgressor of the law.”

(3). Again, a shorter passage or mere clause, whether inserted or not in our printed books, may have appeared originally in the form of a marginal note, and from the margin have crept into the text, through the wrong judgment or mere oversight of the scribe. Such we have reason to think is the history of 1 John v. 7, the verse relating to the Three Heavenly Witnesses, once so earnestly maintained, but now generally given up as spurious. Thus too Acts viii. 37 may have been derived from some Church Ordinal: the last clause of Rom. viii. 1 (*μη̄ κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πνεῦμα*) is much like a gloss on *τοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ: εἰκῆ* in Matth. v. 22 and *ἀναξίως* in 1 Cor. xi. 29 might have been inserted

¹ I cite from the late Canon Cureton's over-literal translation in his “Remains of a very antient recension of the four Gospels in Syriac,” in the Preface to which (pp. xxxv—xxxviii) is an elaborate discussion of the evidence for this passage.

to modify statements that seemed too strong: *τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πείθεσθαι* Gal. iii. 1 is precisely such an addition as would help to round an abrupt sentence (compare Gal. v. 7). Some critics would account in this way for the adoption of the doxology Matth. vi. 13; of the section relating to the bloody sweat Luke xxii. 43, 44; and of that remarkable verse, John v. 4: but we may well hesitate before we assent to their views, at least in regard to the second of these passages.

(4). Or a genuine clause is lost by means of what is technically called Homœoteleuton (*ὁμοιοτέλευτον*), when the clause ends in the same word as closed the preceding sentence, and the transcriber's eye has wandered from the one to the other, to the entire omission of the whole passage lying between them. This source of error (though too freely appealed to by Meyer and some other commentators hardly less eminent than he) is familiar to all who are engaged in copying writing, and is far more serious than might be supposed, prior to experience. In 1 John ii. 23 *ὁ ὁμολογῶν τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἔχει* is omitted in many manuscripts, because *τὸν πατέρα ἔχει* had ended the preceding clause: it is not found in our commonly received Greek text, and even in the Authorised English version is printed in italics. The whole verse Luke xvii. 36, were it less slenderly supported, might possibly have been early lost through the same cause, since vv. 34, 35, 36 all end in *ἀφεθήσεται*. A safer example is Luke xviii. 39, which a few excellent copies omit for this reason only. Thus perhaps we might defend in Matth. x. 23 the addition after *φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἄλλην* of *κἂν ἐν τῇ ἐτέρᾳ διώκωσιν ὑμᾶς, φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἄλλην* (*ἐτέραν* being substituted for the first *ἄλλην*), the eye having passed from the first *φεύγετε εἰς τὴν* to the second. The same effect is produced, though less frequently, when two or more sentences begin with the same words, as in Matth. xxiii. 14, 15, 16 (each of which commences with *οὐαὶ ὑμῖν*), one of the verses being lost in some manuscripts.

(5). Numerous variations occur in the order of words, the sense being slightly or not at all affected; on which account this species of various readings was at first much neglected by collators. Examples abound everywhere: e.g. *τὶ μέρος* or *μέρος τι* Luke xi. 36; *ὀνόματι Ἀνανίαν* or *Ἀνανίαν ὀνόματι* Acts ix. 12; *ψυχρὸς οὐτε ζεστός* or *ζεστός οὐτε ψυχρὸς* Apoc.

iii. 16. The order of the sacred names Ἰησοῦς Χριστός is perpetually changed, especially in St Paul's Epistles.

(6). Sometimes the scribe has mistaken one word for another, which differs from it only in one or two letters. This happens chiefly in cases when the *uncial* or capital letters in which the oldest manuscripts are written resemble each other, except in some fine stroke which may have decayed through age. Hence in Mark v. 14 we find ANHΓΓΕΙΑΑΝ or ΑΠΗΓΓΕΙΑΑΝ; in Luke xvi. 20 ΗΑΚΩΜΕΝΟC or ΕΙΑΚΩΜΕΝΟC; so we read Δαυιδ or Δαβιδ indifferently, as, in the later or *cursive* character, β and υ have nearly the same shape. Akin to these errors of the eye are such transpositions as ΕΛΑΒΟΝ for ΕΒΑΛΟΝ or ΕΒΑΛΛΟΝ, Mark xiv. 65: omissions or insertions of the same or similar letters, as ΕΜΑCΩΝΤΟ or ΕΜΑCΩΝΤΟ Apoc. xvi. 10: ΑΓΑΛΛΙΑCΘΗΝΑΙ or ΔΓΑΛΛΙΑCΘΗΝΑΙ John v. 35: and the dropping or repetition of the same or a similar syllable, as ΕΚΒΑΛΛΟΝΤΑΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ or ΕΚΒΑΛΛΟΝΤΑΤΑΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ Luke ix. 49; ΟΥΔΕΔΕΔΟΞΑCΤΑΙ or ΟΥΔΕΔΟΞΑCΤΑΙ 2 Cor. iii. 10; ΑΠΑΞΕΞΕΔΕΧΕΤΟ or ΑΠΕΞΕΔΕΧΕΤΟ 1 Peter iii. 20. It is easy to see how the ancient practice of writing uncial letters without leaving a space between the words must have increased the risk of such variations as the foregoing.

(7). Another source of error is described by some critics as proceeding *ex ore dictantis*, in consequence of the scribe writing from dictation, without having a copy before him. One is not, however, very willing to believe that manuscripts of the better class were executed on so slovenly and careless a plan. It seems more simple to account for the *itacisms*¹ or confusion of certain vowels and diphthongs having nearly the same sound, which exist more or less in manuscripts of every age, by assuming that a vicious pronunciation gradually led to a loose mode of orthography adapted to it. Certain it is that itacisms are much more plentiful in the original subscriptions and marginal notes of the writers of mediæval books, than in the text which they copied from older documents. Itacisms prevailed the most extensively from the eighth to the twelfth century, but not by any means during that period exclusively. In the most ancient manuscripts

¹ The word *ιτακισμός* or *ιτακισμός* is said to have been first used by Reuchlin (d. 1522), the friend of Erasmus.

the principal changes are between *ι* and *ει, αι* and *ε*: in later times *η ι* and *ει, η οι* and *υ*, even *ο* and *ω, η* and *ε* are used almost promiscuously. Hence it arises that a very large portion of the various readings brought together by collators are of this description, and although in the vast majority of instances they serve but to illustrate the character of the manuscripts which exhibit them, or the fashion of the age in which they were written, they sometimes affect the grammatical form (e.g. *ἔγειρε* or *ἔγειραι* Mark iii. 3; Acts iii. 6; *passim*: *ἴδετε* or *εἶδετε* Phil. i. 30), or the construction (e.g. *ἰώσωμαι* or *ἰάσομαι* Matth. xiii. 15: *οὐ μὴ τιμήσῃ* or *οὐ μὴ τιμήσει* Matth. xv. 5: *ἵνα καθήσωμαι* or *ἵνα καθήσομαι* 1 Cor. xiii. 3, compare 1 Peter iii. 1), or even the sense (e.g. *ἐταίροις* or *ἐτέροις* Matth. xi. 16: *μετὰ διωγμῶν* or, as in a few copies, *μετὰ διωγμὸν* Mark x. 30: *καυχᾶσθαι δὴ οὐ συμφέρει* or *καυχᾶσθαι δεῖ· οὐ συμφέρει* 2 Cor. xii. 1: *ὅτι χρῆστος ὁ Κύριος* or *ὅτι χριστὸς ὁ Κύριος* 1 Peter ii. 3). To this cause we may refer the perpetual interchange of *ἡμεῖς* and *ὕμεῖς*, with their oblique cases, throughout the whole Greek Testament: e.g. in the single epistle of 1 Peter, ch. i. 3; 12; ii. 21 *bis*; iii. 18; 21; v. 10. Hence we must pay the less regard to the reading *ἡμέτερον* Luke xvi. 12, though found in two or three of our chief authorities: in Acts xvii. 28 *τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς*, the reading of the great Codex Vaticanus and a few late copies, is plainly absurd. On the other hand, a few cases occur wherein that which at first sight seems a mere *itacism* is really the true form, and, when once understood, affords an excellent sense, e.g. *καθαρίζων* Mark vii. 19.

(8). Introductory clauses or Proper Names are frequently interpolated at the commencement of Church-lessons (*περικοπαί*), whether from the margin of ordinary manuscripts of the Greek Testament (where they are usually placed for the convenience of the reader), or from the Lectionaries or proper Service Books, especially those of the Gospels (*Evangelistaria*). Thus in our English Book of Common Prayer the name of Jesus is introduced into the Gospels for the 14th, 16th, 17th, and 18th Sundays after Trinity; and whole clauses into those for the 3rd and 4th Sundays after Easter, and the 6th and 24th after Trinity¹. To this cause is due the prefix *εἶπε δὲ ὁ Κύριος* Luke vii. 31;

¹ To this list of examples from the Book of Common Prayer, Dean Burgon ("The last twelve verses of St Mark's Gospel Vindicated" p. 215) adds th

καὶ στραφεῖς πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς εἶπε Luke x. 22; and such appellations as *ἀδελφοὶ* or *τέκνον Τιμόθεε* (after *σύ δὲ* in 2 Tim. iv. 5) in some copies of the Epistles. The inserted prefix in Greek Lectionaries is sometimes rather long, as in the lesson for the Liturgy on Sept. 14 (John xix. 6—35). Hence the frequent interpolation (e.g. Matth. iv. 18; viii. 5; xiv. 22) or changed position (John i. 44) of *Ἰησοῦς*. A peculiarity of style in 1, 2 Thess. is kept out of sight by the addition of *Χριστὸς* in the common text of 1 Thess. ii. 19; iii. 13; 2 Thess. i. 8, 12.

(9). A more extensive and perplexing species of various readings arises from bringing into the text of one of the three earlier Evangelists expressions or whole sentences which of right belong not to him, but to one or both the others¹. This natural tendency to assimilate the several Gospels must have been aggravated by the laudable efforts of Biblical scholars (beginning with Tatian's *Διὰ τεσσάρων* in the second century) to construct a satisfactory Harmony of them all. Some of these variations also may possibly have been mere marginal notes in the first instance. As examples of this class we will name *εἰς μετάνοιαν* interpolated from Luke v. 32 into Matth. ix. 13; Mark ii. 17: the prophetic citation Matth. xxvii. 35 *ἵνα πληρωθῇ κ. τ. λ.* to the end of the verse, unquestionably borrowed from John xix. 24, although the fourth Gospel seldom lends itself to corruptions of this kind. Mark xiii. 14 *τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ Δαυιδ τοῦ προφήτου*, is probably taken from Matth. xxiv. 15: Luke v. 38 *καὶ ἀμφότεροι συντηροῦνται* from Matth. ix. 17 (where *ἀμφότεροι* is the true reading): the whole verse Mark xv. 28 seems spurious, being received from Luke xxii. 37. Even in the same book we observe an anxiety to harmonize two separate narratives of the same event, as in Acts ix. 5, 6 compared with xxvi. 14, 15.

(10). In like manner transcribers sometimes quote passages from the Old Testament more fully than the writers of the New Testament had judged necessary for their purpose. Thus *ἐγγίξει μοι...τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν καὶ* Matth. xv. 8: *ἰάσασθαι τοὺς συντετριμένους τὴν καρδίαν* Luke iv. 18: *αὐτοῦ ἀκούσεσθε* Acts vii.

Gospels for Quinquagesima, 2nd Sunday after Easter, 9th, 12th, and 22nd after Trinity, Whitsunday, Ascension Day, SS. Philip and James, All Saints.

¹ Dean Alford (see his critical notes on Luke ix. 56; xxiii. 17) is reasonably unwilling to admit this source of corruption, where the language of the several Evangelists bears no close resemblance throughout the whole of the parallel passages.

37: οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις Rom. xiii. 9: ἡ βολιδι κατατοξευθήσεται Heb. xii. 20, and (less certainly) καὶ κατέστησας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου Heb. ii. 7, are all open to suspicion as being genuine portions of the Old Testament text, but not also of the New. In Acts xiii. 33, the Codex Bezae at Cambridge stands almost alone in adding Ps. ii. 8 to that portion of the previous verse which was unquestionably cited by St Paul.

(11). Synonymous words are often interchanged, and so form various readings, the sense undergoing some slight and refined modification, or else being quite unaltered. Thus ἔφη should be preferred to εἶπεν Matth. xxii. 37, where εἶπεν of the common text is supported only by two known manuscripts, that at Leicester, and one used by Erasmus. So also ὀμμάτων is put for ὀφθαλμῶν Matth. ix. 29 by the Codex Bezae. In Matth. xxv. 16 the evidence is almost evenly balanced between ἐποίησεν and ἐκέρδησεν (cf. ver. 17). Where simple verbs are interchanged with their compounds (e.g. μετρηθήσεται with ἀντιμετρηθήσεται Matth. vii. 2; ἐτέλεσεν with συνετέλεσεν *ibid.* ver. 28; καίεται with κατακαίεται xiii. 40), or different tenses of the same verb (e.g. εἰληφῶς with λαβῶν Acts xvi. 24; ἀνθέστηκε with ἀνέστη 2 Tim. iv. 15), there is usually some *internal* reason why one should be chosen rather than the other, if the *external* evidence on the other side does not greatly preponderate. When one of two terms is employed in a sense peculiar to the New Testament dialect, the easier synonym may be suspected of having originated in a gloss or marginal interpretation. Hence *ceteris paribus* we should adopt δικαιοσύνην rather than ἐλεημοσύνην in Matth. vi. 1; ἐσκυλμένοι rather than ἐκλελυμένοι ix. 36; ἀθῶον rather than δίκαιον xvii. 4.

(12). An irregular, obscure, or incomplete construction will often be *explained* or *supplied* in the margin by words that are subsequently brought into the text. Of this character is ἐμέμφαντο Mark vii. 2; δέξασθαι ἡμᾶς 2 Cor. viii. 4; γράφω xiii. 2; προσλαβοῦ Philem. 12 (compare ver. 17), and perhaps δῆλον 1 Tim. vi. 7. More considerable is the change in Acts viii. 7, where the true reading πολλοὶ...φωνῇ μεγάλη ἐξήρχοντο, if translated with grammatical rigour, affords an almost impossible sense. Or an elegant Greek idiom may be transformed into simpler language, as in Acts xvi. 3 ἤδεισαν γὰρ πάντες ὅτι Ἑλλήν ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ ὑπῆρχεν for ἤδεισαν γὰρ ἅπαντες τὸν

πατέρα αὐτοῦ ὅτι Ἑλλην ὑπήρχεν: similarly, *τυγχάνοντα* is omitted by many in Luke x. 30; compare also Acts xviii. 26 *fn.*; xix. 8, 34 *ini.* The classical *μὲν* has often been inserted against the best evidence: e.g. Acts v. 23; xix. 4, 15; 1 Cor. xii. 20; 2 Cor. iv. 12; Heb. vi. 16. On the other hand a Hebraism may be softened by transcribers, as in Matth. xxi. 23, where for *ἐλθόντι αὐτῷ* many copies prefer the easier *ἐλθόντος αὐτοῦ* before *προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ διδάσκοντι*, and in Matth. xv. 5; Mark vii. 12 (to which perhaps we may add Luke v. 35), where *καὶ* is dropped in some copies to facilitate the sense. Hence *καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι* may be upheld before *οἱ ποιμένες* in Luke ii. 15. This perpetual correction of harsh, ungrammatical, or Oriental constructions characterises the printed text of the Apocalypse and the recent manuscripts on which it is founded (e.g. *τὴν γυναικα Ἰεζαβήλ τὴν λέγουσαν* ii. 20, for *ἡ λέγουσα*).

(13). Hence too arises the habit of changing ancient dialectic forms into those in vogue in the transcriber's age. The whole subject will be more fitly discussed at length hereafter (Chapter VIII); we will here merely note a few peculiarities of this kind adopted by recent critics from the most venerable manuscripts, but which have gradually though not entirely disappeared in copies of lower date. Thus in recent critical editions *Καφαρναούμ, Μαθθαῖος, τέσσαρες, ἕνατος* are substituted for *Καπερναούμ, Ματθαῖος, τέσσαρες, ἕννατος* of the common text; *οὔτως* (not *οὔτω*) is used even before a consonant; *ἦλθαμεν, ἦλθατε, ἦλθαν, γενόμενος* are preferred to *ἦλθομεν, ἦλθετε, ἦλθον, γενόμενος*; *ἐκαθερίσθη, συζητεῖν, λήμψομαι τοῦ ἐκαθερίσθη, συζητεῖν, λήψομαι*; and *ν ἐφέλκυστικὸν* (as it is called) is appended to the usual third persons of verbs, even though a consonant follow. On the other hand the more Attic *περιπεπατήκει* ought not to be converted into *περιεπεπατήκει* in Acts xiv. 8.

(14). Trifling variations in spelling, though very proper to be noted by a faithful collator, are obviously of little consequence. Such is the choice between *καὶ ἐγὼ* and *καὶ γὰρ, ἐὰν* and *ἄν, εἰθέως* and *εἰθύς, Μωυσῆς* and *Μωσῆς*, or even between *πράττουσι* and *πράσσουσι*, between *εὐδόκησα, εὐκαίρουν* and *ἠδύδοκησα, ἠδύκαίρουν*. To this head may be referred the question whether *ἀλλά¹, γε, δέ, τε, μετὰ, παρά* &c. should have

¹ The best manuscripts seem to elide the final syllable of *ἀλλά* before nouns, but not before verbs: e.g. John vi. 32, 39. The common text, therefore, seems

their final vowel elided or not when the next word begins with a vowel.

(15). A large portion of our various readings arises from the omission or insertion of such words as cause little appreciable difference in the sense. To this class belong the pronouns *αὐτοῦ*, *αὐτῶ*, *αὐτῶν*, *αὐτοῖς*, the particles *οὖν*, *δέ*, *τε*, and the interchange of *οὐδέ* and *οὔτε*, as also of *καί* and *δέ* at the opening of a sentence.

(16). Manuscripts greatly fluctuate in adding and rejecting the Greek article, and the sense is often seriously influenced by these variations, though they seem so minute. In Mark ii. 26 *ἐπὶ Ἀβιάθαρ ἀρχιερέως* "in the time that Abiathar was high priest" would be historically incorrect, while *ἐπὶ Ἀβιάθαρ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως* "in the days of Abiathar the high priest" is suitable enough. The article will often impart vividness and reality to an expression, where its presence is not indispensable: e.g. Luke xii. 54 *τὴν νεφέλην* (if *τὴν* be authentic, as looks probable) is the peculiar cloud spoken of in 1 Kings xviii. 44 as portending rain. Bishop Middleton's monograph ("Doctrine of the Greek Article applied to the Criticism and Illustration of the New Testament"), though apparently little known to certain of our most highly esteemed Biblical scholars, even if its philological groundwork be thought a little precarious, must always be regarded as the text-book on this interesting subject, and is a lasting monument of intellectual acuteness and exact learning.

(17). Not a few various readings may be imputed to the peculiarities of the style of writing adopted in the oldest manuscripts. Thus ΠΡΟCΤΕΤΑΓΜΕΝΟΤΚΑΙΡΟΤC Acts xvii. 26 may be divided into two words or three; ΚΑΙΤΑΠΑΝΤΑ *ibid.* ver. 25, by a slight change, has degenerated into *κατὰ πάντα*. The habitual abridgement of such words as Θεός or Κύριος sometimes leads to a corruption of the text. Hence possibly comes the grave variation OC for $\overline{\Theta C}$ 1 Tim. iii. 16, and the singular reading *τῷ καιρῷ δουλεύοντες* Rom. xii. 11, where the true word *Κυρίῳ* was first shortened into $\overline{ΚΡ\omega}$ ¹, and then read as $\overline{ΚΡ\omega}$,

wrong in Rom. i. 21; iv. 20; v. 14; viii. 15; 1 Cor. i. 17; vi. 11; ix. 27; xiv. 34; 1 Pet. ii. 25; Jude 9. Yet to this rule there are many exceptions, e.g. Gal. iv. 7 *ἀλλὰ νόσ* is found in nearly all good authorities.

¹ Tischendorf indeed (Nov. Test. 1871) says, "ΚΤΠΩ omnino scribi solet

Κ₂ being employed to indicate ΚΑΙ in very early times¹. Or a large initial letter, which the scribe usually reserved for a subsequent review, may have been altogether neglected: whence we have τ_ι for Οτ_ι before στενῆ Matth. vii. 14. Or —, placed over a letter (especially at the end of a line and word) to denote ν, may have been lost sight of; e.g. λιθον μέγα Matth. xxvii. 60 in several copies, for ΜΕΓΑ. The use of the symbol Ϛ, which in the Herculanæan rolls and now and then in Codex Sinaiticus stands for προ and προσ indifferently, may have produced that remarkable confusion of the two prepositions when compounded with verbs which we notice in Matth. xxvi. 39; Mark xiv. 35; Acts xii. 6; xvii. 5, 26; xx. 5, 13; xxii. 25. It will be seen hereafter that as the earliest manuscripts have few marks of punctuation, breathing or accent, these points (often far from indifferent) must be left in a great measure to an editor's taste and judgment.

(18). Slips of the pen, whereby words are manifestly lost or repeated, mis-spelt or half-finished, though of no interest to the critic, must yet be noted by a faithful collator, as they will occasionally throw light on the history of some particular copy in connection with others, and always indicate the degree of care or skill employed by the scribe, and consequently the weight due to his general testimony.

The great mass of various readings we have hitherto attempted to classify (to our *first* and *second* heads we will recur presently) are manifestly due to mere inadvertence or human frailty, and certainly cannot be imputed to any deliberate intention of transcribers to tamper with the text of Scripture. We must give a different account of a few passages (we are glad they are only a few) which yet remain to be noticed.

(19). The copyist may be tempted to forsake his proper function for that of a reviser, or critical corrector. He may

Κω," and this no doubt is the usual form, even in manuscripts which have χρω ἡν, as well as χω ἰν, for χριστῶ ἡσού. Yet the Codex Augiensis (Paul. F) has κρ in 1 Cor. ix. 1.

¹ Especially, yet not always, at the end of a line. Καί in καιρός is actually thus written in the great Codex Sinaiticus (N), 1 Macc. ix. 7; xv. 33; Matth. xxi. 34; Rom. iii. 26; Heb. xi. 11; Apoc. xi. 18. So the Codex Sarravianus of the fourth century in Deut. ix. 20, Codex Rossanensis of the sixth (but only twice in the text), the Zurich Psalter of the seventh century in Ps. xvii. 11; cvi. 3; cxvi. 5, and the Bodleian Genesis (ch. vi. 13) of about a century later.

simply omit what he does not understand (e.g. *δευτεροπρώτω* Luke vi. 1; *τὸ μαρτύριον* 1 Tim. ii. 6), or may attempt to get over a difficulty by inversions and other changes. Thus the *μυστήριον* spoken of by St Paul 1 Cor. xv. 51, which rightly stands in the received text *πάντες μὲν οὐ κοιμηθησόμεθα, πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα*, was easily varied into *πάντες κοιμηθησόμεθα, οὐ π. δὲ ἀλ.*, as if in mere perplexity. From this source must arise the omission in a few manuscripts of *υἱοῦ Βαραχίου* in Matth. xxiii. 35; of *Ἰερεμίου* in Matth. xxvii. 9; the insertion of *ἄλλου ἐκ* before *θυσιαστηρίου* in Apoc. xvi. 7; perhaps the substitution of *τοῖς προφήταις* for *Ἡσαΐα τῷ προφήτῃ* in Mark i. 2, of *οὐπω ἀναβαίνω* for *οὐκ ἀναβαίνω* in John vii. 8, and certainly of *τρίτη* for *ἕκτη* in John xix. 14. The variations between *Περγεσηῶν* and *Γαδαρηῶν* Matth. viii. 28, and between *Βηθαβαρᾶ* and *Βηθανία* John i. 28, have been attributed, we hope and believe unjustly, to the misplaced conjectures of Origen.

Some would impute such readings as *ἔχομεν* for *ἔχομεν* Rom. v. 1; *φορέσωμεν* for *φορέσομεν* 1 Cor. xv. 49, to a desire on the part of copyists to *improve* an assertion into an ethical exhortation, especially in the Apostolical Epistles; but it is at once safer and more simple to regard them with Bishop Chr. Wordsworth (N. T. 1 Cor. xv. 49) as instances of *italicism*: see class (7) above.

(20). Finally, whatever conclusion we arrive at respecting the true reading in the following passages, the discrepancy could hardly have arisen except from doctrinal preconceptions. Matth. xix. 17 *Τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς, ὁ Θεός* or *Τί με ἐρωτᾷς περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ; εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγαθός*: John i. 18 *ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς* or *μονογενὴς Θεός*: Acts xvi. 7 *τὸ πνεῦμα* with or without the addition of *Ἰησοῦ*: Acts xx. 28 *τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ* or *τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Κυρίου*: perhaps also Jude ver. 4 *δεσπότην* with or without *Θεόν*. I do not mention Mark xiii. 32 *οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός*, as there is hardly any authority for its rejection now extant; nor Luke ii. 22, where *τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ αὐτῆς* of the Complutensian Polyglott and most of our common editions is supported by almost no evidence whatever.

11. It is very possible that some scattered readings cannot be reduced to any of the above-named classes, but enough has

been said to afford the student a general notion of the nature and extent of the subject¹. It may be reasonably thought that a portion of these variations, and those among the most considerable, had their origin in a cause which must have operated at least as much in ancient as in modern times, the changes gradually introduced after publication by the authors themselves into the various copies yet within their reach. Such revised copies would circulate independently of those issued previously, and now beyond the writer's control; and thus becoming the parents of a new family of copies, would originate and keep up diversities from the first edition, without any fault on the part of transcribers². It is thus perhaps we may best account for the omission or insertion of whole paragraphs or verses in manuscripts of a certain class [see above (1), (2), (3)]; or, in cases where the work was in much request, for those minute touches and trifling improvements in words, in construction, in tone, or in the mere colouring of the style [(5), (11), (12)], which few authors can help attempting, when engaged on revising their favourite compositions. Even in the Old Testa-

¹ My departed friend, Dr Tregelles, to whose persevering labours in sacred criticism I am anxious, once for all, to express my deepest obligations, ranged various readings under three general heads:—*substitutions*; *additions*; *omissions*. Mr C. E. Hammond, in his scholarlike little work, "Outlines of Textual Criticism applied to the N. T., 1876, 2nd edition," divides their possible sources into Unconscious or unintentional errors, (1) of *sight*; (2) of *hearing*; (3) of *memory*; and those that are Conscious or intentional, viz. (4) incorporation of marginal glosses; (5) corrections of harsh or unusual forms of words, or expressions; (6) alterations in the text to produce supposed harmony with another passage, to complete a quotation, or to clear up a presumed difficulty; (7) Liturgical insertions. While he enumerates (8) alterations for dogmatic reasons, he adds that "there appears to be no strong ground for the suggestion" that any such exist (*Hammond*, p. 17). Professor Roberts ("Words of the New Testament" by Drs Milligan and Roberts, 1873) comprehends several of the foregoing divisions under one head: "Again and again has a word or phrase been slipped in by the transcriber which had no existence in his copy, but which was due to the working of his own mind on the subject before him." His examples are *ἐρχεται* inserted in Matth. xxv. 6; *ἰδοῦσα* in Luke i. 29; *ὡς ἐρ ἡμῶν* in Rom. viii. 26 (Part i. Chap. i. pp. 5, 6).

² This source of variations, though not easily discriminated from others, must have suggested itself to many minds, and is well touched upon by the late Isaac Taylor in his "History of the Transmission of Antient Books to modern times," 1827, p. 24. So Dr Hort, when perplexed by some of the textual problems which he fails to solve, throws out as an hypothesis not in itself without plausibility, the notion of "a first and a second edition of the Gospels, both conceivably apostolic" (*Gr. Test. Introduction*, p. 177).

ment, the song of David in 2 Sam. xxii. is evidently an early draft of the more finished composition, Ps. xviii. Traces of the writer's *curæ secundæ* may possibly be found in John v. 3, 4; vii. 53—viii. 11 (see Chap. IX); xiii. 26; Acts xx. 4, 15; xxiv. 6—8. To this list some critics feel disposed to add portions of Luke xxi.—xxiv.

12. The fullest critical edition of the Greek Testament hitherto published contains but a comparatively small portion of the whole mass of variations already known; as a rule, the editors neglect, and rightly neglect, mere errors of transcription. Such things must be recorded for several reasons, but neither they, nor real various readings that are slenderly supported, can produce any effect in the task of amending or restoring the sacred text. Those who wish to see for themselves how far the common printed editions of what is called the "textus receptus" differ from the judgment of the most recent critics, may refer if they please to the small Greek Testament published in the series of "Cambridge Greek and Latin Texts¹," which exhibits in a thicker type all words and clauses wherein Robert Stephen's edition of 1550 (which is taken as a convenient standard) differs from the other chief modifications of the *textus receptus* (viz. Beza's 1565 and Elzevirs' 1624), as also from the revised texts of Lachmann 1842—50, of Tischendorf 1865—72, and of Tregelles 1857—72. The student will thus be enabled to estimate for himself the limits within which the text of the Greek Testament may be regarded as still open to discussion, and to take a general survey of the questions on which the theologian is bound to form an intelligent opinion.

13. The work that lies before us naturally divides itself into three distinct parts.

I. A description of the sources from which various readings are derived (or of their EXTERNAL EVIDENCE), comprising

(a) Manuscripts of the Greek New Testament or of portions thereof (Chapter II).

¹ "Novum Testamentum Textus Stephanici A. D. 1550...curante F. H. A. Scrivener. Cantabr. 1877, Editio auctior et emendatior," 12mo. A new edition, now in preparation, will include the variations adopted by the Revisers of the English New Testament, and those of the Greek Testament of Drs Hort and Westcott, both published on or about May 17, 1881.

- (b) Ancient versions of the New Testament in various languages (Chapter III).
- (c) Citations from the Greek Testament or its versions made by early ecclesiastical writers, especially by the Fathers of the Christian Church (Chapter IV).
- (d) Early printed or later critical editions of the Greek Testament (Chapter v).

II. A discussion of the principles on which external evidence should be applied to the recension of the sacred volume, embracing

- (a) The laws of INTERNAL EVIDENCE, and the limits of their legitimate use (Chapter VI).
- (b) The history of the text and of the principal schemes which have been proposed for restoring it to its primitive state, including recent views of Comparative Criticism (Chapter VII).
- (c) Considerations derived from the peculiar character and grammatical form of the dialect of the Greek Testament (Chapter VIII).

III. The application of the foregoing materials and principles to the investigation of the true reading in the chief passages of the New Testament, on which authorities are at variance (Chapter IX).

It will be found desirable to read the following pages in the order wherein they stand, although the last two sections of Chap. II. and some portions elsewhere (indicated by being printed like them in smaller type) are obviously intended chiefly for reference.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE GREEK MANUSCRIPTS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

AS the extant Greek manuscripts of the New Testament supply both the most copious and the purest sources of Textual Criticism, we propose to present to the reader some account of their peculiarities in regard to material, form, style of writing, date and contents, before we enter into details respecting individual copies, under the several subdivisions to which it is usual to refer them.

SECTION I.

On the general character of Manuscripts of the Greek Testament.

1. The subject of the present section has been systematically discussed in the "Palaeographia Graeca" (Paris, 1708, folio) of Bernard de Montfaucon [1655—1741¹], the most illustrious member of the learned Society of the Benedictines of St Maur. This truly great work, although its materials are rather too exclusively drawn from manuscripts deposited in French libraries, and its many illustrative *facsimiles* are somewhat rudely engraved, still remains our best authority on all points relating to Greek manuscripts, even after more recent discoveries, especially among the papyri of Egypt and Herculaneum, have necessarily modified not a few of its statements. The four splendid volumes of M. J. B. Silvestre's "Paléographie Universelle" (Paris, 1839, &c. folio) afford us no less than forty-one coloured specimens of

¹ In this manner we propose to indicate the dates of the birth and death of the person whose name immediately precedes.

the Greek writing of various ages, sumptuously executed; though the accompanying letter-press descriptions, by F. and A. Champollion Fils, seem in this branch of the subject a little disappointing; nor are the valuable notes appended to his translation of their work by Sir Frederick Madden (London, 2 vols. 1850, 8vo) sufficiently numerous or elaborate to supply the Champollions' defects. Much, however, may also be learnt from the "Herculaniensium voluminum quæ supersunt" (Naples, 10 tom. 1793—1850, fol.); from Mr Babington's three volumes of papyrus fragments of Hyperides, respectively published in 1850, 1853 and 1858; and especially from the Prolegomena to Tischendorf's editions of the Codices Ephraemi (1843), Friderico-Augustanus (1846), Claromontanus (1852), Sinaiticus (1862), Vaticanus (1867), and those other like publications (e.g. Monumenta sacra inedita 1846—1871, and Anecdota sacra et profana 1855) which have rendered his name perhaps the very highest among scholars in this department of sacred literature. What I have been able to add from my own observation, has been gathered from the study of Biblical manuscripts now in England.

2. Stone, wood, tablets covered with wax, the bark of trees, the dressed skins of animals, the reed papyrus, paper made of cotton or linen, are the chief *materials* on which writing has been impressed at different periods and stages of civilisation. Common leather also was occasionally used in Egypt and the East, but perhaps not before the tenth century. The most ancient manuscripts of the New Testament now existing are composed of vellum or parchment (*membrana*), the term vellum being strictly applied to the delicate skins of very young calves, and parchment to the integuments of sheep and goats. The word parchment seems to be a corruption of *charta pergamena*, a name first given to skins prepared by some improved process for Eumenes, king of Pergamus, about B.C. 150. In judging of the date of a manuscript on skins, attention must be paid to the quality of the material, the oldest being almost invariably written on the thinnest and whitest vellum that could be procured; while manuscripts of later ages, being usually composed of parchment, are thick, discoloured, and coarsely grained. Thus the Codex Sinaiticus of the fourth century is made of the finest skins of antelopes, the

leaves being so large, that a single animal would furnish only two (Tischendorf, *Cod. Frid.-August. Prolegomena*, § 1). Its contemporary, the far-famed *Codex Vaticanus*, challenges universal admiration for the beauty of its vellum: every visitor at the British Museum can observe the excellence of that of the *Codex Alexandrinus* of the fifth century: that of the *Codex Claromontanus* of the sixth century is even more remarkable: the material of those purple-dyed fragments of the Gospels which Tischendorf denominates N, also of the sixth century, is so subtle and delicate, that some persons have mistaken the leaves preserved in England (*Brit. Mus. Cotton, Titus C xv*) for Egyptian papyrus. Paper made of cotton (*charta bombycina*, called also *charta Damascena* from its place of manufacture) may have been fabricated in the ninth¹ or tenth century, and linen paper (*charta proper*) as early as the twelfth; but they were seldom used for Biblical manuscripts sooner than the thirteenth, and had not entirely displaced parchment at the era of the invention of printing, about A.D. 1450. Cotton paper is for the most part easily distinguished from linen by its roughness and coarse fibre; some of the early linen paper, both glazed and unglazed, is of a very fine texture, though perhaps a little too stout and crisp for convenient use. Lost portions of parchment or vellum manuscripts are often supplied in paper by some later hand; but the *Codex Leicestrensis* of the fourteenth century is unique in this respect, being composed of a mixture of inferior vellum and worse paper, regularly arranged in the proportion of two parchment to three paper leaves, recurring alternately throughout the whole volume.

3. Although parchment was in occasional, if not familiar, use at the period when the New Testament was written (*τὰ βιβλία, μάλοιστα τὰς μεμβράνας*, 2 Tim. iv. 13), yet the cheaper and more perishable papyrus of Egypt was chiefly employed for ordinary purposes, and was probably what is meant by *χάρτης* in 2 John ver. 12, by *charta* in 2 Esdr. xv. 2; Tobit vii. 14 (Old Latin version). This vegetable production had been long used for literary purposes in the time of Herodotus (B.C. 440), and that

¹ Tischendorf (*Notitia Codicis Sinaitici*, p. 54) carried to St Petersburg a fragment of a Lectionary which cannot well be assigned to a later date than the ninth century, among whose parchment leaves are inserted two of cotton paper, manifestly written on by the original scribe.

not only in Egypt (Herod. Hist. II. 100) but elsewhere, for he expressly states that the Ionians, for lack of byblus¹, had been compelled to have recourse to the skins of goats and sheep (v. 58). We find a minute, if not a very clear, description of the mode of preparing the papyrus for the scribe in the works of the elder Pliny (Hist. Nat. l. XIII. c. 11, 12). Its frail and brittle quality has no doubt caused us the loss of some of the choicest treasures of ancient literature; the papyri which yet survive in the museums of Europe owe their preservation to the accidental circumstance of having been buried in the tombs of the Thebais, or beneath the wreck of Herculaneum. As we before intimated, no existing manuscript of the New Testament is written on papyrus², nor can the earliest we possess on vellum be dated much higher than the middle of the fourth century.

4. We have some grounds for suspecting that papyrus was not over plentiful even in the best times of the Roman dominion; its manufacture ceased altogether on the conquest of Egypt by the Mohammedans (A.D. 638). It may be readily imagined that vellum (especially that fine sort by praiseworthy custom required for copies of Holy Scripture) could never have been otherwise than scarce and dear. Hence arose, at a very early period of the Christian era, the practice and almost the necessity of erasing ancient writing from skins, in order to make room for works in which the living generation felt more interest, especially when clean vellum failed the scribe towards the end of his task. This process of destruction, however, was seldom so fully carried out, but that the strokes of the elder hand might still be traced, more or less completely, under the more modern writing. Such manuscripts are called *codices rescripti* or palimpsests (*παλιμψηστα*³), and several of the most

¹ Herodotus calls the whole plant *byblus* (II. 92), but Theophrastus (Hist. Plant. IV. 9) *papyrus*, reserving the term *βιβλος* for the *liber*, the inner rind, from which alone the writing material was fabricated.

² The author of these pages has fully stated in the *Christian Remembrancer* for July 1863 his reasons for regarding as a manifest forgery the fragments of St Matthew's Gospel written on papyrus and dated in the fifteenth year after the Lord's Ascension, which were published in *facsimile* by Constantine Simonides in 1862, from originals in "the Egyptian Museum of Joseph Mayer, Esq. of Liverpool."

³ "Nam, quod in palimpsesto, laudo equidem parcimoniam." Cicero, Ad Diversos, VII. 13.

precious monuments of sacred learning are of this description. The Codex Ephraemi at Paris contains large fragments both of the Old and New Testament under the later Greek works of St Ephraem the Syrian: and the Codex Nitriensis, more recently disinterred from a monastery in the Egyptian desert and brought to the British Museum, comprises a portion of St Luke's Gospel, nearly obliterated, and covered over by a Syriac treatise of Severus of Antioch against Grammaticus, comparatively of no value whatever. It will be easily believed that the collating or transcribing of palimpsests has cost much toil and patience to those whose loving zeal has led them to the attempt: and after all the true readings will be sometimes (not often) rather uncertain, even though chemical mixtures (such as prussiate of potash or the *tinctoria Giobertina*) have recently been applied with much success to restore the faded lines and letters of these venerable records.

5. We need say but little of a practice which St Jerome¹ and others speak of as prevalent towards the end of the fourth century, that of dyeing the vellum purple, and of stamping rather than writing the letters in silver and gold. The Cotton fragment of the Gospels, mentioned above (p. 23), is one of the few remaining copies of this kind, as is the newly discovered Codex Rossanensis, and it is not unlikely that the great Dublin palimpsest of St Matthew owes its present wretched discoloration to some such dye. But, as Davidson sensibly observes, "the value of a manuscript does not depend on such things" (*Biblical Criticism*, vol. II. p. 264). We care for them only as they serve to indicate the reverence paid to the Scriptures by men of old. The style, however, of the pictures, illustrations, arabesques and initial ornaments that prevail in later copies from the eighth century downwards, whose colours and gilding are sometimes as fresh and bright as if laid on but yesterday, will not only interest the student by tending to throw light on mediæval art and habits and modes of thought, but will often fix the date of the books which contain them with a precision otherwise quite beyond our reach.

6. The ink used in the most ancient manuscripts has unfortunately for the most part turned red or brown, or become

¹ "Habeant qui volunt veteres libros, vel in membranis purpureis auro argentoque descriptos." Præf. in Job. "Inficiuntur membranæ colore purpureo, aurum liquescit in litteras." Epist. ad Eustochium.

very pale, or peeled off, or has eaten through the vellum ; so that in many cases (as in the Codex Vaticanus itself) a later hand has ruthlessly retraced the letters, and given a false semblance of coarseness or carelessness to the original writing. In such instances a few passages will usually remain untouched, just as the first scribe left them, and from the study of these a right notion can be formed of the primitive condition of the rest : see, for example, the two facsimile plates (63, 64) of the Coislin MS. (H) of St Paul's Epistles in Silvestre's *Paléographie Universelle*. From the seventh century downwards it is said that the ingredients of ink have but little changed. The base has been soot, or lamp-black made of burnt shavings of ivory, mixed with wine lees or gum, and subsequently with sepia or alum. Vitriol and gall-nuts are now added, the mineral serving to fix the vegetable ingredients. In many manuscripts of about the twelfth century (e.g. Gonville and Caius MS., 59 of the Gospels) we observe what seems to be, and very well may be, the Indian ink of commerce, still preserving a beautiful jet black on the inner and smoother side of the parchment, and washed out rather than erased, whenever corrections were desired. This last practice was resorted to even in Codex Bezae. The coloured inks (red, green, blue or purple) are often quite brilliant to this day : the four red lines which stand at the head of each column of the first page of the Codex Alexandrinus are far more legible than the portions in black ink below them, yet are undoubtedly written by the same hand.

7. While papyrus (*χάρτης*) remained in common use, the chief instrument employed was probably a reed (*κάλαμος*, 3 John ver. 13), such as are common in the East at present : a few existing manuscripts (e.g. the Codd. Leicestrensis and Lambeth 1350) appear to have been thus written. Yet the firmness and regularity of the strokes, which often remain impressed on the vellum or paper after the ink has utterly gone, prove that in the great majority of cases a metal pen (*stylus*), sometimes furnished with a flat point, was preferred. We must add to our list of writing materials a bodkin or needle (*acus*), by means of which and a ruler the blank leaf was carefully divided into columns and lines, whose regularity much enhances the beauty of our best copies. The vestiges of such points and

marks may yet be seen deeply indented on the surface of nearly all manuscripts, those on one side of each leaf being usually sufficiently visible to guide the scribe when he came to write on the reverse.

8. Little needs be said respecting the *form* of manuscripts, which in this particular much resemble printed books. A few are in large folio; the greater part in small folio or quarto, the prevailing shape being a quarto whose height but little exceeds its breadth; some are in octavo, a not inconsiderable number smaller still. In some copies the sheets have marks in the lower margin of their first or last pages, like the *signatures* of a modern volume, the folio at intervals of four, the quarto at intervals of eight leaves¹, as in the Codex Bezae of the Gospels and Acts (D), and the Codex Augiensis of St Paul's Epistles (F). Not to speak at present of those manuscripts which have a Latin translation in a column parallel to the Greek, as the Codex Bezae, the Codex Laudianus of the Acts, and the Codices Claromontanus and Augiensis of St Paul, many copies of every age have two Greek columns on each page; of these the Codex Alexandrinus is the oldest: the Codex Vaticanus has three columns on a page, the Codex Sinaiticus four. The unique arrangement² of these last two has been urged as an argument

¹ Eusebius sent to Constantine's new city (Euseb. Vit. Const. Lib. iv.) *περ-
ήκοστα σωματρία ἐν διφθέραις* (c. 36)...*ἐν πολυτελεῶς ἡσκημένοις τεύχεσι τρισσὰ καὶ
τετρασσὰ* (c. 37): on which last words Valesius notes, "Codices enim membra-
nacei ferè per quaterniones digerebantur, hoc est quatuor folia simul compacta,
ut terniones tria sunt folia simul compacta. Et quaterniones quidem sedecim
habebant paginas, terniones vero duodenas."

² The manuscript in four columns is quite unique, but, besides the Cod. Vati-
canus, the Vatican Dio Cassius, the Milan fragment of Genesis, and two copies
of the Samaritan Pentateuch at Nablous described by Tischendorf (Cod. Frid.-
Aug. Proleg. § 11) are arranged in *three* columns. Tischendorf has more recently
discovered a similar arrangement in two palimpsest leaves of Wisdom and
Ecclesiasticus from which he gives extracts (Not. Cod. Sinait. p. 49); in a
Latin fragment of the Pentateuch, seen by him at Lyons in 1843; in a Greek
Evangelistarium of the eighth century, and a Patristic manuscript at Patmos of
the ninth (*ibid.* p. 10); so that the argument drawn from the *triple* columns
must not be pressed too far. He adds also a Turin copy of the Minor Prophets
in Greek (Pasinus, *Catalogue*, 1749), and a Nitrian Syriac codex in the British
Museum "quem circa finem quarti sæculi scriptum esse subscriptio testatur"
(Monum. sacra inedita, Vol. i. Proleg. p. xxxxi). To this not slender list
Mr E. Maude Thompson enables us to annex B. M. Addit. 24142, a Flemish
Latin Bible of the eleventh century. The late Lord Ashburnham in 1868

for their higher antiquity, as if they were designed to imitate *rolled* books, whose several skins or leaves were fastened together lengthwise, so that their contents always appeared in parallel columns; they were kept in scrolls which were unrolled at one end for reading, and when read rolled up at the other. This fashion prevails in the papyrus fragments yet remaining, and in the most venerated copies of the Old Testament preserved in Jewish synagogues.

9. We now approach a more important question, the *style* of writing adopted in manuscripts, and the shapes of the several letters. These varied widely in different ages, and form the simplest and surest criteria for approximating to the date of the documents themselves. It will prove convenient to abide by the usual division of Greek characters into *uncial*¹ and *cursive*; *uncial* manuscripts being written in what have since been regarded as capital letters, formed separately, having no connection with each other, and (in the earlier specimens) without any space between the words, the marks of punctuation being few: the *cursive* or running hand comprising letters more easily and rapidly made, those in the same word being usually joined together, with a complete system of punctuation not widely removed from that of printed books. Speaking generally, and limiting our statement to Greek manuscripts of the New Testament, uncial letters prevailed from the fourth to the tenth, or (in the case of liturgical books) as late as the eleventh century; cursive letters were employed as early as the ninth or tenth century, and continued in use until the invention of printing superseded the humble labours of the scribe.

But besides the broad and palpable distinction between uncial and cursive letters, persons who have had much experience in the study of manuscripts are able to distinguish those of either

printed his Old Latin fragments of Leviticus and Numbers, also in three columns, with a *facsimile* page; and the famous Utrecht Psalter, assigned by some to the sixth century, by others to the ninth or tenth, is written with three columns on a page, although it bears marks of having been transcribed from an archetype which contained only two.

¹ "Uncialibus, ut vulgo aiunt, literis, onera magis exarata, quam codices," Hieronymi Præf. in Job. From this passage the term *uncial* seems to be derived, *uncia* (an inch) referring to the size of the characters. Yet the conjectural reading "*initialibus*" will most approve itself to those who are familiar with the small Latin writing of the middle ages, in which *i* is undotted, and *c* much like *t*.

class from one another in respect of style and character; so that the exact period at which each was written can be determined within certain inconsiderable limits. After the tenth century many manuscripts bear dates, and such become standards to which we can refer others resembling them which are undated. But since the earliest dated Biblical manuscript yet discovered (Vatican. 354 or S of the Gospels) was written A.D. 949, we must resort to other means for estimating the age of more venerable, and therefore more important, copies. By studying the style and shape of the letters on Greek inscriptions, Montfaucon was led to conclude that the more simple, upright, and regular the form of uncial letters; the less flourish or ornament they exhibit; the nearer their breadth is equal to their height; so much the more ancient they ought to be considered. These results have been signally confirmed by the subsequent discovery of Greek papyri in Egyptian tombs, which vary in age from the third century before the Christian era to the third century after that epoch; and yet further from numerous fragments of Philodemus, of Epicurus, and other philosophers, which were buried in the ruins of Herculaneum in A.D. 79. The evidence of these papyri, indeed, is even more weighty than that of inscriptions, inasmuch as workers in stone were often compelled to prefer straight lines, as better adapted to the hardness of their material, where writings on papyrus or vellum would naturally flow into curves.

10. While we freely grant that a certain tact, the fruit of study and minute observation, can alone make us capable of forming a trustworthy opinion on the age of manuscripts; it is worth while to point out the *principles* on which a true judgment must be grounded, and to submit to the reader a few leading facts, which his own research may hereafter enable him to apply and to extend.

The first three plates at the beginning of this volume represent the Greek alphabet, as found in the seven following monuments:

(1) The celebrated Rosetta stone, discovered near that place during the French occupation of Egypt in 1799, and now in the British Museum. This most important inscription, which in the hands of Young and Champollion has proved the key to the mysteries of Egyptian hieroglyphics, records events of no in-

trinsic consequence that occurred B.C. 196, in the reign of Ptolemy V. Epiphanes. It is written in the three several forms of hieroglyphics, of the demotic or common characters of the country, and of Greek uncials, which last may represent the *lapidary* style of the second century before our era. The words are undivided, without breathings, accents, or marks of punctuation, and the uncial letters (excepting Ξ for *zeta*) approach very nearly to our modern capital type. In shape they are simple, perhaps a little rude; rather square than oblong: and as the carver on this hard black stone was obliged to avoid curve lines whenever he could, the forms of E, Ξ and Σ differ considerably from the specimens we shall produce from documents described on soft materials. Plate I. No. I.

(2) The Codex Friderico-Augustanus of the fourth century, published in lithographed facsimile in 1846, contains on 43 leaves fragments of the Septuagint version, chiefly from 1 Chronicles and Jeremiah, with Nehemiah and Esther complete, in oblong folio, with four columns on each page. The plates are so carefully executed that the very form of the ancient letters and the colour of the ink are represented to us by Tischendorf, who discovered it in the East. In 1859 the same indefatigable scholar brought to Europe the remainder of this manuscript, which seems as old as the fourth century, anterior (as he thinks) to the Codex Vaticanus itself, and published it in 1862, in facsimile type cast for the purpose, 4 tom., with twenty pages lithographed or photographed, at the expense of the Emperor Alexander II. of Russia, to whom the original had been presented. This book, which Tischendorf calls Codex Sinaiticus, contains, besides much more of the Septuagint, *the whole New Testament* with Barnabas' Epistle and Hermas' Shepherd annexed. As a kind of *avant-courier* to his great work he had previously put forth a tract entitled "Notitia Editionis Codicis Bibliorum Sinaitici Auspiciis Imperatoris Alexandri II. susceptæ" (Leipsic, 1860). Of this most valuable manuscript a complete account will be given in the opening of the next section of this chapter, under the appellation of *Aleph* (\aleph), assigned to it by Tischendorf, in the exercise of his right as its discoverer. Plate I. No. 2.

(3) Codex Alexandrinus of the fifth century (A). Plate I. No. 3.

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| Plate II. | } | (4) Codex Purpureus Cotton. : N of the Gospels | } of the |
| | | (5) Codex Nitriensis Rescriptus, R of the Gospels | |
| Plate III. | } | (6) Codex Dublinensis Rescriptus, Z of the Gospels | } century |
| | | (7) Evangelistarium Harleian. 5598, <i>dated</i> A.D. 995. | |

These manuscripts also will be more fully described in the succeeding sections of this chapter. At present we wish to compare them with each other for the purpose of tracing, as closely as we may, the different styles and fashions of uncial letters which prevailed from the fourth to the tenth or eleventh century of the Christian era. The varying appearance of cursive manuscripts cannot so well be seen by exhibiting their alphabets, for since each letter is for the most part joined to the others in the same word, *connected* passages alone will afford us a correct notion of their character and general features. For the moment we are considering the uncials only.

If the Rosetta stone, by its necessary avoiding of curve lines, so far fails to give us a correct notion of the manner adopted in common writing, it resembles our earliest uncials at least in one respect, that the letters, being as broad as they are high, are all capable of being included within circumscribed squares. Indeed, yet earlier inscriptions are found almost totally destitute of curves, even O and Θ being represented by simple squares, with or without a bisecting horizontal line (see *theta*, p. 35)¹. The Herculanean papyri, however, (a specimen of which we have given in Plate IV. No. 10), are much better suited than inscriptions can be for comparison with our earliest copies of Scripture². Nothing can well be conceived more elegant than these simply-formed graceful little letters (somewhat diminished in size perhaps by the effects of heat) running across the volume, 39 lines in a column, without capitals or breaks be-

¹ The Cotton fragment of the book of Genesis of the fifth century, whose poor shrivelled remains from the fire of 1731 are still preserved in the British Museum, while in common with all other *manuscripts* it exhibits the round shapes of O and Θ, substitutes a lozenge ϕ for the circle in *phi*, after the older fashion (ϕ). *Phi* often has much the same shape in Codex Bezae; e. g. Matth. xiii. 26, Fol. 42 b, l. 13, and once in Codex Z (Matth. xxi. 26, Plate xlviii).

² Our facsimile is borrowed from the Neapolitan volumes, but Plate 57 in the *Paléographie Universelle φιλολογικὴ περὶ μουσικῆ* has the advantage of *colours* for giving a lively idea of the present charred appearance of these papyri.

tween the words. There are scarcely any stops, no breathings, accents, or marks of any kind; only that >, < or ▷ are now and then found at the end of a line, to fill up the space, or to join a word or syllable with what follows. A very few abbreviations occur, such as ϩ̅ in the first line of our specimen, taken from Philodemus *περὶ κακιῶν* (Hercul. Volum. Tom. III. Col. xx. ll. 6—15), the very treatise to which Tischendorf compared his Cod. Frideric-Augustanus (Proleg. § 11). The papyri, buried for so many ages from A.D. 79 downwards, may probably be a century older still, since Philodemus the Epicurean was the contemporary and almost the friend of Cicero¹. Hence from three to four hundred years must have elapsed betwixt the date of the Herculean rolls and that of our earliest Biblical manuscripts. Yet the fashion of writing changed but little during the interval, far less in every respect than in the four centuries which next followed, wherein the plain, firm, upright and square uncials were giving place to the compressed, oblong, ornamented, or even sloping forms which predominate from the seventh or eighth century downwards. While advising the reader to exercise his skill on facsimiles of *entire passages*, especially in contrasting the lines from Philodemus (No. 10) with those from the oldest uncials of the New Testament (Nos. 11—14; 17; 18; 20; 24); we purpose to examine the several alphabets (Nos. 1—7) letter by letter, pointing out to the student those variations in shape which palæographers have judged the safest criteria of their relative ages. *Alpha, delta, theta, xi, pi, omega*, are among the best tests for this purpose.

Alpha is not often found in its present familiar shape, except in inscriptions, where the cross line is sometimes broken into an angle with the vertex downwards (Λ). Even on the Rosetta stone the left limb leans against the upper part of the right limb, but does not form an angle with its extremity, while the cross line, springing not far from the bottom of the left limb, *ascends* to meet the right about half way down. Modifications of this form may be seen in the Herculean rolls, only that the cross line more nearly approaches the horizontal, and sometimes is almost entirely so. The Cod. Frid.-August.² does not vary much from this form, but the three gene-

¹ Cicero de Finibus, Lib. II. c. 35. The same person is apparently meant in Orat. in Pisonem, c. 28, 29.

² We prefer citing Cod. Frid.-August., because our examples have been actually taken from its exquisitely lithographed pages; but the *facsimile* of part of a page from Luke xxiv. represented in Tischendorf's Cod. Sinaiticus, from

rating lines are often somewhat curved. In other books, while the right limb is quite straight, the left and cross line form a kind of loop or cove, as is very observable in the Nitrian fragment R, and often in Codd. Alex., Ephraemi, Bezae, the newly discovered Rossanensis, and in the Vatican more frequently still, in all which *alpha* often approximates to the shape of our English *a*. *And this curve may be regarded as a proof of antiquity*; indeed Tischendorf (Proleg. Cod. Sin. p. xxx. 1863) considers it almost peculiar to the papyri and the Coptic character. Cod. N (which is more recent than those named above) makes the two lines on the left form a sharp angle, as do the Cotton fragment of Genesis (see p. 31, note 1) and Cod. Claromontanus, Plate xiv. No. 41, only that the lines which contain the angle in this last are very fine. In later times, as the letters grew tall and narrow, the modern type of A became more marked, as in the first letter of Arundel 547 (No. 16), of about the 10th century, though the form and thickness seen in the Cod. Claromontanus continued much in vogue to the last. Yet *alpha* even in Cod. Claromontanus and Cotton Genesis occasionally passes from the angle into the loop, though not so often as in Cod. A and its companions. Cod. Borgianus (T), early in the fifth century, exaggerated this loop into a large ellipse, if Giorgi's *facsimile* may be trusted. In Cod. Laudianus E of the Acts and Cureton's palimpsest Homer too the loop is very decided, the Greek and Latin α in Laud. (No. 25) being alike. Mark also its form in the papyrus scrawl No. 9 (from one of the orations of Hyperides edited by Mr Babington), which *may* be as old as the Rosetta stone. The angular shape adopted in Cod. Z (Nos. 6, 18) is unsightly enough, and (I believe) unique. Mr Abbott, however, its last editor, considers the true shape in the manuscript less stiff than the engraved plates represent.

Beta varies less than *Alpha*. Originally it consisted of a tall perpendicular line, on the right side of which four straight lines are so placed as to form two triangles, whereof the vertical line comprises the bases, while a small portion of that vertical line entirely separates the triangles (ξ). This ungraceful figure was modified very early, even in inscriptions. On the Rosetta stone (No. 1) the triangles are rounded off into semicircles, and the lower end of the vertical curved. Yet the shape in manuscripts is not quite so elegant. The lower curve is usually the larger, and the curves rarely touch each other. Such are Codd. ANRZ, Rossanensis (sometimes), and the Cotton Genesis. In the Herculanean rolls the letter comes near the common cursive β ; in some others (as Cod. Rossanensis at times) its shape is quite like the modern B. When oblong letters became common, the top (e.g. in Cod. Bezae) and bottom extremities of the curve ran into straight lines, by way of return into the primitive shape (see No. 36, dated A.D. 980). In the very early papyrus fragment of Hyperides it looks like the English R standing on a base (No. 9, l. 4). But this specimen rather belongs to the semi-cursive hand of common life, than to that of books.

which we have borrowed six lines (No. 11 b), will be seen to resemble exactly the portion published in 1846.

Gamma in its simplest form consists of two lines of equal thickness, the shorter so placed upon the longer, which is vertical, as to make one right angle with it on the right side. Thus we find it in the Rosetta stone, the papyrus of Hyperides, the Herculanean rolls, and very often in Cod. A. The next step was to make the horizontal line very thin, and to strengthen its extremity by a point, or knob, as in Codd. Ephraemi (No. 24), RZ: or the point was thus strengthened without thinning the line, e.g. Codd. Vatican., Rossanensis, N and most later copies, such as Harl. 5598 (No. 7) or its contemporary Parham 18 (No. 36). In Cod. Bezae (No. 42) *gamma* much resembles the Latin *r*.

Delta should be closely scrutinized. Its most ancient shape is an equilateral triangle, the sides being all of the same thickness (Δ). Cod. Claromontanus, though of the sixth century, is in this instance as simple as any: the Herculanean rolls, Codd. Vatican., Sinait., and the very old copy of the Pentateuch at Paris (Colbert) and Leyden, much resemble it, only that sometimes the Herculanean sides are slightly curved, and the right descending stroke of Cod. Vatican. is thickened. In Cod. A begins a tendency to prolong the base on one or both sides, and to strengthen one or both ends by points. We see a little more of this in Cod. Rossanensis and in the palimpsest Homer of the fifth century, published by Cureton. The habit increases and gradually becomes confirmed in Codd. Ephraemi (No. 24), the Vatican Dio Cassius of the 5th or 6th century, in Cod. R, and particularly in N and E of the Acts (Nos. 4, 14, 25). In the oblong later uncials it becomes quite elaborate, e.g. Cod. B of the Apocalypse, or Nos. 7, 21, 36. On the Rosetta stone and in the Cod. Bezae the right side is produced beyond the triangle, and is produced and slightly curved in Hyperides, curved and strongly pointed in Cod. Z.

Epsilon has its ordinary angular form on the Rosetta marble and other inscriptions; in the oldest manuscripts it consists of a semi-circle, from whose centre to the right of it a horizontal radius is drawn to the concave circumference. Thus it appears in the Herculanean rolls (only that here the radius is usually broken off before it meets the circle), in Codd. Frid.-August., Vatican., the two Paris Pentateuchs (Colbert-Leyden 5th cent., Coislin. 6th) and the Cotton Génesis. In Cod. Alex. a slight trace is found of the more recent practice of strengthening each of the three extremities with knobs, but only the radius at times in Cod. Rossanensis. The custom increases in Codd. Ephraemi, Bezae, and still more in Codd. NRZ, wherein the curve becomes greater than a semicircle. In Hyperides (and in a slighter degree in Cod. Claromon. No. 41) the shape almost resembles the Latin *e*. The form of this and the other round letters was afterwards much affected in the narrow oblong uncials: see Nos. 7, 16, 36.

Zeta on the Rosetta stone maintains its old form (Z), which is indeed but the next letter reversed. In manuscripts it receives its usual modern shape (*Z*), the ends being pointed decidedly, slightly, or not at all, much after the manner described for *epsilon*. In old

copies the lower horizontal line is a trifle curved (Cod. R, No. 5), or even both the extreme lines (Cod. Z, No. 6, and Cod. Augiensis of St Paul). In such late books as Parham 18 (A.D. 980, *facsim.* No. 36) *Zeta* is so large as to run far below the line, ending in a kind of tail.

Eta does not depart from its normal shape (H) except that in Cod. Ephraemi (No. 24) and some narrow and late uncials (e.g. Nos. 7, 36) the cross line is often more than half way up the letter. In a few later uncials the cross line passes *outside* the two perpendiculars, as in the Cod. Augiensis, 26 times on the photographed page of Scribener's edition.

Theta deserves close attention. In some early inscriptions it is found as a square, bisected horizontally (Θ). On the Rosetta stone and most others (but only in such monuments) it is a circle, with a strong central *point*. On the Herculanean rolls the central point is spread into a short horizontal line, yet not reaching the circumference (No. 10, l. 8). Thence in our uncials from the fourth to the sixth century the line becomes a horizontal diameter to a true circle (Codd. Vatican., Sinait., Codd. ANRZ, Ephraemi, Claromont., Rossanensis, and Cureton's Homer). In the 7th century the diameter began to pass out of the circle on both sides: thence the circle came to be compressed into an ellipse (sometimes very narrow), and the ends of the minor axis to be ornamented with knobs, as in Cod. B of the Apocalypse (8th cent.), Cod. Augiensis (9th cent.), LX of the Gospels, after the manner of the 10th century (Nos. 7, 16, 21, 36, 38).

Iota would need no remark but for the custom of placing over it and *upsilon*, when they commence a syllable, either a very short straight line, or one or two dots. After the papyrus rolls no copy is quite without them, from the Codex Alexandrinus, the Cotton Genesis and Paris-Leyden Pentateuch, Cod. Z and the Isaiah included in it, to the more recent cursives; although in some manuscripts they are much rarer than in others. By far the most usual practice is to put two points, but Cod. Ephraemi, in its *New Testament* portion, stands nearly alone with the Cotton Genesis (ch. xviii. 9) in exhibiting the straight line; Cod. Sinaiticus employs two points or a straight line (as in Z's Isaiah) promiscuously over both vowels, and in Wake 12, a cursive of the eleventh century, the former frequently pass into the latter in writing. Codd. Borgianus (T) and Claromont. have but one point; Codd. N and Rossanensis have two for *iota*, one for *upsilon*.

Kappa deserves notice chiefly because the vertex of the angle formed by the two inclined lines very frequently does not meet the perpendicular line, but falls short of it a little to the right: we observe this in Codd. ANR, Ephraemi, Rossanensis, and later books. The copies that have strong points at the end of *epsilon* &c. (e.g. Codd. NR and AZ partly) have the same at the extremity of the thin or upper limb of *Kappa*. In Cod. D a fine horizontal stroke runs a little to the left from the bottom of the vertical line. Compare also the initial letter in Cod. M, No. 19.

Lambda much resembles *alpha*, but is less complicated. All our models (except Harl. 5598, No. 7), from the Rosetta stone downwards, have the right limb longer than the left, which thus leans against its side, but the length of the projection varies even in the same passage (e.g. No. 10). In most copies later than the Herculanean rolls and Cod. Sinaiticus the shorter line is much the thinner, and the longer slightly curved. In Cod. Z (Nos. 6, 18) the projection is curved elegantly at the end, as we saw in *delta*.

Mu varies as much as most letters. Its normal shape, resembling the English M, is retained in the Rosetta stone and most inscriptions, but at an early period there was a tendency to make the letter broader, and not to bring the re-entering or middle angle so low as in English (e.g. Codd. Vaticanus and Sinaiticus). In Cod. Ephraemi this central angle is sometimes a little rounded: in Codd. Alex. and Parham 18 the lines forming the angle do not always spring from the top of the vertical lines: in Arund. 547 (No. 16) they spring almost from their foot, forming a thick inelegant loop below the line, the letter being rather narrow: Harl. 5598 (No. 7) somewhat resembles this last, only that the loop is higher up. In the Herculanean rolls (and to a less extent in the Cotton Genesis) the two outer lines cease to be perpendicular, and lean outwards until the letter looks much like an inverted W (No. 10). In the papyrus Hyperides (No. 9) these outer lines are low curves, and the central lines rise in a kind of flourish above them. *Mu* assumes this shape also in Cod. T, and at the end of a line even in Codd. Vaticanus and Sinaiticus. The initial letter in the last line of Plate VIII. No. 20 (Cod. Vatican.), however, betrays a later hand. This form is so much exaggerated in some examples, that by discarding the outer curves we obtain the shape seen in Cod. Z (Nos. 6, 18) and one or two others (e.g. Paul M in Harl. 5613, No. 34), almost exactly resembling an inverted *pi*. So also in the Isaiah of Cod. Z, only that the left side and base line were made by one stroke of the pen.

Nu is easier, the only change (besides the universal transition from the square to the oblong in the later uncials) being that in a few cases the thin cross line does not pass from the top of the left to the bottom of the right vertical line as in English (N), but only from about half-way or two-thirds down the left vertical in the Cotton Genesis, Codd. A, Rossanensis, Harl. 5598 (No. 7), and others; in Codd. Σ NR Parham 18 it often neither springs from the top of one, nor reaches the foot of the other (Nos. 4, 5, 11b, 12, 36); while in Cod. Claromont. (No. 41) it is here and there not far from horizontal. In a few *curtives* (e.g. 440 Evan. at Cambridge, and Tischendorf's lo^a or 61 of the Acts), H and N almost interchange their shapes: so in Evan. 66 and Wake 34 at the end of a line only.

Xi in the Rosetta stone and Herculanean rolls consists of three parallel straight lines, the middle one being the shortest, as in modern printed Greek: but all our Biblical manuscripts exhibit modifications of the small printed ξ , such as must be closely inspected, but cannot easily be described. In the Cotton Genesis this *xi* is narrow and

smaller than its fellows, much like an old English 3 resting on a horizontal base which curves downwards: while in late uncials, as B of the Apocalypse, Cod. Augiensis (l. 13 Scrivener's *photographed page*), and especially in Parham 18 (No. 36), the letter and its flourished finial are continued far below the line. For the rest we must refer to our *facsimile* alphabets, &c. The figures in Cod. Frid.-August. (Nos. 2, 11a, ll. 3, 8) look particularly awkward, nor does the shape in Cod. Rossanensis much differ from these. In Cod. E, the Zurich Psalter of the seventh century, and Mr Bradshaw's fragment W^a, *xi* is the common Z with a large horizontal line over it, strengthened by knobs at each end.

Omicron is unchanged, excepting that in the latest uncials (No. 16, 36) the circle is mostly compressed, like *theta*, into a very eccentric ellipse.

Pi requires attention. Its original shape was doubtless two vertical straight lines joined at top by another horizontal, thinner perhaps but not much shorter than they. Thus we meet with it on the Rosetta stone, Codd. R, Vatican., Sinaiticus, Ephraemi, Claromontanus, Laud. of the Acts, the two Pentateuchs, Cureton's Homer, and sometimes Cod. A (No. 12). The fine horizontal line is, however, slightly produced on both sides in such early documents as the papyri of Hyperides and Herculaneum, and in the Cotton Genesis, as well as in Cod. A occasionally. Both extremities of this line are fortified by strong points in Codd. N and Rossanensis, and mostly in Cod. A, but the left side only in Cod. Z, and this in Cod. Bezae occasionally becomes a sort of hooked curve. The later oblong *pi* was usually very plain, with thick vertical lines and a very fine horizontal, in Arund. 547 (No. 16) not at all produced; in Harl. 5598 (No. 7) slightly produced on both sides; in Parham 18 (No. 36) produced only on the left.

Rho is otherwise simple, but in all our authorities except inscriptions is produced below the line of writing, least perhaps in the papyri and Cod. Claromont., considerably in Codd. AX (Nos. 12, 38), most in Parham 18 (No. 36): Codd. N, Rossanensis, and many later copies have the lower extremity boldly *bevelled*. The form is ϱ rather than P in Codd. KA. In Cod. D a horizontal stroke, longer and thicker than in *kappa*, runs to the left from the bottom of the vertical line.

Sigma retains its angular shape (Ϛ or ϛ) only on inscriptions, as the Rosetta, and that long after the square shapes of *omicron* and *theta* were discarded. The semicircular form, however, arose early, and to this letter must be applied all that was said of *epsilon* as regards terminal points (a knob at the lower extremity occurs even in Cod. K, e.g. Acts ii. 31), and its cramped shape in later ages.

Tau in its oldest form consists of two straight lines of like thickness, the horizontal being bisected by the lower and vertical one. As early as in Cod. Sinaiticus the horizontal line is made thin, and strengthened on the left side *only* by a point or small knob (No. 3, 11): thus we find it in Cod. Laud. of the Acts sometimes. In Cod.

Alex. *both* ends are slightly pointed, in Codd. Ephraemi, Rossanensis, and others much more. In Cod. Bezae the horizontal is curved and flourished; in the late uncials the vertical is very thick, the horizontal fine, and the ends formed into heavy triangles (e.g. No. 16).

Upsilon on the Rosetta stone and Herculean rolls is like our Y, all the strokes being of equal thickness and not running below the line: nor do they in Hyperides or in Codd. XZ and Augiensis, which have the upper lines neatly curved (Nos. 6, 9, 18, 38). The right limb of many of the rest is sometimes, but not always curved; the vertical line in Codd. Vatican. and Sinaiticus drops slightly below the line; in Codd. A, Ephraemi, Cotton Genesis, Cureton's Homer, Laud. of the Acts and Rossanensis somewhat more; in others (as Codd. Bezae NR) considerably. In the subscription to St Matthew's Gospel, which may be by a somewhat later hand, a horizontal line crosses the vertical a little below the curved lines in Cod. Rossanensis. In later uncials (Nos. 7, 36) it becomes a long or awkward Y, or even degenerates into a long V (No. 16); or, in copies written by Latin scribes, into Y reversed. We have described under *iota* the custom of placing dots, &c. over *upsilon*. But in Tischendorf's Leipzig II. (fragments from Numbers to Judges of the seventh or eighth century) *upsilon* receives two dots, *iota* only one. Once in Cod. Z (Matt. xxi. 5) and oftener in its Isaiah a convex semicircle, like a circumflex, stands over *upsilon*.

Phi is a remarkable letter. In most copies it is the largest in the alphabet, quite disproportionately large in Codd. ZL (Paris 62) and others, and to some extent in Codd. AR, Ephraemi, Rossanensis, and Claromont. The circle (which in the Cotton Genesis is *sometimes* still a lozenge, see above, p. 31 note 1), though large and in some copies even too broad (e.g. No. 18), is usually in the line of the other letters, the vertical line being produced *far* upwards (Cod. Augiens. and Nos. 16, 41), or downwards (No. 10), or both (No. 36). On the Rosetta stone the circle is very small and the straight line short.

Chi is a simple transverse cross (X) and never goes above or below the line. The limb that inclines from left to right is for the most part thick, the other thin (with final points according to the practice stated for *epsilon*), and this limb or both (as in Cod. Z) a little curved.

Psi is a rare but trying letter. Its oldest form resembled an English V with a straight line running up bisecting its interior angle. On the Rosetta stone it had already changed into its present form (Ψ), the curve being a small semicircle, the vertical rising and falling a little below the line. In the Cotton Genesis *psi* is rather taller than the rest, but the vertical line does not rise above the level of the circle. In Codd. ANR and Rossanensis the under line is prolonged: in R the two limbs are straight lines making an angle of about 45° with the vertical, while oftentimes in Hyperides and Cod. Augiensis (Scrivener's *photograph*, ll. 18, 23) they curve *downwards*; the limbs in N and R being strongly (slightly in Rossanensis) pointed at the

ends, and the bottom of the vertical bevelled as usual. In Cod. B of the Apocalypse, in Evan. OW^aΞ, and even in Hyperides, the limbs (strongly pointed) fall into a straight line, and the figure becomes a large cross (No. 7). In Evan. 66 the vertical is crossed above the semicircle by a minute horizontal line.

Omega took the form Ω, even when *omicron* and *theta* were square; thus it appears on the Rosetta stone, but in the Hyperides and Herculean rolls it is a single curve, much like the w of English writing, only that the central part is sometimes only a low double curve (No. 10, l. 6). In the Cotton Genesis, Codd. Vatican., Sinaiticus, Alex., Ephraemi, Bezae, Claromont., Nitriens., Rossanensis, there is little difference in shape, though sometimes Cod. Vatican. comes near the Herculean rolls, and Cod. Alex. next to it: elsewhere their strokes (especially those in the centre) are fuller and more laboured. Yet in Cod. N it is often but a plain semicircle, bisected by a perpendicular radius, with the ends of the curve bent inwards (No. 14, l. 2). In the late uncials (Nos. 7, 16) it almost degenerates into an ungraceful W, while in Cod. Augiensis (*photograph*, l. 18) the first limb is occasionally a complete circle.

These details might be indefinitely added to by references to other codices and monuments of antiquity, but we have employed most of the principal copies of the Greek Testament, and have indicated to the student the chief points to which his attention should be drawn. Two leading principles have perhaps been sufficiently established by the foregoing examples:

First, that the upright square uncials are more ancient than those which are narrow, oblong, or *leaning*¹.

Secondly, that the simpler and less elaborate the style of writing, the more remote is its probable date.

Copies of a later age occasionally aim at imitating the fashion of an earlier period, or possibly the style of the older book from which their text is drawn. But this anachronism of fashion may be detected, as well by other circumstances we are soon to mention, as from the air of constraint which pervades the whole manuscript: the rather as the scribe will now and then fall into the more familiar manner of his contemporaries; especially when writing those small letters which our Biblical

¹ Codd. B of Apocalypse, Θ^a Λ (No. 30) of the Gospels, and Silvestre's No. 68, all of about the 8th century, slope more or less to the right; Cod. Γ (No. 35) of the 9th century, a very little to the left. Tischendorf assigns to the 7th century the fragments comprising Leipzig II. (see p. 38), though they lean much to the right (*Monum. sacra ined.* tom. I, pp. xxx.—xxxiv., 141—176), and those of Isaiah (*ibid.* pp. xxxvi.—xxxvii., 187—199).

ratively unformed character of the writing in them all, that Burney 19 in the British Museum (from which we have extracted the alphabet No. 8, Plate III.), and the minute, beautiful and important Codex 1 of the Gospels at Basle (of which see a *facsimile* No. 23)¹, are but little later than the Oxford books, and may be referred to the tenth century. Books copied after the cursive hand had become regularly formed, in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, are hard to be distinguished by the mere handwriting, though they are often dated, or their age fixed by the material (see p. 23), or the style of their illuminations. Colbert. 2844, or 33 of the Gospels, "the Queen of the cursives," as it has been called from its critical value (*facsim.* No. 39), is attributed to the eleventh century. Our next specimen, Burney 21 (*facsimile* No. 15), is dated A.D. 1292, and affords a good example of the style usual with the religious persons who were the official scribes (*καλλιγραφοι*)² of their respective convents, and copied the Holy Scriptures for sale. *Beta* (l. 1 letter 4), when joined to other letters, is barely distinguishable from *upsilon*³; *nu* is even nearer to *mu*; the tall forms of *eta* and *epsilon* are very graceful, the whole style elegant and, after a little practice, easily read. Burney 22 (*facsimile* No. 37) is dated about the same time, A.D. 1319, and the four Biblical lines much resemble Burney 21; but the lines below, containing the date (which yet on the

¹ For the facsimiles of Codd. FGHUX we were indebted to the great kindness of Dr Tregelles, who permitted an artist to copy them from tracings of one whole page of every manuscript he had collated, taken with his own hand. Those of BEKLM 1. 33 and D Paul are from photographs most liberally presented to me for this purpose by Dean Burgon.

² The writer of Burney 21 (*Γ*^{ms}), ὁ ταπεινὸς Θεόδωρος ἀγιοπετριτῆς ταχὰ καὶ καλλιγράφος as he calls himself (that is, as I once supposed, monk of the Convent of Sancta Petra at Constantinople, short-hand and fair writer), was the scribe of at least *five* more copies of Scripture now extant: Birch's Havn. 1, A. D. 1278 [Scholz Evan. 234]; Wetstein's Evan. 90, A. D. 1293; q^{ms} A. D. 1295; Scholz's Evan. 412, A. D. 1301; Wetstein's Evan. 74, *undated*. To this list Delitzsch (*Zeitschr. f. luth. Theol.* 1863, II., *Abhandlungen*, pp. 217—8) adds from Matthei, Synaxarion in Mosc. Syn. Typograph. xxvi. A. D. 1295, and recognises *Hagios Petros*, the country of Theodoros, as a town in the Morea, on the borders of Arcadia, from whose school students have attended his own lectures at Erlangen.

³ Hence in the later uncials, some of which must therefore have been copied from earlier cursives, B and T (which might seem to have no resemblance) are sometimes confounded: e. g. in Parham 18 (A. D. 980), *υ* for *β*, Luke vi. 34; *β* for *υ*, John x. 1.

whole seem to be *prima manu*) are so full of flourishes and contractions, that they cannot easily be deciphered at a first glance¹. In the fourteenth century a careless style came into fashion, of which Cod. Leicestrensis (No. 40) is an exaggerated instance, and during this century and the next our manuscripts, though not devoid of a certain beauty of appearance, are too full of arbitrary and elaborate contractions to be conveniently read. The formidable list of abbreviations and ligatures represented in Donaldson's Greek Grammar (p. 20, 2nd ed.) originated at this period in the perverse ingenuity of the Greek emigrants in the West of Europe, who subsisted by their skill as copyists; and these pretty puzzles (for such they now are to many a fair classical scholar), by being introduced into early printed books², have largely helped to withdraw them from use in modern times.

12. We have now to describe the practice of Biblical manuscripts as regards the insertion of *ι* forming a diphthong with the long vowels *eta* and *omega*, whether by being *ascript*, i.e. written by their side, or *subscript*, i.e. written under them. In the earliest inscriptions and in the papyri of Thebes *ι ascript* (the *iota* not smaller than other letters) is invariably found. In the petition to Ptolemy Philometor (*above*, p. 40) it occurs four times in the first line, three times in the third: in the fragments of Hyperides it is perpetually though not always read, even where (especially with verbs) it has no rightful place, e.g. *ετοι και αντιβολωι* (*facsim.* No. 9, ll. 3, 4) for *αιτω και αντιβολω*. A little before the Christian era it began to grow obsolete, probably from its being lost in pronunciation. In the Herculanean Philodemus (the possible limits of whose date are from B.C. 50 to A.D. 79) it is often dropped, though more usually written. In Codd. Vaticanus and Sinaiticus it is probably not found, and from this period it almost disappears from

¹ The full signature is *ετελειωθη το παρον αγιον ευαγγελιον κατα την κ̄ζ του ιανουαριου μηνος της [?] ω̄ κ̄ ζ̄ εγχρονιας*. Presuming that *τ* is suppressed before *ω̄ κ̄ ζ̄* this is 6827 of the Greeks, A.D. 1319.

² Thus the type cast for the Royal Printing Office at Paris, and used by Robert Stephen, is said to have been modelled on the style of the calligrapher Angelus Vergecius, from whose skill arose the expression "he writes like an angel." Codd. 296 of the Gospels, 124 of the Acts, 151 of St Paul are in his hand.

Biblical uncials¹; in Cureton's Homer, of the fifth or perhaps of the sixth century, *ι ascript* is sometimes neglected, but usually inserted; sometimes also *ι* is placed *above* H or Ω, an arrangement neither neat nor convenient. With the cursive character *ι ascript* came in again, as may be seen from the subscriptions in the Bodleian Euclid and Plato (p. 40, *note* 2). The *semi-cursive* fragment of St Paul's Epistles in red letters (No. 34), used for the binding of Harleian 5613, contains *ι ascript* twice, but I have tried in vain to verify Griesbach's statement (*Symbol. Crit.* II. p. 166) that it has *ι subscript* "bis tantum aut ter." I can find no such instance in these leaves. The cursive manuscripts, speaking generally, either entirely omit both forms, or, if they give either, far more often neglect than insert them. Cod. 1 of the Gospels exhibits the *ascript ι*. Of 43 codices now in England which have been examined with a view to this matter, twelve have no vestige of either fashion, fifteen represent the *ascript* use, nine the *subscript* exclusively, while the few that remain exhibit both indifferently². The earliest cursive copy ascertained to exhibit *ι subscript* (and that but a few times) is the Cod. Ephesius or Wetstein's 71, dated A.D. 1160. The *subscript ι* came much into vogue during the 15th century, and thus was adopted in printed books.

13. Breathings (*spiritus*) and accents present more difficulty, by reason of a practice which prevailed about the 7th or 8th centuries of inserting them in older manuscripts, where they were absent *primâ manu*. That such was done in many instances (e.g. in Codd. Vatican. and Coislin. 202 or H of St Paul) appears clearly from the fact that the passages which the scribe who retouched the old letters (p. 26) for any cause left unaltered, are destitute of these marks, though they appear in all other places. The case of Cod. Alexandrinus is less easy. Though the rest of the

¹ Yet Tischendorf (N.T. 1859, Proleg. p. cxxxiii.) cites *ηδισαυ* from Cod. Bezae (Mark i. 34), *ἐυλαω* (Luke xxiii. 31) from Cod. Cyprius, *ω* from Cod. U (Matth. xxv. 15) and Cod. A (Luke vii. 4). Add Cod. Bezae *παρρωιου* Acts xxii. 8, Scrivener's edition, Introd. p. xix. Bentley's nephew speaks of *ι ascript* as in the first hand of Cod. B, but he seems to have been mistaken.

² In B—C III. 10 (dated 1430), the whole manuscript being written by the same hand, we have *ι ascript* 25 times up to Luke i. 75, then on the same page *ι subscript* in Luke i. 77 and 85 times afterwards: the two usages are nowhere mixed.

book has neither breathings (except a few here and there) nor accents, the first four lines of *each* column of the book of Genesis (see *facsimile* No. 12), which are written in red, are fully furnished with them. These marks Baber, who edited the Old Testament portion of Cod. A, pronounced to be by a second hand (Notæ, p. 1); Sir Frederick Madden, a more competent judge, declares them the work of the original scribe (Madden's *Silvestre*, Vol. I. p. 194 note), and after repeated examination we know not how to dissent from his view. So too in the Sarravian Pentateuch of the fifth century we read $\tau\omicron\nu\overset{\uparrow}{\nu}$ (Lev. xi. 7) by the first hand. The Cureton palimpsest of Homer also has them, though they are occasionally obliterated, and some few are evidently inserted by a corrector; the case is nearly so with the Milan Homer edited by Mai; and the same must be stated of the Vienna Dioscorides (*Silvestre* No. 62), whose date is fixed by internal evidence to about A.D. 500. In the papyrus fragment of the Psalms, now in the British Museum, the accents are very accurate, and the work of the original scribe. These facts, and others like these, may make us hesitate to adopt the notion generally received among scholars on the authority of Montfaucon (*Palaeogr. Graec.* p. 33), that breathings and accents were not introduced *primâ manu* before the 7th or 8th century; though even at that period, no doubt, they were placed very incorrectly, and often omitted altogether. The breathings are much the more ancient and important of the two. The *spiritus lenis* indeed may be a mere invention of the Alexandrian grammarians of the second or third century before Christ, but the *spiritus asper* is in fact the substitute for a real letter (H) which appears on the oldest inscriptions; its original shape being the first half of the H (⊢), of which the second half was subsequently adopted for the *lenis* (⊣). This form is sometimes found in manuscripts of about the eleventh century (e.g. Lebanon, B. M. Addit. 11300 or k^{acr}, and usually in Lambeth 1178 or d^{acr}), but even in the Cod. Alexandrinus the comma and inverted comma are several times substituted to represent the *lenis* and *asper* respectively (*facsim.* No. 12): and at a later period this last was the ordinary, though not quite the invariable, mode of expressing the breathings. Aristophanes of Byzantium (keeper of the famous Library at Alexandria under Ptolemy Euergetes, about B. C. 240), though probably not the inventor of

the Greek accents, was the first to arrange them in a system. Accentuation must have been a welcome aid to those who employed Greek as a learned, though not as their vernacular tongue, and is so convenient and suggestive that no modern scholar can afford to dispense with its familiar use: yet not being, like the rough breathing, an essential portion of the language, it was but slowly brought into general vogue. It would seem that in Augustine's age [354—430] the distinction between the smooth and rough breathing in the manuscripts was just such a point as a careful reader would mark, a hasty one overlook¹. Hence it is not surprising that though these marks are entirely absent both from the Theban and Herculean papyri, a few breathings are apparently by the first hand in Cod. Borgianus or T (Tischendorf, N.T. 1859, Proleg. p. cxxxi). One rough breathing is just visible in that early palimpsest of St John's Gospel, I^a or N^b. Such as appear, together with some accents, in the Coislin Octateuch of the 6th or 7th century, may not the less be *primâ manu* because many pages are destitute of them; those of Cod. Claromontanus, which were once deemed original, are now pronounced by its editor Tischendorf to be a later addition. Cod. N, the purple fragment so often spoken of already, exhibits *primâ manu* over certain vowels a kind of smooth breathing or slight acute accent, sometimes little larger than a point, but inserted on no intelligible principle, so far as we can see, and far oftener omitted entirely. All copies of Scripture which have not been specified, down to the end of the 7th century, are quite destitute of breathings and accents. An important manuscript of the 8th or 9th century, Cod. L or Paris 62 of the Gospels, has them for the most part, but not always; though often in the wrong place, and at times in utter defiance of all grammatical rules. Cod. B of the Apocalypse, however, though of the same age, has breathings and accents as constantly and correctly as most. Codices of the ninth century, with the exception of three written in the West of Europe

¹ He is speaking (*Question. super Genes. clxii.*) of the difference between $\rho\acute{\alpha}\beta\beta\omicron\nu\ \alpha\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\delta$ and $\rho\acute{\alpha}\beta\beta\omicron\nu\ \alpha\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\delta$, Gen. xlvii. 31. "Fallit enim eos verbum Græcum, quod eisdem literis scribitur, sive *ejus*, sive *sua*: sed accentus [he must mean the breathings] dispares sunt, et ab eis, qui ista noverunt, in codicibus non contemnantur" (*Opera*, Tom. iv. p. 58, ed. 1586, Lugdun.); adding that "*sua*" might be expressed by $\epsilon\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\delta$.

(Codd. Augiensis or Paul F, Sangallensis or Δ of the Gospels, and Boernerianus or Paul G, which will be particularly described in the next section), are all accompanied with these marks in full, though often set down without any precise rule, so far as our experience has enabled us to observe. The uncial Evangelistaria (e.g. Arundel 547; Parham 18; Harleian 5598), especially, are much addicted to prefixing the *spiritus asper* improperly; chiefly, perhaps, to words beginning with H, so that documents of that age are but slender authorities on such points. Of the cursives the general tendency is to be more and more accurate as regards the accentuation, the later the date: but this is only a general rule, as some that are early are as careful, and certain of the latest as negligent, as can well be imagined. All of them are partial to placing accents or breathings over both parts of a word compounded with a preposition (e.g. ἐπισυνάξαι), and on the other hand often drop them between a preposition and its case (e.g. ἐπαγοτρον).

14. The punctuation in early times was very simple. In the papyri of Hyperides there are no stops at all, in the Herculanean rolls exceeding few: Codd. Sinaiticus and Vaticanus (the latter very rarely by the first hand) have a single point here and there on a level with the top of the letters, and occasionally a very small break in the continuous uncials, with or (as always in Cod. P^o of the sixth century) without the point, to denote a pause in the sense. Codd. A N have the same point a little oftener; in Codd. C W* (Paris 314) Z and the Cotton Genesis the single point stands indiscriminately at the head, middle, or foot of the letters, while in E (Basil. A. N. iii. 12) of the Gospels and B of the Apocalypse, as in Cod. Marchalianus of the Prophets (sixth or seventh century), this change in the position of the point indicates a full-stop, half stop, or comma respectively. In Cod. L, of the same date as Codd. E and B (Apoc.), besides the full point we have the comma (::) and semicolon (::), with a cross also for a stop. In Codd. Y Θ* (of about the eighth century) the single point has its various powers as in Cod. E, &c., but besides this are double, treble, and in Cod. Y quadruple, points with different powers. In late uncials, especially Evangelistaria, the chief stop is a cross, often in red (e.g. Arund. 547); while in Harleian 5598 § seems to be the note

of interrogation¹. When the continuous writing came to be broken up into separate words (of which Cod. Augiensis in the ninth century affords one of the earliest examples) the single point was intended to be placed after the last letter of each word, on a level with the middle of the letters. But even in this copy it is often omitted in parts, and in Codd. ΔG, written on the same plan, more frequently still. Our statements refer only to the Greek portions of these copies; the Latin semicolon (;) and the note of interrogation (?) occur in their Latin versions. The Greek interrogation (;) first occurs about the ninth century, and (,) used as a stop a little later. The Bodleian Genesis of this date, or a little earlier, uses (,) also as an interrogative. In the earliest cursives the system of punctuation is much the same as that of printed books: the English colon (:), not being much used, but the upper single point in its stead². In a few cursives (e.g. Gonville or 59 of the Gospels), this upper point, set in a larger space, stands also for a full stop: indeed (·) is the only stop found in Tischendorf's lo^u or 61 of the Acts (Brit. Mus. Add. 20,003): while (;) and (·) are often confused in 440 of the Gospels (Cantab. Mm. 6. 9). The English comma, placed above a letter, is used for the apostrophus, which occurs in the very oldest uncials, especially at the end of proper names, or to separate compounds (e.g. *απ' ορφανισθεντες* in Cod. Clarom.), or when the word ends in ξ or ρ (e.g. *σαρξ'* in Cod. B, *θυγατηρ'* in Codd. Sinait. and A, *χειρ'* in Cod. A, *ωσπερ'* in the Dioscorides, A. D. 500), or even to divide syllables (e.g. *συριγ'γας* in Cod. Frid.-August., *πολλα, κατεστραμ'μενη, αναγ'γελι* in Cod. Sinaiticus). In Cod. Z it is found only after *αλλ* and *μεθ*, but in Z's Isaiah it indicates other elisions (e.g. *επ*). This mark is more rare in Cod. Ephraemi than in some others, but is used more or

¹ In the Gale Evangelistarium (Trin. Coll. Camb. O. 4. 22) the interrogative clause is set between two such marks in red. Hence it seems not so much a stop as a vocal note. In the Armenian language the note of interrogation is set before the interrogative clause, and very conveniently too.

² Dr Ezra Abbot of Harvard University has found perhaps the earliest known example of the use of two dots like our colon for separating paragraphs in a letter of a certain Dionysius to Ptolemy about B. C. 160, published by the French Institute, 1865, in "Papyrus grecs du Musée du Louvre," &c. Tom. xviii. 2^e ptie, pl. xxxiv., pap. 49 (*Journal of American Oriental Society*, Vol. x. No. 1, p. 195, 1872). The same double points are also occasionally set in the larger spaces of Codd. Sinaiticus, Sarravianus, and Bezae, but in the last-named copy for the most part in a later hand.

less by all, and is found after $\epsilon\xi$, or $\sigma\chi$, and a few like words, even in the most recent cursives. In Cod. Bezae and others it assumes the shape of > rather than that of a comma.

15. Abbreviated words are perhaps least met with in Cod. Vatican., but even it has $\theta\sigma$, $\kappa\sigma$, $\iota\sigma$, $\chi\sigma$, $\pi\nu\alpha$ for $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\iota\eta\sigma\acute{o}\upsilon\varsigma$, $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\pi\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$, &c. and their cases. The Cotton Genesis has $\theta\sigma\upsilon$ ch. i. 27 by a later hand, but $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ ch. xli. 38. Besides these Codd. Sinaiticus, Alex., Ephraemi and the rest supply $\alpha\nu\sigma\sigma$, $\sigma\upsilon\nu\sigma\sigma$, $\pi\eta\rho$ ($\overline{\pi\rho}$ Cod. Sarrav. Num. xii. 14, &c., $\overline{\pi\tau\eta\rho}$ Cod. Rossanensis), $\overline{\mu\eta\rho}$, $\overline{\iota\lambda\eta\mu}$ or $\overline{\iota\eta\lambda\mu}$ or $\overline{\iota\lambda\mu}$ or $\overline{\iota\eta\mu}$ ($\overline{\iota\epsilon\lambda\mu}$ Cod. Sarrav.), $\overline{\iota\eta\lambda}$ or $\overline{\iota\sigma\lambda}$ or $\overline{\iota\eta\lambda}$, $\overline{\delta\alpha\delta}$, and some of them $\overline{\sigma\eta\rho}$ for $\sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho$, $\overline{\upsilon\sigma}$ for $\upsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$, $\overline{\pi\alpha\rho\nu\sigma}$ for $\pi\alpha\rho\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ (Bodleian Genesis), $\overline{\sigma\rho\sigma}$ for $\sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$: Cod. L has $\pi\nu\epsilon^{\nu}$, and Cod. Vatican. in the Old Testament $\alpha\nu\sigma$ and $\overline{\pi\rho\sigma}$ occasionally, $\overline{\iota\sigma\lambda}$ and $\overline{\iota\lambda\eta\mu}$ or $\overline{\iota\lambda\mu}$ often¹. Cod. Bezae always writes at length $\alpha\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$, $\mu\eta\tau\eta\rho$, $\upsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$, $\sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho$, $\omicron\acute{\upsilon}\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma$, $\delta\alpha\nu\epsilon\iota\delta$, $\iota\epsilon\rho\upsilon\sigma\alpha\lambda\eta\mu$; but abridges the sacred names into $\chi\rho\sigma$, $\iota\eta\sigma^{\nu}$ &c. and their cases, as very frequently, but by no means invariably, do the kindred Codd. Augiens., Sangall., and Boerner. Cod. Z seldom abridges, and all copies often set $\upsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ in full. A few dots sometimes supply the place of the line denoting abbreviation (e.g. $\theta\acute{\sigma}$ Cotton Genesis, $\alpha\acute{\nu}\acute{o}\sigma$ Colbert. Pentateuch). A straight line over the last letter of a line, sometimes over any vowel, indicates N (or also M in the Latin of Codd. Bezae and Claromont.) in all the Biblical uncials, but is placed only over numerals in the Herculean rolls: κ , τ , and less often θ for $\kappa\alpha\iota$ (see p. 16, note 1), $-\tau\alpha\iota$, $-\theta\alpha\iota$ are met with in Cod. Sinaiticus and all later except Cod. Z: 8 for $\sigma\upsilon$ chiefly in Codd. L, Augiensis, B of the Apocalypse, and the more recent uncials. Such *compendia scribendi* as $\overline{\pi\tau}$ in the Herculean rolls (above p. 32) occur mostly at the end of lines: that form, with M^oT (No. 11a, l. 4), and a few more even in the Cod. Sinaiticus; in Cod. Sarrav. \overline{M} stands for both $\mu\omicron\upsilon$ and $\mu\omicron\iota$; in Cureton's Homer we have $\overline{\Pi}^{\circ}$ for $\pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, \overline{C}° for $-\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ and such like. In later books they are

¹ Abbot, *ubi supra*.

² Even Codex Sinaiticus has $\overline{\iota\eta\nu}$ and $\overline{\iota\nu}$ in consecutive lines (Apoc. xxii. 20, 21), and $\overline{\chi\rho\nu}$ Rom. vii. 4.

more numerous and complicated, particularly in cursive writing. The terminations ° for *os*, ¯ for *ν*, ` or ¨ for *ov*, ¨ for *ais*, ~ for *ων* or *ω* or *ως*, ¨ for *ης*, ¨ for *ov* are familiar; besides others, peculiar to one or a few copies, e.g. *τγ* for *ττ* in Burney 19, and Burdett-Coutts I. 4, *h* for *av*, *b* for *ep*, ¯ for *α*, *τ* for *ap* in the Emmanuel College copy of the Epistles (Paul 30, No. 41), and : for *α*, *Ϸ* or *σ* for *av*, *√* for *as* in Parham 17 of the Apocalypse. Other more rare abridgements are ¨ for *εις* in Wake 12, *√* (Burdett-Coutts I. 4) or *<* or *α* for *ev*, *∴* for *ι* and *∅* for *εσ* (B-C. III. 37), *∴* for *εσ* and *τ* for *σε* and *‡* for *τησ* (B-C. II. 26), *τ* for *ται* and *℥* for *ωσ* (B-C. III. 42), *Λ* for *ην* (B-C. III. 10), *℥* for *ισ* and *δ* or *ζ* for *ovv* (B-C. III. 41), *λ* for *ω*, *σ* for *av*, *°* or *°* for *ois*, *~* for *as*, *∴* or *°* for *ois*, *τ* for *τε* or *-τες* or *την* or *τον*, *°* for *ειν*, *ε* for *ovs* or *ως* (Gale O. IV. 22). The mark *>* is not only met with in the Herculanean rolls, but in the Hyperides (*facsim.* 9, l. 6), in Codd. Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, the two Pentateuchs, Codd. Augiensis, Sangall. and Boernerianus, and seems merely designed to fill up vacant space, like the flourishes in a legal instrument.

16. Capital letters of a larger size than the rest at the beginning of clauses, &c. are freely met with in all documents excepting in the oldest papyri, the Herculanean rolls, Codd. Vatican., Sinaiticus, the Colbert Pentateuch, Isaiah in Cod. Z, and one or two fragments besides¹. Their absence is a proof of high antiquity. Yet even in Codd. Vaticanus, Sinaiticus, and Sarravianus (in the first most frequently in the earlier portions of the Old Testament), the initial letter stands a little outside the line of writing after a break in the sense, whether the preceding line had been quite filled up or not. Such breaks occur more regularly in Codex Bezae, as will appear when we come to describe it². Smaller capitals occur in the middle of lines in

¹ "Fragmenta pauca evangelii Johannis palimpsesta Londinensia [Evan. P^o or N^b]. In ceteris hæc fere tria : Dionis Cassii fragmenta Vaticana—vix enim qui in his videntur speciem majorum litterarum habere revera differunt—item fragmenta palimpsesta [Phaëthontis] Euripidis Claromontana et fragmenta Menandri Porphiriana" (Tischendorf, Cod. Vatic. Proleg. p. xviii., 1867).

² The English word *paragraph* is derived from the *παράγραφαι*, which are often straight lines, placed in the margin to indicate a pause in the sense. Professor Abbot, *ubi supra*, p. 195, alleges not a few instances where these dashes are thus employed. A specimen is given in Scrivener's Cod. Sinaiticus, *facsimile* 3: see his Cod. Sin., *Introduction*, p. xl. and note. Thus also they appear

Codd. Bezae and Marchalianus, of the sixth and seventh centuries respectively. Moreover, all copies of whatever date are apt to crowd small letters into the end of a line to save room (p. 39), and if these small letters preserve the form of the larger, it is reasonable to conclude that the scribe is writing in a natural hand, not an assumed one, and the argument for the antiquity of such a document, derived from the shape of its letters, thus becomes all the stronger. The continuous form of writing separate words must have prevailed in manuscripts long after it was obsolete in common life: Cod. Claromont., whose text is continuous even in its Latin version, divides the words in the inscriptions and subscriptions to the several books.

17. The stichometry of the sacred books has next to be considered. The term *στίχοι*, like the Latin *versus*, originally referring whether to rows of trees, or of the oars in the trireme (Virg. *Æn.* v. 119), would naturally come to be applied to lines of poetry, and in this sense it is used by Pindar (*ἑπέων στίχες Pyth.* iv. 100) and also by Theocritus (*γράφον καὶ τόδε γράμμα, τό σοι στίχοισι χαράξω Idyl.* xxiii. 46), if the common reading be correct. Now not only do Athanasius [d. 373], Gregory Nyssen [d. 396], Epiphanius [d. 403], and Chrysostom [d. 407] inform us that in their time the book of Psalms was already divided into *στίχοι*, while Jerome [d. 420?] testifies the same for the prophecies of Isaiah; but Origen also [d. 254] speaks of the second and third Epistles of St John as both of them not exceeding one hundred *στίχοι*, of St Paul's Epistles as consisting of few, St John's first Epistle as of very few (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 25, cited by Tischendorf, Cod. Sinait., Proleg. p. xxi., note 2, 1863). Even the apocryphal letter of our Lord to Abgarus is described as *ὀλιγοστίχου μὲν, πολυδυνάμου δὲ ἐπιστολῆς* (Euseb. *H. E.* i. 13): while Eustathius of Antioch in the fourth century reckoned 135 *στίχοι* between John viii. 59 and x. 41. More general is the use of the word in Ephraem in Cod. Sarravianus (Tischendorf, *Mon. sacra ined.* Vol. iii. pp. xiv., xx.). In Cod. Bezae \int is set in the margin 49 times by a later hand, and must be designed for the same purpose, though the mark sometimes occurs where we should hardly look for it (Scrivener, Cod. Bezae, *Introduction*, p. xxviii. and note). In Cod. Marchalianus the dash stands over the capital at the beginning of a line, or over the first letter where there is no capital. Lastly, in Codd. Vatic. and Sinait. Γ is sometimes set in the middle of a line to indicate a paragraph break, followed by \sphericalangle in the margin of the next line.

the Syrian [d. 378], "Ὅταν δὲ ἀναγινώσκῃς, ἐπιμελῶς καὶ ἐμπό-
 νως ἀναγίνωσκε, ἐν πολλῇ καταστάσει διερχόμενος τὸν στίχον
 (tom. III. 101). As regards the Psalms, we may see their arrange-
 ment for ourselves in Codd. Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, wherein,
 according to the true principles of Hebrew poetry, the verses do
 not correspond in metre or quantity of syllables, but in the
 parallelism or relationship subsisting between the several
 members of the same sentence or stanza¹. It seems to have
 occurred to Euthalius, a deacon of Alexandria, as it did long
 afterwards to Bishop Jebb when he wrote his "Sacred Litera-
 ture," that a large portion of the New Testament might be
 divided into *στίχοι* on the same principles: and that even
 where that distribution should prove but artificial, it would
 guide the public reader in the management of his voice, and
 remove the necessity for an elaborate system of punctuation.
 Such, therefore, we conceive to be the use and design of
 stichometry, as applied to the Greek Testament by Euthalius,
 whose edition of St Paul's Epistles thus divided was published
 A.D. 458, that of the Acts and Epistles A.D. 490. Who dis-
 tributed the *στίχοι* of the Gospels (which are in truth better
 suited for such a process than the Epistles) does not appear.
 Although but few manuscripts now exist that are written
στοιχηδὸν or *στιχηρῶς* (a plan which consumed too much vellum
 to become general), we read in many copies, at the end of each
 of the books of the New Testament, a calculation of the
 number of *στίχοι* it contained, the numbers being sufficiently
 unlike to shew that the arrangement was not the same in all
 codices, yet near enough to prove that they were divided on the
 same principle (*for these numbers see below*, pp. 65, 66, and
 note)². In the few documents written *στιχηρῶς* that survive,

¹ That we have rightly understood Epiphanius' notion of the *στίχοι* is evident
 from his own language respecting Psalm cxli. 1, wherein he prefers the addition
 made by the Septuagint to the second clause, because by so doing its authors
ἐχώλωσαν ἐποίησαν τὸν στίχον: so that the passage should run "O Lord, I cry
 unto Thee, make haste unto me || Give ear to the voice of my request," *τῆς*
δεήσεώς μου to complete the rhythm. This whole subject is admirably worked
 out in Suicer, *Thesaur. Eccles.* tom. II. pp. 1025—37.

² At the end of 2 Thess., in a hand which Tischendorf states to be very ancient,
 but not that of the original scribe, the Codex Sinaiticus has *στιχῶν ρπ* [180; the
 usual number is 106]: at the end of Rom., 1 Cor., 1 Thess., and the Catholic
 Epistles, there is no such note; but in all the other Pauline Epistles the *στίχοι*
 are numbered.

the length of the clauses is very unequal; some (e.g. Cod. Bezae, see Sect. II. of this chapter and the *facsimile*, No. 42) containing as much in a line as might be conveniently read aloud in a breath, others (e.g. Cod. Laud. of the Acts, Plate x. No. 25) having only one or two words in a line. The Cod. Claromontanus (*facsim.* No. 41) in this respect lies between those extremes, and the fourth great example of this class (Cod. Coislin. 202, H of St Paul), of the sixth century, has one of its few surviving pages (of 16 lines each) arranged *literatim* as follows (1 Cor. x. 22, &c.): εσμεν | παντα μοι εξεστιν | αλλ ου παντα συμφερει | παντα μοι εξεστιν | αλλ ου παντα οικοδομει | μηδεις το εαυτου ζητειτω (ob necessitatem spatii) | αλλα το του ετερου | παν το εν μακελλω πω | λουμενον (ob necessitatem) | εσθιετε μηδενα ανα | κρινωντες δια πην | συνειδηοιμι | του γαρ κν η γη καμπολλη | ορωμα αυτησ (ob necessit.) | ιδεισοααλθιυμασιτο. | Other manuscripts written στιχηρῶς are Matthaei's V of the 8th century, Bengel's Uffenbach 3 of St John (Wetstein's 101), Alter's Forlos. 29 (26 of the Apocalypse), and, as it would seem, the Cod. Sangallensis Δ. In Cod. Claromontanus there are scarcely any stops (the middle point being chiefly reserved to follow abridgements or numerals), the stichometry being of itself an elaborate scheme of punctuation; but the longer στίχοι of Cod. Bezae are often divided by a single point.

18. In using manuscripts of the Greek Testament, we must carefully note whether a reading is *primâ manu* (*) or by some subsequent corrector (**). It will often happen that these last are utterly valueless, having been inserted even from printed copies by a modern owner (like some marginal variations of the Cod. Leicestrensis)¹, and such as these really ought not to have been extracted by collators at all; while others by the second hand are almost as weighty, for age and goodness, as the text itself. All these points are explained by critical editors for each document separately; in fact to discriminate the different corrections in regard to their antiquity and importance is often the most difficult portion of such editor's task (e.g. in

¹ So the margin of Gale's Evan. 66 contains readings cited by Mill and his followers, which a hand of the 16th century took, some of them from the Leicester manuscript, others from early editions.

Codd. Bezae and Claromontanus), and one on which he often feels it hard to satisfy his own judgment. Corrections by the original scribe, or by a contemporary reviser, where they can be satisfactorily distinguished, must be regarded as a portion of the testimony of the manuscript itself, inasmuch as every carefully prepared copy was reviewed and compared (*ἀντεβλήθη*), if not by the writer himself, by a skilful person appointed for the task (*ὁ διορθῶν, ὁ διορθωτής*), whose duty it was to amend manifest errors, sometimes also to insert ornamented capitals in places which had been reserved for them; in later times (and as some believe at a very early period) to set in stops, breathings and accents; in copies destined for ecclesiastical use to arrange the musical notes that were to guide the intonation of the reader. Notices of this kind of revision are sometimes met with at the end of the best manuscripts. Such is the note in Cod. H of St Paul: *εγραψα και εξεθεμην προς το εν Καισαρια αντιγραφον της βιβλιοθηκης του αγιου Πामφιλου*, the same library of the Martyr Pamphilus to which the scribe of the Cod. Frid.-August. resorted for his model¹; and that in Birch's most valuable Urbino-Vatican. 2 (157 of the Gospels), written for the Emperor John II. (1118—1143), wherein at the end of the first Gospel we read *κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἐγράφη καὶ ἀντεβλήθη ἐκ τῶν ἐν ἱεροσολύμοις παλαιῶν ἀντιγράφων τῶν ἐν ἀγίῳ ὄρει* [Athos] *ἀποκειμένων*: similar subscriptions are appended to the other Gospels. See also Evan. A. 20, 164, 262, 300, 376; Act. 15, 83, in the third section of this chapter.

19. We have next to give some account of ancient divisions of the text, as found in manuscripts of the New Testament; and these must be carefully noted by the student, since few copies are without one or more of them.

¹ The following subscription to the book of Ezra (and a very similar one follows Esther) in the Cod. Frid.-August. (fol. 13. 1), though in a hand of the seventh century, will shew the care bestowed on the most ancient copies of the Septuagint: *Ἀντεβλήθη προς παλαιωτατον λιαν αντιγραφον δεδιορθωμενον χειρι του αγιου μαρτυρου Πамφιλου ὁπερ αντιγραφον προς τω τελει υποσημειωσισ τω ἰδιοχειροσ αυτου ὑπεκειτο εχουσα ουτωσ' μετελημφθη και διορθωθη προς τα εξαπλα ωριγενουσ' Ἀνωρινοσ αντεβαλεν' Πамφιλос διορθωσα*. Tregelles suggests that the work of the *διορθωτής* or *corrector* was probably of a critical character, the office of the *ἀντιβδίων* or *comparer* being rather to eliminate mere clerical errors (Treg. Horns's Introd., Vol. iv. p. 85). Compare Tischendorf, Cod. Sinait. Proleg. p. xxii.

(1). So far as we know at present, the oldest sections still extant are those of the Codex Vaticanus. These seem to have been formed for the purpose of reference, and a new one always commences where there is some break in the sense. Many, however, at least in the Gospels, consist of but one of our modern verses, and they are so unequal in length as to be rather inconvenient for actual use. In the four Gospels only the marginal numerals are in red, St Matthew containing 170 of these divisions, St Mark 62, St Luke 152, St John 80. In the Acts of the Apostles are two sets of sections, 36 longer and in an older hand, 69 smaller and more recent¹. Each of these also begins after a break in the sense, but they are quite independent of each other, as a larger section will sometimes commence in the middle of a smaller, the latter being in no wise a subdivision of the former. Thus the greater Γ opens Acts ii. 1, in the middle of the lesser β , which extends from Acts i. 15 to ii. 4. The first 42 of the lesser chapters, down to Acts xv. 40, are found also with slight variations in the margin of Codex Sinaiticus, written by a very old hand. As in most manuscripts, so in Codex Vaticanus, the Catholic Epistles follow the Acts, and in them also and in St Paul's Epistles there are two sets of sections, only that in the Epistles the older sections are the more numerous. The Pauline Epistles are reckoned throughout as one book in the elder notation, with however this remarkable peculiarity, that though in the Cod. Vatican. itself the Epistle to the Hebrews stands next after the second to the Thessalonians, *and on the same leaf with it*, the sections are arranged as if it stood between the Epistles to the Galatians and Ephesians. For whereas that to the Galatians ends with § 58, that to the Ephesians begins with § 70, and the numbers proceed regularly down to § 93, with which the second to the Thessalonians ends. The Epistle to the Hebrews which then follows opens with § 59; the last section extant (§ 64) begins at Hebr. ix. 11, and the manuscript ends abruptly at *καθα* ver. 14. It plainly appears, then, that the sections of the Codex Vaticanus must have been copied from some yet older document, in which the Epistle to the Hebrews preceded that to the Ephe-

¹ "Simile aliquid invenitur in codice Arabico epp. Pauli anno 892, p. Chr., quem ex oriente Petropolin pertulimus." Tischendorf, Cod. Vat. Proleg. p. xxx. n. 8.

sians. It will be found hereafter (Chap. III.) that in the Thebaic version the Epistle to the Hebrews preceded that to the Galatians, instead of following it, as here. For a list of the more modern divisions in the Epistles, see the Table in p. 66 below. The Vatican sections of the Gospels have also been discovered by Tregelles in one other copy, the palimpsest Codex Zacynthius of St Luke (Ξ), which he published in 1861.

(2). Hardly less ancient, and indeed ascribed by some to Tatian the Harmonist, the disciple of Justin Martyr, is the division of the Gospels into larger chapters (*κεφάλαια παύρα*, called in the Latin copies *breves*), or titles (*τίτλοι*), which latter name they bear from the circumstance that not only is the sacred narrative distributed by them into sections; but the title, or general summary of contents, is appended to the numeral, either in a separate table preceding each Gospel, or at the top and bottom of the pages, or (what is usual enough) in both ways in the same manuscript. It may be noticed that in none of the four Gospels does the first section stand at its commencement. In St Matthew section A begins at chap. ii. verse 1, and has for its title *περὶ τῶν μάγων*: in St Mark at chap. i. ver. 23, *περὶ τοῦ δαιμονιζόμενου*: in St Luke at ch. ii. ver. 1, *περὶ τῆς ἀπογραφῆς*: in St John at ch. ii. ver. 1, *περὶ τοῦ ἐν Κανᾷ γάμου*. Mill accounts for this circumstance by supposing that in the first copies the titles at the head of each Gospel were reserved till last for more splendid illumination, and were thus eventually forgotten (Proleg. N.T. § 355); Griesbach holds, that the general inscriptions of each Gospel, *Κατὰ Ματθαῖον*, *Κατὰ Μάρκον*, &c. were regarded as the special titles of the first sections also. On either supposition, however, it would be hard to explain how what was really the second section came to be *numbered* as the first; and it is worth notice that the same arrangement takes place in the *κεφάλαια* (though these are of a later date) of all the other books of the New Testament except the Acts, 2 Corinth., Ephes., 1 Thess., Hebrews, James, 1 and 2 Peter, 1 John, and the Apocalypse: e.g. the first section of the Epistle to the Romans opens ch. i. ver. 18, *Πρῶτον μετὰ τὸ προοίμιον, περὶ κρίσεως τῆς κατὰ ἔθνη τῶν οὐ φυλασσόντων τὰ φυσικά*. But the fact is that this arrangement, strange as it may seem, is conformable to the practice of the times when these divisions were finally settled.

Both in the *Institutes* and in the *Digest* of Justinian the first paragraph is always cited as *pr.* (i.e. *principium*, *προοίμιον*, *Preface*), and what we should regard as the second paragraph is numbered as the first, and so on throughout the whole work¹.

The *τίτλοι* in St Matthew amount to 68, in St Mark to 48, in St Luke to 83, in St John to 18. This mode of division, although not met with in the Vatican and Sinaitic manuscripts, is found in the Codices Alexandrinus and Ephraemi of the fifth century, and in the Codex Nitriensis of the sixth, each of which has tables of the *τίτλοι* prefixed to the several Gospels: but the Codices Alexandrinus, Rossanensis, and Dublinensis of St Matthew, and that portion of the purple Cotton fragment which is in the Vatican, exhibit them in their usual position, at the top and bottom of the pages. Thus it appears that they were too generally diffused in the fifth century not to have originated at an earlier period; although we must concede that the *κεφάλαιον* spoken of by Clement of Alexandria (*Stromat.* I.) when quoting Dan. xii. 12, or by Athanasius (*contra Arium*) on Act. ii., and the *Capitulum* mentioned by Tertullian (*ad Uxorem* II. 2) in reference to 1 Cor. vii. 12, contain no certain allusions to any specific divisions of the sacred text, but only to the particular paragraphs or passages in which their citations stand. But that the contrary habit has grown inveterate², it were much to be desired that the term *τίτλοι* should be applied to these longer divisions, at least in the Gospels, and that the name of *κεφάλαια* should be reserved for the smaller sections (*κεφάλαια μίνορα*, as they are sometimes called), which we now proceed to explain.

(3). The Ammonian sections (to employ for the moment their usual designation), or *κεφάλαια* proper, were not constructed, like the Vatican divisions and the *τίτλοι*, for the purpose of easy reference, or distributed like them according to the breaks in the sense, but for a wholly different purpose. So far as we can ascertain, the design of Tatian's Harmony was simply to present to Christian readers a single connected

¹ This full explanation of a seeming difficulty was communicated to me independently by Mr F. W. Pennefather of Dublin, and Mr G. A. King of Oxford.

² And this too in spite of the lexicographer Suidas: *Τίτλος διαφέρει κεφαλαίου· καὶ ὁ μὲν Ματθαῖος τίτλους ἔχει ξή', κεφάλαια δὲ τρε'.*

history of our Lord, by taking from the four Evangelists indifferently whatsoever best suited his purpose¹. As this plan could scarcely be executed without *omitting* some portions of the sacred text, it is not surprising that Tatian, possibly without any evil intention, should have incurred the grave charge of mutilating Holy Scripture². A more scholar-like and useful attempt was subsequently made by Ammonius of Alexandria, early in the third century [A.D. 220], who, by the side of St Matthew's Gospel, which he selected as his standard, arranged in parallel columns, as it would seem, the corresponding passages of the other three Evangelists, so as to exhibit them all at once to the reader's eye; St Matthew in his proper order, the rest as the necessity of abiding by St Matthew's order prescribed. This is the account given by the celebrated Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, the Church historian, who in the fourth century, in his letter to Carpianus, described his own most ingenious system of Harmony, as founded on, or at least as suggested by, the labours of Ammonius³. It has been generally

¹ Ὁ Τατιανός, συνάφειάν τινα καὶ συναγωγὴν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τῶν εὐαγγελίων εὐθεῖς, τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων τοῦτο προσωδήμασεν· ὃ καὶ παρὰ τισιν εἰσέτι νῦν φέρεται. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. iv. 29.

² Ambros. in Proœm. Luc. seems to aim at Tatian when he says "Plerique etiam ex quatuor Evangelii libris in unum ea quæ venenatis putaverunt assertionibus convenientia refererunt." Eusebius H. E. iv. 29 charges him on report with *improving* not the Gospels, but the Epistles: τοῦ δὲ ἀποστόλου φασὶ τολμηραὶ τινὰς αὐτὸν μεταφράσαι φωνάς, ὡς ἐπιδιορθούμενον αὐτῶν τὴν τῆς φράσεως σύνταξιν. Dr Westcott's verdict is rather less favourable than might have been anticipated: "The heretical character of the Diatessaron was not evident on the surface of it, and consisted rather of faults of defect than of erroneous teaching" (*History of the Canon*, p. 354). From the Armenian version of Ephraem the Syrian's Exposition of Tatian's Harmony, printed in 1836, translated in 1841 by Ancher of the Melchitarist Monastery at Venice, but buried until it was published with notes by Moesinger in 1876, a flood of light is thrown upon this question, and it is now clear "that Tatian habitually abridged the language of the passages which he combined" (Hort, Gk. Test. *Introduction*, p. 283), and that apparently in perfect good faith.

³ Ἀμμόνιος μὲν ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, πολλήν, ὡς εἰκός, φιλοπονίαν καὶ σπουδὴν εἰσαγοχώς, τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων ἡμῶν καταλείπειν εὐαγγέλιον, τῷ κατὰ Ματθαῖον τὰς ὁμοφώνους τῶν λοιπῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν περικοπὰς παραθεῖς, ὡς ἐξ ἀνάγκης συμβῆναι τὸν τῆς ἀκολουθίας εἰρμὸν τῶν τριῶν διαφθαρῆναι, ὅσον ἐπὶ τῷ ὕψει τῆς ἀναγνώσεως. Ἦνα δὲ σωζόμενον καὶ τοῦ τῶν λοιπῶν δι' ὅλου σώματός τε καὶ εἰρμού, εἰδέναι ἔχουσιν τοὺς αἰκείους ἐκάστου εὐαγγελιστοῦ τύπους, ἐν οἷς κατὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἠρέχθησαν φιλαλήθως εἰπεῖν, ἐκ τοῦ ποιήματος τοῦ προειρημένου ἀνδρὸς εἰληφῶς ἀφορμάς ("taking the hint from Ammonius" as Dean Burgon rightly understands the expression), καθ' ἑτέραν μέθοδον καθύπερθε δέκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν διεχάραξά σοι τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους. Epist.

thought that the *κεφάλαια*, of which St Matthew contains 355, St Mark 236, St Luke 342, St John 232, in all 1165, were made by Ammonius for the purpose of his work, and they have commonly received the name of the Ammonian sections: but this opinion was called in question by Bp Lloyd (*Nov. Test.* Oxon. 1827, *Monitum*, pp. viii.—xi.), who strongly urges that, in his Epistle to Carpianus, Eusebius not only refrains from ascribing these numerical divisions to Ammonius (whose labours in this particular, as once seemed the case with Tatian's, must in that case be deemed to have perished utterly), but he almost implies that they had their origin at the same time with his own ten canons, with which they are so intimately connected¹. That they were essential to Eusebius' scheme is plain enough; their place in Ammonius' parallel Harmony is not easily understood, unless indeed (what is nowhere stated, but rather the contrary) he did not set the passages from the other Gospels at full length by the side of St Matthew's, but only these numerical references to them².

ad Carpian. *initio*. I have thankfully availed myself on this subject of Burgon's elaborate studies in "The Last Twelve Verses of S. Mark," pp. 125—132; 295—312.

¹ I subjoin Eusebius' own words (Epist. ad Carpian.) from which no one would infer that the *sections* were not his, as well as the *canons*. *Αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἡ τῶν ὑποεταγμένων κανόνων ὑπόθεσις· ἡ δὲ σαφὴς αὐτῶν διήγησις, ἔστιν ἡδε. Ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ τῶν τεσσάρων εὐαγγελίων ἀριθμὸς τις πρόκειται κατὰ μέρος, ἀρχόμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου, εἴτα δευτέρου, καὶ τρίτου, καὶ καθεξῆς προῶν δι' ὅλου μέχρι τοῦ τέλους τοῦ βιβλίου [the sections]. Καθ' ἕκαστον δὲ ἀριθμὸν ὑποσημειώσις διὰ κινναβάρεως πρόκειται [the canons], δηλοῦσα ἐν ποίῳ τῶν δέκα κανόνων κείμενος ὁ ἀριθμὸς τυγχάνει.*

² Something of this kind, however, must be the plan adopted in Codex E (see Plate xi. No. 27) of the Gospels, as described by Tregelles, who himself collated it. "[It has] the Ammonian sections; but instead of the Eusebian canons there is a kind of harmony of the Gospels noted at the foot of each page, by a reference to the parallel sections of the other Evangelists." Horne's *Introd.* Vol. iv. p. 200. Yet the canons *also* stand in the margin of this copy under the so-called Ammonian sections: only the *table* of Eusebian canons is wanting. The same kind of harmony at the foot of the page appears in Cod. W⁴ at Trinity College, Cambridge, but in this latter the sections in the margin are not accompanied by the canons. Tischendorf states that the same arrangement prevails in the small fragment T^b at St Petersburg; Dean Burgon adds to the list Codd. M. 262, 264 at Paris, and conceives that this method of harmonising, which he regards as far simpler than the tedious and cumbersome process of resorting to the Eusebian canons (*ubi supra*, p. 304), was in principle, though not in details, derived to the Greek Church from early Syriac copies of the Gospels, some of which still survive (p. 306).

There is, however, one ground for hesitation before we ascribe the sections, as well as the canons, to Eusebius; namely, that not a few ancient manuscripts (e.g. Codd. FHY) contain the former, while they omit the latter. Of palimpsests indeed it might be said with reason, that the rough process which so nearly obliterated the ink of the older writing, would completely remove the coloured paint (*κιννάβαρις*, *vermilion*, prescribed by Eusebius, though blue or green is occasionally found) in which the canons were invariably noted; hence we need not wonder at their absence from the Codices Ephraemi, Nitriensis (R), Dublinensis (Z), Codd. IW^b of Tischendorf, and the Wolfenbüttel fragments (PQ), in all which the sections are yet legible in ink. The Codex Sinaiticus contains both; but Tischendorf decidedly pronounces them to be in a later hand. In the Codex Bezae too, as well as the Codex Cyprius (K), even the Ammonian sections, without the canons, are by later hands, though the latter has prefixed the list or table of the canons. Of the oldest copies the Codex Alexandrinus, Tischendorf's Codd. W*Θ, the Cotton fragment (N), and Cod. Rossanensis alone contain both the sections and the canons. Even in more modern cursive books the latter are often deficient, though the former are present. This peculiarity we have observed in Burney 23, in the British Museum, of the twelfth century, although the Epistle to Carpianus stands at the beginning; in a rather remarkable copy of about the twelfth century, in the Cambridge University Library (Mm. 6. 9, Scholz Evan. 440), in which, however, the table of canons but not the Epistle to Carpianus precedes; in the Gonville and Caius Gospels of the 12th century (Evan. 59), and in a manuscript of about the thirteenth century at Trinity College, Cambridge (B. x. 17)¹. These facts certainly seem to indicate that in the judgment of critics and transcribers, whatever that judgment may be deemed worth, the Ammonian sections had a previous existence to the Eusebian canons, as well as served for an independent purpose².

¹ To this list of manuscripts of the Gospels which have the Ammonian sections without the Eusebian canons add Codd. 38, 54, 60, 68, 117; Brit. Mus. Addit. 16184, 18211, 19389; Milan Ambros. M. 48 *sup.*; E. 63 *sup.*; Burdett-Coutts i. 4; ii. 18; 26²; iii. 9 (all to be described in the third section of this chapter), and probably some others.

² No doubt they do serve, in the manuscripts which contain them and omit

In his letter to Carpianus, their inventor clearly yet briefly describes the purpose of his canons, ten in number. The first contains a list of 71 places in which all the four Evangelists have a narrative, discourse, or saying in common: the second of 111 places in which the three Matthew, Mark, Luke agree: the third of 22 places common to Matthew, Luke, John: the fourth of 26 passages common to Matthew, Mark, John: the fifth of 82 places in which the two Matthew, Luke coincide: the sixth of 47 places wherein Matthew, Mark agree: the seventh of 7 places common to Matthew and John: the eighth of 14 places common to Luke and Mark: the ninth of 21 places in which Luke and John agree: the tenth of 62 passages of Matthew, 21 of Mark, 71 of Luke, and 97 of John which have no parallels, but are peculiar to a single Evangelist. Under each of the 1165 so-named Ammonian sections, in its proper place in the margin of a manuscript, is put in coloured ink the number of that Eusebian canon to which it refers. On looking for that section in the proper table or canon, there will also be found the parallel place or places in the other Gospels, each indicated by its proper numeral, and so readily searched out. A single example will serve to explain our meaning. In the *facsimile* of the Cotton fragment (Plate v. No. 14), in the margin of the passage (John xv. 20) we see $\frac{\text{P}\Lambda\Theta}{\Gamma}$, where PΛΘ (139) is the proper section of St John, Γ (3) the number of the canon. On searching the third Eusebian table we read MT. ζ, Λ. $\overline{\nu\eta}$, ΙΩ. $\overline{\rho\lambda\theta}$, and thus we learn that the first clause of John xv. 20 is parallel in sense to the 90th (ζ) section of St Matthew (x. 24), and to the 58th ($\overline{\nu\eta}$) of St Luke (vi. 40). The advantage of such a system of parallels to the exact study of the Gospels is too evident to need insisting on.

(4). The Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles are also divided into *chapters* (κεφάλαια), in design precisely the same as the *τίτλοι* of the Gospels, and nearly resembling them in length. Since there is no trace of these chapters in the two the canons, for marks of reference, like in kind to our modern chapters and verses; but in consequence of their having been constructed for a wholly different purpose, they are so unequal in length (as Burgon sees very clearly, pp. 297, 303), that they answer that end as ill as any the most arbitrary divisions of the text well could do.

great Codices Alexandrinus and Ephraemi, of the fifth century (which yet exhibit the *τίτλοι*, the sections, and one of them the canons), it seems reasonable to assume that they are of later date. They are sometimes connected with the name of Euthalius, deacon of Alexandria, afterwards Bishop of Sulci¹, whom we have already spoken of as the reputed author of Scriptural stichometry (*above*, p. 51). We learn, however, from Euthalius' own Prologue to his edition of St Paul's Epistles (A.D. 458), that the "summary of the chapters" (and consequently the numbers of the chapters themselves) was taken from the work of "one of our wisest and pious fathers²," i.e. some Bishop that he does not wish to particularise, whom Mill (*Proleg. N. T.* § 907) conjectures to be Theodore of Mopsuestia, who lay under the censure of the Church. Soon after³ the publication of St Paul's Epistles, on the suggestion of one Athanasius, then a priest and afterwards Patriarch of Alexandria, Euthalius put forth a similar edition of the Acts and Catholic Epistles⁴, also divided into chapters, with a summary of contents at the head of each chapter. Even these he is thought to have derived (at least in the Acts) from the manuscript of Pamphilus the Martyr [d. 308], to whom the very same chapters are ascribed in a document published by Montfaucon (*Bibliotheca Coislin.* p. 78); the rather as Euthalius fairly professes to have compared his book in the Acts and Catholic Epistles "with the copies in the library at Cæsarea" which once belonged to "Eusebius the friend of Pamphilus⁵." The Apocalypse still remains. It was

¹ Sulci in Sardinia is the only Bishop's see of the name I can find in Carol. a Sancto Paulo's "Geographia Sacra" (1708), or in Bingham's Antiquities, Bk. ix. Chapp. II. VII. Horne and even Tregelles speak of Sulca in Egypt, but I have searched in vain for any such town or see. Euthalius is called Bishop of Sulce both in Wake 12 (*infra*, note 4), and in the title to his works as edited by L. A. Zacagni ("Collectanea Monument. Veter. Eccles. Græc. ac Latin.," Rom. 1698, p. 402). But one of Zacagni's manuscripts reads 'Εούλκης once, and he guesses Ψέλχη near Syene, which appears in no list of Episcopal sees.

² Καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπιστολὴν προτάξομεν τὴν τῶν κεφαλαίων ἐκθεσιν, ἐν τῶν σοφωτάτων τινὶ καὶ φιλοχρίστων πατέρων ἡμῶν πεποιημένην.

³ Ἀγρίκα δῆτα is his own expression.

⁴ e.g. in Wake 12, of the eleventh century, at Christ Church, the title at the head of the list of chapters in the Acts is as follows: Εὐθαλιου ἐπισκόπου Σουλκῆς ἐκθεσις κεφαλαίων τῶν Πράξεων σταλήσα (-είσα) πρὸς Ἀθανάσιον ἐπίσκοπον Ἀλεξανδρείας.

⁵ In Wake 12 certain of the longer κεφάλαια are subdivided into μερικὰ ὑποδιαμέσεις in the Acts, 1 Peter, 1 John, Romans, 1, 2 Corinthians, Colossians,

divided, about the end of the fifth century, by Andreas, Archbishop of the Cappadocian Cæsarea, into twenty-four *paragraphs* (λόγοι), corresponding to the number of the elders about the throne (Apoc. iv. 4); each paragraph being subdivided into three *chapters* (κεφάλαια). The summaries which Andreas wrote of his seventy-two chapters are still reprinted in Mill's and other large editions of the Greek Testament.

(5). To Euthalius has been also referred a division of the Acts into sixteen lessons (ἀναγνώσεις or ἀναγνώσματα) and of the Pauline Epistles into thirty-one (see p. 66); but these lessons are quite different from the much shorter ones adopted by the Greek Church. He is also said to have numbered in each Epistle of St Paul the quotations from the Old Testament¹, which are still noted in many of our manuscripts, and to have been the author of that reckoning of the στίχοι which is annexed in most copies to the Gospels, as well as to the Acts and Epistles. Besides the division of the text into στίχοι or lines (above, p. 50) we find in the Gospels alone another division into ῥήματα or ῥήσεις "sentences," differing but little from the στίχοι in number. Of these last the precise numbers vary in different copies, though not considerably: whether that variation arose from the circumstance that ancient numbers were represented by letters and so easily became corrupted, or from a different mode of arranging the στίχοι and ῥήματα adopted by the various scribes.

20. It is proper to state that the *subscriptions* (ὑπογραφαι) appended to St Paul's Epistles in many manuscripts, and retained even in the Authorised English version of the New Testament, are also said to be the composition of Euthalius. In the best copies they are somewhat shorter in form, but in any shape they do no credit to the care or skill of their author, whoever he may be. "Six of these subscriptions," writes Paley

² Thessalonians, 1 Timothy, Hebrews only. For a similar subdivision in the Gospels, see Evan. 443 in the third Section of this Chapter.

¹ Many manuscripts indicate passages of the Old Testament cited in the New by placing > (as in Codd. Vatican. W^d, &c., but in Sinait. more rarely), or some such mark in the margin before every line. Evan. 348 and others have *. In Codd. Bezae, as will appear hereafter, the words cited are merely thrown a letter or two back in each line.

in that masterpiece of acute reasoning, the *Horæ Paulinæ*, "are false or improbable;" that is, they are either absolutely contradicted by the contents of the epistle [1 Cor. Galat. 1 Tim.], or are difficult to be reconciled with them [1, 2 Thess. Tit.].

The *subscriptions* to the Gospels have not, we believe, been assigned to any particular author, and being seldom found in printed copies of the Greek Testament or in modern versions, are little known to the general reader. In the earliest manuscripts the subscriptions, as well as the *titles* of the books, were of the simplest character. *Κατὰ Μαθθαῖον, κατὰ Μάρκον, &c.* is all that the Codd. Vaticanus and Sinaiticus have, whether at the beginning or the end. *Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον* is the subscription to the first Gospel in the Codex Alexandrinus; *εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μάρκον* is placed at the beginning of the second Gospel in the same manuscript, and the self-same words at the end of it by Codices Alex. and Ephraemi: in the Codex Bezae (in which St John stands second in order) we merely read *εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μαθθαῖον ἐτελέσθη, ἀρχεται εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ἰωάννην*. The same is the case throughout the New Testament. After a while the titles become more elaborate, and the subscriptions afford more information, the truth of which it would hardly be safe to vouch for. The earliest worth notice are found in the Codex Cyprius (K) of the eighth or ninth century, which, together with those of several other copies, are given in Scholz's Prolegomena N. T. Vol. i. pp. xxix. xxx. *Ad fin. Matthæi*: Τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον ἐξεδόθη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐν ἱεροσολύμοις μετὰ χρόνους ἢ [ὀκτώ] τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναλήψεως. *Ad fin. Marci*: Τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον εὐαγγέλιον ἐξεδόθη μετὰ χρόνους δέκα τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναλήψεως. Those to the other two Gospels exactly resemble St Mark's, that of St Luke however being dated 15, that of St John 32 years after our Lord's Ascension, periods in all probability far too early to be correct.

21. The foreign matter so often inserted in later manuscripts has more value for the antiquarian than for the critic. That splendid copy of the Gospels Lambeth 1178, of the 10th or 11th century, contains more such than is often found, set off by fine illuminations. At the end of each of the first three Gospels (but not of the fourth) are several pages relating to them extracted from Cosmas Indicopleustes, who made the

voyage which procured him his cognomen about A.D. 522; also some iambic verses of no great excellence, as may well be supposed. In golden letters we read: *ad fin. Matth.* ἰστέον ὅτι τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον ἐβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ γραφὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐν ἱερουσαλήμ ἐξεδόθη· ἐρμηνεύθη δὲ ὑπὸ ἰωάννου· ἐξηγείται δὲ τὴν κατὰ ἄνθρωπον τοῦ χυ γένεσιν, καὶ ἐστὶν ἀνθρωπόμορφον τοῦτο τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. The last clause alludes to Apoc. iv. 7, wherein the four living creatures were currently believed to be typical of the four Gospels¹. *Ad fin. Marc.* ἰστέον ὅτι τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον εὐαγγέλιον ὑπηγορεύθη ὑπὸ Πέτρου ἐν ῥώμῃ· ἐποιήσατο δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ προφητικοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἐξ ὕψους ἐπιόντος τοῦ Ἡσαίου· τὴν πτερωτικὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου δεικνύς. *Ad fin. Luc.* ἰστέον ὅτι τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν εὐαγγέλιον ὑπηγορεύθη ὑπὸ Παύλου ἐν ῥώμῃ· ἅτε δὲ ἱερατικοῦ χαρακτήρος ὑπάρχοντος ἀπὸ Ζαχαρίου τοῦ ἱερέως θυμῶντος ἤρξατο. The reader will desire no more of this.

22. The oldest manuscript known to be accompanied by a *catena* (or continuous commentary by different authors) is the palimpsest Codex Zacynthius (Ξ of Tregelles), an uncial of the eighth century. Such books are not common, but there is a very full commentary in minute letters, surrounding the large text in a noble copy of the Gospels, of the 12th century, which belonged to the late Sir Thomas Phillipps (Middle Hill 13975, since removed to Cheltenham), yet uncollated; another of St Paul's Epistles (No. 27) belongs to the University Library at Cambridge (Ff. 1. 30). The Apocalypse is often attended with the exposition of Andreas (p. 62), or of Arethas, also Archbishop of the Cappadocian Cæsarea in the tenth century, or (what is more usual) with a sort of epitome of the two (e.g. Parham No. 17), above, below, and in the margin beside the text, in much smaller characters. In *cursive* manuscripts only the *subject* (*ὑπόθεσις*), especially that written

¹ The whole mystery is thus unfolded (apparently by Cosmas) in Lamb. 1178, p. 159. Καὶ γὰρ τὰ χερουβὶμ τετραπρόσωπα· καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν εἰκόνας τῆς πραγματείας τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ· τὸ γὰρ ὅμοιον λέοντι, τὸ ἐμπρακτὸν καὶ βασιλικὸν καὶ ἡγεμονικόν [John i. 1—3] χαρακτηρίζει· τὸ δὲ ὅμοιον μῶσχῳ, τὴν ἱερουργικὴν καὶ ἱερατικὴν [Luko i. 8] ἐμφανίζει· τὸ δὲ ἀνθρωποειδές, τὴν σάρκωσιν [Matth. i. 18] διαγράφει· τὸ δὲ ὅμοιον ἀετῳ, τὴν ἐπιφοίτησιν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος [Mark i. 2] ἐμφανίζει. More usually the lion is regarded as the emblem of St Mark, the eagle of St John.

by Œcumenius in the tenth century, sometimes stands as a Prologue before each book, but not so often before the Gospels or Apocalypse as the Acts and Epistles. Before the Acts we occasionally meet with Euthalius' Chronology of St Paul's Travels, or another *Ἀποδημία Παύλου*. The Leicester manuscript contains between the Pauline Epistles and the Acts (1) An Exposition of the Creed and statement of the errors condemned by the seven general Councils, ending with the second at Nice. (2) Lives of the Apostles, followed by an exact description of the limits of the five Patriarchates. The Christ Church copy Wake 12 also has after the Apocalypse some seven or eight pages of a Treatise *Περὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ οἰκουμενικῶν ἕξ συνόδων*, including some notice *περὶ τοπικῶν συνόδων*. Similar treatises may be more frequent in manuscripts of the Greek Testament than we are at present aware of.

23. We have not thought it needful to insert in this place either a list of the *τίτλοι* of the Gospels, or of the *κεφάλαια* of the rest of the New Testament, or the tables of the Eusebian canons, inasmuch as they are all accessible in such ordinary books as Stephen's Greek Testament 1550 and Mill's of 1707, 1710. The Eusebian canons are given in Bishop Lloyd's Oxford Greek Test. of 1827 &c. and in Tischendorf's of 1859. We subjoin, however, for the sake of comparison, a tabular view of "Ancient and Modern Divisions of the New Testament." The numbers of the *ρήματα* and *στίχοι* in the Gospels are derived from the most approved sources, but a synopsis of the variations of manuscripts in this respect has been drawn up by Scholz, Prolegomena N. T. Vol. I. Cap. v., pp. xxviii, xxix¹.

¹ The numbers of the Gospel *στίχοι* in our Table are taken from the uncial copies Codd. G8 and 27 cursives named by Scholz: those of the *ρήματα* from Codd. 9, 18, 124 and 7 others. In the *ρήματα* he cites no other variation than that Cod. 339 has 2822 for St Matthew: but Mill states that Cod. 48 (Bodl. 7) has 1676 for Mark, 2507 for Luke (Proleg. N. T. § 1429). In Cod. 56 (Lincoln Coll.) the *ἀναγνώσματα* of St Matthew are 127, of St Mark 74, of St Luke 130 (Mill).

In the *στίχοι*, a few straggling manuscripts fluctuate between 3397[?] and 1474 for Matthew; 2006 and 1000 for Mark; 8827 and 2000 for Luke; 2300 and 1300 for John. But the great mass of authorities stand as we have represented.

TABLE OF ANCIENT AND MODERN DIVISIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

	Vatican MS. older sections	later sections	τίτλοι	κεφάλαια Ammon.	στίχοι	ῥήματα	Modern chapters	Modern verses
Matthew	170	—	68	355	2560	2522	28	1071
Mark	62	—	48	236	1616	1675	16	678
Luke	152	—	83	342	2740	3803	24	1151
John	80	—	18	232	2024	1938	21	880
Acts	36	69	40		2524	16	28	1007
James	9	5	6		242		5	108
1 Peter	8	3	8		236		5	105
2 Peter	desunt	2	4		154		3	61
1 John	14	3	7		274		5	105
2 John	1	2	1		80		1	13
3 John	1	desunt	1		82		1	15
Jude	2	desunt	4		68		1	25
Romans	93 sections in Rom. 1, 2 Corinth. Gal. Eph. Coloss. 1, 2 Thess. to Hebr. ix. 14.	8	19		920		16	433
1 Corinth.....		} 19	9		870		16	437
2 Corinth.....			10		590		13	256
Galat.		3	12		293		6	149
Ephes.		3	10		312		6	155
Philipp.		2	7		208		4	104
Coloss.		3	10		208		4	95
1 Thess.		2	7		193		5	89
2 Thess.		2	6		106		3	47
1 Tim.		—	18		230		6	113
2 Tim.		—	9		172		4	83
Titus		—	6		98 (97, Mill)		3	46
Philem.....		—	2		38		1	25
Hebrews		5 to ch. ix. 11	22		703		13	303
Apocalypse ...							22	405

24 λόγοι, 72 κεφάλαια,
1800 στίχοι.

24. On the divisions into chapters and verses prevailing in our modern Bibles we need not dwell long. For many centuries the Latin Church used the Greek τίτλοι (which they called *breves*) with the Euthalian *κεφάλαια*, and some of their copies even retained the calculation by *στίχοι*: but about A.D. 1248 Cardinal Hugo de Santo Caro, while preparing a Concordance, or index of declinable words, for the *whole Bible*, divided it into

its present chapters, subdividing them in turn into several parts by placing the letters A, B, C, D &c. in the margin, at equal distances from each other, as we still see in many old printed books, e.g. Stephen's N. T. of 1550. Cardinal Hugo's divisions (unless indeed he merely adopted them from Lanfranc or some other scholar) soon took possession of copies of the Latin Vulgate; they gradually obtained a place in later Greek manuscripts, especially those written in the West of Europe, and are found in the earliest printed and all later editions of the Greek Testament, though still unknown to the Eastern Church. They certainly possess no strong claim on our preference, although they cannot now be superseded. The chapters are inconveniently and capriciously unequal in length; occasionally too they are distributed with much lack of judgment. Thus Matth. xv. 39 belongs to ch. xvi, and perhaps ch. xix. 30 to ch. xx; Mark ix. 1 properly appertains to the preceding chapter; Luke xxi. 1—4 had better be united with ch. xx, as in Mark xii. 41—44; Acts v. might as well commence with Acts iv. 32; Acts viii. 1 (or at least its first clause) should not have been separated from ch. vii; Acts xxi. concludes with strange abruptness. Bp. Terrot (on Ernesti's Institutes, Vol. II. p. 21) rightly affixes 1 Cor. iv. 1—5 to ch. iii. Add that 1 Cor. xi. 1 belongs to ch. x; 2 Cor. iv. 18 and vi. 18 to ch. v. and ch. vii. respectively; Col. iv. 1 must clearly go with ch. iii.

In commendation of the modern verses still less can be said. As they are stated to have been constructed after the model of the ancient *στίχοι* (called "*versus*" in the Latin manuscripts), we have placed in the Table the exact number of each for every book in the New Testament. Of the *στίχοι* we reckon 19241 in all, of the modern verses 7959¹, so that on the average (for we have seen that the manuscript variations in the number of *στίχοι* are but inconsiderable) we may calculate about five *στίχοι* to every two modern verses. The fact is that some such division is simply indispensable to every accurate reader of Scripture; and

¹ Our English version divides 2 Cor. xiii. 12 of the Greek into two, and unites John i. 38, 39 of the Greek. The English and Greek verses begin differently in Luke i. 74, 75; vii. 18, 19. Acts ix. 28, 29; xi. 25, 26; xiii. 32, 33; xix. 40, 41; xxiv. 2, 3. 2 Cor. ii. 12, 13; v. 14, 15; xi. 8, 9. Eph. i. 10, 11; iii. 17, 18. Phil. iii. 13, 14. 1 Thess. ii. 11, 12. Heb. vii. 20, 21; x. 22, 23. 1 Jo. ii. 13, 14. 3 Jo. 13, 14. Apoc. xii. 18 or xiii. 1; xviii. 16, 17. In a few of these places editions of the Greek vary a little.

Cardinal Hugo's divisions by letters of the alphabet, as well as those adopted by Sanctes Pagninus in his Latin version of the whole Bible (1528), having proved inconveniently large, Robert Stephen, the justly celebrated printer and editor of the Greek Testament, undertook to form a system of verse-divisions, taking for his model the short verses into which the Hebrew Bible had already been divided, as it would seem by Rabbi Nathan, in the preceding century. We are told by Henry Stephen (Præf. N. T. 1576) that his father Robert executed this design on a journey from Paris to Lyons "*inter equitandum*," that is, we presume, while resting at the inns on the road. Certain it is that, although every such division must be in some measure arbitrary, a very little care would have spared us many of the disadvantages attending that which Robert Stephen first published at Geneva in the margins of his Greek Testament of 1551, from which it was introduced into the text (broken up to receive it) of the Genevan English Testament of 1557, into Beza's Greek Testament of 1565, and thence into all subsequent editions. It is now too late to correct the errors of the verse-divisions, but they can be neutralised, at least in a great degree, by the plan adopted by modern critics, of banishing both the verses and the chapters into the margin, and breaking the text into paragraphs, better suited to the sense. The *pericopæ* or sections of Bengel¹ (whose labours will be described in their proper place) have been received with general approbation, and adopted, with some modification, by several recent editors. Much pains were bestowed on their arrangement of the paragraphs by the Revisers of the English version of 1881.

25. We now come to the *contents* of manuscripts of the Greek Testament, and must distinguish regular copies of the sacred volume or of parts of it from Lectionaries, or Church-lesson books, containing only extracts, arranged in the order of Divine Service daily throughout the year. The latter we will consider

¹ "I think it would have been better done on one's knees in the closet," is Mr Kelly's quaint and not unfair comment (Lectures on the Minor Prophets, p. 324).

² *Novum Testamentum Græcum*. Edente Jo. Alberto Bengelio. Tubingæ 1734. 4to. The practice of the oldest Greek manuscripts in regard to paragraphs has been stated above (p. 49, note 2), and will be further explained in the next section under our descriptions of Codd. MBD.

presently: with regard to the former it is right to bear in mind, that comparatively few copies of the whole New Testament remain; the usual practice being to write the four Gospels in one volume, the Acts and Epistles in another: manuscripts of the Apocalypse, which was little used for public worship, being much rarer than those of the other books. Occasionally the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles form a single volume; sometimes the Apocalypse is added to other books; as to the Pauline Epistles in Lambeth 1186, or even to the Gospels, in a later hand (e.g. Cambridge University Libr. Dd. 9. 69: Gospels No. 60, *dated* A.D. 1297). The Apocalypse, being a short work, is often found bound up in volumes containing very miscellaneous matter (e.g. Vatican. 2066 or B; Brit. Mus. Harleian. 5678, No. 31; and Oxon. Barocc. 48, No. 28). The Codex Sinaiticus of Tischendorf is the more precious, in that it happily exhibits the whole New Testament complete: so would also the Codices Alexandrinus and Ephraemi, but that they are sadly mutilated: no other uncial copies have this advantage, and very few cursives. In England only five such are known, the great Codex Leicestrensis, which is imperfect at the beginning and end; Butler 2 (Additional 11837), dated A.D. 1357, and Additional 17469, both in the British Museum; Canonici 34 in the Bodleian, dated A.D. 1515—16. Additional MS. 28815 in the British Museum and B-C. II. 4 at Sir Roger Cholmely's School, Highgate, are separated portions of one complete copy. The Apocalypse in the well-known Codex Montfortianus at Dublin is usually considered to be by a later hand. Besides these Scholz enumerates only nineteen foreign copies of the whole New Testament¹; making but thirty-three in all out of the vast mass of extant documents.

26. Whether copies contain the whole or a part of the sacred volume, the general *order* of the books is the following:

¹ Coislin. 199, Evan. 85; Vatic. 2080, Evan. 175; Palat. Vat. 171, Evan. 149; Lambec. 1 at Vienna, Evan. 218; Vatic. 1160, Evan. 141; Venet. 5, Evan. 205; its alleged duplicate Venet. 10, Evan. 209; Matthaei k, Evan. 241; Moscow Synod. 380, Evan. 242; Paris, Reg. 47, Evan. 18; Reg. 61, Evan. 263; Vatic. 360, Evan. 131; Vat. Ottob. 66, Evan. 386; Vat. Ottob. 381, Evan. 390; Taurin. 302, Evan. 339; Richard. 84, Evan. 368; S. Saba, 10 and 20, Evan. 462 and 466: perhaps Scholz ought to have added Venet. 6, Evan. 206, which he states to contain the whole New Testament, Proleg. N. T. Vol. i. p. lxxii. In Evan. 190 all except the Gospels are by a later hand. Add also copies at Arras, Poitiers, Ferrara, and Toledo. Lagarde (Genesis, pp. 7, 8) describes another copy at Zittau, collated by Matthaei in 1801—2, apparently unpublished.

Gospels, Acts, Catholic Epistles, Pauline Epistles, Apocalypse. A solitary manuscript of the fifteenth century (Venet. 10, Evan. 209) places the Gospels between the Pauline Epistles and the Apocalypse¹; in the Codices Sinaiticus, Leicestrensis, Fabri (Evan. 90), and Montfortianus, as in the Bodleian Canonici 34, the copy in the King's Library Brit. Mus. (Act. 20), and the Complutensian edition (1514), the Pauline Epistles precede the Acts. The Codex Basiliensis (No. 4 of the Epistles), Acts Cod. 134, Brit. Mus. Addl. 19388, Lambeth 1182, 1183, and Burdett-Coutts III. 1, have the Pauline Epistles immediately after the Acts and before the Catholic Epistles, as in our present Bibles. Scholz's Evan. 368 stands thus, St John's Gospel, Apocalypse, then all the Epistles; in Havniens. 1 (Cod. 234 of the Gospels, A.D. 1278) the order appears to be Acts, Paul. Ep., Cath. Ep., Gospels; in Ambros. Z 34 *sup.* at Milan, Dean Burgon testifies that the Catholic and Pauline Epistles are followed by the Gospels; in Basil. B. VI. 27 or Cod. 1, the Gospels now follow the Acts and Epistles; while in Evan. 175 the Apocalypse stands between the Acts and Catholic Epistles; in Evan. 51 the binder has set the Gospels last: these, however, are mere accidental exceptions to the 'prevailing rule'. The four Gospels are almost invariably found in their familiar order, although in the Codex Bezae (as we partly saw above, p. 63) they stand Matthew, John, Luke, Mark²; in the Codex Monacensis (X) John, Luke, Mark, Matthew (but two leaves of Matthew *also* stand before John); in Cod. 90 (Fabri) John, Luke, Matthew, Mark; in Cod. 399 at Turin John,

¹ I presume that the same order is found in Evan. 393, whereof Scholz states "sec. xvi. continet epist. cath. paul. ev." Proleg. N. T. Vol. I. p. xc.

² Hartwell Horne in the second volume of his Introduction tells us that in some of the few manuscripts which contain the whole of the New Testament the books are arranged thus: Gospels, Acts, Catholic Epistles, Apocalypse, Pauline Epistles (p. 92, ed. 1834). This statement may be true of some of the foreign MSS. named in p. 69 note, but of the English it can refer to none, although Wake 34 at Christ Church commences with the Acts and Catholic Epistles, followed by the Apocalypse beginning on the same page as Jude ends, and the Pauline Epistles on the same page as the Apocalypse ends. The Gospels, which come last, may have been misplaced by an early binder.

³ This is the true *Western* order (Scrivener, Cod. Bezae, Introd. p. xxx and note), and will be found in the copies of the Old Latin *a, e, f* to be described in Chap. III., and in the Gothic version. In Burdett-Coutts II. 7, p. 4, also, prefixed to the Gospels, we read the following rubric-title to certain verses of Gregory Nazianzen: $\chi\upsilon$ θαύματα: παρὰ μαρθαίω ἰωάννη τὲ καὶ λουκᾶ καὶ μάρκω κ.τ.λ.

Luke, Matthew, an arrangement which Dr Hort refers to the Commentary of Titus of Bostra on St Luke which accompanies it; in the Curetonian Syriac version Matthew, Mark, John, Luke. In the Pauline Epistles that to the Hebrews precedes the four Pastoral Epistles and immediately follows the second to the Thessalonians in the four great Codices Vaticanus, Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, and Ephraemi¹: in the copy from which the Cod. Vatican. was taken the Hebrews followed the Galatians (*above* p. 54). The Codex Claromontanus, the document next in importance to these four, sets the Colossians appropriately enough next to its kindred and contemporaneous Epistle to the Ephesians, but postpones that to the Hebrews to Philemon, as in our present Bibles: an arrangement which at first, no doubt, originated in the early scruples prevailing in the Western Church, with respect to the authorship and canonical authority of that divine epistle.

27. We must now describe the *Lectionaries* or Service-books of the Greek Church, in which the portions of Scripture publicly read throughout the year are set down in chronological order, without regard to their actual places in the sacred volume. In length and general arrangement they resemble not so much the Lessons as the Epistles and Gospels in our English Book of Common Prayer, only that every day in the year has its own proper portion, and the numerous Saints' days independent services of their own. These Lectionaries consist either of lessons from the Gospels, and are then called *Evangelitaria* or *Evangelistaria* (*εὐαγγελιστάρια*); or from the Acts and Epistles, termed *Praxapostolos* (*πραξαπόστολος*): the general name of Lectionary is often, though incorrectly, confined to the latter class. A few books (called *ἀποστολοευαγγέλια* in Matthæi's ξ and in Burney 18) have lessons taken both from the Gospels and the Apostolic writings. In *Euchologies*, or Books of Offices, wherein both the *Apostolos* and the *Gospels* are found, the former always precede in each Office, just as the Epistle precedes the Gospel in the Service-books of

¹ Tischendorf cites the following copies in which the Epistle to the Hebrews stands in the same order as in Codd. NABC, "H [Coislin. 202]. 17. 23. 47. 57. 71. 73 *aliique*." Add 77. 80. 166. 189. 196. Burdett-Coutts π. 4. So in Zoega's Thebaic version. Epiphanius (adv. Hær. i. 42) says: ἄλλα δὲ ἀντίγραφα ἔχει τὴν πρὸς ἑβραίων δεκάτην, πρὸ τῶν δύο τῶν πρὸς Τιμόθεον καὶ Τίτον.

Western Christendom. The peculiar arrangement of Lectionaries renders them very unfit for the hasty, partial, cursory collation which has befallen too many manuscripts of the other class, and this circumstance, joined with the irksomeness of using Service-books never familiar to the habits even of scholars in this part of Europe, has caused these documents to be so little consulted, that the contents of the very best and oldest among them have until recently been little known. Matthæi, of whose elaborate and important edition of the Greek Testament (12 tom. Riga 1782—88) we shall give an account hereafter (Chap. v.), has done excellent service in this department; two of his best copies, the uncials B and H, being Evangelistaria. The present writer also has collated three noble uncials of the same rank, Arundel 547 being of the ninth century, Parham 18 bearing date A.D. 980, Harleian 5598, A.D. 995. Not a few other uncial Lectionaries remain quite neglected, for though none of them perhaps are older than the eighth century, the ancient character was retained for these costly and splendid Service-books till about the eleventh century (Montfaucon, Palæogr. Græc. p. 260), before which time the cursive hand was generally used in other Biblical manuscripts. There is, of course, no place in a Lectionary for divisions by *κεφάλαια*, for the so-called Ammonian sections, or for the canons of Eusebius.

The division of the New Testament into Church-lessons was, however, of far more remote antiquity than the employment of separate volumes to contain them. Towards the end of the fourth century, that golden age of Patristic theology, Chrysostom recognises some stated order of the lessons as familiar to all his hearers, for he exhorts them to peruse and mark beforehand the passages (*περικοπαί*) of the Gospels which were to be publicly read to them the ensuing Sunday or Saturday¹. All the infor-

¹ Chrysost. in Joan. Hom. x, *κατὰ μίαν σαββάτων ἢ κατὰ σάββατον*. Traces of these Church-lessons occur in manuscripts as early as the fifth and sixth centuries. Thus Cod. Alexandrinus reads Rom. xvi. 25—27 not only in its proper place, but also at the end of ch. xiv. where the Lectionaries place it (see p. 82). Codex Bezae prefixes to Luke xvi. 19 *εἶπεν δὲ καὶ ἑτέραν παραβολήν*, the proper introduction to the Gospel for the 5th Sunday in St Luke. To John xiv. 1 the same manuscript prefixes *καὶ εἶπεν τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ*, as does our English Prayer Book in the Gospel for May 1. Even *τέλος* or *τὸ τέλος*, which follows *ἀπέχει* in Mark xiv. 41 in the same manuscript and other authorities, may have the same origin.

mation we can gather favours the notion that there was no great difference between the calendar of Church-lessons in earlier and later ages. Not only do they correspond in all cases where such agreement is natural, as in the proper services for the great feasts and fasts, but in such purely arbitrary arrangements as the reading of the book of Genesis, instead of the Gospels, on the week days of Lent; of the Acts all the time between Easter and Pentecost¹; and the selection of St Matthew's history of the Passion alone at the Liturgy on Good Friday². The earliest formal Synaxarion, or Table of proper lessons, now extant is prefixed to the Codex Cyprius (K) of the eighth or ninth century; another is found in the Codex Campensis (M), which is perhaps a little later; they are more frequently found than the contrary in later manuscripts of every kind; while there are comparatively few copies that have not been accommodated to ecclesiastical use either by their original scribe or a later hand, by means of noting the proper days for each lesson (often in red ink) at the top or bottom or in the margin of the several pages. In the text itself are perpetually interpolated, mostly in vermilion or red ink, the beginning (*ἀρχή* or *αρχή*) and ending (*τέλος* or *τεῶς*) of each lesson, and the several words to be inserted or substituted in order to suit the purpose of public reading; from which source (as we have stated above, p. 11) various readings have almost unavoidably sprung: e.g. in Acts iii. 11, *τοῦ ἰαθέντος χωλοῦ* of the Lectionaries ultimately displaced *αὐτοῦ* from the text itself.

We purpose to annex to this Section a table of lessons throughout the year, according to the use laid down in Synaxaria and Lectionaries, as well to enable the student to compare the proper lessons of the Greek Church with our own, as to facilitate reference to the manuscripts themselves, which are now placed almost out of the reach of the inexperienced. On com-

¹ See the passages from Augustin Tract. vi. in Joan.; and Chrysost. Hom. vii. ad Antioch.; Hom. lxxii, xlvii. in Act. in Bingham's Antiquities, Book xiv, Chap. iii. Sect. 3. Chrysostom even calls the arrangement *τῶν πατέρων ὁ νόμος*. The strong passage cited from Cyril of Jerusalem by Dean Burgon (Last Twelve Verses of St Mark, p. 195) shews the confirmed practice as already settled in A.D. 348.

² August. Serm. cxxlii. de Tempore. The few verses Luke xxiii. 39—43, John xix. 31—37 are merely wrought into one narrative with Matth. xxvii., each in its proper place. See p. 83.

paring the manner in which the terms are used by different scribes and authors, we conceive that *Synaxarion* (συναξάριον) is a general name applied to any catalogue of Church-lessons; that tables of daily lessons are entitled *Eclogadia*, "Selections" (ἐκλογάδιον τῶν δ' εὐαγγελιστῶν, or τοῦ ἀποστόλου), and that these have varied but slightly in the course of many ages throughout the whole Eastern Church; that tables of Saints' day lessons, called *Menologia* (μηνολόγιον), distributed in order of the months from September (when the new year and the indiction began) to August, differed widely from each other, both in respect to the lessons read and the days kept holy¹. While the great feasts remained entirely the same, different generations and provinces and even dioceses had their favourite worthies, whose memory they specially cherished; so that the character of the menology (which sometimes forms a larger, sometimes but a small portion of a Lectionary) will often guide us to the country and district in which the volume itself was written. The Parham Evangelistarium 18 affords us a conspicuous example of this fact: coming from a region of which we know but little (Ciscissa in Cappadocia Prima), its menology in many particulars but little resembles those usually met with².

28. It only remains to say a few words about the *notation* adopted to indicate the several classes of manuscripts of the Greek Testament. These classes are six in number; that containing the Gospels, or the Acts and Catholic Epistles, or the Pauline Epistles, or the Apocalypse, or Lectionaries of the Gos-

¹ Thus συναξάριον will include Scholz's definition "indices lectionum ita exhibet, ut anni ecclesiastici et uniuscujusque evangelii ratio habeatur" (N.T. Vol. i. p. 454), as exemplified by his Codex Cyprius (K) &c.; and also Suicer's "vitæ sanctorum et martyrum in compendium redactæ, et succincta expositio solennitatis de quâ agitur" (Thes. Eccl. Tom. ii. 1106), as indeed we find the word used in Lambeth 1178, Burney 18 &c.

² This was naturally even more the case in countries where the Liturgy was not in Greek. Thus in the "Calendar of the Coptic Church" translated from the Arabic by Mr S. C. Malan (1873), the only Feast-days identical with those given below (pp. 85, 86) are Sept. 14; Oct. 8; Nov. 8; 13; 14; 17; 25; 30; Dec. 20; 24, 25; 29; Jan. 1; 6 (the Lord's Baptism); 22; Feb. 2; 24; March 25; April 25; May 2; June 19; 24; 29; July 22; Aug. 6; 25. Elsewhere the day is altered, even if the festival be the same; e.g. St Thomas' Day is Oct. 6 with the Greeks, Oct. 23 with the Copts; St Luke's Day (Oct. 18), and the Beheading of the Baptist (Aug. 29), are kept by the Copts a day later than by the Greeks, since Aug. 29 is their New Year's Day.

pels, or those of the Acts and Epistles. When one manuscript (as often happens) belongs to more than one of these classes, its distinct parts are numbered separately, so that a copy of the whole New Testament will appear in four lists, and be reckoned four times over. In this way we calculate that there are little short of one thousand manuscripts proper or Lectionaries of the Gospels, and about another thousand of all the other books put together; whereof those of St Paul are more numerous, those of the Apocalypse fewer, than those of the Acts and Catholic Epistles. All critics are agreed in distinguishing the documents written in the uncial character by capital letters; the custom having originated in the accidental circumstance that the Codex Alexandrinus was designated as Cod. A in the lower margin of Walton's Polyglott. These uncials are few: in the Gospels indeed they amount to fifty-seven, but far the greater part of these are fragments, most of them of inconsiderable length; in the Acts they are fourteen; in the Catholic Epistles six; in the Pauline Epistles fifteen (many of them fragments); in the Apocalypse only five: Lectionaries in uncial letters are not marked by capitals, but by Arabic numerals, like cursive manuscripts of all classes. Michaelis judges that the use of these numerals, which were first introduced by Wetstein (N. T. 1751—52), is likely to lead to confusion and faults of the press: one can only say in reply that Mill's mode of citing copies by abridgements of their names (e. g. *Alex.*, *Cant.*, *Mont.*, &c.) is more cumbersome, and has been found just as liable to error. A more serious cause of complaint is the facility with which documents have been admitted to crowd a list, when they have not been subjected to a thorough collation; many without being examined even cursorily. Such a practice, commenced by Wetstein, too much countenanced even by Griesbach (N. T. 1796—1806), conscientious labourer though he was in this field of critical study, was carried to its height by Scholz (N. T. 1830—36), who professes to have collated entire no more than thirteen of the six hundred and sixteen manuscripts which his edition added to previous catalogues. On this point we shall enter more into detail hereafter (Chap. v.); the result, however, has been to convey to the inexperienced reader a totally false notion of our actual acquaintance with the contents of the cursive or later copies. Hence, while we owe a large debt of

gratitude to those who have done so much for the uncial manuscripts of the Greek Testament, and freely accord the highest praise to Tischendorf and Tregelles for their indefatigable exertions in making them known to us, we are bound to state that the long list of the cursives is at present but a snare and a delusion; "a splendid wretchedness," as it has been called by one who knows its nature well. Even the catalogue itself of the later manuscripts is full of mis-statements, of repetitions and loose descriptions, which we have tried to remedy and supply, so far as our means of information extend. In describing the uncials (as we purpose to do in the next section) our course is tolerably plain; but the lists that comprise the third and fourth Sections of this chapter, and which respectively detail the cursive manuscripts and the Lectionaries of the Greek Testament, must be regarded only as a kind of first approximation to what such an enumeration ought to be, though much pains and time have been spent upon them: the comparatively few copies which seem to be sufficiently known are distinguished by an asterisk from their less fortunate kindred. Meanwhile the student is warned against the practice of Scholz (and not of Scholz only) who habitually alleges in defence of readings of the received text for which we know of almost no specific authority whatever, "*rec. cum multis recentibus familiis constant. codicibus*," "*rec. cum plerisque codicibus*," and such like expressions, which will be found on enquiry to prove nothing, save the writer's profound ignorance of what the mass of copies contains. Indeed the whole system of representing and of citing the cursive manuscripts is so radically unsound, that Tischendorf even in his last edition (N. T. 1865—72) has chosen to add nothing to Scholz's numerical list, preferring to

¹ The precise words of Scholz in speaking of $\zeta\tau$ Matth. xviii. 28, for which it is believed that "Em., Bib. Wech." as cited in Walton, Erasmus' editions, and γ^m , an Evangelistarium unknown to Scholz, are the only authorities. Tregelles indeed in his N.T. 1857 cites the margin of the Codex Leicestrensis (69); but this, together with many other of its marginal notes, was inserted from a printed book by Wm. Chark, who owned the manuscript in Queen Elizabeth's reign. The evidence for $\Theta\omega\mu\acute{\alpha}$ John xi. 29 seems to rest almost entirely on a few manuscripts of the Latin Vulgate and its Clementine edition. There is just as little evidence for $\epsilon\upsilon\rho\nu$ Matth. ii. 11; $\tau\epsilon\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\nu\omicron\nu$ John iv. 35; $\omicron\lambda\kappa\omicron\delta\omicron\mu\lambda\alpha\tau$ 1 Tim. i. 4; $\kappa\alpha\iota \tau\epsilon\iota\sigma\theta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ Heb. xi. 13; $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\omega$ 2 John 5, in all which, and too many other places, Erasmus (1516, &c.) led the common editions wrong, where the Complutensian (1514) is correct.

indicate the materials which have lately accrued by some other notation which he judges more convenient; such as 1^o, 2^o, &c. for the eleven which Edward de Muralt collated at St Petersburg for his New Test. 1848; and a^o, b^o, &c. for those derived from "A collation of about twenty manuscripts of the Holy Gospels...by F. H. Scrivener, 1853¹." His example has been followed in Section III. of this chapter, wherein no attempt has been made to assign distinctive numbers to the fresh materials which are constantly flowing in upon us. Thus Archbishop Wake's manuscripts deposited at Christ Church, and those which the Baroness Burdett-Coutts imported from Janina (1870—72), are still marked by the names of their respective owners.

¹ Dr Hort indeed (N. T. Vol. i. p. 4 of *Appendix*) has recently used numerals for which no good claimants can be found, in order to indicate fresh cursives of the higher type less inconveniently than Tischendorf has done. Thus in the Gospels Muralt's 2^o = Hort's 81, Burgon's Venice MS. = Hort's 82, Scrivener's ω = Hort's 102, and so on. But this process, even if it should be generally adopted, will carry us but a little way over the difficulty, since the vacant numerals are but few, the unnumbered manuscripts far more than they.

APPENDIX TO SECTION I.

SYNAXARION AND ECLŌGADION OF THE GOSPELS AND APOSTOLIC WRITINGS DAILY THROUGHOUT THE YEAR.

[Gathered chiefly from Evangelist. Arund. 547, Parham 18, Harl. 5598, Burney 22, Gale O. 4. 22, Christ's Coll. Camb. F. 1. 8, compared with the Liturgical notes in Wake 12, and those by later hands in Cod. Bezae (D). Use has been made also of Apostolos B-C. III. 24, B-C. III. 53, and the Euchology, or Book of Offices, B-C. III. 42.]

Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην [Arundel 547]

Τῇ ἀγία καὶ μεγάλῃ κυριακῇ τοῦ πάσχα.

Easter-day	John i. 1-17.	Acts i. 1-8.
2nd day of Easter		
week (τῆς διακινήσιμου)	18-28.	12-26.
3rd	Luke xxiv. 12-35.	ii. 14-21.
4th	John i. 35-52.	38-43.
5th	iii. 1-15.	iii. 1-8.
6th (παρασκευῇ)	ii. 12-22.	ii. 22-36.
7th (σαββάτῳ)	iii. 22-33.	iii. 11-16.

Ἀντίπασχα or 1st Sunday

after Easter (τοῦ Θωμά,		
B-C. III. 42)	xx. 19-31.	v. 12-20.
2nd day of 2nd		
week	ii. 1-11.	iii. 19-26.
3rd	iii. 16-31.	iv. 1-10.
4th	v. 17-24.	13-22.
5th	24-30.	23-31.
6th (παρασκευῇ)	v. 30-vi. 2.	v. 1-11.
7th (σαββάτῳ)	vi. 14-27.	21-32.

Κυριακῇ γ' or 2nd after Easter

(τῶν μυροφόρων, B-C. III. 42) Mark xv. 43-xvi. 8. vi. 1-7.

2nd day of 3rd

week	John iv. 46-54.	8-vii. 60.
3rd	vi. 27-33.	viii. 5-17.
4th (6th, Gale)	48-54.	18-25.
5th	40-44.	26-39.
6th (παρασκευῇ)		
(4th, Gale)	35-39.	40-ix. 19.
7th (σαββάτῳ)	xv. 17-xvi. 1.	19-31.

Κυριακῇ δ' or 3rd Sunday after

Easter (τοῦ παραλύτου sic, B-C. III. 42) John v. 1-15. Acts ix. 32-42.

2nd day of 4th

week	vi. 56-69.	x. 1-16.
3rd	vii. 1-13.	21-33.
4th (τῆς μεσοπεντηκοστῆς,		
B-C. III. 42)	14-30.	xiv. 6-18.
5th	viii. 12-20.	x. 34-43.
6th (παρασκευῇ)	21-30.	44-xi. 10.
7th (σαββάτῳ)	31-42.	xii. 1-11.

Κυριακῇ ε' or 4th Sunday

after Easter (τῆς σαμαριτιδος) iv. 5-42. xi. 19-30.

2nd day of 5th

week	viii. 42-51.	xii. 12-17.
3rd	51-59.	25-xiii. 12.
4th	vi. 5-14.	xiii. 13-24.
5th	ix. 39-x. 9.	xiv. 20-27
		(-xv. 4, B-C. III. 24).

6th (παρασκευῇ) x. 17-28. xv. 5-12.
7th (σαββάτῳ) 27-38. 35-41.

Κυριακῇ ς' or 5th Sunday

after Easter (τοῦ τυφλοῦ) ix. 1-38. xvi. 16-34.

2nd day of 6th

week	xi. 47-54.	xvii. 1-9.
3rd	xii. 19-36.	19-27.
4th	36-47.	xviii. 22-28.

5th Ἀναλήψεως, Ascension Day Matins, Mark xvi. 9-20. Liturgy, Luke xxiv. 36-53. Acts i. 1-12.	Κυριακῆ β' Matth. iv. 18-23. Rom. ii. 10-16. 2nd day of 3rd week ix. 36-x. 8. iv. 4-8. 3rd 9-15. 8-12. 4th 16-22. 13-17. 5th 23-31. 18-25. 6th (παρασκευῆ) 32-36; xi. 1. v. 12-14. 7th (σαββάτω) vii. 24-viii. 4. iii. 28-iv. 3.
Κυριακῆ γ' or 6th Sunday after Easter τῶν ἁγίων τῆ πατέρων ἐν Νικαίᾳ. xvii. 1-13. 16-38. 2nd day of 7th week xiv. 27-xv. 7. xxi. 8-14. 3rd xvi. 2-13. 26-32. 4th 15-23. xxiii. 1-11. 5th 23-33. xxv. 13-19. 6th (παρασκευῆ) xvii. 18-26. xxvii. 1-xxviii. 1. 7th (σαββάτω) xxi. 14-25. xxviii. 1-31.	Κυριακῆ γ' 2nd day of 4th week xi. 2-15. 15-17. 3rd 16-20. 17-21. 4th 20-26. vii. 1..... 5th 27-30. 6th (παρασκευῆ) xii. 1-8. 7th (σαββάτω) viii. 14-23 (om. 19-22, Gale). vi. 11-17.
Κυριακῆ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς Whitsunday Matins, xx. 19-23. Liturgy, vii. 37-viii. 12'. ii. 1-11.	Κυριακῆ δ' 2nd day of 5th week xii. 9-13. vii. 19-viii. 3. 3rd 14-16; 22-30. viii. 2-9. 4th 38-45. 8-14. 5th xii. 46-xiii. 3. 22-27. 6th (παρασκευῆ) 3-12. ix. 6-13. 7th (σαββάτω) ix. 9-13. viii. 14-21.
Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖον.	
2nd day of 1st week Τῆ ἐπαύριον τῆς πεν- τηκοστῆς. Matth. xviii. 10-20. Ephes. v. 8-19. 3rd iv. 25-v. 11. 4th 20-30. 5th 31-41. 6th (παρασκευῆ) vii. 9-18. 7th (σαββάτω) v. 42-48. Rom. i. 7-12.	Κυριακῆ ε' 2nd day of 6th week xiii. 10-23. ix. 13-19. 3rd 24-30. 17-28. 4th 31-36. 29-33. 5th 36-43. ix. 33; x. 12-17. 6th (παρασκευῆ) 44-54. x. 15-xi. 2. 7th (σαββάτω) ix. 18-26. ix. 1-5.
Κυριακῆ α' τῶν } x. 32-33; } Hebr. xi. 33- ἁγίων πάντων } 37-38; } xii. 2. } xix. 27-30. }	Κυριακῆ ς' 2nd day of 7th week xiii. 54-58. xi. 2-6. 3rd xiv. 1-13. 7-12. 4th xiv. 35-xv. 11. 13-20. 5th 12-21. 19-24. 6th (παρασκευῆ) 29-31. 25-28. 7th (σαββάτω) x. 37-xi. 1. xii. 1-3.
2nd day of 2nd } vi. 31-34; week } vii. 9-14. Rom. ii. 1-6. 3rd vii. 15-21. 13, 17-27. 4th 21-23. 28-iii. 4. 5th viii. 23-27. iii. 4-9. 6th (παρασκευῆ) ix. 14-17. 9-18. 7th (σαββάτω) vii. 1-8. iii. 19-26.	

¹ The *pericope adultera* Jo. vii. 53-viii. 11 is omitted in all the copies we know on the feast of Pentecost. Whenever read it was on some Saint's Day (*vid. infra*, p. 85, notes 2, 3).

Κυριακῆ γ' Matth. ix. 27-35. Rom. xv. 1-7.

2nd day of 8th
 week xvi. 1-6. xi. 29-36.
 3rd 6-12. xii. 14-21.
 4th 20-24. xiv. 10-18.
 5th 24-28. xv. 8-12.
 6th (*παρασκευῆ*) xvii. 10-18. 13-16.
 7th (*σαββάτω*) xii. 30-37. xiii. 1-10.

Κυριακῆ γ' xiv. 14-22. 1 Cor. i. 10-18.

2nd day of 9th
 week xviii. 1-11. Rom. xv. 17-25.
 3rd xviii. 18-20; xix. 1-2; 13-15. 26-29.
 4th xx. 1-16. xvi. 17-20.
 5th 17-28. 1 Cor. ii. 10-15.
 6th (*παρασκευῆ*) xxi. 12-14; 17-20. 16-iii. 8.
 7th (*σαββάτω*) xv. 32-39. Rom. xiv. 6-9.

Κυριακῆ δ' xiv. 22-34. 1 Cor. iii. 9-17.

2nd day of 10th
 week xxi. 18-22. 18-23.
 3rd 23-27. iv. 5-8.
 4th 28-32. v. 9-13.
 5th 43-46. vi. 1-6.
 6th (*παρασκευῆ*) xxii. 23-33. 7-11.
 7th (*σαββάτω*) xvii. 24-xviii. 1. Rom. xv. 30-33.

Κυριακῆ ε' xvii. 14-23. 1 Cor. iv. 9-16.

2nd day of 11th
 week xxiii. 13-22. vi. 20-vii. 7.
 3rd 23-28. vii. 7-15.
 4th 29-39.
 5th xxiv. 13 (14, Wake 12; 15 Cod. Bezae) -23.
 6th (*παρασκευῆ*) 27-35; 42-51. -vii. 35.
 7th (*σαββάτω*) xix. 8-12. i. 3-9.

Κυριακῆ ς' xviii. 23-35. ix. 2-12.

Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Μάρκον.

2nd day of 12th

week Mark i. 9-15. vii. 37-viii. 3.
 3rd 16-22. viii. 4-7.
 4th 23-28. ix. 13-18.
 5th 29-35. x. 2-10.
 6th (*παρασκευῆ*) ii. 18-22. 10-15.
 7th (*σαββάτω*)
 Matth. xx. 29-34. i. 26-29.

Κυριακῆ δ'

Matth. xix. 16-26. 1 Cor. xv. 1-11.
 2nd day of 13th
 week Mark iii. 6-12. x. 14-23.
 3rd 13-21. 31-xi. 3.
 4th 20-27. xi. 4-12.
 5th 28-35. 13-23.
 6th (*παρασκευῆ*) iv. 1-9. 31-xii. 6.
 7th (*σαββάτω*)
 Matth. xxii. 15-22. ii. 6-9.

Κυριακῆ ε'

Matth. xxi. 33-42. 1 Cor. xvi. 13-24.
 2nd day of 14th
 week Mark iv. 10-23. xii. 12-18.
 3rd 24-34. 18-26.
 4th 35-41. xiii. 8-xiv. 1.
 5th v. 1-20. xiv. 1-12.
 6th (*παρασκευῆ*) v. 22-24; 35-vi. 1. 12-20.
 7th (*σαββάτω*)
 Matth. xxiii. 1-12. iv. 1-5.

Κυριακῆ ς'

Matth. xxii. 2-14. 2 Cor. i. 21-ii. 4.
 2nd day of 15th
 week Mark v. 24-34. 1 Cor. xiv. 26-33.
 3rd vi. 1-7. 33-40.
 4th 7-13. xv. 12-20.
 5th 30-45. 29-34.
 6th (*παρασκευῆ*) 45-53. 34-40.
 7th (*σαββάτω*)
 Matth. xxiv. 1-13 (om. 10-12, Gale).
 iv. 17-v. 5.

Κυριακῆ ζ'

Matth. xxii. 35-40. 2 Cor. iv. 6-11
 (15, B-C. III. 24).

2nd day of 16th

week Mark vi. 54-vii. 3. 1 Cor. xvi. 8-13.
 3rd 5-16. 2 Cor. i. 1-7.
 4th 14-24. 12-20.
 5th 24-30. ii. 4-15.
 6th (*παρασκευῆ*) viii. 1-10. 15-iii. 3.
 7th (*σαββάτω*)
 Matth. xxiv. 34-37; 42-44.
 1 Cor. x. 23-28.

[*Κυριακῆ ς'* (16th) Matth. xxv. 14-30

(29, Gale). 2 Cor. vi. 1-10¹.

σαββάτω ε' (17th) Matth. xxv. 1-13.

Κυριακῆ ζ' (17th) Matth. xv. 21-28].

¹ Lessons for the week in B-C. III 24 are (2) 2 Cor. iii. 4-12. (3) iv. 1-6. (4) 11-13. (5) v. 10-5. (6) 13-21.

Ἀρχὴ τῆς ἰσθμικῆς τοῦ νέου ἔτους, ἤτοι τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Λουκᾶ [Arund. 547, Parham 18].	Κυριακῇ ε' Luke xvi. 19-31.	3rd Luke xix. 45-48.
	2nd day of 6th week	4th xx. 1-8.
	3rd x. 22-24.	5th 9-18.
	4th xi. 1-9.	6th (παρασκευῆ) 19-26.
	5th 9-13.	7th (σαββάτῳ) xii. 32-40.
Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Λουκᾶ [Christ's Coll. F. 1. 8].	6th (παρασκευῆ) 14-23.	Κυριακῇ ια' xiv. 16-24.
2nd day of 1st week Luke iii. 19-22.	7th (σαββάτῳ) viii. 16-21.	2nd day of 12th week xx. 27-44.
3rd 23-iv. 1.	Κυριακῇ σ' viii. 27 (26, Gale)	3rd xxi. 12-19.
4th 1-15.	-35; 38-39.	4th xxi. 5-8; 10-11; 20-24.
5th 16-22.	2nd day of 7th week	5th xxi. 28-33.
6th (παρασκευῆ) 22-30.	3rd xi. 29-33.	6th (παρασκευῆ)
7th (σαββάτῳ) 31-36.	4th 34-41.	xxi. 37-xxii. 8.
Κυριακῇ α'	5th 42-46.	7th (σαββάτῳ) xiii. 19-29.
2nd day of 2nd week	6th (παρασκευῆ) 47-xii. 1.	
3rd iv. 38-44.	7th (σαββάτῳ) xii. 2-12.	Κυριακῇ β' xvii. 12-19.
4th v. 12-16.	Κυριακῇ ζ'	2nd day of 13th week Mark viii. 11-21.
5th 33-39.	viii. 41-56.	3rd 22-26.
6th (παρασκευῆ) vi. 12-16.	2nd day of 8th week	4th 30-34.
7th (σαββάτῳ) v. 17-26.	xii. 13-15, 22-31.	5th ix. 10-16.
Κυριακῇ β'	3rd xii. 42-48.	6th (παρασκευῆ) 33-41.
2nd day of 3rd week	4th 48-59.	7th (σαββάτῳ) Luke xiv. 1-11.
3rd 24-30.	5th xiii. 1-9.	
4th 37-45.	6th (παρασκευῆ) 31-35.	Κυριακῇ γ' Luke xviii. 18-27.
5th vi. 46-vii. 1.	7th (σαββάτῳ) ix. 37-48.	2nd day of 14th week Mark ix. 42-x. 1.
6th (παρασκευῆ) vii. 17-30.	Κυριακῇ η'	3rd x. 2-11.
7th (σαββάτῳ) v. 27-32.	x. 25-37.	4th 11-16.
Κυριακῇ γ'	2nd day of 9th week	5th 17-27.
2nd day of 4th week	xiv. 12-15.	6th (παρασκευῆ) 24-32.
3rd 36-50.	3rd 25-35.	7th (σαββάτῳ) Luke xvi. 10-15.
4th viii. 1-3.	4th xv. 1-10.	
5th 22-25.	5th xvi. 1-9.	Κυριακῇ δ' Luke xviii. 35-43.
6th (παρασκευῆ) ix. 7-11.	6th (παρασκευῆ) xvi. 15-18; xvii. 1-4.	2nd day of 15th week Mark x. 46-52.
7th (σαββάτῳ) vi. 1-10.	7th (σαββάτῳ) ix. 57-62.	3rd xi. 11-23.
Κυριακῇ δ'	Κυριακῇ θ'	4th 22-26.
2nd day of 5th week	xii. 16-21.	5th 27-33.
3rd ix. 18-22.	2nd day of 10th week	6th (παρασκευῆ) xii. 1-12.
4th 23-27.	xvii. 20-25.	7th (σαββάτῳ) Luke xvii. 3-10.
5th 43-50.	3rd xvii. 26-37; xviii. 18.	
6th (παρασκευῆ) viii. 5-15.	4th xviii. 15-17; 26-30.	Κυριακῇ ε' Luke xix. 1-10.
7th (σαββάτῳ) vii. 1-10.	5th 31-34.	2nd day of 16th week Mark xii. 13-17.
	6th (παρασκευῆ) xix. 12-28.	
	7th (σαββάτῳ) x. 19-21.	
	Κυριακῇ ι'	
	xiii. 10-17.	
	2nd day of 11th week	
	xix. 37-44.	

3rd	Mark xii. 18-27.	Κυριακῆ ἰς' (of the Publican)	3rd	Mark xiii. 14-23.
4th	28-34.	Luke xviii. 9-14].	4th	24-31.
5th	38-44.	Apost. 2 Tim. iii. 10-15	5th	xiii. 31-xiv. 2.
6th (παρασκευῆ)	xiii. 1-9.	(B-C. iii. 42).	6th (παρασκευῆ)	xiv. 3-9.
7th (σαββάτω)	2nd day of 17th	week	7th (σαββάτω)	Luke xx. 46-xxi. 4.
	Luke xviii. 1-8.	Mark xiii. 9-18.		

Κυριακῆ ἰς' (of the Canaanites)	Matth. xv. 21-28.	Κυριακῆ α'	John i. 44-52.	Hebr. xi. 24-40.
σαββάτω πρὸ τῆς ἀποκρέω,	Luke xv. 1-10.	σαββάτω β'	Mark i. 35-44.	iii. 12-14.
Κυριακῆ πρὸ τῆς ἀποκρέω (of the Prodigal)	Luke xv. 11-32.	Κυριακῆ β'	ii. 1-12.	i. 10-ii. 3.
1 Thess. v. 14-23	(1 Cor. vi. 12-20, B-C. iii. 42).	σαββάτω γ'	14-17.	x. 32-37.
2nd day of the week of the	Carnival	Κυριακῆ γ'	viii. 34-ix. 1.	iv. 14-v. 6.
Mark xi. 1-11.	2 Tim. iii. 1-10.	σαββάτω δ'	vii. 31-37.	vi. 9-12.
3rd	xiv. 10-42.	Κυριακῆ δ'	ix. 17-31.	13-20.
4th	43-xv. 1.	σαββάτω ε'	viii. 27-31.	ix. 24-28.
5th	xv. 1-15.	Κυριακῆ ε'	x. 32-45.	11-14.
6th (παρασκευῆ)	xv. 20; 22; 25; 33-41.	σαββάτω σ' (of Lazarus)	John xi. 1-45.	xii. 28-xiii. 8.
	Tit. i. 15-ii. 10.	Κυριακῆ σ' τῶν Βατων,	Matins,	Matth. xxi. 1-11; 15-17 [eis τὴν λιτῆν, Mark x. 46-xi. 11, Burney 22].
7th (σαββάτω)	Luke xxi. 8-9; 25-27; 33-36; 1 Cor. vi. 12-20 (2 Tim. ii. 11-19, B-C. iii. 24).		Liturgy,	John xii. 1-18. Phil. iv. 4-9.

Τῆ ἀγία μεγάλη (Holy Week).

Κυριακῆ τῆς ἀποκρέω	Matth. xxv. 31-46.	2nd	{	Matins, Matth. xxi. 18-43.
1 Cor. viii. 8-ix. 2 (1 Cor. vi. 12-20, B-C. iii. 24).			{	Liturgy, xxiv. 3-35.
2nd day of the week of the cheese-eater	Luke xix. 29-40; xxii. 7-8; 39. Hebr. iv. 1-13.	3rd	{	Matins, xxii. 15-xxiv. 2.
3rd	xxii. 39-xxiii. 1. Hebr. v. 12-vi. 8.		{	Liturgy, xxiv. 36-xxvi. 2.
4th	deest.	4th	{	Matins, John (xi. 47-53, Gale) xiii. 17-47.
5th	xxiii. 1-33; 44-56. Hebr. xii. 14-27.		{	Liturgy, Matth. xxvi. 6-16.
6th (παρασκευῆ)	deest.	5th	{	Matins, Luke xxii. 1-36 (33, Gale).
7th (σαββάτω)	Matth. vi. 1-13. Rom. xiv. 19-23; xvi. 25-27.		{	Liturgy, Matth. xxvi. 1-20.

Κυριακῆ τῆς τυροφάγου Matth. vi. 14-21. Rom. xiii. 11-xiv. 4.

Παννυχὶς τῆς ἀγίας νηστείας.

Vigil of Lent (Parh., Christ's) Matth. vii. 7-11.

Τῶν νηστεῶν (Lent).

σαββάτω α' Mark ii. 23-iii. 5. Hebr. i. 1-12.

Εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ νεκτῆρος, John xiii. 3-10.

μετὰ τὸ νίψασθαι 12-17¹; Matth. xxvi. 21-39; Luke xxii. 43, 44; Matth. xxvi. 40-xxvii. 2. 1 Cor. xi. 23-32.

Εὐαγγέλια τῶν ἀγίων πάθων ἰϋ χϋ (Twelve Gospels of the Passions).

(1) Jo. xiii. 31-xviii. 1. (2) Jo. xviii. 1-28. (3) Matth. xxvi. 57-75. (4) Jo. xviii.

¹ In B-C. III. 42 all the Gospels for this day run into each other without break, e.g. John xiii. 8-17 being read *uno tempore*. Just so in the same manuscript stands the mixed lesson for Good Friday evening.

28-xix. 16. (5) Matth. xxvii. 3-32. (6) Mark xv. 16-32. (7) Matth. xxvii. 33-54. (8) Luke xxiii. 32-49. (9) Jo. xix. 25-37. (10) Mark xv. 43-47. (11) Jo. xix. 38-42. (12) Matth. xxvii. 62-66.

Εὐαγγέλια τῶν ὥρων τῆς ἀγίας παραμονῆς
(Night-watches of Vigil of Good Friday).

Hour (1) Matth. xxvii. 1-56. (3) Mark xv. 1-41. (6) Luke xxii. 66-xxiii. 49. (9) John xix. 16-37.

Τῆ ἀγία παρασκευῆ (Good Friday) εἰς τὴν
λειτουργίαν (ἐσπέρας, B-C. iii. 42).

Matth. xxvii. 1-38; Luke xxiii. 39-43;
Matth. xxvii. 39-54; John xix. 31-37;
Matth. xxvii. 55-61. 1 Cor. i. 18-ii. 2.

Τῷ ἀγίῳ καὶ μεγάλῳ σαββάτῳ (Easter
Even).

Matins, Matth. xxvii. 62-66. 1 Cor. v. 6-8
(Gal. iii. 13, 14, B-C. iii. 24).

Evensong, Matth. xxviii. 1-20. Rom. vi.
3-11 (λειτουργία. Matth. xxviii. 1-20,
ἐσπέρας Rom. vi. 3-11, B-C. iii. 42).

Εὐαγγέλια ἀναστασιμὰ ἐωθινά (vid. Suicer
Thes. Eccles. i. 1229), eleven Gospels,
used in turn, one every Sunday at
Matins, beginning with All Saints' Day
(B-C. iii. 42).

(1) Matth. xxviii. 16-20. (2) Mark xvi.
1-8. (3) *ib.* 9-20. (4) Luke xxiv. 1-12.
(5) *ib.* 12-35. (6) *ib.* 36-53. (7) John
xx. 1-10. (8) *ib.* 11-18. (9) *ib.* 19-31.
(10) Jo. xxi. 1-14. (11) *ib.* 15-25.

We have now traced the daily service of the Greek Church, as derived from the Gospels, throughout the whole year, from Easter Day to Easter Even, only that in Lent the lessons from the 2nd to the 6th days inclusive are taken from the book of Genesis (*above*, p. 73). The reader will observe that from Easter to Pentecost St John and the Acts are read for seven weeks, or eight Sundays. The first Sunday after Pentecost is the Greek All Saints' Day, their Trinity Sunday being virtually kept a fortnight earlier; but from the Monday next after the day of Pentecost (Whit-Monday) St Matthew is used continuously every day for eleven weeks and as many Sundays. For six weeks more, St Matthew is appointed for the Saturday and Sunday lessons, St Mark for the other days of the week. But inasmuch as St Luke was to be taken up with the new year, the year of the indiction [Arund. 547], which in *this* case must be September 24¹, if all the lessons in Matthew and Mark were not read out by this time (which, unless Easter was very early, would not be the case), they were at once broken off, and (after proper lessons had been employed for the Sunday before and the Saturday and Sunday which followed² the feast of the Elevation of the Cross, Sept. 14) the lessons from St Luke (seventeen weeks and sixteen Sundays in all) were taken up and read on as far as was necessary: only that the 17th Sunday of St Matthew (called from the subject of its Gospel *the Canaanitess*) was always resumed on the Sunday preceding that before the Carnival (πρὸ τῆς ἀποκρέω), which is also named from its Gospel that of *the Prodigal*, and answers to the Latin *Septuagesima*. Then follow the Sunday of the Carnival (ἀποκρέω) or *Sexagesima*, that of *the Cheese-eater* (τυροφάγου) or *Quinquagesima*, and the six Sundays in Lent. The whole number of Sunday Gospels in the year (even reckoning the two interpolated about Sept. 14) is thus only fifty-three, *the Canaanitess* coming twice over: but in the Menology or Catalogue of immoveable feasts will be found proper lessons for three Saturdays

¹ The more usual indiction, which dates from Sept. 1, is manifestly excluded by the following rubric (Burney, 22, p. 191, and in other copies): Δέον γινώσκειν ὅτι ἀρχεται ὁ Λουκᾶς ἀναγιγνώσκεισθαι ἀπὸ τῆς Κυριακῆς μετὰ τὴν ὕψωσιν· τότε γὰρ καὶ ἡ ἰσημερία [i. e. ἰσημερία] γίνεται, ὃ καλεῖται νύκτον ἔτος. * Η ἔτι ἀπὸ τῆς [τῆς] γὰρ τοῦ σπυριβρίου ὁ Λουκᾶς ἀναγιγνώσκειται.

² The lesson for the Sunday after Sept. 14 is the same as that for the 3rd Sunday in Lent.

and Sundays about Christmas and Epiphany, which could either be substituted for, or added to the ordinary Gospels for the year, according as the distance from Easter in one year to Easter in the next exceeded or fell short of fifty-two weeks. The system of lessons from the Acts and Epistles is much simpler than that of the Gospels: it exhibits fifty-two Sundays in the year, without any of the complicated arrangements of the other scheme. Since the Epistles from the Saturday of the 16th week after Pentecost to the Sunday of the Prodigal could not be set (like the rest) by the side of their corresponding Gospels, they are given separately in the following table¹.

Κυριακῆ ις'	2 Cor. vi. 1—10.	Κυριακῆ κς'	Eph. v. 8—19.
σαββάτω ις'	1 Cor. xiv. 20—25.	σαββάτω κς'	Gal. v. 22—vi. 2.
Κυριακῆ ιζ'	2 Cor. vi. 16—viii. 1.	Κυριακῆ κζ'	Eph. vi. 10—17.
σαββάτω ιη'	1 Cor. xv. 39—45.	σαββάτω κη'	Col. i. 9—18.
Κυριακῆ ιη'	2 Cor. ix. 6—11.	Κυριακῆ κθ'	2 Cor. ii. 14—iii. 3.
σαββάτω ιθ'	1 Cor. xv. 58—xvi. 3.	σαββάτω κθ'	Eph. ii. 11—13.
Κυριακῆ ιθ'	2 Cor. xi. 31—xii. 9.	Κυριακῆ κθ'	Col. iii. 4—11.
σαββάτω κ'	2 Cor. i. 8—11.	σαββάτω λ'	Eph. v. 1—8.
Κυριακῆ κ'	Gal. i. 11—19.	Κυριακῆ λ'	Col. iii. 12—16.
σαββάτω κα'	2 Cor. iii. 12—18.	σαββάτω λα'	Col. i. 2—6.
Κυριακῆ κα'	Gal. ii. 16—20.	Κυριακῆ λα'	2 Tim. i. 3—9.
σαββάτω κβ'	2 Cor. v. 1—10 (1-4 in B-C. iii. 24).	σαββάτω λβ'	Col. ii. 8—12.
Κυριακῆ κβ'	Gal. vi. 11—18.	Κυριακῆ λβ'	1 Tim. vi. 11—16.
σαββάτω κγ'	2 Cor. viii. 1—5.	σαββάτω λγ'	1 Tim. ii. 1—7.
Κυριακῆ κγ'	Eph. ii. 4—10.	Κυριακῆ λγ'	as Κυρ. λα'. (2 Tim. i. 3—9 in B-C. iii. 24).
σαββάτω κδ'	2 Cor. xi. 1—6.	σαββάτω λδ'	1 Tim. iii. 13—iv. 5.
Κυριακῆ κδ'	Eph. ii. 14—22.	Κυριακῆ λδ'	2 Tim. iii. 10—15.
σαββάτω κε'	Gal. i. 3—10.	σαββάτω λε'	1 Tim. iv. 9—15.
Κυριακῆ κε'	Eph. iv. 1—7.	Κυριακῆ λε'	2 Tim. ii. 1—10.
σαββάτω κς'	Gal. iii. 8—12.	σαββάτω λς'	2 Tim. ii. 11—19.

ON THE MENOLOGY, OR CALENDAR OF IMMOVEABLE FESTIVALS AND SAINTS' DAYS.

We cannot in this place enter very fully into this portion of the contents of Lectionaries, inasmuch as, for reasons we have assigned above (p. 74), the investigation would be both tedious and difficult. All the great feast-days, however, as well as the commemorations of the Apostles and of a few other Saints, occur alike in all the

¹ The ordinary lessons for week days stand thus in B-C. III. 24. Week ις'. (2) 2 Cor. iii. 4—12. (3) iv. 1—8. (4) 11—19. (5) v. 10—15. (6) 15—21. ις'. (2) vi. 11—16. (3) vii. 1—11. (4) 10—16. (5) viii. 7—11. (6) 10—21. ιη'. (2) viii. 20—ix. 1. (3) ix. 1—5. (4) 12—x. 5. (5) 4—12. (6) 13—18. ιθ'. (2) xi. 5—9. (3) 10—18. (4) xii. 10—14. (5) 14—19. (6) 19—xiii. 1. κ'. (2) xiii. 2—7. (3) 7—11. (4) Gal. i. 18—ii. 5. (5) ii. 6—16. (6) ii. 20—iii. 7. κα'. (2) iii. 15—22. (3) 23—iv. 5. (4) iv. 9—14. (5) 13—26. (6) 23—v. 5. κβ'. (2) v. 4—14. (3) 14—21. (4) vi. 2—10. (5) Eph. i. 9—17. (6) 16—23. κγ'. (2) ii. 18—iii. 5. (3) 5—12. (4) 13—21. (5) iv. 12—18. (6) 17—25. κδ'. (2) v. 18—26. (3) 26—31. (4) 28—vi. 6. (5) 7—11. (6) 17—21. κε'. (2) Phil. i. 2. *Hiat codex usque ad λ'.* (2) 1 Thess. i. 6—10. (3) 9—ii. 4. (4) 4—8. (5) 9—14. (6) 14—20. λα'. (2) iii. 1—8. (3) 6—11. (4) 11—iv. 6. (5) 7—11. (6) 17—v. 5. λβ'. (2) v. 4—11. (3) 11—15. (4) 15—23. (5) 2 Thess. i. 1—5. (6) 11—ii. 5. λγ'. (2) ii. 13—iii. 5. (3) 3—9. (4) 10—18. (5) 1 Tim. i. 1—3. (6) 8—14. λδ'. (2) 1 Tim. ii. 5—15. (3) iii. 1—13. (4) iv. 4—9. (5) 14—v. 10. (6) 17—vi. 2. λε'. (2) vi. 2—11. (3) 17—21. (4) 2 Tim. i. 8—14. (5) 14—ii. 2. (6) 22—23.

books, and ought not to be omitted here. We commence with the month of September (the opening of the year at Constantinople), as do all the Lectionaries and Synaxaria we have seen¹.

- Sept. 1. Simeon Stylites, Luke iv. 16—22; Col. iii. 12—16 (1 Tim. ii. 1—7, B-C. iii. 53).
2. John the Faster, Matth. v. 14—19 (Wake 12). (John xv. 1—11, Parham 18).
8. Birthday of the Virgin, Θεοτόκος, Matins, Luke i. 39—49, 56 (B-C. iii. 24 and 42). Liturgy, Luke x. 38—42; xi. 27, 28; Phil. ii. 5—11. Κυριακῇ πρὸ τῆς ὑψώσεως, Jo. iii. 13—17; Gal. vi. 11—16.
14. Elevation of the Cross, Matins, Jo. xii. 28—36. Liturgy, Jo. xix. 6—35; 1 Cor. i. 18—24.
- | | | |
|---------|--|---|
| σαββάτω | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{μετὰ} \\ \text{τὴν} \\ \text{ὑψώσιν} \end{array} \right\}$ | Jo. viii. 21—30; |
| | | 1 Cor. i. 26—29. |
| Κυριακῇ | | Mark viii. 34—ix. 1;
Gal. ii. 16—20. |
18. Theodora², John viii. 3—11 (Parham).
24. Thecla, Matth. xxv. 1—13; 2 Tim. i. 3—9.
- Oct. 3. Dionysius the Areopagite, Matth. xiii. 45—54; Act. xvii. 16 (19, Cod. Bezae)—34 (16—23, 30, B-C, iii. 24).
6. Thomas the Apostle, Jo. xx. 19—31; 1 Cor. iv. 9—16.
8. Pelagia, John viii. 3—11³.
9. James son of Alphæus, Matth. x. 1—7; 14; 15.
18. Luke the Evangelist, Luke x. 16—21; Col. iv. 5—9, 14, 18.
23. James, ὁ ἀδελφός Θεοῦ, Mark vi. 1—7; James i. 1—12.
- Nov. 8. Michael and Archangels, Matins, Matth. xviii. 10—20. Liturgy, Luke x. 16—21; Hebr. ii. 2—10.
13. Chrysostom, Matins, Jo. x. 1—9. Liturgy, Jo. x. 9—16; Hebr. vii. 26—viii. 2.
14. Philip the Apostle, Jo. i. 44—55; Acts viii. 26—39.
16. Matthew the Apostle, Matth. ix. 9—13; 1 Cor. iv. 9—16.
17. Gregory Thaumaturgus, Matth. x. 1—10 (Wake 12); 1 Cor. xii. 7, 8, 10, 11.
25. Clement of Rome, Jo. xv. 17—xvi. 1; Phil. iii. 20—iv. 3.
30. Andrew the Apostle, John i. 35—52; 1 Cor. iv. 9—16.
- Dec. 20. Ignatius, ὁ θεόφορος, Mark ix. 33—41; Hebr. iv. 14—v. 6 (Rom. viii. 28—39, B-C. iii. 24).
- Saturday before Christmas, Matth. xiii. 31—58 (Luke xiii. 19—29, Gale); Gal. iii. 8—12.
- Sunday before Christmas, Matth. i. 1—25; Hebr. xi. 9—16 (9, 10, 32—40, B-C. iii. 24).
24. Christmas Eve, Luke ii. 1—20; Hebr. i. 1—12. Προσόδια 1 Pet. ii. 10 (B-C. iii. 24).
25. Christmas Day, Matins, Matth. i. 18—25. Liturgy, Matth. ii. 1—12; Gal. iv. 4—7.
26. εἰς τὴν σάραξιν τῆς θεοτόκου, Matth. ii. 13—23; Hebr. ii. 11—18.
27. Stephen⁴, Matth. xxi. 33—42 (Gale); Acts vi. 1—7.
- Saturday after Christmas, Matth. xii. 15—21; 1 Tim. vi. 11—16.
- Sunday after Christmas, Mark i. 1—8; Gal. i. 11—19. The same Lessons for 23. Innocents (Gale).
- Saturday πρὸ τῶν φώτων, Matth. iii. 1—6; 1 Tim. iii. 13—iv. 5.
- Sunday πρὸ τῶν φώτων, Mark i. 1—8; 1 Tim. iii. 13—iv. 5 (2 Tim. iv. 5—8, B-C. iii. 24).

¹ In the *Menology*, even Arund. 547 has *μηδὲ Σεπτεμβρίῳ εἰς ἀρχὴν τῆς ἰσθμίου*. So Burn. 22 nearly.

² *Theodosia* in Codex Cyprius (see p. 73), with the cognate lesson, Luke vii. 36—50, which lesson is read in Gale for Sept. 16, Euphemia. In Burdett-Coutts II. 7, John viii. 3—11 is used εἰς μεταστροφήν: B-C. II. 30 adds *καὶ γυναικῶν*.

³ So Cod. Cyprius, but the Christ's Coll. Ebst. removes Pelagia to Aug. 31, and reads Jo. viii. 1—11.

⁴ The Proto-martyr Stephen is commemorated on August 2 in Ebst. 3 (Wheeler 3).

- Jan. 1. Circumcision, Luke ii. 20, 21, 40—52; 1 Cor. xiii. 12—xiv. 5.
5. Vigil of *θεοφάνια*, Luke iii. 1—18; 1 Cor. ix. 19—x. 4.
6. *θεοφάνια* (Epiphany)

{	Matins, Mark	Titus ii.
	i. 9—11.	11—14
{	Liturgy, Matt.	(B-C. iii.
	iii. 13—17.	42 adds
		iii. 4—7).
7. John, ὁ πρόδρομος, John i. 29—34.
- Saturday μετὰ τὰ φῶτα, Matth. iv. 1—11; Eph. vi. 10—17.
- Sunday μετὰ τὰ φῶτα, Matth. iv. 12—17; Eph. iv. 7—13.
16. Peter *ad Vincula*, John xxi. 15—19 (B-C. iii. 42).
22. Timothy, Matth. x. 32, 33, 37, 38; xix. 27—30; 2 Tim. i. 3—9.
- Feb. 2. Presentation of Christ, Matins, Luke ii. 25—32. Liturgy, Luke ii. 22—40; Hebr. vii. 7—17.
3. Simeon ὁ θεοδόχος and Anna, Luke ii. 25—38; Hebr. ix. 11—14.
23. Polycarp, John xii. 24—36.
24. Finding of the Head of John the Baptist

{	Matins, Luke vii.	18—29 (17—30,
	B-C. iii. 42).	Liturgy, Matt. xi.
	5—14; 2 Cor. iv.	6—11.
- March 24. Vigil of Annunciation, Luke i. 39—56 (Gale).
25. Annunciation, Luke i. 24—38; Hebr. ii. 11—18.
- April 23. St George, Matins, Mark xiii. 9—13. Liturgy, Acts xii. 1—11 (Cod. Bezae)¹.
25. (Oct. 19, B-C. iii. 24). Mark the Evangelist, Mark vi. 7—13; Col. iv. 5, 10, 11, 18.
30. James, son of Zebedee, Matth. x. 1—7, 14, 15.
- May 2. Athanasius, Matth. v. 14—19; Hebr. iv. 14—v. 6.
8. (Sept. 26, B-C. iii. 42). John, ὁ θεόλογος, Jo. xix. 25—27; xxi. 24, 25; 1 Jo. i. 1—7 (iv. 12—19, B-C. iii. 42).
26. Jude the Apostle, Jo. xiv. 21—24.
- June 11. Bartholomew and Barnabas the Apostles, Mark vi. 7—13; Acts xi. 19—30.
19. Jude, brother of the Lord, Mark vi. 7—13, or *εὐαγγέλιον ἀποστολικόν* (Matth. x. 1—3? June 30).
24. Birth of John the Baptist, Luke i. 1—25; 57—80; Rom. xiii. 11—xiv. 4.
29. Peter and Paul the Apostles, Matins, Jo. xxi. 15—31. Liturgy, Matth. xvi. 13—19; 2 Cor. xi. 21—xii. 9.
30. The Twelve Apostles, Matth. x. 1—8.
- July 22. Mary Magdalene, ἡ μυροφόρος, Mark xvi. 9—20; 2 Tim. ii. 1—10.
- Aug. 6. Transfiguration

{	Matins, Luke ix. 29—
	36 or Mark ix. 2—9.
	Liturgy, Matth. xvii. 1—9; 2 Pet. i. 10—19.
15. Assumption of the Virgin, Luke x. 38—42 (Gale, Codex Bezae).
20. Thaddæus the Apostle, Matth. x. 16—22; 1 Cor. iv. 9—16.
25. Titus, Matth. v. 14—19 (Gale); 2 Tim. ii. 1—10.
29. Beheading of John the Baptist, Matins, Matth. xiv. 1—13. Liturgy, Mark vi. 14—30; Acts xiii. 25—32 (39, B-C. iii. 24).
- Ἐξ τὰ ἐγκαίνια, Dedication, Jo. x. 22 (17, Gale)—28 (Gale, Cod. Bezae); 2 Cor. v. 15—21; Hebr. ix. 1—7.

At Cambridge (Univ. Libr. II. 23. 8) is a rare volume containing the Greek Gospel Church-Lessons, *Θείον καὶ ἱερὸν εὐαγγέλιον*, Venice, 1615—24, once belonging to Bp. Hacket: also the *Apostolos* of a smaller size. Another edition appeared in 1851, also at Venice.

For a comparison of the Greek with the Coptic Calendar, see p. 74, note 2. For the Menology in the Jerusalem Syriac Lectionary, see Chap. III. § 3 (4).

¹ The same Saint is commemorated in the fragment of a Golden Evangelistarium seen at Sinai by the Rev. E. Young in 1834, and in B-C. III. 42 as *μεγαλόμαρτυς ὁ τροπαιοφόρος*.

SECTION II.

Description of the Uncial Manuscripts of the Greek Testament.

We proceed to describe in detail the uncial manuscripts of the Greek Testament, arranged separately as copies of the Gospels, of the Acts and Catholic Epistles, of the Pauline Epistles, and of the Apocalypse. The number extant in each portion of the sacred volume has been stated already (*above*, p. 75). They are usually indicated by the capital letters of the English and Greek alphabets, and stand on the list not in the order of their relative value or antiquity (as could have been wished), but mainly as they were applied from time to time to the purposes of Textual criticism.

Manuscripts of the Gospels.

Ⲁ (*Aleph*). CODEX SINAITICUS, now at St Petersburg, the justly celebrated copy which has for the last quarter of a century attracted such general attention in the learned world. From Tischendorf's *Notitia Ed. Cod. Sinaitici* (pp. 5, 6) we gained in 1860 some insight into the history of its discovery. When travelling in 1844 under the patronage of his own sovereign, King Frederick Augustus of Saxony, he picked out of a basket full of papers destined to light the oven of the Convent of St Catharine on Mount Sinai, the 43 leaves of the Septuagint which he published in 1846 as the *Codex Friderico-Augustanus* (*see* p. 30). These, of course, he easily got for the asking, but finding that further portions of the same codex (e.g. the whole of Isaiah and 1, 4 Maccabees) were extant, he rescued them from their probable fate, by enlightening the brotherhood as to their value. He was permitted to copy one page of what yet remained, containing the end of Isaiah and the beginning of Jeremiah, which he afterwards published in the first volume of his *Monumenta Sacra Inedita* (1855), pp. xxx. and 213—16; and he departed in the full hope that he should be allowed to purchase the whole: but he had taught the monks a sharp lesson, and neither then, nor on his subsequent visit in 1853, could he gain any tidings of the leaves he had left behind; he even seems to have concluded that they had been carried into Europe by some richer or more

fortunate collector. At the beginning of 1859, after the care of the seventh edition of his N. T. was happily over, he went for a third time into the East, under the well-deserved patronage of the Emperor of Russia, the great protector of the Oriental Church; and the treasure which had been twice withdrawn from him as a private traveller, was now, on the occasion of some chance conversation, spontaneously put into the hands of one sent from the champion and benefactor of the oppressed Church. Tischendorf touchingly describes his surprise, his joy, his midnight studies over the priceless volume ("*quippe dormire nefas videbatur*") on that memorable 4th of February, 1859. The rest was easy; he was allowed to copy his prize at Cairo, and ultimately to bring it to Europe, as a tribute of duty and gratitude to the Emperor Alexander II. To that monarch's wise munificence both the larger edition (1862), and the smaller of the New Testament only (1863), are mainly due.

The Codex Sinaiticus is $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length by $14\frac{7}{8}$ inches high, and consists of $345\frac{1}{2}$ leaves of the same beautiful vellum as the Cod. Friderico-Augustanus which is really a part of it (*see* p. 30), whereof 199 contain portions of the Septuagint version, $147\frac{1}{2}$ the whole New Testament, Barnabas' Epistle, and a considerable fragment of Hermas' Shepherd. It has subsequently appeared that the Russian Archimandrite (now Bishop) Porphyry had brought with him from Sinai in 1845 some pieces of Genesis xxiii. 19—xxiv. 19, 25—36 and of Numbers v. 26—vi. 17; 22—vii. 12, which had been applied long before to the binding of other books¹. Each page comprises four columns (*see* p. 27), with 48 lines in each column, of those continuous, noble, simple uncials (*compare* Plate IV. 11 a *with* 11 b) which we have described so minutely in the preceding section pp. 32—9). The poetical books of the Old Testament, however, being written in *στίχοι*, admit of only two columns on a page (*above*, p. 51). The order of the sacred books is remarkable, though not unprecedented (p. 70). St Paul's Epistles precede the Acts, and, amongst them, that to the Hebrews follows

¹ These fragments were published by Tischendorf in his "Appendix Codd. cel. Sin. Vat. Alex." 1867. Another leaf of the same manuscript, containing Lev. xxii. 3—xxiii. 22, was also found at Sinai by Dr H. Brüsch Bey, of Göttingen, and published by him in his "Neue Bruchstücke des Codex Sinaiticus aufgefunden in der Bibliothek des Sinai Klosters," 1875.

2 Thess., standing on the same page with it (p. 71). Although this manuscript has hitherto been inspected by few Englishmen (Tregelles, however, and Dean Stanley were among the number), yet its general aspect has grown familiar to us by the means of photographs of its most important pages taken for the use of private scholars¹, as well as from the *facsimiles* contained in Tischendorf's several editions (p. 32, note 2). Breathings and accents there are none: the apostrophus (*see* p. 47) and the single point for punctuation are entirely absent for pages together, yet occasionally are rather thickly studded, not only in places where a later hand has been unusually busy (e.g. Isaiah i. 1—iii. 2, two pages), but in some others (e.g. in 2 Cor. xii. 20 there are eight stops). Even the words very usually abridged (except $\theta\sigma$, $\kappa\sigma$, $\iota\sigma$, $\chi\sigma$, $\pi\nu\alpha$ which are constant) are here written in full, as $\pi\alpha\tau\eta\rho$ (but $\pi\rho\sigma$ sometimes), $\delta\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\iota\delta$: the practice varies for $\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma$, $\alpha\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$: we find $\iota\sigma\rho\alpha\eta\lambda$ ², $\iota\sigma\lambda$, or $\iota\eta\lambda$: $\iota\epsilon\rho\upsilon\sigma\alpha\lambda\eta\mu$ ³, $\iota\eta\mu$, $\iota\lambda\mu$, $\iota\eta\lambda\mu$ ³, or $\upsilon\lambda\mu$ ³. Tischendorf considers the two points over *iota* and *upsilon* (which are sometimes wanting) as seldom from the first hand: the mark > (*see* p. 48), besides its rather rare marginal use in citations (*see* p. 62, note), we notice in the text oftener in the Old Testament than in the New. Words are divided at the end of a line as capriciously as can be imagined: thus K in OTK is repeatedly separated without need³. Small letters, of the most

¹ I am indebted to Dean Burgon's liberality for full-sized photographs of the four pages containing Mark xvi. 2—Luke i. 18; Luke xxii. 20—52; John i. 1—39; xxi. 1—25.

² Abbot, *Comparative Antiquity of the Sinaitic and Vatican Manuscripts*, p. 195. By a diligent use of the materials supplied by Vercellone and Cozza's Roman edition of the Cod. Vaticanus (1868—72) and of other documents, Dr Abbot has no doubt shaken the arguments by which Dean Burgon seeks to demonstrate that the Sinaitic manuscript is younger than its rival in the Vatican "by 50, by 75, or by 100 years" (Last Twelve verses of S. Mark, pp. 291—4). See also p. 115 and note.

³ It has been suggested that this strange mode of division originated in the reluctance of scribes to begin a new line with any combination of letters which could not commence a Greek word, and to end a line with any letter which is not a vowel, or a liquid, or σ , or γ before another consonant, except in the case of Proper Names (*Journal of Sacred Literature*, April 1863, p. 8). Certainly the general practice in Cod. N bears out the rule thus laid down, though a few instances to the contrary occur here and there (*Scrivener, Collation of Cod. Sinaiticus*, Introd. p. xiv. note).

perfect shape, freely occur in all places, especially at the end of lines, where the — *superscript* (*see* p. 48) is almost always made to represent N (e.g. 17 times in Mark i. 1—35). The only other *compendia scribendi* seem to be K, for *καί*, and HN written as in Plate I. No. 2¹. Numerals are represented by letters, with a straight line placed over them, e.g. $\bar{\mu}$ Mark i. 13¹. Although there are no capitals, the initial letter of a line which begins a sentence generally (not always) stands out from the rank of the rest, as in the Old Testament portion of Cod. Vaticanus, and less frequently in the New, after the fashion of certain earlier pieces on papyrus (*see* p. 49). The titles and subscriptions of the several books are as short as possible (*see* p. 62). The *τίτλοι* or *κεφάλαια μαζορα* are absent; the margin contains the so-called Ammonian sections and Eusebian canons, but Tischendorf is positive that neither they nor such notes as *στιχων ρπ* (*see* p. 51, note 2) appended to 2 Thessalonians, are by the original scribe, although they may possibly be due to a contemporary hand. From the number of *ίμοιοτέλευτα* (*see* p. 9) and other errors, one cannot affirm that it is very carefully written. Its itacisms (*see* p. 10) are of the oldest type, and those not constant; chiefly *ι* for *ει*, *η* and *υ* and *οι* interchanged. The grammatical forms commonly termed Alexandrian occur, pretty much as in other manuscripts of the earliest date. The whole manuscript is disfigured by corrections, a few by the original scribe, or by the usual *comparer* (*see* p. 53); very many by an ancient and elegant hand of the sixth century (N^a), whose emendations are of great importance; some again by a hand but little later (N^b); far the greatest number by a scholar of the seventh century (N^c), who often cancels the changes introduced by N^a; others by as many as eight several later writers, whose varying styles Tischendorf has carefully discriminated and illustrated by *facsimiles*².

¹ But MH, NH for *μη*, *νη* occur even in the Septuagint Cod. Sarravianus, also of the fourth century, in which copy numerals are quite constantly expressed by letters.

² Tischendorf, however, describes N^a as “*et formis et atramento primam manum tantum non adaequans*,” and its writer has been regarded by some as little inferior in value to the first scribe. Thus Dr Hort (Introd. p. 271), calling him the ‘corrector’ proper, states that he “made use of an excellent exemplar, and the readings which he occasionally uses take high rank as authority.” Hort considers N^b as mixed, N^c as still more so.

The foregoing considerations were bringing even cautious students to a general conviction that Cod. N, if not, as its enthusiastic discoverer had announced, "omnium antiquissimus" in the absolute sense of the words, was yet but little lower in date than the Vatican manuscript itself, and a veritable relic of the middle of the fourth century—the presence in its margin of the sections and canons of Eusebius [d. 340?], by a hand nearly if not quite contemporaneous, seems to preclude the notion of higher antiquity—when Constantine Simonides, a Greek of Syme, who had just edited a few papyrus fragments of the New Testament alleged to have been written in the first century of the Christian era (p. 24, note 2), astonished the learned world in 1862 by claiming to be himself the scribe who had penned this manuscript in the monastery of Panteleemon on Mount Athos, as recently as in the years 1839 and 1840. The writer of these pages must refer to the Introduction to his Collation of the Codex Sinaiticus (pp. lx—lxxii, 2nd edition, 1867) for a statement of the reasons which have been universally accepted as conclusive, why the manuscript which Simonides may very well have written under the circumstances he has described neither was nor possibly could be that venerable document. The discussion of the whole question, however, though painful enough in some aspects, was the means of directing attention to certain peculiarities of Cod. N which might otherwise have been overlooked. While engaged in demonstrating that it could not have been transcribed from a Moscow-printed Bible, as was "Cod. Simoneidos" (to borrow the designation employed by its author), critics came to perceive that either this copy or its immediate prototype must have been derived from a papyrus *exemplar*, and that probably of Egyptian origin (Collation, &c. pp. viii.*; xiv.; lxviii.), a confirmation of the impression conveyed to the reader by a first glance at the eight narrow columns of each open leaf (p. 27). The claim of Simonides to be the sole writer of a book which must have consisted when complete of about 730 leaves, or 1460 pages of very large size (Collation, &c. p. xxxii.), and that too within the compass of eight or ten months¹ (he inscribed on

¹ He would have written about 20,000 separate uncial letters every day. Compare the performance of that veritable Briareus, Nicodemus ὁ ἕτρος, who transcribed the Octateuch (in cursive characters certainly) now at Ferrara

his finished work, as he tells us, the words *Σιμωνίδου τὸ ἔργον*), made it important to scrutinize the grounds of Tischendorf's judgment that four several scribes had been engaged upon it, one of whom, as he afterwards came to persuade himself, was the writer of its rival, Codex Vaticanus¹. Such an investigation, so far as it depends only on the handwriting, can scarcely be carried out satisfactorily without actual examination of the manuscript itself, which is unfortunately not easily within the reach of those who could use it independently; but it is at all events quite plain, as well from internal considerations as from minute peculiarities in the writing, such as the frequent use of the apostrophus and of the mark > (*see above*, pp. 47, 48) on some sheets and their complete absence from others (Collation, &c. pp. xvi.—xviii.; xxxii.; xxxvii.), that at least two, and probably more, persons have been employed on the several parts of the volume.

It is indeed a strange coincidence, although unquestionably it can be nothing more, that Simonides should have brought to the West from Mount Athos some years before one genuine fragment of the Shepherd of Hermas in Greek, and the transcript of a second (both of which materially aided Tischendorf in editing the remains of that Apostolic Father), when taken in connection with the fact that the worth of Codex Sinaiticus is vastly enhanced by its exhibiting next to the Apocalypse, and on the same page with its conclusion, the only complete extant copy of the Epistle of Barnabas in Greek, followed by a considerable portion of this self-same Shepherd of Hermas, much

(Holmes, *Cod.* 107), beginning his task on the 8th of June, and finishing it the 15th of July A.D. 1334, "working very hard"—as he must have done indeed (Burgon, *Guardian*, Jan. 29, 1873).

¹ This opinion, first put forth by Tischendorf in his *N.T. Vaticanum* 1867, Proleg. pp. xxi.—xxiii., was minutely discussed in the course of a review of that book in the *Christian Remembrancer*, October 1867, by the writer of these pages. Although Dr Hort labours to shew that no critical inferences ought to be drawn from this identity of the scribe of Cod. B with the writer of six conjugate leaves of Cod. \aleph (being three pairs in three distant quires, one of them containing the conclusion of St Mark's Gospel), he is constrained to admit that "the fact appears to be sufficiently established by concurrent peculiarities in the form of one letter, punctuation, avoidance of contractions, and some points of orthography" (Introduction, p. 213). The internal evidence indeed, though relating to minute matters, is cumulative and irresistible, and does not seem to have been noticed by Tischendorf, who drew his conclusions from the handwriting only.

of which, as well as of Barnabas, was previously known to us only in the Old Latin translation. Both these works are included in the list of books of the New Testament contained in the great Codex Claromontanus D of St. Paul's Epistles, to be described hereafter, Barnabas standing there in an order sufficiently remarkable; and their presence, like that of the Epistles of Clement at the end of Codex Alexandrinus (p. 95), brings us back to a time when the Church had not yet laid aside the primitive custom of reading publicly in the congregation certain venerated writings which have never been regarded exactly in the same light as Holy Scripture itself. Between the end of Barnabas and the opening of the Shepherd are lost the last six leaves of a quaternion (which usually consists of eight) numbered 90 at its head in a fairly ancient hand. The limited space would not suffice for the insertion of Clement's genuine Epistle, since the head of the next quaternion is numbered 92, but might suit one of the other uncanonical books on the list in Cod. Claromontanus, viz. the Acts of Paul and the Revelation of Peter.

With regard to the deeply interesting question as to the critical character of Cod. **Σ**, although it strongly supports the Codex Vaticanus in many characteristic readings, yet it cannot be said to give its exclusive adherence to any of the witnesses hitherto examined. It so lends its grave authority, now to one and now to another, as to convince us more than ever of the futility of seeking to derive the genuine text of the New Testament from any one copy, however ancient and, on the whole, trustworthy. On this whole subject see Chapter VII, *below*.

A. CODEX ALEXANDRINUS in the British Museum, where the open volume of the New Testament is publicly shewn in the Manuscript room. It was placed in that Library on its formation in 1753, having previously belonged to the king's private collection from the year 1628, when Cyril Lucar, Patriarch of Constantinople (whose crude attempts to reform the Eastern Church on the model of Geneva ultimately provoked the untoward Synod of Bethlehem in 1672¹), sent this most precious document by our Ambassador in Turkey, Sir Thomas Roe, as a truly royal gift to Charles I. An Arabic inscription,

¹ A more favourable estimate of the ecclesiastical policy of Cyril (who was murdered by order of the Sultan in 1638, *æt.* 80) is maintained by Dr Th. Smith, "Collectanea de Cyrillo Lucario, Patriarcha Constantinopolitano," London 1707.

several centuries old, at the back of the Table of Contents on the first leaf of the manuscript, and translated into Latin in another hand, which Mr W. Aldis Wright recognises as Bentley's (*Academy*, April 17, 1875), states that it was written by the hand of Thecla the Martyr¹. A recent Latin note on the first page of the first of two fly-leaves declares that it was given to the Patriarchal Chamber in the year of the Martyrs, 814 [A.D. 1098]. Another, and apparently the earliest inscription, in an obscure Moorish-Arabic scrawl, set at the foot of the first page of Genesis, was thus translated for Baber by Professor Nicoll of Oxford, "Dicatus est Cellæ Patriarchæ in urbe munitâ Alexandria. Qui eum ex eâ extraxerit sit anathematizatus, vi avulsus. Athanasius humilis" (Cod. Alex. V. T., Prolegomena, p. xxvi., not. 92). That the book was brought from Alexandria by Cyril (who had been Patriarch of that see from 1602 to 1621) need not be disputed, although Wetstein, on the doubtful authority of Matthew Muttis of Cyprus, Cyril's deacon, concludes that he procured it from Mount Athos. In the volume itself the Patriarch has written and subscribed the following words: "Liber iste scripturæ sacræ N. et V. Testamenti, prout ex traditione habemus, est scriptus manu Theclæ, nobilis fœminæ Ægyptiæ, ante mille (*sic*) et trecentos annos circiter, pauld post Concilium Nicenum. Nomen Theclæ in fine libri erat exaratum, sed extincto Christianismo in Ægypto a Mahometanis, et libri unâ Christianorum in similem sunt reducti conditionem. Extinctum ergo et Theclæ nomen et laceratum, sed memoria et traditio recens observat." Cyril seems to lean wholly on the Arabic inscription on the first leaf of the volume: independent testimony he would appear to have received none.

This celebrated manuscript, the earliest of first-rate importance applied by scholars to the criticism of the text, and yielding in value to but one or two at the utmost, is now bound in four volumes, whereof three contain the Septuagint version of the Old Testament almost complete², the fourth volume the

¹ "i.e. Memorant hunc Librum scriptâ fuisse ma-nu Theclæ Martyris." On the page over-against Cyril's note the same hand writes "videantur literæ ejusdẽ Cyril: Lucar: ad Georgium Episco Cant' [Abbot]: *Hart*: 823, 2. quæ extant in Clementis Epistolis ad Corinthios editionis Colomesii Lond. 1687 8° pag 344 etc."

² Not to mention a few casual *lacunæ* here and there, especially in the early leaves of the manuscript, the lower part of one leaf has been cut out, so that

New Testament with several lamentable defects. St Matthew's Gospel is wanting up to ch. xxv. 6 *ἐξέρχασθε*, from John vi. 50 *ἵνα* to viii. 52 *λέγεις*¹ two leaves are lost, and three leaves from 2 Cor. iv. 13 *ἐπίστευσα* to xii. 6 *ἐξ ἐμοῦ*. All the other books of the New Testament are here entire, the Catholic Epistles following the Acts, that to the Hebrews standing before the Pastoral Epistles (*see above*, p. 71). After the Apocalypse we find what was till very recently the only known extant copy of the first or genuine Epistle of Clement of Rome, and a small fragment of a second of suspected authenticity, both in the same hand as the latter part of the New Testament. It would appear also that these two Epistles of Clement were designed to form a part of the volume of Scripture, for in the table of contents exhibited on the first leaf of the manuscript under the head H KAINH ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ, they are represented as immediately following the Apocalypse: next is given the number of books, ΟΜΟΤ ΒΙΒΛΙΑ, the numerals being now illegible; and after this, as if distinct from Scripture, the 18 Psalms of Solomon. Such uncanonical works (*ιδιωτικοὶ ψαλμοὶ...ἀκανόνιστα βιβλία*) were forbidden to be read in churches by the 59th canon of the Council of Laodicea (A.D. 364?); whose 60th canon, which seems to have been added a little later, enumerates the books of the N.T. in the precise order seen in Cod. A, only that the Apocalypse and Clement's Epistles do not stand on the list.

This manuscript is in quarto, about thirteen inches high and ten broad, and consists of 773 leaves (of which 639 contain the Old Testament), each page being divided into two columns of fifty or fifty-one lines each, having about twenty letters or upwards in a line. These letters are written continuously in uncial characters, without any space between the words, the uncials being of an elegant yet simple form, in a firm and uniform hand,

Gen. xiv. 14—17; xv. 1—5; 16—20; xvi. 6—9 are wanting. The leaf containing 1 Sam. xii. 20—xiv. 9, and the nine leaves containing Ps. l. 20—lxxx. 10 (Engl.) are lost.

¹ Yet we may be sure that these two leaves did not contain the *Pericope Adultera*, Jo. vii. 53—viii. 11. Taking the Elzevir N.T. of 1624, which is printed without breaks for the verses, we count 286 lines of the Elzevir for the two leaves of Cod. A preceding its defect, 288 lines for the two which follow it; but 317 lines for the two missing leaves. Deduct the 30 lines containing Jo. vii. 53—viii. 11, and the result for the lost leaves is 287.

though in some places larger than in others. Specimens of both styles may be seen in our *facsimiles* (Plate V., Nos. 12, 13)¹, the first, Gen. i. 1, 2, being written in vermilion, the second, Acts xx. 28, in the once black, but now yellowish-brown ink of the body of the Codex. The punctuation, which no later hand has meddled with, consists merely of a point placed at the end of a sentence, usually on a level with the top of the preceding letter, but not always; and a vacant space follows the point at the end of a paragraph, the space being proportioned to the break in the sense. Capital letters of various sizes abound at the beginning of books and sections, not painted as in later copies, but written by the original scribe in common ink. As these capitals stand entirely outside the column in the margin (excepting in such rare cases as Gen. i. 1), if the section begins in the middle of a line, the capital is necessarily postponed till the beginning of the next line, whose first letter is always the capital, even though it be in the middle of a word (*see* p. 49). Vermilion is freely used in the initial lines of books, and has stood the test of time much better than the black ink: the first four lines of each column on the first page of Genesis are in this colour, accompanied with the only breathings and accents in the manuscript (*see above*, pp. 43, 44). The first line of St Mark, the first three of St Luke, the first verse of St John, the opening of the Acts down to $\delta\iota$, and so on for other books, are in vermilion. At the end of each book are neat and unique ornaments in the ink of the first hand: see especially those at the end of St Mark and the Acts. As we have before stated (pp. 56, 59) this codex is the earliest which has the *κεφάλαια* proper, the so-called Ammonian sections, and the Eusebian canons complete. Lists of the *κεφάλαια* precede each Gospel, except the first, where they are lost. Their titles stand or have stood at the top of the pages, but the binder has often ruthlessly cut them short, and committed other yet more serious mutilation at the edges. The places at which they begin are indicated throughout, and their numbers are moreover set in the margin of Luke and John. The sections and Eusebian canons are

¹ Other facsimiles are given in Woide's edition of the New Testament from this MS. (1786), and in Baber's of the Old Test. (1816). Two specimens of the style of the first Epistle of Clement are exhibited in Bishop Jacobson's *Patres Apostolici*, Vol. i. p. 110, 1838; second edition, 1863.

conspicuous in the margin, and at the beginning of each of these sections a capital letter is found. The rest of the New Testament has no division into *κεφάλαια*, as was usual in later times, but paragraphs and capitals occur as the sense requires.

The palæographic reasons for assigning this manuscript to the beginning or middle of the fifth century (the date now very generally acquiesced in, though it may be referred even to the end of the fourth century, and is certainly not much later) depend in part on the general style of the writing, which is at once firm, elegant and simple; partly on the formation of certain letters, in which respect it holds a middle place between copies of the fourth and sixth centuries. The reader will recall what we have already said (pp. 32—9) as to the shape of *alpha*, *delta*, *epsilon*, *pi*, *sigma*, *phi* and *omega* in the Codex Alexandrinus. Woide, who edited the New Testament, believes that two hands were employed in that volume, changing in the page containing 1 Cor. v—vii., the vellum of the latter portion being thinner and the ink more thick, so that it has peeled off or eaten through the vellum in many places. This, however, is a point on which those who know manuscripts best will most hesitate to speak decidedly¹.

The external arguments for fixing the date are less weighty, but all point to the same conclusion. On the evidence for its being written by St Thecla, indeed, no one has cared to lay much stress, though some have thought that the scribe might belong to a monastery dedicated to that holy martyr²,

¹ Notice especially what Tregelles says of the Codex Angiensis (Tregelles' Horne's Introd. Vol. iv. p. 198), where the difference of hand in the leaves removed from their proper place is much more striking than any change in Cod. Alexandrinus. Yet even in that case it is likely that one scribe only was engaged. It should be stated, however, that Mr E. Maunde Thompson, who edits the autotype edition (*see* p. 100), believes that the hand changed at the beginning of St Luke, and altered again about the end of 1 Cor. His reasons appear to us precarious and insufficient, and he seems to cut away the ground from under him when he admits (*Præf.* p. 9) that "sufficient uniformity is maintained to make it difficult to decide the exact place where a new hand begins."

² Tischendorf, *Septuagint*, Proleg. p. lxx., cites with some approval Grabe's references (*Proleg.* Cap. i. pp. 9—12) to Gregory Nazianzen [d. 389], three of whose Epistles are written to a holy virgin of that name (of course not the martyr), to whose *παρθενών* at Seleucia he betook himself, the better to carry out his very sincere *nolo episcopari* on the death of his father Gregory, Bishop of Nazianzus: Πρώτον μὲν ἦλθον εἰς Σελεύκειαν φυγὰς | Τὸν παρθενῶνα τῆς αἰδίου κόρης | Θέκλας κ.τ.λ. De vitâ suâ.

whether the contemporary of St Paul be meant, or her namesake who suffered in the second year of Diocletian, A.D. 286 (Eusebius de Martyr. Palaestin. c. III.). Tregelles explains the origin of the Arabic inscription, on which Cyril's statement appears to rest, by remarking that the New Testament in our manuscript at present commences with Matth. xxv. 6, this lesson (Matth. xxv. 1—13) *being that appointed by the Greek Church for the festival of St Thecla* (see above, Menology, p. 85, Sept. 24). Thus the Egyptian who wrote this Arabic note, observing the name of Thecla in the now mutilated upper margin of the Codex, where such rubrical notes are commonly placed by later hands, may have hastily concluded that she wrote the book, and so perplexed our Biblical critics. It seems a fatal objection to this shrewd conjecture, as Mr E. Maunde Thompson points out, that the Arabic numeration of the leaf, set in the *verso* of the lower margin, itself posterior in date to the Arabic note relating to Thecla, is 26¹; so that the twenty-five leaves now lost must have been still extant when that note was written.

Other more trustworthy reasons for assigning Cod. A to the fifth century may be summed up very briefly. The presence of the canons of Eusebius [A.D. 268—340?], and of the epistle to Marcellinus by the great Athanasius, Patriarch of Alexandria [300?—373], standing before the Psalms, place a limit in one direction, while the absence of the Euthalian divisions of the Acts and Epistles (*see above*, p. 61), which came into vogue very soon after A.D. 458, and the shortness of the *ὑπογραφαὶ* (*above*, p. 63), appear tolerably decisive against a later date than A.D. 450. The insertion of the Epistles of Clement, like that of the treatises of Barnabas and Hermas in the Cod. Sinaiticus (p. 92), recalls us to a period when the canon of Scripture was in some particulars a little unsettled, that is, about the age of the Councils of Laodicea (364?) and of Carthage (397). Other arguments have been urged both for an earlier and a later date, but they scarcely deserve discussion. Wetstein's objection to the name Θεοτόκος as applied to the Blessed Virgin in the title to her song, added to the Psalms, is quite groundless: that appellation was given to her by both the Gregories in the middle of the

¹ The last Arabic numeral in the Old Testament is 641, the first in the New Testament 667.

fourth century (*vid.* Suicer, Thesaur. Eccles. I. p. 1387), as habitually as it was a century after: nor should we insist much on the contrary upon Woide's or Schulz's persuasion that the *τρισάριον* (*ἅγιος ὁ θεός, ἅγιος ἰσχυρός, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος*) would have been found in the *ὑμνος ἐωθινός* after the Psalms, had the manuscript been written as late as the fifth century.

Partial and inaccurate collations of the New Testament portion of this manuscript were made by Patrick Young, Librarian to Charles I.¹, who first published from it the Epistles of Clement in 1633; then by Alexander Huish, Prebendary of Wells, for Walton's Polyglott, and by some others². The Old Testament portion was edited in 1707—20, after a not very happy plan, but with learned Prolegomena and notes, by the Prussian J. E. Grabe, the second and third of his four volumes being posthumous.

In 1786, Charles Godfrey Woide, preacher at the Dutch Chapel Royal and Assistant Librarian in the British Museum, a distinguished Coptic scholar [d. 1790], published, by the aid of 456 subscribers, a noble folio edition of the New Testament from this manuscript, with valuable Prolegomena, a copy of the text which, so far as it has been tested, has been found reasonably accurate, together with notes on the changes made in the codex by later hands, and a minute collation of its readings with the common text as presented in Kuster's edition of Mill's N. T. (1710). In this last point Woide has not been taken as a model by subsequent editors of manuscripts, much to the inconvenience of the student. In 1816—28 the Old Testament portion of the Codex Alexandrinus was published in three folio volumes at the national expense, by the Rev. Henry Hervey Baber, also of the British Museum, the Prolegomena to whose

¹ Very interesting is Whitelock's notice of a design which was never carried out, under the date of March 13, 1645. "The Assembly of Divines desired, by some of their brethren, sent to the House [of Commons] that Mr Patrick Young might be encouraged in the printing of the Greek Testament much expected and desired by the learned, especially beyond seas; and an ordinance was read for printing and publishing the Old Testament of the Septuagint translation, wherein Mr Young had formerly taken pains and had in his hand, as library keeper at St James's, an original *Teeta* [sic] Bible of that translation" (Memorials, p. 197, ed. 1732).

² "MS^a Alexand^m accuratissime ipse contuli, A.D. 1716. Rich: Benteleus." Trin. Coll. Camb. B. xvii. 9, in a copy of Fell's Greek Testament, 1675, which contains his collation. Ellis, Bentelei Critica Sacra, p. xxviii.

magnificent work are very inferior to Woide's, but contain some additional information. Both these performances, and many others like them which we shall have to describe, are printed in an uncial type, bearing some general resemblance to that of their respective originals, but which must not be supposed to convey any adequate notion of their actual appearance. Such *quasi-facsimiles* (for they are nothing more), while they add to the cost of the book, seem to answer no useful purpose whatever; and, if taken by an incautious reader for more than they profess to be, will seriously mislead him. In 1861 Mr B. H. Cowper put forth an octavo edition of the New Testament pages in common type, but burdened with modern breathings and accents, the *lacunæ* of the manuscript (p. 95) being unwisely supplied by means of Kuster's edition of Mill, and the original paragraphs departed from, wheresoever they were judged to be inconvenient. These obvious faults are the more to be regretted, inasmuch as Mr Cowper has not shrunk from the labour of revising Woide's edition by a comparison with the Codex itself, thus giving to his book a distinctive value of its own. An admirable autotype *facsimile* of the New Testament was published in 1879 by the Principal Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum, Mr. E. Maunde Thompson¹.

The Codex Alexandrinus has been judged to be carelessly written; many errors of transcription no doubt exist, but not more than in other copies of the highest value (e.g. Cod. \aleph , and possibly even Cod. B). None other than the ordinary abridgments are found in it (*see* p. 48): numerals are not expressed by letters except in Apoc. vii. 4; xxi. 17: ι and υ have usually the dots over them at the beginning of a syllable. Of itacisms (*see* p. 10) it may be doubted whether it contains more than others of the same date: the interchange of ι and $\epsilon\iota$, η and ϵ , ϵ and $\alpha\iota$, are the most frequent; but these mutations are too common to prove anything touching the country of the manuscript. Its external history renders it very likely that it was written at Alexandria, that great manufactory of correct and elegant copies, while Egypt was yet a Christian land: but such

¹ In 1881 appeared the first of three volumes which will complete the Old Testament, and which contains the books from Genesis down to 2 Chronicles, with a Preface of only twelve pages, which we have made some use of. The Preface to the New Testament covers but four pages.

forms as *λήμφομαι, ἐλάβαμεν, ἦλθαν, ἕνατος, ἐκαθερίσθη*, and others named by Woide, are peculiar to no single nation, but are found repeatedly in Greek-Latin codices, which unquestionably originated in Western Europe. This manuscript is of the very greatest importance to the critic, inasmuch as it exhibits (especially in the Gospels) a text more nearly approaching that found in later copies than is read in others of its high antiquity, although some of its errors are portentous enough, e.g. *θῦ* for *ἰῦ* in John xix. 40. This topic, however, will be discussed at length in another place (Chap. VII.), and we shall elsewhere (Chap. IX.) consider the testimony Codex A bears in the celebrated passage 1 Tim. iii. 16.

B. CODEX VATICANUS 1209 is perhaps the oldest vellum manuscript in existence, and is the glory of the great Vatican Library at Rome. To this legitimate source of deep interest must be added the almost romantic curiosity which has been excited by the jealous watchfulness of its official guardians, with whom an honest zeal for its safe preservation has degenerated into a species of capricious wilfulness, and who have hitherto shewn a strange incapacity for themselves making the proper use of a treasure they scarcely permit others more than to gaze upon. This book seems to have been brought into the Vatican Library shortly after its establishment by Pope Nicolas V. in 1448, but nothing is known of its previous history. It is entered in the earliest Catalogue of that Library, made in 1475. Since the missing portions at the end of the New Testament are believed to have been supplied in the fifteenth century from a manuscript belonging to Cardinal Bessarion, we may be allowed to conjecture, if we please, that this learned Greek brought the Codex into the west of Europe. Although this book has not even yet been as thoroughly collated, or rendered as available as it might be to the critical student, its general character and appearance are sufficiently well known. It is a quarto volume, arranged in quires of five sheets or ten leaves each, like Codex Marchalianus of the Prophets written in the sixth or seventh century and Cod. Rossanensis of the Gospels to be described hereafter (p. 157), not of four or three sheets as Cod. \aleph (p. 93), the ancient, perhaps the original, numbering of the quires being often found in the margin.

The New Testament fills 142 out of its 759 thin and delicate vellum leaves, said to be made of the skins of antelopes: it is bound in red morocco, being ten and a half inches high, ten broad, four and a half thick. It once contained the whole Bible in Greek, the Old Testament of the Septuagint version (a tolerably fair representation of which was exhibited in the Roman edition as early as 1587¹), except the books of the Maccabees and the Prayer of Manasses. The first forty-six chapters of Genesis (the manuscript begins at *πολιω*, Gen. xlvi. 48) and Psalms cv.—cxxxvii. are wanting. The New Testament is complete down to Hebr. ix. 14 *καθα*: the rest of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the four Pastoral Epistles (the Catholic Epistles had followed the Acts, *see* p. 71), and the Apocalypse, being written in the later hand alluded to above. The peculiar arrangement of three columns on a page, or six on the opened leaf of the volume, is described by eye-witnesses as very striking (*see above*, p. 27): in the poetical books of the Old Testament (since they are written *στιχηρῶς*) only two columns fill a page. The *facsimile* copper-plate in Mai's larger edition of the Codex Vaticanus, and the uncouth tracing by Zacagni in 1704, repeated both by Horne and Tregelles, have been strongly censured by recent observers: another less unworthy of its subject, taken from the opening of the book of Psalms, is found in Silvestre, Paléogr. Univ. No. 60. Our *facsimile* (Plate VIII. No. 20) comprises Mark xvi. 3 *μιν τον λιθον* to the end of ver. 8, where the Gospel ends abruptly; both the arabesque ornament and the subscription KATA MAPKON being in a later hand (for *M see* p. 36). A full-sized photograph of the whole page was procured by Burgon in 1871, and by him presented to the author. All who have inspected the Codex are loud in their praises of the fine thin vellum, the clear and elegant hand of the first penman, the simplicity of the whole style of the work: capital letters, so frequent in the Codex Alexandrinus, were totally wanting in this document for some centuries. In several of these particulars our manuscript resembles the Herculanean

¹ The *Epistle of Cardinal Carafa to Sixtus V.*, and the *Preface to the Reader* by the actual editor Peter Morinus, both of which Tischendorf reprints in full (Septuagint, Proleg. pp. xxi—xxvii), display an amount of critical skill and discernment quite beyond their age, and in strange contrast with the signal mismanagement in regard to the revision of the Latin Vulgate version under the auspices of the same Pope.

rolls, and thus asserts a just claim to high antiquity, which the absence of the divisions into *κεφάλαια*, of the sections and canons, and the substitution in their room of another scheme of chapters of its own (described above, p. 54), beyond question tend very powerfully to confirm. Each column contains forty-two lines, each line from sixteen to eighteen letters, of a size somewhat less than in Cod. A, much less than in Cod. \aleph (though they all vary a little in this respect), with no intervals between the words, a space of the breadth of half a letter being left at the end of a sentence, and a little more at the conclusion of a paragraph; the first letter of the new sentence occasionally standing a little out of the line (*see* pp. 49, 90). It has been doubted whether any of the stops are *primæ manu*, and (contrary to the judgment of Birch and others) the breathings and accents are now universally allowed to have been added by a later hand. This hand, referred by some to the eighth century (although Tischendorf, with Dr Hort's approval, assigns it to the tenth or eleventh¹), retraced, with as much care as such an operation would permit, the faint lines of the original writing (the ink whereof was perhaps never quite black), the remains of which can even now be seen by a keen-sighted reader by the side of the thicker and more modern strokes; and, anxious at the same time to represent a critical revision of the text, the writer left untouched such words or letters as he wished to reject. In these last places, *where no breathings or accents and scarcely any stops² have ever been detected*, we have an opportunity of seeing the manuscript in its primitive condition,

¹ The writer of the Preface to the sixth volume of the Roman edition of 1881 (apparently Fabiani), is jubilant over his discovery of the name of this retracer ("eruditissimi et patientissimi viri," as he is pleased to call him, p. xviii) in the person of Clement the Monk, who has written his name twice in the book in a scrawl of the fifteenth century. But mere resemblance in the ink is but a lame proof of identity, and Fabiani recognises some other correctors, whom he designates as B⁴, posterior to the mischievous "instaurator."

² Hug says *none*, but Tischendorf (Cod. Frid.-Aug. Proleg. p. 9) himself detected two in a part that the second scribe had left untouched; and not a very few elsewhere (N. T. Vatican. Proleg. p. xx, xxi, 1867); though a break often occurs with no stop by either hand. In the much contested passage Rom. ix. 5, Dr Vance Smith ("Revised Texts and Margins" p. 34, note*), while confidently claiming the stop after *σαρκα* in Cod. A as *primæ manu*, and noticing the space after the word in Cod. Ephraemi (C), admits that "in the Vatican the originality of the stops may be doubtful." In the judgment of Fabiani, "vix aliqua primo exscriptori tribuenda" (Præf. N. T. Vat. 1881, p. xviii.).

before it had been tampered with by the later scribe. There are occasional breaks in the continuity of the writing, every descent in the genealogies of our Lord (Matth. i., Luke iii.¹), each of the beatitudes (Matth. v.), of the parables in Matth. xiii., and the salutations of Rom. xvi., forming a separate paragraph; but such a case will oftentimes not occur for several consecutive pages. The writer's plan was to proceed regularly with a book until it was finished: then to break off from the column he was writing, and to begin the next book on the very next column. Thus only *one* column perfectly blank is found in the whole New Testament², that which follows ἐφοβούντο γάρ in Mark xvi. 8: and since Cod. B is the only one yet known, except Cod. N, that actually omits the last twelve verses of that Gospel, by leaving such a space the scribe has intimated that he was fully aware of their existence, or even found them in the copy from which he wrote (*see below*, Chap. IX.). The capital letters at the beginning of each book are likewise due to the corrector, who sometimes erased, sometimes merely touched slightly, the original initial letter, which (as in the Herculanean rolls) is no larger than any other. The *paragraph* marks (usually straight lines, but sometimes Γ, *see* p. 49, note 2) are seen quite frequently in some parts; whether from the first hand is very doubtful. The note of citation > (*see* p. 62, note) is perpetual, not occasional as in Cod. N. Fewer abridgments than usual occur in this venerable copy (*see* p. 48). The formation of *delta*, *pi*, *chi*; the loop-like curve on the left side of *alpha*; the absence of points at the extremities of *sigma* or *epsilon*; the length and size of *rho*, *upsilon*, *phi* (pp. 32—8), all

¹ The publication of the Roman edition (1868—81) enables us to add (Abbot, *ubi supra*, p. 193) that the blessings of the twelve patriarchs in Gen. xlix. are in separate paragraphs numbered from A to 1B, that the 23 names of the unclean birds Deut. xiv. 12—18, 25 kings in Josh. xii. 10—22, eleven dukes in 1 Chr. i. 51—54, each stand in a separate line. In Cod. N, especially in the New Testament, this arrangement στιχηρῶν is much more frequent than in Cod. B, although the practice is in some measure common to both.

² The Roman edition (1868—81) also makes known to us that in the Old Testament two columns are left blank between Nehemiah and the Psalms, which could have been otherwise, inasmuch as the Psalms are written στιχηρῶν with but two columns on a page (*see* p. 102). Between Tobit and Hosea (which book stands first of the Prophetical writings) a column is very naturally left blank, and two columns at the end of Daniel, with whose prophecy the Old Testament concludes. But these peculiarities obviously bear no analogy to the case of the end of St Mark's Gospel.

point to the FOURTH century as the date of this manuscript. The smaller letters so often found at the end of lines preserve the same firm and simple character as the rest; of the use of the apostrophus, so frequent in Codd. **N** A and some others, Tischendorf enumerates ten instances in the New Testament (N. T. Vatican. Proleg. p. xxi.), whereof four are represented in the Roman edition of 1868, with two more which Tischendorf considers as simple points (Acts vii. 13, 14).

Tischendorf says truly enough that something like a history might be written of the futile attempts to collate Cod. B, and a very unprofitable history it would be. The manuscript is first distinctly heard of (for it does not appear to have been used for the Complutensian Polyglott¹) through Sepulveda, to whose correspondence with Erasmus attention has been seasonably recalled by Tregelles. Writing in 1533, he says, "Est enim Græcum exemplar antiquissimum in Bibliothecâ Vaticanâ, in quo diligentissimè et accuratissimè literis majusculis conscriptum utrumque Testamentum continetur longè diversum a vulgatis exemplaribus:" and, after noticing as a weighty proof of excellence its agreement with the Latin version (multum convenit cum vetere nostrâ translatione) against the common Greek text (vulgatam Græcorum editionem), he furnishes Erasmus with 365 readings as a convincing argument in support of his statements. It would probably be from this list that in his Annotations to the Acts, published in 1535, Erasmus cites the reading *καὶ δα*, ch. xxvii. 16 ("quidam admonent" is the expression he uses), from a Greek codex in the Pontifical Library, since for this reading Cod. B is the only known *Greek* witness, except a corrector of Cod. **N**. It seems, however, that he had obtained some account of this manuscript from the Papal Librarian Paul Bombasius as early as 1521 (see Wetstein's Proleg. N. T. Vol. i. p. 23). Lucas Brugensis, who published his Notationes in S. Biblia in 1580, and his Commentary on the Four Gospels (dedicated to Cardinal Bellarmine) in 1606, made known some twenty extracts from Cod. B taken by Werner of Nimeguen; that most imperfect collection

¹ The writer of the Preface to the Roman edition (Vol. vi. Præf. p. 9, 1881) vainly struggles to maintain the opposite view, because the Cardinal, in his Preface to the Complutensian N. T. speaks about "adhibitâ Vaticanâ libris," as if there were but one there.

being the only source from which Mill and even Wetstein had any acquaintance with the contents of this first-rate document. More indeed might have been gleaned from the Barberini readings gathered in or about 1625 (of which we shall speak in the next section), but their real value and character were not known in the lifetime of Wetstein. In 1698 Laurence Alexander Zacagni, Librarian of the Vatican, in his Preface to the *Collectanea Monumentorum Veterum Eccles.*, describes Cod. B, and especially its peculiar division into sections, in a passage cited by Mill (*Proleg.* § 1480). In 1669 indeed the first real collation of the manuscript with the Aldine edition (1518) had been attempted by Bartolucci, then Librarian of the Vatican; from some accident, however, it was never published, though a transcript under the feigned name of Giulio di Sta Anastasia yet remains in the Imperial Library of Paris (*MSS. Gr. Suppl.* 53), where it was first discovered and used by Scholz in 1819, and subsequently by Tischendorf and Muralt, the latter of whom (apparently on but slender grounds) regards it as the best hitherto made; others have declared it to be very imperfect, and quite inferior to those of Bentley and Birch. The collation which bears Bentley's name (*Trin. Coll. B. xvii. 3*, in *Cephalæus' N. T.* 1524) was procured about 1720 by his money and the labour of the Abbate Mico, for the purpose of his projected Greek Testament. When he had found out its defects, by means of an examination of the original by his nephew Thomas Bentley in 1726, our great critic engaged the Abbate Rulotta in 1729 for 40 scudi (*Bentley's Correspondence*, p. 706) to revise Mico's sheets, and especially to note the changes made by the second hand. Rulotta's papers came to light in 1855 among the Bentley manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge (*B. xvii. 20*), and have lately proved of signal value¹; Mico's were published in 1799 at Oxford, by Henry Ford, Lord Almoner's Reader in Arabic there (1783—1813), together with some Thebaic fragments of the New Testament, in a volume which (since it was chiefly drawn from Woide's posthumous papers) he was pleased to call an Appendix to the *Codex Alexandrinus*. A fourth collation of the Vatican MS. was made about 1780 by Andrew Birch of Copenhagen,

¹ Rulotta's labours are now printed in *Bentleii Critica Sacra* by Mr A. A. Ellis, 1862, pp. 121—154.

and is included in the notes to the first volume of his Greek Testament 1788, or published separately in 1798 and 1800. Birch's collation does not extend to the Gospels of St Luke and St John, and on the whole is less full and exact than Mico's: possibly, though he travelled under the auspices of the King of Denmark, the system of jealous exclusion of strangers from the choicest books there had already commenced at Rome. Certain it is that since Birch's day no one not in the confidence of the Papal Court has had fair access to this document. In 1810, however, when, with the other best treasures of the Vatican, Codex B was at Paris, the celebrated critic J. L. Hug sent forth his treatise "de Antiquitate Vaticani Codicis Commentatio," and though even he did not perceive the need of a new and full collation when he examined it in 1809, he has the merit of first placing it in the paramount rank it still holds as one of the oldest and most valuable of extant monuments of sacred antiquity. His conclusion respecting its date, that it is not later than the middle of the fourth century, has been acquiesced in with little opposition, though Tischendorf declares rather pithily that he holds this belief "non propter Hugium sed cum Hugio" (Cod. Ephraem. Proleg. p. 19). Some of his reasons, no doubt, are weak enough¹; but the strength of his position depends on an accumulation of minute particulars, against which there seems nothing to set up which would suggest a lower period. On its return to Rome, this volume was no longer available for the free use and reference of critics. In 1843 Tischendorf, after long and anxious expectation during a visit to Rome that lasted some months, obtained a sight of it for two days of three hours each². In 1844 Edward de Muralt was admitted to the higher

¹ Thus the correspondence of Codex B with what St Basil (c. Eunom. ii. 19) states he found in the middle of the fourth century, *ἐν τοῖς παλαιαῖς τῶν ἀντιγράφοις*, in Eph. i. 1, viz. *τοῖς ὄσιν* without *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ*, though now read only in this and the Sinaitic manuscript *primâ manu*, and in one cursive copy (Cod. 67) *secundâ manu*, seems in itself of but little weight. Another point that has been raised is the position of the Epistle to the Hebrews. But this argument can apply only to the elder document from which the Vatican MS. was taken, and wherein this book unquestionably followed that to the Galatians. In Cod. B it *always* stood in its present place, after 2 Thess., as in the Codices cited p. 71, note.

² Besides the 25 readings Tischendorf observed himself, Cardinal Mai supplied him with 34 more for his N. T. of 1849. His 7th edition of 1859 was enriched by 230 other readings furnished by Albert Dressel in 1855.

privilege of three days or nine hours enjoyment of this treasure, and on the strength of the favour published an edition of the New Testament, *ad fidem codicis principis Vaticani*, in 1846. Tregelles, who went to Rome in 1845 for the special purpose of consulting it, was treated even worse. He had forearmed himself (as he fondly imagined) with recommendatory letters from Cardinal Wiseman, and was often allowed to *see* the manuscript, but hindered from transcribing any of its readings¹. We are ashamed to record such childish jealousy, yet thankful to believe that treatment thus illiberal could befall a learned stranger in but one city of Christendom.

What the Papal authorities would not entrust to others, they had at least the merit of attempting, and at length accomplishing, themselves. As early as 1836 Bishop Wiseman announced in his Lectures on the Connection between Science and Revelation, Vol. II. pp. 187—191, that Cardinal Mai, whose services to classical and ecclesiastical literature were renowned throughout Europe, was engaged on an edition of the Codex Vaticanus, commenced under the immediate sanction of Pope Leo XII. (1823—29). As years passed by and no such work appeared, adverse reports and evil surmises began to take the place of hope, although the Cardinal often spoke of his work as already finished, only that he desired to write full Prolegomena before it should appear. In September 1854 he died, honoured and ripe in years; and at length, when no more seemed to be looked for in that quarter, five quarto volumes issued from the Roman press in 1857, the New Testament comprising the fifth volume, with a slight and meagre preface by the Cardinal, and a letter to the reader by “Carolus Vercellone, Sodalis Barnabites,” which told in a few frank manly words how little accuracy we had to expect in a work, by the publication of which he still persuaded himself

¹ “They would not let me open it,” he adds, “without searching my pocket, and depriving me of pen, ink, and paper... If I looked at a passage too long the two *prelati* would snatch the book out of my hand.” Tregelles, Lecture on the Historic Evidence of the N. T., p. 84. And yet we are now told that “Pontificum benignitate et voluntate factum decretumque, ut quotidianus viris doctis ad Vaticanos libros pateret accessus; etsi nollent otiosæ sciorum turbæ ad discendos forte in Ephesiâ lectis fabulis mores referant et gratuitam tabernam aperiri” (Nov. Test. Vat. Tom. VI. 1861, Præf. p. x). But what idler goes to the Vatican to read novels?

he was decorating Mai's memory "novâ usque gloriâ atque splendidiore coronâ" (Tom. I. p. iii.). The cause of that long delay now required no explanation. In fact so long as Mai lived the edition never would have appeared; for though he had not patience or special skill enough to accomplish his task well, he was too good a scholar not to know that he had done it very ill. The text is broken up into paragraphs, the numbers of the modern chapters and verses being placed in the margin; the peculiar divisions of the Codex Vaticanus (*see* p. 54) sometimes omitted, sometimes tampered with. The Greek type employed is not an imitation of the uncials in the manuscript (of which circumstance we do not complain), but has modern stops, breathings, accents, *subscript*, &c., as if the venerable document were written yesterday. As regards the orthography it is partially, and only partially, modernised; clauses or whole passages omitted in the manuscript are supplied from other sources, although the fact is duly notified¹; sometimes the readings of the first hand are put in the margin, while those of the second stand in the text, sometimes the contrary: in a word, the plan of the work exhibits all the faults such a performance well can have. Nor is the execution at all less objectionable. Although the five volumes were ten years in printing (1828—38), Mai devoted to their superintendence only his scanty spare hours, and even then worked so carelessly that after cancelling a hundred pages for their incurable want of exactness, he was reduced to the shift of making *manual* corrections with moveable types, and projected huge tables of errata, which Vercellone has in some measure tried to supply. When once it is stated that the type was set up from the common Elzevir or from some other printed Greek Testament, the readings of the Codex itself being inserted as corrections, and the whole revised by means of an assistant who read the proof-sheets to the Cardinal while he inspected the manuscript; no one will look for accuracy from a method which could not possibly lead to it. Accordingly, when Mai's text came to be compared with the collations of Bartolucci, of Mico, of Rulotta, and of Birch, or with the scattered readings which had been extracted by others, it was soon discovered that while this

¹ The great gap in the Pauline Epistles (*see* p. 102) is filled up from Vatic. 1761 (Act. 158, Paul. 192) of the eleventh century.

edition added very considerably to our knowledge of the Codex Vaticanus, and often enabled us to form a decision on its readings when the others were at variance; it was in its turn convicted by them of so many errors, oversights, and inconsistencies, that its single evidence could never be used with confidence, especially when it agreed with the commonly received Greek text. Immediately after the appearance of Mai's expensive quartos, an octavo reprint of the New Testament was struck off at Leipsic for certain London booksellers, which proved but a hasty, slovenly, unscholarlike performance, and was put aside in 1859 by a cheap Roman edition in octavo, prepared, as was the quarto, by Mai, prefaced by another graceful and sensible epistle of Vercellone¹. This last edition was undertaken by the Cardinal, after sad experience had taught him the defects of his larger work, and he took good care to avoid some of the worst of them: the readings of the second hand are usually, though not always, banished to the margin, their number on the whole is increased, gross errors are corrected, omissions supplied, and the Vatican chapters are given faithfully and in full. But Mai's whole procedure in this matter is so truly unfortunate, that in a person whose fame was less solidly grounded, we should impute it to mere helpless incapacity². Not only did he split up the paragraphs of his quarto into the modern chapters and verses (in itself a

¹ Other editions of the Vatican N. T. appeared at Ratisbon; at Leyden (1860) by A. Kuenen and C. G. Cobet, with a masterly Preface by the latter; and at Berlin (1862) by Philip Buttmann, furnished with an Appendix containing the varying results of no less than nine collations, eight of which we have described in the text, the ninth being derived from Lachmann's Greek Testament (1840, 1850), whose readings were all obtained second-hand. Tischendorf does not much commend the accuracy of Buttmann's work.

² "Angelus Mai, quamquam, ut in proverbio est, ἐν τυφλῶν πόλει γλαυκὸς βασιλεύων, non is erat cui tanta res rectè mandari posset:" Kuenen and Cobet, N. T. Vat. Præf. p. 1. Tischendorf too, in his over querulous Responsa ad Calumnias Romanas &c., 1870, p. 11, is not more than just in alleging "Angelum Maium in editionibus suis Codicis Vaticani alienissimum se præbuisse ab omni subtiliore rei palæographicæ scientiâ, ac tantum non ignarum earum legum ad quas is codex in usum criticum edendus esset." The defence set up for Mai in the Preface to the Roman volume of 1881, that he intended to produce only a new edition of the "authentic" Septuagint of 1586-7, chiefly for the use of Greek-speaking Catholics, must be regarded as a plausible afterthought, not at all likely to satisfy those who "non penitus catholicarum scientiarum rationes excogitantes," are not aware that "non amanuensium apices, sed præcipuus est arbiter Ecclesiæ consuetudo et magisterium" (p. xi.).

most undesirable change, *see above*, p. 67), but by omitting some things and altering others, he introduced almost as many errors as he removed. When Dean Burgon was permitted to examine the Codex for an hour and a half in 1860, on consulting it for sixteen passages out of hundreds wherein the two are utterly at variance, he discovered that the quarto was right in seven of them, the octavo in nine: as if Mai were determined that neither of his editions should supersede the use of the other. Dean Alford also collated numerous passages in 1861¹, and his secretary Mr Cure in 1862, especially with reference to the several correcting hands: "in errorem quidem et ipse haud raro inductus," is Tischendorf's verdict on his labours. Thus critics of every shade of opinion became unanimous on one point, that a new edition of the Codex Vaticanus was as imperatively needed as ever; one which should preserve with accuracy all that the first hand has written (transcriptional errors included), should note in every instance the corrections made by the second hand, and, wherever any one of the previous collators might be found in error, should expressly state the true reading.

It would have been a grievous reproach had no efforts been made to supply so great and acknowledged a want. Early in 1866, Tischendorf again visited Rome, and when admitted into the presence of Pope Pius IX., boldly sought permission to edit at his own cost such an edition of Cod. B as he had already published of Cod. N. The request was denied by his Holiness, who obscurely hinted his intention of carrying out the same design on his own account. Tischendorf, however, obtained permission to use the manuscript so far as to consult it in such parts of the New Testament as presented any special difficulty, or respecting which previous collators were at variance. He commenced his task Feb. 28, and in the course of it could not refrain from copying at length sixteen pages of the great Codex. This licence was not unnaturally regarded as a breach of his contract, so that, after he had used the manu-

¹ The Dean himself on Feb. 20, 1861, and for four subsequent days, "went twice over the doubtful passages and facsimilised most of the important various readings," in spite of much opposition from the Librarian, who "insisted that our order from Antonelli, although it ran 'per verificare,' to verify passages, only extended to seeing the Codex, not to using it." (Life by his Widow, pp. 310, 315.)

script for eight days, it was abruptly withdrawn from him on March 12. An appeal to the generosity of Vercellone, who had been entrusted with the care of the forthcoming edition, procured for him the sight of this coveted treasure for six days longer between March 20 and 26, the Italian being always present on these latter occasions, and receiving instruction for the preparation of his own work by watching the processes of a master hand. Thus fourteen days of three hours each, used zealously and skilfully, enabled Tischendorf to put forth an edition of Cod. B far superior to any that preceded it¹. The Prolegomena are full of matter from which we have drawn freely in the foregoing description, the text is in cursive type, the sixteen pages which cost him so dearly being arranged in their proper lines, the remainder according to columns. Much that ought to have been noted was doubtless passed over by Tischendorf for mere pressure of time; but he takes great pains to distinguish the readings of the original writer² or his *διορθωτής* (see p. 53), both of whom supplied words or letters here and there in the margin or between the lines³, from the corrections of a second yet ancient scribe (B²), and those of the person who retraced the faded writing at a later period (B³, see p. 103)⁴. One notion, taken up by Tischendorf in the

¹ "Novum Testamentum Vaticanum post Angeli Maii aliorumque imperfectos labores ex ipso codice edidit Æ. F. C. Tischendorf." Lipsiæ, 4to, 1867.

² To his hand Tischendorf assigns seven readings, Matth. xiii. 52; xiv. 5; xvi. 4; xxii. 10; xxvii. 4. Luke iii. 1 (*bis*), 7. "For some six centuries after it was written B appears to have undergone no changes in its text except from the hand of the 'corrector,' the 'second hand'" (Hort, *Introd.* p. 270). What then of B³?

³ It must surely be to these, the earliest scribes, that Cobet refers when he uses language that would not be at all applicable to the case of B² or B³: "In Vaticano duorum librorum veterum testimonia continentur, et nihilo plus in primâ manu quam in secundâ inest auctoritatis ac fidei. Utriusque unaquæque lectio ex se ipsâ spectanda ponderandaque est, et si hoc ages, modo hanc modo illam animadvertes esse potiorum. Hoc autem in primis firmiter tenendum est, non esse secundæ manûs lectiones correctoris alicujus suspensiones aut conjecturas, sive illæ sunt acutiores sive leviores, sed quidquid a secundâ manu correctum, mutatum, deletum esse Maius referat, id omne haud secus atque id quod prior manus dederit, perantiqui cujusdam Codicis fide nixum esse." (N. T. Vat. Præf. p. xxvi.)

⁴ It may be mere oversight that in Matth. xxvii. 4 he does not say in 1867 of what hand the marginal *δικαιος* is: in his eighth edition (1865) he adjudges it to B². In Matth. xxiv. 28 *πιστευητε* and ver. 32 *εσθήνη* he gives to B² in 1867

course of his collation in 1866, was received at first with general incredulity by other scholars. He has pronounced a decided opinion, not only that Codd. \aleph and B are documents of the same age, but that the scribe who wrote the latter is one of the four [D] to whose diligence we owe the former. That there should be a general similarity in the style of the two great codices is probable enough, although the letters in Cod. \aleph are about half as large again as those of its fellow, but such as are aware of the difficulty of arriving at a safe conclusion as to identity of penmanship after close and repeated comparison of one document with another, will hardly attach much weight to the impression of any person, however large his experience, who has nothing but memory to trust to. Tregelles, who has also seen both copies, states that Cod. \aleph looks much the fresher and clearer of the two. Yet the reasons alleged above (*see* p. 92, note), which are quite independent of the appearance of the handwriting, leave scarcely a doubt that Tischendorf's judgment was correct.

The Roman edition, projected by Vercellone and Cozza under the auspices of Pius IX., was designed to consist of six volumes, four containing the Old Testament, one the New, another being devoted to the notes and discrimination of corrections by later hands. The New Testament appeared in 1868¹, a second volume in 1869, containing the text from Genesis to Joshua: three more have since completed the Old Testament (1870, 1871, 1872). The learned, genial, and modest Vercellone (b. 1814) died early in 1869, so that the later volumes bear on their title-page the mournful inscription "Carolus Vercellone except Caietanus Sergio Sodalis Barnabites" as Cozza's associate. These editors fared but ill whether as Biblical critics or as general scholars, under the rough handling of Tischendorf, whom the

what he had assigned to B² in 1865. The Roman Commentary (*see* p. 115) gives no light in the other places, but assigns *πιστεύετε* to B², B².

¹ "Bibliorum Sacrorum Græcus Codex Vaticanus, Auspice Pio IX. Pontifice Maximo, collatis studiis Caroli Vercellone Sodalis Barnabite, et Josephi Cozza Monachi Basiliani editus. Romæ typis et impensis S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide," square folio, 1868. Tischendorf tells us, what is patent on the surface, that he sent to Rome type cast from the same moulds as that employed for his own Codex Sinaiticus, in acknowledgment of the courtesy he had received at the Vatican, and complains woefully of the unskilful use the Roman printers have made of it (Appendix N. T. Vaticani, 1869, p. x.).

wiser policy of Vercellone had kept in good humour, but whose powers his successors greatly undervalued. There seems, however, to be no great cause, in spite of their adversary's minute diligence in fault-finding (Appendix N. T. Vatic. 1869, p. xi. &c.)¹, for doubting their general correctness, although they persist in placing on the page with the rest of their text readings which are known or credibly stated to be of decidedly later date, in spite of the incongruousness of the mixture of what was original with matter plainly adscititious². Thus in the Roman edition *αδελφων μου των* Matth. xxv. 40, imputed by Tischendorf to B¹ and B², stands in the margin just in the same way as *ο γαμος* Matth. xxii. 10, which he refers to the first hand. But this is only one instance of a lack of judgment which deforms every page of their performance: e. g. Matth. xix. 12; xxiii. 26; 37; xxv. 16; xxvii. 12; 13; 45; xxviii. 15; Acts xv. 1: all which places exhibit, undistinguished from emendations of the original scribe or his "corrector" (p. 112), readings in the margin or between the lines which Tischendorf asserts to belong mostly to B², a few to B¹.³

At length, after baffling delays only too readily accounted for by the public calamities of the Papal state, the concluding volume of this sumptuous and important work was published late in 1881. Sergius had now retired through failing eyesight, and his place was taken by "Henricus Canonicus

¹ The feeble rejoinder of the Roman editors was followed up in 1870 by Tischendorf's *Responsa ad Calumnias Romanas, &c.*, the tone of which pamphlet we cannot highly praise. He even stooped to complain of the broken type found in their book, as in every other that issues from the press (p. 40).

² This practice is plainly confessed to in the Preface to the volume of 1881 (p. xvi) without any consciousness of the fatal mistake which it involves: "Facies libri Vaticani representata est [ut] ea primum omnia apparerent, quæ a prioribus codicibus notario profecta adhuc manifesto perspicuntur, tum ea tantum a posterioribus sive emendatoribus, sive instauratoribus commutata adderentur, quæ sine scripturæ confusione legi possent."

³ In 1 Cor. vii. 29 Vercellone joins *εστιν* and *το* closely, but Tischendorf leaves a space between them, with a middle point, which he expressly states to be *primâ manu*. Again, in ver. 34 Vercellone joins *μεμερισται* with the following *καλ.* Tischendorf in 1867 (but not in his last edition of the N. T.) interposes a point and space. In these *minutiæ* Vercellone, who was not working against time, may be presumed to be the more accurate of the two. The editors of the sixth volume have no note at either place. Tischendorf detects an error of Vercellone, *ερε* for *εχε* Heb. ix. 1, but this has been corrected by the hand in some copies of the Roman volume, as also in the Commentary.

Fabiani," Cozza (who is now Abbot of the Grotta Ferrata at Tusculum near Frascati, the chief seat of the monks of the Greek order of St Basil) still holding the second place. From the laudatory tone in which the latter is spoken of (p. xiv), it would seem that the Preface was written by his new colleague, who acknowledges the help of U. Ubaldi and the Basilian monk Ant. Rocchi, all three "adjutoribus et administris miratis equidem se tantis viris adjutores et successores datos" (p. xv). This Preface consists of only twenty-two pages, and contains almost nothing that is interesting to the critic, much that displays superficial and newly-acquired acquaintance with the whole subject. Fabiani assigns the end of the fourth century as the date of the manuscript, regarding it as only a few years older than the Sinaitic copy¹, whose discovery he hails without a vestige of ungenerous jealousy: "Quorum tale est demum par, ut potius liber Vaticanus gaudere debeat quod tam sui similem invenerit fratrem, quam expavescere quod æmulum" (p. viii). The Commentary, wherein the editors attempt to distinguish the original text from the changes introduced by the second and later hands (pp. 1—170), will doubtless add much to our knowledge in respect to the Old Testament, though even there it may be thought somewhat meagre: the portion devoted to the New Testament covers only twenty-eight pages, and the editors seem to lean almost entirely on Tischendorf's judgment (N. T. Vat. 1867), adopting his notation in the main, and being usually silent when he gives no information. The volume closes with four splendidly photographed pages, all taken from the Old Testament: and we ought perhaps rather to rejoice that this great work is completed at last, than to lament that its execution is not better than, from the hands it has fallen into, we had reason to expect.

Those who agree the most unreservedly respecting the age of

¹ His reasons for regarding the Sinaitic manuscript as the younger (*see* p. 89, note 2) are valid enough so far as they go (Præf. p. vi): its initial letters stand out more from the line of the writing; abridgements of words are fewer and less simple; it contains the Ammonian sections and Eusebian canons instead of the antiquated divisions of its rival, and the text is broken up into smaller paragraphs. Tregelles, who had seen both copies, used to plead the fresher appearance of the Sinaitic, contrasted with the worn look of the Vatican MS.; but then its extensive hiatus proves that the latter had been less carefully preserved.

the Codex Vaticanus, vary widely in their estimate of its critical value. By some it has been held in such undue esteem that its readings, if probable in themselves, and supported (or even though not supported) by two or three other copies and versions, have been accepted in preference to the united testimony of all authorities besides: while others have spoken of its text as one of the most vicious extant. Without anticipating what must be discussed hereafter (Chap. VII.) we may say at once, that neither of these views can commend itself to impartial judges: that, while we accord to Cod. B at least as much weight as to any single document in existence, we ought never to forget that it is but one out of many, several of them being nearly (and one quite) as old, and in other respects hardly less worthy of confidence than itself. One marked feature, characteristic of this copy, is the great number of its omissions, which has induced Dr Dobbin to speak of it as presenting "an abbreviated text of the New Testament:" and certainly the facts he states on this point are startling enough¹. He calculates that Codex B leaves out words or whole clauses no less than 330 times in Matthew, 365 in Mark, 439 in Luke, 357 in John, 384 in the Acts, 681 in the surviving Epistles; or 2556 times in all. That no small proportion of these are mere oversights of the scribe seems evident from a circumstance that has only come to light of late years, namely, that this same scribe has repeatedly written words and clauses *twice over*, a class of mistakes which Mai and the collators have seldom thought fit to notice, inasmuch as the false addition has not been retraced by the second hand, but which by no means enhances our estimate of the care employed in copying this venerable record of primitive Christianity². Hug and others have referred the origin of Codex B to Egypt,

¹ Dublin University Magazine, Nov. 1859, p. 620. Even Bp. Lightfoot, a strong and consistent admirer of the manuscript, speaks of its "impatience of apparently superfluous words" (Epistle to the Colossians, p. 316). Dr Hort (Introduction, p. 235) pleads that such facts "have no bearing on either the merits or the demerits of the scribe of B, except as regards the absolutely singular readings of B," whereas multitudes of these omissions are found in other good documents.

² Dean Burgon cites four specimens of such repetitions: Matth. xxi. 4, 5 words written twice over; *ib.* xxvi. 56—7, 6 words; Luke i. 37, 8 words or one line; John xvii. 18, 6 words. These, however, are but a few out of many. Nor is Tischendorf's judgment at variance with our own. Speaking of some supposed or possible gross *errata* of the recent Roman edition, he puts in the significant

but (unlike in this respect to Codex A) its history does not confirm their conjecture, and the argument derived from orthography or grammatical forms, is now well understood to be but slight and ambiguous¹. Dr Hort, on no very substantial grounds, is "inclined to surmise that B and \aleph were both written in the West, probably at Rome" (Introduction, pp. 265—7).

C. CODEX EPHRAEMI, No. 9 in the Royal Library of Paris, is a most valuable palimpsest containing portions of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament on 64 leaves, and fragments of every part of the New on 145 leaves, amounting on the whole to less than two-thirds of the volume². This manuscript seems to have been brought from the East by Andrew John Lascar [d. 1535], a learned Greek patronised by Lorenzo de' Medici; it once belonged to Cardinal Nicolas Ridolphi of that family, was brought into France by Queen Catherine de' Medici of evil memory, and so passed into the Royal Library at Paris³.

proviso "tamen hæc quoque satis cum universâ scripturæ Vaticanæ vitiositate conveniunt" (Appendix N. T. Vaticani, 1869, p. xvii.).

¹ The latest Roman editors incline to an Egyptian origin, rather than one suggested in Magna Græcia, but the only fresh reason they allege can have very slight weight, namely, that two of the damaged leaves have been repaired by pieces of papyrus. The learned Ceriani of Milan believes that Cod. B was written in Italy, Cod. \aleph in Palestine or Syria (Quarterly Review, April, 1882, p. 355).

² As this manuscript is of first-rate importance it is necessary to subjoin a full list of the passages it contains, that it may not be cited *æ silentio* for what it does not exhibit: Matth. i. 2—v. 15; vii. 5—xvii. 26; xviii. 28—xxii. 20; xxiii. 17—xxiv. 10; xxiv. 45—xxv. 30; xxvi. 22—xxvii. 11; xxvii. 47—xxviii. 14; Mark i. 17—vi. 31; viii. 5—xii. 29; xiii. 19—xvi. 20; Luke i. 2—ii. 5; ii. 42—iii. 21; iv. 25—vi. 4; vi. 37—vii. 16 or 17; viii. 28—xii. 8; xix. 42—xx. 27; xxi. 21—xxii. 19; xxiii. 25—xxiv. 7; xxiv. 46—58; John i. 1—41; iii. 33—v. 16; vi. 38—vii. 8; viii. 34—ix. 11; xi. 8—46; xiii. 8—xiv. 7; xvi. 21—xviii. 36; xx. 26—xxi. 25; Acts i. 2—iv. 3; v. 35—x. 42; xiii. 1—xvi. 36; xx. 10—xxi. 30; xxii. 21—xxiii. 18; xxiv. 15—xxvi. 19; xxvii. 16—xxviii. 4; James i. 1—iv. 2; 1 Pet. i. 2—iv. 6; 2 Pet. i. 1—1 Jo. iv. 2; 3 Jo. 3—15; Jud. 3—25; Rom. i. 1—ii. 5; iii. 21—ix. 6; x. 15—xi. 31; xiii. 10—1 Cor. vii. 18; ix. 6—xiii. 8; xv. 40—2 Cor. x. 8; Gal. i. 20—vi. 18; Ephes. ii. 18—iv. 17; Phil. i. 22—iii. 5; Col. i. 1—1 Thess. ii. 9; Hebr. ii. 4—vii. 26; ix. 15—x. 24; xii. 15—xiii. 25; 1 Tim. iii. 9—v. 20; vi. 21—Philem. 25; Apoc. i. 2—iii. 19; v. 14—vii. 14; vii. 17—viii. 4; ix. 17—x. 10; xi. 3—xvi. 18; xviii. 2—xix. 5. Of all the books only 2 John and 2 Thess. are entirely lost; about 37 chapters of the Gospels, 10 of the Acts, 42 of the Epistles, 8 of the Apocalypse have perished. The order of the books is indicated, p. 71.

³ The following Medicean manuscripts seem to have come into the Royal Library by the same means; Evan. 18. 19. 42. 317. Act. 12. 126. Paul. 164.

The ancient writing is barely legible, having been almost removed about the twelfth century to receive some Greek works of St Ephraem, the great Syrian Father [299—378]. A chemical preparation applied at the instance of Fleck in 1834, though it revived much that was before illegible, has defaced the vellum with stains of various colours, from green and blue to black and brown. The older writing was first noticed by Peter Allix nearly two centuries ago; various readings extracted from it were communicated by Boivin to Kuster, who published them (under the notation of Paris 9) in his edition of Mill's N. T., 1710. A complete collation of the New Testament was first made in 1716 by Wetstein, then very young, for Bentley's projected edition, for which labour (as he records the fact himself) he paid Wetstein £50. This collation Wetstein of course used for his own Greek Testament of 1751—2, and though several persons subsequently examined the manuscript, and so became aware that more might be gathered from it, it was not until 1843 that Tischendorf brought out at Leipsic his full and noble edition of the New Testament portion; the Old Testament he published in 1845. Although Tischendorf complains of the typographical errors made in his absence in the former of these two volumes, and has corrected them in the other, they probably comprise by far the most masterly production of this nature up to that date published; it is said too that none but those who have seen Codex C can appreciate the difficulty of deciphering some parts of it¹, in fact, whatever is not patent at first sight. The Prolegomena are especially valuable; the uncial type does not aim at being an imitation, but the *facsimile* (from which a few lines have been copied in Plate X., No. 24, from 1 Tim. iii. 16) faithfully represents the original, even to the present colour of the ink. In shape Codex C is about the size of Cod. A, but not quite so tall; its vellum is hardly so fine as that of Cod. A and a few others, yet sufficiently good. In this copy there is but one column in a page, which contains from 40 to 46 lines (usually 41), the

It appears therefore that Cod. C. was not one of the manuscripts bought of Marshal Strozzi (Pattison, *Life of Is. Casaubon*, p. 202), which were only 800 out of the 4500 which belonged to the Queen (*ibid.* p. 204).

¹ Bp. Chr. Wordsworth (N. T. Part iv. p. 159) reminds us of Wetstein's statement (*Bentley's Correspondence*, p. 501) that it had cost him two hours to read one page; so that his £50 were not so easily earned, after all. This collation is preserved in Trinity College Library, B. xvii. 7, 9.

characters being a little larger than those of either A or B, and somewhat more elaborate¹. Thus the points at the ends of *sigma*, *epsilon*, and especially of the horizontal line of *tau*, are more decided than in Codex A; *delta*, though not so fully formed as in later books, is less simple than in A, the strokes being of less equal thickness, and the base more ornamented. On the other hand, *alpha* and *pi* are nearer the model of Codex B. *Iota* and *upsilon*, which in Cod. A and many other copies have two dots over them when they commence a syllable, and are sometimes found with one dot, have here a small straight line in their place (*see* p. 35). There are no breathings or accents by the first hand: the apostrophus is found but rarely, chiefly with Proper names, as $\delta\alpha\delta'$. The uncial writing is continuous; the punctuation of Cod. C, like that of A and B, consisting only of a single point, mostly but not always put level with the top of the preceding letter; wherever such a point was employed, a space of one letter broad was usually left vacant: these points are most common in the later books of the N. T. The *κεφάλαια* are not placed in the upper margin of the page as in Cod. A, but a list of their *τίτλοι* preceded each Gospel: the so-called Ammonian sections stand in the margin, but not at present the Eusebian canons; though, since lines of the text written in vermilion have been thoroughly washed out, the canons (for which that colour was commonly employed) may easily have shared the same fate (*see* p. 59). There is no trace of chapters in the Acts, Epistles, or Apocalypse, and both the titles and subscriptions to the various books are very simple. Capital letters are used quite as freely as in Cod. A, both at the commencement of the (Ammonian) sections, and in many other places. All these circumstances taken together indicate for Cod. C as early a date as the fifth century, though there is no sufficient cause for deeming it at all older than Cod. A. Alexandria has been assigned as its native country, for the very insufficient reasons stated when we were describing A and B. It is carefully tran-

¹ Dr Hort, with his ever ready acuteness, draws certain inferences to be discussed hereafter from the fact that a displacement in the leaves of the exemplar wherefrom the Apocalypse in Cod. C was copied, which the scribe of C did not notice, proves it to have been a book of nearly 120 small leaves, and accordingly that it "formed a volume either to itself or without considerable additions" (Introduction, p. 268). Compare what we have stated above, p. 69.

scribed, and of its great critical value there is no doubt; its text seems to stand nearly midway between A and B, somewhat inclining to the latter. Three correctors at least have been very busily at work on Cod. C, greatly to the perplexity of the critical collator: they are respectively indicated by Tischendorf as C* C**, C***. The earliest may have been of the sixth century, and his corrections are for some cause regarded by Dr Hort as almost equally valuable for critical purposes with the manuscript itself: the second is perhaps of the ninth century, and he revised such portions only as were adapted to ecclesiastical use, inserting many accents, the *rough* breathing, and some vocal notes. By him or by the third hand (whose changes are but few) small crosses were interpolated as stops, agreeably to the fashion of their times.

D OF THE GOSPELS AND ACTS, CODEX BEZÆ GRÆCO-LATINUS, belongs to the University Library at Cambridge, where the open volume is conspicuously exhibited to visitors in the New Building (Nn. II. 41). It was presented to the University in 1581 by Theodore Beza, for whom and his master Calvin the heads of that learned body then cherished a veneration which already boded ill for the peace of the English Church¹. Between the Gospels (whose order was spoken of above, p. 70, and note 3) and the Acts, the Catholic Epistles once stood, of which only a few verses remain in the Latin translation (3 John ver. 11—15), followed by the words “*epistulæ Johannis III. explicit, incipit actus apostolorum,*” as if St Jude’s Epistle were displaced or wanting. There are not a few hiatus both in the Greek and Latin texts². The contents of this remarkable document were

¹ Very remarkable is the language of the University in returning thanks for the gift: “*Nam hoc scito, post unicæ scripturæ sacratissimam cognitionem, nullos unquam ex omni memoriâ temporum scriptores exitisse, quos memorabili viro Johanni Calvino tibi que præferamus.*” *Scrivener’s Codex Bezae*, *Introd.* p. vi.

² *Matth.* i. 1—20; vi. 20—ix. 2; xxvii. 2—12; *John* i. 16—iii. 26; *Acts* viii. 29—x. 14; xxi. 2—10; 15—18 (though Usher, Mill, Wetstein and Dickinson cite several readings from these verses, which must have been extant in their time); xxii. 10—20; 29—xxviii. 31 in the *Greek*: *Matth.* i. 1—11; vi. 8—viii. 27; xxvi. 65—xxvii. 1; *John* i. 1—iii. 16; *Acts* viii. 20—x. 4; xx. 31—xxi. 2; 7—10; xxii. 2—10; xxii. 20—xxviii. 31 in the *Latin*. The original writing has perished in the following, which are supplied by a scribe of not earlier than the ninth century: *Matth.* iii. 7—16; *Mark* xvi. 15—20; *John* xviii. 14—xx. 13 in the *Greek*: *Matth.* ii. 21—iii. 7; *Mark* xvi. 6—20; *John* xviii. 2—xx. 1 in the

partially made known by numerous extracts from it, under the designation of β , in the margin of Robert Stephen's Greek Testament of 1550, whose account of it is that it was collated for him in Italy by his friends ($\tau\acute{o}$ δὲ β ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀντιβληθὲν φίλων. Epistle to the Reader)¹. It is not very easy to reconcile this statement with Beza's account prefixed to the manuscript and still extant in his own cramped handwriting, wherein he alleges that he obtained the volume in 1562 from the monastery of St Irenæus at Lyons ("orientē ibi civili bello"), where it had long lain buried ("postquam ibi in pulvere diu jacuisset"). This great city, it must be remembered, was sacked in that very year by the infamous Des Adrets, whom it suited to espouse for a while the cause of the Huguenots; and we can hardly doubt that some one who had

Latin. A fragment, containing a few words of Matth. xxvi. 65—67 (Latin) and xxvii. 2 (Greek), (Fol. 96, Scrivener), was overlooked by Kipling.

¹ It is surprising that any one should have questioned the identity of Cod. D with Stephen's β . No other manuscript has been discovered which agrees with β in the many singular readings and arbitrary additions in support of which it is cited by Stephen. That he omitted so many more than he inserted is no argument against their identity, since we know that he did the same in the case of his α' (the Complutensian Polyglott) and γ' (Codex L, Paris 62). The great inaccuracy of Stephen's *margin* (the text is much better revised) is so visible from these and other well-ascertained instances that no one ought to wonder if β is alleged occasionally (not often) for readings which D does not contain. On a careful analysis of all the variations imputed to β by Stephen, they will be found to amount to 399 in the parts written in the original hand, whereof 309 are alleged quite correctly, 47 a little loosely, while in 8 instances corrected readings are regarded in error as from the original scribe. Of the 25 places which remain, all but three had been previously discovered in other copies used by Stephen, so that β in their case has been substituted by mistake for some other numeral. One of the three remaining has recently been accounted for by Mr A. A. Vansittart, who has found *καὶ περισσευθήσεται* added to *δοθήσεται ἀντὶ* (Luke viii. 18 from Matth. xiii. 12) in Stephen's θ' or Coislin 200 at Paris (No. 38, of the Gospels). I do not find β cited by Stephen after Acts xx. 24, except indeed in Rom. iii. 10 (with α'), in manifest error, just as in the Apocalypse xix. 14 ϵ' (No. 6 of the Gospels), which does not contain this book, is cited instead of ι' ; or as α' is quoted in xiii. 4, but not elsewhere in the *Apocalypse*, undoubtedly in the place of ι' ; or as ι' , which had broken off at xvii. 8, reappears instead of ι' in xx. 8. In the various places named in the last note, wherein the Greek of Cod. D is lost, β is cited only at Matth. xxvii. 3, beyond question instead of γ' ; and for part of the reading in Acts ix. 31, δ' (to which the whole rightly belongs) being alleged for the other part. In John xix. 6, indeed, where the original Greek is missing, β is cited, but it is for a reading actually extant in the modern hand which has there supplied Codex D's defects.

shared in the plunder of the abbey¹ conveyed this portion of it to Beza, whose influence at that juncture was paramount among the French Reformed².

Beza in his editions of the Greek Testament published in 1582, 1589, and 1598, made some occasional references to the readings of his manuscript. Archbishop Whitgift borrowed it from Cambridge in 1583, and caused a poor transcript to be made of its Greek text, which he bequeathed to Trinity College (whereof he had been Master), in whose Library it still remains (B. x. 3).

Patrick Young, of whom we have heard in connection with Cod. A (p. 99 and note 1), sent extracts from Cod. D to the brothers Dupuy at Paris, through whom they reached Morinus and Steph. Curcellæus. An unusually full collation was made for Walton's Polyglott (Tom. VI., Num. XVI., 1657) by pious Archbishop Ussher, who devoted to these studies the doleful leisure of his latter years. Mill collated and Wetstein transcribed (1716) this document for their great editions of the Greek Testament, but they both did their work carelessly; and though Bentley was allowed to keep it at home for seven years, his notices of

¹ "Ils s'emparèrent des portes et de tous les lieux forts...non pas sans leur impiétés et barbaries accoutumées envers les choses saintes" (Mézeray, *Hist. de France*, tom. III. p. 87, 1685). Accordingly, travellers are shewn to this day the bones of unclean animals which the Huguenots, in wanton mockery, then mingled with the presumed remains of St Irenæus and the martyrs of Lyons.

² One cannot understand why Wetstein (N. T. Proleg. Vol. I. 30) should have supposed that Beza *prevaricated* as to the means whereby he procured his manuscript. He was not the man to be at all ashamed of spoiling the Philistines, and the bare mention of Lyons in connexion with the year 1562 would have been abundantly intelligible scarce twenty years afterwards. It is however remarkable that in the last edition of his Annotations (1598) he nowhere calls it Codex Lugdunensis, but *Claromontanus* (notes on Luke xix. 26; Acts xx. 3); for, though it might be natural that Beza, at eighty years of age and after the lapse of so long a time, should confound the Lyons copy with his own Codex Claromontanus of St Paul's Epistles (D); yet the only way in which we can account for the Codex Bezae being collated in *Italy* for Stephen, is by adopting Wetstein's suggestion that it was the actual copy ("antiquissimum codicem Græcum") taken to the Council of Trent in 1546 by William a Prato, Bishop of Clermont in Auvergne, to confirm the Latin reading in John xxi. 22, "*sic eum volo*," which D alone may seem to do. Some learned man (ὕπο τῶν ἡμετέρων φλω does not well suit his son Henry) might have sent to Robert Stephen from Trent the readings of a manuscript to which attention had been thus specially directed.

its readings, as represented by Mr Ellis (*Bentleii Critica Sacra*, pp. 2—26), or preserved in Stephen's N. T. of 1549 (Trin. Coll. B. xvii. 4), were put to no practical use. The best collation by far was made about 1732 by John Dickinson of St John's College for John Jackson of Leicester, with whose other books it came into Jesus College Library (O. θ. 2), where it has lain neglected. But a manuscript replete as this is with variations from the sacred text beyond all other example could be adequately represented only by being published in full; a design entrusted by the University of Cambridge to Dr Thomas Kipling, Senior Wrangler in 1768 and afterwards Dean of Peterborough [d. 1822], whose "Codex Theodori Bezae Cantabrigiensis" 1793, 2 vol. fol. (in type imitating the original handwriting much more closely than in Codices AC and the rest), is a not unfaithful transcript of the text¹, though the Prolegomena too plainly testify to the editor's pitiable ignorance of sacred criticism, while his habit of placing the readings of the several later hands (very loosely distinguished from each other) in the text, and those of the first hand in the notes (a defect we have also noted in the Roman editions of Cod. B), renders his volumes very inconvenient for use. Let Kipling be praised for the care and exact diligence his work evinces, but Herbert Marsh [1757—1839] was of all Cambridge men of that period the only one known to be competent for such a task. In 1864 the present writer was aided by the Syndics of the Cambridge Press in publishing an edition of Codex Bezae in common type, illustrated by a copious Introduction and critical notes, to which work the reader is referred for fuller information respecting this manuscript.

The Codex Bezae is a quarto volume 10 inches high by 8 broad, with one column on a page, the Greek text and its Latin version being parallel, the Greek on the left, or *verso* of each leaf, and the Latin on the right, opposite to it, on the *recto* of the next. Notwithstanding the Alexandrian forms that abound in it as much as in any other copy, and which have been held by some to prove the Egyptian origin of Codd. ABC, the fact of its having a Latin version sufficiently attests its Western origin. The vellum is not quite equal in fineness

¹ Not more than 83 typographical errors have been detected in Kipling throughout his difficult task, whereof 16 are in his Annotations, &c.

to that of a few others. There are thirty-three lines in every page, and these of unequal length, as this manuscript is arranged in *στίχοι*, being the earliest in date that is so (*see* p. 52). The Latin is placed in the same line and as nearly as possible in the same order as the corresponding Greek. It has not the larger *κεφάλαια* or Eusebian canons, but only the so-called Ammonian sections, often incorrectly placed, and obviously in a later hand of about the ninth century. The original absence of these divisions is no proof that the book was not at first intended for ecclesiastical use (as some have stated), inasmuch as the sections and canons were constructed for a very different purpose (*see above*, p. 58, and note 2), but is another argument for its being copied in the West, perhaps not far from the place where it rested so long. Other proofs of its Occidental, perhaps of its Gallican origin, especially that derived from the style of the Latin version, are collected in Scrivener's edition (Introd. pp. xxxi, xl—xlv). The characters are of the same size as in C, larger on the whole than in AB, but betray a later age than any of these, although the Latin as well as the Greek is written continuously, excepting that in the titles and subscriptions of the several books (as in Codd. DH of St Paul) the words are separated. This copy has paragraph divisions of unequal length peculiar to itself¹. They are indicated by placing the initial letter out in the margin, that letter being usually of the same size with the rest, though sometimes a little larger (*see* p. 49). Cod. D appears to be the earliest which exhibits larger letters after a pause in the middle of a line; but these are not very frequent. Instances of each case may be noticed in our *facsimile* (No. 42), wherein the shapes of *kappa*, *rho* and *phi*, as indicated in Sect. I. (pp. 31, note 1, 35, 37), are very observable. The Greek and Latin writing on the opposite pages are much like each other in appearance, the Latin letters being round and flowing, not square as in codices a little earlier in date, such as the Medicean and Vatican fragments of Virgil. This manuscript has been corrected, first by the original penman with a light stroke made

¹ In St Luke 136 (143 Lat.): in what remains of St Matthew 583 (590 Lat.), of St Mark 148, of St John 165 (168 Lat.), of the Acts 235. The later *παραγραφαι*, indicated by Γ (*see* p. 49, note 2), though 45 out of the 49 are firmly and neatly made, and often resemble in colour the ink of the original scribe, can be shewn to be full four centuries later (Scrivener, Cod. Bezae, Introd. p. xxviii.).

by a pen nearly empty; after him by not less than eight or nine different revisers, some nearly coeval with the Codex itself, others not many centuries old. The changes they have made, especially when they employed a knife to scrape away the primitive reading, render too many places almost illegible. The first scribe often used a sponge to wash out his error before the ink was well dried in (*see* p. 26). In addition to the single point, about three-fourths of the height of a letter up, which often subdivides the *στίχοι* in both languages (*facsimile*, No. 42, l. 9) the coarse late hand which inserted the Ammonian sections placed double dots (:) after the numerals, and often inserted similar points in the text, before or over the first letter of a section. Each member of the genealogy in Luke iii. forms a separate *στίχος*, as in Cod. B (p. 103): quotations are indicated by throwing the commencement of the lines which contain them, both Greek and Latin, about an inch back or less (e.g. Matth. xxvi. 31; Mark i. 2, 3; Act. ii. 34, 35; iv. 25, 26: *see* p. 62, note). The first three lines of each book, in both languages, were written in bright red ink, which was also employed in the alternate lines of the subscriptions, and in other slight ornaments. The traces of the scribe's needle and lines (*see* p. 26) are very visible, the margin ample, and the volume on the whole in good keeping, though its first extant page (Latin) is much decayed, and it is stained in parts by some chemical mixture that has been applied to it. The portions supplied by a later hand are of course in the uncial Greek and cursive Latin characters usual at the dates assigned to them. The liturgical notes in the margin of the Saturday and Sunday lessons (*ανναγνωσμα* is the form often used) are in thick letters, of a yet later date than the Ammonian sections. A few others for the great Feasts and Fast days occur; and, in a hand of about the twelfth century, lessons for the Festivals of St George and St Dionysius, the patron saints of England and France (*see* pp. 85, 86).

The vellum employed for Codex Bezae is arranged in quires of four sheets (or eight leaves) each, the numeral signatures of which are set *prima manu* so low down in the margin at the foot of the last page of each, that they are mostly cut off, in whole or partly, by the binder (*see* p. 27). Assuming that it ended with the Acts of the Apostles, it originally consisted of

upwards of 64 (probably of 67) quires, of which the 1st, 44th, and 64th have each lost some leaves, the 34th is entire though containing but six leaves, while those signed Γ (3), ΙΔ (14), ΚΒ (22), ΜΕ (45), down to ΝΒ (52), ΝΖ (57), and all after ΞΔ (64), are wholly wanting. The result is that out of the 534 leaves it originally contained, only 406 now survive, about twelve of them being more or less mutilated. It is not easy to surmise what may have been written on the 67 leaves that intervened between ΜΔ 5 and ΝΓ 1; the gap ends with 3 John ver. 11 (Greek), but the space is apparently too great for the Catholic Epistles alone, even though we suppose that Jude was inserted (as appears in some catalogues) otherwise than in the last place. The leaves added by later hands are nine in number (*see* p. 120, note 2). The Greek portion of the supplement to St John (xviii. 14—xx. 13) much resembles in text the style of the original manuscript, and is often supported by Codd. \aleph AB(C). The Latin of this portion is taken from the Vulgate version.

The internal character of the Codex Bezae is a most difficult and indeed an almost inexhaustible theme. No known manuscript contains so many bold and extensive interpolations (six hundred, it is said, in the Acts alone), countenanced, where they are not absolutely unsupported, chiefly by the Old Latin and some of the Syriac versions: its own parallel Latin translation is too servilely accommodated to the Greek text to be regarded as an independent authority, save where the corresponding Greek is lost. So far as the topic can be discussed in an elementary work, it will be touched upon in Chapter VII. For the present we shall simply say with Davidson that "its singularly corrupt text, in connexion with its great antiquity, is a curious problem, which cannot easily be solved" (Biblical Crit. Vol. II. p. 288); though we are not disposed to imitate the blind policy of Beza, who, alarmed by its wide diversities from other copies, however ancient, suggested that "vitandae quorundam offensioni, asserendum potius quam publicandum" (Letter to the University of Cambridge, Scrivener, *Introd.* p. vi).

Of the manuscripts hitherto described, Codd. \aleph ABC for their critical value, Cod. D for its numberless and strange deviations from other authorities, and all five for their high antiquity, demanded a full description. Of those which follow many con-

tain but a few fragments of the Gospels, and others are so recent in date that they hardly exceed in importance some of the best cursive copies (e.g. FGHS). None of these need detain us long.

E. CODEX BASILIENSIS (B VI 21, now A. N. III. 12) contains the four Gospels, excepting Luke iii. 4—15; xxiv. 47—53, and was written about the middle of the eighth century, unless (with Dean Burgon) we refer it to the seventh. Three leaves on which are Luke i. 69—ii. 4; xii. 58—xiii. 12; xv. 5—20 are in a smaller and late hand, above the obliterated fragments of a homily as old as the main body of the manuscript. This copy is one of the most notable of the second-rate uncials, and might well have been published at length. It was given to a religious house in Basle by Cardinal John de Ragusio, who was sent on a mission to the Greeks by the Council of Basle (1431), and probably brought it from Constantinople. Erasmus much overlooked it for later books when preparing his Greek Testament at Basle; indeed it was not brought into the Public Library there before 1559. A collation was sent to Mill by John Battier, Greek Professor at Basle: Mill named it B. 1, and truly declared it to be “*probatae fidei et bonae notae.*” Bengel (who obtained a few extracts from it) calls it Basil. α , but its first real collator was Wetstein, whose native town it adorns. Since his time, Tischendorf in 1843, Professor Müller of Basle and Tregelles in 1846, have independently collated it throughout. Judging from the specimen sent to him, Mill (N. T. Proleg. § 1118) thought the hand much like that of Cod. A; the uncial letters (though not so regular or neat) are firm, round, and simple: indeed “the penmanship is exceedingly tasteful and delicate throughout. The employment of green, blue, and vermilion in the capitals I do not remember to have met with elsewhere” (Burgon, *Guardian*, Jan. 29, 1873). There is but one column of about 24 lines on the page; it has breathings and accents pretty uniformly, and not ill placed; otherwise, from the shape of most of the letters (e.g. *pi*, *facsimile* No. 27, lines 1, 3), it might be judged of earlier date: observe, however, the oblong form of *omicron* where the space is crowded in the last line of the *facsimile*, when the older scribes would have retained the circular shape and made the letter very small (*see* p. 50, and

facsim. No. 11b, l. 6): *delta* also and *xi* (see p. 37) betray a less ancient scribe. The single stop in Cod. E, as was stated above (p. 46), changes its place according to the variation of its power, as in other copies of about the same age. The capitals at the beginning of sections stand out in the margin as in Codd. AC. There are no tables of Eusebian canons prefixed to the Gospels, but lists of the larger *κεφάλαια*. These, together with the numbers of the sections in the margin and the Eusebian canons beneath them, as well as harmonising references to the other Gospels at the foot of the page, names of Feast days with their Proper lessons, and other liturgical notices, have been inserted (as some think, but erroneously, in Burgon's judgment) by a later hand. Under the text (Mark i. 5, 6) are placed the harmonising references, in the order (varying in each Gospel) Mark, Luke, John, Matthew. I* (John) furnishes no parallel on this page. The first section (α) of M^e (Mark i. 1, 2) corresponds to the 70th (σ) of A^o (Luke vii. 27), and to the 103rd ($\rho\gamma$) of M^o (Matth. xi. 10). Again the second (β) of Mark (i. 3) is parallel to the 7th (ζ) of Luke (iii. 3), and to the 8th (η) of Matth. (iii. 3). The passage given in our *facsimile* (No. 27) is part of the 3rd (γ) of Mark (i. 4—6), and answers to nothing in Luke, but to the 9th (θ) of Matth. (iii. 4—6). See p. 58, note 2. The value of this codex, as supplying materials for criticism, is considerable. It approaches more nearly than some others of its date to the text now commonly received, and is an excellent witness for it. The asterisk is much used to indicate disputed passages: e.g. Matth. xvi. 2, 3; Luke xxii. 43, 44; xxiii. 34; John viii. 2—11.

F. CODEX BOREELI, now in the Public Library at Utrecht, once belonged to John Boreel [d. 1629], Dutch ambassador at the court of King James I. Wetstein obtained some readings from it in 1730, as far as Luke xi, but stated that he knew not where it then was. In 1830 Professor Heringa of Utrecht discovered it in private hands at Arnheim, and procured it for his University Library, where in 1850 Tregelles found it, though with some difficulty, the leaves being torn and all loose in a box, and he then made a *facsimile*; Tischendorf had looked through it in 1841. In 1843, after Heringa's death, H. E. Vinke published that scholar's *Disputatio de Codice Boreeliano*, which

includes a full and exact collation of the text. Cod. F contains the Four Gospels with many defects, some of which have been caused since the collation was made which Wetstein published: hence the codex must still sometimes be cited on his authority as F^a. In fact there are but 204 leaves and a few fragments remaining, written with two columns of about 19 lines each on the page, in a tall, oblong, upright form; it was referred by Mr H. Deane in 1876 to the eighth, by Tischendorf to the ninth, by Tregelles to the tenth century. In St Luke there are no less than 24 gaps: in Wetstein's collation it began at Matth. vii. 6, but now at Matth. ix. 1. Other hiatus are Matth. xii. 1—44; xiii. 55—xiv. 9; xv. 20—31; xx. 18—xxi. 5; Mark i. 43—ii. 8; ii. 23—iii. 5; xi. 6—26; xiv. 54—xv. 5; xv. 39—xvi. 19; John iii. 5—14; iv. 23—38; v. 18—38; vi. 39—63; vii. 28—viii. 10; x. 32—xi. 3; xi. 40—xii. 3; xii. 14—25: it ends at John xiii. 34. Few manuscripts have fallen into such unworthy hands. The Eusebian canons are wanting, the sections standing without them in the margin. Thus in Mark x. 13 (*see facsimile*, No. 28) the section $\overline{\rho\sigma}$ (106) has not under it the proper canon β (2). The letters *delta*, *epsilon*, *theta*, *omicron*, and especially the cross-like *psi* (*see p. 38*), are of the most recent uncial form, *phi* is large and bevelled at both ends; the breathings and accents are fully and not incorrectly given.

F^a. CODEX COISLIN. I. is that great copy of the Septuagint Octateuch, the glory of the Coislin Library, first made known by Montfaucon (Biblioth. Coislin., 1715), and illustrated by a *facsimile* in Silvestre's Paléogr. Univ. No. 65. It contains 227 leaves in two columns, 13 inches by 9: the fine massive uncials of the sixth or seventh century are much like Cod. A's in general appearance. In the margin *primâ manu* Wetstein found Acts ix. 24, 25, and so inserted this as Cod. F in his list of MSS. of the Acts. In 1842 Tischendorf observed 19 other passages of the New Testament, which he published in his *Monumenta sacra inedita* (1846, p. 400, &c.) with a *facsimile*. The texts are Matth. v. 48; xii. 48; xxvii. 25; Luke i. 42; ii. 24; xxiii. 21; John v. 35; vi. 53, 55; Acts iv. 33, 34; x. 13, 15; xxii. 22; 1 Cor. vii. 39; xi. 29; 2 Cor. iii. 13; ix. 7; xi. 33; Gal. iv. 21, 22; Col. ii. 16, 17; Hebr. x. 26.

G. COD. HARLEIAN, 5684 } These two copies were brought
or WOLFII A, } from the East by Andrew Eras-
H. COD. WOLFII B. } mus Seidel, purchased by La
Croze, and by him presented to J. C. Wolff, who published
loose extracts from them both in his *Anecdota Græca* (Vol. III.
1723), and barbarously mutilated them in 1721 in order to send
pieces to Bentley, among whose papers in Trinity College Library
(B. xvii. 20) Tregelles found the fragments in 1845 (*Account of
the Printed Text*, p. 160). Subsequently Cod. G came with the
rest of the Harleian collection into the British Museum; Cod.
H, which had long been missing, was brought to light in the
Public Library of Hamburg, through Petersen the Librarian,
in 1838. Codd. GH have now been thoroughly collated both
by Tischendorf and Tregelles. Cod. G appears to be of the
tenth, Cod. H of the ninth century, and is stated to be of higher
critical value. Besides the mutilated fragments at Trinity Col-
lege (Matth. v. 29—31; 39—43 of Cod. G; Luke i. 3—6; 13
—15 of Cod. H), many parts of both have perished: viz. in
Cod. G 372 verses; Matth. i. 1—vi. 6; vii. 25—viii. 9; viii.
23—ix. 2; xxviii. 18—Mark i. 13; xiv. 19—25; Luke i. 1—
13; v. 4—vii. 3; viii. 46—ix. 5; xii. 27—51; xxiv. 41—53;
John xviii. 5—19; xix. 4—27 (of which one later hand supplies
Matth. xxviii. 18—Mark i. 8; John xviii. 5—19; another Luke
xii. 27—51): in Cod. H 679 verses; Matth. i. 1—xv. 30; xxv.
33—xxvi. 3; Mark i. 32—ii. 4; xv. 44—xvi. 14; Luke v. 18—
32; vi. 8—22; x. 2—19; John ix. 30—x. 25; xviii. 2—18;
xx. 12—25. Cod. G has some Church notes in the margin;
Cod. H the sections without the Eusebian canons: G however
has both sections and canons; its *τίτλοι* and larger *κεφάλαια*
are in red (those of St John being lost), and the Church notes
seem *primâ manu*. Each member of the genealogy in Luke iii.
forms a separate line. Both G and H are written in a some-
what rude style, with breathings and accents rather irregu-
larly placed, as was the fashion of their times; G in two columns
of 22 lines each on a page, H in one column of 23 lines. In
each the latest form of the uncial letters is very manifest (e.g.
delta, theta), but G is the neater of the two. In G the single
point, in H a kind of Maltese cross, are the prevailing marks
of punctuation. Our *facsimiles* (Nos. 29 of G, 31 of H) are
due to Tregelles; that of G he took from the fragment at

Trinity College. Inasmuch as beside Matth. v. 30, 31 in Cod. G Δρ (ἀρχή) is conspicuous in the margin, and ΤΕ ΤΗC ΑΕ (τέλος τῆς λέξεως) stands in the text itself, good scholars may be excused for having mistaken it for a scrap of some Evangelistarium.

I. COD. TISCHENDORFIAN. II. at St Petersburg, consists of palimpsest fragments found by Tischendorf in 1853 "in the dust of an Eastern library," and published in his new series of *Monumenta sacra inedita*, Vol. I. 1855. On the 28 vellum leaves (8 of them on 4 double leaves) Georgian or rather Armenian writing covers the partially obliterated Greek, which is for the most part very hard to read. They compose portions of no less than seven different manuscripts; the first two, of the fifth century, are as old as Codd. AC (the first having scarcely any capital letters and those very slightly larger than the rest); the third fragment seems of the sixth century, nearly of the date of Cod. N (p. 133), about as old as Cod. P (*see* p. 136); the fourth scarcely less ancient: all four, like other palimpsests, have the pseudo-Ammonian sections without the Eusebian canons (*see* p. 59). Of the Gospels we have 190 verses: viz. (*Frag.* 1 or I_a) John xi. 50—xii. 9; xv. 12—xvi. 2; xix. 11—24; (*Frag.* 2 or I_b) Matth. xiv. 13—16; 19—23; xxiv. 37—xxv. 1; xxv. 32—45; xxvi. 31—45; Mark ix. 14—22; xiv. 58—70; (*Frag.* 3 or I_c) Matth. xvii. 22—xviii. 3; xviii. 11—19; xix. 5—14; Luke xviii. 14—25; John iv. 52—v. 8; xx. 17—26; (*Frag.* 4 or I_d) Luke vii. 39—49; xxiv. 10—19. The fifth fragment (I_e), containing portions of the Acts and of St Paul's Epistles (1 Cor. xv. 53—xvi. 9; Tit. i. 1—13; Acts xxviii. 8—17) is as old as the third, if not as the first. The sixth and seventh fragments are of the seventh century: viz. (*Frag.* 5 or I_f, of two leaves) Acts ii. 6—17; xxvi. 7—18; (*Frag.* 7 or I_g, of one leaf) Acts xiii. 39—46. In all seven are 255 verses. All except *Frag.* 6 are in two columns of from 29 to 18 lines each, and unaccentuated; *Frag.* 6 has but one column on a page, with some accents. The first five fragments, so far as they extend, must be placed in the highest rank as critical authorities. The first, as cited in Tischendorf's eighth edition of his Greek Testament, agrees with Cod. A 34 times, four times with Cod. B, and 23 times with the two united; it stands alone eleven times. The text of the second and third is more mixed, though they incline more to favour

Codd. \aleph B; not, however, so decidedly as the first does Cod. A. Tischendorf gives us six *facsimiles* of them in the *Monumenta sacra inedita*, a seventh in *Anecdota sacra et profana*, 1855. From the same Armenian book, as Tischendorf thinks (and he was very likely to *know*), are taken the three palimpsest leaves of 2 and 3 Kings, and the six of Isaiah published by him in the same volume of the *Monumenta*.

I^b. See N^b, p. 136.

K. COD. CYPRIUS, or No. 63 of the Royal Library at Paris, shares only with Codd. \aleph BMSU the advantage of being a *complete* uncial copy of the Four Gospels. It was brought into the Colbert Library from Cyprus in 1673; Mill inserted its readings from Simon; it was re-examined by Scholz, whose inaccuracies (especially those committed when collating Cod. K for his "Curæ Criticæ in Historiam textûs Evangeliorum," Heidelberg, 1820) have been strongly denounced by later editors, and it must be feared with too good reason. The independent collations of Tischendorf and Tregelles have now done all that can be needed for this copy. It is an oblong 4to, in compressed uncials, of about the middle of the ninth century at the latest, having one column of about 21 lines on each page, but the handwriting is irregular and varies much in size. A single point being often found where the sense does not require it, this codex has been thought to have been copied from an older one arranged in *στίχοι*; the ends of each *στίχος* may have been indicated in this manner by the scribe. The subscriptions, *τίτλοι*, the sections, and indices of the *κεφάλαια* of the last three Gospels are believed to be the work of a later hand: the Eusebian canons are absent (*see* p. 59). The breathings and accents are *primâ manu*, but often omitted or incorrectly placed. Itacisms and permutations of consonants are very frequent, and the text is of an unusual and interesting character. Scholz regards the directions for the Church lessons, even the *ἀρχαὶ* and *τέλη* in the margin at the beginning and end of lessons, as by the original scribe. He transcribes at length the *ἐκλογάδιον τῶν δ' εὐαγγελιστῶν* and the fragments of a menology prefixed to Cod. K (N. T. Vol. I. pp. 455—493; *see above*, pp. 73, 78—86), of which tables it affords the earliest specimen. The second hand writes at the end *προσδέξῃ*

ταύτην [τὴν δέλτον] ἡ ἀγία θεοτόκος καὶ ὁ ἄγιος εὐτύχιος. The style of this copy will be seen from our *facsimile* (No. 19) taken from John vi. 52, 53: the number of the section (ξς' or 66) stands in the margin, but the ordinary place of the Eusebian canon (ι or 10) under it is filled by a simple flourish. The stop in l. 1 after λεγοντες illustrates the unusual punctuation of this copy, as may that after ὁ ἰσ in l. 3.

L. COD. REGIUS, No. 62 in the Royal Library at Paris, is by far the most remarkable document of its age and class. It contains the Four Gospels, except the following passages, Matth. iv. 22—v. 14; xxviii. 17—20; Mark x. 16—30; xv. 2—20; John xxi. 15—25. It was written in about the eighth century and consists of 257 leaves 4to, of thick vellum, 9 inches high by 6½ broad, with two columns of 25 lines each on a page, regularly marked, as we so often see, by the *stylus* and ruler (p. 26). This is doubtless Stephen's η', though he cites it erroneously in Acts xxiv. 7 *bis*; xxv. 14; xxvii. 1; xxviii. 11: it was even then in the Royal Library, although "Roberto Stephano" is marked in the volume. Wetstein collated Cod. L but loosely; Griesbach, who set a very high value on it, studied it with peculiar care; Tischendorf published it in full in his *Monumenta sacra inedita*, 1846. It is but carelessly written, and abounds with errors of the ignorant scribe, who was more probably an Egyptian than a native Greek. The breathings and accents are often deficient, often added wrongly, and placed throughout without rule or propriety. The apostrophus also is common, and frequently out of place; the points for stops are quite irregular, as we have elsewhere stated (p. 46). Capitals occur plentifully, often painted and in questionable taste (see *facsimile* No. 21, column 2), and there is a tendency throughout to inelegant ornament. This codex is in bad condition through damp, the ink brown or pale, the uncial letters of a debased oblong shape: phi is enormously large and sometimes quite angular (p. 38), other letters are such as might be looked for from its date, and are neither neat nor remarkably clear. The lessons for Sundays, festivals, &c. and the ἀρχαὶ and τέλη are marked everywhere in the margin, especially in St Matthew; there are also many corrections and important critical notes (e.g. Mark xvi. 8) in the text or margin, apparently *primâ manu*. Our *facsimile* is taken

from a photograph of its most important page communicated by Dean Burgon, Mark xvi. 8, 9, with part of the note cited at length below in Chapter IX. Before each Gospel are indices of the κεφάλαια, now imperfect: we find also the τίτλοι at the head and occasionally at the foot of the several pages; the numbers of the κεφάλαια (usually pointed out by the sign of the cross), the sections and Eusebian canons stand in the inner margin¹, often ill put, as if only half understood. The critical weight of this copy may best be discussed hereafter (Chap. VII); it will here suffice barely to mention its strong resemblance to Cod. B (less, however, in St John's Gospel than elsewhere), to the citations of Origen [186—253], and to the margin of the Philoxenian Syriac version [A.D. 616]. Cod. L abounds in what are termed Alexandrian forms, beyond any other copy of its date.

M. COD. CAMPIANUS, No. 48 in the Royal Library at Paris, contains the Four Gospels complete in a small 4to form, written in very elegant and minute uncials of the end of the ninth century, with two columns of 24 lines each on a page. The Abbé Francis des Camps gave it to Louis XIV, Jan. 1, 1707. This document is Kuster's 2 (1710); it was collated by Wetstein, Scholz, and Tregelles; transcribed in 1841 by Tischendorf. Its synaxaria (*see* p. 73) have been published by Scholz in the same place as those of Cod. K, and obviously with great carelessness. Scholia abound in the margin (Tischendorf thinks them *primâ manu*) in a very small hand, like in style to the Oxford Plato (Clarke 39, *above*, p. 40). We find too Hippolytus' Chronology of the Gospels, Eusebius' letter to Carpianus with his canons, and some Arabic scrawl on the last leaf, of which the name of Jerusalem alone has been read, a note in Slavonic, and others in a contemporaneous cursive hand. Dean Burgon also observed at the foot of the several pages the same kind of harmony as we described for Cod. E (p. 128: *see* also p. 58 and note 2). It has breathings, accents pretty fairly given, and a musical notation in red, so frequent in Church manuscripts of the age. Its readings are very good; itacisms and *ν ἐφέλευστικὸν* are frequent. Tischendorf compares the form of its

¹ In our *facsimile* (No. 21), over against the beginning of Mark xvi. 8, is set the number of the section (CAΓ or 283), above the corresponding Eusebian canon (B or 2).

uncials to those of Cod. V (*below*, p. 141); which, judging from the *facsimile* given by Matthæi, we should deem somewhat less beautiful. From our *facsimile* (No. 32) it will be seen that the round letters are much narrowed, the later form of *delta* and *theta* quite decided, while *alpha* and *pi* might look earlier. Our specimen (John vii. 53—viii. 2) represents the celebrated *Pericope adulteræ* in one of its earliest forms. Another *facsimile* is given by Silvestre, No. 76.

N. CODEX PURPUREUS. Only twelve leaves of this beautiful copy were till recently believed to survive, and some former possessor must have divided them in order to obtain a better price from several purchasers than from one. Four leaves are now in the British Museum (Cotton, Titus C. xv.), six in the Vatican (No. 3785), two at Vienna (Lambec. 2), at the end of a fragment of Genesis in a different hand. The London fragments (Matth. xxvi. 57—65; xxvii. 26—34; John xiv. 2—10; xv. 15—22) were collated by Wetstein on his first visit to England in 1715, and marked in his Greek Testament by the letter J: Scrivener transcribed them in 1845, and announced that they contained 57 various readings, of which Wetstein had given but five. The Vienna fragment (Luke xxiv. 13—21; 39—49) had long been known by the descriptions of Lambecius: Wetstein had called it N; Treschow in 1773 and Alter in 1787 had given imperfect collations of it. Scholz first noticed the Vatican leaves (Matth. xix. 6—13; xx. 6—22; xx. 29—xxi. 19), denoted them by Γ, and used some readings extracted by Gaetano Marini. It was reserved for Tischendorf (*Monumenta sacra inedita*, 1846) to publish them all in full, and to determine by actual inspection that they were portions of the same manuscript, of the date of about the end of the sixth century. Besides these twelve leaves John Sakkelion the Librarian saw in or about 1864 at the Monastery of St John in Patmos 33 other leaves containing portions of St Mark's Gospel (ch. vi. 53—xv. 23)¹, whose readings were communicated to Tischendorf, and are included in his

¹ Dr Hort more exactly reckons that these leaves apparently contain Mark vi. 53—vii. 4; vii. 21—viii. 32; ix. 1—x. 43; xi. 7—xii. 19; xiv. 25—xv. 22 (*Addenda and Corrigenda* to Tregelles's N. T., p. 1019), adding that Tischendorf had access also to a few verses preserved in the collections of the Russian Bishop Porphyry.

eighth edition of the N. T. The others were probably stolen from the same place. This book is written on the thinnest vellum (*see* pp. 23, 25), dyed purple, and the silver letters (which have turned quite black) were impressed in some way upon it, but are too varied in shape, and at the end of the lines in size, to admit the supposition of moveable type being used, as some have thought to be the case in the Codex Argenteus of the Gothic Gospels. The abridgements ΘC, XC, &c. are in gold; and some changes have been made by an ancient second hand. The so-called Ammonian sections and the Eusebian canons are faithfully given (*see* p. 59), and the Vatican portion has the 41st, 46th, and 47th τίτλοι of St Matthew at the head of the pages (*see* p. 56). Each page has two columns of 16 lines, and the letters (about 10 or 12 in a line) are firm, uniform, bold, and unornamented, though not quite so much so as in a few older documents; their lower extremities are bevelled. Their size is at least four times that of the letters in Cod. A, the punctuation quite as simple, being a single point (and that usually neglected) level with the top of the letter (*see* our *fac-simile*, Plate v, No. 14, l. 3), and there is no space left between words even after stops. A few letters stand out as capitals at the beginning of lines; of the breathings and accents, if such they be, we have spoken above (p. 45). Letters diminished at the end of a line do not lose their ancient shape, as in many later books: *compendia scribendi* are rare, yet ⇨ stands for N at the end of a line no less than 29 times in the London leaves alone, but γ for αι only once. I at the beginning of a syllable has two dots over it, T but one. We have discussed above (pp. 32—39) the shape of the alphabet in N (for by that single letter Tischendorf denotes it), and compared it with others of nearly the same date; *alpha*, *omega*, *lambda* look more ancient than *delta* or *xi* (*see* Plate II. No. 4). It exhibits strong Alexandrian forms, e. g. παραλήμφομε, ειχσαν (the latter condemned *secundâ manu*), and not a few such itacisms as the changes of ε and ει, αι and ε.

COD. N^b (I^b of Tischendorf's N. T., eighth edition), MUSEI BRITANNICI (Addit. 17136), is a 16° volume containing the hymns of Severus in Syriac, and is one of the books brought thither from the Nitrian desert. It is a palimpsest, with a second Syriac work

written below the first, and, under both, *four* leaves (117, 118, 127, 128) contain fragments of 16 verses of St John (xiii. 16; 17; 19; 20; 23; 24; 26; 27; xvi. 7; 8; 12; 13; 15; 16; 18; 19). These Tischendorf (and Tregelles about the same time) deciphered with great difficulty, as every one who has examined the manuscript would anticipate, and published in the second volume of his new collection of *Monumenta sacra inedita*. Each page contained two columns. We meet with the sections without the Eusebian canons (*see* p. 59), the earliest form of uncial characters, no capital letters (*see* p. 49, note 1), and only the simplest kind of punctuation, although one rough breathing is legible. Tischendorf hesitates whether he shall assign the fragment to the 4th or 5th century. It agrees with Cod. A five or six times, with Cod. B five, with the two together six, and is against them both thrice.

O. No less than eight small fragments have borne this mark. O of Wetstein was given by Anselmo Banduri to Montfaucon, and contains only Luke xviii. 11—14: *this* Tischendorf discards as taken from an Evangelistarium (of the tenth century, as he judges from the writing) chiefly because it wants the number of the section at ver. 14. In its room he puts for Cod. O Moscow Synod. 120 (Matthaei, 15), a few leaves of about the ninth century (containing the 16 verses, John i. 1—4; xx. 10—13; 15—17; 20—24, with some scholia), which had been used for binding a copy of Chrysostom's Homilies, brought from Mount Athos, and published in Matthaei's Greek Testament with a *facsimile*. Further portions of this fragment were seen at Athos in 1864 by Mr Philip Pusey. Tregelles has also appended it to his edition of Cod. Ξ (*see* p. 156). In this fragment we find the cross-like *psi* (p. 38), the interrogative; (Jo. xx. 13), and the comma (*ib.* ver. 12). The next five comprise N. T. hymns.

COD. O^a. *Magnificat* and *Benedictus* in Greek uncials of the 8th or 9th century, in a Latin book at Wolfenbüttel, is published by Tischendorf, *Anecdota sacr. et prof.* 1855; as is also O^b, which contains these two and *Nunc Dimittis*, of the 9th century, and is at Oxford, Bodleian, Misc. Gr. 5 (Auct. D. 4. 1) foll.

313—4¹. O^o. *Magnificat* in the Verona Psalter of the 6th century (the Greek being written in Latin letters), published by Bianchini (*Vindiciæ Canon. Script.* 1740). O^d, O^e, both contain the three hymns, O^d in the great purple and silver Zurich Psalter of the 7th century (Tischendorf, *Monum. sacra inedita*, Tom. iv. 1869)²; O^o of the 9th century at St Gall (Cod. 17), partly written in Greek, partly in Latin. O^f, also of the 9th century, is described by Tischendorf (N. T., 8th edition) once as "Noroff. Petrop.," once as "Mosquensis."

P. CODEX GUELPHERBYTANUS A. } These are two palimps-
 Q. B. } ests, discovered by F. A. Knittel, Archdeacon of Wolfenbüttel, in the Ducal Library of that city, which (together with some fragments of Ulphilas' Gothic version) lie under the more modern writings of Isidore of Seville. He published the whole in 1762³, so far at least as he could read them, though Tregelles believed more might be deciphered, and Tischendorf, with his unconquerable energy, collating them both in 1854, was able to re-edit them more accurately, Cod. Q in the third volume (1860) and Cod. P in the sixth (1869) of his *Monumenta sacra inedita*. The volume (called the Codex Carolinus) seems to have been once at Bobbio, and has been traced from Weissenburg to Mayence and Prague, till it was bought by a Duke of Brunswick in 1689. Codex P contains, on 43 or 44 leaves, 31 fragments of 486 verses, taken from all the four Evangelists⁴; Codex Q, on 13 leaves, 12 fragments of 235 verses from SS. Luke and John⁵; but all can be traced only with great difficulty. A few portions, once written in vermilion, have quite departed,

¹ These songs, with 13 others from the Old Testament and Apocrypha, though partially written in uncial letters, are included in a volume of Psalms and Hymns, whose prevailing character is early cursive.

² From O^d Dr Caspar René Gregory has gathered readings in Heb. v. 8—vi. 10, and sent them to Dr Hort.

³ They had been previously described in a tract "Jac. Frid. Heusinger, de quatuor Evan. Cod. Græc. quem antiqua manu membrana scriptum Guelferbytana bibliotheca servat." Guelf. 1752.

⁴ Codex P contains Matth. i. 11—21; iii. 13—iv. 19; x. 7—19; x. 42—xi. 11; xiii. 40—50; xiv. 15—xv. 3; xv. 29—39; Mark i. 1—10; iii. 5—17; xiv. 13—24; 48—61; xv. 12—37; Luke i. 1—13; ii. 9—20; vi. 21—42; vii. 32—viii. 2; viii. 31—50; ix. 26—36; x. 36—xi. 4; xii. 34—45; xiv. 14—25; xv. 13—xvi. 22; xviii. 13—39; xx. 21—xxi. 3; xxii. 3—16; xxiii. 20—32; 45—56; xxiv. 14—37; John i. 29—41; ii. 13—25; xxi. 1—11.

⁵ Codex Q contains Luke iv. 34—v. 4; vi. 10—26; xii. 6—43; xv. 14—31;

but Tischendorf has made material additions to Knittel's labours, both in extent and accuracy. He assigns P to the sixth, Q to the fifth century. Both are written in two columns, the uncials being bold, round or square, those of Q not a little the smaller. The letters in P, however, are sometimes compressed at the end of a line (*see* pp. 39, 155, 158). The capitals in P are large and frequent, and both have the sections without the canons of Eusebius (*see* p. 59). The table of *τίτλοι* found in the volume is written in oblong uncials of a lower date, as Knittel thought, possibly without good reason. Itacisms, what are termed Alexandrian forms, and the usual contractions ($\bar{\text{IC}}$, $\bar{\text{XC}}$, $\bar{\text{KC}}$, $\bar{\text{OC}}$, $\bar{\text{TC}}$, $\bar{\text{PHP}}$, $\bar{\text{PNA}}$, $\bar{\text{IAHM}}$, $\bar{\text{ANOC}}$, $\bar{\Delta\Delta\Delta}$, $\bar{\text{M}}$) occur in both copies. Breathings also are seen here and there in Q. From Tischendorf's beautiful *facsimiles* of Codd. PQ we observe that while *delta* is far more elaborate in P than in Q, the precise contrary is the case with *pi*. *Epsilon* and *sigma* in P have strong points at all the extremities; *nu* in each is of the ancient form exhibited in Codd. NNR (*see* p. 36); while in P *alpha* resembles in shape that of our alphabet in Plate II. No. 5, *eta* that in Plate III. No. 7. As regards their text we observe that in the first hundred verses of St Luke which are contained in both copies, wherein P is cited for various readings 216 times, and Q 182 times, P stands alone 14 times, Q not once. P agrees with other manuscripts against AB 21 times, Q 19 : P agrees with AB united 50 times, Q also 50 : P sides with B against A 29 times, Q 38 : but P accords with A against B in 102 places, Q in 75.

R. This letter, like some that precede, has been used to represent different books by various editors, a practice the inconvenience of which is very manifest. (1) R of Griesbach and Scholz is a fragment of two 4to leaves containing John i. 38—50, at Tübingen (published by Reuss, 1778), which from its thick vellum, from the want of the sections and Eusebian canons, and the general resemblance of its uncials to those of late Service Books, Tischendorf pronounces to be an Evangelistarium, and puts in its room (2) in his N. T. of 1849, 12 or 14 leaves of a palimpsest in the Royal Library of Naples (Borbon. II. C. 15) of the eighth century, under a *Typicum* (*see* Suicer, *The*s.

xvii. 34—xviii. 15; xviii. 34—xix. 11; xix. 47—xx. 17; xx. 34—xxi. 8; xxii. 27—46; xxiii. 30—49; John xii. 3—20; xiv. 3—22.

Eccles. Tom. II. p. 1335), or Ritual of the Greek Church, of the fourteenth century. These are fragments from the first three Evangelists, in oblong uncials, leaning to the right. Tischendorf, by chemical applications, was able in 1843 to read one page, in two columns of 25 lines each (Mark xiv. 32—39), and saw the sections in the margin; the Eusebian canons he thinks have been washed out (*see* p. 59): but in 1859 he calls this fragment W^b, reserving the letter R for (3) CODEX NITRIENSIS, Brit. Museum, Additional 17211, the very important palimpsest containing on 45 leaves about 516 verses of St Luke in 25 fragments¹, under the black, broad Syriac writing, being a treatise of Severus of Antioch against Grammaticus, of the ninth or tenth century. There are two columns of about 25 lines each on a page; for their boldness and simplicity the letters may be referred to the end of the sixth century; we have given a *facsimile* of the manuscript (which cannot be read in parts but with the utmost difficulty²), and an alphabet collected from it (Nos. 5, 17). In size and shape the letters are much like those of Codd. INP, only that they are somewhat irregular and straggling: the punctuation is effected by a single point almost level with the top of the letters, as in Cod. N. The pseudo-Ammonian sections are there without the Eusebian canons (*see* p. 59), and the first two leaves are devoted to the τίτλοι of St Luke. This most important palimpsest is one of the 550 manuscripts brought to England about 1847, from the Syrian convent of S. Mary Deipara, in the Nitrian Desert, 70 miles N. W. of Cairo. When examined at the British Museum by the late Canon Cureton, then one of the Librarians, he discovered in the same volume, and published in 1851 (with six pages in *facsimile*), a palimpsest of 4000 lines of Homer's Iliad, not in the same hand as St Luke, but quite as ancient. The fragments of St Luke were independently transcribed, with most laudable patience, both by Tregelles in 1854, and by Tischendorf in 1855, who afterwards re-examined the places wherein he

¹ Codex R contains Luke i. 1—13; i. 69—ii. 4; 16—27; iv. 38—v. 5; v. 25—vi. 8; 18—39; vi. 49—vii. 22; viii. 5—15; viii. 25—ix. 1; ix. 12—48; x. 3—16; xi. 5—27; xii. 4—15; 40—52; xiii. 26—xiv. 1; xiv. 12—xv. 1; xv. 13—xvi. 16; xvii. 21—xviii. 10; xviii. 22—xx. 20; xx. 38—47; xxi. 12—xxiii. 15; 42—56; xxii. 71—xxiii. 11; xxiii. 38—51. A second hand has supplied ch. xv. 19—21.

² In our *facsimile* we have not attempted to represent the extreme faintness of the lines, which in parts are only just visible.

differed from Tregelles (e.g. ch. viii. 5; xviii. 7, 10), and discovered by the aid of Dr Wright a few more fragments of ch. vi—viii. Tischendorf published an edition of Cod. R in his *Monumenta sacra inedita*, Vol. II. with a *facsimile*: the amended readings, together with the newly discovered variations in ch. vi. 32—36, 37, 38, are inserted in the eighth edition of his Greek Testament. On the critical character of the readings of this precious fragment we shall make some comments in Chapter VII.

S. CODEX VATICANUS 354, contains the four Gospels entire, and is the earliest dated manuscript of the Greek Testament (p. 29). This is a folio of 234 leaves, written in large oblong or compressed uncials: the Epistle to Carpianus and Eusebian canons are prefixed, and it contains many later corrections (e.g. Luke viii. 15), and marginal notes (e.g. Matth. xxvii. 16, 17). Luke xxii. 43, 44; John v. 4; vii. 53—viii. 11 are obelized. At the end we read *ἐγράφη ἡ τιμία δέλτος αὐτῆ διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ Μιχαὴλ μοναχοῦ ἀμαρτωλοῦ μηνὶ μαρτίῳ α΄. ἡμέρα ε΄, ὥρα σ΄, ἔτους σννζ. ινδ. ζ΄*: i. e. A. D. 949. "Codicem bis diligenter contulimus," says Birch: but collators in his day (1781—3) seldom noticed orthographical forms or stated where the readings agree with the received text, so that a more thorough examination was still required. Tregelles only inspected it, but Tischendorf, when at Rome in 1866, carefully re-examined it, and has inserted many of its readings in his eighth edition and its supplementary leaves. He states that Birch's *facsimile* (consisting of the obelized John v. 4) is coarsely executed, while Bianchini's is too elegant; he made another for himself.

T. CODEX BORGIANUS I., now in the Propaganda at Rome (*see below*, Cod. 180 of the Gospels), contains 13 or more 4to leaves of SS. Luke and John, with a Thebaic or Sahidic version at their side, but on the opposite and left page. Each page consists of two columns; a single point indicates a break in the sense, but there are no other divisions. The fragment contains Luke xxii. 20—xxiii. 20; John vi. 28—67; vii. 6—viii. 32 (177 verses, since Jo. vii. 53—viii. 11 are wanting). The portion containing St John, both in Greek and Egyptian,

was carefully edited at Rome in 1789 by A. A. Giorgi, an Augustinian Eremitic: his *facsimile*, however (ch. vii. 35), seems somewhat rough, though Tischendorf (who has inspected the codex) says that its uncials look as if written by a Copt, from their resemblance to Coptic letters¹: the shapes of *alpha* and *iota* are specially noticeable. Birch had previously collated the Greek text. Notwithstanding the occasional presence of the rough and smooth breathing in this copy (p. 45)², Giorgi refers it to the fourth century, Tischendorf to the fifth. The Greek fragment of St Luke was first collated by Mr Bradley H. Alford, and inserted by his brother, Dean Alford, in the fourth edition of his Greek Testament, Vol. I. (1859). Dr Tregelles had drawn Mr Alford's attention to it, from a hint thrown out by Zoega, in p. 184 of his "Catalogus codd. Copt. MSS. qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris adservantur." Romae 1810.

T^a or T^{wo} is used by Tischendorf to indicate a few leaves in Greek and Thebaic, which once belonged to Woide, and were published with his other Thebaic fragments in Ford's Appendix to the Codex Alexandrinus, Oxon. 1799. They contain Luke xii. 15—xiii. 32; John viii. 33—42 (85 verses). From the second fragment it plainly appears (what the similarity of the *facsimiles* had suggested to Tregelles) that T and T^a are parts of the same manuscript, for the page of T^a which contains John viii. 33 in Greek exhibits on its reverse the Thebaic version of John viii. 23—32, of which T affords us only the Greek text. This fact was first noted by Tischendorf (N. T. 1859), who adds that the Coptic scribe blundered much over the Greek: e.g. βαβουσα Luke xiii. 21; so δεκατ for δεκα και, ver. 16. He transcribed T and T^{wo} (as well as T^b, T^c, T^d, which we proceed to describe), for publication in the ninth volume of his *Monumenta sacra inedita* (1870).

¹ For the Coptic style of the letters Tischendorf compares a double palimpsest leaf in the British Museum, containing 1 Kin. viii. 58—ix. 1, which he assigns to the fifth century, although the capital letters stand out a little, and are slightly larger than the rest (Monum. sac. ined. Vol. II. Proleg. p. xlv). But both Dr Wright and Mr E. Maunde Thompson (*see* p. 100), from their great experience in this style of writing, have come to suspect that it is usually somewhat less ancient than from other indications might be supposed.

² Tischendorf found breathings also in the palimpsest Numbers (Monum. sac. ined. *ubi supra*, p. xxv).

T^b at St Petersburg much resembles the preceding in the Coptic-like style of writing, but is not earlier than the sixth century. It contains on six 8vo leaves John i. 25—42; ii. 9—iv. 50, spaces left in the text answering the purpose of stops (*see* p. 46). T^b has a harmony of the Gospels at the foot of the page (*see* p. 58, note 2).

T^c is a fragment of about 21 verses between Matth. xiv. 19 and xv. 8, also of the sixth century, and at St Petersburg, in the collection of Bishop Porphyry. Its text in the 29 places cited by Tischendorf in his eighth edition accords with Cod. \aleph 24 times, with Cod. B 20 times, with Codd. C and D 16 times each, with Cod. 33 nine times. Cod. A is wanting here. Compared with these primary authorities severally, it agrees with \aleph alone once, with 33 alone twice, with \aleph B united against the rest, 4 times: so that its critical character is very decided.

T^d is a fragment of a Lectionary, Greek and Sahidic, of about the seventh century, found by Tischendorf in 1866 among the Borgian manuscripts at Rome. It contains Matth. xvi. 13—20; Mark i. 1—3: xii. 35—37; John xix. 23—27; xx. 30—31: 21 verses only. This fragment and the next have been brought into this place, rather than inserted in the list of *Evangelistaria*, because they both contained fragments of the Thebaic version.

T^e is a fragment of St Matthew at Cambridge (Univ. Libr. Addit. 1875). Dr Hort communicated its readings to Dr C. R. Gregory, for his edition of Tischendorf's N. T. It is "a tiny morsel" of an uncial Lectionary of the sixth century, containing only Matth. iii. 13—26, the parallel column of the Thebaic version having perished. It was brought, among other Coptic fragments, from Upper Egypt by Mr Greville Chester.

U. CODEX NANIANUS I., so called from a former possessor, is now in the Library of St Mark, Venice (I. VIII). It contains the four Gospels entire, carefully and luxuriously written in two columns of 21 lines each on the 4to page, scarcely before the tenth century, although the "letters are in general an imitation of those used before the introduction of compressed uncials; but they do not belong to the age when full and round writing was customary or natural, so that the stiff-

ness and want of ease is manifest" (Tregelles' Horne, p. 202). Thus while the small *o* in l. 1 of our *facsimile* (No. 22) is in the oldest style, the oblong *omicrons* creep in at the end of lines 2 and 4. Munter sent some extracts from this copy to Birch, who used them for his edition, and states that the book contains the Eusebian canons. Accordingly in Mark v. 18, B (in error for H) stands under the proper section $\overline{\mu\eta}$ (48). Tischendorf in 1843 and Tregelles in 1846 collated Cod. U, thoroughly and independently, and compared their work at Leipsic for the purpose of mutual correction.

V. CODEX MOSQUENSIS, of the Holy Synod, is known almost¹ exclusively from Matthæi's Greek Testament: he states, no doubt most truly, that he collated it "bis diligentissimè," and gives a *facsimile* of it, assigning it to the eighth century. Judging from Matthæi's plate, it is hard to say why others have dated it in the ninth. It contained in 1779, when first collated, the Four Gospels in 8vo with the sections and Eusebian canons, in uncial letters down to John vii. 39, *οὐπω γὰρ ην*, and from that point in cursive letters of the 13th century, Matth. v. 44—vi. 12; ix. 18—x. 1 being lost: when recollated but four years later Matth. xxii. 44—xxiii. 35; John xxi. 10—25 had disappeared. Matthæi tells us that the manuscript is written stichometrically, by a diligent scribe: its resemblance to Cod. M has been already mentioned (p. 135). The cursive portion is Matthæi's v, Scholz's Evan. 250.

W*. COD. REG. PARIS 314, consists of but two leaves at the end of another book, containing Luke ix. 34—47; x. 12—22 (23 verses). Its date is about the eighth century; the uncial letters are firmly written, *delta* and *theta* being of the ordinary oblong shape of that period. Accents and breathings are usually put; all the stops are expressed by a single point, whose position makes no difference in its power (*see* p. 46). This copy was adapted to Church use, but is not an Evangelistarium, inasmuch as it exhibits the sections and Eusebian

¹ I say *almost*, for Bengel's description makes it plain that this is the Moscow manuscript from which F. C. Gross sent him the extracts that Weistein copied and numbered Evan. 87. Bengel, however, states that the cursive portion from John vii. onwards bears the date of 6508 or A. D. 1000. Scholz was the first to notice this identity (*see* Evan. 250).

canons¹, and τίτλοι twice at the head of the page. This fragment was brought to light by Scholz, and published by Tischendorf, *Monumenta sacra inedita*, 1846. He considers the fragment at Naples he had formerly numbered R (2) as another portion of the same copy, and therefore indicates it in his 7th edition of the N. T. (1859) as W^b (*see* p. 139).

W^c is assigned by Tischendorf to three leaves containing Mark ii. 8—16; Luke i. 20—32; 64—79 (35 verses), which have been washed to make a palimpsest, and the writing erased in parts by a knife. There are also some traces of a Latin version, but all these were used up to bind other books in the library of St Gall. They are of the eighth century, and have appeared in Vol. III. of *Monumenta sacra inedita*, with a *facsimile*, whose style closely resembles that of Cod. Δ, and its kindred FG of St Paul's Epistles.

W^d was discovered in 1862 by Mr H. Bradshaw, University Librarian at Cambridge, in the Library of Trinity College there, its slips (about 27 in number) being worked into the binding of a volume of Gregory Nazianzen: they are now carefully arranged on glass (B. viii. 5). They comprise portions of four leaves, severally containing Mark vii. 3—4; 6—8; 30—36; 36—viii. 4; 4—10; 11—16; ix. 2; 7—9, in uncial letters of the ninth century, if not rather earlier, slightly leaning to the right. The sections are set in the margin without the Eusebian canons, with a table of harmony at the foot of each page of 24 lines (*see* p. 58, note 2). The τίτλοι are in red at the top and bottom of the pages, their corresponding numerals in the margin. The breathings and accents are often very faint: lessons and musical notes, crosses, &c. are in red, and sometimes cover the original stops. In text it much resembles Codd. \aleph BDLΔ: one reading (Mark vii. 33) appears to be unique. Scrivener hopes to publish it shortly in a volume of fresh collations of manuscripts and editions.

W^e is a fragment containing John iv. 9—14, found by Mr G. W. Kitchin, Student of Christ Church, in the College Library, when Tischendorf was at Oxford in 1865. It much resembles

¹ Notwithstanding the Eusebian canons have been washed out of W^b, a strong confirmation of what was conjectured above, p. 59.

O at Moscow (p. 137), and, like it, had a commentary annexed, to which there are numeral references set before each verse.

W¹ is a palimpsest fragment of St Mark (ch. v. 16—40) of about the ninth century, underlying Wake 37 at Christ Church, Oxford (Acts 192, Paul. 246), discovered and described by the late Mr A. A. Vansittart (*Journal of Philology*, Vol. II. No. 4, p. 241, note 1).

X. CODEX MONACENSIS, in the University Library at Munich (No. 78), is a valuable folio manuscript of the end of the ninth or early in the tenth century, containing the Four Gospels (in the order described above, p. 70), with serious defects¹, and a commentary (chiefly from Chrysostom) surrounding and interspersed with the text of all but St Mark, in early cursive letters, not unlike (in Tischendorf's judgment) the celebrated Oxford Plato dated 895 (*see* p. 40). The very elegant uncials of Cod. X "are small and upright; though some of them are compressed, they seem as if they were *partial* imitations of those used in very early copies" (Tregelles' Horne, p. 195). Each page has two columns of about 45 lines each. There are no divisions by *κεφάλαια* or sections, nor notes to serve for ecclesiastical use; the ink has much faded, and the general condition of the manuscript is bad. From a memorandum we find that it came from Rome to Ingoldstadt, as a present from Gerard Vossius [1577—1649]; from Ingoldstadt it was taken to Landshut in 1803, thence to Munich in 1827. When it was at Ingoldstadt Griesbach obtained some extracts from it through Dobrowsky; Scholz first collated it, but in his usual unhappy way; Tischendorf in 1844, Tregelles in 1846. Dean Burgon examined it in 1872, but complains that our *facsimile* No. 38 gives an entirely unworthy notion of the exquisite precision of the style of writing.

Y. CODEX BARBERINI 225 at Rome (in the Library founded by Cardinal Barberini in the 17th century) contains on six large

¹ Codex X contains Matth. vi. 6, 10, 11; vii. 1—ix. 20; ix. 34—xi. 24; xii. 9—xvi. 28; xvii. 14—xviii. 25; xix. 22—xxi. 13; 28—xxii. 22; xxiii. 27—xxiv. 2; 23—35; xxv. 1—30; xxvi. 69—xxvii. 12; Mark vi. 47—Luke i. 37; ii. 19—iii. 38; iv. 21—x. 37; xi. 1—xviii. 43; xx. 46—John ii. 22; vii. 1—xiii. 5; xiii. 20—xv. 25; xvi. 23—xxi. 25. The hiatus in John ii. 22—vii. 1 is supplied on paper in a hand of the twelfth century; Mark xiv. 61—64; xiv. 72—xv. 4; xv. 33—xvi. 6 are illegible in parts, and xvi. 6—8 have perished. Matth. v. 45 survives only in the commentary.

leaves the 137 verses John xvi. 3—xix. 41, of about the eighth century. Tischendorf obtained access to it in 1843 for a few hours, after some difficulty with the Prince Barberini, and published it in his first instalment of *Monumenta sacra inedita*, 1846. Scholz had first noticed, and loosely collated it. A later hand has coarsely retraced the letters, but the ancient writing is plain and good. Accents and breathings are most often neglected or placed wrongly: κ θ τ are frequent at the end of lines. For punctuation one, two, three or even four points are employed, the power of the single point varying as in Codd. E (see p. 46) Θ^a and B of the Apocalypse. The pseudo-Ammonian sections are without the Eusebian canons: and such forms as λήμψεται xvi. 14, λήμψεσθε ver. 24 occur. These few uncial leaves are prefixed to a cursive copy of the Gospels with Theophylact's commentary (Evan. 392): the text is mixed, and lies about midway between that of Cod. A and Cod. B.

Z. CODEX DUBLINENSIS RESCRIPTUS, one of the chief palimpsests extant, contains 290 verses of St Matthew's Gospel in 22 fragments¹. It is of a small 4to size, originally 10½ inches by 8, now reduced to 8¼ inches by 6, once containing 120 leaves arranged in quaternions, of which the first that remains bears the *signature* 13 (II): 14 sheets or double leaves and 4 single leaves being all that survive. It was discovered in 1787 by Dr John Barrett, Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, under some cursive writing of the 10th century or later, consisting of Chrysostom de Sacerdotio, extracts from Epiphanius, &c. In the same volume are portions of Isaiah (eight leaves) and of Gregory Nazianzen, in erased uncial letters, the latter not so ancient as the fragment of St Matthew. All the 32 leaves of this Gospel that remain were engraved in copper-plate *facsimile*² at the expense of Trinity College, and published by Barrett in 1801, furnished with Prolegomena, and the contents of each *facsimile* plate in modern Greek characters, on

¹ Codex Z contains Matth. i. 17—ii. 6; ii. 13—20; iv. 4—13; v. 45—vi. 15; vii. 16—viii. 6; x. 40—xi. 18; xii. 43—xiii. 11; 57—xiv. 18; xv. 18—23; xvii. 9—17; 26—xviii. 6; xix. 4—12; 21—28; xx. 7—xxi. 8; 23—45; xxii. 16—25; 37—xxiii. 8; 13—23; xxiv. 15—25; xxv. 1—11; xxvi. 21—29; 62—71.

² Not in moveable type, as a critic in the *Saturday Review* (Aug. 20, 1881) seems to suppose.

the opposite page. The *facsimiles* are not very accurate, and the form of the letters is stated to be less free and symmetrical than in the original: yet from these plates (for the want of a better guide) our alphabet (No. 6) and specimen (No. 18) have been taken. The Greek type on the opposite page was not very well revised, and a comparison with the copper-plate will occasionally convict it of errors, which have been animadverted upon more severely than was quite necessary. The Prolegomena were encumbered with a discussion of our Lord's genealogies quite foreign to the subject, and the tone of scholarship is not very high; but Barrett's judgment on the manuscript is correct in the main, and his conclusion, that it is as old as the sixth century, has been generally received. Tregelles in 1854 was permitted to apply a chemical mixture to the vellum, which was already miserably discoloured, apparently from the purple dye: he was thus enabled to add a little (about 200 letters) to what Barrett had read long since¹, but he found that in most places which that editor had left blank, the vellum had been cut away or lost: it would no doubt have been better for Barrett to have stated, in each particular case, why he had been unable to give the text of the passage. A far better edition of the manuscript, including the fragment of Isaiah, and a newly discovered leaf of the Latin Codex Palatinus (*e*), with Prolegomena and two plates of real *facsimiles*, was published in 1880 by T. K. Abbott, B.D., Professor of Biblical Greek in the University of Dublin. He has read 400 letters hitherto deemed illegible, and is inclined to assign the fifth century as the date of the Codex. Codex Z, like many others, and for the same orthographical reasons, has been referred to Alexandria as its native country. It is written with a single column on each page of from 18 to 23 lines. The so-named Ammonian sections are given, but not the Eusebian canons: the *τίτλοι* are written at the top of the pages, their numbers being set in the margin. The writing is continuous, the *single* point either rarely found or quite washed out (*see* p. 46): the abbreviations are very few, and there are no breathings or accents. Like Cod. B, this manuscript indicates citations by >

¹ Mr E. H. Hansell prints in red these additional readings thus fresh brought to light in the Appendix to his "Texts of the oldest existing manuscripts of the New Testament," Oxford, 1864.

in the margin (p. 62 note), and it represents N by —, but only at the end of a word and line (p. 48). A space, proportionate to the occasion, is usually left when there is a break in the sense, and capitals extend into the margin when a new section begins. The letters are in a plain, steady, beautiful hand: they yield in elegance to none, and are never compressed at the end of a line. The shape of *alpha* (which varies a good deal), and especially that of *mu*, is very peculiar: *phi* is inordinately large: *delta* has an upper curve which is not usual: the same curves appear also in *zeta*, *lambda* and *chi*. The characters are less in size than in N, about equal to those in R, much greater than in AB. In regard to the text, it agrees much with Codd. **NBD**: with Cod. A it has only 23 verses in common: yet in them A and Z vary 14 times. Mr Abbott adds that while **NBZ** stand together 10 times against other uncials, **BZ** are never alone, but **NZ** against B often. It is freer than either of them from transcriptural errors. Codd. **NBCZ** combine less often than **NBDZ**. On examining Cod. Z throughout 26 pages, he finds it alone 13 times, differing from **N** 30 times, from B 44 times, from Stephen's text 95 times. Thus it approaches nearer to **N** than to B.

F. CODEX TISCHENDORFIAN. IV. was brought by Tischendorf from an "eastern monastery" (he usually describes the locality of his manuscripts in such like general terms), and was bought of him for the Bodleian Library. (Auct. T. Infra II. 2) in 1855. It consists of 158 leaves in large quarto, with one column (of 24 not very straight or regular lines) on a page, in uncials of the ninth century, leaning slightly back (*see* p. 39, note), but otherwise much resembling Cod. K in style (*facsim.* No. 35). St Luke's Gospel is complete; the last ten leaves are hurt by damp, though still legible. In St Mark only 105 verses are wanting (iii. 35—vi. 20); about 531 verses of the other Gospels survive¹. Tischendorf, and Tregelles by his leave, have independently collated this copy, of which Tischendorf gives a *facsimile* in his *Anecdota sacra et profana*, 1855. Some of its peculiar readings are very notable, and few uncials of its date deserve that more careful study, which it has hardly yet

¹ These are Matth. vi. 16—29; vii. 26—viii. 27; xii. 18—xiv. 15; xx. 25—xxi. 19; xxii. 25—xxiii. 13; John vi. 14—viii. 3; xv. 24—xix. 6.

received. In 1859 Tischendorf, on his return from his third Eastern journey, took to St Petersburg 99 additional leaves of this self-same manuscript, doubtless procured from the same place as he had obtained the Bodleian portion six years before (Notitia Cod. Sinait. p. 53). This copy of the Gospels, though unfortunately in two distant libraries, is now nearly perfect¹, and at the end of St John's Gospel, in the more recently discovered portion, we find an inscription which seems to fix the date: *ετελειωθη η δελτος αυτη μηνι νοεμβριω κζ, ινδ. η, ημερα ε, ωρα β̄*. Tischendorf, by the aid of Ant. Pilgrami's "Calendarium chronicum medii potissimum ævi monumentis accommodatum," Vienn. 1781, pp. VII, 11, 105, states that the only year between A.D. 800 and 950, on which the Indiction was 8, and Nov. 27 fell on a Thursday, was 844. In the Oxford sheets we find tables of *κεφάλαια* before the Gospels of SS. Matthew and Luke; the *τίτλοι* at the heading of the pages; their numbers *rubro* neatly set in the margin; capitals in red at the commencement of these chapters; the sections and Eusebian canons in their usual places, and some liturgical directions. Over the original breathings and accents some late scrawler has in many places put others, in a very careless fashion.

Δ. CODEX SANGALLENSIS, was first inspected by Gerbert (1773), named by Scholz (N. T. 1830), and made fully known to us by the admirable edition in lithographed *facsimile* of every page, by H. Ch. M. Rettig [1799—1836], published at Zurich, 1836², with copious and satisfactory Prolegomena. It is preserved and was probably transcribed a thousand years since in the great monastery of St Gall in the N.E. of Switzerland. It is rudely written on 197 leaves of coarse vellum 4to, 10 inches by 8½ in size, with from 20 to 26 (usually 21) lines on each page, in a very peculiar hand, with an interlinear Latin version, and contains the four Gospels complete except John xix. 17—35. Before St Matthew's Gospel are placed Prologues,

¹ In the St Petersburg portion are all the rest of St John, and Matth. i. 1—v. 81; ix. 6—xii. 18; xiv. 15—xx. 25; xxiii. 18—xxviii. 20; or all St Matthew except 115 verses.

² The edition was posthumous, and has prefixed to it a touching "Life" of two pages in length, by his brother and pupil, dwelling especially on Rettig's happy change in his later days from rationalism to a higher and spiritual life.

Latin verses, the Eusebian canons in Roman letters, tables of the *κεφάλαια* both in Greek and Latin, &c. Rettig thinks he has traced several different scribes and inks employed on it, which might happen easily enough in the Scriptorium of a monastery; but, if so, their style of writing is very nearly the same, and they doubtless copied from the same archetype, about the same time. He has produced more convincing arguments to shew that Cod. Δ is part of the same book as the Codex Boernerianus, G of St Paul's Epistles. Not only do they exactly resemble each other in their whole arrangement and appearance, but marginal notes by the first hand are found in each, of precisely the same character. Thus the predestinarian doctrines of the heretic Godeschalk [d. 866] are pointed out for refutation at the hard texts, Luke xiii. 24; John xii. 40 in Δ, and six times in G¹. St Mark's Gospel is stated to represent a text different from that of the other Evangelists, and the Latin version (which is clearly *primā manu*) seems a mixture of the Vulgate with the older Italic, so altered and accommodated to the Greek as to be of little critical value. The penmen seem to have known but little Greek, and to have copied from a manuscript written continuously, for the divisions between the words are sometimes absurdly wrong. There are scarcely any breathings or accents, except about the opening of St Mark, and once an aspirate to *ἐννα*; what we do find are often falsely given; and a dot is set in most places regularly at the end of every *Greek* word. The letters have but little tendency to the oblong shape, but *delta* and *theta* are decidedly of the latest uncial type. Here, as in Paul. Cod. G, the mark >>> is much used to fill up vacant spaces (*see* p. 49).

¹ viz. Rom. iii. 5; 1 Cor. ii. 8; 1 Tim. ii. 4; iv. 10; vi. 4; 2 Tim. ii. 15. Equally strong are the notices of Aganon, who is cited 8 times in Δ, about 16 in G. This personage was Bishop of Chartres, and a severe disciplinarian, who died A. D. 941; a fact which does not hinder our assigning Cod. Δ to the ninth century, as Rettig states that all notices of him are by a later hand. There is the less need of multiplying proofs of this kind, as Tregelles has observed a circumstance which demonstrates to a certainty the identity of Codd. Δ and G. When he was at Dresden he found in Cod. G twelve leaves of later writing in precisely the same hand as several that are lithographed by Rettig, because they were attached to Cod. Δ. "Thus," he says, "these MSS. once formed one book; and when separated, some of the superfluous leaves with additional writing attached to the former part, and some to the latter" (Tregelles' Horne's Introd. Vol. iv. p. 197).

The text from which Δ was copied seems to have been arranged in *στίχοι*, for almost every line has at least one Greek capital letter, grotesquely ornamental in colours¹. We transcribe three lines, taken almost at random, from pp. 80—1 (Matth. xx. 13—15), in order to explain our meaning :

dixit	uni	eor̄	amico	non	iusto	tibi	nne
ειπεν	μοναδι	αυτων	Εταιρε	ουκ	αδικω	σε	Ουχι
ex denario	convenisti	mecū	tolle	tui	et	vade	
δηναριου	συνεφωνησας	μοι	Αρον	το	σου	και	υπαγε
volo autē	huic	novissimo	dare	sicut	et	tibi	anta non li
Θελω	δε	τουτω	τω	εσχατω	δουναι	ωσ	και
						σοι	Η
						ουκ	εξ

It will be observed that, while in Cod. Δ a line begins at any place, even in the middle of a word; if the capital letters be assumed to commence the lines, the text divides itself into regular *στίχοι*. See above, pp. 50—52. Here are also the *τίτλοι*, the sections and canons. The letters N and Π, Z and Ξ, T and Θ, P and the Latin R are perpetually confounded. As in the kindred Codd. Augiensis and Boernerianus the Latin f is much like r. Tregelles has noted ι ascript in Cod. Δ, but this is rare. There is no question that this document was written by Latin (most probably by Irish) monks, in the West of Europe, during the ninth century. See below, Paul. Cod. G.

Θ^a. CODEX TISCHENDORFIAN. I. was brought from the East by Tischendorf in 1845, published by him in his *Monumenta sacra inedita*, 1846, with a few supplements in Vol. II. of his new collection. (1857), and deposited in the University Library at Leipsic. It consists of but four leaves (all imperfect) 4to, of very thin vellum, almost too brittle to be touched, so that each leaf is kept separately in glass. It contains about 42 verses; viz. Matth. xii. 17—19; 23—25; xiii. 46—55 (in mere shreds); xiv. 8—29; xv. 4—14, with the greater *κεφάλαια* in red; the sections and Eusebian canons stand in the inner margin. A few breathings are *primā manu*, and many accents by two later correctors. The stops (which are rather numerous) resemble those of Cod. Y (p. 147), only that four points are not found in Θ^a. Tischendorf places its date towards the end of the 7th century, assigning Mount Sinai or lower Egypt for its country. The

¹ The portion of this manuscript contained in Paul. G. was divided into *στίχοι* on the same principle by Hug (Introduction, Vol. I. p. 283, Wait's translation).

uncials (especially ΕΘΟC) are somewhat oblong, leaning to the right (*see* p. 39, note), but the writing is elegant and uniform; *delta* keeps its ancient shape, and the diameter of *theta* does not extend beyond the curve (*see* p. 35). In regard to the text, it much resembles ΝB, and stands alone with them in ch. xiv. 12 (*αὐτόν*).

Seven other small fragments, all among the manuscripts of Bishop Porphyry at St Petersburg, appear in full in Tischendorf's ninth volume of *Monumenta sacra inedita* (1870). They are described by him as follows:

Θ^b, six leaves in large 8vo of the sixth or seventh century, torn piecemeal for binding and hard to decipher, contains parts of Matth. xxii., xxiii., of Mark iv., v. Dr C. R. Gregory has extracted from Tischendorf's manuscript notes additional readings in Mark v. 14—23.

Θ^c, one folio leaf of the sixth century, much like Cod. N, contains Matth. xxi. 19—24. Another leaf contains John xviii. 29—35.

Θ^d, half a leaf in two columns of the seventh or eighth century, with accents by a later hand, contains Luke xi. 37—41; 42—45.

Θ^e, containing fragments of Matth. xxvi. 2, &c.; Θ^f of Matth. xxvi., xxvii., Mark i., ii.; Θ^g of John vi. 13, &c. are all of about the sixth century.

Θ^h, consisting of three leaves, in Greek and Arabic of the ninth or tenth centuries, contains portions of Matth. xiv. and xxv.

Λ (1). This letter was applied by Tischendorf in his N. T. of 1849 to two torn fragments of vellum, which he found used in the binding of an Arabic manuscript in the monastery of St Catharine on Mount Sinai. They contain 14 verses; viz. Matth. xx. 8—15; Luke i. 14—20; but since, on removing the vellum from the Arabic book, he found it exhibit a portion of St Matthew on one side of the leaf, of St Luke on the other, he rightly concluded that the fragment belonged to an Evangelistarium, dating from about the ninth century. This fragment

he published in the *Annales Vindobonenses*, 1846, but substituted in its room in his *N. T.* of 1859

(2) **CODEx TISCHENDORFIAN.** III., whose history, so far as we know it, exactly resembles that of Cod. Γ, and like it is now in the Bodleian (*Auct. T. Infra* i. 1). It contains 157 leaves, written in two columns of 23 lines each, in small, oblong, clumsy, sloping uncials of the eighth or rather of the ninth century (*see* p. 39 note, and *facsimile* No. 30). It has the Gospels of St Luke and St John complete, with the subscription to St Mark, each Gospel being preceded by tables of *κεφάλαια*, with the *τίτλοι* at the heads of the pages; the numbers of the *κεφάλαια*, of the sections, and of the Eusebian canons (these last *rubro*) being set in the margin. There are also scholia interspersed, of some critical value; a portion being in uncial characters. This copy also was described (with a *facsimile*) by Tischendorf, *Anecdota sacra et profana*, 1855, and collated by himself and Tregelles. Its text is said to vary greatly from that common in the later uncials, and to be very like Scholz's 262 (Paris 53). For *ι ascriptum* see p. 43, note 1.

Here again the history of this manuscript curiously coincides with that of Cod. Γ. In his *Notitia Cod. Sinaitici*, p. 58, Tischendorf describes an early cursive copy of St Matthew and St Mark (*the subscription to the latter being wanting*), which he took to St Petersburg in 1859, so exactly corresponding in general appearance with Cod. Α (although that be written in uncial characters), as well as in the style and character of the marginal scholia, which are often in small uncials, that he pronounces them part of the same codex. Very possibly he *might* have added that he procured the two from the same source: at any rate the subscription to St Matthew at St Petersburg precisely resembles the other three subscriptions at Oxford, and those in Paris 53 (Scholz's 262)¹, with which Tischendorf had previously compared Cod. Α (*N. T. Proleg.* p. CLXXVII, 7th edition). These cursive leaves are preceded by Eusebius' Epistle to Carpianus, his table of canons, and a table

¹ The subscription to St Matthew stands in both: *ευαγγελιον κατα ματθαιων. εγραφη και ατεβληθη εκ των [sic] ιεροσολυμοις παλαιων αντιγραφων· των εν τω άγω ορει αποκειμενιων· εν στιχοις ββιδ' κεφφ. τνε.* Very similar subscriptions occur in Codd. 20, 215, 300, 376, 428.

of the *κεφάλαια* of St Matthew. The *τίτλοι* in uncials head the pages, and their numbers stand in the margin.

From the marginal scholia Tischendorf cites the following notices of the Jewish Gospel, or that according to the Hebrews, which certainly have their value as helping to inform us respecting its nature: Matth. iv. 5, *το ιουδαικον ουκ εχει εις την αγιαν πολιν αλλ εν ιλημ.* xvi. 17, *Βαριωνα το ιουδαικον υιε ιωαννου.* xviii. 22, *το ιουδαικον εξης εχει μετα το εβδομηκοντακισ ε̄πτα και γαρ εν τοις προφηταις μετα το χρισθηναι αυτους εν π̄νι άγω εύρισκετω (sic) εν αυτοις λογος άμαρτίας :*—an addition which Jerome (*contra Pelag.* III.) expressly cites from the Gospel of the Nazarenes. xxvi. 74, *το ιουδαικον και ηρησατο και ωμοσεν και καταρασατο.* It is plain that this whole matter requires careful discussion, but at present it would seem that the first half of Cod. Δ was written in cursive, the second in uncial letters; if not by the same person, yet on the same plan and at the same place.

Ξ. CODEX ZACYNTHIUS is a palimpsest in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society in London, which, under an Evangelistarium written on coarse vellum in or about the 13th century, contains large portions (342 verses) of St Luke, down to ch. xi. 33¹, in full well-formed uncials, but surrounded by and often interwoven with large extracts from the Fathers, in a hand so cramped and, as regards the round letters (ΕΘΟC), so oblong, that it cannot be earlier than the eighth century, although some such compressed forms occur in Cod. P of the sixth (*see* p. 139). The general absence of accents and breathings also would favour an earlier date. As the arrangement of the matter makes it certain that the commentary is contemporaneous, Cod. Ξ must be regarded as the earliest known, indeed as the only uncial, copy furnished with a catena (*above*, p. 64). This volume, which once belonged to "Il Principe Comuto, Zante," and is marked as *Μνημόσυνον σεβάσματος του 'Ισπείος 'Αντωνίου Κόμητος* 1820, was presented to the Bible Society in 1821 by General Macaulay, who brought it from Zante. Mr Knolleke,

¹ Cod. Ζ contains Luke i. 1—9; 19—23; 27, 28; 30—32; 36—66; 77—ii. 19; 21, 22; 33—39; iii. 5—8; 11—20; iv. 1, 2; 6—20; 32—43; v. 17—36; vi. 21—vii. 6; 11—37; 39—47; viii. 4—21; 25—35; 43—50; ix. 1—28; 32, 33; 35; 41—x. 18; 21—40; xi. 1, 2; 3, 4; 24—30; 31; 32, 33.

one of the Secretaries, seems first to have noticed the older writing, and on the discovery being communicated to Tregelles in 1858 by Dr Paul de Lagarde of Berlin, with characteristic eagerness that critic examined, deciphered, and published the Scripture text, together with the Moscow fragment O (*see* p. 137), in 1861: he doubted whether the small Patristic writing could be read without chemical restoration. Besides the usual *τίτλοι* above the text and other notations of sections, and numbers running up from 1 to 100 which refer to the catena, this copy is remarkable for possessing also the division into chapters, hitherto deemed unique in Cod. B (p. 55). To this notation is commonly prefixed *psi*, formed like a cross, in the fashion of the eighth century (*above*, p. 38). The ancient volume must have been a large folio (14 inches by 11), of which 86 leaves and three half-leaves survive: of course very hard to read. Of the ecclesiastical writers cited by name Chrysostom, Origen, and Cyril are the best known. Tregelles justly praises Cod. Ξ for "the goodness of its text." In the 564 places wherein Tischendorf cites it in his eighth edition, it supports Cod. L in full three cases out of four, and those the most characteristic. It stands alone only 14 times, and with Cod. L or others against the five great uncials only 30 times. In regard to these five, Cod. Ξ sides plainly with Cod. B in preference to Cod. A, following B alone 7 times, BL 24 times, but \aleph 13 times, A 15 times, C (which is often defective) 5 times, D 14 times, with none of these unsupported except with \aleph once. Their combinations in agreement with Ξ are curious and complicated, but lead to the same result. This copy is with \aleph B 6 times, with \aleph BL 55; with \aleph BC 20, but with \aleph BD as many as 54 times, with \aleph BCD 38 times; with BCD thrice, with BC six times, with BD 13. It combines with \aleph A 10 times, with AC 15, with AD 11, with \aleph AC 16, with ACD 12, with \aleph AD six, with \aleph ACD twelve. Thus Cod. Ξ favours B against A 226 times, A against B 97. Combinations of its readings opposed to both A and B are \aleph C six, \aleph D eight, CD two, \aleph CD three. In the other passages it favours ABC against \aleph D eleven times, ABCD against \aleph eight times, \aleph ABC against D eighteen times, \aleph ABD against C, or where C is defective, 39 times, and is expressly cited 27 times as standing with \aleph ABCD against later copies. The character of the variations of Cod. Ξ from the Received text may be judged

of by the estimate made by some scholar, that 47 of them are transpositions in the order of the words, 201 are substitutions of one word for another, 118 are omissions, while the additions do not exceed 24 (Christian Remembrancer, Jan. 1862).

II. CODEx PETROPOLITANUS consists of 350 vellum leaves in small 4to, and contains the Gospels complete except Matth. iii. 12—iv. 18; xix. 12—xx. 3; John viii. 6—39; 77 verses. A century since it belonged to Parodus, a noble Greek of Smyrna, and its last possessor was persuaded by Tischendorf, in 1859, to present it to the Emperor of Russia. Tischendorf states that it is of the age of the later uncials (meaning the 9th century), but of higher critical importance than most of them, and much like Cod. K in its rarer readings. There are many marginal and other corrections by a later hand, and John v. 4; viii. 3—6 are obelized. In the table of κεφάλαια before St Mark, there is a gap after λς: Mark xvi. 18—20; John xxi. 22—25 are in a later hand. At the end of St Mark, the last section inserted is σλδ by the side of ἀναστὰς δὲ ver. 9, with η̄ under it for the Eusebian canon (*see below* Chapter ix.). Tischendorf first used its readings for his Synopsis Evangelica 1864, then for the eighth edition of his Greek Testament 1865, &c. They are not of a very striking character, since this manuscript in the great majority of instances sides with the later uncials (whether supported by Cod. A or not) against Codd. ABCD united.

Σ. COD. ROSSANENSIS, like Cod. N described above (p. 135), is a manuscript written on thin vellum leaves stained purple, in silver letters, the first three lines of each Gospel being in gold. Like Cod. D it probably dates from the sixth century, if not a little sooner, and is the earliest known copy of Scripture which is adorned with miniatures in watercolours, seventeen in number, very interesting and in good preservation. The illustrated Dioscorides at Vienna (*see* p. 44) bears about the same date. Attention was called to the book by Cesare Malpica in 1846, but it was not seen by any one who cared to use it before March 1879, when Oscar von Gebhart of Göttingen and Adolf Harnack of Giessen, in their search for codices of Hippolytus, of Dionysius of Alexandria, and of Cyril of Jerusalem, described

by Cardinal Sirlet in 1582, found it in the Archbishop's Library at Rossano, a small city in Calabria, and published an account of it in 1880 in a sumptuous form, far more satisfactory to the artist than to the Biblical critic. Their volume is illustrated by two *facsimile* leaves, of one of which a reduction may be seen in our Plate XIV. No. 48. The editors have not given us a collation of the whole manuscript, although we are tantalised by the promise of one they made on the spot. The page we have exhibited gives the earliest Greek authority for the doxology in the Lord's Prayer, Matth. vi. 13. The manuscript is in quarto, $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches high by $10\frac{1}{4}$ broad, and now contains only the Gospels of St Matthew and St Mark on 188 leaves of two columns each, there being 20 lines in each column of very regular writing, and from 9 to 12 letters in each line. It ends abruptly at Mark xiv. 14, and the last ten leaves have suffered from damp; otherwise the writing (especially on the inner or smooth side of the vellum) is in good preservation, and the colours of the paintings wonderfully fresh. The binding is of strong black leather binding, about 200 years old. As in Cod. B, the sheets are ranged in quaternions, the *signatures* in silver by the original scribe standing at the lower border of each quire on the right, and the pages being marked in the upper border in modern black ink. In Cod. Σ there is no separation between the words, it has no breathings or accents. Capital letters stand outside the columns, being about twice the size of the rest, and the smaller letters at the end of lines are not compressed, as we find them even in Cod. P (*see* pp. 139, 155). The letters are round and square, and, as was abundantly seen above (pp. 32—9), belong to the older type of writing. The punctuation is very simple: the full stop occurs half up the letter. There are few erasures, but transcriptural errors are mostly corrected in silver letters by the original scribe. To St Matthew's Gospel is prefixed Eusebius' Epistle to Carpianus and his Tables of Canons, both imperfect; also lists of the *κεφάλαια μαζορα* and *τίτλοι* in the upper margins of the several leaves, with a subscription to the first Gospel (Ευαγγέλιον κατα ματθαιου). This supplementary matter is written somewhat smaller, but (as the editors judge) by the same hand as the text, although the letters are somewhat more recent in general appearance, and *ι ascriptum* occurs, as it never does in the body of the manuscript: κ also is only twice abridged

in the text, but often in the smaller writing. In the margin of the Greek text the Ammonian sections stand in minute characters over the numbers of the Eusebian canons. The editors afford us many isolated specimens of the readings of Cod. Σ, whence we infer that in text it agrees but slightly with **Σ** or B, but rather with ACΔΠ. 1. 33, or with D and the Latin versions. With the cognate purple manuscript Cod. N it accords so wonderfully, that although one of them cannot have been copied directly from the other, they must have been drawn directly or indirectly from the same source. Strong proofs of the affinity between N and Σ are Matth. xix. 7 ἡμῶν added to ἐνετείλατο; xxi. 8 ἐκ (for ἀπό); Mark vi. 53 ἐκεῖ added to προσω(ο in Σ)ρμισθησαν; vii. 1 οἱ prefixed to ἐλθόντες; *ibid.* 29 ὁ ἰσ added to εἶπεν αὐτῇ; viii. 3 ἐγλυθήσονται; *ibid.* 13 καταλιπὼν for ἀφείς; *ibid.* 18 οὐπω νοεῖτε for καὶ οὐ μνημονεύετε; ix. 3 λευκᾶναι οὕτως; x. 5 ἐπέτρεψεν for ἔγραψεν; xiv. 36 πλὴν before ἀλλ'; xv. 21 omit παράγοντα: in all which places the two manuscripts are either virtually or entirely alone. We find here the usual itacisms, as εἰ for ι, αἰ for ε, η for εἰ and ι, ου for ω, and *vice versa*; even ο for ω, which is rarer in very ancient copies. The so-called Alexandrian forms ἤλαθετε, ἐλθάτω, ἴδαμεν, ἴδαν for verbs, τρίχαι and νύκταν for nouns, ἐκαθερίσθη, λήμψομαι, δεκατέσσες, τεσσαράκοντα, it has in common with all copies approaching it in age.

Manuscripts of the Acts and Catholic Epistles.

Σ. COD. SINAITICUS (described pp. 87—93). A. COD. ALEXANDRINUS (pp. 93—101). B. COD. VATICANUS (pp. 101—117). C. COD. EPHRAEMI (pp. 117—120). D. CODEX BEZÆ (pp. 120—126).

E. CODEX LAUDIANUS 35 is one of the most precious treasures preserved in the Bodleian at Oxford. It is a Latin-Greek copy, with two columns on a page, the Latin version holding the post of honour on the left, and is written in very short *στίχοι*, consisting of from one to three words each (p. 52), the Latin words always standing opposite to the corresponding Greek. This peculiar arrangement points decisively to the West of Europe as its country, notwithstanding the abundance of Alex-

andrian forms has led some to refer it to Egypt. The very large, bold, thick, rude uncials, without break in the words and without accents, lead us up to the end of the sixth century as its date. The Latin is not of Jerome's or the Vulgate version, but is made to correspond closely with the Greek, even in its interpolations and rarest various readings. The contrary supposition that the Greek portion of this codex *Latinised*, or had been altered to coincide with the Latin, is inconsistent with the facts of the case. This manuscript contains only the Acts of the Apostles (from ch. xxvi. 29, *παυλος* to ch. xxviii. 26, *πορευθητι* being lost), and exhibits a remarkable modification of the text, of which we shall speak in Chapter VII. That the book was once in Sardinia, appears from an edict of Flavius Pancratius, *συνθεω απο επαρχων δουξ σαρδινιας*, appended (as also is the Apostles' Creed in Latin, and some other foreign matter) in a later hand: Imperial governors ruled in that island with the title of *dux* from the reign of Justinian A.D. 534 to A.D. 749. It was probably among the Greek volumes brought into England by the fellow-countryman of St Paul, Theodore of Tarsus¹, "the grand old man" as he has been called by one of kindred spirit to his own (Dean Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, Vol. I. p. 150), who came to England as Primate at the age of sixty-six A.D. 668, and died in 690. At all events, Mill (N. T. Proleg. § 1022—6) has rendered it all but certain, that the Venerable Bede [d. 735] had this very codex before him, when he wrote his *Expositio Retractata* of the Acts², and Woide (*Notitia Cod. Alex.* p. 156, &c.) has since alleged 32 additional instances (making above 70 in all) of agreement between them. The manuscript, however, must have been complete when Bede used it, for he cites in the Latin ch. xxvii. 5; xxviii. 2. Tischendorf (*Proleg.* p. xv) adds ch. xxvii. 1, 7, 14, 15, 16, 17: but these last instances are somewhat uncertain. This

¹ Dean Gwynne of Raphoe is so good as to remind me that among the other proper names enumerated by Wetstein and Semler as written on the reverse of the last leaf of this manuscript, *θεωδορος* stands by itself in a hand which may be as old as the seventh century. Common as the name is, the fact is interesting and suggestive. For the orthography compare *κωλωρια* Acts xvi. 12 in Cod. E.

² I see no force in Tischendorf's objection, that if Theodore had brought Cod. E to England, Bede would have used it before he came to write his *Expositio Retractata*.

manuscript, with many others, was presented to the University of Oxford in the year 1636, by its munificent Chancellor, Archbishop Laud. Thomas Hearne, the celebrated antiquary, published a full edition of it in 1715, which is now very scarce, and was long known to be far from accurate. Tischendorf has published a new edition, from two separate collations made by himself in 1854 and 1865, by way of Appendix in the ninth volume of his *Monumenta sacra inedita*, 1870. Cod. E has been stated to have capital letters at the commencement of each of the Euthalian sections, but as the capitals occur at other places where the sense is broken but slightly (e.g. ch. xvii. 20), this circumstance does not prove that those sections were known to the scribe. It is in size 9 inches by 7½, and consists of 226 leaves of 23, 24, 25 or 26 lines each; about 15 leaves are lost: the vellum is rather coarse in quality, and the ink in many places very faint. There seem to be no stops nor breathings, except an aspirate over initial *upsilon* (*ϑ* or *ϕ*, sometimes *ϑ̄* or *ϕ̄*) almost invariably. The shape of *xi* is more complicated than usual (see our *facsimile*, No. 25); the other letters (e.g. *delta* or *psi*) are such as were common in the sixth or early in the seventh century. There are also many changes by a later uncial hand. Mr Hansell (*Ancient Texts*, Oxford 1864) exhibits one whole page in zinco-photography.

F^a. COD. COISLIN. I., *see above*, p. 129.

G. Tischendorf, in his eighth edition of the N. T., assigns this letter (formerly appropriated to Cod. L) to one 8vo. leaf of the seventh century, now at St Petersburg, written in thick uncials without accents, torn from the wooden cover of a Syriac book, and containing Acts ii. 45—iii. 8. It has a few rare and valuable readings. Dr Hort (*Supplement to Tregelles*, p. 1021) cites it as G^a.

H. COD. MUTINENSIS [cxvii.] ii. G. 3, of the Acts, in the Grand Ducal Library at Modena, is an uncial copy of about the ninth century, defective in Act. i. 1—v. 28; ix. 39—x. 19; xiii. 36—xiv. 3 (all supplied by a cursive hand [h], scarcely very recent), and in xxvii. 4—xxviii. 31 (supplied in uncials of about the eleventh century). The Epistles are in cursive letters of the twelfth century, indicated in the Catholic Epistles by h, in

the Pauline by 179. Scholz first collated it loosely, as usual; then Tischendorf in 1843, Tregelles in 1846, afterwards comparing their collations for mutual correction.

I. COD. PETROPOLIT. or TISCHENDORFIAN. II., *see above*, p. 131.

K. COD. MOSQUENSIS, S. Synodi No. 98, is Matthæi's g, and came from the monastery of St Dionysius on Mount Athos. It contains the Catholic Epistles entire, but not the Acts; and the Pauline Epistles are defective only in Rom. x. 18—1 Cor. vi. 13; 1 Cor. viii. 7—11. Matthæi alone has collated this document, and judging from his *facsimile* (Cath. Epp. 1782) it seems to belong to the ninth century. This copy is Scholz's Act. 102, Paul. 117. It is not so thoroughly known but that it is often necessary to cite its readings *ex silentio*.

L (formerly G). COD. BIBLIOTH. ANGELICÆ A. 2. 15, belonging to the Augustinian monks at Rome, formerly "Cardinalis Passionei," contains the Acts from ch. viii. 10, *μῦσ τοῦ θεοῦ* to the end, the Catholic Epistles complete, and the Pauline down to Hebr. xiii. 10, *ὄκ ἔχουσιν*, of a date not earlier than the middle of the ninth century. It was collated in part by Bianchini and Birch, in full by Scholz (1820, J. Paul) and by F. F. Fleck (1833). Tischendorf in 1843, Tregelles in 1845, collated it independently, and subsequently compared their papers, as they have done in several other instances.

M of Gregory (G^b of Dr Hort's *Supplement to Tregelles*, p. 1021) containing fragments of Acts xvi.—xviii. of the eighth or ninth century, was published by Cozza (*Sacr. Bibl. Vetust. Frag. III*: Rome 1877). It was transferred to the Vatican (No. 1670) from the Greek convent of Grotta Ferrata (*see* p. 115).

P. COD. PORPHYRIANUS, is a palimpsest containing the Acts, all the Epistles, the Apocalypse, and a few fragments of 4 Maccabees, of the ninth century, found by Tischendorf in 1863 at St Petersburg in the possession of the Archimandrite (now Bishop) Porphyry, who allowed him to take it to Leipsic to decipher. He has published it at length in his *Monumenta sacra inedita*, Vol. v., VI., whence Tregelles derived its readings for the Pauline Epistles and the Apocalypse. In the latter book it is

especially useful, and generally confirms Codd. AC, though it is often with Cod. \aleph , sometimes against all the rest. It has the $\overset{x}{\alpha\rho}$ and $\overset{\wedge}{\tau\epsilon}$ of Church lessons in the margin (*see* p. 73), and is defective (besides a few words or letters lost here and there) in Acts i. 1—ii. 13; 1 John iii. 19—v. 1; Jude 4—15; Rom. ii. 15—iii. 5; viii. 33—ix. 11; xi. 22—xii. 1; 1 Cor. vii. 16, 17; xii. 23—xiii. 5; xiv. 23—39; Col. iii. 16—iv. 8; 1 Thess. iii. 5—iv. 17; Apoc. xvi. 13—xvii. 1; xx. 1—9; xxii. 6—21. Moreover James ii. 12—21; 2 Pet. i. 20—ii. 5 are barely legible. Mr Hammond (*Outlines of Textual Criticism*) has taken from Tischendorf's fifth volume a neat *facsimile* of it in Acts iv. 10—15, comprising uncials of the latest form, leaning to the right, lying under cursive writing (Heb. vii. 17—25), some four centuries more recent. Dr Hort (*Supplement to Tregelles*, p. xxx) states that in the Acts the text of Cod. P is almost exclusively of a very late type, but that it contains a much larger though varying proportion of various readings elsewhere, except in 1 Peter. The upper or later writing in this manuscript is, for once, available for critical purposes, since it consists of fragments of the commentary of Euthalius (*see* p. 61), and is cited by Tischendorf under the notation of Euthal.^{cod.}

Manuscripts of the Pauline Epistles.

\aleph . CODEX SINAITICUS (described pp. 87—93). A. COD. ALEXANDRINUS (pp. 93—101). B. COD. VATICANUS (pp. 101—117). C. COD. EPHRAEMI (pp. 117—120).

D. COD. CLAROMONTANUS, No. 107 of the Royal Library at Paris, is a Greek-Latin copy of St Paul's Epistles, one of the most ancient and important in existence. Like the Cod. Ephraemi in the same Library it has been fortunate in such an editor as Tischendorf, who published it in 1852 with complete Prolegomena, and a *facsimile* traced by Tregelles. Ours (No. 41) is taken from a photograph of an open leaf, the gift of Dean Burgon. This noble volume is in small quarto, written on 533 leaves of the thinnest and finest vellum: indeed its extraordinary delicacy has caused the writing at the back of

every page to be rather too visible on the other side. The words, both Greek and Latin, are written continuously (except the Latin titles and subscriptions), but in a stichometrical form (*see* p. 52): the Greek, as in Cod. Bezae, stands on the left or first page of the opened book, not on the right, as in the Cod. Laudianus. Each page has but one column of about 21 lines, so that in this copy, as in the Codex Bezae, the Greek and Latin are in parallel lines, but on separate pages. The ink is dark and clear, and otherwise the book is in good condition. It contains all St Paul's Epistles (the Hebrews after Philemon), except Rom. i. 1—7; 27—30, both Greek and Latin: Rom. i. 24—27 in the Latin is supplied in a later but very old hand, as also is 1 Cor. xiv. 13—22 in the Greek: the Latin of 1 Cor. xiv. 8—18; Hebr. xiii. 21—23 is lost. The Epistle to the Hebrews has been erroneously imputed by some to a later scribe, inasmuch as it is not included in the list of the sacred books and in the number of their *στίχοι* or *versus*, which stand immediately *before* the Hebrews in this codex¹: but the same list overlooks the Epistle to the Philippians, which has never been doubted to be St Paul's: in this manuscript, however, the Epistle to the Colossians precedes that to the Philippians. Our earliest notice of it is derived from the Preface to Beza's 3rd edition of the N. T. (20 Feb. 1582): he there describes it as of equal antiquity with his copy of the Gospels (D), and states that it had been found "in Claromontano apud Bellovacos cœnobio," at Clermont near Beauvais. Although Beza sometimes through inadvertence calls his codex of the Gospels Claromontanus, there seems no reason for disputing with Wetstein the correctness of his account (*see* p. 122, note 2), though it throws no light on the manuscript's early history. From Beza it passed into the possession of Claude Dupuy, Councillor of Paris, probably on Beza's death [1605]: thence to his sons Jacques and Pierre Dupuy: before the death of Jacques (who was the King's Librarian) in 1656, it had been bought by Louis XIV. for the Royal Library at Paris. In 1707, John Aymont, an apostate

¹ The names and order of the books of the New Testament in this most curious and venerable list stand thus: Matthew, John, Mark, Luke, Romans, 1, 2 Corinth., Galat., Efes., 1, 2 Tim., Tit., Colos., *Filimon*, 1, 2 Pet., James, 1, 2, 3 John, Jude, Barnabas' Ep., John's Revelation, Act. Apost., Pastor [Hermas], Actus Paul., Revelatio Petri. *See* p. 95.

priest, stole 35 leaves; one, which he disposed of in Holland, was restored in 1720 by its possessor Stosch; the rest were sold to that great collector, Harley, Earl of Oxford, but sent back in 1729 by his son, who had learnt their shameful story. Beza made some, but not a considerable, use of this document; in Walton's Polyglott were inserted 2245 readings sent by the Dupuys to Ussher (Mill, N.T. Proleg. § 1284); Wetstein collated it twice in early life (1715—6); Tregelles examined it in 1849, and compared his results with the then unpublished transcript of Tischendorf, which proved on its appearance (1852) the most difficult, as well as one of the most important, of his critical works; so hard it had been found at times to determine satisfactorily the original readings of a manuscript which had been corrected by *nine* different hands, ancient and modern. The date of the codex is doubtless the sixth century, in the middle or towards the end of it. The Latin letters, especially *d*, are the latest in form (*facsimile* No. 41, 1 Cor. xiii. 5—8), and are much like those in the Cod. Bezae (No. 42), which in many points Cod. Claromontanus strongly resembles. We have noticed many of its peculiarities in the preceding section (pp. 32—39), and need not here repeat them. *Delta* and *pi* look more ancient even than in Cod. A: the uncials are simple, square, regular and beautiful, of about the size of those in Codd. CD, and larger than in Cod. B. The stichometry forbids our assigning it to a period earlier than the end of the fifth century (p. 51), while other circumstances connected with the Latin version tend to put it a little lower still. The apostrophus is frequent (p. 47), but there are few stops (p. 46) or abridgements; no breathings or accents are *primâ manu*. Initial letters, placed at the beginning of books or sections, are plain, and not much larger than the rest. The comparative correctness of the Greek text, and its Alexandrian forms, have caused certain critics to refer us as usual to Egypt for its country: the Latin text is more faulty, and shews comparative ignorance of the language: yet what use a Latin version could be except in Africa or western Europe it were hard to imagine. This Latin is more independent of the Greek, and less altered from it than in Codd. Bezae or Laudian., wherein it has little critical value: that of Cod. Claromont. better represents the African type of the Old Latin. Of the corrections, a few were made by the original scribe when

revising (*see* p. 53); a hand of the seventh century went through the whole (D**); two others follow; then in sharp black uncials of the ninth or tenth century another made more than two thousand critical changes in the text, and added stops and all the breathings and accents (D***); another D*** (among other changes) added to the Latin subscriptions. D^b supplied Rom. i. 27—30 very early; D^c, a later hand, 1 Cor. xiv. 13—22. Tischendorf distinguishes several others besides these.

E. COD. SANGERMANENSIS is another Greek-Latin manuscript, and takes its name from the Abbey of St Germain des Prez near Paris. Towards the end of the last century the Abbey (which at the Revolution had been turned into a saltpetre manufactory) was burnt down, and many of its books were *lost*. In 1805 Matthæi found this copy, as might almost have been anticipated, at St Petersburg, where it is now deposited. The volume is a large 4to, the Latin and Greek in parallel columns on the same page, the Greek standing on the left; its uncials are coarse, large, and thick, not unlike those in Cod. E of the Acts, but of later shape, with breathings and accents *primâ manu*, of about the tenth, or late in the ninth, century¹. It was used for the Oxford New Testament of 1675: Mill obtained some extracts from it, and noted its obvious connection with Cod. Claromontanus: Wetstein thoroughly collated it; and not only he but Sabatier and Griesbach perceived that it was, at least in the Greek, nothing better than a mere transcript of Cod. Claromontanus, made by some ignorant person later than the corrector indicated by D**. Muralt's endeavours to shake this conclusion have not satisfied better judges; indeed the facts are too numerous and too plain to be resisted. Thus, while in Rom. iv. 25 Cod. D reads *δικαιωσιν* (accentuated *δικαίωσιν* by D***), in which D** changes *ν* into *νην*, the writer of Cod. E adopts *δικαίωσινην* with its monstrous accent: in 1 Cor. xv. 5 Cod. D reads *μετα ταυτα τοις ενδεκα*, D*** *ειτα τοις δωδεκα* (again observe the accents), out of which Cod. E makes up *μετα ταυειτα τοις δωενδεκα*. In Gal. iv. 31 Cod. D has *διο*, which is changed by D*** into

¹ *Facsimiles* of this manuscript are given by Semler in his edition of Wetstein's Prolegomena (1764, Nos. 8, 9). Bianchini's estimate of its age (Evangelium Quadruplex, Tom. ii. fol. 591. 2), the 7th century, is certainly too high.

ἀρα: Cod. E mixes up the two into *διἀραο*. Compare Tischendorf's notes on Eph. ii. 19; Hebr. x. 17, 33, and Dr Hort's longer specimen, Rom. xv. 31—3 (Introd. p. 254). The Latin version also is borrowed from Cod. D, but is more mixed, and may be of some critical use: the Greek is manifestly worthless, and should long since have been removed from the list of authorities. This copy is defective, Rom. viii. 21—33; xi. 15—25; 1 Tim. i. 1—vi. 15; Hebr. xii. 8—xiii. 25.

F*. COD. COISLIN. I. (*see* p. 129).

F. COD. AUGIENSIS in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge (B. xvii. 1), is another Greek-Latin manuscript on 136 leaves of good vellum 4to (the *signatures* proving that seven more are lost, *see* p. 27), 9 inches by 7½, with the two languages in parallel columns of 28 lines on each page, the Greek being always inside, the Latin next the edge of the book. It is called from the monastery of Augia Divea or Major (Reichenau, or *rich meadow*), on a fertile island in the lower part of Lake Constance, to which it long appertained, and where it may even have been written, a thousand years since. By notices at the beginning and end we can trace it through the hands of G. M. Wepfer of Schaffhausen and of L. Ch. Mieg, who covered many of its pages with Latin notes wretchedly scrawled, but allowed Wetstein to examine it. In 1718 Bentley was induced by Wetstein to buy it at Heidelberg for 250 Dutch florins, and both he and Wetstein collated the Greek portion, the latter carelessly, but Bentley somewhat more fully in the margin of a Greek Testament (Oxon. 1675) still preserved in Trinity College (B. xvii. 8). Tischendorf in 1842, Tregelles in 1845, re-examined the book (which had been placed where it now is on the death of Bentley's nephew in 1787), and drew attention to the Latin version: in 1859 Scrivener published an edition of the Codex in common type, with Prolegomena and a photograph of one page (1 Tim. iii. 14—iv. 5). The Epistles of St Paul are defective in Rom. i. 1—iii. 19; and the Greek only in 1 Cor. iii. 8—16; vi. 7—14; Col. ii. 1—8; Philem. 21—25; in which four places the Latin stands in its own column with no Greek over against it. In the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Greek being quite lost, the Latin occupies both columns: this Epistle alone has an Argument, almost verbatim

the same as we read in the great Cod. Amiatinus of the Vulgate. At the end of the Epistle, and on the same page (fol. 139, *verso*), commences a kind of Postscript (having little connection with the sacred text), the larger portion of which is met with under the title of "Dicta Abbatis Pinophi," in the works of Rabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mayence, who died in A. D. 856; from which circumstance the Cod. Augiensis has been referred to the ninth century. Palæographical arguments also would lead us to the same conclusion. The Latin version (a modification of the Vulgate in its purest form, though somewhat tampered with in parts to make it suit the Greek text) is written in the cursive minuscule character common in the age of Charlemagne. The Greek must have been taken from an archetype with the words continuously written; for not only are they miserably ill divided by the unlearned German¹ scribe, but his design (not always acted upon) was to put a single middle point at the end of each word. The Latin is exquisitely written, the Greek uncials are neat, but evidently the work of an unpractised hand, which soon changes from weariness. The shapes of *eta*, *theta*, *pi*, and other testing letters are such as we might have expected from the date; some others have an older look. Contrary to the more ancient custom, capitals, small but numerous, occur in the *middle* of the lines in both languages. Of the ordinary breathings² and accents there are no traces. Here and there we meet with a straight line, inclined between the horizontal and the acute accent, placed over an initial vowel, usually when it should be aspirated, but not always (e. g. *ἰδιον* 1 Cor. vi. 18). Over *ι* and *υ* double or single points, or a comma, are frequently placed, especially if they begin a syllable; and occasionally a large comma or kind of circumflex over *ι*, *ει*, and some other vowels and diphthongs. The arrangement of the Greek forbids punctuation there; in the Latin we find the single middle point as a colon or after an abridgement, the semicolon (;) sometimes, the note of interrogation (?) when needed. Besides the universal forms of abridgement (*see* p. 48), *κ* and *ϣ* are frequent in the Greek, but no others: in the Latin the abbreviations are numerous, and some of them unusual: Scrivener

¹ He betrays his nationality by placing "waltet" *prima manu* over the first *εξουσιαζει*, 1 Cor. vii. 4.

² In 1 Tim. iv. 2 the Latin *h* is inserted *secunda manu* before *υνομιση*.

(Cod. Augiensis Proleg. pp. xxxi.—ii.) has drawn up a full list of them. This copy abounds as much as any with real variations from the common text, and with numberless errors of the pen, itacisms of vowels, and permutations of consonants. It exhibits many corrections, a few *primâ manu*, some unfortunately very recent, but by far the greater number in a hand almost contemporary with the manuscript, which has also inserted over the Greek, in 106 places, Latin renderings differing from those in the parallel column, but which in 86 of these 106 instances agree with the Latin of the sister manuscript

G. COD. BOERNERIANUS, so called from a former possessor, but now in the Royal Library at Dresden. In the 16th century it belonged to Paul Junius of Leyden: it was bought dear at the book-sale of Peter Francius, Professor at Amsterdam, in 1705, by C. F. Boerner, a Professor at Leipsic, who lent it to Kuster to enrich his edition of Mill (1710), and subsequently to Bentley. The latter so earnestly wished to purchase it as a companion to Cod. F, that though he received it in 1719, it could not be recovered from him for five years, during which he was constantly offering high sums for it¹: a copy, but not in Bentley's hand, had been already made (Trin. Coll. B. xvii. 2). Cod. G was published in full by Matthæi in 1791, in common type, with two *facsimile* pages (1 Cor. ii. 9—iii. 3; 1 Tim. i. 1—10), and his edition is believed to be very accurate; Anger, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Böttiger and others who have examined it have only expressly indicated three errors². Rettig has abundantly proved that, as it is exactly of the same size, so it once formed part of the same volume with Cod. Δ (*see* p. 151 and note): they must date towards the end of the ninth century, and may very possibly

¹ Boerner's son tells the tale 30 years afterwards with amusing querulousness in his *Catalogus Bibl. Boern. Lips. 1754*, p. 6, cited by Matthæi *Cod. Boern. p. xviii*. But there must have been some misunderstanding on both sides, for it appears from a manuscript note in his copy of the Oxford N. T. of 1675 (Trin. Coll. B. xvii. 8), that Bentley considered Cod. G his own property; since after describing Cod. F before the Epistle to the Romans as his own, and as commencing at Rom. iii. 19, he adds "Varis lectiones ex altero nostro MSto, ejusdem veteris exemplaris apographo."

² viz. *ημας* for *υμας*, Rom. xvi. 17; *μετρους* for *μερους*, Eph. iv. 16; *εσκοτισμενος* for *-μενος*, iv. 18. Add to these *στυμα* for *συμα*, 1 Cor. ix. 27, as cited by Bentley (*Ellis, Critica Sacra*, p. 86).

have been written in the monastery of St Gall (where Δ still remains) by some of the Irish monks who flocked to those parts. That Cod. G has been in such hands appears from some very curious Irish lines at the foot of one of Matthæi's plates (fol. 23), which, after having long perplexed learned men, have at length been translated for Dr Reeves, the eminent Celtic scholar¹. All that we have said respecting the form of Cod. Δ applies to this portion of it: the Latin version (a specimen of the Old Latin, but as in Codd. Bezzæ and Laudianus much changed to suit the Greek) is cursive and inter-linear; the Greek uncials coarse and peculiar; the punctuation chiefly a stop at the end of the words, which have no breathings nor accents. Its affinity to the Cod. Augiensis has no parallel in this branch of literature. Scrivener has noted all the differences between them at the foot of each page in his edition of Cod. F: they amount to but 1982 places, whereof 578 are mere blunders of the scribe, 967 changes of vowels or itacisms, 166 interchanges of consonants, 71 grammatical or orthographical forms; the remaining 200 are real various readings, 32 of them relating to the article. While in Cod. F (whose first seven leaves are lost) the text commences at Rom. iii. 19, *μω' λεγει,*

¹ By John O'Donovan, Editor of Irish Annals. I have been favoured with corrections by the late Dr Todd of Trinity College, Dublin, and recently by the Rev. Robert King of Ballymena, whose version I have ventured to adopt.

Téicht do róim [téicht do róim]	To come to Rome, to come to Rome,
Mór saido beic torbai	Much of trouble, little of profit,
Inri chondaigi hifoss	The thing thou seekest here,
Manimbera latt ni fog bai	If thou bring not with thee, thou findest not.
Mór báis mór baile	Great folly, great madness,
Mór coil caille mór mire	Great ruin of sense, great insanity,
Olais airchenn téicht décaib	Since thou hast set out for death,
Beith fé étoil maic Maire.	That thou shouldest be in disobedi- ence to the Son of Mary.

The second stanza intimates that as the pilgrimage to Rome is at the risk of life, it is folly not to be at peace with Christ before we set out. The opening words "To come to Rome" imply that the verses were written there by some disappointed pilgrim. Since the handwriting resembles that of the interlinear Latin, Mr King suggests that both may have been the work of the Scottish Bishop Marcus, or of his nephew Moengal (Rettig, Cod. Δ , Prolegomena, p. xx), who called at St Gall on their return from Rome, whence Marcus went homewards, leaving his books and Moengal behind him.

this portion is found complete in Cod. G, except Rom. i. 1—5; ii. 16—25. All the other lacunæ of Cod. F occur also in Cod. G, which ends at Philem. 20 *ἐν χρω*: there is no Latin version to supply these gaps in Cod. G, but a blank space is always left, sufficient to contain what is missing. At the end of Philemon G writes *Πρὸς λαουδακησας*^{ad laudiamenses} *ἄρχεται*^{incipit} *ἐπιστολῆς*^{epistola}, but neither that writing nor the Epistle to the Hebrews follows. It seems tolerably plain that one of these manuscripts was not copied immediately from the other, for while they often accord even in the strangest errors of the pen that men unskilled in Greek could fall into, their division of the Greek words, though equally false and absurd, is often quite different: it results therefore that they are independent transcripts of the same venerable archetype (probably stichometrical and some centuries older than themselves) which was written without any division between the words². From the form of the letters

¹ Here *αυ* standing to represent *au* shews that the Greek is derived from the Latin, not *vice versa*.

² That Cod. G cannot have been taken from Cod. F appears both from matters connected with their respective Latin versions, and because F contains no trace of the vacant lines left in G at the end of Rom. xiv. to receive ch. xvi. 25—27. But Dr Hort (Journal of Philology, Vol. III. No. 5, pp. 67, 68 note) has come to think that F is a mere transcript of G, the scribe of the former being by far the more ignorant of the two. He meets our argument to the contrary stated above in the text, by alleging that in respect to the division of words F is free from no outrageous portent found in G, while it has to answer for many of its own. But (to take our examples from one open leaf) if the writer of F were so helplessly ignorant as Dr Hort represents, how could he have set right G's error in 1 Tim. iv. 7, reading *καὶ ἡγραυδεις* for G's *καὶ αἰγραυδεις*? Again, if F had before him an undivided manuscript, one can easily account for such monsters as in 1 Tim. iv. 2 *καὶ καντη ριασ μενων* F (*photographed page*), but no one could possibly have so written with G's *κεκαντηριασμενων* before him. That the two copies were compared together in after times seems evident from the fact stated in p. 169, that Latin renderings from G stand in 86 places above the Greek of F. It was at the same time perhaps that some ill-divided words in F were corrected by means of a loop from the Greek of G: e.g. 2 Cor. i. 3, *ουκτιρμων* G, *ουκ τιρμων* F; ii. 14, *θριαμβενοντι* G, *θριαμ βεδοντι* F; iv. 9, *εκαταλιμπανομενοι* G, *εν καταλιμπανομενοι* F; ver. 15, *πλεονασα* G, *πλεονα σασα* F. "Mr Hort's view, that F was copied directly from G" (writes Bishop Lightfoot very gently, Journal of Philology, Vol. III. No. 6, p. 210, note), "deserves consideration, and may prove true, though his arguments do not seem quite conclusive." Lightfoot elsewhere pronounces that "the divergent phenomena of the two Latin texts" seem unfavourable to Dr Hort's hypothesis (Ep. to Coloss. p. 355, note 2). But the latter still adheres to it with characteristic firmness: "we believe F to be as certainly in its Greek text a transcript of G [as E is of D]; if

and other circumstances Cod. F may be deemed somewhat but not much the older; its corrector *secundâ manu* evidently had both the Greek and the Latin of Cod. G before him, and Rabanus, in whose works the *Dicta Pinophi* are preserved (p. 168), was the great antagonist of Godeschalk, on whom the annotator of Codd. ΔG bears so hard. Cod. G is in 4to, of 99 leaves, with 21 lines in each. The line indicating breathing (if such be its use, *see* p. 168) and the mark > employed to fill up spaces (p. 49), are more frequent in it than in F.

H. COD. COISLIN. 202 is a very precious fragment of 14 leaves, 12 of which are in the Imperial Library at Paris, two having found their way to St Petersburg after the hasty removal of the manuscripts from the Abbey of St Germain des Prez, when Cod. E disappeared (*above*, p. 166). The leaves at Paris contain 1 Cor. x. 22—29; xi. 9—16; 1 Tim. iii. 7—13; Tit. i. 1—3; 15—ii. 5; iii. 13—15; Hebr. ii. 11—16; iii. 13—18; iv. 12—15; those at St Petersburg Gal. i. 4—10; ii. 9—14; in all 56 verses. They are in 4to, with large square uncials of about 16 lines on a page, and date from the sixth century. Breathings and accents are added by a later hand, which retouched this copy (*see* Silvestre, Paléogr. Univ. Nos. 63, 64, and *above*, p. 26). These leaves, which comprise one of our best authorities for stichometrical writing (p. 52), were used in A.D. 1218 to bind another book on Mount Athos, and thence came into the library of Coislin, Bishop of Metz. Montfaucon has published Cod. H in his *Bibliotheca Coisliniana*, but Tischendorf, who transcribed it, projected a fuller and more accurate edition. He observed at Paris in 1865 an additional passage, 2 Cor. iv. 4—6 (*Monum. sacr. ined.* Vol. IX. p. xiv. n.), and cites Cod. H in his eighth edition on 1 Tim. vi. 19; Hebr. x. 1—6; 34—38. The subscriptions, which appear due to Euthalius of Sulci¹, written in vermillion, are not retouched, and consequently have neither breathings nor accents. Besides arguments to the Epistles, we copy the following final subscription from Tischendorf (N. T. 1859, p. clxxxix.): *ἔγραψα καὶ ἐξεθέμην κατὰ δύναμιν στειχηρὸν τόδε τὸ τεύχος παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου πρὸς ἐγγραμμὸν*

not, it is an inferior copy of the same immediate exemplar" (Introd. p. 150). Yet why "inferior"?

¹ *See* p. 61, note 1.

καὶ εὐκατάληπτου ἀνάγνωσιν. τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀδελφῶν παρῶν ἀπάντων τολμῆς συγγνώμην αἰτῶ. εὐχὴ τῇ ὑπὲρ ἐμῶν τὴν συνπεριφορὰν κομιζόμενος ἀντεβλήθη δὲ ἡ βιβλος πρὸς τὸ ἐν καισαρίᾳ ἀντίγραφον τῆς βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ ἀγίου παμφίλου χειρὶ γεγραμμένον αὐτοῦ (*see above*, p. 53). From this subscription we may conclude with Dr Field (Proleg. in Hexapla Origenis, p. xcix) that the noble Library at Cæsarea was still safe in the sixth century, though it may have perished A.D. 638, when that city was taken by the Saracens.

I. COD. TISCHENDORFIAN. II. at St Petersburg (*see* p. 123). Add also two large leaves of the sixth century, elegantly written, without breathings or accents, containing 1 Cor. i. 20—ii. 12. Described by Tischendorf, *Notitia Cod. Sin.* Append. p. 50, but not cited in his eighth edition of the N. T.

K. COD. MOSQUENSIS (*see* p. 162).

L. COD. ANGELICUS at Rome (*see* p. 162.)

M. CODEx RUBER is peculiar for the beautifully bright red colour of the ink¹, the elegance of the small uncial characters, and the excellency and critical value of the text. Two folio leaves containing Hebr. i. 1—iv. 3; xii. 20—xiii. 25, once belonged to Uffenbach, then to J. C. Wolff, who bequeathed them to the Public Library (Johanneum) of Hamburg (*see* Cod. H of the Gospels, p. 130). To the same manuscript pertain fragments of two leaves used in binding Cod. Harleian. 5613 in the British Museum, and seen at once by Griesbach, who first collated them (*Symbol. Crit.* Vol. II. p. 162, &c.), to be portions of the Hamburg fragment. Each page in both contains two columns, of 45 lines each in the Hamburg, of 38 in the London leaves. The latter comprise 1 Cor. xv. 52—2 Cor. i. 15; 2 Cor. x. 13—xii. 5; reckoning both fragments, 196 verses in all. Tischendorf has since found one leaf more. Henke in 1800 edited the Hamburg portion, Tregelles collated it twice, and Tischendorf in 1855 published the text of both in full in his *Anecdota Sacra et Profana*. The letters are a little unusual in form, perhaps about the tenth century in date; but though sometimes joined in the same word, can

¹ Scholz describes Codd. 196, 362, 366 of the Gospels as also written in red ink. See too Evan. 254.

hardly be called *semicursive*. Our *facsimile* (Plate XII. No. 34) is from the London fragment: the graceful, though peculiar, shapes both of *alpha* and *mu* (*see* p. 36) closely resemble those in some writing of about the same age, added to the venerable Leyden Octateuch, on a page published in *facsimile* by Tischendorf (*Monum. sacr. ined.* Vol. III.). Accents and breathings are given pretty correctly and constantly: *iota* ascript occurs three times (2 Cor. i. 1; 4; Hebr. xiii. 21)¹; only ten *itacisms* occur, and *ν ἐφέλευστικόν* (as it is called) is rare. The usual stop is the single point in its three positions, with a change in power, as in Cod. E of the Gospels. The interrogative (;) occurs once (Hebr. iii. 17), and > is often repeated to fill up space (*see* p. 49), or, in a smaller size, to mark quotations (*see* p. 62, note). After the name of each of the Epistles (2 Cor. and Hebr.) in their titles we read *επεθεισα ὡς εν πινακι*, which Tischendorf thus explains; that whereas it was customary to prefix an argument to each epistle, these words, originally employed to introduce the argument, were retained even when the argument was omitted. Henke's account of the expression looks a little less forced, that this manuscript was set forth ὡς εν πινακι, that is, in vermilion, after the pattern of Imperial letters patent.

N. (O^d Hort). Two leaves of the ninth century at St Petersburg, containing Gal. v. 14—vi. 2; Hebr. v. 8—vi. 10.

O. (N^o Tisch.). FRAGMENTA MOSQUENSIA used as early as A.D. 975 in binding a volume of Gregory Nazianzen now at Moscow (S. Synodi 61). Matthæi describes them on Hebr. x. 1: they contain only the 12 verses Hebr. x. 1—3; 3—7; 32—34; 35—38. These very ancient leaves may possibly be as old as the sixth century, for their letters resemble in shape those in Cod. H which the later hand has so coarsely renewed; but they are more probably a little later.

¹ Griesbach (*Symbol. Critic.* Vol. II. p. 166) says that in the Harleian fragment "Iota bis tantum aut ter subscriptur, semel postscriptur, plerumque omititur;" overlooking the second ascript. Scrivener repeats this statement about a subscript (Cod. Augiens. Introd. p. lxxii.), believing he had verified it: but Tischendorf cannot see the subscripts, nor can Scrivener on again consulting Harl. 5613 for the purpose. Tregelles too says, "I have not seen a subscribed iota in any uncial document" (Printed Text, p. 158, note).

O^a. One unpublished double leaf brought by Tischendorf to St Petersburg from the East, of the sixth century, containing 2 Cor. i. 20—ii. 12.

O^b of the same date, at Moscow, contains Eph. iv. 1—18.

P. COD. PORPHYRIANUS (described above, p. 162).

Q. Tischendorf also discovered in 1862 at St Petersburg five or six leaves of St Paul written on papyrus, so that our statement in p. 24 must be slightly modified. From the extreme brittleness of the leaves only portions can be read. He cites them at 1 Cor. vi. 13, 14; vii. 3, 13, 14. These also Porphyry brought from the East.

R. Cod. Cryptoferratensis (*see* p. 115) is a fragment of about the eighth century, cited by Caspar René Gregory as first used by Tischendorf.

Tischendorf also cites a palimpsest at St Petersburg in his eighth edition (2 Cor. xi. 22).

John Peckover of Wisbeach described to Dean Burgon in 1875 a manuscript of the Gospels whose first few leaves are a palimpsest of St Paul's Epistles, of the ninth or tenth century.

Manuscripts of the Apocalypse.

⌘. COD. SINAITICUS (described above, pp. 87—93). A. COD. ALEXANDRINUS (described above, pp. 93—101).

B. COD. VATICANUS 2066 (formerly 105 in the Library of the Basilian monks in the city) was judiciously substituted by Wetstein for the modern portion of the great Vatican MS., collated by Mico, and published in 1799 by Ford in his "Appendix" to Codex Alexandrinus, as also in 1868 by Vercellone and Cozza (*see* p. 113)¹. It is an uncial copy of about

¹ Tregelles, wishing to reserve the letter B for the great Codex Vaticanus 1209, called this copy first L (N. T. Part iv. p. iii.), and afterwards Q (N. T. Part vi. p. i). Surely Mr Vansittart was right (*Journal of Philology*, Vol. II. No. 3, p. 41) in protesting against a change so needless and inconvenient: nor has Tischendorf adopted it in his eighth edition of the N. T.

the end of the eighth century, and the volume also contains in the same hand Homilies of Basil the Great and of Gregory of Nyssa, &c. It was first known from a notice and *facsimile* in Bianchini's *Evangeliarium Quadruplex* (1748), Vol. II. p. 525: Wetstein was promised a collation of it by Cardinal Quirini, who seems to have met with unexpected hindrances, as the papers only arrived after the text of the New Testament was printed, and then proved very loose and defective. When Tischendorf was at Rome in 1843, though forbidden to collate it afresh (in consequence, as we now know, of its having been already printed in Mai's then unpublished volumes of the *Codex Vaticanus*), he was permitted to make a *facsimile* of a few verses, and while thus employed he so far contrived to elude the watchful custodian, as to compare the whole manuscript with a modern Greek Testament. The result was given in his *Monumenta sacra inedita* (1846) pp. 407—432, with a good *facsimile*; but (as was natural under the unpromising circumstances — "*arrepta potius quam lecta*" is his own confession) Tregelles in 1845 was able to observe several points which he had overlooked, and more have come to light since Mai's edition has appeared. In 1866, however, Tischendorf was allowed to transcribe this document at leisure, and re-published it in full in his Appendix N. T. *Vaticani*, 1869, pp. 1—20.

This Codex is now known to contain the whole of the Apocalypse, a fact which the poor collation that Wetstein managed to procure had rendered doubtful. It is rather an octavo than a folio or quarto; the uncials being of a peculiar kind, simple and unornamented, leaning a little to the right (*see* p. 39, note): they hold a sort of middle place between square and oblong characters. The shape of *beta* is peculiar, the two loops to the right nowhere touching each other, and *psi* has degenerated into the form of a cross (*see* Plate III, No. 7): *delta*, *theta*, *xi* are also of the latest uncial fashion. The breathings and accents are *primâ manu*, and pretty correct; the rule of the grammarians respecting the change of power of the single point in punctuation according to its change of position (*above*, p. 46) is now regularly observed. The scarcity of old copies of the Apocalypse renders this uncial of some importance, and it often confirms the readings of the older codices \aleph AC, though on the whole it resembles them considerably less than does

Cod. P, and agrees in preference with the later or more ordinary cursives.

C. CODEX EPHRAEMI (described above, pp. 117—120).

P. CODEX PORPHYRIANUS (described above, p. 162).

Note. Of the three great uncials which contain the Apocalypse, $\aleph A$ are complete, but C has lost 171 verses out of 405. In the 286 places wherein the three are available, and Lachmann, Tregelles, and Tischendorf, one or all, depart from the Received text, $\aleph AC$ agree 52 times, $\aleph A$ 17, $\aleph C$ 26, AC 82, and this last combination supplies the best readings: \aleph stands alone 23 times, A 59, C 27. When C has failed us $\aleph A$ agree 52 times and differ 88.

SECTION III.

On the Cursive Manuscripts of the Greek Testament.

The later manuscripts of the Greek Testament, written in cursive characters from the tenth down to the fifteenth century or later, are too numerous to be minutely described in an elementary work like the present. We shall therefore speak of them with all possible brevity, dwelling only on a few which present points of especial interest, and employing certain abridgements, a list of which we subjoin for the reader's convenience¹.

Abbreviations used in the following Catalogue.

Am. denotes that a manuscript has the so-called Ammonian sections in the margin. *Eus.* that under them stand the Eusebian canons. *Eus. t.* that a table of these canons is prefixed to the Gospels, and if the Epistle to Carpianus precede, *Carp.* stands before *Eus. t.* *κεφ.* indicates that the numbers of the *κεφάλαια majora* stand in the margin. *τίτλ.* that the *τίτλοι* are given at the head or foot of the pages. *κεφ. t.* that tables of the *κεφάλαια* are prefixed to each book. *lect.* that the book is adapted for Church-reading by notices of the proper lessons, feasts &c. in the margin, or above, or below, or interspersed with the text. *men.* that a menology, or calendar of Saints' Days, is found at the beginning or end of the book. *syn.* that a synaxarion, or calendar of the daily lessons (more strictly called *eclogadion*) throughout the year is given. *mut.* that the copy described is mutilated. *pict.* that it is illuminated with pictures &c. *prol.* that it contains prologues or *ὑποθέσεις* before the several books. The books are all written on parchment or vellum, unless *chart.* (paper) be expressly named.

N.B. The numerals within brackets which immediately follow the name of each manuscript represent the date, whether fixed by

¹ Very many corrections have been made in the following Catalogue as well from investigations of my own as from information kindly furnished to me by Mr H. Bradshaw, University Librarian at Cambridge, by Professor Hort, by Mr A. A. Vansittart, late Fellow of Trinity College there [d. 1882], by Mr W. Kelly, and especially by Dean Burgon, to whom the present edition is more deeply indebted than it would be possible to acknowledge in detail. His series of Letters addressed to me in the *Guardian* newspaper (1873) contains but a part of the help he has afforded towards the preparation of this and the second edition.

a subscription in the book itself, or approximated to by other means: e.g. [XIII] indicates a book of the 13th century. The names within parentheses indicate the collators of each manuscript, and if it has been satisfactorily examined, an asterisk is prefixed to the number by which it is known (*see* p. 76). If the copy contain other portions of the New Testament, its notation in those portions is always given.

(1) *Manuscripts of the Gospels.*

*1. (Act. 1, Paul. 1). Codex Basiliensis A. N. iv. 2 (formerly B. vi. 27) at Basle [x, but Burgon thinks XII or XIII] 8°, *τιτλ., prol., syn., pict.* Among the illuminations were what have been said to be pictures of the Emperor Leo the Wise [886—911] and his son Constantine Porphyrogenitus, but all the beautiful miniatures were stolen prior to 1860—2, except one before St Luke's Gospel. Its later history is the same as that of Cod. E of the Gospels (*see* pp. 127—8): it was known to Erasmus, who but little used or valued it: it was borrowed by Reuchlin, a few extracts given by Bengel (*Bas. γ*), collated by Wetstein, and recently by C. L. Roth and Tregelles, who have compared their results. Our *facsimile* (No. 23), which we owe to Dean Burgon, gives an excellent notion of the elegant and minute style of writing, which is fully furnished with breathings, accents, and a script: there are 38 lines in each page. The initial letters are gilt, and on the first page of each Gospel the full point is a large gilt ball. In the Gospels the text is very remarkable, adhering frequently to the uncials Codd. BL and such cursives as 118, 131, and especially 209.

2. Cod. Basil. A. N. iv. 1 (formerly B. vi. 25) [xv., or earlier] is the inferior manuscript chiefly used by Erasmus for his first edition of the N. T. (1516), with press corrections by his hand, and barbarously scored with red chalk to suit his pages. The monks at Basle had bought it for two Rhenish florins; and dear enough, in Michaelis' judgment. (Bengel, *Bas. β*, Wetstein.) Yet upon consulting it at places where Erasmus went worst wrong (e.g. *εὐρον* Matth. ii. 11), it is found not to be the copy which misled him.

3. (Act. 3, Paul. 3). Cod. Corsendonck. [XII] 4°, once belonging to a convent at Corsendonck near Turnhout, now in the Imperial Library at Vienna (Forlos. 15, Kollar. 5): *syn., Eus. t., prol., pict.* It was lent to Erasmus for his second edition in 1519, as he testifies on the first leaf (Alter). It had been collated before Alter by J. Walker for Bentley, when in "the Dominican Library, Brussels." This collation is unpublished (Trin. Coll. B. xvii. 34): Ellis, *Bentleii Critica Sacra*, p. xxix.

4. Cod. Regius 84 [XII] 4°, in the Royal Library at Paris (designated RI by Tischendorf), was rightly recognised by Lelong as Robert Stephen's *γ*' (*see* Chap. v.). Mill notices its affinity to the Latin versions and the Complutensian edition (N. T. *Prol.* § 1161); *mut.* in Matth. ii. 9—20; John i. 49—iii. 11; 49 verses. It is clumsily written and contains *syn.* and extracts from some Fathers (Scholz).

5. (Act. 5, Paul. 5). Regius 106 [xii] is Stephen's δ': 4°, *prol.* Carefully written and full of flourishes (Wetstein, Scholz).

6. (Act. 6, Paul. 6). Regius 112 [xi] is Stephen's ε'; in text it much resembles Codd. 4 and 5. 12°, *syn.* with St Chrysostom's Liturgy, *prol.*, *κεφ. t.* (Wetstein, Griesbach, Scholz). This exquisite manuscript is written in characters so small, that some pages require a glass to read them.

7. Regius 71 [xi] is Stephen's σ'. 4°, *prol., syn., Carp., Eus. t., pict., τράλ.*, with metrical paraphrase, very full *lect.* In style not unlike Cod. 4, but neater (Wetst., Scholz).

8. Regius 49 [xi] fol., proved by Mr Vansittart to be Stephen's ζ': beautifully written in two columns on the page. *Carp., Eus. t., Am., Eus., syn.* (Wetst., Scholz).

9. Regius 83 [dated A. D. 1168, when "Manuel Porphyrogenitus was ruler of Constantinople, Amauri of Jerusalem, William II. of Sicily": this note (derived from Wetstein) is now nearly obliterated] 4°, is probably Stephen's ιβ'. *Carp., Eus. t., Am., Eus., prol., syn., mut.* (first leaf of S. John). It once belonged to Peter Stella. The style is rather barbarous, and ornamentation peculiar (Kuster's Paris 3, Scholz).

10. Regius 91, olim $\frac{2865}{1}$ [xiii or later] 4°, given in 1439 to a library of Canons Regular at Verona by Dorotheus Archbishop of Mitylene, when he came to the Council of Florence. Scholz tells us that it was "antea Joannis Huraultii Boistallerii." Griesbach mistook this copy for Reg. 95, olim $\frac{2865}{3}$, which is Kuster's Paris 1 and Wetstein's Cod. 10, being Cod. 285 of Scholz and our own list (Burgon, *Guardian*, Jan. 15, 1873). *Syn., Eus. t.* (Griesbach, Scholz).

11. Regius 121—2 [xii or earlier] in two small 8° volumes, neatly written. *Eus. t.* It also once belonged to Teller (Kuster's Paris 4, Scholz).

12. In Wetstein's notation stands for a medley of readings from the manuscripts noted below as 119, 120, and another unknown: but Scholz's Cod. 12 is Regius 230 [xi] 4°, *syn., Eus. t., prol., pict.* with a commentary, that on St Mark being Victor's of Antioch. The next manuscript is the most important in our list since Cod. 1.

13. Regius 50 [xii] 4°, is Kuster's Paris 6, who says that it supplied him with more various readings than all the rest of his

¹ Stephen's margin cites ζ' 84 times in the Gospels, usually in company with several others, but alone in Mark vi. 20; xiv. 15; Luke i. 37. Since Evan. 18 or Reg. 47 contains the whole N.T., and Stephen cites ζ' in the Acts once (ch. xvii. 5), in the Catholic Epistles 7 times, in the Pauline 27, in the Apocalypse never; Reg. 47 has been suggested to have been Stephen's ζ', rather than Cod. 8 or Reg. 49. On testing the two with Steph. ζ' in eight places, Mr Vansittart found that they both agreed with it in five (Matt. xx. 12; Mark vi. 20; x. 52; Luke vi. 37; John vi. 58), but that in the remaining three (Mark xii. 31; Luke i. 37; John x. 32) Reg. 49 agreed with ζ', while Reg. 47 did not.

Paris manuscripts put together. This, like Codd. 10, 11, once belonged to Teller: it is not correctly written. *Syn., mut.* in Matth. i. 1—ii. 21; xxvi. 33—53; xxvii. 26—xxviii. 10; Mark i. 2—45; Jo. xxi. 2—25; 181 verses (Kuster, Wetstein, Griesbach, Bagtrup in 1797). This manuscript was collated in 1868 by Professor W. H. Ferrar, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin [d. 1871], who regarded Codd. 13. 69. 124. 346 as transcripts of one archetype, which he proposed to restore by comparing the four copies together. His design was carried out by Professor T. K. Abbott, Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, to whom we are also indebted for the improved edition of Cod. Z (*see* p. 148). The common origin of the four copies may be considered as a certain fact. Abbott supplies an Introduction and *facsimiles* of them all in his "Collation of Four Important Manuscripts of the Gospels, &c." Dublin, 1877.

14. Regius 70, 8°, once Cardinal Mazarin's; was Kuster's Paris 7. A *facsimile* of this beautiful copy, with round conjoined minuscule letters, regular breathings and accents, is given in the Paléographie Universelle, No. 78. *Mut.* Matth. i. 1—9; iii. 16—iv. 9. *Κεφ. τ., pict., Paschal Canon, Carp., Eus. t.* (Kuster, Scholz). Burgon, who has proved that this is not the earliest dated cursive (*see* p. 40, note 1), assigns it to [XII, or rather XIII].

15. Regius 64 [x] 4°, is Kuster's Paris 8. *Eus. t., syn., pict.* very superb: the first three pages are written in gold, with exquisite miniatures, four on p. 2, four on p. 3 (Burgon). (Kuster, Scholz.)

16. Regius 54 [xiv] fol., once belonged to the Medici; it has a Latin version in parts; *mut.* Mark xvi. 6—20. *Eus. t., syn., pict.* (Wetstein, Scholz). This gorgeous and "right royal" copy was never quite finished, but is unique in respect of being written in four colours, vermilion, lake, blue, and black, according to the character of the contents (Burgon).

17. Regius 55 [xvi] fol., has the Latin Vulgate version: it was neatly written, not by George Hermonymus the Spartan (*see* Cod. 70), as Wetstein guesses, but by a Western professional scribe (Burgon): it once belonged to Cardinal Bourbon. *Syn., pict.* very elegant. (Wetstein, Griesbach, Scholz.)

18. (Act. 113, Paul. 132, Apoc. 51). Regius 47, bought 1687, but written at Constantinople A.D. 1364. It is one of the few copies of the whole New Testament (*see* p. 69, note), and was given by Nicephorus Cannabetes to the monastery του ζωοδότου χριστού εν τῇ τοῦ Μυζιθρᾶ (Misitra) τῆς Λακεδαίμονος κάστρω. *Prol., syn.* (two between the Pauline Epistles and the Apocalypse), psalms, hymns (Scholz).

19. Regius 189 [xii] or Wetstein's 1869, fol., once belonged to the Medici, *pict.*, with Victor's commentary on St Mark, a catena to St John, and scholia to the other Gospels. In marvellous condition, with much gold ornamentation (Scholz).

20. Regius 188 [xii] a splendid folio, brought from the East in 1669. It is beautifully written, and contains catense, Victor's com-

mentary on St Mark, and other treatises enumerated by Scholz, who collated most of it. At the end of SS. Mark, Luke and John "dicitur etiam hoc evangelium ex accuratis codicibus esse exscriptum, nec non collatum" (Scholz). A second (or perhaps the original) hand has been busy here to assimilate the text to that of Codd. 215, 300, or to some common model. In Cod. 215, the foregoing subscription is appended to all the Four Gospels, and the other contents correspond exactly (Burgon, *Last Twelve Verses of S. Mark*, p. 119, 279). See on Cod. A, p. 154: also Cod. 428.

21. Regius 68 [x] 4°, *pict.*, with *syn.* on paper in a later hand (Scholz).

22. Regius 72, once Colbert. 2467 [xi] 4°, very imperfectly known, but contains remarkable readings. *Mut.* Matth. i. 1—ii. 2 (v. 25 Griesb.); John xiv. 22—xvi. 27; 90 verses. *Lect.* added in 16th century (Wetstein, Scholz). This copy calls aloud for a fresh collation.

23. Regius 77, Colbert. 3947 [xi] 4°, with the Latin Vulgate version down to Luke iv. 18. *Mut.* Matth. i. 1—17: Luke xxiv. 46—Jo. ii. 20; xxi. 24, 25; 96 verses (Scholz).

24. Regius 178, Colbert. 4112 [xi] fol., with a commentary (Victor's on St Mark), and also *syn.*, but in a later hand. *Mut.* Matth. xxvii. 20—Mark iv. 22; 186 verses (Griesb., Scholz). See Burgon, *ubi supra*, p. 228.

25. Regius 191, Colbert. 2259 [x] fol., with Victor's commentary on St Mark, and scholia. "Grandly written," but very imperfect, wanting about 715 verses, viz. Matth. xxiii. 1—xxv. 42; Mark i. 1—vii. 36; Luke viii. 31—41; ix. 44—54; x. 39—xi. 4; John xiii. 19?—xxi. 25 (Griesbach, Scholz).

26. Regius 78, Colbert. 4078 [xi] 4°, neatly and correctly written by Paul a priest. Comment., *Eus. t.* (Wetstein, Scholz).

27. Regius 115, Colbert. 6043 [xi] 8°, is Mill's Colb. 1. That critic procured Larroque's collation of Codd. 27—33 (a very imperfect one) for his edition of the New Testament. From Jo. xviii. 3 the text is supplied, cotton *chart.* [xiv]. *Syn., pict.* Extensively altered by a later hand (Wetstein, Scholz).

28. Regius 379, Colbert. 4705 [xi ?] 4°, is Mill's Colb. 2, most carelessly written by an ignorant scribe; it often resembles Cod. D, but has many unique readings and interpolations, with "many relics of a very ancient text hereabouts" (Hort on Mark vi. 43, *Introd.* p. 242). *Syn., mut.* in 334 verses, viz. Matth. vii. 17—ix. 12; xiv. 33—xvi. 10; xxvi. 70—xxvii. 48; Luke xx. 19—xxii. 46; John xii. 40—xiii. 1; xv. 24—xvi. 12; xviii. 16—28; xx. 20—xxi. 5; 18—25 (Scholz).

29. Regius 89, Colbert. 6066 [xii] 4°, is Mill's Colb. 3, correctly written by a Latin scribe, with very many peculiar corrections by a later hand. Lost leaves in the three later Gospels are supplied [xv]. Scholia, *Eus. t., mut.* Matth. i.—xv. Mill compares its text with that of Cod. 71 *infra* (Scholz).

30. Regius 100, Colbert. 4444 [xvi] 4°, *chart.*, is Mill's Colb. 4, containing all the Gospels, by the writer of Cod. 70. In text it much resembles Cod. 17 (Scholz).

31. Regius 94, Colbert. 6083 [xiii] 4°, is also Mill's Colb. 4, but contains all the Gospels with prayers and *pict.* This copy has many erasures (Scholz).

32. Regius 116, Colbert. 6551 [xii] 8°, *lect.*, is Mill's Colb. 5. It begins Matth. x. 22. *Mut.* Matth. xxiv. 15—30; Luke xxii. 35—Jo. iv. 20 (Scholz). Mill misrepresented the contents of Codd. 30—32, through supposing that they contained no more than the small portions which were collated for his use.

*33. (Act. 13, Paul. 17). Regius 14, Colbert. 2844 [xi] fol., is Mill's Colb. 8, containing some of the Prophets and all the New Testament except the Apocalypse. In text it resembles Codd. BDL more than any other cursive manuscript, and, whatever may be thought of the character of its readings, they deserve the utmost attention. After Larroque, Wetstein, Griesbach, Begtrup, and Scholz, it was most laboriously collated by Tregelles in 1850. Our *facsimile* (No. 39) of this manuscript is derived from a photograph supplied by Dean Burgon's liberality. There are 52 long lines in each page, in a fine round hand, the accents being sometimes neglected, and *eta* unusually like our English letter h. The ends of the leaves are much damaged, and greatly misplaced by the binder; so that the Gospels now stand last, though on comparing the style of handwriting (which undergoes a *gradual* change throughout the volume) at their beginning and end with that in the Prophets which stand first, and that in the Epistles which should follow them, it is plain that they originally occupied their usual place. The ink too, by reason of the damp, has often left its proper page blank, so that the writing can only be read *set off* on the opposite page, especially in the Acts. Hence it is no wonder that Tregelles should say that of all the manuscripts he has collated "none has ever been so wearisome to the eyes, and exhaustive of every faculty of attention." (Account of the Printed Text, p. 162.)

The next eight copies, like Cod. H of St Paul, belonged to that noble collection made by the Chancellor Seguier, and on his death in 1672 bequeathed to Coislin, Bishop of Metz. Montfaucon has described them in his "Bibliotheca Coisliniana," fol. 1715, and all were slightly collated by Wetstein and Scholz.

34. Cod. Coislin. 195 [xi] "a grand folio, splendidly written and in splendid condition" (Burgon), from Mount Athos, has a catena (Victor's commentary on St Mark) resembling that of Cod. 194. *Proh.*, *pict.* fresh as from the artist's hand.

35. (Act. 14, Paul. 18, Apoc. 17). Coislin. 199 [xi] fol., contains the whole New Testament (*see* p. 69, note), with many corrections.

36. Coislin. 20 [xi], *Eus. t.*, *proh.*, with a commentary (Victor's on St Mark), from the *laura* [i. e. convent, Suicer, *Theo. Eccles.* Tom. II. 205] of St Athanasius in Mount Athos, very sumptuous.

37. Coialin. 21 [xii] fol., with short scholia, Victor's commentary on St Mark, *Eus. t., syn., prol., pict.* (Montfaucon).

38. (Act. 19, Apoc. 23). Coialin. 200 [xiii] 4°, copied for the Emperor Michael Palæologus [1259—1282], and by him sent to St Louis [d. 1270], containing all the N. T. except St Paul's Epistles, has been rightly judged by Wetstein to be Stephen's θ^1 . *Pict., τίτλ., Am.* (not *Eus.*), *mut.* 143 verses; Matth. xiv. 15—xv. 30; xx. 14—xxi. 27; Mark xii. 3—xiii. 4. A *facsimile* of this beautiful book is given in the *Paléographie Univer.* No. 84, where it is erroneously called an *Evangelistarium*. Burgon has also a photograph of it, and notices that it was Ex Bibl. Patr. Cadomensium [Caen] Soc. Jesu, 1640.

39. Coislin. 23 [xi], large fol., written with many abbreviations *εις τὸ πατριαρχεῖον, ἐπὶ Σεργίου [II.] τοῦ πατριάρχου*, and in 1218, at the convent of St Athanasius on Mount Athos. With a commentary (Victor's on St Mark, from the same original as that in Cod. 34).

40. Coislin. 22 [xi] 4°, once belonged to the monastery of St Nicholas *σταυρονικήρας*, with a commentary (Victor's on St Mark) and *Eus. t.* Ends at John xx. 25.

41. Coislin. 24 [xi] 4°, contains SS. Matthew and Mark with a commentary (Victor's on St Mark).

42. Cod. Medicæus exhibits many readings of the same class as Codd. I. 13. 33, but its authority has the less weight, since it has disappeared under circumstances somewhat suspicious. Bernard communicated to Mill these readings, which he had found in the hand of Peter Pithæus, a former owner, in the margin of Stephen's N. T. of 1550: they professed to be extracted from an "exemplar *Regium Medicæum*" (which may be supposed to mean that portion of the King's Library which Catherine de' Medici brought to France: above, p. 117, note 3), and were inserted under the title of *Med.* in Mill's great work, though he remarked their resemblance to the text of Cod. K (N. T. *Proleg.* § 1462). The braggart Amelotte [1606—78] professes to have used the manuscript about the middle of the seventeenth century, and states that it was in a college at Troyes; but Scholz could find it neither in that city nor elsewhere.

43. (Act. 54, Paul. 130). Cod. Græc. 4, in the Arsenal of Paris [xi] 4°, in two volumes; the first containing the Gospels with *Eus. t.*, the second the Acts and Epistles. Perhaps written at Ephesus;

¹ Stephen includes his θ among the copies that *αὐτοὶ παραχρῆσεν συνεθεροῦσαμεν*, which might suit the case of Coialin. 200, as St Louis would have brought or sent it to France. But how can we account for Stephen citing θ repeatedly in St Paul (e.g. Gal. iv. 25; Col. i. 14; 2 Thess. iii. 6; 1 Tim. v. 4) which Coial. 200 does not contain, and never in the Apocalypse, which it does? Mr Vansittart, however, tested Cod. 88 in Matt. xxvi. 45; Luke viii. 18; xix. 26; James v. 5; 2 Pet. ii. 18, and found it agree in all with Stephen's θ . What of *ἀγγελία*, 1 Jo. i. 5? In Luke viii. 18 that most careless editor misprints β when he means θ . See above p. 121, note.

given by P. de Berzi in 1661 to the Oratory of San Maglorian (Amelotte, Simon, Scholz).

44. Brit. Museum, Addit. 4949 [xī] fol., brought from Mount Athos by Cæsar de Missy [1703—75], George III.'s French chaplain, who spent his life in collecting materials for an edition of the N. T. His collation, most imperfectly given by Wetstein, is still preserved with the manuscript. *Syn., men., pict., Am., Eus.*, but no *κεφ.* (Bloomfield, 1860).

45. Cod. Bodleian. Barocc. 31 [xiii] 4°, is Mill's Bodl. 1, a very neat copy, with *Eus. t., κεφ. t., Am., Eus., pict.*, subscriptions, and *στίχοι* numbered in St Luke (Mill, Griesbach).

46. Bodleian. Barocc. 29 [xī] 4°, Mill's Bodl. 2, with *τὸ νομικὸν* and *τὸ κυριακὸν πάσχα, sym., men., Carp., Eus. t., κεφ. t., τίτλοι, pict.*, subscriptions, *στίχοι* (Mill, Griesbach).

47. Bodleian. Misc. 9 (Auct. D. 5. 2), [xv] 12°, in a vile hand, *κεφ. t.*, and much foreign matter, is Mill's Bodl. 6 and Bodl. 1 of Walton's Polyglott (Polyglott, Mill).

48. Bodleian. Misc. 1 (Auct. D. 2. 17), [xii] 4°, is Mill's Bodl. 7, having scholia in a later hand, *pict., Eus. t.*, subscriptions with *ρήματα* and *στίχοι* appended (Mill).

49. Bodleian. Roe 1 [xī] 4°, is also Mill's Roe 1, brought by Sir T. Roe (*see* p. 93) from Turkey about 1628; it has *Eus. t., κεφ. t., Am., Eus., lect.* (Mill).

50. Bodleian. Laud. 33 [xī] 4°, is Mill's Laud. 1 (*see* p. 161), surrounded by a catena (Victor's or Cyril's of Alexandria in St Mark), and attended with other matter. It begins Matth. ix. 35, and ends at Jo. v. 18; besides which it is mutilated in Matth. xii. 3—24; xxv. 20—31; and Mark xiv. 40—xvi. 20 is by a later hand. It contains many unusual readings (Mill, Griesbach).

51. (Act. 32, Paul. 38). Bodleian. Laud. 31 [xiii] fol., Mill's Laud. 2, whose resemblance to the Complutensian text is pointed out by him (N. T., *Proleg.* § 1437), though, judging from his own collation of Cod. 51, his statement "per omnia penè respondet" is rather too strong. *See below*, Chap. v. *Syn., κεφ., τίτλοι, Am.* (not *Eus.*), *lect., men., prol.*, and other foreign matter. The *present* order of the contents (*see* p. 70) is Act., Paul., Cath., Evangelia, (Mill, Griesbach): but it ought to be collated afresh. This is Bentley's γ in the unpublished margin of B. xvii. 5 at Trin. Coll. Cambridge. He calls it a quarto, 400 years old. *Mut.* 2 Pet. iii. 2—18; Matth. xviii. 11—xix. (*sic*); Mark ii. 8—iii. 4 (*see* Codd. 54, 60, 113, i^{scr}, v^{scr}, w^{scr}).

52. Bodleian. Laud. 3 [dated A.D. 1286] an elegant small 4°, written by *νικητας ὁ μαυρωνης*, is Mill's Laud. 5, with *κεφ. t., Am., Eus., lect., pict., men.*, subscriptions (Mill, Griesbach).

53. Bodleian. Selden. 28 [xiv] 4°, is Mill's Selden 1, who pronounces it much like Stephen's γ (Cod. 4), having *κεφ. t., κεφ.* (not *Eus.*), and subscriptions (Mill).

54. Bodleian. Selden. 29 [dated A. D. 1338] 4°, Mill's Seld. 2', *syn.*, *lect.*, *κεφ. t.*, *κεφ.*, *Am.*, but not *Eus.* (Mill). This is Bentley's κ (see Cod. 51): he calls it 8°.

55. Bodleian. Selden. 6 [xiii] 4°, Mill's Seld. 3, containing also Judges vi. 1—24 (Grabe, Proleg. V. T. Tom. i. cap. iii. § 6), has *syn.*, *men.*, *κεφ. t.*, *κεφ.*, *pict.*, subscriptions with *στίχοι* (Mill).

56. Lincoln Coll. Oxon. 18 [xv or xvi] 4°, *chart.*, was presented about 1502, by Edmund Audley, Bishop of Salisbury: *κεφ. t.*, *prol.* to SS. Mark and Luke, *τίτλοι*, and *ἀναγνώσματα* numbered (see p. 65, note). Walton gives some various readings, but confounds it with Act. 33, Paul. 39, speaking of them as if one "vetustissimum exemplar." It has been inspected by Dobbin and Scrivener. (Mill), but so loosely that the late Rev. R. C. Pascoe, Fellow of Exeter College, detected 34 omissions for 31 citations (one of them being an error) in four chapters.

57. (Act. 35, Paul. 41). Magdalen Coll. Oxon., Greek 9 [xii] 4°, in a small and beautiful hand. *Mut.* Mark i. 1—11; Rom.; 1, 2 Cor.: Psalms and Hymns follow the Epistles. It has *κεφ. t.*, *τίτλοι*, *lect.* Collated twice by Dr Hammond, the great commentator, whose papers seem to have been used for Walton's Polyglott (Magd. 1): also examined by Dobbin. (Mill).

58. Nov. Coll. Oxon. 68 [xv or later] 4°, is Walton and Mill's N. 1. This, like Codd. 56—7, has been accurately examined by Dr Dobbin, for the purpose of his "Collation of the Codex Montfortianus" (London, 1854), with whose readings Codd. 56, 58 have been compared in 1922 places. He has undoubtedly proved the close connection subsisting between the three manuscripts (which had been observed by Mill, N. T. *Proleg.* § 1388), though he may not have quite demonstrated that they must be direct transcripts from each other. *Syn.*, *κεφ. t.*, *prol.*, *τίτλοι*, with scholia. The writing is very careless, and those are in error who follow Walton in stating that it contains the Acts and Epistles (Walton's Polyglott, Mill, Dobbin). Mr C. Forster rightly asks for photographs and a thorough re-collation of Codd. 56, 58, 61, "to throw light upon their direct relationship, or non-relationship to each other" ("A New Plea for the Three Heavenly Witnesses," 1867, p. 139).

*59. Gonville and Cains College, Cambridge, 403 [xii] 4°, an important copy, "textu notabili," as Tischendorf states (much like D. 61. 71), but carelessly written, and exhibiting no less than 81 omissions by *ὁμοιοτέλευτον* (see p. 9). It was very poorly examined for Walton's Polyglott, better though defectively by Mill, seen by Wetstein in 1716, minutely collated by Scrivener in 1860. It once belonged to the House of Friars Minor at Oxford, and was given

¹ "Textus ipse distinctus est in clausulas majores, seu Paragraphos; ad initium notatos singulos literâ majusculâ miniatâ," Mill (N. T. *Proleg.* § 1445). Yet since Burgon testifies that its text "is not broken up into Paragraphs after all," Mill can only intend to designate in a roundabout way the presence of the larger chapters (p. 55) with their appropriate capitals.

to Gonville College by Th. Hatcher, M.A. in 1567. It has (whatever Walton asserts) *τίτλοι, κεφ., Am.* (but not *Eus.*), and exhibits many and rare *compendia scribendi*. The character of the ink was noticed, p. 26.

60. (Apoc. 10). Cambridge University Library 553 or Dd. 9. 69 [A.D. 1297] 4°, but the Apocalypse is later, and has a few scholia from Arethas about it. This copy is Mill's Moore 1¹, and is still badly known. *Carp., Eus. t., Am.* without *Eus.*, and it is an elegant copy (Mill). The Gospels appear to have been written in the East, the Apocalypse in the West of Europe. This is Bentley's ϵ (*see* Cod. 51).

*61. (Act. 34, Paul. 40, Apoc. 92). Codex Montfortianus at Trinity College, Dublin, G. 97 [xv or xvi] 8°, so celebrated in the controversy respecting 1 John v. 7. Its last collator, Dr Orlando Dobbin (*see on* Cod. 58), has discussed in his Introduction every point of interest connected with it. It contains the whole New Testament, apparently the work of three or four successive scribes, on 455 paper leaves, only one of them—that on which 1 Jo. v. 7 stands—being glazed², as if to protect it from harm. This manuscript was first heard of between the publication of Erasmus' second (1519) and third (1522) editions of his N. T., and after he had publicly declared, in answer to objectors, that if any *Greek* manuscript could be found containing the passage, he would insert it in his revision of the text; a promise which he fulfilled in 1522. Erasmus describes his authority as "Codex Britannicus," "apud Anglos reperitus," and there is the fullest reason to believe that the Cod. Montfortianus is the copy referred to (*see below*, Chap. ix). Its earliest known owner was Froy, a Franciscan friar, then Thomas Clement [fl. 1569], then William Chark [fl. 1582], then Thomas Montfort, D.D. of Cambridge, from whom it derives its name, then Archbishop

¹ On the death of Dr John Moore, Bishop of Ely (whose honesty as a book-collector is impeached, on no fair grounds, by Tew in Bridge's *Northamptonshire*, Vol. II. p. 45, Oxon. 1791), in 1714, George I. was induced to buy his books and manuscripts for the Library at Cambridge, in acknowledgment of the attachment of the University to the House of Hanover. Every one remembers the epigram which this royal gift provoked.

² "We often hear" said a witty and most Reverend Irish Prelate "that the text of the Three Heavenly Witnesses is a *gloss*; and any one that will go into the College Library may see as much for himself." It was a little bold in Mr Charles Forster ("A New Plea, &c." pp. 119, 120, 139), whose zeal in defence of what he held to be the truth I heartily revere, to urge the authority of Dr Adam Clarke for assigning this manuscript to the thirteenth century, the rather since almost in the same breath, he stigmatises the Wesleyan minister for a "self-taught philomath" (p. 122). Dr Clarke tells us fairly the grounds on which he arrived at his strange conclusion ("Observations on the Text of the Three Divine Witnesses," Manchester, 1805, pp. 8—10), and marvellously unsound they are. But what avails authority, *quum res ipsa per se clamat*? The *facsimile* made for Dr Clarke nearly seventy years ago has been copied in Horne's Introduction and twenty other books, and leaves no sort of doubt about the date of Codex Montfortianus.

Ussher, who caused the collation to be made which appears in Walton's Polyglott (Matth. i. 1—Act. xxii. 29; Rom. i.), and presented the manuscript to Trinity College. Dr Barrett appended to his edition of Cod. Z (see p. 147) a full collation of the parts left untouched by his predecessors; but since the work of Ussher's friends was known to be very defective, Dobbin has re-collated the whole of that portion which Barrett left unexamined, comparing the readings throughout with Codd. 56, 58 of the Gospels, and Cod. 33 of the Acts. This copy has *τίτλοι*, *Am.*, and the number of *στίχοι* noted at the end of each book, besides which the division by the Latin chapters is employed, a sure proof—if any were needed—of the modern date of the manuscript. There are many corrections by a more recent hand, erasures by the pen, &c. It has been supposed that the Gospels were first written; then the Acts and Epistles (transcribed, in Dobbin's judgment, from Cod. 33, Acts); the Apocalypse last; having been added about 1580, as Tregelles and Dr Dobbin think, from Cod. 69 (see p. 190), when they were both in Chark's possession. The text, however, of the Apocalypse is not quite the same in the two codices, nor would it be easy, without seeing them together, to verify Dobbin's conjecture, that the titles to the sacred books, in pale red ink, were added by the same person in both manuscripts. In the margin of this copy, as of Cod. 69, are inserted many readings in Chark's handwriting, even the misprint of Erasmus, *ἐμαίς* for *ἐν αἰς*, Apoc. ii. 13.

62. Cambridge Univ. Lib. 2061 or Kk. 5. 35 [xv] 8°, *chart.*, *κεφ.*, *men.*, *lect.*, with the *Latin* chapters also. This is not, however, Walton's *Goog.*¹ which was brought from the East, and once belonged to Dr Henry Googe, Fellow of Trinity College. The collations of Cod. D. 59. 61. 62 made for the London Polyglott were given in 1667 to Emmanuel College, where they yet remain.

63. Cod. Ussher 1, Trin. Coll. Dublin, A. i. 8 [x] fol., with a commentary. A few extracts were contributed by Henry Dodwell to Bishop Fell's N. T. of 1675; Richard Bulkeley loosely collated it for Mill, Dr Dobbin in 1855 examined St Matthew, and the Rev. John Twycross, of the Charter House, re-collated the whole manuscript in 1858. The last leaf, containing John xxi. 25, is lost; but see Scrivener, *Cod. Sin.* Introd., p. lix. note.

64. Ussher 2 belonged, like the preceding, to the illustrious Primate of Ireland, but has been missing from Trin. Coll. Library in

¹ *Goog.* was identified with the Cambridge Kk. 5. 85 by Bp. Marsh, who was a little careless in this kind of work. Mr Bradshaw however points out that Kk. 5. 85 is a mere transcript by George Hermonymus from Cod. 70, also in his handwriting, and hastily copied from it, errors of the pen and all. It has no *men.*, *lect.*, as *Goog.* had, but the ordinary *κεφάλαια* and *Latin* chapters. Again, *Goog.*, as Walton says, "ex Oriente adfectus est," and must have been in England before 1657; whereas Bp. Moore got Kk. 5. 85 from France in 1706, with other books from the collection of J. B. Hantin, the numismatist. Hence we must call it Cod. 62².

Dublin ever since 1742¹. It was collated, like Cod. 63, by Dodwell for Fell, by Bulkeley for Mill, and with their reports we must now be content. It once belonged to Dr Thomas Goad, and was very neatly, though incorrectly, written in 8°. As the Emmanuel College copy of the Epistles (Act. 53, Paul. 30) never contained the Gospels, for which it is perpetually cited in Walton's Polyglott as *Em.*, the strong resemblance undoubtedly subsisting between *Usser. 2* and *Em.* led Mill to suspect that they were in fact the same copy. Since both codices (if they be two) are lost, we have examined both Walton's and Mill's collations with a view to this question. The result is that they are in numberless instances cited together in support of readings, in company with other manuscripts; often with a very few or even alone (e.g. Matth. vi. 22; viii. 11; xii. 41; Mark ii. 2; iv. 1; ix. 10; 25; Luke iv. 32; viii. 27; Jo. i. 21; iv. 24; v. 7; 20; 36; vii. 10; xvi. 19; xxi. 1). That *Usser. 2* and *Em.* are sometimes alleged separately is easily accounted for by the inveterate want of accuracy exhibited by all early collators. Since Mill had access to the papers from which the Polyglott collations were drawn (N. T. *Proleg.* § 1505), we need not wonder if he largely *adds* to Walton's quotations from *Em.* (e.g. Mark viii. 35; xvi. 10; and many other places). A real difficulty would arise if *Em.* and *Usser. 2* were cited as opposing witnesses; and inasmuch as the only two such cases we have been able to discover (Jo. viii. 2; xix. 31) may fairly be imputed to the error of one of the collators, it can hardly be doubted that the two codices are identical. Marsh's objections to this conclusion (*Notes to Michaelis*, Vol. II. pp. 800—802 and *Ad-denda*) seem by no means decisive.

65. Cod. Harleian. 5776, in the British Museum [XIII] 4°, is Mill's Cov. 1, brought from the East in 1677 with four other manuscripts of the Greek Testament by Dr John Covell [1637—1722], once English Chaplain at Constantinople, then Chaplain to Queen Mary at the Hague, afterwards Master of Christ's College, Cambridge. *Carp.*, *Eus. t.*, *κεφ. t.*, *τίτλ.*, *Am.*, *Eus.*, *στίχοι*, subscriptions (Mill). This book was presented to Covell in 1674 by Daniel, Bishop of Proconesus. The last verse is supplied by a late hand, the concluding leaf being lost, as in Cod. 63.

*66. Cod. Galei Londinensis [XII] 8°, once belonged to Th. Gale [1636—1702], High Master of St Paul's School, Dean of York (1697), but is now with his other books at Trinity College, Cambridge (O. VIII. 3). *Syn.*, *Carp.* (followed by five vacant leaves for *Eus. t.*), *τίτλ.*, *Am.*, *Eus.*, *πict.*, *lect.*, with some scholia in the margin by a recent hand, and other changes in the text by one much earlier. Known to (Mill), but for a time lost sight of. Collated by Scrivener, 1862. It was inserted in the great printed Catalogue of Manuscripts, Oxford, 1697.

67. Bodleian. Miscell. 76 [X1] 4°, is Mill's Hunt 2, brought from

¹ Cod. 64 is said to have been recently found in the library of some nobleman, to whom we may commend for imitation the example of the second Earl of Oxford in regard to Cod. D of St Paul. See above, p. 165.

the East by Dr Robert Huntington, Bishop of Raphoe [d. 1701]. *Mut. Jo.* vi. 64—xxi. 25. *Κεφ. t., Eus. t., pict., lect.* (Mill).

68. Lincoln Coll. Oxon. 17 [xii or xiii] 8°, is Mill's Wheel, 1, brought from Zante in 1676, with two other copies, by George Wheeler, Canon of Durham. *Carp., Eus. t., κεφ. t., syn., κεφ.* in margin, *τίτλ.* in gold, *Am.* but not *Eus., lect.*, with verses at the end of each Gospel. Between the Gospels of SS. Luke and John are small fragments of two leaves of a beautiful Evangelistarium [ix?], with red musical notes. (Mill). The next copy is, after Codd. 1, 33, 157, the most important of all the cursives.

*69. (Act. 31, Paul. 37, Apoc. 14). Codex Leicestrensis [xiv] fol., like Codd. 206 and 233, on parchment and paper (*see* p. 23), apparently with a reed (*see* p. 26), is now in the library of the Town Council of Leicester. It contains the whole New Testament, except Matth. i. 1—xviii. 15; Act. x. 45—xiv. 17; Jud. 7—25; Apoc. xviii. 7—xxii. 21, but with fragments down to xix. 10. It is written on 212 complete leaves of 38 lines in a page, in the coarse and strange hand which our *facsimile* exhibits (No. 40), *epsilon* being recumbent and almost like *alpha*, and the whole style of writing resembling a careless scrawl¹. The words *Εμὶ Ιλερμον Χαρκου* at the top of the first page, in the same beautiful hand that wrote many (too many) marginal notes, prove that this codex once belonged to the William Chark, mentioned under Cod. 61 (p. 187). In 1640 (Wetstein states 1669) Thomas Hayne, M.A. of Trussington, in that county, gave the book to the Leicester Library. Mill collated it there, as did John Jackson for Wetstein, and some others. Tregelles re-collated it in 1852 for his edition of the Greek Testament, and Scrivener very minutely in 1855; the latter published his results, with a full description of the book itself, in the Appendix to his "Codex Augiensis." No manuscript of its age has a text so remarkable as this, less however in the Acts than in the Gospels. Though none of the ordinary divisions into sections, and scarcely any liturgical marks, occur throughout, there is evidently a close connection between Cod. 69 and the Church Service-books, as well in the interpolations of proper names, particles of time, or whole passages (e.g. Luke xxii. 43, 44 placed after Matth. xxvi. 39) which are common to both, as especially in the titles of the Gospels: *ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ μάρκον εὐαγγέλιον (sic), &c.*, being in the very language of the Lectionaries². Codd. 178, 443 have the same peculiarity. Tables of *κεφάλαια* stand before the three later Gospels, with very unusual variations; for which, as well as for the foreign matter inserted and other peculiarities of Cod. 69, consult Scrivener's *Cod. Augiensis* (Introduct. pp. xl—xlvii).

¹ Another *facsimile* (Luke xxi. 36—John viii. 6) is given by Abbott in his "Collation of Four Important Manuscripts" (*see* Cod. 13). In all four the *pericope adulteræ* follows Luke xxi. 38.

² See the style of the Evangelistaria, as cited above, pp. 78—81; Matthæi's uncials BH and Birch's 178 of the Gospels, described below. So B.-C. II. 13, to be described hereafter, reads in St Matthew only *ἀρχὴ ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ ματθαῖον ἀγίου εὐαγγελίου*. Compare also Codd. 211, 261, 857, and B.-C. III. 5 in SS. Matthew and Mark.

70. Cambridge Univ. Lib. 2144 or Ll. 2. 13 [xv], (not in Trinity College), was written, like Codd. 30. 62^a. 287, by G. Hermonymus the Spartan (who settled at Paris, 1472, and became the Greek teacher of Budæus and Reuchlin), for William Bodet; there are marginal corrections by Budæus, from whose letter to Bp. Tonstall we may fix the date about A.D. 1491—4. It once belonged to Bunckle of London, then to Bp. Moore. Like Cod. 62^a it has the Latin chapters (Mill).

*71. Lambeth 528 [dated A.D. 1160] 265 leaves 4°, is Mill's *Eph.* and Scrivener's g. This elegant copy, which once belonged to an Archbishop of Ephesus, was brought to England in 1675 by Philip Traheron, English Chaplain at Smyrna. Traheron made a careful collation of his manuscript, of which both the rough copy (B. M., Burney 24) and a fair one (Lambeth 528 b) survive. This last Scrivener in 1845 compared with the original, and revised, especially in regard to later corrections, of which there are many. Mill used Traheron's collation very carelessly. *Carp., Eus. t., κεφ. t., τίτλοι, Am., Eus., lect.* This copy presents a text full of interest, and much superior to that of the mass of manuscripts of its age. See Cod. 29.

72. Cod. Harleian. 5647 B. M. [xi] large 4°, an elegant copy with a catena on St Matthew, *κεφ. t., τίτλ., κεφ., Am., Eus., pict.*, various readings in the ample margin. Lent by T. Johnson to (Wetstein).

73. Christ-Church, Oxford, Wake 26 [xi] 4°, *Eus. t., κεφ. t., Am., Eus., pict.* It is marked "Ex dono Mauri Cordati Principis Hungaro-Walachie, A° 1724." This and Cod. 74 were once Archbishop Wake's, and were collated for Wetstein by (Jo. Walker, *Wake MS.* 35)¹.

74. *ib.* Wake 20 [xiii] 4°, written by Theodore (see p. 41, note 2). *Mut. Matth. i. 1—14; v. 29—vi. 1; 32 verses.* It came in 1727 from the Monastery of Παντοκράτωρ, on Mount Athos. *Syn., Carp., Eus. t., τίτλ., κεφ., Am., Eus., lect.*

75. Cod. Genevensis 19 [xi] 4°, *prol., Eus. t., pict.* In text it much resembles that of Cod. 6. Seen in 1714 by Wetstein, collated by (Scholz and Cellérier, a Professor at Geneva).

76. (Act. 43, Paul. 49). Cod. Cæsar-Vindobonensis, Nessel. 300, Lambec. 28 [xi] 4°, *prol., syn., pict.* This copy (the only one known to read *αὐτῆς* with the Complutensian and other editions in Luke ii. 22) is erroneously called an uncial by Mill (Gerhard & Maastricht 1690; Ashe 1691; F. K. Alter 1786).

¹ Of the 183 manuscript volumes bequeathed by William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury [1657—1737] to Christ-Church (of which he had been a Canon), no less than 28 contain portions of the Greek Testament, not more than seven of which have ever appeared in any printed Catalogue. They are all described in the present and the next section from a comparison of Dean Gaisford's MS. Catalogue (1837) with the books themselves, to which Bp. Jacobson's kindness gave me access in 1861.

77. *Cæsar-Vindobon. Nessel. 114, Lambec. 29* [xi] 4°, very neat; with a commentary (Victor's on St Mark), *prol., Eus. t., pict.*, and (by a later hand) *syn.* It once belonged to Matthias Corvinus, the great king of Hungary (1458—90). Collated in "Tentamen descriptionis codicum," &c. 1773 by (Treschow, and also by Alter).

78. *Cod. Nicolæ Jancovich de Vadass, now in Hungary* [xii] 4°, *Eus. t., κεφ. t., τίτλοι, κεφ., lect., syn., pict.* It was once in the library of King Matthias Corvinus: on the sack of Buda by the Turks in 1527, his noble collection of 50,000 volumes was scattered, and about 1686 this book fell into the hands of S. B., then of J. G., Carpzov of Leipsic, at whose sale it was purchased and brought back to its former country. A previous possessor, in the 17th century, was Γεώργιος δεσμοφύλαξ Ναυπλίου. (Collated by C. F. Boerner for Kuster, and "in usum" of Scholz).

79. *Cod. Geor. Douzæ (from Constantinople), consulted on John viii. by Gomar at Leyden (perhaps 74 in that Library). Mut.* with a Latin version.

80. *Cod. T. G. Grævii, then Jo. Van der Hagen's* [xi], is probably still somewhere in Holland: it is said by Wetstein, who saw it in 1739, to have been collated by Bynæus in 1691. *Prol., τίτλοι, κεφ.*, subscriptions: the Latin chapters were added [xv].

81. Greek manuscripts cited in a *Correctorium Bibliorum Latinorum* of the xiiith century¹. Dr Hort appropriates this numeral to Muralt's 2^o (*see p. 77, note*).

82. Seven unknown Greek manuscripts of St John, three of St Matthew and (apparently) of the other Gospels, cited in Laurentius Valla's "Annotationes in N.T., ex diversorum utriusque linguæ, Græcæ et Latinæ, codicum collatione," written about 1440, edited by Erasmus, Paris 1505. His copies seem modern, and have probably been used by later critics. The whole subject, however, is very carefully examined in the Rev. A. T. Russell's "Memoirs of the life and works of Bp. Andrewes," pp. 282—310. Hort's Cod. 82 is Burgon's Venet. xii, to be described hereafter (*see p. 77, note*).

83. *Cod. Monacensis 518* [xi] 4°, beautifully written, *syn., prol., τίτλ., κεφ., lect.*, in the Royal Library at Munich, whither it was brought from Augsburg (Bengel's August. 1, Scholz). The *ἀναγνώσματα* are numbered, as are the *στίχοι* at the end of each Gospel.

84. *Monacensis 568* [xii] 8°, *τίτλ., κεφ., Am. (not Eus.), lect.* both in the text and margin, contains SS. Matthew and Mark. *Mut.*

¹ These formal revisions of the Latin Bible were mainly two, one made by the University of Paris with the sanction of the Archbishop of Sens about 1230, and a rival one undertaken by the Mendicant Orders, through Cardinal Hugo de S. Caro (*see above, p. 66*), and adopted by their general Chapter held at Paris in 1256. A previous revision had been made by Cardinal Nicolaus and the Cistercian Abbot Stephanus in 1150. A manuscript of that of 1256 was used by Lucas Brugensis and Simon (Wetstein, N. T. Prol. Vol. i. p. 85). Canon Westcott calls attention to a *Correctorium* in the British Museum, King's Library, 1 A. viii.

Matth. i. 1—18; xiii. 10—27; 42—xiv. 3; xviii. 25—xix. 9; xxi. 33—xxii. 4; Mark vii. 13—xvi. 20 (Bengel's August. 2, Scholz).

85. Monacensis 569 [XIII] very small 4°, κεφ., lect. in vermilion, Am. (not Eus.), contains only Matth. viii. 15—ix. 17; xvi. 12—xvii. 20; xxiv. 26—45; xxvi. 25—54; Mark vi. 13—ix. 45; Luke iii. 12—vi. 44; John ix. 11—xii. 5; xix. 6—24; xx. 23—xxi. 9 (Bengel's August. 3, Scholz).

86. Cod. Poseniensis Lycæi Aug. [†]. Prol., Eus. &. Once at Buda, but it had been bought in 1183 at Constantinople for the Emperor Alexius II. Comnenus (Bengel, Endlicher).

87. Cod. Trevirensis [XII] fol. contains St John's Gospel with a catena, published at length by Cordier at Antwerp. It once belonged to the eminent philosopher and mathematician, Cardinal Nicolas of Cuza, on the Moselle, near Trèves [1401—64: see Cod. 129 Evan., and Cod. 59 Acts]; previously at the monastery of Petra or of the Fore-runner of Constantinople¹ (Scholz). Wetstein's 87 is our 250.

88. Codex of the Gospels, 4°, on vellum, cited as ancient and correct by Joachim Camerarius (who collated it) in his Annotations to the New Testament, 1642. It resembles in text Codd. 63. 72. 80.

*89. Cod. Gottingensis [dated 1006] fol., with corrections. Collated by A. G. Gehl in 1739, and by Matthæi (No. 20).

90. (Act. 47, Paul. 14). Cod. Jo. (or Jac.) Fabri, a Dominican of Deventer [xvi, but copied from a manuscript written by Theodore (p. 41, note 2) and dated 1293] 4°, chart. 2 vols. The Gospels stand John, Luke, Matthew, Mark (see p. 70); the Pauline Epistles precede the Acts; and Jude is written twice, from different copies. This codex (which has belonged to Abr. Hinckelmann of Hamburg, and to Wolff) was collated by Wetstein. Faber [1472—living in 1515] had also compared it with another "very ancient" vellum manuscript of the Gospels presented by Sixtus IV. (1471—84) to Jo. Wessel of Groningen, but which was then at Zvolle. As might be expected, this copy much resembles Cod. 74. See Delitzsch, *Handschr. Funde*, II. pp. 54—57.

91. Cod. Perronianus [x], of which extracts were sent by Montfaucon to Mill, had been Cardinal Perron's [d. 1618], and before him had belonged to "S. Taurini monasterium Ebrouicense" (Eвреux).

92. Cod. Fæschii 1 (Act. 49) [xiv, or xv] } The former contains
 94. Cod. Fæschii 2 [xvi, or xvii] } St Mark with Victor's
 commentary on vellum, and scholia on the Catholic Epistles, with the authors' names, Didymus, Origen, Cyril, &c.; the latter SS. Mark and Luke, with Victor's commentary on St Mark, that of Titus of Bostra on St Luke, on paper. Both belonged to Andrew Fæsch, of Basle, and were collated by Wetstein. Dean Burgon found them both at Basle (O. ii. 27 and O. ii. 23).

¹ On fol. 4 we read ἡ βιβλος αὐτῆ (ἦδε 178) τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Προδρόμου | τῆς κειμένης ἔργιστα τῆς 'Αε[α]ρίου | ἀρχαίῃ δὲ τῇ μονῇ κληῖσις Πέτρα. Compare Cod. 178 and Montfauc. Palæogr. Græca, pp. 39, 110, 305. See also p. 41, note 2.

93. Cod. Grævii [1632—1703] of the Gospels, cited by Vossius on the Genealogy, Luke iii.

95. Lincoln Coll. Oxon. 16 [xii] 4°, is Mill's Wheeler 2¹. It contains Luke xi. 2—John xx. 30; xxi. 10—25. With full scholia neatly written in the margin, *syn.* (Mill, Professor Nicoll).

96. Cod. Bodleian. Misc. 8 (Auct. D. 5. 1) [xv] 12°, is Walton's and Mill's *Trit.*, with many rare readings, containing St John with a commentary, beautifully written by Jo. Trithemius, Abbot of Spanheim [d. 1516]. Received from Abraham Scultet [?] by Geo. Hackwell, 1607 (Walton's Polyglott, Mill, Griesbach).

97. Cod. Hirsaugiensis [1500, by Nicolas, a monk of Hirschau in Bavaria]. 12°, on vellum, containing St John, seems but a copy of 96. It once belonged to Uffenbach, and is now at Giessen (Bengel², Wetstein, Maius, Schulze).

98. Cod. Bodleian. [xii] 4°, *pict.*, E. D. Clarke 5, by whom it was brought from the East. *Κεφ. τ., τίτλ., Am.* (not *Eus.*), *κεφ., lect.* It was collated in a few places for Scholz, who substituted it here for Cod. R. (*see* p. 139) of Griesbach.

99. Cod. Lipsiensis, Bibliothec. Paul. [xvi] 4°, Matthæi's 18, contains Matth. iv. 8—v. 27; vi. 2—xv. 30; Luke i. 1—13; *syn.* (Matthæi). Wetstein's 99 is our 155.

100. Cod. Paul. L. B. de Eubeswald [x] 4°, vellum, *mut.* Jo. xxi. 25; *pict.*, *κεφ. τ., Eus. t.*, and in a later hand many corrections with scholia and *syn., chart.* J. C. Wagenseil used it in Hungary for Jo. viii. 6. Our description presumes it to be the manuscript now in the University of Pesth, but in the 15th century belonging to Bp. Jo. Pannonius. Edited at Pesth in 1860 "cum interpretatione Hungaria" by S. Markfi.

101. Cod. Uffenbach. 3 [xvi] 12°, *chart.*, St John *συχίρηγς* (*see* p. 52). So near the Basle (that is, we suppose, Erasmus') edition, that Bengel never cites it. With two others (Paul. M. and Acts 45) it was lent by Z. C. Uffenbach, Consul of Frankfort-on-the-Mayn, to Wetstein in 1717, and afterwards to Bengel.

102. Cod. Bibliothecæ Mediceæ, a valuable but unknown manuscript with many rare readings, extracted by Wetstein at Amsterdam for Matth. xxiv—Mark viii. 1, from the margin of a copy of Plantin's N. T. 1591, in the library of J. le Long. Canon Westcott is convinced that the manuscript from which these readings were de-

¹ Noted "Ex libris Georgii Wheleri Westmonasteriensis perigrinatione ejus Constantinopolitanâ collect. Anno Domini 1676." *See* Evan. 68; Evat. 8.

² Though 97 once belonged to Uffenbach, 101 better suits Bengel's description of Uffen. 3: they are written on different materials, and the description of their respective texts will not let us suspect them to be the same. Wetstein never cites Cod. 101, but the addition of *τὸν θεόν* at the end of John viii. 27, the reading of the margin of Uffen. 8, is ascribed in the critical editions to 97, not to 101.

rived is none other than Cod. B itself. In St Matthew's Gospel he finds the two authorities agree 70 times and differ only 5 times, always in a manner to be easily accounted for: in St Mark they agree in 84 out of the 85 citations, the remaining one (ch. ii. 22) being hardly an exception. Westcott, *New Test.*, Smith's Dictionary of the Bible. Hort's Cod. 122 is *w^{ext}*, to be described hereafter (see p. 77, note).

103. Regius 196 [xi] fol., once Cardinal Mazarin's, seems the same manuscript as that from which Emericus Bigot gave extracts for Curcellæus' N. T. 1658 (Scholz). Burgon supposes some mistake here, as he finds Reg. 196 to be a copy of Theophylact's commentary on SS. Matthew and Mark, written over an older manuscript [viii or ix].

104. Cod. Hieronymi Vignerii [x], from which also Bigot extracted readings, which Wetstein obtained through J. Driberg in 1744, and published.

105. (Act. 48, Paul. 24). Cod. Ebnerianus, Bodl. Miscell. 136, a beautiful copy [xii] 4°, on 426 leaves of vellum, with 27 lines in each, formerly belonging to Jerome Ebner von Eschenbach of Nuremberg. *Pict.*, *Carp.*, *Eus. t.*, *κεφ. t.*, *τίτλ.*, *κεφ.*, *Am.* (not *Eus.*), the Nicene Creed, all in gold: with *lect.* throughout and *syn.*, prefixed by Joasaph, a calligraphist, A.D. 1391, who also added John viii. 3—11 at the end of that Gospel. *Facsimile* in Horne's Introduction, and in Tregelles' *Horne*, p. 220 (Schoenleben 1738, Rev. H. O. Coxe, by whom the collation was lent before 1845 to the Rev. R. J. F. Thomas, Vicar of Yeovil [d. 1873], together with one of Canon. Græc. 110 of the Acts and Epistles, both of which are mislaid).

106. Cod. Winchelsea [x], with many important readings, often resembling the Philoxenian Syriac: believed to be still in the Earl of Winchelsea's Library (Jackson collated it for Wetstein in 1748).

107. Cod. Bodleian. [xiv. and later] 4°, is E. D. Clarke 6, containing the Gospels in different hands: *κεφ. t.*, *pict.* (Like 98, 111, 112, *partially* collated for Scholz). Griesbach's 107 is also 201.

108. Cæsar-Vindobonensis, Kollar. 4, Forlos. 5 [xi] fol., 2 vols. With a commentary (Victor's on St Mark: Burgon "Last Twelve Verses, &c." p. 288), *Eus. t.*, *pict.* It seems to have been written at Constantinople, and formerly belonged to Parrhasius, then to the convent of St John de Carbonaria at Naples (Treschow, Alter, Birch, Scholz).

109. Brit. Mus. Addit. 5117 [A. D. 1326] 4°, *syn.*, *Eus. t.*, *men.*, *lect.*, *τίτλοι*, *Am.* (not *Eus.*, *κεφ.*), Mead. 1, then Askew (5115 is Act. 22, and 5116 is Paul. 75, these two in the same hand; different from that employed in the Gospels).

110. Cod. Ravianus, Bibl. Reg. Berolinensis [xvi] 4°, 2 vols., on parchment, once belonging to Jo. Rave of Upsal, has been examined by Wetstein, Griesbach, and by G. G. Pappelbaum in 1796. It contains the whole New Testament, and has attracted attention

because it has the disputed words in 1 Jo. v. 7, 8. It is now however admitted by all to be a mere transcript of the N. T. in the Complutensian Polyglott with variations from Erasmus or Stephen, and as such should be expunged from our list.

111. Cod. Bodleian. [XII] 4°, Clarke 7, *mut.* Jo. xx. 25—xxi. 25 : *κεφ. τ., Am.* (not *Eus.*), and

112. Bodleian. [XI] 12°, Clarke 10, *Carp., Eus. τ., κεφ. τ., τίτλ.*, having both *Am.* and *Eus.*, in Matth. i.—Mark ii., in the same line (a very rare arrangement; see Codd. 192, 198, 212, and Wake 21 below), *lect., syn., men.*, a very beautiful copy. These two, very partially collated for Scholz, were substituted by him and Tischendorf for collations whose history is not a little curious.

111. (Wetstein). THE VELESIAN READINGS. The Jesuit de la Cerda inserted in his "Adversaria Sacra," cap. XCI (Lyons 1626), a collection of various readings, written in vermilion in the margin of a Greek Testament (which from its misprint in 1 Pet. iii. 11 we know to be R. Stephen's of 1550) by Petro Faxardo, Marquis of Velez, a Spaniard, who had taken them from sixteen manuscripts, eight of which were in the king's library, in the Escorial. It is never stated what codices or how many support each variation. De la Cerda had received the readings from Mariana, the great Jesuit historian of Spain, then lately dead, and appears to have inadvertently added to Mariana's account of their origin, that the sixteen manuscripts were in Greek. These Velezian readings, though suspected from the first even by Mariana by reason of their strange resemblance to the Latin Vulgate and the manuscripts of the Old Latin, were repeated as critical authorities in Walton's Polyglott, 1657, and (contrary to his own better judgment) were retained by Mill in 1707. Wetstein, however (N. T. Proleg. Vol. i. pp. 59—61), and after him Michaelis and Bp. Marsh, have abundantly proved that the various readings must have been collected by Velez from Latin manuscripts, and by him translated into Greek, very foolishly perhaps, but not of necessity with a fraudulent design. Certainly, any little weight the Velezian readings may have, must be referred to the Latin, not to the Greek text. Among the various proofs of their Latin origin urged by Wetstein and others, the following establish the fact beyond the possibility of doubt:

	Greek Text.	Vulgate Text.	Vulgate various reading.	Velezian reading.
Mark viii. 38.	ἐπαισχυσθή	confusus fuerit	confessus fuerit	ὁμολογήσῃ
Hebr. xii. 18.	κεκαυμένῳ	accensibilem	accessibilem	προσίτῳ
— xiii. 2.	ἔλαθον	latuerunt	placuerunt	ἤρεσαν
James v. 6.	κατεδικάσατε	addixistis	adduxistis	ἤγάγετε
Apoc. xix. 6.	ὄχλου	turbæ	turbæ	σάλπιγγος
— xxi. 12.	ἀγγέλους	angelos	angulos	γωνίας

112. (Wetstein). THE BARBERINI READINGS must also be banished from our list of critical authorities, though for a different reason. The collection of various readings from 22 manuscripts (ten of the

Gospels, eight of the Acts and Epistles, and four of the Apocalypse), seen by Isaac Vossius in 1642 in the Barberini Library at Rome, was made about 1625, and first published in 1673 by Peter Possinus (Poussines), a Jesuit, at the end of a catena of St Mark. He alleged that the collations were made by John M. Caryophilus [d. 1635], a Cretan, while preparing an edition of the Greek Testament, under the patronage of Paul V. [d. 1621] and Urban VIII. [d. 1644]. As the Barberini readings often favour the Latin version, they fell into the same suspicion as the Velesian: Wetstein, especially (N. T. *Proleg.* Vol. I. pp. 61, 62), after pressing against them some objections more ingenious than solid, declares "lis hæc non aliter quam ipsis libris Romæ inventis et productis, quod nunquam credo fiet, solvi potest." The very papers Wetstein thus called for were discovered by Birch (Barberini Lib. 209) more than thirty years later, and besides them Caryophilus' petition for the loan of six manuscripts from the Vatican (Codd. BS. 127. 129. 141. 144), which he doubtless obtained and used. The good faith of the collator being thus happily vindicated, we have only to identify his eleven¹ remaining codices, most of them probably being in that very Library, and may then dismiss the Barberini readings as having done their work, and been fairly superseded.

113. Cod. Harleian. 1810 Brit. Mus. [XI] 4°, *prol.*, *Carp.*, *Eus. t.*, *piet.*, *lect.*, *κεφ. t.*, *τίτλ.*, *κεφ.*, *Am.*, *Eus.*, and (in a later hand) *syn.* (Griesbach, Bloomfield). Apparently this is Bentley's θ "membr. 4^o 600 annorum," collated by him in the margin of Trin. Coll. B. XVII. 5 (see Cod. 51). Its readings are of more than usual interest, as are those of

114. Harleian. 5540 [XIII] 12°, (*facsimile* in a Greek Testament, published in 1837 by Taylor, London), very elegant, with more recent marginal notes and Matth. xxviii. 19—Mark i. 12 in a later hand. *Mut.* Matth. xvii. 4—18; xxvi. 59—73 (Griesbach, Bloomfield). *Carp.*, *κεφ. t.*, *τίτλ.*, *κεφ.*, *Am.* (not *Eus.*). See Canon Westcott's article, *New Test.*, in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible.

115. Harleian. 5559 [XII] 4°, once Bernard Mould's (Smyrna, 1724), with an unusual text. *Mut.* Matth. i. 1—viii. 10; Mark v. 23—36; Luke i. 78—ii. 9; vi. 4—15; John xi. 2—xxi. 25 (Griesbach, Bloomfield). A few more words of John xi. survive: *τίτλ.*, *κεφ.*, *Am.*, and sometimes *Eus.*²

116. Harleian. 5567 [XII] small 4°, *Eus. t.*, *κεφ. t.*, *τίτλ.*, *Am.*, *lect.*, *syn.*, of some value. It belonged in 1649 to Athanasius a Greek monk, then to Bernard Mould (Griesbach, Bloomfield).

117. (Apost. 6). Harleian. 5731 [XV] 4°, *chart.*, carelessly written, once belonged to Bentley. *Mut.* Matth. i. 1—18: *lect.*,

¹ Cod. 141 of the Gospels being also Act. 75, Paul. 86, Apoc. 40. Another of his manuscripts was Act. 78, Paul. 80.

² In Codd. 115 and 202 *Eus.* is usually, in Codd. 116, 117, 417, 422 and B. M. Addit. 15581 but rarely, written under *Am.*: these copies therefore were probably never quite finished. See p. 59, and note 1 and Cod. 864, p. 217.

pict., *Corp.*, *Eus. t.*, *κεφ. t.*, *τίτλ.*, *Am.*, *syn.*, fragments of a Lectionary on the last twenty leaves (Griesbach, Bloomfield).

*118. Bodleian. Miscell. 13, Marsh 24 [XIII] 4°, an important palimpsest (with the Gospels *uppermost*) once the property of Archbishop Marsh of Armagh [d. 1713]. *Am.*, *Eus.*, *κεφ. t.*, *lect.* with *syn.*, *men.*, and some of the Psalms on paper. Later hands also supplied Matth. i. 1—vi. 2; Luke xiii. 35—xiv. 20; xviii. 8—xix. 9; John xvi. 25—xxi. 25. Well collated by (Griesbach).

119. Regius 85, olim $\frac{2865}{2}$, Paris [XII] 4°, formerly Teller's of Rheims, is Kuster's Paris 5 (Griesbach).

120. Supplement. Gk. Paris 185a [XIII] 4°, formerly belonged to St Victor's on the Walls, Paris, and seems to be Stephen's *c*8, whose text (1550) and Colinaeus' (1534) it closely resembles. St Mark is wanting (Griesbach).

121. An important lost codex, once at St Geneviève's, in Paris [dated Sept. 1284, Indiction 12], 4°. *Mut.* Matth. v. 21—viii. 24 (Griesbach).

122. (Act. 177, Paul. 219). Bibl. Lugdunensis-Batavorum [XII] 4°, once Meermann's' 116. *Mut.* Act. i. 1—14; xxi. 14—xxii. 28; 1 Jo. iv. 20—Jud. 25; Rom. i. 1—vii. 13; 1 Cor. ii. 7—xiv. 23 (J. Dermout, *Collectanea Critica in N. T.*, 1825). Griesbach's 122 is also 97. See Cod. 435.

123. Cæsar-Vindobon. Nessel. 240, Lambec. 30 [XI] 4°, brought from Constantinople about 1562 by the Imperial Ambassador to the Porte, Ogier de Busbeck; *prol.*, *Eus. t.*, *pict.*, corrections by another hand (Treschow, Alter, Birch).

*124. Cæsar-Vindobon. Nessel. 188, Lambec. 31 [XII] 4°, *Eus. t.*, *syn.*, *mut.* Luke xxiii. 31—xxiv. 28, an eclectic copy, with corrections by the first hand (Mark ii. 14; Luke iii. 1, &c.). This manuscript (which once belonged to a certain Leo) is considered by Birch the best of the Vienna codices. It resembles the Philoxenian Syriac, Old Latin, Codd. DL. i. 13, and especially 69 (Treschow, Alter, Birch). Collated by Dr Em. Hoffmann for Professor Ferrar where Alter and Birch disagree. See Cod. 13, for Abbott's recent edition.

125. Cæsar-Vindobon. Kollar. 6, Forlos. 16 [X] 4°, with many corrections in the margin and between the lines (Treschow, Alter, Birch).

126. Cod. Guelferbytanus xvi. 16 [XI] carelessly written. *Eus. t.*, *κεφ. t.*, *prol.*, *pict.*, with *lect.*, *syn.* in a later hand, and some quite modern corrections. Matth. xxviii. 18—20 is cruciform, and capitals often occur in the middle of words, and the text is of an unusual character. Inspected by (Heusinger 1752, Knittel, Tischendorf).

¹ Meermann's other two manuscripts of the N. T., dispersed at his sale in 1824, are No. 117, or 436 of the Gospels (also set down in error as Evangelistarium 153) now belonging to Dean Burgon, and No. 118 at Cheltenham from Middle-Hill (Act. 178, Paul. 242, Apoc. 87).

N.B. Codd. 127—181, all at Rome, were inspected, and a few (127. 131. 157) really collated by Birch, about 1782. Of 153 Scholz collated the greater part, and small portions of 138—44; 146—52; 154—57; 159—60; 162; 164—71; 173—75; 177—80.

127. Cod. Vatican. 349 [xi] fol., *Eus. t.*, κεφ. *t.*, a neatly written and important copy, with a few later corrections (e.g. Matth. xxvii. 49).

128. Vat. 356 [xi] fol., *prol.*, κεφ. *t.*, and the numbers of the στίχοι (p. 65, note).

129. Vat. 358 [xii] fol., with scholia, Victor's commentary on St Mark, and a note on Jo. vii. 53, such as we read in Cod. 145 and others. Bought at Constantinople in 1438 by Nicolas de Cuza, Eastern Legate to the Council of Ferrara (see Cod. 87).

130. Vat. 359 [xiii] fol., *chart.*, a curious copy, with the Greek and Latin in parallel columns, and the Latin chapters.

131. (Act. 70, Paul. 77, Apoc. 66). Vat. 360 [xi] 4°, contains the whole New Testament (see p. 69, note), with many remarkable variations, and a text somewhat like that of Aldus' Greek Testament (1518). The manuscript was given to Sixtus V. [1585—90] for the Vatican by "Aldus Manuccius Paulli F. Aldi." The Epistle to the Hebrews stands before 1 Tim. (see p. 71, note). *Carp.*, *Eus. t.*, κεφ. *t.*, of an unusual arrangement (viz. Matth. 74, Mark 46, Luke 57; see above, p. 56). This copy contains many itacisms, and corrections *primâ manu*.

132. Vat. 361 [xi] 4°, *Eus. t.*, *pict.*

133. (Act. 71, Paul. 78). Vat. 363 [xi?] 4°, *sym.*, Euthalian prologues.

134. Vat. 364 [xi?] 4°, elegant *Eus. t.*, *pict.*, titles in gold.

135. Vat. 365 [xi?] 4°, κεφ. *t.*, *pict.* The first 26 of its 174 leaves are later and *chart.*

136. Vat. 665 [xiii] fol., on cotton paper; contains SS. Matthew and Mark with Euthymius' commentary.

137. Vat. 756 [xi or xii] fol., with a commentary (Victor's on St Mark). At the end we read *καὶ φραγκισκος ακκιδας ευγενης κολασσεως...ρωμη ηγαγε το παρον βιβλιον ετει απο αδαμ ζβα* [A.D. 1583], *μητι ιουλιω, ινδ. ια.*

138. Vat. 757 [xii] fol., with commentary from Origen, &c., and that of Victor on St Mark, mixed up with the text, both in a slovenly hand (Burgon). Comp. Cod. 374.

139. Vat. 758 [xii] fol., contains SS. Luke and John with a commentary.

140. Vat. 1158 [xii] 4°, beautifully written, and given by the Queen of Cyprus to Innocent VII. (1404—6). *Eus. t.*, *pict.* In Luke i. 64 it supports the Complutensian reading, *καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα αὐτοῦ διηρθρώθη.*

141. (Act. 75, Paul. 86, Apoc. 40). Vat. 1160 [xiii] 4°, 2 vols., contains the whole New Testament (*see* p. 69, note), *syn.*, *pict.* The leaves are arranged in quaternions, but separately numbered for each volume.

142. (Act. 76, Paul. 87). Vat. 1210 [xi] 12°, very neat, containing also the Psalms. There are many marginal readings in another ancient hand.

143. Vat. 1229 [xi] fol., with a marginal commentary (Victor's on St Mark). On the first leaf is read *της ορθης πιστewς πιστω οικονομω και φυλακι Παυλω τετάρτη* [1555—59].

144. Vat. 1254 [xi] 8°, *Eus. t.*, κεφ. *t.*

145. Vat. 1548 [xiii] 4°, contains SS. Luke and John. *Mut.* Luke iv. 15—v. 36; Jo. i. 1—26. A later hand has written Luke xvii—xxi, and made many corrections.

146. Palatino-Vatican. 5¹ [xii] fol., contains SS. Matth. and Mark with a commentary (Victor's on St Mark?).

147. Palat.-Vat. 89 [xi] 8°, *syn.*

148. Palat.-Vat. 136 [xiii] 4°, with some scholia and unusual readings.

149. (Act. 77, Paul. 88, Apoc. 25). Palat.-Vat. 171 [xiv] fol., *lect.*, contains the whole New Testament (*see* p. 69, note).

150. Palat.-Vat. 189 [xi] 16°, *Eus. t.*, *syn.*

151. Palat.-Vat. 220 [xi] 4°, *Eus. t.*, scholia in the margin, and some rare readings (e.g. Jo. xix. 14). The sheets are in 21 quaternions. After St Matthew stands *εκλογη εν συντομω εκ των συντεθειτων υπο Ευσεβιου προς Στεφανον λ.*

152. Palat.-Vat. 227 [xiii] 4°, *prol.*, *pict.*

153. Palat.-Vat. 229 [xiii] 4°, on cotton paper. *Prol.*, *syn.*

154. Cod. Alexandrino-Vatican. vel Christianæ 28 [dated April 14, 1442] 4°, written in Italy on cotton paper, with Theophylact's commentary. It was given by Christina, Queen of Sweden, to Alexander VIII. (1689—91).

155. Alex.-Vat. 79 [xi? Birch, xiv Scholz] 12°, with some lessons from St Paul prefixed. Given by Andrew Rivet to Rutgersius, Swedish Ambassador to the United Provinces. This copy is Wetstein's 99, the codex Rutgersii cited by Dan. Heinsius in his *Exercitac. sacr. in Evangel.*

156. Alex.-Vat. 189 [xii] 12°: "ex bibliothecâ Goldasti" is on the first page.

157. Cod. Urbino-Vat. 2 [xii] 8°, deemed by Birch the most important manuscript of the N. T. in the Vatican, except Cod. B. Among the cursives it stands next in value to Cod. 33. It be-

¹ A collection presented to Urban VIII. (1623—44) by Maximilian, Elector of Bavaria, from the spoils of the unhappy Elector Palatine, titular King of Bohemia.

longed to the Ducal Library at Urbino, and was brought to Rome by Clement VII. (1523—34). It is very beautifully written on 325 leaves of vellum (Birch, N. T. 1788, gives a *facsimile*), with *Eus. t., prol.*, certain chronicles, *κεφ., τίτλοι* and rich ornaments, pictures, &c. in vermilion and gold. On fol. 19 we read underneath two figures respectively *Ἰωάννης ἐν χῶ τῷ θῷ πιστός βασιλεὺς πορφυρογεννητός καὶ αυτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων, ὁ Κομνηνός*, and *Ἀλεξίος ἐν χῶ τῷ θῷ πιστός βασιλεὺς πορφυρογεννητός ὁ Κομνηνός*. The Emperor John II. the Handsome succeeded his father, the great Alexius, A. D. 1118. For the subscriptions appended to the Gospels in this copy (which also register the number of *στίχοι* in each of them), see above, p. 53. In text it is akin to Codd. BDL 69, 106, and especially to 1.

158. Cod. Pii II., Vatic. 53 [XI] 4°, with *Eus. t., κεφ. t.*, and readings in the margin, *primæ manu*. This copy was given to the Library by Pius II. (1458—64).

159. Cod. Barberinianus 8 [XI] 4°, in the Barberini Library, at Rome, founded above two centuries since by the Cardinal, Francis II., of that name.

160. Barberin. 9 [dated 1123] 4°, *syn.*

161. Barberin. 10 [X] 4°, ending at Jo. xvi. 4. This copy follows the Latin version both in its text (Jo. iii. 6) and marginal scholia (Jo. vii. 29). Various readings are often thus noted in its margin.

162. Barberin. 11 [dated 13 May, 1153 (σχετά), Indict. 1] 4°, written by one Manuel: *Eus. t., pict.*

163. Barberin. 12 [XI] fol., written in Syria. Scholz says it contains only the portions of the Gospels read in Church-lessons, but Birch the four Gospels, with *Eus. t., κεφ. t.*, the numbers of *ῥήματα* and *στίχοι* to the first three Gospels (see p. 65, note).

164. Barberin. 13 [dated Oct. 1040] 8°, *Eus. t., κεφ. t., syn.*, and the numbers of *στίχοι*. The subscription states that it was written by Leo, a priest and calligrapher, and bought in 1168 by Bartholomew, who compared it with ancient Jerusalem manuscripts on the sacred mount (see p. 53).

165. Barberin. 14 [dated 1197] fol., with the Latin Vulgate version, *Eus. t., κεφ. t., syn.* Written for one Archbishop Paul, and given to the Library by Eugenia, daughter of Jo. Pontanus.

166. Barberin. 115 [XIII] 4°, containing only SS. Luke ix. 33—xxiv. 24 and John.

167. Barberin. 208 [XII or XIV] 12°, *κεφ. t., pict.*, subscriptions numbering the *στίχοι* (p. 65, note).

168. Barberin. 211 [XIII] fol., with Theophylact's commentary.

169. Cod. Vallicellianus B. 133 [XI] 12°, once the property of Achilles Statius, as also was Cod. 171. *Prol., syn., pict.* This codex and the next three are in the Library of St Maria in Vallicella at Rome, and belong to the Fathers of the Oratory of St Philippo Neri.

170. Vallicell. C. 61 [XIII] 4°, *syn.* The end of St Luke and most of St John is in a later hand.

171. Vallicell. C. 73 [XIV] 8°. Montfaucon ascribes it to [XI].

172. Vallicell. F. 90 [XII] 4°, now only contains the Pentateuch, but from Bianchini, *Evan. Quadr. Pt. I* pp. 529—30, we infer that the Gospels were once there.

173. Vatic. 1983, Basil. 22 [XI or XIII] 4°, ending John xiii. 1, seems to have been written in Asia Minor. *Lect., syn., Eus. t.*, the number of *ῥήματα* and *στίχοι* being appended to the first three Gospels as in Codd. 163; 164; 167 (p. 65, note). This codex, and the next four, were brought from the Library of the Basilian monks.

174. Vatic. 2002, Basil. 41 [dated 4th hour of Sept. 2, A.D. 1053] 4°, *mut.* Matth. i. 1—ii. 1; Jo. i. 1—27; ending Jo. viii. 47. Written by the monk Constantine “tabernis habitante,” “cum præset præfecturæ Georgilas dux Calabriæ” (Scholz).

175. (Act. 41, Paul. 194, Apoc. 20). Vat. 2080, Basil. 119 [XII] 4°, contains the whole New Testament (*see* p. 69, note) beginning Matth. iv. 17, with scholia to the Acts, between which and the Catholic Epistles stands the Apocalypse (*see* p. 70). There are some marginal corrections *primâ manu* (e.g. Luke xxiv. 13). The Pauline Epistles have Euthalius' subscriptions. Also inspected by Bianchini.

176. Vat. 2113, Basil. 152 [XIII] 4°, *lect.* Begins Matth. x. 13, ends Jo. ii. 1.

177. Vat. 1, Basil. 163 [XI] 8°, *mut.* Jo. i. 1—29.

178. Cod. Angelicus A. 1. 5 [XII] fol., *Eus. t., mut.* Jo. xxi. 17—25. Arranged in quaternions, and the titles to the Gospels resemble those in Cod. 69. Codd. 178—9 belong to the Angelica convent of Augustinian Eremites at Rome. Montfaucon (*Palæogr. Græca*, pp. 290—1) describes and gives a *facsimile* of Cod. 178. It has on the first leaf the same subscription as we gave under Cod. 87, and which Birch and Scholz misunderstand. *

179. Angelic. A. 4. 11 [XII] 4°, *Eus. t., κεφ. ζ., lect.* The last five leaves (214—18) and two others (23, 30) are *chart.*, and in a later hand.

180. (Act. 82, Paul. 92, Apoc. 44). Cod. Bibl. Propagandæ 250, Borgiæ 2 [XI] 8°, *lect.*; the Gospels were written by one Andreas: the rest of the New Testament (*see* p. 69, note) and some apocryphal books by one John, November 1284¹. This manuscript, with Cod. T and Evst. 37, belonged to the Velitran Museum of “Præsul Steph. Borgia, Collegii Urbani de Propaganda Fide a secretis.”

181. Cod. Francisci Xavier, Cardinal. de Zelada [XI] fol., with scholia in the margin. This manuscript (from which Birch took extracts) seems now missing. Compare Birch, N. T., *Proleg.* p. lviii., Burgon “Last Twelve Verses, &c.” pp. 284, 288.

¹ Or rather A.D. 1274. According to Engelbreth the letters stand *ψτψτβ*, which can only mean A.M. 6782 (*see* p. 40, note 2).

Codd. 182—198, all in that noble Library at Florence, founded by Cosmo de' Medici [d. 1464], increased by his grandson Lorenzo [d. 1492], were very slightly examined by Birch, and subsequently by Scholz. Dean Burgon has described his own researches at Florence in the *Guardian* for August 20 and 27, 1873, from which I have thankfully corrected the statements made in my first edition respecting all the manuscripts there.

182. Cod. Laurentianus Plut. VI. 11 [XII] 4°: τίτλ. to St John only. The titles of the Gospels in lake, forming a kind of imitation of ropework.

183. Laurent. VI. 14 [XIV] 8°, *pict.*, *Eus. t.*, also *κεφ. t.*, *κεφ.*, *Am.*, *Eus.* in gold; and in a later hand *ἀναγνώσματα* and *μεν.*, at the end of which is τέλος σὺν Θεῷ ἀγίῳ τοῦ μνηολογίου, ἀμήν· αὐτῆ, i.e. A.D. 1418. This mode of reckoning is very rare (see p. 40, note 2), and tempted Scholz to read σωῆ of the Greek era, i.e. A.D. 910.

184. Laurent. VI. 15 [XIII] 4°, written in two columns. *Carp.*, *prol.*, *Am.*, *Eus.*, *mut.*, unfinished.

185. Laurent. VI. 16 [XII] 4°, *prol.*, *κεφ. t.*, *κεφ.*, *ἀναγνώσματα*, *Am.* (not *Eus.*: see p. 59, note 1). *Syn.* were written by one Basil.

186. Laurent. VI. 18 [XI] fol., *prol.*, fine *pict.*, *Eus. t.*, commentary (Victor's on St Mark); written by Leontius, a calligrapher. Burgon cites Bandini's Catal. i. 130—3, where the elaborate *syn.* are given in full.

187. Laurent. VI. 23 [XII] 4°, *pict.* very rich and numerous. *Carp.*, *Eus. t.*, *κεφ. t.*, τίτλ., *Am.* (not *Eus.*), all in gold. A peculiar kind of asterisk occurs very frequently in the text and margin, the purpose of which is not clear.

188. Laurent. VI. 25 [XI] 8°, *syn.*, *μεν.*, full and beautiful. *Prol.*, *κεφ. t.*, τίτλ., *Am.*, *Eus.*

189. (Act. 141, Paul. 239). Laurent. VI. 27 [XII] 12°, minute and beautifully written, *mut.* from John XIX. 38. *Μεν.*, τίτλ., *ἀναγνώσματα* only.

190. Laurent. VI. 28 [dated July 1285, Ind. 13] 8°, *pict.*, *prol.*, *κεφ. t.*, *Am.* (not *Eus.*).

191. Laurent. VI. 29 [XIII] 8°, *prol.*, with στίχοι numbered: *ἀναγνώσματα* marked in a more recent hand.

192. Laurent. VI. 30 [XIII] 12°, *prol.*, *κεφ. t.*, *Am.* and *Eus.* in one line, the latter later (see Cod. 112): ἀρχῆ of *lect.*, never τέλος.

193. Laurent. VI. 32 [XI] 8°, *Carp.*, *Eus. t.*, *pict.*, *κεφ.*, *Am.* (not *Eus.*), *ἀναγνώσματα*, *lect.*

194. Laurent. VI. 33 [XI] large 4°, *pict.*, and a marginal catena (Victor's on St Mark) resembling that of Cod. 34: e.g. on Luke XXIV. 13. *Κεφ.*, *Am.* (not *Eus.*). Begins Matth. III. 7.

195. Laurent. VI. 34 [XI] a superb 4°, once belonged to the Cistercian convent of S. Salvator de Septimo. *Prol.* (the same as in

Cod. 186, attributed to Eusebius), *syn.*, and a commentary (Victor's on St Mark). The date of the year is lost, but the month (May) and indiction (8) remain. *Κεφ. τ., κεφ., Am., Eus., syn., men.*

196. Laurent. VIII. 12 [XII] large 4°, the text in red letters (see p. 173, note), *pict.*, with a catena in black. *Κεφ. τ., κεφ.* Given by a son of Cosmo de' Medici in 1473 to the Convent of St Mark at Florence.

197. (Act. 90) Laurent. VIII. 14 [XI] fol., contains the Epistle of St James with a marginal gloss: also portions of SS. Matthew and Mark, with Chrysostom's commentary on St Matthew, and Victor's on St Mark, all imperfect.

198. Laurent. *Ædil.* 221 [XIII] 4°, on cotton paper, *Carp., Eus. t., κεφ. τ.:* from the library "Ædiliūm Flor. Ecc." Here again *Am.* and *Eus.* are in the same line (see Cod. 112): the *ἀναγνώσματα* also are numbered.

Codd. 199—203 were inspected, rather than collated, by Birch at Florence before 1788; the first two in the Benedictine library of St Maria; the others in that of St Mark, belonging to the Dominican Friars. Scholz could not find any of them, but 201 is Wetstein's 107, Scrivener's m; 202 is now in the British Museum, Addit. 14774. The other two Burgon found in the Laurentian Library, whither they came at the suppression of monasteries in 1810.

199. Laurent. 99, once Cod. S. Mariæ, 67 [XII] 4°, *Eus. t., κεφ. τ., κεφ., pict., lect.,* with iambic verses and various scholia. The *στίχοι* are numbered and, besides *Am., Eus.,* there exists in parts a Harmony at the foot of the pages, such as is described in p. 58, note 2.

200. Laurent. 69, once S. Mariæ 66 [X] 4°, *pict., Carp., Eus. t., κεφ. τ., Am.,* all in gold: *Eus.* in red, *κεφ., syn.,* with fragments of Gregory of Nyssa against the Arians. There are many scholia in vermilion scattered throughout the book. Codd. 199, 200 were presented to St Maria's by Antonio Corbinelli [d. 1423]: the latter from St Justina's, another Benedictine house.

*201. (Act. 91, Paul. 104, Apoc. b^{scr}, or Kelly 94) Cod. Prædicator. S. Marci 701 [dated Oct. 7, 1357, Ind. 11], large fol., on 492 leaves. This splendid copy was purchased for the British Museum (where it is numbered Butl. 2, or Addit. 11837) from the heirs of Dr Samuel Butler, Bishop of Lichfield. It contains the whole New Testament (p. 69, note); was first cited by Wetstein (107) from notices by Jo. Lamy, in his "de Eruditione Apostolorum," Florence, 1738; glanced at by Birch, and stated by Scholz (N. T. Vol. II. pp. XII, XXVIII) to have been cursorily collated by himself: how that is possible can hardly be understood, as he elsewhere professes his ignorance whither the manuscript had gone (N. T. Vol. I. p. LXXXI). Scrivener collated the whole volume. There are many changes by a later hand, also *syn., κεφ. τ., Am., Eus., lect., prol.,* and some foreign matter.

202. Prædicat. S. Marci 705, now Brit. Mus. Addit. 14774 [xii] 4°, *syn.*, κεφ. *t.* (in red and gold), κεφ., τίτλ., *Am.*, *Eus.* (the last often omitted), *lect.*, *men.*, *pict.* This splendid copy cost the Museum £84 (Bloomfield).

203. Prædicat. S. Marci 707 [xv] 4°, *chart.*, is really in modern Greek. Birch cites it for Jo. vii. 53, but it ought to be expunged from the list.

204. (Act. 92) [xi or xiii] formerly Bononiensis Canonico. Regular. St Salvador 640, now (since the suppression of the house in 1867) in the Royal Library at Bologna, 2775. *Syn.*, κεφ., ἀναγνώσματα numbered (without *Am.*, *Carp.*), *lect.*, *pict.* (Birch, Scholz, corrected by Burgon).

Codd. 205—215, 217 in the Ducal palace at Venice, were slightly examined by Birch in 1783, carefully by Burgon in 1872.

205. (Act. 93, Paul. 106, Apoc. 88) Venet. Libr. S. Marci 5, (86: 4) [xv] large fol., contains both Testaments, with many peculiar readings. It was written for Cardinal Bessarion (apparently by John Rhosen his librarian), the donor of all these books. This is Dean Holmes' No. 68 in the Septuagint, and contains a note in the Cardinal's hand: τόπος μκ. Ἡ θεία γραφή παλαιά τε καὶ νέα πάντα κτήμα Βησσαρίωνος Καρδηνάλεως Ἐπισκόπου Καβίνων τοῦ (sic) καὶ Νικαίας. By τόπος μκ Holmes understands the class mark of the volume in Bessarion's Library. Κεφ. *t.*, κεφ., with subscriptions to the Gospels. C. F. Rink considers it in the *Gospels* a copy of Cod. 209 ("Lucubratio Critica in Act. Apost. Epp. C. et P.," Basileæ, 1830). Burgon, who fully admits their wonderful similarity in respect to the text, judges that Cod. 205, which is much more modern than Cod. 209, was transcribed from the same *uncial* archetype.

206. (Act. 94, Paul. 107) Venet. 6 (also 86: 4) [xv or xvi] large fol., like Codd. 69 and 233, is partly on parchment, partly on paper. It contains both Testaments, but is not numbered for the Apocalypse. A mere duplicate of Cod. 205, as Holmes saw clearly: it is his No. 122.

207. Venet. 8 (86: 7) [xi or xii] 4°, *Carp.*, *Eus. t.*, κεφ. *t.*, τίτλ., κεφ., *Am.* (not *Eus.*) in gold, *syn.*, *mut.* in Matth. i. 1—13; Mark. i. 1—11, for the sake of the gorgeous illuminations. Written in two columns. Once owned by A. F. R.

208. Venet. 9 (86: 1) [xi or xii] 8°, *Eus. t.*, κεφ. *t.*, τίτλ., *Am.*, *Eus.*, of some value, but far less so than the important

209. (Act. 95, Paul. 108, Apoc. 46) Venet. 10 (86: 1) [xi or xii] 8°, of the whole New Testament, once Bessarion's, who had it with him at the Council of Florence, 1439. There are numerous minute marginal notes in vermilion, obviously *primâ manu.* In its delicate style of writing this copy greatly resembles Cod. 1 (*fac-simile*, No. 23). Κεφ. *t.*, τίτλ., κεφ., *Am.* (not *Eus.*), also the modern chapters in the margin. *Prol.* to Epistles, *lect.*, but not much in the Gospels, before each of which stands a blank leaf, as if for *pict.* A good collation of Codd. 205 and 209 is needed; Birch did little, En

gelbreth gave him some readings, and Fleck has published part of a collation by Heimbach. In the Gospels they are very like Codd. B. 1. The Apocalypse is in a later hand, somewhat resembling that of Cod. 205, and has *prol.* For the unusual order of the books, *see above*, p. 70.

210. Venet. 27 (also 86: 4) [XI or XII] a noble fol., with a catena (Victor's commentary on St Mark). *Mut.* Matth. i. 1—ii. 18 from the same cause as in Cod. 207. Rich blue and gold illuminations, and pictures of SS. Mark and Luke. *Τίτλ., κεφ., Am., Eus.*

211. Venet. 539 (86: 5) [XII] fol., *mut.* Luke i. 1—ii. 32; John i. 1—iv. 2, with an Arabic version in the right-hand column of each page. *Κεφ. τ., Am., Eus.* (irregularly inserted), *lect., syn.* The *ρήματα* and *στίχοι* numbered (*see* p. 65, note).

Burgon cites Zanetti *Græca D. Marc. Bibl. Codd. MSS.* Venet. 1740, p. 291, for the enumeration of the five Patriarchates (*see above*, p. 65), and other curious matter appended to St John. The heading of the second Gospel is *εὐαγγέλιον ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Μάρκον*: *see* p. 190 and note 2.

212. Venet. 540 (86: 6) [XII] 8°, the first page in gold, with *pick.* and most elaborate illuminations. Much *mut.*, twenty leaves being supplied in a modern hand. *Carp., Eus. t., κεφ. τ., τίτλ., lect., Am.* with *Eus.* in a line with them (*see* Cod. 112), a little later, carried only to the end of St Mark.

213. Venet. 542 (86: 1) [XI] 8°, *mut.* John xviii. 40—xxi. 25. *Eus. t., τίτλ., κεφ., (Am., Eus.* most irregularly inserted), few *ἀρχαὶ* and *τέλη, ἀναγνώσματα* numbered (*see* p. 65, note), heroic verses as colophons to the Gospels. Large full stops are found in impossible places.

214. Venet. 543 (86: 7) [XIV] 8°, *chart., syn., κεφ. τ., τίτλ., κεφ., Am.* (not *Eus.*), *ἀναγνώσματα* numbered, *lect.*

215. Venet. 544 (86: 5) [XI] fol., *Carp., Eus. t., κεφ. τ., τίτλ., κεφ., Am., Eus., pick., lect., syn.* This copy is a duplicate of Codd. 20, 300, as well in its text as in the subscriptions and commentary, being without any of the later corrections seen in Cod. 20. The commentary on St John is Chrysostom's, those on the other Gospels the same as in Cod. 300 (Burgon).

216. Codex Canonici, brought by him from Corcyra, written in a small character [no date assigned], never was at St Mark's, as Scholz alleges: Griesbach inserted it in his list through a misunderstanding of Birch's meaning. It is probably one of those now at Oxford, to be described hereafter.

217. Venet. S. Marci, Gr. cl. i. cod. 3 (86: 1), given in 1478 by Peter de Montagnana to the monastery of St John in Viridario, at Padua (VIII. A.) [XIII] small 4°, in fine condition. *Carp., Eus. t., κεφ. τ., τίτλ., κεφ., Am.* (not *Eus.*), full *syn.*, few *lect.*

Codd. 218—225 are in the Imperial Library at Vienna. Alter and Birch collated them about the same time, the latter but cursorily.

*218. (Act. 65, Paul. 57, Apoc. 33) Cæsar-Vindobon. 23, Lambec. 1, Nessel. 23 [XIII] fol., contains both Testaments (*see* p. 69, note). *Mut.* Apoc. xiii. 5—xiv. 8; xv. 7—xvii. 2; xviii. 10—xix. 15; ending at xx. 7 *λυθήσεται*. This important copy, containing many peculiar readings, was described by Treschow, and comprises the text of Alter's inconvenient, though fairly accurate N. T. 1786—7, to be described in Chap. v. Like Cod. 123 it was brought from Constantinople by de Busbeck.

219. Lambec. 32, Nessel. 321 [XIII] 8°, *prol.*

220. Lambec. 33, Nessel. 337 [XIV] 12°, in very small letters.

221. Cæsar-Vindobon. Lambec. 38, Nessel. 117 [XI] fol., with commentaries (Chrysostom on Matth., John; Victor on Mark, Titus of Bostra on Luke), to which the portions of the text here given are accommodated: it begins Matth. i. 11.

222. Cæsar-Vindobon. Lambec. 39, Nessel. 180 [XIV] 4°, on cotton paper, *mut.* Contains portions of the Gospels, with a commentary (Victor's on St Mark).

223. Cæsar-Vindobon. Lambec. 40, Nessel. 301 [XIV] 4°, contains fragments of SS. Matthew, Luke and John, with a catena. Codd. 221—3 must be cited cautiously: Alter appears to have made no systematic use of them.

224. Cæsar-Vindob. Kollar. 8, Forlos. 30 [date not given] 4°, only contains St Matthew. This copy came from Naples.

225. Cæsar-Vindobon. Kollar. 9, Forlos. 31 [dated 5ψ' or A. D. 1192] 8°, more important. *Syn., men.*

Codd. 226—233 are in the Escorial, described by D. G. Moldenhawer, who collated them about 1783, loosely enough, for Birch's edition, in a temper which by no means disposed him to exaggerate their value (*see below*, Chap. v). In 1870 the Librarian, José Fernandez Montana (in order to correct Haenel's errors) sent to Mr Wm. Kelly, who obligingly communicated it to me, a complete catalogue of the four copies of the Greek Bible, and of nineteen of the New Testament "neither more nor less," then at the Escorial, with their present class-marks. I do not recognise either in his list, or in that subjoined, the "Codex Aureus containing the Four Gospels in letters of gold, a work of the early part of the eleventh century," spoken of in the *Globe* newspaper of Oct. 3, 1872 on occasion of the fire at the Escorial on Oct. 2, which however did not touch the manuscripts. Perhaps that Codex is in Latin, unless it be Evst. 40.

226. (Act. 108, Paul. 228) Codex Escorialensis χ. iv. 17 [XI] 8°, on the finest vellum, richly ornamented, in a small, round, very neat hand. *Eus. t., κεφ. t., lect., pict., τίτλοι, κεφ., Am., Eus.* Many corrections were made by a later hand, but the original text is valuable, and the readings sometimes unique. Fairly collated.

227. Escorial. χ. III. 15 [XIII] 4°, *prol., κεφ. t., Am., pict.* A later hand, which dates from 1308, has been very busy in making corrections.

228. (Act. 109, Paul. 229) Escorial. χ . iv. 12 [xiv: Montana xvi] 8°, *chart.* Once belonged to Nicolas Nathanael of Crete, then to Andreas Damarius of Epidaurus, a calligrapher. *Eus. t., syn.*¹

229. Escorial. χ . iv. 21 [dated 1140] 8°, written by Basil Argypolus, a notary. *Mut. Mark xvi. 15—20; John i. 1—11. Pict., lect.*; the latter by a hand of about the 14th century, which retraced much of the discoloured ink, and corrected in the margin (since mutilated by the binder) very many important readings of the first hand, which often resemble those of ADK I. 72. This copy must be mislaid, as it is not in Montana's list.

230. Escorial. ϕ (Montana ψ). III. 5 [dated Oct. 29, 1013, with the wrong Indiction, 11 for 12: Montana's date is 1014, and the error is probably not his: see p. 40, note 2] 4°, written by Luke a monk and priest, with double *syn.*², *Carp.*, *κεφ. t.*, subscriptions with the number of *ῥήματα* and *στίχοι*: see p. 65, note. An interesting copy, deemed by Moldenhawer worthy of closer examination.

231. Escorial. ϕ (Montana ψ). III. 6 [xii] 4°, *lect.*, *Eus. t.* torn, *κεφ. t.*, a picture "quæ Marcum mentitur," subscriptions with *στίχοι* numbered, *syn.*, *men.* There are some marginal glosses by a later hand (which obelizes Jo. vii. 53 *seq.*), and a Latin version above parts of St Matthew.

232. Escorial. ϕ (Montana ψ). III. 7 [xiii: dated 1292, Montana] 4°, very elegant but otherwise a poor copy. Double *syn.*, *τίτλοι* in the margin of SS. Matthew and Luke, but elsewhere kept apart.

233. Escorial. γ . II. 8 [xi, Montana xiii], like Codd. 69 and 206, is partly of parchment, partly paper, in bad condition, and once belonged to Matthew Dandolo, a Venetian noble. It has a catena, and by reason of ligatures, &c. (see p. 42) is hard to read. *Prol.*, *κεφ. t.*, *Eus. t.* (apart), some iambs, and *ῥήματα*, *στίχοι* to the first two Gospels.

234. (Act. 57, Paul. 72) Codex Havniensis I. [dated 1278] 4°, one of the several copies written by Theodore (see p. 41, note 2). This copy and Cod. 235 are now in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, but were bought at Venice by F. Rostgaard in 1699. The order of the books in Cod. 234 is described p. 70. *Syn.*, *men.*, *lect.*, with many corrections. (C. G. Hensler, 1784.)

235. Havniensis. 2 [dated 1314] 4°, written by the *ἱερομόναχος* Philotheus, though very incorrectly; the text agrees much with Codd. DK I. 33 and the Philoxenian Syriac. *Κεφ. t.*, *lect.*; the words are often ill divided and the stops misplaced (Hensler).

236. Readings extracted by Griesbach (*Symbolæ Criticæ* I. pp. 247—304) from the margin of a copy of Mill's Greek Testament

¹ Thus, at least, I understand Moldenhawer's description, "Evangeliiis et Actis λέξαι subjiciuntur dudum in vulgus notæ."

² By double *syn.* Moldenhawer may be supposed to mean here and in Cod. 232 both *syn.* and *men.*

in the Bodleian, either in his own or Thomas Hearne's handwriting. Scrivener (*Cod. Augiensis, Introd.* p. xxxvi) has shewn that they were derived from Evan. 440, which see below.

Codd. 237—259 are nearly all Moscow manuscripts, and were thoroughly collated by C. F. Matthæi, for his N. T. to be described in Chapter v. These Russian codices were for the most part brought from the twenty-two monasteries of Mount Athos by the monk Arsenius, on the suggestion of the Patriarch Nico, in the reign of Michael, son of Alexius (1645—76), and placed in the Library of the Holy Synod, at Moscow.

*237. S. Synod 42 [x] fol., Matthæi's d, from Philotheus (a monastery), *pict.*, with scholia, and Victor's commentary on St Mark.

*238. Syn. 48 (Mt. e) [xi] fol., with a catena and scholia; contains only SS. Matthew and Mark, but is of good quality. This copy formed the basis of Matthæi's edition of Victor's commentary on St Mark, 1775 (Burgon).

*239. Syn. 47 (Mt. g) [xi] fol., contains Mark xvi. 2—8; Luke; John to xxi. 23, with scholia.

*240. Syn. 49 (Mt. i) [xii] fol., once belonging to Philotheus, then to Dionysius (monasteries) on Athos, with the commentary of Euthymius Zigabenus. *Mut.* Mark viii. 12—34; xiv. 17—54; Luke xv. 32—xvi. 8.

*241. (Act. 104, Paul. 120, Apoc. 47) Cod. Dresdensis A. 172 (Tregelles), once Matthæi's (k) [xi] 4°, *syn.*, the whole N. T. (p. 69, note), beautifully written, with rare readings.

*242. (Act. 105, Paul. 121, Apoc. 48) Syn. 380 (Mt. 1) [xii] 8°, the whole N. T. (p. 69, note), with Psalms, *ᾠδαί, prol., pict., Eus. t.*

*243. Cod. Typographeï S. Syn. 13 (Mt. m) [xiv] fol., on cotton paper, from the Iberian monastery on Athos, contains SS. Matthew and Luke with Theophylact's commentary.

*244. Typograph. 1 (Mt. n) [xii] fol., *pict.*, with Euthymius Zigabenus' commentary.

*245. Syn. 265 (Mt. o) [dated 1199] 4°, from the famous monastery of Batopedion, written by John, a priest.

*246. Syn. 261 (Mt. p) [xiv] 4°, *chart.*, with marginal various readings. *Mut.* Matth. xii. 41—xiii. 55; John xvii. 24—xviii. 20.

*247. Syn. 373 (Mt. q) [xii] 8°, *syn.*, from Philotheus.

*248. Syn. 264 (Mt. r) [dated 1275] 4°, written by Meletius a Beroean for Cyrus Alypius, *οἰκόνομος* of St George's monastery, in the reign of Michael Palæologus (1259—82).

*249. Syn. 94 (Mt. s) [xi] fol., from *Παντοκράτωρ* monastery (as Cod. 74). Contains St John with a catena.

*250. Syn. in a box (Mt. v) [xiii] is the cursive portion of Cod. V (see p. 144, and note), John vii. 39—xxi. 25. It is also Wetstein's Cod. 87.

*251. Cod. Tabularii Imperial. at Moscow (Mt. x) [xi] 4°, *Eus. t.*, *pict.*

*252. Cod. Dresdensis A. 145 (Tregelles), once Matthaei's (z) [xi] 4°, with corrections and double readings (as from another copy), but *primæ manu.*

*253. Codex of Nicephorus Archbishop of Cherson "et Slabinii," (Slaviansk?)¹ formerly belonged to the monastery of St Michael at Jerusalem (Mt. 10) [xi] fol., with scholia, Victor's commentary on St Mark, and rare readings, much resembling those of Cod. 259.

*254. Codex belonging to Matthaei (11), now Dresden A. 100 (Tregelles) [xi] fol., from the monastery of St Athanasius. Contains SS. Luke and John with scholia: *pict.*

*255. Syn. 139 (Mt. 12) [xiii] fol., once "Dionysii monachi rhetoris et amicorum." Commentaries of Chrysostom and others (*ἐξηγητικαὶ ἐκλογαὶ*), with fragments of the text interspersed.

*256. Typogr. Syn. 3 (Mt. 14) [ix ?] fol., scholia on SS. Mark and Luke, with portions of the text. The commentary on St Mark is ascribed to Victor, but in this copy and the preceding the scholia are but few in number (Burgon).

*257. Syn. 120 (Mt. 15) is Cod. O, described p. 137.

*258. Cod. Dresdensis A. 123 (Tregelles), (Mt. 17) [xiii] 4°, barbarously written: *pict.*

*259. Syn. 45 (Mt. a) [xi] fol., from the Iberian monastery, with a commentary (Victor's on St Mark), *syn.*, *Eus. t.* This is one of Matthaei's best manuscripts. His other twenty-two copies contain portions of Chrysostom, for which see Chapter iv.

Codd. 260—469 were added to the list by Scholz (see Chapter v): the very few he professes to have collated thoroughly will be distinguished by *.

260. Codex Regius 51, Paris [xii] fol., once (like Cod. 309) "domini du Fresne," correctly written: *pict.*

261. Reg. 52 [xiv] fol., once at the monastery of the Forerunner at Constantinople (see p. 193, note). *Lect.*, *mut.* Luke xxiv. 39—53. Matth. i. 1—xi. 1 supplied [xiv] *chart.*

*262. Reg. 53 [x] fol., *syn.*, *Eus. t.*, with rare readings and subscriptions like those of Cod. A (see above, p. 154) and Codd. 300, 376, 428.

263. (Act. 117, Paul. 137, Apoc. 54) Reg. 61 [xiii] 4°, *Eus. t.* torn, *Am.*, *pict.* Probably from Asia Minor. It once belonged to Jo. Hurault Boistaller, as did Codd. 301, 306, 314.

¹ Holmes, *Præfatio ad Pentateuchum*, describes his Cod. 32 as "e Codicibus Eugenii, olim Archiepiscopi Slabinii et Chersonis." Nicephorus also is named by Holmes as the editor of a *Catena* on the *Octateuch* and the four books of Kings from the Constantinopolitan manuscripts (Leipsic, 1772—3), and is described as "primo Hieromonachus, et postea Archiepiscopus Slabiniensis et Chersonensis, sedem Astracani habens" (*ubi supra*, Cap. iv).

264. Reg. 65 [XIII] 4°, with what have been called Coptic-like letters, but brought from the East in 1718 by Paul Lucas. The leaves are misplaced in binding, as are those of Cod. 272. At the foot of every page is a harmony like those in Codd. E, W^d. See p. 58, note 2. (Burgon).
265. Reg. 66 [x] 4°, once belonged to Philibert de la Mare.
266. Reg. 67 [x] 4°, *syn*.
267. Reg. 69 [x] 4°, *lect., mut.* Matth. i. 1—8; Mark i. 1—7; Luke i. 1—8; xxiv. 50—John i. 12.
268. Reg. 73 [XII] 4°, *Eus. t., syn., pict.*
269. Reg. 74 [XI] 4°, *pict.*
270. Reg. 75 [XI] 8°, *syn.*, with a mixed text.
271. Reg. 75^a Scholz, but really Supplem. Græc. 75 [XII] 8°, *Eus. t., pict.*
272. Reg. 76 [XI] 12°, once Melchisedech Thevenot's.
273. Reg. 79, 4°, on vellum [XII], but partly on cotton paper [XIV], contains also some scholia, extracts from Severianus' commentary, annals of the Gospels, *Eus. t.*, a list of the Gospel parables, parts of *syn.*, with a mixed text.
274. Reg. 79^a Scholz, but really Supplem. Græc. 79 [x] 4°, once belonged to Maximus Panagiotes, *protocanon* of the Church at Callipolis (there were many places of this name: but see Cod. 346). *Pict., Eus. t., syn., men., musical notation, mut.* (but supplied in a later hand, *chart.*) Mark i. 1—17; vi. 21—54; John i. 1—20; iii. 18—iv. 1; vii. 23—42; ix. 10—27; xviii. 12—29. Dean Burgon has a photograph of this manuscript, which he regards as a specimen of the transition period between uncial and cursive writing. The subscription, resembling that of Cod. L, set in the margin of Cod. 274, he judges to look as old as that of L: see Chapter IX, Mark xvi. 9—20.
275. Reg. 80 [XI] 8°, antea Memmianus, *Eus. t., prol.*, portions of *syn.*
276. Reg. 81 [XI] 8°, written by Nicephorus of the monastery Meletius: *Eus. t., pict.*
277. Reg. 81 A [XI] 8°, *Eus. t., pict.*: some portions supplied by a later hand.
278. Reg. 82 [XII] 8°, once Mazarin's, with Armenian inscriptions, *Eus. t., pict., syn.* Matth. xiii. 43—xvii. 5 is in a later hand.
279. Reg. 86 [XII] 12°, this copy and Cod. 294 were brought from Patmos and given to Louis XIV. in 1686 by Joseph George-irenus, Archbishop of Samos. *Eus. t., syn., pict.*
280. Reg. 87 [XII] 8°, parts of *syn., prol., mut.* Mark viii. 3—xv. 36.

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281. Reg. 88 [XII] 8°, *Eus. t., pict., mut.* Matth. xxviii 11—20; Luke i 1—9. Given to the Monastery "Deiparæ Hieracis" by the eremite monk Meletius.

282. Reg. 90 [dated 1176] 12°.

283. Reg. 92 [XIV] 8°.

284. Reg. 93 [XIII] 8°, *Eus. t., pict., syn.* Once Teller's of Rheims and Peter Stella's.

285. Reg. 95, olim $\frac{2865}{3}$ [XIV] 8°, *pict.*, once Teller's (58): given by Augustin Justinian to Jo. Maria of Catana. This codex is Kuster's Paris 1 and Wetstein's 10. See Cod. 10, p. 180.

286. Reg. 96 [dated April 12, 1432, Indiction 10] 8°, by the monk Calistus, with the Paschal canon for the years 1432—1502.

287. Reg. 98 [XV] 8°, *chart.* Written by Hermonymus (*see* Cod. 70, p. 191), with a most interesting personal memorandum by its original owner D. Chambellan, and a portrait of his betrothed, 1479. Burgon, *Guardian*, Jan. 22, 1873.

288. Reg. 99 [XVI] 8°, *chart.*, once German Brixius': contains St Luke only.

289. Reg. 100 A [dated Feb. 15, 1625] fol., *chart.*, written by Lucas ἀρχιδύτης.

290. Reg. 108 a [XIII] 4°, on cotton paper; from the Sorbonne: *syn.*

291. Reg. 113 [XII] 8°, *syn.*: belonged to one Nicolaas

292. Reg. 114 [XI] 8°, *syn., pict., mut.* Matth. i. 1—vii. 14; John xix. 14—xxi. 25.

293. Reg. 117 [dated Nov. 1373] 16°, *syn., pict.*, written by Manuel for Blasius a monk.

294. Reg. 218 [XIII] 16°, *pict., mut.* Matth. i. 18—xii. 25. See Cod. 279.

295. Reg. 120 [XIII] 16°, *mut.* Matth. i. 1—11.

296. Reg. 123 [XVI] 16°, written by Angelus Vergecius (*see* p. 42, note 2).

297. Reg. 140 a [XII] 12°, *pict., syn.*

298. Reg. 175 a [XII] 8°, from the Jesuits' Public Library, Lyons: *pict., syn.*

*299. Reg. 177 [XI] fol., an accurately written copy with a mixed text, Victor's commentary on St Mark, and scholia which seem to have been written in Syria by a partisan of Theodore of Mopsuestia: *prol., Eus. t., pict.*, and other fragments.

*300. Reg. 186 [XI] a noble fol., more roughly written than the sister copy Cod. 20 (*see* p. 182), "olim fonte-blandensis," (Fontainbleau?), contains the first three Gospels, with subscriptions like that

of Cod. 262. *Eus. t., syn.*, a catena, "*πάρεργα de locis selectis*," and in the outer margin commentaries in a later hand, Chrysostom's on St Matthew, Victor's or Cyril's of Alexandria on St Mark (Codd. 20, 300 mention both names), and that of Titus of Bostra on St Luke. See Cod. 428, and especially Cod. 215.

*301. Reg. 187 [xi] fol., once Boistaller's, a mixed text with a catena (Victor on St Mark).

302. Reg. 193 [xvi] fol., *chart.*, once Mazarin's: contains fragments of SS. Matthew and Luke with a commentary.

303. Reg. 194 A [xi] fol., contains vellum fragments of John i—iv; and on cotton paper, dated 1255, Theophylact's commentary, and some iambic verses written by Nicander, a monk.

304. Reg. 194 [xiii] fol., once Teller's: contains SS. Matthew and Mark with a catena, that of St Mark possibly a modification of Victor's (Burgon).

305. Reg. 195 [xiii] fol., on cotton paper, once Mazarin's. Burgon states that this copy contains nothing but the commentary of Euthymius Zigabenus.

306. Reg. 197 [xii] fol., once Boistaller's, contains SS. Matthew and John with Theophylact's commentary.

307. Reg. 199 [xi] a grand fol., *mut.*, contains only Chrysostom's Homilies on SS. Matthew and John (Burgon).

308. Reg. 200 [xii] fol., once Mazarin's: *mut.*, contains the same as Cod. 307.

309. Reg. 201 [xii] small fol., "very peculiar in its style and beautifully written," *pic.*, once du Fresne's, has SS. Matthew and John with Chrysostom's commentary, Luke with that of Titus of Bostra, Mark with Victor's. See Burgon, "Last Twelve Verses of St Mark," p. 287. "This is not properly a text of the Gospel: but parts of the text (*κείμενον*) interwoven with the commentary (*ἐρμηνεία*)," *ibid.* p. 282.

310. Reg. 202 [xi] fol., has St Matthew with a catena, once Colbert's (as also were Codd. 267, 273, 279, 281—3, 286—8, 291, 294, 296, 315, 318—9). Formerly given to St Saba's monastery by its Provost Arsenius.

311. Reg. 203 [xii] fol., once Mazarin's: this also has St Matthew with a catena.

312. Reg. 206 [dated A.D. 1308] small fol., Victor's commentary without the text, like that in Cod. 20, which (and Cod. 300) it closely resembles (Burgon, *ibid.* p. 279, note).

313. Reg. 208 [xiv] fol., *chart.*, *mut.*, once Mazarin's, contains St Luke with a catena.

314. Reg. 209 [xii] fol., once Boistaller's, contains St John with a remarkable catena (quite different from that published by Cramer), with the names of the several authors (Burgon).

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315. Reg. 210 [XIII] fol., has the same contents as Cod. 314. *Mut.* John xiv. 25—xv. 16; xxi. 22—25.

316. Reg. 211 [XII] fol., on cotton paper, brought from Constantinople. Contains SS. John and Luke with a commentary. *Mut.*

317. Reg. 212 [XII] fol., "olim Medicæus" (see p. 117, note 2), contains John x. 9—xxi. 25 with a catena.

318. Reg. 213 [XIV] fol., has John vii. 1—xxi. 25 with a commentary.

319. Reg. 231 [XII] 4°, with a commentary, *mut.*

320. Reg. 232 [XI] 4°, has St Luke with a commentary.

321. Reg. 303 [XIII] is rather Evst. 101 (Burgon).

322. Reg. 315 [XV] is rather Evst. 14 (Burgon).

323. Reg. 118 a [XVI] 4°, contains Matth. vi. vii. and a Greek version of some Arabic fables.

324. (Evst. 97, Apost. 32) Reg. 376 [XIII] 4°, once Mazarin's, together with some lessons from the Acts, Epistles, and Gospels, contains also the Gospels complete, *Eus. t., syn.* (on cotton paper), and a chronological list of Emperors from Constantine to Manuel Porphyrogenetus (A.D. 1143).

325. Reg. 377 [XIII] 4°, is rather Evst. 98 (Burgon).

326. Reg. 378 [XIV] 4°, contains commentaries (*ἐπιμήνεια*) on certain ecclesiastical lessons or texts (*τὸ κελεύρον*). This is not a manuscript of the Gospels, properly so called.

327. Reg. 380 [XV] 4°, is rather Evst. 99 (Burgon).

328. Reg. 381 [XVI] 4°, is rather Evst. 100 (Burgon).

329. Coislin. 19 [XI] large fol., with a commentary (Victor's on St Mark). Described (as is also Cod. 331) by Montfaucon.

330. (Act. 132, Paul. 131) Coislin. 196 [XI] 8°, from Athos. *Eus. t., prol.* This manuscript has disappeared from the Paris Library (Burgon).

331. Coislin. 197 [XII] 4°, once Hector D'Ailli's, Bishop of Toul: *syn.*

332. Codex Taurinensis xx. b. iv. 20 (C. ii. 4, Burgon) [XI] fol., at Turin, *prol., pict.* with a commentary (Victor's on St Mark). Burgon cites Pasinus' Catalogue, P. i. p. 91.

333. Taurin. b. iv. 4 (B. i. 9, Burgon) [XIII] fol., on cotton paper, once belonged to Arsenius, Archb. of Monembasia in the Morea, then to Gabriel, metropolitan of Philadelphia: contains SS. Matthew and John with Nicetas' catena.

334. Taurin. 43, b. v. 23 (B. iii. 8, Burgon) [XIV] fol. SS. Matthew and Mark with a commentary: *prol.*

335. Taurin. 44, b. v. 24 (B. iii. 2, Burgon) [xvi] fol., *chart.*, *prol.*
336. Taurin. 101, c. iv. 17 (B. ii. 17, Burgon) [xvi] fol., *chart.*, St Luke with a catena.
337. Taurin. 52, b. v. 2 (B. iii. 25, Burgon) [xii] fol., parts of St Matthew with a commentary.
338. Taurin. 335, b. i. 3 (B. vii. 33, Burgon) [xii] 12°, *Eus. t.*, *pict.*
339. (Act. 135, Paul. 170, Apoc. 83) Taurin. 302, c. ii. 5 (B. v. 8, Burgon) [xiii] 4°, *prol.*, *Eus. t.*, *syn.*, and other matter¹. See p. 69, note.
340. Taurin. 344, b. i. 13 (B. vii. 6, Burgon) [xi]?, with many later corrections.
341. Taurin. 350, b. i. 21 (B. vii. 14, Burgon) [dated 1296] 4°, written by Nicetas Mauron, a reader: *syn.*
342. Taurin. 149, b. ii. 3 (B. v. 4, Burgon) [xiii] 4°, *Eus. t.*
343. Codex Ambrosianus H. 13 *sup.* [xii] 12°, at Milan, *lect.*, *Eus. t.*, *pict.* Written by Antony, a priest, on Sunday, Sept. 1, of the third Indiction, which in the twelfth century, if that be its date, might be A.D. 1140 or 1185. Seen by Burgon.
344. Ambros. G. 16 *sup.* [xii] 12°, *syn.*, *mut.* John xxi. 12—25. But Luke xiii. 21—xvi. 23; xxi. 12[?]; xxii. 12—23; xxiii. 45—John xxi. 25 are [xiv] *chart.* Burgon states that the first page of St Matthew, and several of the early pages of St Luke, have been re-written over the original text, which had become almost obliterated.
345. Ambros. 17 [xi] 12°, *syn.*, *mut.* Matth. i. 1—11.
- *346. Ambros. S. 23 *sup.* [xii] 4°, carelessly written, with very unusual readings². *Mut.* John iii. 26—vii. 52. Bought in 1606 at Gallipoli in Calabria. Collated by Ceriani for Professor Ferrar, by Dean Burgon and the Rev. W. F. Rose from Luke xxi. 37 to the end of that Gospel. It is the last in numerical order of Abbott's four (see Cod. 13, p. 181). He gives a *facsimile* of Luke xi. 49—51.
347. Ambros. 35 [xii] 8°, *prol.*, *lect.*, correctly written by Constantine Chrysographus.

¹ Dr Hort informs me that on examining this copy he found it written in three several and minute hands. A contributes the Gospels, the Epistle of Pilate and its Answer, and a treatise on the genealogy of the Virgin. B then follows with the Apocalypse and a Synaxarion. Next C has the Acts, Catholic and Pauline Epistles (that to the Hebrews last), and Lives of the Apostles, followed on the same page by the Psalter in B's hand, so that the Apocalypse and *syn.* probably once stood last.

² This manuscript appears to be the only Greek witness for the Old Latin and Curetonian Syriac variation Matt. i. 16 *λωήφ φ μνηστευθήσα παρθένος μαριάμ ἐγέννησεν ἰὼ τὸν λεγόμενον χυ*. But then it was written in Italy, as Ceriani judges.

348. Ambros. B. 56 [dated 29 December, 1023] 8°, once "J. V. Pinelli," *syn.*, *Eus. t.* Citations from the O. T. are marked by the asterisk. Burgon possesses a photograph of this copy.

349. Ambros. F. 61 *sup.* [dated 1322] 8°, *chart.*, bought at Corfu in 1322, *syn.*, *pict.*

350. Ambros. B. 62 [XI] 8°, *pict.*, *syn.* The first four leaves [xvi] *chart.* *Mut.* John xxi. 9—25.

351. Ambros. B. 70 *sup.* [XI] 4°, with a Latin version [xv] here and there written above the text "school-boy fashion." Burgon.

352. Ambros. B. 93 [xii] 4°, brought from Calabria, 1607; *mut.* Matth. i. 1—17; Mark i. 1—15; xvi. 13—20; Luke i. 1—7; xxiv. 43—53; John i. 1—10; xxi. 3—25. Lesson marks were placed in the margin, and the faded ink retouched [xiv].

353. Ambros. M. 93 [xiii] 4°, with the same commentary as Cod. 181. *Mut.* John xxi. 24, 25.

354. Venet. 29 (86 : 6) [xi] 4°, at Venice, St Matthew with Theophylact's commentary; ch. xxviii. is wanting. It is written in a very large hand, and was bought at Constantinople in 1419 (Burgon, *Guardian*, Oct. 29, 1873).

355. Venet. 541 (86 : 6) [xi?] 8°, *Carp.*, *Eus. t.*, *κεφ. t.*, *τίτλ.*, *Am.*, *Eus.*, *lect.*, *pict.*, *syn.* (later), a sumptuous and peculiar copy.

356. Venet. 545 (86 : 6) [xvi] 4°, *chart.*, contains Titus of Bostra's catena on St Luke, the text of which is occasionally cited. A note runs thus: 'Αντωνίου του 'Αγγελίου καὶ χρήσει καὶ κτήσει, pro quo solvit librario qui descripserat HS. cxxvii. l. Δ'. 3.

357. Venet. 28 (86 : 5) [xi] fol., SS. Luke and John with a catena. *Κεφ.*, *lect.*, but *κεφ. t.* rather later. The titles resemble those of Cod. 69.

358. Mutinensis [ix] II. A. 9 [xiv] 8°, at Modena, in a small hand with rude illuminations. *Κεφ.*, *τίτλ.*, *Am.*, *Eus.*, *lect.*

359. Mutin. [242] III. B. 16 [xiv] 4°, with slight decorations, on brownish paper, having the scribe's name on the last page. *Carp.*, *Eus. t.*, *prol.*, *κεφ.*, *τίτλ.*, *Am.*, *Eus.*

360. Cod. De Rossi 1, 2319 : ii. viii. 169 at Parma [xi] 4°, with an unusual text, in double columns, collated by De Rossi, who once possessed this codex and

361. De Rossi 2, 1821 : ii. xi. 143 [xiii] 12°, faded. *Mut.* Luke viii. 14—xi. 20. Fully described (as also Cod. 360) in De Rossi's printed Catalogue.

362. At Florence, Laurent. 176, formerly Cod. Biblioth. S. Maris No. 74 [xiii] fol., Luke vi. 29—xii. 10, with a catena very different from Cramer's and much fuller, citing the names of all the great Greek expositors. Text written in vermillion, commentary in black

(Burgon). This copy is described, like Codd. 201, 370, by Jo. Lamy, "De eruditione Apostolorum," Florent. 1738, p. 239.

363. (Act. 144, Paul. 180) Laurent. vi. 13 [XIII] a beautiful small 4°, κεφ. ζ, ἀναγνώσματα (but no other divisions) numbered, as are the στίχοι at the end of each Gospel (*see* p. 65, note).

364. Laurent. vi. 24 [XIII] 8°, the style of the characters rather peculiar, without the usual breaks between the Gospels: some leaves at the beginning and end [XIV]. *Syn.*, κεφ., ἀναγνώσματα numbered, *Am.*, but *Eus.* only in St. Matthew.

365. (Act. 145, Paul. 181) Laurent. vi. 36 [XIII] 4°, contains also the Psalms. Thus Scholz, who says that he collated it in select passages. They must have been very select, for the present Librarian, Dr. Anziani, convinced Burgon that no such manuscript had ever been there.

366. Laurent. 171, from S. Maria's No. 20 [XII] a grand fol., St. Matthew written in vermilion with a very full catena in black. *Mut.* ch. i. 1—ii. 16, with many later marginal notes. Entirely dissimilar in style from Cod. 362. It has τίτλ., κεφ., and references to parallel κεφ. in SS. Mark and Luke (Burgon).

367. (Act. 146, Paul. 182) Laurent. 53, also from St. Maria's No. 6 [dated 26 Decembr. 1332] 4°, *chart.*, written by one Mark, *syn.*, *men.*, *prol.*, κεφ. ζ, κεφ., *Am.* (not *Eus.*). Scholz says "N. T. continet," and rightly, though he neglects to number it for the Apocalypse (*see* p. 69, note, where Cod. 368 is cited in error for this copy). Bought in 1482 for 3 aurei by the Benedictines of St. Maria (Burgon).

368. (Act. 150, Paul. 230, Apoc. 84, Apost. 37) Cod. Riccardian. 84, in the Libreria Riccardi also at Florence, "olim Cosmæ Oricellarii et amicorum" (*see* Cod. 255) [XV] 8°, *chart.*, contains St. John's Gospel, the Apocalypse, the Epistles and lessons from them, with Plato's Epistles, carelessly written.

369. Riccard. 90 [XII] 4°, contains Mark vi. 25—ix. 45: x. 17—xvi. 9, with part of a Greek Grammar and "Avieni Fabulæ." The text is much rubricated. *Κεφ.*, *Am.*, *Eus.*

370. Riccard. 5, formerly Plut. K. i. n. xi [XIV] fol., *chart.*, with Theophylact's commentary, *mut.* Matth. i. 1—vii. 13; John xvi. 29—xxi. 25. Described by Lamy (*see* Cod. 362) p. 232.

371. Vatican. 1159 [X] 4°, *Eus. ζ*, *pict.*

372. Vat. 1161 [XV] 4°, ends John iii. 1. Beautifully written.

373. Vat. 1423 [XV] fol., *chart.*, "olim Cardinalis Sirleti," with a catena, *mut.* in fine. G. Sirlet [1514—85] became Librarian of the Vatican 1573.

374. Vat. 1445 [XII] fol., with a commentary ascribed to Peter of Laodicea, who is also named on the fly-leaf of Cod. 138. Burgon however says "This is simply a mistake. No such work exists: and the commentary on the second Evangelist is that of Victor" *ubi*

supra p. 286. In 1221 one John procured it from Theodosiopolis; there were at least five cities of that name, three of them in Asia Minor.

375. Vat. 1533 [xii] 8°, *Eus. t.*

376. Vat. 1539 [xi] 16°, given by Francis Accidas. With subscriptions resembling those of Codd. A, 262, 300 (*see* p. 154, and note).

377. Vat. 1618 [xv] fol., *chart.*, St Matthew with a catena, the other Gospels with questions and answers.

378. Vat. 1658 [xv] fol., portions from St Matthew with Chrysostom's Homilies, and from the prophets.

379. Vat. 1769 [xv] fol., *chart.*, with a commentary.

380. Vat. 2139 [xv] 4°, *chart.*, *Eus. t.*

381. Palatino-Vat. 20 [xiv] fol., *chart.*, St Luke with a catena.

382. Vat. 2070 [xiii] 4°, "olim Basil.," carelessly written, fragments of SS. John and Luke are placed by the binder before SS. Matthew and Mark. Much is lost.

383, 384, 385, are all Collegii Romani [xvi] 4°, *chart.*, with a commentary.

386. (Act. 151, Paul. 199, Apoc. 70: *see* p. 69, note) Vat. Ottobon. 66 [xv] fol., *syn.*, once "Jo. Angeli ducis ab Altamps," as also Codd. 388, 389, 390, Paul. 202.

387. Vat. Ottobon. 204 [xii] 4°.

388. Vat. Ottobon. 212 [xii] 4°, *pict.*, once belonged to Alexius and Theodora.

389. Vat. Ottobon. 297 [xi] 8°.

390. (Act. 164, Paul. 203, Apoc. 71: *see* p. 69, note) Vat. Ottobon. 381 [*dated* 1252] 4°, with scholia, *syn.*, *Eus. t.*, was in a Church at Scio A.D. 1359.

391. Vat. Ottobon. 432 [xi, *dated* 13 April, Indiction 8] 4°, *prol.*, with a commentary. (Given to Benedict XIII. (1724—30) by Abachum Andriani, an abbot of Athos. Matth. i. 1—8; Luke i.; Jo. vii. 53—viii. 11 were written [xv].

392. Barberin. 225 is the cursive portion of Cod. Y [xii] fol., with Theophylact's commentary. *See* above, p. 147.

393. (Act. 167, Paul. 185) Vallicell. E. 22 [xvi] 4°, *chart.*

394. (Act. 170, Paul. 186) Vallicell. F. 17 [*dated* 4 July, 1330, Indict. 13] 4°, *chart.*, written by Michael, a priest.

395. Cod. Biblioth. S. Mariæ supra Minervam, seu Casanantensis A. R. V. 33 [xii] 4°, at Rome, *pict.*, with marginal corrections, bought about 1765.

396. Cod. Ghigianus, at Rome, R. iv. 6 [xii] 4°, begins Matth. xxiii. 27.

397. Vallicell. C. 4 [xv] fol., *chart.*, St John with a catena (described by Bianchini).

398. Taurin. 92. c. iv 6 (C. ii. 5, Burgon) [xiii, or xvi in Pasingus' Catalogue], select passages with a catena.

399. Taurin. 109. c. iv. 29 (C. ii. 14, Burgon) [xv, or xvi in Pasingus' Cat.] *chart.*, commentary, sometimes without the text. Found by Dr Hort to contain SS. John, Luke (with Titus of Bostra's commentary), Matthew, *hoc ordine*. See p. 70.

400. (Act. 181, Paul. 200) Cod. Biblio. Berolinensis, "olim Diezii" [xv] 12°, *mut.*, damaged by fire and water, contains Matth. xii. 29—xiii. 2; and the Acts and Epistles, except Act. i. 11—ii. 11; Rom. i. 1—27; 1 Cor. xiv. 12—xv. 46; 2 Cor. i. 1—8; v. 4—19; 1 Tim. iv. 1—Hebr. i. 9. This copy belonged to Henry Benzil, Archbishop of Upsal, then to Laurence Benzelstierna, Bishop of Arosen: it was described by C. Aurivill (1802), collated by G. T. Pappelbaum (1815).

401. Cod. Neapolit. I. C. 24 [xi] 4°, contains Matthew, Mark vi. 1—xvi. 20, Luke, John i. 1—xii. 1.

402. Neapolit. I. C. 28 [xv] 8°, *prol.*, *pict.*

403. Neapolit. I. C. 29 [xii] 8°, on cotton paper, *syn.* Contains Matth. xii. 23—xix. 12; 28—xxviii. 20; Mark; Luke i. 1—v. 21; 36—xxiv. 53; John i. 1—xviii. 36.

404. Cod. "Abbatis Scotti" of Naples [xi] 8°, *prol.*

The manuscripts once belonging to the Nani family, which include Cod. U (*see* p. 143), were catalogued by J. A. Mingarelli ("Græci codices manu scripti apud Nanios Patricios Venetos asservati" Bononiæ 1784), and, being now at St Mark's, were inspected by Burgon.

405. Venetian. Bibl. Cl. I. x (86: 1) [xi] 4°, "olim Nanian. 3, antea monasterii SS. Cosmæ et Damiani urbis Prusiensis," i.e. Brusa. Burgon says Broussa, the ancient Halicarnassus. *Carp.*, *Eus. t.*, *κεφ. t.*, *τίτλ.*, *κεφ.*, *Am.*, *Eus.*, *lect.*, the leaves utterly disarranged by the binder. (Wiedmann and J. G. J. Braun collated portions of 405—417 for Scholz.)

406. Venet. I. xi (86: 6), Nanian. 4 [xi] 8°, *κεφ. t.*, *κεφ.*, *Am.* (not *Eus.*), few *lect.*, *mut.* Mark iv. 41—v. 14; Luke iii. 16—iv. 4.

407. Venet. I. xii (86: 6), Nanian. 5 [xi] 8°, contains Luke v. 30—John ix. 2. *Κεφ. t.*, *τίτλ.*, *Am.*, *lect.*, *pict.*, *στίχοι βῶ* at the end of St Luke.

408. Venet. I. xiv (86: 6), Nanian. 7 [xii] 4°, once belonged to St John Chrysostom's monastery, by the Jordan, as stated in a note of the original scribe. *Carp.*, *Eus. t.*, *κεφ. t.*, *τίτλ.*, *Am.*, *Eus.*, few *lect.*, *στίχοι* numbered, full stops very numerous in the text. Matth. i. 1—13 and *syn.* later.

409. Venet. I. xv (86: 1), Nanian. 8 [xii] 4°, the writing and *pict.* very rough, the stops being mostly red crosses. *Carp.*, *Eus. t.*,

κεφ. *t.*, τίτλ., κεφ.; *Am.* (not *Eus.*), *lect.*, *syn.*, foreign matter by Cosmas, &c. (see p. 63).

410. Venet. I. XVIII (86: 6), Nanian. 10 [XIII or XIV] 4°, written by one Joasaph a monk, on cotton paper, but *Carp.*, *Eus. t.* [XII] on parchment, κεφ. *t.* on paper. Κεφ., *Am.* (not *Eus.*), *lect.*, *prol.*

411. Venet. I. XVIII (86: 6), Nanian. 11 [XI] 8°, very beautifully written in upright characters. *Carp.*, *Eus. t.*, κεφ. *t.*, τίτλ., κεφ., *Am.*, *Eus.*, *lect.*, *syn.*, *prol.*, matter by Cosmas (see p. 63). *Pict.* torn out.

412. Venet. I. XIX (86: 6), Nanian. 12 [dated 1301] 4°, written by Theodore (see p. 41, note 2). *Carp.*, *Eus. t.*, κεφ. *t.*, τίτλ., κεφ., *Am.*, *Eus.*, *lect.*, *syn.*, *men.*, *prol.*, στίχοι numbered. In text it much resembles Scrivener's q and r by the same hand, without being identical with either.

413. Venet. I. XX (86: 6), Nanian. 13 [dated 1302, Indiction 15] 4°, once belonged to St Catherine's monastery on Sinai, where Cod. 8 was found, and is elegantly written by one Theodosius βακενδύτης. *Carp.*, *Eus. t.*, κεφ. *t.*, τίτλ., κεφ., *Am.*, *Eus.*, rude *pict.*, *syn.*, *lect.*, *prol.*, στίχοι numbered.

414. Venet. I. XXI (86: 6), Nanian. 14 [XIV] 4°, *Am.* (not *Eus.*), *lect.*, subscriptions to the Gospels, *syn.*, written by Philip, a monk.

415. Venet. I. XXII (86: 6), Nanian. 15 [dated January 1356] 8°, *syn.*, *lect.*, rude *pict.*, κεφ. *t.*, κεφ., ἀναγνώσματα.

416. Venet. I. XXIV (86: 1), Nanian. 17 [XIV] 4°, very roughly written, begins Matth. xxv. 36, ends John xviii. 7: *mut.* Matth. xxvi. 17—xxvii. 17; 35—Mark ii. 27. *Am.*, *Eus.*, *lect.*, with changes by different hands.

417. Venet. I. XXV (86: 6), Nanian. 18 [XII] 4°, begins Matth. v. 44, ends Luke vi. 9. Κεφ. *t.*, τίτλ., *Am.*, and occasionally *Eus.*, *lect.*

418. Venet. I. XXVIII (86: 1), Nanian. 21 [XV] 8°, *chart.*, contains SS. Matthew and Mark, down to ch. xiii. 32, unfinished, in two columns. Κεφ. *t.*, τίτλ., *Am.* (not *Eus.*), *lect.*, many red crosses for stops.

419. Venet. I. LX (86: 1), formerly at St Michael's, Venice, "prope Murianum," 241, [XI?] 4°, ends John xxi. 7 (described by J. B. Mittarelli, Venice 1779). *Mut.* John viii. 44—xi. 32, supplied by a later hand. Κεφ. *t.*, τίτλ., κεφ., *Am.* (not *Eus.*), *lect.*, with musical notes.

420. (Schulz's 237) Cod. Messanensis I [XIV] 4°, by different hands, with readings from other copies (inspected by Munter, as was Cod. 421).

421. (Act. 176, Paul. 218) Cod. Syracusanus [XII]!, once Landolini's; *prol.*, *Eus. t.*, is Schulz's 238.

422. Reg. Monacensis 210, at Munich [xi or later] 4°, *Carp.*, τίτλ., κεφ., *Am.*, *Eus.* (partially), *lect.*, *prol.*, *syn.*, roughly written in two columns by the monk Joseph, but St John in a somewhat more recent hand: described by Ignatius Hardt and Dean Burgon. It abounds with itacisms and strange blunders, and other tokens of great ignorance on the part of the scribe.

423. Monacensis 36 [dated 1556] fol., *chart.*, contains St Matthew with Nicetas' catena. Marked Τόμος A and superbly bound, as is Cod. 432. The same scribe wrote Codd. 424, 425, 432 (Burgon).

424. Monacensis 83 [xvi] fol., *chart.*, contains St Luke with the commentary of Titus of Bostra and others.

425. Monacensis 37 [xvi] fol., *chart.*, contains St John with a very full catena of Nicetas. Marked Τόμος B.

426. Monacensis 473, once Augsburg 9 [xiv] 4°, on cotton paper, contains Luke vi. 17—xi. 26 with Nicetas' catena, the second of four volumes (δεύτερον τῶν τεσσάρων τεύχων τῶν εἰς τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν ἄγιον εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ συναγωγὴν ἐξηγήσεων).

427. Monacensis 465, Augsburg 10 [xii?] 4°, written by one Maurus, contains SS. Luke and Mark with Theophylact's (and Victor's?) commentary.

428. Monacensis 381, Augsburg 11 [xiii] large 4to, on cotton paper, with rude pictures of the Evangelists on a vellum leaf. Its subscriptions are like those of Codd. A, 262, &c. (*see* p. 154). The commentary is Theophylact's.

429. Monacensis 208 [xii or xiii] a superb 4°, written by John a priest and "ἐκδικος magnæ ecclesiæ," contains Luke i. 1—ii. 39 with a catena, questions and answers from SS. Matthew and John, with the text. Burgon declares that the date June 20, A.D. 978, Indiction 6, which we took from Scholz (*see above*, p. 40, note 1), is that of the manuscript this was copied from, not of Cod. 429 itself. In that case we have another early dated cursive the less.

430. Monacensis 437 [xi] 4°, contains John i—viii. with the catena of Nicetas, metropolitan of Heraclia Serrarum in Macedonia, now *Xevosna*. Martin Crusius of Tubingen procured it from Leontius, a Cyprian monk, in 1590, and sent it to the Library at Augsburg.

431. (Act. 180, Paul. 238). Cod. Molsheimensis [xii] 12°, *prol.*, *Eus. t.*, with many unusual readings, was brought to Strasburg from the Jesuits' College at Molsheim in Alsace. Extracts were made from it by the Jesuit Hermann Goldhagen (N. T. Mogunt. 1753), and it was collated by Arendt, 1833.

432. Monacensis 99 [xvi] fol., *chart.*, contains St Mark with the commentary of Victor of Antioch, being the same copy as Pel-tanus used for his Latin edition of that work, Ingoldstad 1580.

433. Cod. Bibl. Berolinensis, is Schulz's 239 [xii] 4°, brought from the East by W. Ern. de Knobelsdorf, with a mixed text and

many errors. It contains Matth. i. 1—21; vi. 12—32; xxii. 25—xxviii. 20; Mark i. 1—v. 29; ix. 21—xiii. 12; Luke viii. 27—John ix. 21; xx. 15—xxi. 25. (G. T. Pappelbaum, 1824.)

434. Cæsar. Vindobon. 71, Lambec. 42 [xiv] fol., contains St Luke with a catena. Like Codd. 218, &c. bought at Constantinople by de Busbeck.

435. Cod. Gronovii 131, at Leyden, is Schulz's 245 [?] 4°, *mut.* Matth. i. 20—ii. 13; xxii. 4—9 (John x. 14—xxi. 25 in a rather later hand). It has a somewhat unusual text (collated, as was also Cod. 122, by J. Dermout, *Collectanea Critica in N. T.*, 1825).

436. Cod. Meermann. 117 [dated A.D. 1322] traced to some English bookseller in 1824. See above, p. 198, note. Dean Burgon now possesses and has collated it, and has sent me a photograph. He states that the text resembles that of *lmn*^{sc.} (p. 226), with peculiarities of its own. *Κεφ. τ., κεφ., ἀναγνώσματα* and *στίχοι* numbered, *lect., syn., men.*

437. Cod. Petropolit. [xi], like Cod. E. of the Pauline Epistles, one leaf of the Colbert Pentateuch, and some other manuscripts, has found its way from the Coislin library and the Abbey of St Germain des Prez near Paris, to St Petersburg. It was written by Michael Cerularius, Patriarch of Constantinople, and noticed by Matthæi (N. T. III. p. 99, 2nd ed.).

438. Cod. Mus. Brit. 5111—2 (Askew 621) [xi] 4°, two vols. (Bloomfield).

439. Mus. Brit. 5107 (Askew 622) [dated April 1159, Ind. 7] fol., written by the monk Nepho, at Athos. *Carp., Eus. t., κεφ. τ., pict., τίτλ., κεφ., Am., Eus.* (Bloomfield).

440. (Act. 111, Paul. 221) University Library, Cambridge, 2423 (Mm. 6. 9) is the copy from which Griesbach's readings in Cod. 236 were derived. Described below under Scrivener's v.

441, 442, at Cambridge, must be removed from Scholz's list; they are *printed* editions with manuscript notes. Cod. 441 is Act. 110, Paul. 222; Cod. 442 is Act. 152, Paul. 223.

443. Cambridge University Libr. 2512 (Nn. 2. 36), once Askew 624¹, [xi or xii] 4°, *Carp., Eus. t., κεφ. τ., τίτλ., Am., Eus., syn., prol.* The *κεφάλαια* proper are subdivided in this copy, e.g. the 19th of St Matthew, into no less than 13 parts (*see* p. 61, note 5). For the titles of the Gospels, *see* Cod. 69, p. 190.

¹ Scholz has a great deal to answer for in the way of negligence, but he does not deserve the imputation brought against him in the Catalogue of the Cambridge Manuscripts (Vol. III. p. 810), of guessing Askew to be a College there. Cod. 443 was bought for the University Library in 1775 for £20, at the celebrated book-sale of Anthony Askew [1722—74], the learned physician who projected an edition of Æschylus. See Marsh on Michaelis, Vol. II. pp. 661—2.

444. (Act. 153, Paul. 240) Cod. Harleian. 5796 [xv] 4°, neatly written, *syn.*, sold in 1537 "aspris 500 : 1" bought at Smyrna in 1722 by Bernard Mould.

445. Harleian. 5736 [dated 1506] *chart.*, in the hand "Antonii cujusdam eparchi," once (like Apoc. 31) in the Jesuits' College, Agen, on the Garonne.

446. Harl. 5777 [xv] 4°, *syn. Mut.* Matth. i. 1—17; Mark i. 7—9; Luke i. 1—18; John i. 1—22, by a person who mischievously cut out the ornaments. It is clearly but unskillfully written, and Covell states on the outer leaf that it seems a copy from his manuscript, noted above as Cod. 65. This codex is Cov. 5 (Bloomfield).

447. Harl. 5784 (xv) *Eus. t., men.*, well written, and much like

448. Harl. 5790 [dated Rome, 25 April, 1478] fol., *pict.*, elegantly written by John a priest for Francis Cardinal of S. Maria nova.

449. Mus. Brit. 4950—1 [xiii] 12°, 2 vol., clearly and carefully written: once Cæsar de Missy's (see Cod. 44). *Prolog., κεφ. t., τίτλ., Am., Eus., men., syn.*

Out of this whole mass of 190 manuscripts, Scholz collated five entire (262, 299, 300, 301, 346), eleven in the greater part (260, 270, 271, 277, 284, 285, 298, 324, 353, 382, 428), many in a few places, and not a few seem to have been left by him untouched. His list of Oriental manuscripts (Codd. 450—469), which we reprint in a note at the foot of this page as it is given in the first volume of his Greek Testament (Proleg. pp. xcvi—xcvii)², has been withdrawn

¹ The asper or asprum was a mediæval Greek silver coin (derived from *ασπρος, albus*); we may infer its value from a passage cited by Ducange from Vincentius Bellovac. xxx. 75 "quindecim drachmas seu asperos."

² 450. Great Gr. Monastery at Jerusalem 1 [dated 1 July 1043] 8°, *syn.*, *Eus. t.* first three Gospels with an Arabic version, neatly written by a reader, Euphemius. This appears to be Coxe's 6, 4°, S. Luke only.

451. Jerusalem 2 [xii] 8°.

452. Jerusalem 3 [xiv] 8°.

453. Jerusalem 4 [xiv] 8°.

454. Jerusalem 5 [xiv] 8°.

455. Jerusalem 6 [xiv] 4°, with a commentary.

456. Jerusalem 7 [xiii] 4°, S. Matthew with a commentary, neatly written.

Perhaps Coxe's 43 [xi] in gold *uncial* letters.

457. S. Saba 2 [xiii] 4°, *syn., men.*, is Act. 186, Paul. 234.

458. S. Saba 3 [dated 1272, Indiction 15] 16°.

459. S. Saba 7 [xii] 8°.

460. S. Saba 8 [xii] 8°.

461. S. Saba 9 [dated May 7, 835, Indiction 18. Wrongly doubted by me, p. 40 note 1] 8°, neatly written by Nicolas a monk. This is our Evan. 481, to be reckoned below. Coxe also told me of a copy here, written about A.D. 900.

462. S. Saba 10 [xiv] 4°, is also Act. 187, Paul. 285, Apoc. 86.

463. S. Saba 11 [xiv] 4°, *chart.*

464. S. Saba 12 [xi] 4°.

465. S. Saba 19 [xiii] 8°.

466. S. Saba 20 [xiii] 8°, is Act. 189, Paul. 287, Apoc. 86² or 89.

Also "from a monastery in the island of Patmos:"

467. [xi] 4°.

468. [xii] 8°, with a commentary.

469. [xiv] 4°.

from the catalogue of cursive copies of the Gospels, in deference to the wish of the Dean of Chichester (*Letter* III addressed to myself in the *Guardian* newspaper, July 5, 1882). It must be confessed indeed that Scholz's account of what he had seen in the East about 1823 cannot be easily reconciled with the description of the Rev. H. O. Coxe of the Bodleian Library thirty-five years later ("Report to Her Majesty's Government of the Greek Manuscripts yet remaining in the Libraries of the Levant 1858"); that most of the books which Scholz catalogued at S. Saba on the Dead Sea were removed before 1875, as Mr F. W. Pennefather informs us, to the Great Greek Convent of the Cross at Jerusalem; and that at least four of them were brought to Parham in Sussex from S. Saba in 1834 by the late Lord de la Zouche. Instead of Scholz's seven (450—6), Coxe saw fourteen copies of the Gospels at Jerusalem; twenty of the Gospels (besides a noble palimpsest of the Orestes and Phœnissæ) at S. Saba after the four had been subtracted, instead of Scholz's ten (457—466); at Patmos five instead of Scholz's three (467—469). In spite of one's respect for the memory of that zealous and worthy labourer, M. A. Scholz, with whom I had a personal conference regarding our common studies in 1845, I cannot help acquiescing in Dean Burgon's decision, though not, perhaps, without some natural reluctance.

We intimated above (pp. 76, 77) that Tischendorf has chosen to make no addition to the numerical list of cursive manuscripts furnished by Scholz, preferring to indicate the fresh materials which have since come to light by another notation, derived from the names of the collators or the places where they are deposited. As this plan has proved in practice very inconvenient, it is no wonder that Dean Burgon, after casting away Scholz's numbers from 450 to 469, as we have just stated, should have assigned numerals to the cursives unknown to Scholz from 450 to 615, still excluding those whose location or character is uncertain. Burgon's method, as laid down in his *Letters* in the *Guardian* for July 5, 12, 19, 26, 1882, having the priority of publication, and being arranged with regard to the places where the manuscripts are deposited rather than to their actual collators, may as well be adopted as any other that might be made. The only important point to be secured is that all scholars should employ the same numbers when speaking of the same manuscripts.

We begin with the following twenty Italian manuscripts, added to our previous list of cursive copies of the Gospels by Burgon in *Letters* addressed to myself inserted in the *Guardian* of Jan. 29 and Feb. 5, 1873.

450. At Ferrara, in the Municipal Library, (1) No. 119, NA. 4 [xiv], τήλ.

451. (Act. 194, Paul. 222, Apoc. 102) (2) No. 187, NA. 7 (Vol. III) [xiv] 8°, containing the whole New Testament: the only divisions recognised are those of the modern chapters in vermilion.

452. At Parma, in the National or Palatine Library: No. 5, 4°, once belonging to the Bonvisi family, then transferred to the Public Library at Lucca. As superb a copy as any known, the illuminations gorgeous, the first page of the Gospel and other portions in gold, with a "luxurious prodigality" of miniatures. *Carp., Eus. t., τίτλ., Am. (Eus.), prol.*

453. H. H. x. 64 No. 95 [XI, or older] 8°, very tastefully decorated. *Mut. Matth. i. 1—20. Lect. and marginal corrections by the first hand in vermilion.*

454. At Modena: (1) No. [I] ii. A. 1 [XII] a beautiful copy, 8°. *Syn. at beginning and end, κεφ., τίτλ., Am., Eus., superb pict., with slight marginal corrections of the text.*

455. No. [5] ii. A. 5 [XIV] small and neat, without *pict.* or illuminations. *Syn., τίτλ., κεφ., ἀναγνώσματα (see p. 65, note).*

Here also is a late copy of Victor of Antioch's commentary on S. Mark.

456. At Milan, in the great Ambrosian Library: Ambros. M. 48 *sup.*, 4°, beautifully written, *pict.* almost obliterated. *Am. (not Eus.).* The last leaf more recent.

457. Ambros. E. 63 *sup.* [dated May, 1321, Indiction 4] 4°. *Mut. Luke xxiv. 5—John i. 8, and the early part of John v. Am. (not Eus.), lect., pict.*

458. Ambros. D. 161 *inf.* [XVI] transcribed from an original in the Vatican, fol., *chart.* St Mark's Gospel with Victor of Antioch's commentary.

459. Ambros. D. 282 *inf.*, transcribed by John Sancta Maura, a one-eyed Cyprian, aged 74, June 9, 1612: *chart.*, with a catena.

460. Ambros. D. 298 *inf.*, transcribed by the same, fol., *chart.* These two codices have library titles quite misleading.

461. (Act. 197, Paul. 223). Ambros. Z. 34 *sup.* [XIII or XIV] small 4°, *chart.*, with *pict.* on vellum not belonging to it. On the order of its contents (Catholic Epp., Pauline Epp., *syn.*, Gospels) *see p. 70.*

462. At Venice, in St Mark's Library: Venet. I. LVIII (86: 7) [XII or XIII ?] wrongly called an Evangelistarium in the Supplementary Catalogue, contains only Mark i. 44—Luke xxiv. 53; John i. 15—xi. 13: much *lect.*

463. Venet. I. XXXIV (86: 7), Nanian 27, fol., written in two columns, with a full commentary (that of Victor on St Mark being expressly named), the text seldom given at length.

464. Venet. I. LIX (86: 6) [XII ?] 8°, with very remarkable readings. Burgon collated sixteen chapters in the several Gospels.

465. Venet. I. LVII (86: 7) [XI or XII] fol., ends Mark xii. 18, with Theophylact's commentary.

466. Venet. 494 (91 : 4) [xv] large fol., full of various Patristic matter.

467. Venet. 495 (91 : 4) [xv or xvi] large fol., described by Zanetti p. 259 (*see above*, p. 206), with a commentary (Victor's on St Mark), *sym.*, τίτλ.

We do not include Venet. I. LXI (86 : 7) which is a mere catena on Matth. i—ix., or an unnumbered catena of S. Luke in the same Library, or Venet. M. 1, an uncial copy of the Old Testament [ix?], at the end of which are found *Carp.*, *Eus. t.* of unique fulness, as if the Gospels were to follow.

468. Venet. I. LVI (86 : 5) [xv?] fol., *chart.*, wrongly set down by Scholz as Evst. 143, contains the Gospels, beginning Matth. v. 44. It was once "S. Michaelis Venet. prope Murianum," and is described in Mittarelli's Catalogue of that Library, p. 1099 (*see above*, p. 220).

469. Venet. XII. Burgon's specimen in *Guardian*, 1874, p. 49 is Hort's 82 (*see* p. 77, note).

470. Lastly, in the Armenian convent at Venice, No. 1531 [xiii] 4°, is a fragment of the Gospels containing Matth. i. 22—Luke xxiii. 15; 33—48, with *lect.*, τίτλ., ἀναγνώσματα, στίχοι numbered at the end, but none other of the usual apparatus.

471. Library of the Institute at Paris [xvi] *chart.*, S. John's Gospel only, the first 31 quires being lost. On the first page is written *C. Emmerei Sanquintiniani, emptus 40 assibus*. M. Tardieu, the librarian, informs Dean Burgon that it came from the City Library, to which it was bequeathed in the last century by "M. Morrian, procureur du roi et de la ville de Paris."

472. (Act. 235, Paul. 276, Apoc. 103). Poitiers [xvi], small folio, *chart.*, of the whole New Testament, as described to Burgon by M. Dartige, the librarian there. G. Haenel (*Catal. Librorum MSS. Lips.* 1830) names this and another of the whole N. T. at Arras [xv] 8°, but of the latter the librarian, M. Wicquot, knows nothing.

Edward de Muralt, in his N. T. "ad fidem codicis principis Vaticanani" 1848 (*see* p. 107), inserts a collation of eleven manuscripts (five of the Gospels, one Psalter with hymns, five Lectionaries), chiefly at St Petersburg. He also describes them in his Preface (pp. LV—LVII), and in the Catalogue of Greek Manuscripts in the Imperial Library there. The copies of the Gospels are

473. 2^o (Petrop. vi. 470) [ix, or x as Dr Hort judges, who numbers it 81 : *see* p. 77, note), of much critical importance, especially in St Mark. *Mut.* John xi. 26—48; xiii. 2—23.

474. 4^o (Mich. Petridæ Pogodini 472) at Moscow [xii or xiii], bought at St Petersburg, 1840. Ends at John vii. 1. Τίτλ., *Am.*, *Eus.*

475. 7^o (Petrop. ix. 3. 471) [dated 1062], with Victor's Commentary on S. Mark. Next to 473 in value.

476. 8^o (Petrop. xi. 1, 2, 330) [xii], Gospels, Acts and Epistles (Act. 214, Paul. 261.)

477. 11^o (Q. v. 1, 15) [xv], written for Demetrius Palæologus.

The Psalter 5^o (Petrop. ix. 1) [dated 994 : see p. 40, note 1], containing the hymns, Luke i. 46—55 ; 68—79 ; ii. 29—32 is like our Cod. 612, which see.

478. tisch¹. Cod. Tischendorfianus iv in the University Library at Leipsic [x], described in his *Anecdota sacra et profana*, pp. 20—29.

479. tisch². at St Petersburg [xii] 4^o, *mut.* See *Notitia Cod. Sinait.* p. 60.

480. tisch³. *ibid.* p. 64, [xii] 4^o, only 19 leaves, containing Mark viii. 3—ix. 50, also at St Petersburg.

481. (Scholz's 461, S. Saba 9, see p. 223, note 2). The true date, being the earliest known (May 7, 835, Indiction 13), is plainly visible in a photographed *facsimile* in *Exempla Codicum Græcorum literis minusculis scriptorum* (fol. Heidelberg, 1878), Tab. 1, by Wattenbach and von Velsen. This precious treasure is now the property of Porphyry Uspensky, Bp. of Kiow, whom we have met with before (pp. 88, 162).

The five following are in the Bodleian Library, and for the most part uncollated :

482. Cromwell 15 [xi] 4^o, exquisitely written, with textual corrections in the margin. *Carp., Eus. t., prol., κεφ. t., τίτλ., κεφ.*, no *lect., mut.* at the end. This copy and the next in order came in 1727 from Παντοκράτωρ on Athos.

483. Cromwell 16 [xi] 4^o, fairly written. The Gospels are followed by the Proper Lessons for the Holy Week. *Pict., κεφ. t., Eus. t., Am., Eus., syn., ἀρχαὶ* and *τέλη*. Collated in 1749 by Th. Mangey, Prebendary of Durham, the editor of Philo [1684—1755]. "It is well worth proper examination" (E. B. Nicholson, Bodley's Librarian).

484. Miscell. 17, Auct. D. Supra 2, 21 [xi] 4^o, only 5½ inches by 4, *prol., κεφ. t., Am., Eus., syn.*, in text said to resemble Cod. 71, once Humpfrey Wanley's [1672—1726], bought in 1776 by Sam. Smalbroke, 54 years Canon Residentiary of Lichfield, was presented by him on his 80th birthday, June 4, 1800.

485. Miscell. 141, Rawl. Auct. G. 3 [xi] 4^o, 6½ inches by 4½, with some foreign matter, has *κεφ. t., Am.*, a few *Eus., ἀρχαὶ* and *τέλη*. *Mut.* John xxi. 3—24.

486. Miscell. Gr. 293, Auct. T. V. 34 [xiii] small 4^o, of a very unusual style. *τίτλ., Am.* (not *Eus.*), *ἀρχαὶ* and *τέλη*.

To this list we must add the five following copies from the collection of the Abbot M. Aloy. Canonici, purchased at Venice in 1817 for the Bodleian Library by Dr Bandinel, who secured 2045 out of the total number of 3550 manuscripts.

487. Canon. Gk. 33 [xv] fol., *chart.*, St Matthew, with the Latin chapters only, once belonged to Anthony Dizomæus.

488. *Ibid.* 34 (Act. 211, Paul. 249, Apoc. 98) [dated A. D. 1515, 1516: see p. 40, note 2] 4°, *chart.*, written by Michael Damascenus the Cretan for John Francis Picus of Mirandola, contains the whole N. T., the Apocalypse alone being yet collated (k^{scr}): *mut.* Apoc. ii. 11—23. It has Ecumenius' and Euthalius' *prol.*

489. *Ibid.* 36 [xi] 4°, Gospels: olim Georg. Phlebaris: *pict.*, *κεφ. τ.*, *syn.*, *men.*

490. *Ibid.* 112 [xii] 4°, Gospels well written: *Carp.*, *pict.*, *κεφ. τ.*, *lect.*, *syn.*

491. *Ibid.* 122 Cod. Slavonicus [dated A. D. 1429] 4°, Gospels in Slavonian with a Greek version later, written in Moldavia by Gabriel, a monk: 312 leaves. *Prol.*, *pict.*, *κεφ. τ.*, *syn.*, *men.*

In addition to Codd. 73, 74 (see p. 191) Gaisford in 1837 catalogued, and Scrivener in 1861 inspected, the following fourteen copies of the Gospels in the collection of Archbishop Wake, now at Christ Church, Oxford. They were brought from Constantinople about 1731, and have now been described in the Rev. G. W. Kitchin's Catalogue of the Manuscripts in Christ Church Library (4°, 1867).

*492. No. 12 (Act. 193, Paul. 277, Apoc. 26) Codex Dionysii (who wrote it) [xi] large folio, was also noted by Scholz, on Gaisford's information, Evangelistarium 181, Apostol. 57: but this is an error, as the Gospels are contained at full length and in their proper order, with unusually full liturgical matter, *rubro*: *Carp.*, *Eus. τ.*, *κεφ. τ.*, *τίτλ.*, *κεφ.*, *Am.*, *Eus.*, *prol.*, *pict.* The Acts, Catholic, and Pauline Epistles (Ecumenius' *prol.*, *κεφ.*, scholia) follow them, and last of all comes the Apocalypse. *Mut.* Acts i. 1—vii. 49; x. 19—xiv. 10; xv. 15—xvi. 11; xviii. 1—xxi. 25; xxiii. 18—James iii. 17; 1 Cor. xii. 11—xv. 12; xvi. 13—15; Gal. v. 16—vi. 18 (partly); the illuminations also being often wantonly cut out. This copy contains much foreign matter (see p. 63): its contents were carefully tabulated by J. Walker (p. 231); it was thoroughly collated by Scrivener in 1864.

493. No. 21 [xi] fol., brought from Παντοκράτωρ on Athos, 1727. *Prol.*, *Carp.* (later); but *primâ manu*, *Eus. τ.*, *κεφ. τ.*, *lect.*, *τίτλ.*, *κεφ.*, *Am.*, *Eus.*, the last written in the same line with *Am.*, not beneath them as usual (compare Cod. 112). The scribe's name, Abraham Teudatus, a Patrician (Montfaucon, *Palæo. Gr.* p. 46), is written cruciform after *Eus. τ.*

494. No. 22 [xiii?] small fol., in a wretched hand and bad condition, begins Matth. i. 23, ends John xix. 31. *Κεφ. τ.*, *Am.* (not *Eus.*), *lect.*, but partly in a later hand.

495. No. 24 [xi] fol., from Παντοκράτωρ in 1727. *Eus. τ.*, *prol.*, *κεφ. τ.*, *pict.*, *τίτλ.*, *κεφ.*, *Am.*, *Eus.* in gold. One leaf (John xix. 13—29), and another containing John xxi. 24, 25, are in duplicate at the beginning, *primâ manu*. This copy (as Wake remarks) is in the same style, but less free than

496. No. 25 [x or xi] 4°, *pict.* (in red ink, nearly faded), *κεφ. t.*, *κεφ.*, *lect.*, *syn.*, with *ἀναγνώσματα* of the Gospels (*see* p. 65, note).

497. No. 27, *chart.*, 8°. Matth. xviii. 9—Mark xiv. 13; Luke vii. 4—John xxi. 13 are [xiii], the rest supplied [xv]. *Lect.*, *κεφ. t.*, *τίτλ.*, *κεφ.*, *Am.* (not *Eus.*).

498. No. 28 [xiv] 4°, *κεφ. t.*, *τίτλ.*, *κεφ.* (not *Am.*, *Eus.*), *syn.*, *lect.*, much of this *rubro*. Subscribed Θῦ το δωρον και γρηγοριου πονος.

499. No. 29 [dated *σχιλθ* or A.D. 1131, Indict. 9] 4°. After some later fragments (Matth. i. 12—v. 3, and other matter) on paper, the older copy begins Matth. v. 29. *Κεφ. t.*, *τίτλ.*, *Am.*, *Eus.*, *lect.*

500. No. 30 [xii] 4°, ending John xx. 18, neatly written, but in ill condition. *Κεφ. t.*, *Carp.*, *Eus. t.*, *τίτλ.*, *Am.*, *Eus.*, *lect.*, in red, almost obliterated from damp.

501. No. 31 [xi] 4° small, in a very elegant and minute hand. *Pict.*, *κεφ. t.*, *τίτλ.* (in gold), *κεφ.*, *Am.* (not *Eus.*), *lect.* full, and in red.

502. No. 32 [x or xi] 4° small, elegant, and with much gold ornament. *Carp.*, *κεφ. t.*, *τίτλ.*, *κεφ.*, *Am.*, *Eus.*, *pict.*, *prol.*, long subscriptions, *syn.*, *men.*

*503. (Act. 190, Paul 244, Apoc. 27) No. 34 [xi or xii] large 4°, 201 leaves. This remarkable copy begins with the *ὑπόθεσις* to 2 Peter, the second leaf contains Acts xvii. 24—xviii. 13 misplaced, then follow the 5 later Catholic Epistles (*mut.* 1 John iii. 19—iv. 9) with *ὑποθέσεις*: then the Apocalypse on the same page as Jude ends, and the *ὑπόθεσις* to the Romans on the same page as the Apocalypse ends, and then the Pauline Epistles (*mut.* Heb. vii. 26—ix. 28). All the Epistles have *prol.*, *κεφ. t.*, and Œcumenius' smaller (not the Euthalian) *κεφ.*, with much *lect. primâ manu*, and *syn.* later. Last, but seemingly misplaced by an early binder, follow the Gospels (*mut.* Luke ii. 15—47), ending Luke vi. 42: *see* p. 70, note 2. Here are *τίτλ.*, *lect.* in the margin, *κεφ.*, *Am.* (not *Eus.*). This copy is Scholz's Act. 190, Paul. 244, Apoc. 27, but unnumbered in the Gospels. Collated fully by Scrivener in 1863.

504. No. 36 [xii] 4°. *Κεφ. t.* in part, *τίτλ.*, *Am.* (not *Eus.*), *lect.*, *pict.*

505. No. 39 [xiii] very small 4°, a poor copy, in several hands. *Τίτλ.*, *κεφ.* only.

506. No. 40 [xii?] 16°, a beautiful little copy. *Syn.*, *κεφ. t.*, *lect.* in the faintest red, but no other divisions.

Of these manuscripts Thomas Mangey (*see above* on Evan. 483) states on the fly-leaves that he collated Nos. 12, 25, 28, 34 in 1749. Caspar Wetstein collated the Apocalypse in Nos. 12 and 34 for his relative's great edition; while in the margin of No. 35, a 4° Greek Testament printed at Geneva (1620), is inserted a most laborious

¹ The letter χ is quite illegible, but the Indiction 9 belongs only to A.D. 831, 1131, 1431, while the style of the manuscript leaves no doubt which to choose.

collation (preceded by a full description) of eight of the Wake manuscripts with Wetstein's N. T. of 1711, having this title prefixed to them, "Hæ Variæ lectiones ex MSS. notatæ sunt manu et opera Johannis Walkeri, A. 1732." John Walker, most of whose labours seem never yet to have been used, although they were known to Berriman in 1741 (*Critical Dissertation on 1 Tim. iii.* 16, pp. 102—4), was Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, where so many of his critical materials accumulated for the illustrious Bentley are deposited. Of his eight codices, we find on investigation that Walker's C is Wake 26; Walker's I is Wake 20 (collations of these two, sent by Walker to Wetstein, comprise Codd. 73, 74, described above); Walker's B is Wake 21; Walker's D is Wake 24, both of Gospels; Walker's E is Wake 18, his H is Wake 19, both Evangelistaria; Walker's q is Wake 12, of which Caspar Wetstein afterwards examined the Apocalypse (Cod. 26); Walker's W is Wake 38 of the Acts and Epistles, or Scholz's Act. 191, Paul. 245.

F. H. A. Scrivener has published the following in his "Collation of Greek Manuscripts of the Holy Gospels 1853," and "Codex Angiensis" (Appendix) 1859.

*v^{ms}, or cant^{ms}. of Tischendorf. (Evan. 440, Act. 111, Paul. 221 of Scholz; Evan. 236, Act. and Paul. 61 of Griesbach; Act. and Paul. o^{ms}) is Mm. 6, 9 of the Cambridge University Library [xii] 4°, in a minute hand, with many unusual readings, especially in the Epistles (see above Cod. 236), from Bp. Moore's Library. *Eus. t., syn.* (later), *τίτλοι, Am.* (not *Eus.*), *lect.*, *ὑποθέσεις* Oecumenii to the Catholic and first eight Pauline Epistles: beautifully written with many contractions. This is Bentley's o (see Cod. 51, p. 185).

*507. w^{ms}. (Act. 224, Paul. 260) Trin. Coll. Cantab. B. x. 16 [dated A.D. 1316] 4°, *chart.*, was inelegantly written by a monk James on Mount Sinai. *Κεφ. t., Am., Eus., κεφ., lect., prol.* and *ὑποθέσεις* to the Epistles, *syn., men.*, and much extraneous matter¹. See Cod. 570. This is Bentley's τ (see Cod. 51, p. 185), and, like i^{ms} which follows, came to him from Παντοκράτωρ. Hort makes it his Cod. 102.

*508. i^{ms}. Trin. Coll. Cantab. B. x. 17 [xiii] 4°, from Athos, bequeathed to Trinity College by Bentley. *Κεφ. t., τίτλοι, κεφ., Am.* (not *Eus.*), *lect.*, and (on paper) are *ὑποθέσεις* to St Matthew and *syn.* This is Bentley's δ (see Cod. 51, p. 185), who dates it "annorum 700" [xi], and adds "nuper in monasterio Pantocratoris in monte Atho, nunc meus."

*j^{ms}. See above Cod. N. (p. 135).

*509. a^{ms}. Archbishop's Library, Lambeth 1175 [xi] 4°, in two columns on a page, *κεφ. t., lect., κεφ., Am., Eus., mut.* Matth. i. 1—13; once at Constantinople, but brought (together with the next five) from the Greek Archipelago by J. D. Carlyle, Professor of Arabic at Cambridge [d. 1804].

¹ Bentley specifies "argumenta inedita Cosmæ Indicopelestæ in 4 Evangelia (see p. 68), et versus iambici fortasse Jacobi Calligraphi: argumenta incerti ad Actus: prologus ineditus et argumenta Oecumenii ad Epistolas omnes."

*510. b^{scr}. Lamb. 1176 [xii] small 4°, very elegant: *Corp.*, *Eus. t.*, *pict.*, *lect.*, *κεφ. t.* (these last *chart.*), *τίτλοι*, *Am.*, *Eus.*, *syn.* A copy "eximia notæ," but with many corrections by a later hand, and some foreign matter.

*511. c^{scr}. Lamb. 1177 [xii] 4°, for valuable readings by far the most important at Lambeth, shamefully ill written, torn and much mutilated¹: perhaps not all by the same hand. *Κεφ. t.* (a fragment), *τίτλοι*, *Am.*, *lect.*, portions of *syn.*

*512. d^{scr}. Lamb. 1178 [xi] large 4°, in a fine hand, splendidly illuminated, and with much curious matter in the subscriptions (*see* p. 63). *Mut.* Matth. i 1—8. *Syn.*, *men.*, *κεφ. t.*, and the other usual divisions. A noble-looking copy.

*513. e^{scr}. Lamb. 1179 [x] 4°, neatly written but in wretched condition, beginning Matth. xiii. 53, ending John xiii. 8. Also *mut.* Matth. xvi. 28—xvii. 18; xxiv. 39—xxv. 9; xxvi. 71—xxvii. 14; Mark viii. 32—ix. 9; John xi. 8—30. Carlyle brought it from Trinity Monastery, Chalké. *Κεφ. t.*, *lect.*, *τίτλοι*, *Am.*, *Eus.*

514. v^{scr}. Lambeth 1180 [xiv] *chart.*, *τίτλοι*, *Am.*, *Eus.*, *lect.*, with important variations: restored like Cod. 516 or u, but previously collated by Dr Charles Burney in Mark i. 1—iv. 16; John vii. 53—viii. 11 (Lambeth 1223).

*515. f^{scr}. Lamb. 1192 [xiii] large 4°, from Syria, beautifully written, but tampered with by a later hand. *Mut.* John xvi. 8—22, and a later hand [xv] has supplied Mark iii. 6—21; Luke xii. 48—xiii. 2; John xviii. 27—xxi. 25. *Κεφ. t.*, *τίτλοι*, *Am.*, *Eus.*, *lect.*, *pict.*; at the beginning stand some texts, *περὶ ἀνεξικακίας*. (Re-examined by Bloomfield.) About Luke xix., xx. its readings become very important, agreeing much with those of Cod. Δ, and even of the best uncials.

g^{scr}, is Lamb. 528 and Cod. 71, described above (p. 191).

516. u^{scr}. C. 4 of Archdeacon Todd's Lambeth Catalogue, was a copy of the Gospels, in the Carlyle collection, restored with six others in 1817 to the Patriarch of Jerusalem at Constantinople². The collation of SS. Matthew and Mark by the Rev. G. Bennet is at Lambeth (1255, No. 25).

*517. t^{scr}. Lambeth 1350 [xiv] St John on paper, written with a reed (*see* p. 26), appended to a copy of John Damascene "De Fide

¹ Matth. iv. 1—vii. 6; xx. 21—xxi. 12; Luke iv. 29—v. 1; 17—33; xvi. 24—xvii. 13; xx. 19—41; John vi. 51—viii. 2; xii. 20—40; xiv. 27—xv. 13; xvii. 6—xviii. 2; 37—xix. 14.

² In Mr Coxe's *Report to Her Majesty's Government*, we find an account (which illness compelled him to give at second hand) of several copies of the Gospels and one palimpsest Evangelistarium, all dated [xii], still remaining in this Prelate's Library. Here doubtless all the seven restored Carlyle books might be found, and their examination would well employ the leisure of some scholar attached to our embassy at Constantinople.

Orthodoxa:" has *ὑπόθεσις* or *prol.*, κεφ., and a few rubrical directions; carelessly written, and inscribed "T. Wagstaffe ex dono D. Barthol. Cassano e sacerdotibus ecclesiae Græcæ, Oct. 20, 1732."

518. Sion College Library, London Wall, Arc. 1. 3 [xi] 4°, a beautiful fragment, miserably injured by damp and past neglect, consisting of 153 leaves preserved in a box, was given by "Mr Edward Payne, a tenant in Sion College, as were also Evst. 227, 228, and perhaps Evst. 229." The capitals, stops, and *τίτλοι* are in gold, κεφ., *Am.* (no *Eus.*) in red. Full *lect.*, ἀρχαὶ and τέλη in red. It begins at Matth. x. 17, ends at John ix. 14. S. Mark's Gospel only has κεφ. ζ. Mark i. 1—13; Luke i. 1—13; John i. 1—17 have been taken away for the sake of the illuminations, and much of the text is illegible.

519. University Library, Edinburgh [xi] 8°, κεφ. ζ., *pict.*, in bad condition, presented in 1650 by Sir John Chiesley.

520. Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, Q, 7, 9 [xi] 4°.

521. *Ibid.* Q, 7, 10 [xi] 4°. Both these were once Cæsar de Missy's (see Cod. 44, p. 185).

522. *Ibid.* S. 8, 141 [xv] 4°. Professor Dickson of Glasgow obligingly verified for me the existence and present class marks of these and four other Hunterian manuscripts of parts of the Greek Testament. Codd. 519—22 were first announced by Hænel (see p. 226).

523. Blenheim Palace Library, 3, B. 14: like Apost. 52, once belonging to the Metropolitan Church of Heraclea on the Propontis, and presented in 1738 to Charles, Duke of Marlborough, *amoris et observantiæ ergo* by Thomas Payne, Archdeacon of Brecon, once our chaplain at Constantinople: [xiii] 4°, described by Burgon as a bright, clean copy, written in very black ink, with vermilion ornamentation, and barbarous *pict.*, *τίτλοι*, *Am.*, *Eus.*, ἀναγνώσματα, *lect.* (ἀρχαὶ and τέλη).

Mr Bradshaw had indicated in the "Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature," Vol. II. p. 355, two copies of the Gospels belonging to the Earl of Leicester at Holkham, to be described with *facsimiles* in the Catalogue of the Library there. They have now been examined by Dean Burgon, who thus reports of them:

524. Holkham 3 [xiii] 4°, 8½ inches by 6½, of 183 leaves, four being misplaced. It is beautifully written in 27 long lines on a page. *Eus. ζ.*, *τίτλ.*, *Am.* (not *Eus.*) imperfectly given: no *lect.* Besides five pictures of the Evangelists and gorgeous headings to the Gospels are 17 representations of Scripture subjects, some damaged. This "superb MS. of extraordinary interest" in the style of its writing closely resembles Cod. 38.

525. Holkham 4 [xiii or earlier] 4°, of 352 leaves, 8½ inches by 6½, is finely written, but quite different in style from Cod. 524. *Τίτλοι* in gold, *lect.*, ἀρχαὶ and τέλη in vermilion, κεφ., στίχοι numbered.

Eight copies of the Gospels, brought together by the late Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart., at Middle Hill, Worcestershire, are now the property of the Rev. John E. A. Fenwick, and, with the rest of this unrivalled private collection of manuscripts, are now at Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham, where Burgon examined them in 1880. Scrivener had used some of them at Middle Hill in 1856.

526. Phillipps 13975 [xii] fol., once Lord Strangford's 464, a grand copy, the text being surrounded with a commentary (abounding, as usual, in contractions) in very minute letters. That on S. Mark is Victor's. *Pict.* of SS. Mark and Luke, beautiful illuminations for headings of the Gospels. *Τίτλ., Am., Eus.* in gold. *Syn.* at the beginning, *ἑκλογάδιον* (see p. 74) at the end of the book.

527. Phillipps 1284 (Act. 200, Paul. 281) [xii] 4°, from the library of Mr Lammens of Ghent, a rough specimen, 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches by 5 $\frac{1}{2}$, contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, the Pauline preceding the Catholic (see p. 70). *Mut.* Matth. ix. 36—x. 22; Mark i. 21—45, and the first page of S. John. The writing varies; that from Acts to 1 Thessa. is more delicate, and looks older. No *Am., Eus.* Much *lect.* in vermilion, *ἀρχαὶ* and *τέλη.* *Τίτλοι, syn.* and sparse *men.* at the beginning.

528. Phillipps 2387 [xiii] 4°, bought of Thorpe for 30 guineas: rough, but interesting, 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 4 $\frac{1}{2}$. One leaf only of *Eus. t.* Wantonly *mut.* in headings of the Gospels, and in Mark i. 1—19; Luke i. 1—18; John i. 1—23. *Τίτλ., Am.* (not *Eus.*), *ἀρχαὶ* and *τέλη* later, an Eclogadion of the xvii century at the beginning, and much marginal *lect.* by a modern hand.

529. Phillipps 3886 [xi] 4°, a beautiful copy, bought (as were Codd. 530, 532, 533) by Payne at Lord Guildford's sale. *Carp., Eus. t., τίτλ., Am., Eus.,* no *lect.* (*ἀρχ. τέλη* later).

530. Phillipps 3887 [xii] 4°, 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches by 6, the first four lines in SS. Matth., Mark, Luke being of gold, with *pict.* of the four Evangelists and 19 others, *Am.* incomplete and irregular (no *Eus.*). No *lect.*, but unfinished *syn.* at beginning, and marginal critical notes. As in Cod. 64, a line (~) is set over Proper Names of persons in the Genealogies (see *Addenda* after our Preface).

531. (Acts 199, Paul. 231, Apoc. 104) Phillipps 7682 [?] small 4° (4 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches in a line), in two columns of 41 lines each, the hand so minute as to require a magnifying glass, contains the whole New Testament, also from Lord Guildford's (871), being, like Codd. 532 and 583, to be described below, from the Hon. F. North's collection (319). The ink is a dull brown, the ornaments in blue, vermilion, and carmine. *Eus. t.* unfinished, *prol.* to each Gospel, the text is broken up into paragraphs, *τίτλ.* run together consecutively. There are many important corrections in the margin, and 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ pages from Epiphanius at the end. This copy has every appearance of having been made from a very ancient codex: observe the arrangement of the Beatitudes in Matt. v. in single lines, as also the genealogy in Luke iii.

532. Phillipps 7712 [xiii] 4°, North 184 (*see* Cod. 529), in a large hand and very black ink, the first page being in gold, with many gold balls for stops. There is much preliminary matter, *Carp.*, two sets of *Eus. t.*, in different hands, *Am.* (not *Eus.*). The text is corrected throughout by an ancient scribe, in a hand bright, clear, and small.

533. Phillipps 7757 [xi] 4°, an exquisite little manuscript, with accessories in lake, vermilion, and blue. *See* Cod. 529. *Prol., Carp., Eus. t., τίτλ., Am., Eus.*, without *pict., syn., men., ἀρχαὶ* or *τέλη.*

Haenel is mistaken in supposing that a Greek Evangelistarium is included in this grand and unique collection.

The Parham copies of the New Testament are described in a "Catalogue of materials for writing, early writings on tablets and stones, rolled and other Manuscripts and Oriental Manuscript books in the library of Robert Curzon (Lord de la Zouche of Harynworth 1870—73) at Parham," fol., 1849. This accomplished person collected them in the course of his visits to Eastern Monasteries from 1834 to 1837, and permitted me in 1855 to collate thoroughly three of them, and to inspect the rest. They were all examined by Dean Burgon, to whom his son, the present Lord de la Zouche, had given free access to them. The codices of the Gospels are eight in number.

534. (Act. 215, Paul. 233) Parham 71. 6 [xi] small fol. or 4°, 9 inches by 6½ in the original binding, contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, the Pauline preceding the Catholic (*see* p. 70), and was brought in 1837 from Caracalla on Athos. *Τίτλοι, ἀρχαί, τέλη,* but no *Am., Eus.* The usual arabesque ornaments are in red.

535. Parham 72. 7 [xi, but in the Catalogue ix or x] 4°, small, 6½ inches by 4½, brought from S. Saba in 1834 (*see* p. 224). *Pict.,* illuminated headings, *τίτλ., Am.* (not *Eus.*), *mut.* John xvi. 27—xix. 40. No *ἀρχαὶ* or *τέλη.* There is a musical notation on the first four leaves, and the first nine lines of S. John are in gold.

536. Parham 73. 8 [xi] 4°, 11 inches by 9, brought from Xenophon on Athos 1837. The text is surrounded by a commentary, that on S. Mark being Victor's. *Τίτλοι,* full *syn., men., ἀρχαί, τέλη.*

537. Parham 74.9 [xi] 4°, 10¼ inches by 7¾, brought from Caracalla 1837, in its old black binding. *Τίτλοι, Am.* (no *Eus.*), *ἀρχαί, τέλη.* With faded red arabesques (no *pict.*) and lake headings to the Gospels, the writing being large and spread. There are marginal notes here and there.

538. Parham 75. 10 [xii, or in the Catalogue xi] 4°, from Caracalla, also in its old black binding. There are rude *pict.* of the four Evangelists, and barbarous headings to the Gospels. *Am.* (no *Eus.*). The number of *Am. κειφ.* varies from what is usual.

539. Parham 76. 11 [xii] small 4° or 8°, brought from S. Saba in 1834. *Am.* (no *Eus.*) irregularly given, *τίτλ.,* no *lect.* except *ἀρχαὶ* and *τέλη.* No *pict.,* but rough illuminations. It contains some rare and even unique readings.

540. Parham 77. 12 [XII] 4°, 8½ inches by 6, brought from S. Saba in 1834. Externally uninteresting, with decorations in faded lake, no *pict.*, *Am.*, *Eus.*, *lect.*, but only the τίτλοι at the head of the pages.

541. Parham 78. 13 [dated 1272] 12°, 5½ inches by 4½, and three inches thick. A *facsimile* is given in the Catalogue. This "singularly rough little object" was bought at S. Saba in 1834 for ten dollars. No *Am.*, *Eus.* Τίτλ., ἀρχαί and τέλη in parts.

*542. 1^{er}. (Act. 188, Paul. 258) Cod. Wordsworth [XIII] 4°, was bought in 1837 by Dr Christopher Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln, and bears a stamp "Bibliotheca Suchtelen." Κεφ. ε., τίτλοι, *Am.*, *lect.*, *syn.*, *men.*, *prol.* or ὑποθέσεις are prefixed to the Epistles, and scholia of Chrysostom, &c. set in the margin.

*543. q^{er}. (Act. 187, Paul. 257) Codex Theodori, from the name of the scribe (*see* p. 41, note 2) [dated 1295] 8°, passed from Cæsar de Missy into the Duke of Sussex's library: in 1845 it belonged to the late Wm. Pickering, the much-respected bookseller: its present locality is unknown. *Syn.*, *Carp.*, *Eus. ε.*, κεφ. ε., κεφ., *Am.*, *lect.*, ὑποθέσεις or *prol.*, and *syn.* before Act. and all Epp., Euthalius περὶ χρόνων, *men.* after St Jude; it has many later changes made in the text.

544. Ashburnham 204 [XIII] "a piteous fragment," brought from Greece by the Earl of Aberdeen, and bought at his sale. It contains only Matth. xxv. 32—5, 40, 41—xxviii. 20; Mark i. 4—xv. 47 (but defective throughout); Luke i. 1—xxiv. 48; John i. 1—ii. 4: about Luke vi. a different hand was employed. There is no heading to S. Luke's Gospel, but a blank space is left, so that perhaps the MS. was never finished. Τίτλ., *Am.* (not *Eus.*), but only partially.

The Baroness Burdett-Coutts imported in 1870—2 from Janina in Epirus upwards of one hundred manuscripts, chiefly Greek and theological, among which are sixteen copies of the Gospels or parts of them, three of the Acts, two of the Catholic, and three of St Paul's Epistles, one of the Apocalypse, sixteen Evangelistaria and five Praxapostoli. They are now being collated by myself and my son F. G. Scrivener, Vicar of Lakenheath, Suffolk, and the results will be published as soon as possible. Those marked I. and II. are deposited in the Library of Sir Roger Cholmely's School, Highgate; those marked III. are in the Baroness's possession. The copies of the Gospels are:—

*545. B-C. I. 3 [XII] 4°, *mut.* John x. 1—xii. 10; xv. 24—xxi. 25. *Carp.*, *Eus. ε.*, κεφ. ε., τίτλ., κεφ., *Am.*, *Eus.*, *pict.*, *lect.*, verses.

*546. B-C. I. 4 [XII] 4°, a fine copy. *Mut.* Matth. i. 1—ix. 13, with gilded illuminations. *Syn.*, κεφ. ε., τίτλ., *Am.* (not *Eus.*), *lect.*, iambic verses.

*547. B-C. I. 7 [XIII] 4°, *chart.*, *mut.* Luke i. 26—42. *Syn.*, κεφ. ε., τίτλ., *lect.* (not *Am.*, *Eus.*), *pict.* After the subscription to

S. John follow the numerals ξ θ ρ π. It has on the cover a curious metal tablet adorned with figures and a superscription.

*548. B-C. I. 9 [XII] small 4°, SS. Matthew and Mark only. *Mut.* Matth. xi. 28—xiii. 34; xviii. 13—xxi. 15; 33—xxxii. 10; xxiv. 46—xxv. 21; Mark iii. 11—v. 31; ix. 18—xii. 6; 34—44; ends with πανταχού Mark xvi. 20. *Syn., lect., κεφ., τίτλ., Am., Eus.*

*549. B-C. II. 7 [XIII] 12°, a very curious volume in ancient binding with two metal plates on the covers much resembling that of B-C. I. 7, contains the Four Gospels and the Acts, breaking off at ch. xxvi. 24 *μαίνη παῦλε*; the writing being unusually full of abbreviations, and the margin gradually contracting, as if vellum was becoming scarce. The last five pages are in another, though contemporary hand. Seven pages containing Gregory Nazianzen's heroic verses on the Lord's genealogy, and others on His miracles and parables, partly in red, precede *κεφ. t.* to S. Matthew; other such verses of Gregory precede SS. Mark and Luke, and follow S. John, and *κεφ. t.* stand before SS. Luke and John. There are *τίτλ., κεφ.* (no *lect.*; and *Am., Eus.*, only in the open leaf containing Luke xii.): in the Gospels there is a *prol.*, and no chapter divisions in the Acts, but a few capitals in red. Pretty illuminations precede each book.

*550. B-C. II. 13 [XII] 4°, with poor arabesque ornamentation, complete. *Lect.*, a few *τίτλ.* by a later hand, as is also much of *Am., Eus.*, which are only partially inserted.

*551. B-C. II. 16 [XIII] 4°, *mut.* Matth. i. 1—17; Luke i. 1—17; John i. 1—46. *Lect., κεφ. t.* (defective), *τίτλ., κεφ., Am., Eus., pict.*

*552. B-C. II. 18 [XII] 12°, very neat. The first leaf forms part of a Lectionary: on the second the Gospels begin with Matth. xiii. 7. *Mut.* John i. 1—15. *Κεφ. t., τίτλ., κεφ., Am.* (not *Eus.*), *men.* at the end, *lect.* in abundance, *pict.* of S. Mark washed out: arabesques at the head of each book.

*553 & *554. B-C. II. 26¹ and 26² are two fragments of the Gospels, whereof 26¹ comprises 27 leaves of S. Mark covered with vile modern scribbling (ch. iii. 21—iv. 13; 37—vii. 29; viii. 15—27; ix. 9—x. 5; 29—xii. 32) [XIII], small 4°, neat, with *τίτλ., Am., Eus., lect.*; and 26² consists of 48 larger 4° leaves [XIV], containing Matth. xviii. 32—xxiv. 10; xxvi. 28—xxviii. 20; Mark i. 16—xiii. 9; xiv. 9—27, with *κεφ. t., τίτλ., Am.* (*Eus.* only partially), *lect.* There are many abridgements in the writing. Dated, perhaps by the first hand, A.D. 1323.

*555. B-C. III. 4 [XIII] small neat 4°, *prol., κεφ. t., τίτλ., κεφ., Am., Eus., lect., pict.* of the four Evangelists, *syn.* incomplete at the end. Some leaves are misplaced in S. Matthew. *Mut.* John xix. 25—xxi. 2.

*556. B-C. III. 5 [XII] fol., *lect., syn., men., Am., Eus., mut.* Matth. xii. 11—xiii. 10; Mark viii. 4—28; Luke xv. 20—xvi. 9; John ii. 22—iv. 6; 53—v. 43; xi. 21—47, one leaf lost in each case, and one (John i. 51—ii. 22) misplaced in binding. This copy has

John vii. 53—viii. 11 after Luke xxi. 38, like Abbott's four (see p. 181), with which its text much agrees, and the titles to SS. Matthew and Mark only run *εὐαγγέλιον ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Μ...* See p. 190, note 2.

*557. B-C. III. 9 [xiii] 12°, κεφ. *t.* to the last three Gospels, τίτλ., κεφ., *Am.* (not *Eus.*), *pict.* of SS. Matthew, Mark and John. This copy is remarkably free from *lect.* Neatly written, but four considerable passages in S. Luke are omitted, the text running on *uno tenore.*

*558. B-C. III. 10 [dated A.D. 1430] *chart.*, *pict.* of the four Evangelists, of the Saviour, and of the Virgin and Child. *Carp.*, *Eus. t.*, κεφ. *t.*, *Am.*, *Eus.*, *lect.* The leaves are much misplaced in binding.

*559. B-C. III. 41 [xii or xiii] small square 4°, *mut.* at beginning and end (John xviii. 30) and about Matth. xii. 16. Κεφ. *t.*, *pict.*, in a bad condition.

The next two were purchased in 1876 of Qaritch for £120 and £50 respectively by Mr Jonathan Peckover, and now belong to Mr Alexander Peckover, of Bank House, Wisbech, who gave Burgon access to them.

560. (Act. 222, Paul. 278) Peckover (1) [x1?] small 4°; 239 leaves, contains the Gospels, Acts and Epistles in their usual Greek order (see p. 70), "an exquisite specimen, in a somewhat minute character." It begins with a picture of S. Matthew, the lost preliminary matter being prefixed *chart.* by a later hand. *Pict.*, τίτλ., *Am.*, *Eus.*, ἀρχαὶ and τέλη. On the last leaf is written in uncial letters: *ὡς ἦδὺς τοῖς πλείοσιν ὁ εὐδῖος λμῆν' | οὕτως καὶ τοῖς γράφουσιν ὁ ἔσχατος στίχος. ἰωαννικίου μοναχοῦ.*

561. Peckover (2) [?] a small 4°, from Athens, of 356 leaves, 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches by 5 $\frac{1}{2}$, with 17 uncial palimpsest leaves at the beginning and end, containing lessons from the Epistles to be described hereafter (Apost. 43). *Carp.*, τίτλ., *Am.*, *Eus.*, *syn.*, four pictures of Evangelists.

*562. Mendham [xiv] 4°. After all it appears that this copy, not Cod. 436, is Meermann's 117: hence correct pp. 198 note, and 222. Bohn bought it at Meermann's sale in 1824, and sold it to my predecessor at Hendon, the Rev. Theodore Williams, for £120. The Rev. Joseph Mendham bought it of Payne for £70 in 1827. "Its ultimate destination is the Bodleian Library." It is dated on the last leaf (as we may now assume that Cod. 436 is not) by a later hand, A.D. 1322. It contains 270 leaves, evenly written in pale brown ink by a reed-pen. The last twenty leaves contain the Gospels for Maunday Thursday, for Good Friday, and for S. John's Day, followed by *syn.*, *men.* The ornamentation is as fresh and bright as if done yesterday, and its text is of the ordinary type, like *lmn*^{scr} (Codd. 201, 542, 568). *Lect.* is in bright vermilion: κεφ. *t.* and some verses stand before each Gospel, κεφ. are numbered in the margin of the MS., as are στίχοι at the end of each Gospel: there

are no *pict.*, *prol.*, *Am.*, *Eus.*, but ἀναγνώσματα numbered as in Wake 25, &c. on p. 66.

Mr James Woodhouse [d. 1866], Treasurer-General of the Ionian Islands, while resident fifty years at Corfu, formed a collection of manuscripts from monasteries in the Levant, which was sold in London in 1869, 1872, 1875. Among them were three copies of the Gospels, two Evangelistaria, one copy of the Acts and S. Paul. Dean Burgon (who bought Codd. 563 and 564 in 1875) is able to describe four out of the six.

*563. Woodhouse 4 [XIII] small 8°, 337 leaves, like Codd. 564, 565, belongs to the Rev. W. F. Rose, Vicar of Worle, Somersetshire, and the three are now undergoing collation. It was once fair, but has suffered from damp, and has been sadly cropped by the Western binder. *Mut.* John xx. 17. There is an unusually full apparatus.—*Carp.*, *Eus.* t., verses before the Gospels, *pict.*, τίτλ., κεφ., *lect.*, ἀρχαὶ and τέλη, and at the end *syn.*, *men.* in a minute hand. The headings of the Gospels are in lake. It abounds in curious and unique liturgical notes, whereof Burgon gives specimens, and it has textual corrections by the original scribe.

*564. Woodhouse 37 [XIV] fol., written in two columns: *syn.*, *men.* at the beginning, followed by a scholium on τίτλος α'. *Pict.*, *prol.*, matter from Cosmas, &c. (see p. 63), *Am.* (not *Eus.*), στίχοι. The ornamentation is in lake, and at the end are extracts from Eulogius and Hesychius. Upon collation by Mr Rose it exhibits here and there suggestive discrepancies from the common text. Codd. 563, 564 were respectively offered for sale in 1871 for £50 and £40.

*565. Rose [XIII] small 4°, is apparently not from the Woodhouse collection. It consists of 213 leaves, and is beautifully written and of an uncommon type. Its older binding suggests a Levantine origin. Τίτλ., *Am.*, *Eus.*, colophons of στίχοι, *lect.*, in pale brown ink. The readings are far more interesting than those of Cod. 564, some of them being quite unique.

We now come to the British Museum, for which many copies have been procured of late years.

*566. h^{ms}. Cod. Arundel 524 in the British Museum, [XI] 4°, was brought to England (with x^{ms} and many others) by the great Earl of Arundel in 1646. Henry Howard, Evelyn's Duke of Norfolk, presented them to the Royal Society, from whose rooms at Somerset House they were transferred to the Museum in 1831. *Syn.*, *men.*, *Carp.*, *Eus.* t., κεφ. t., τίτλοι, *Am.*, *Eus.*, *lect.*

567. B. M. Harl. 5538, described in the Harleian Catalogue as an Evangelistarium, and numbered by Scholz Evst. 149, is a copy of the Gospels [XIV] 12°, *lect.*, with no κεφ., *Am.*, *Eus.*

*568. n^{ms}. (Paul. 259 or j^{ms}) Brit. Mus., Burney 18 (purchased in 1818, with many other manuscripts, from the heirs of Dr Charles Burney), contains the Gospels and two leaves of St Paul (Hebr. xii. 17—xiii. 25), written by one Joasaph A.D. 1366, fol., very superb,

lect., κεφ. τ. (but not τίτλοι), *Am.*, *Eus.*, some foreign matter, ἀποστολοευαγγέλια, and *syn.* or *men.*, both terms being used. Codd. lmn (542, 201, 568) agree pretty closely.

*569. o^{sc}. Brit. Mus. Burney 19 [x] 4°: (*see* p. 41, and Plate III, No. 8), in the Escorial as late as 1809, is singularly void of the usual apparatus.

*570. p^{sc}. Burney 20 [*dated* A.D. 1285, Indict. 13, altered into 985, whose indiction is the same] 4°, written by a monk Theophilus: *pict.*, *Eus. t.*, κεφ. τ., τίτλοι, *Am.*, *Eus.*, *lect.*, *syn.*, *men.*, the last in a later hand, which has made many corrections: this copy is quite equal in value to Cod. c^{sc} (511), and often agrees closely with w^{sc} (507).

*571. r^{sc}. Burney 21, by the same scribe as Cod. 543 [*dated* 1292] fol., on cotton paper in a beautiful but formed hand (*see* p. 41, and Plate VI, No. 15), *syn.*, *prol.* to each Gospel, κεφ. τ., *men.* Codd. 543 and 571 differ only in 183 places.

*572. s^{sc}. Burney 23 [xii] 4°, boldly but carelessly written, ends John viii. 14: *mut.* Luke v. 22—ix. 32; xi. 31—xiii. 25; xvii. 24—xviii. 4. *Syn.*, *Carp.*, κεφ. τ., *pict.*, *Am.* (not *Eus.*), τίτλοι, with many later changes and weighty readings.

573. B. M. Additional 5468 [*dated* 1338] 4°, 226 leaves. It was "John Jackson's book, bou't of Conant in Fleet St., 1777, for 5 guineas" [*see* p. 190]. *Mut.* Matth. i. 1—vi. 18, and the last leaf of St Luke (xxiv. 47—53). Τίτλ., *Carp.*, *Eus. t.*, *Am.* (not *Eus.*), full *syn.*, *men.*, ἀρχαὶ and τέλη. This copy has at the end of each of the Gospels of SS. Matthew and Mark the subscriptions referred to above, p. 154 and note. There is a probable reference to them at the end of S. John (ὁμοίως). It is coarsely written on thick vellum, with much *lect.* in vermilion. The breathings and accents are remarkably incorrect.

574. B. M. Addit. 7141 [xiii] 4°, bought 1825, and once Claudius James Rich's. *Carp.*, *Eus. t.*, κεφ. τ., *Am.*, *Eus.*, *lect.* in red. No τίτλ., κεφ.

*575 or k^{sc}. Cod. Lebanon, B. M. Addit. 11300 [xi] 4°, most elegantly and correctly written, purchased in 1838, and said to come from Cæsarea Philippi at the foot of Lebanon. Contains *scholia*, *lect.*, no *syn.*, but all other matter as in Cod. h^{sc} (566): the text is broken up into paragraphs. (Re-examined by Bloomfield.) There is a beautiful *facsimile* page in the new "Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts in the British Museum" (1881), Plate 16.

576. (Act. 226, Paul. 268) B. M. Addit. 11836, this and the next two are from Bishop Butler's collection: [xi], small 4°, 305 leaves, beautifully written in a minute hand and adorned with gold letters, contains Evan. Act. Cath. Paul. Psalms, &c. *Mut.* Mark i. 1—28; Acts i. 1—23; vii. 8—39; Ps. i. 1—3. *Pict.*, *Eus. t.* (i. e. a blank space is left for them), τίτλ., κεφ., *Am.* (not *Eus.*), no *prol.*, κεφ. in Epistles. Akin to Cod. 440 in S. Paul (Vansittart).

For B. M. Addit. 11837, which is m^{ss}, see Cod. *201, p. 204.

577. B. M. Addit. 11838 [dated A.D. 1326, Ind. 9] fol., from Sinai, most beautifully written by Constantine, a monk. *Syn.*, *κεφ. τ.*, *πict.*, *lect.*, all in a later hand, *τίτλοι*.

578. B. M. Addit. 11839 [xv] 4°, *chart.*, ill-written, with later marginal notes, and no chapter divisions. *Lect.* Matth. iv. 13—xi. 27; Mark i. 1—vi. 1, are later.

579. B. M. Addit. 11868 from the Butler collection [x or xi] seven leaves (now bound separately) containing Matth. x. 33—xviii. 16, two half leaves being lost, beautifully written in two columns. *Κεφ.*, *Am.*, *Eus.*, later *lect.*

580. B. M. Addit. 15581 [xii] 12° neat, *κεφ. τ.*, *Am.*, *Eus.* (mostly omitted), once Melch. Thevenot's. See above, Cod. 272. Liturgical notes are added by a second hand, and the Latin chapters later still.

581. B. M. Addit. 16183 [xii] 4°, in a minute hand, bought (as was Cod. 582) of Capt. C. K. Macdonald in 1846. The two came probably from Sinai, where he once saw Cod. N, and was employed in working the neighbouring turquoise mines of the Pharaohs.

582. (Act. 227, Paul. 279) B. M. Addit. 16184 [xiv] small 4°, the whole New Testament, except the Apocalypse, in the usual Greek order (p. 70). *Prol.*, *κεφ. τ.*, *κεφ.*, *τίτλ.*, *Am.* (not *Eus.*), *lect.*, *syn. &c.* on vellum, and some later on paper, in very small writing. This copy contains many important various readings: e.g. it countenances Codd. NBL in Luke xi. 2, 4.

583. B. M. Addit. 16943 [xi], in a very small hand, *Eus. τ.*, *πict.*, from the collection made by the Hon. F. North for the University of Corfu. See Codd. 531—2; Act. 198.

584. (Act. 228, Paul. 269, Apoc. 97 or j^{ss}) B. M. Addit. 17469, contains the whole N. T. (see p. 69) bought of T. Rodd in 1848 [xiv] fol., very small writing on 187 leaves, 35 lines on a page. *Syn.*, *prol.*, *τίτλ.*, *κεφ.*, *Am.* (not *Eus.*), *lect.*, *mut.* Matth. i. 1—ii. 13; Mark v. 2—vi. 11; James i. 1—v. 4: 3 John; Jude; Rom. i. 1—iv. 9; 2 Thess. ii. 13—1 Tim. i. 13. In Acts *τίτλ.*, *lect. rubro. Prol.* to every Epistle.

585. B. M. Addit. 17470 [dated 1034], written by Synesius, a priest, bought of H. Rodd in 1848, is represented by a *facsimile* page in the new "Catalogue of MSS." *Syn.*, *men.*, *τίτλ.* (with a Harmony), *Am.*, *Eus.*, with many marginal corrections of the text. "A singularly genuine specimen."

586. B. M. Addit. 17741 [xii] 4°, begins Matth. xii. 21, ends John xvii. 13: purchased in 1849. *Am.* (not *Eus.*), *ἀρχαὶ* and *τέλη*, *lect.* The genealogy in S. Luke is in three columns.

587. B. M. Addit. 17982 [xiii] 4°, ending John xix. 38 (eight leaves being lost), and believed to contain important readings.

588. B. M. Addit. 18211 [XIII] 4°, with 12 leaves *chart.* [xv] to supply hiatus: *κεφ. t., τίτλ., Am.* (not *Eus.*), *lect.*, came from Patmos. F. V. J. Arundell, British Chaplain at Smyrna (1834), describes this copy, given him by Mr Borrell, and a Lectionary sold to him at the same time, in his *Discoveries in Asia Minor*, Vol. II. p. 268. He there compares it with the beautiful Cod. Ebnerianus (Evan. 105), which it very slightly resembles, being larger and far less elegant. *Mut.* Matth. i. 1-19; Mark i. 1-16; Luke ix. 14-xvii. 4; xxi. 19-John iv. 5.

589. B. M. Addit. 19387 [XII, or XIV in the Museum Catalogue] 4°, written by one Leo, begins Matth. viii. 12, and was purchased in 1853 from the well-known Constantine Simonides, as was also

590. B. M. Addit. 19389 [XIII] 12°, S. John's Gospel only, elegantly written by Cosmas, a monk. *Am.* (not *Eus.*), *lect.*

The foregoing Additional MSS. in the British Museum were examined and collated (apparently only in select passages) by Dr S. T. Bloomfield for his "Critical Annotations on the Sacred Text" (1860), designed as a Supplement to the ninth edition of his Greek Testament, and comprising an *opus supremum et ultimum*, the last effort of a long and honourable literary career. He has passed under review no less than seventy manuscripts of the New Testament, twenty-three at Lambeth, the rest in the British Museum, nearly all of which have been verified after his description, and his labours acknowledged, in the course of the present and the next sections. The following have been accumulated since his time.

591. B. M. Addit. 22506 [dated 1305] 4°, written by a monk of Cyprus on 279 leaves, was bought at Milo by H. O. Coxe of a Greek who had it from a relative who had been ἡγούμενος of a Candian monastery. A *facsimile* is given in the new Museum Catalogue. *Pict.* (rude), *lect.*, τίτλ., *Am.* (not *Eus.*) inaccurately given.

592. B. M. Addit. 22736 [dated June 1179] 4°, 9¾ inches by 7¾, 224 leaves, written in two columns on a page by John, ἀναγνώστης. Τίτλ., *Am.* (not *Eus.*), ἀναγνώσματα, ἀρχαὶ and τέλη: with peculiar, almost barbarous, illuminations.

593. B. M. Addit. 22737 [XII] small 4° of 312 leaves, 8½ inches by 6¼, with decorations in very deep lake. *Syn., men., τίτλ., στίχοι, lect., ἀρχαὶ* and τέλη, but no *Am.*

594. B. M. Addit. 22738 [XIII] small 8°, 6¾ inches by 4¼, 236 leaves, rough and abounding with itacisms (*see* p. 10). *Carp., Eus. t., Am.* (*Eus.* occasionally), ἀρχαὶ and τέλη, *syn., men.*, but not τίτλ. or *lect.* by the original scribe. Two rude pictures of Evangelists have been effaced.

595. B. M. Addit. 22739, has a rather modern look [XIV?] small 4°, 275 leaves, with rough pictures and illuminations. *Carp., Eus. t., τίτλ., ἀναγνώσματα, Am.* (not *Eus.*), στίχοι, ἀρχαὶ and τέλη.

596. B. M. Addit. 22740 [XII] 4°, 237 leaves, exquisitely written, said to greatly resemble Cod. 71 (*g^{scr}*) in text. *Pict.* of Evangelists,

and illuminated headings to the Gospels. *Prol.*, τίτλ., *Am.*, *Eus.* (in blue), κεφ., not lect. ἀρχ. τέλη. *Mut.* Luke ii. 7—21, and after τίτλ. of S. John. This MS. with Evst. 269, 270, 271, 272 and Evan. 592, 597, bought of P. Lambros of Athens in 1859.

597. B. M. Addit. 22741 [xiv] 4°, 208 leaves, *Carp.*, *Eus. t.*, *prol.* (here called προγράμματα, a term we have not noticed elsewhere), τίτλ., *Am.* (not *Eus.*): with illuminations but no pict., ἀρχ. or τέλη. *Mut.* Mark ii. 2—17. John vii. 1—xxi. 25.

598. B. M. Addit. 24112 [xv] fol., *chart.*, 210 leaves, in two columns, Greek and Latin, but the Latin only extends over 7½ pages. With τίτλ., στίχοι, lect. Bought at Puttick's, 1861.

599. B. M. Addit. 24373 [xiii] 4°, 299 leaves, very beautiful, with pict. of Evangelists (much damaged) and superb headings of the Gospels. *Carp.*, κεφ. t., *prol.*, τίτλ., *Am.*, *Eus.*, κεφ., *syn.*, *men.* *Mut.* Matth. i. 11—xv. 19. Long lect., ἀρχ. in marg., τέλη in the text.

600. B. M. Addit. 24376 [xiv] 4°, 350 leaves, in two columns. Remarkable pict. of the Annunciation and of the three later Evangelists, Gospel headings left blank. *Prol.*, τίτλ., κεφ., ἀναγνώσματα, lect., ἀρχαί and τέλη, *syn.* No *Am.*, *Eus.* &c. See Evst. 273—7.

601. B. M. Addit. 26103 [xiv] 4°, on 242 leaves, was found in a village near Corinth, and bought of C. L. Merlin, our Vice-Consul at Athens, in 1865. Beautifully written in very black ink, the first page being in gold. Pict. S. John only, with elaborate headings of the Gospels. Τίτλ., *Am.* (not *Eus.*) in gold.

602. B. M. Addit. 27861 [xiv] 8°, from Sir T. Gage's sale, 1868, 186 leaves, rough and dirty, with many marginal notes to supply omissions. Τίτλ., *Am.* (not *Eus.*), ἀρχ. τέλη. S. Matthew's Gospel is wholly lost. No pict., but ornamentation in faded lake.

603. (Act. 231, Paul. 266 and 271). B. M. 28815 [x or xi] a very grand folio, 11½ inches by 8½, 302 leaves, sumptuously bound with silver-gilt plates. This noble fragment was bought (as were Act. 232, Evst. 279, 280) of Sir Ivor B. Guest in 1871, and contains the Gospels, Acts, Catholic Epistles, Rom., 1, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, the rest of the original volume being evidently torn out of the book when already bound. In the same year 1871 the Baroness Burdett-Coutts also imported from Janina in Epirus 67 leaves containing the rest of S. Paul's Epistles and the Apocalypse (B-C. II. 4, Paul. 266, Apoc. 89), which fragments were described in the second edition of the present volume. Mr Edward A. Guy, of Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, U.S.A., on examining the Museum fragment in 1875 with my book in his hand, concluded that the two portions originally formed one magnificent copy of the whole New Testament (see p. 69 note), and when I brought the two together, I saw that the illuminated heading and initial capital on the first page of B-C. II. 4 (Eph. I.) was worked off through damp on the verso of the last leaf (302) of the Museum copy, and the red κεφ. of Gal. vi. on the top of B-C. II. 4, leaf one, recto. In the larger fragment we find two pict. of S. Luke (one of them before the Acts), one of S. John, with illuminated

headings. *Carp.*, *Eus. t.*, &c. must have perished, as the first page opens with Matt. i. 1. It has τίτλ. in gold letters on purple vellum, *Am.*, *Eus.*, a Harmony at the foot of fol. 17 b—18 b, and many brief marginal scholia. See Paul 266 (B.-C. II. 4) which is at present five miles off, in the Library of Sir Roger Chomely's School, Highgate.

604. B. M. Egerton 2610 [XI or XII] small 4°, of 296 leaves, in [XV] binding, recently secured by the Principal Keeper of Manuscripts, Mr E. Maunde Thompson (*see* p. 100), is a very important manuscript, full of readings which recall Cod. B., and some almost unique, e.g. Luke xi. 2, for which Gregory of Nyssa is the only other known authority. "It calls aloud for collation," to borrow Dean Burgon's language. *Carp.*, *Eus. t.* in gold, *Am.*, *Eus.* (both quite partially), ἀρχαὶ and τέλη. *Pict.*, and interesting, though incomplete, ornamentation. Certain hooked proper names of places (e.g. Gabbatha) are subscribed throughout by a straight line, a very unusual arrangement.

605. (Act. 233, Paul. 243, Apoc. 106.) Codex Zittaviensis, given to the Senate of Zittau, a town in Lusatian Saxony, in 1620, survived the siege and fire there in 1757, and contains the canonical books of the Old Testament down to Esther, with 1 Esdras, 4 Maccabees, Judith, Tobit, and the whole New Testament (*see* p. 69 note). Matthæi collated the Old Testament portion for Dean Holmes's edition of the Septuagint (Cod. 44), and saw its great critical value. Lagarde, who is now using it at Göttingen for the Septuagint (*Genesis*, pp. 7, 8, Lips. 1868), describes it as a paper copy [XV or XVI], and cites from it a manuscript note of Matthæi, who dates it [XIV], shewing that he was allowed to examine it entire at his own house from October 1801 to May 1802. The circumstances under which his collation of this and of twenty-three other manuscripts have been lost to us will be stated below in chapter v.

The next two were bought for the Bodleian in 1882: they came from Constantinople.

606. Oxford, Bodl. Græc. Misc. 305 [XI or XII] 4°, 149 leaves, *mut.* only Mark xvi. 19 (*post kai*) 20 and *pict.* of Luke and John. It has those of the other two Evangelists and ornamented headings to each Gospel. *Carp.* (not *Eus. t.* or τίτλοι), κεφ., *Am.*, *Eus.*, no *syn.*, *men.*: a few *lect.* by a later hand. The passages Matth. xvi. 2, 3; John v. 4; vii. 53—viii. 11 are obelized in the margin.

607. Oxford, Bodl. Græc. Miscel. 306, [XI or XII] small 4°, 200 leaves (originally 213?), *mut.* Matth. xx. 15—xxiv. 21, much *cropt* in binding. *Eus. t.* (the first leaf being lost), τίτλ., κεφ., *Am.*, *Eus.*, and illuminated headings to the Gospels: but no *Carp.*, *prol.*, *lect.*, *syn.*, *men.*

608. B. M. Addit. 11859—60 (palimpsest) is a *Typicum* or *Rituale* (*see* p. 139) [XIV or XV] 4°, from the Butler collection, having written under it an earlier cursive text [XIII] containing, in 11859, Matth. xii. 33—xiii. 7; xvi. 21—xvii. 15; xx. 1—15; 15—xxi. 5. Mark x. 45—xi. 17: 198 verses.

N.B. Addit. 11860, contains only 27 verses of the Catholic Epistles, James 1—16; Jude 4—15. This is Act. 234.

609. Cambridge University Library, Hh. 6. 12 [xv] 4°, *chart.*, κεφ. t., *prol.* This must be Scholz's 1673 (*N. T.*, Vol. i. p. cxix), but it contains the Gospels only, not the Acts, as he supposes.

610. Oxford Bodl. Barocc. 59 [xi] 4°, six leaves, containing Luke xxiii. 38—xxiv. 53; κεφ. t. John; John i. 30—iii. 5 in a book of other matter [xv], *chart.*

611. Basil. 40, olim Cardinalis Passionei (*see* p. 162) [xi] 4°, S. Luke with Theophylact's commentary, described with *facsimile* by Vitali in Bianchini's *Evan. Quadr.* Vol. II. Pt. 1, pp. 506—40, 563, 560.

612. B.-C. I. 10 [xii] is a very small and beautiful Ὠδεῖον, containing the *Magnificat* and *Benedictus*, besides the cLI Psalms of the Septuagint version, and the Hymns of Moses (Ex. xv. 1—14; Deut. xxxii. 14—43), of Hannah (1 Sam. ii.), of Habakkuk (ch. iii.), Isaiah (ch. xxvi), Jonah (ch. ii), with that of the Three Holy Children. Many such books are extant, of which this is inserted in our list as a specimen. See 5°, p. 227.

John Belsheim, editor of the Codex Aureus (to be described in Chapter III) found at Upsal in 1875, and described to Burgon in 1882, together with Act. 68, three manuscripts in the University Library there containing the Gospels only.

613. Upsal 4, Sparvenfeldt¹ 45, [xi] small 4°, of 203 leaves, bought at Venice 1678.

614. Upsal 9 [xiii] 4°, of 288 leaves, given by a Greek priest in 1784 to A. F. Stiertzenbecker, who bequeathed it to the University Library.

615. Upsal 13, Björnsthäl 3 [xii] 4°, of 230 leaves. Add also

616. Upsal 12, Björnsthäl 2 [xii] 4°, of 328 leaves, contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, being Act. 237, Paul. 274.

These two last and Act. 236 were bequeathed by Professor J. Björnsthäl to the University Library.

Burgon also points out from Bianchini, *Evan. Quadr.* Vol. II. Part 1, pp. 538—40, where it is described, with a *facsimile*.

617. Rome, Vall. E. 40 [xi], S. John's Gospel only, with a very full catena by several Fathers, *mut.* at the beginning, written by two scribes.

The Rev. H. O. Coxe, late Bodley's Librarian, though quite unable to purchase any of the literary treasures he was commissioned to inspect in 1857², has added considerably to our knowledge of

¹ Belsheim (*Cod. Aureus*, Proleg. p. xvii and note 3) gives a short life of that noble Swede, John Gabriel Sparvenfeldt [1655—1727], who was sent over Europe by his master, Charles XI., to procure manuscripts for the Royal Library, and bought the Latin Codex Aureus at Madrid in 1690.

² Those who venerate the Greek Church for what she has been, or look forward to her future with hope, may well take comfort from the spirit in which Mr Coxe's fair offers of purchase were invariably met. Of the rulers of the

manuscripts in the East: those of the Gospels in Greek are the fifty-one following:

(α) In the Library of the Patriarch of Alexandria at Cairo; Shelf 1, No. 2 [xiii] 4°; No. 15 [xi] 4°, *mut.*; No. 16 [xi] 4°, *syn.*, beautifully written; No. 17 [xi] 4°; Shelf 5, No. 68 [x] 4°: and at the Cairo *μεροκία* of S. Catharine's on Sinai, No. 7, the Gospels and Psalter [xvi] fol., *chart.*

(β) At the great Greek Monastery of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, besides Scholz's Cod. 450 (No. 6) and Cod. 456 (No. 43), are No. 2 [x] 4°, beautifully written; No. 5 [x] 4°; No. 14 [xii] large 4°, with scholia; No. 17 [xi] 4°, with a few scholia; No. 31 [xi] 4°, very beautiful; No. 32 [xi] 4°; No. 33 [xii] 4°; No. 40 [xii] 4°, a fine copy of the Gospels, Acts, and all the Epistles; No. 41 [xi] 4°, a beautiful copy; No. 44 [xiv] fol.; No. 45 [xii] 4°, the Gospels and all the Epistles, but only *λέξεις τῶν πράξεων*. No. 46 [xi] small 4°: and at the Convent of the Holy Cross there, No. 3 [xi] 4°, *syn.*, *κεφ.*

(γ) At S. Saba (*see* p. 224) No. 27 [xii] fol.; Nos. 52, 53 [xi] 4°, two copies of the Gospels and all the Epistles, No. 52 having *syn.*; No. 54 contains the same [xii] 4°; No. 56 [x] 4° small, Gospels only; as have also Nos. 57-60 [x or xi]; No. 61, five copies of the Gospels [xi] 4°; No. 62, five other copies [xii] 4°. In a kind of lumber-room called the Tower Library, in wretched keeping, are No. 45 [xi] 4°; No. 46 [xii] 4°; No. 47 [xi] small 4°, all of the Gospels.

(δ) Three copies (Nos. 2, 6, 21) at the convent of S. John at Patmos¹ seem to be Scholz's Codd. 467-9 (*see* p. 224): there are besides No. 59 [x] 4°; No. 77 [xi] 4°; and No. 89, a catena on S. Matthew.

(ε) At Larnaka in Cyprus the Bishop of Citium has one copy [xii] 4°, *syn.*

Add to these the copies of the Gospels found in the library of the Patriarch of Jerusalem at Constantinople (*see* p. 231, note 2); also the eight (1-6; 19; 20), four being in silver binding, found by Dr Millingen, a physician practising at Constantinople [d. 1878], at Trinity Monastery in the island of Chalké, ten miles from that city, whence also came Cod. 513, described above. These probably, with

Convent of the Holy Sepulchre he writes (*Report to Her Majesty's Government*, p. 10), "They would not entertain the idea for a moment. They had now, they said, become aware of the value of what they possessed, although they admitted that a few years since it was far otherwise, and that a collector would have found little difficulty in obtaining anything he wished for barely more than the asking."

¹ Mr Coxe found the Librarian of the Bodleian peculiarly unpopular at St John's Convent, Patmos; from whose Library E. D. Clarke [1769-1822] had obtained the early dated copy of Plato's Dialogues (now Clarke 39) described above p. 40 and note 2. "The authorities were well acquainted with, and all deplored the loss they had sustained in their Plato, and knew perfectly well where it is now deposited. No money would tempt them to part with their Job [vii. or viii.]" (*Report to Her Majesty's Government*, p. 27.) Sakkelion (*see* p. 135) purposed to publish this codex of Job.

others hard to identify, except by the binding, have been described by John Lamy in his *Deliciae Eruditorum* (Florence, 1743). Lamy's class marks are No. 207, Gospels, Acts, Epistles; No. 201, very ancient, SS. Matthew and Mark with a catena; Nos. 202—6, fine codices of the Gospels alone. A search in the libraries of the monasteries at mount Athos, at Meteora in Thessaly, and at S. Catharine on Sinai, would doubtless bring many more sacred codices to light. In 1857 M. Le Barbier, an eminent French archæologist, announced to Mr Coxe his purpose of making a tour of Athos with the view of giving a full account of the manuscript treasures hidden there; but Mons. E. Miller, who himself stayed on Athos six months, and found, as might have been looked for, a great store of such materials for Biblical criticism, some very ancient, assured Dean Burgon in June, 1882, that Le Barbier has published nothing on the subject.

It would appear also that there are one or more copies of the Gospels in the Duke of Hamilton's collection; another in the Lyceum at Pressburg [x] 4°, *pict.*, whereof a further description is promised to Burgon: also, according to Haenel, another at Toledo [xiv] 4°.

A correspondent reports to Dean Burgon, from a Greek periodical, *Ἐστία* of Athens, that M. Meletios Kotzanès, a Deacon, has lately presented to the Museum of the Archæological Society at Constantinople an Evan. on vellum [ix or x] large 4°, *φέρων μουσικὸς χαρακτήρας*; but musical notes are not often found except in Lectionaries.

The librarian at Strasburg, M. Barach, in reply to Dean Burgon's inquiries about the fate of Evan. 431 and Act. 201, writes that his Library was entirely burnt at the siege of 1870, and that "rien de tout ce que la Bibliothèque contenait au moment de l'embrasement n' a été sauvé." More fortunate were the people of Zittau: *see* Cod. 605.

After deducting from the whole list of cursive copies of the Gospels 42 for duplicates, the whole number certainly known to us amounts to six hundred and thirty-eight at the least. The sum of extant copies must be considerably greater.

(2) *Manuscripts of the Acts and Catholic Epistles.*

- *1. (= Evan. 1).
2. (Paul. 2) Cod. Basil. A. N. iv. 4 (formerly B. ix. 38) [xiii or xiv Burgon] 8°, with short Introductions to the books, once belonged to the Preaching Friars, then to Amerbach, a printer of Basle. It was the copy on which Erasmus grounded the text of his first edition (1516), and he calls it "exemplar mirè castigatum." It is Mill's B. 2. (Battier, Wetstein).
3. (= Evan. 3).
4. (Paul. 4) Basil. A. N. iv. 5 (formerly B. x. 20) [xv] 8°, Mill's B. 3, badly written by several hands, and is full of contractions: the Pauline Epistles preceding the Catholic (*see* p. 70). Erasmus made some use of this copy and of its marginal readings (e.g. Acts viii. 37; xv. 34; xxiv. 6—8) for forming his text (Battier, Wetstein).
5. (= Evan. 5).
6. (= Evan. 6).

7. (Paul. 9) Paris Reg. 102 [x] 8°, *prol.*, seems to be Stephen's *ι'*, although *ι'* is cited in error Luke v. 19; John ii. 17: it nearly resembles Cod. 5 and the Latin version. In this copy, and in Paul. H. 12. 17. 20. 137, Mr Vansittart re-collated the beginning of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

8. (Paul. 10) Stephen's *ια'*, now missing, cited about 400 times by that editor, in 276 of which it supports the Latin versions (Mill, *N. T. Proleg.* § 1171). Stephen cites *ια'* (apparently in error) four times in the Gospels, once in the Apocalypse (Matth. x. 8; 10; xii. 32; John ii. 17; Apoc. xiii. 4).

9. (Paul. 11) Cod. Vatabli, now in the University Library at Cambridge, 2068 or Kk. 6. 4 [xi]. Bp. Marsh has fully proved that this copy, which once belonged to Stephen's friend Vatablus, Professor of Hebrew at Paris, is his *ιγ'*. This copy also is twice quoted by Stephen in the Gospels (Matth. xxvii. 64; John ii. 17), through mere oversight. Canon Westcott complains that it has been strangely overlooked.

10. (Paul. 12, Apoc. 2) Reg. 237, Stephen's *ιε'* [x] 4°, neatly written, with *prol.*, scholia and other matter. Lelong identified this, and about five other of Stephen's manuscripts: its value in the Apocalypse is considerable (Wetstein, Scholz).

11. (Paul. 140) Reg. 103 [x] 8°, with scholia, *mut.* Act. ii. 20—31.

12. (Paul. 16, Apoc. 4) Reg. 219 [xi] 4°, neat, with Arethas' commentary on the Apocalypse, and Œcumenius' on the other books. Like Evan. 16. 19. 317, it once belonged to the Medici (*see* p. 117, note 3): in 1518 it was given by the Greek Janus Lascar "Petro Masieli" of Constance, and was used by Donatus of Verona for an edition of Œcumenius (Wetstein, Scholz).

*13. (= Evan. 33). 14. (= Evan. 35).

15. Coislin. 25 [xi] 4°, described by Montfaucon (as were also Codd. 16—18), compared with Pamphilus' revision (*see* p. 53), *prol.*, and a commentary digested by Andreas, a priest (Wetstein).

16. (Paul. 19) Coislin. 26 [xi] fol., with a commentary much like that of Œcumenius, and a catena of various Fathers: also a life of S. Longinus on two leaves [ix]. It once belonged to the monastery of S. Athanasius on Athos, *βιβλίον τῆς τετάρτης θέσεως* (Wetstein).

17. (Paul. 21, Apoc. 19) Coisl. 205 [written by Anthony, a monk, A. D. 1079. Indict. 2] fol., *prol.*, *syn.*, *mut.* 1 Cor. xvi. 17—2 Cor. i. 7; Hebr. xiii. 15—25; with Apoc. i. 1—ii. 5 in a recent hand (Wetstein).

18. (Paul. 22, Apoc. 18) Coislin. 202, 2 (foll. 1—26 [xi] on vellum, the rest [xiii] on cotton paper), with scholia to the Acts and Catholic Epistles, Andreas' commentary to the Apocalypse, *prol.* to S. Paul's Epistles (Wetstein).

19. (= Evan. 38).

20. (Paul. 25) Brit. Mus. King's Library, I. B. I, once Westminster 935 [xiv] 4°, *chart.*, 144 leaves, *prol.*, *mut.*, and in bad

condition, almost illegible in parts (Wetstein). The Pauline Epistles precede the Acts and Catholic Epistles: *see* p. 70. Casley notices one leaf lost in the Hebrews (after $\omega\varsigma \nu\acute{o}\iota\varsigma \iota\mu\acute{\iota}\nu \pi\rho\omicron\sigma$ ch. xii. 7).

21. (Paul. 26) Cambridge University Library, Dd. xi. 90 [xiii] 12°, once Jo. Luke's: *mut.* Act. i.—xi.; xiv. 23—xv. 10; Rom. xv. 14—16; 24—26; xvi. 4—20; 1 Cor. i. 15—iii. 12; 2 Tim. i. 1—ii. 4; Tit. i. 9—ii. 15; ending Philem. 2. *Prol.* to Pauline Epistles only. This copy is Mill's *Lu.*, but he forgot to name it in his *Prolegomena*. It was re-discovered and collated by (Wetstein), and is probably Bentley's Q. (Ellis, *Bentleii Critica Sacra*, p. xxix). John Berriman, in the manuscript notes to his own copy of his *Critical Dissertation on 1 Tim. iii.* 16 (1741), which he presented to the British Museum in 1761, tells us that this codex [then Cant. 495] was identified "by several collations of many texts by different hands (Professor Francklin and others), and by other circumstances" to have been Professor Luke's (MS. note on p. 104).

22. (Paul. 75 is in the same hand) Brit. Mus. Addit. 5115, once Dr Mead's (Berriman, 1741, *ubi supra*, p. 105), then Askew's (*see* p. 222, note) [xii] 4°, $\kappa\epsilon\phi. \iota.$, *prol.*, ending with $\kappa\epsilon\phi.$ to the Romans: *mut.* Act. i. 1—11: *lect.* is later (Act. i.—xx. collated by Paulus for Griesbach: Bloomfield): Scholz's date [ix] is an error.

23. (Paul. 28, Apoc. 6) Bodleian. Barocc. 3 [xi] small 4°, a beautiful little book, written at Ephesus, beginning Act. xi. 13, ending Apoc. xx. 1: the opening chapters are supplied in a late hand. Tregelles calls this "a very obscure manuscript." With the Euthalian *prol.* and scholia on the Epistles, and a full and unique commentary on the Apocalypse, edited by J. A. Cramer, 1840 (Mill, Caspar Wetstein, Griesbach). This copy is Bentley's χ in Trin. Coll. B. xvii. 5 (*see* Evan. 51, p. 185), and he or Walker notes its many lacunæ: viz. Acts xiv. 6—xvii. 19; xx. 28—xxiv. 12; 1 Pet. ii. 2—16, iii. 7—21; 2 Cor. ix. 15—xi. 9; Gal. i. 1—18; Eph. vi. 1—19; Phil. iv. 18—23; Rev. i. 10—17; ix. 12—18; xvii. 10—xviii. 8.

*24. (Paul. 29) Christ's Coll. Cambridge F. 1. 13 [xii] 4°, *mut.* Act. i. 1—11; xviii. 20—xx. 14; James v. 14—1 Pet. i. 4, and some leaves of this fine copy are torn or decayed: there are also many changes by a later hand (Mill's Cant. 2, Scrivener's 1): unpublished collations were made by Bentley (Trin. Coll. Camb. B. xvii. 10, 11), and by Jo. Wigley for Jackson (Jesus Coll. Camb. O. ©. 1).

25. (Paul. 31, Apoc. 7) Harleian 5537, or Covell 2 [*dated* Pentecost, 1087, Indict. 10] 4°, an important copy, from the neighbourhood of the Ægean, with the $\sigma\acute{\iota}\chi\omicron\iota$ numbered, and a lexicon: *mut.* 1 John v. 14—2 John 6 (Mill, Griesbach, Bloomfield, Scrivener's 1 in Apoc.).¹

¹ Mr Ellis (*Bentleii Critica Sacra*, pp. xxviii, xxix) represents, among facts which I am better able to verify, that Act. and Epp. 25, 26, and Epp. 15, were collated by Wetstein, and his labours preserved at Trin. Coll. Cambridge (B. xvii. 10, 11). The manuscripts he indicates so ambiguously must be Paul. 25, 26 and Act. 15, since Wetstein is not known to have worked at Act. 25, 26, or Paul. 15.

26. (Paul. 32) Harl. 5557, Covell. 3 [xii] 4°, *mut.* Act. i. 1—11; 1 Cor. xi. 7—xv. 56; *syn., lect., prol., στίχοι*. This copy and the next bear Covell's emblem "*Luceo*," and the date Constantinople, 1675, but he got Cod. 27 from Adrianople. (Mill, Paulus in Act. i—iii. Bloomfield).

27. (Paul. 33) Harl. 5620 [xv] 4°, *chart.*, or Covell. 4, is of some weight: there are no chapter-divisions *primò manu*; the writing is small and abbreviated (Mill, Griesbach, Bloomfield).

28. (Paul. 34, Apoc. 8) Harl. 5778, is Covell's 5 or Sinai manuscript¹ [xii] 4°, in wretched condition, and often illegible. *Mut.* Act. i. 1—20; Apoc. vi. 14—viii. 1; xxii. 19—21, perhaps elsewhere (Mill, Bloomfield for Act. Paul., Scrivener's d for Apoc.).

29. (Paul. 35) Genevensis 20 [xi or xii] 12°, brought from Greece, beautifully but carelessly written, without subscriptions; in text much like Cod. 27 (readings sent to Mill, Scholz).

30. (Paul. 36, Apoc. 9) Bodleian Misc. 74 [xi] 4°, brought from the East by Bp. Huntington (*see* p. 190), beginning Act. xv. 19, *κεφ., prol.*, but 3 John, Jude, the Apocalypse, and S. Paul's Epistles (which stand last, *see* p. 70) are in a somewhat earlier hand than the rest (Mill's Hunt. 1).

*31. (= Evan. 69).

32. (= Evan. 51).

33. (Paul. 39). Lincoln Coll. Oxford 82 (olim 15) [xi or xii] 4°, presented in 1483 by Robert Flemmyng, Dean of Lincoln, a beautiful and interesting codex, with *pict., prol., lect., syn., men.*, and the numbers of the *στίχοι* noted in the subscriptions. *Mut.* 2 Pet. i. 1—15; Rom. i. 1—20 (Walton's Polyglott, Mill, Dobbin *Cod. Montfort.*, who regards it as the manuscript from which this portion of the latter was mainly copied). The Epistle of Jude stands between James and 1 Peter (*see* p. 126). Vansittart notes its affinity in text with Cod. 13.

*34. (= Evan. 61).

35. (= Evan. 57).

36. New College, Oxford 58 [xiii] 4°, with a catena of Fathers, enumerated by Mill (*N. T. Proleg.* § 1390), and edited by Cramer, Oxford, 1838: it has a valuable text, *prol.*, and *τίτλοι κεφαλαιών* (Walton's Polyglott, Mill).

37. (Paul. 43) New Coll. Oxford 59 [xiii], perhaps a little later than Cod. 36, 4°, erroneously described by Walton, and after him by Wetstein, as part of Evan. 58, a much later manuscript. Heb. xiii. 21—25, is supplied in a recent hand. It is a beautiful copy, *prol., τίτλ.*, with marginal glosses (Walton's Polyglott, Mill, Dobbin).

*38. (Paul. 44) Lugduno-Batav. 77, Mill's Petav. 1 [xiii] 4°, once belonging to Petavius, a Councillor of Paris, given by Queen Christina to Is. Vossius (Mill, Wetstein, Dermout 1825).

¹ Covell once marked this codex 5, but afterwards gave it the name of the Sinai MS. (little anticipating a worthier claimant for that appellation), reserving 5 for Harl. 5777 or Evan. 446.

39. (Paul. 45, Apoc. 11) Petavii 2, age and present locality not stated. *Mut. Act.* i. 1—xviii. 22; James i. 1—v. 17; 3 John 9—Jude 25; 1 Cor. iii. 16—x. 13 (Extracts in Mill; J. Gachon).

40. (Paul. 46, Apoc. 12) Alexandrino-Vat. 179, Petavii 3 [xi] 4°, with a mixed text and the end of Titus (from ch. iii. 3), Philemon, and the Apocalypse in a later hand. This copy, given by Christina to Alexander VIII. (1689—91), is of considerable importance, and, as containing all Euthalius' labours on the Acts and the Epistles (*see* p. 61 and note 1), was largely used by Laur. Zacagni for his edition of the Prologues, &c., of Euthalius. (Extracts in Mill, Zacagni, Birch; Griesbach adds, "Gagnæus eundem sub Dionysiani nomine laudasse creditur").

41. (=Evan. 175).

*42. (Paul. 48, Apoc. 13, Evst. 287, Apost. 56). In the Gymnasium at Frankfort on the Oder, once Seidel's [xi] 4°, carelessly written, with some rare readings: *prol., mut. Act.* ii. 3—34 (xxvii. 19—34 is in a later hand); 2 Pet. i. 1, 2; 1 John v. 11—21; Apoc. xviii. 3—13 (N. Westermann, H. Middeldorp). One leaf of a Lectionary is added, containing Matth. xvii. 16—23; 1 Cor. ix. 2—12. This copy often agrees closely with the Complutensian text and Laud. 31 (Evan. 51) jointly.

43. (=Evan. 76).

44. (Like Evan. 82, Paul. 15, Apoc. 5) certain manuscripts cited by Laurentius Valla. Dr Hort's Cod. 44 is B.-C. III. 37 (*see* p. 77, note), which is our Act. 221, Paul. 265.

45. (Paul. 52, Apoc. 16) Uffenbach 1 or 2 [xv] 4°, *chart.*, in two hands, is stated by Tischendorf to be now at Hamburg; with its companion Cod. M of S. Paul's Epistles (*see* p. 173), it was lent to Wetstein in 1717 and to Bengel, by Z. C. Uffenbach. It once belonged to Jo. Ciampini at Rome, is carelessly written, but from a good text: "plura genuina omittens, quam aliena admiscens," Bengel.

46. (Paul. 55) Monacensis 375 [xi] fol., is Bengel's Augustan. 6, with Œcumenius' commentary and some rare readings (Bengel, Matthæi, Scholz). All the Augsburg MSS. of the N.T. (*see* Evan. 83, 426—8, Paul. 54, 125, 126) were removed to Munich in 1806.

47. (=Evan. 90). 48. (=Evan. 105). 49. (=Evan. 92).

50. (Paul. 8) Stephen's ζ is unknown, though it was once in the Royal Library at Paris; that is, if Evan. 8, Reg. 49, is Stephen's ζ in the Gospels, which Mr Vansittart seems to have proved. Stephen seldom cites ζ', or (as Mill puts the case) "textus ipsius ferè universus absorptus est in hac editione" (*N. T.*, Proleg. § 1167). *See* Evan. 8, p. 180, note.

51. (Paul. 133, Apoc. 52) Paris Reg. 56, once Mazarin's [xii] 4°, *prol., mut. Apoc.* xxii. 17—21.

52. (Paul. 50) Cod. Rhodiensis, some of whose readings Stunica, the chief of the Complutensian editors (*see* Chapter v.), cites in con-

trousery with Erasmus: it may have been his own property, and cannot now be identified. Whatever Mill states (on 1 John iii. 16), it is not now at Alcalá.

*53. (Paul. 30) Emman. College, Cambr. i. 4. 35 [xii] 16°, only 4½ inches square, the writing being among the minutest and most elegant extant. It is Mill's Cant. 3, Scrivener's n (a *facsimile* is given Plate xii. No. 33), and is in bad condition, in parts almost illegible. It begins 2 Pet. ii. 4, and there is a hiatus from 1 John iii. 20 to the middle of Œcumenius' Prologue to the Romans: *mut.* also 1 Cor. xi. 7—xv. 56, and ends Hebr. xi. 27. From 1 Tim. vi. 5 another and far less careful hand begins: but the manuscript exhibits throughout many abbreviations. *Prolog.*, κεφ. τ., τίριοι, κεφ., and some marginal notes *primæ manu*. Given to the College "in Testimonium grati animi" by Sam. Wright 1598.

54. (= Evan. 43). The second volume of this book (containing the Acts and all the Epistles on 189 leaves) is judged by the present librarian of the Arsenal at Paris to be a little more modern than the first volume. They were both "ex dono R. P. de Berzian" (*sic*) to the Oratory of San Maglorian.

55. Readings of a *second* copy of S. Jude contained in Cod. 47. Tischendorf, in his eighth edition, cites this copy in Acts xvi. 6, apparently by mistake.

56. (Paul. 59, Apoc. 23). This number was assigned by Wetstein and Griesbach to certain readings of four Medicean manuscripts (only one in the Acts), which, like those of No. 102 of the Gospels, were found by Wetstein in the margin of Raphaeleng's Plantin Greek Testament (1591). As Birch considers these identical with Codd. 84, 87—9, Scholz substitutes (Paul. 227) Cod. Bodleian., Clarke 4 [xii] 4°, *prolog.*, κεφ., *syn.*, *lect.* (extracts &c. by Dean Gaisford).

57. (= Evan. 234).

58 of Wetstein is the same codex as 22; Scholz substitutes (Paul. 224) Bodl., Clarke 9 [xiii] 8°, *lect.*, *mut.* Hebr. xiii. 7—25 (Gaisford).

59. (Paul. 62) Harleian. 5588 [xiii] 4°, cotton paper, *prolog.*, full *lect.*, κεφ. On the first leaf we read "liber hospitalis de Cusa treviricensis dioc. R^m..." See Cod. Evan. 87: (Griesbach, Bloomfield).

60. (Paul. 63, Apoc. 29) Harl. 5613 [*dated* May 1407, Indict. 15] 4°, *chart.*, *mut.* Apoc. xxii. 2—18. (Griesbach collated 55 chapters of Acts and Epp., Griesbach and Scrivener's e in Apocalypse).

*61. (Paul. 61) comprised extracts made by Griesbach from the margin of a copy of Mill's N. T. in the Bodleian (*see* Evan. 236), where certain readings are cited under the notation *Hal*. These are now known to be taken from Evan. 440, Acts 111, Paul. 221 (p. 222), or Scrivener's v of the Gospels, o of the Acts and Epistles. Hence Tischendorf and Tregelles employ this number to indicate

*B. M. Addit. 20003, the most important cursive copy of the Acts, formerly called lo^u (p^{scr}), discovered by Tischendorf in Egypt in 1853, and sold to the Trustees of the British Museum in 1854. It is dated April 20, 1044, Indict. 12, and was written by one John a monk, in small 4^o, with no κεφ. (though the κεφ. ζ for S. James ends the volume) or divisions in the text, but rubrical marks added in a later hand. *Mut.* ch. iv. 8—vii. 17; xvii. 28—xxiii. 9; 297 verses. Independent collations have been made by Tischendorf (*Anecd. sacra et prof.* pp. 7, 8; 130—46), by Tregelles, and by Scrivener (*Cod. Augiensis*, Introd. pp. lxxviii—lxx). Its value is shewn not so much by the readings in which it stands alone, as by its agreement with the oldest uncial copies, where their testimonies coincide.

62. (Paul. 65) Reg. 60, once Colbert's [xiv] fol., on cotton paper, with scholia, *prol.*, *syn.* (Wetstein, Griesbach, Scholz).

63. (Paul. 68). Cæsar-Vindobon. Nessel. 313, Lambec. 35 [xiv] 8^o, with scholia and *prol.* (Treschow, Alter, Birch).

64. (Paul. 69) C. Vind. Nessel. 303, Lambec. 36 [xii] 8^o, carefully written by one John, *prol.*, *syn.*, brought by Ogier de Busbeck from Constantinople, like Cod. 67 and many others of this collection: see p. 198 (Treschow, Alter, Birch).

*65. (= Evan. 218).

66. (Paul. 67, Apoc. 34) C. Vind. Nessel. 302, Lambec. 34 [xii] 4^o, with scholia, *syn.*, and other matter: three several hands have made corrections, which Griesbach regarded as far more valuable than the text (cited by him 66**). *Mut.* Apoc. xv. 6—xvii. 3; xviii. 10—xix. 9; xx. 8—xxii. 21. It once belonged to Arsenius Archbishop of Monembasia (see Evan. 333, Evst. 113), then to Sebastian Tegnagel and Jo. Sambuc (A. C. Hwiid 1785 for the Acts, Treschow, Alter, Birch).

67. (Paul. 70) C. Vind. Nessel. 221, Lambec. 37 [written by one Leo at Constantinople, December 1331, Indict. 14] 4^o, elegant but inaccurate, *prol.*, *syn.* (Treschow, Alter, Birch).

68. (Paul. 73) Upsal., Sparvenfeldt 42, fol., of 220 leaves, is in fact two separate manuscripts bound together, both of high value. The first part [xii] contains the Acts (commencing ch. vii. 14), Rom., 1 Cor. to ch. xv. 38: the second [xi] begins 1 Cor. xiii. 6, and extends through the Pauline and Catholic Epistles, which follow them (see p. 70). In the text of S. Paul it much resembles Paul. 17. There is a catena annexed, which proves to be merely an abridgement of Eusebius, and the portion in duplicate (1 Cor. xiii. 6—xv. 38) has contradictory readings (P. F. Aurivill [Orville?] 1786). It was bought at Venice by Sparvenfeldt (see p. 244, note 1) in 1678 (Belsheim).

69. (Paul. 74, Apoc. 30) Guelpherbytanus xvi. 7 at Wolfenbüttel, August. 7, 4^o, *chart.*, also in two hands: the first (Acts and Epistles) [xiii] written by George a monk, the Apocalypse [xiv]. It exhibits a remarkable text, and has many marginal readings and *prol.* (Knittel, Matthæi).

70. (= Evan. 131). 71. (= Evan. 133).
72. (Paul. 79, Apoc. 37) Vatic. 366 [XIII] 4°, *chart.* (This and all from 70 to 96 were slightly collated by Birch, and all except 81, 93—6 by Scholz also).
73. (Paul. 80) Vat. 367 [XI] 4°, an excellent manuscript used by Caryophilus (*see* p. 197, Evan. 112).
74. Vat. 760 [XII] 4°, contains only the Acts with a catena.
75. (= Evan. 141). 76. (= Evan. 142). 77. (= Evan. 149).
78. (Paul. 89). Alexandrino-Vat. 29 [XII] 4°, a good copy, but *mut.* 2 Cor. xi. 15—xii. 1; Eph. i. 9—Hebr. xiii. 25.
79. (Paul. 90) Urbino-Vat. 3 [XI] 8°.
80. (Paul. 91, Apoc. 42) Pio-Vat. 50 [XII] 8°.
81. Barberin. 377 [XI] fol., with a commentary (Birch). Scholz could not find this copy, which has remarkable readings: it contains but one chapter of the Acts and the Catholic Epistles.
82. (= Evan. 180).
83. (Paul. 93) Bibl. Borbon. Reg. at Naples 1 B. 12 [X] 4°, written by Evagrius and compared with Pamphilus' copy at Cæsarea (*see* p. 53 and Cod. 15): the numbers of the *στίχοι* are sometimes noted in the margin. See below, Cod. 173.
84. (Paul. 94) Laurent. iv. 1, at Florence [X] fol., has Chrysostom's commentary on the Acts, that of Nicetas of Heraclea on all the Epistles.
85. (Paul. 95) Laurent. iv. 5 [XIII] fol., on cotton paper, contains the Acts and *Pauline* Epistles with Theophylact's commentary.
86. (Paul. 96, Apoc. 75) Laurent. iv. 20 [XI] 8°, with a commentary. Tregelles states that this is the same copy as Cod. 147, the press-mark 20 being put by Birch in error for 30. Yet Scholz makes them separate manuscripts, says that he has examined both, and assigns to them different dates.
87. (Paul. 97) Laurent. iv. 29 [X] 4°, with scholia, *prol.*, and a modern interlinear Latin version in the Epistles, for the use of beginners.
88. (Paul. 98) Laurent. iv. 31 [XI] 8°, *prol.*, *mut.* in fine Titi.
89. (Paul. 99, Apoc. 45) Laurent. iv. 32, 12°, written by John Tzutzuna, priest and monk, December 1093, Indict. 1, in the reign of Alexius Comnenus, Nicolas being Patriarch of Constantinople. *Prol.*, *syn.*, and a treatise of Dorotheus, Bishop of Tyre in Julian's reign, on the 70 disciples and 12 Apostles, which is found also in Codd. 10, 179, Burdett-Coutts II. 4 (Paul. 266), in Erasmus' N. T. (1516), and partly in Stephen's of 1550. See Cave's *Hist. Lit.*, vol. I. p. 164—172.

90. (= Evan. 197). 91. (= Evan. 201). 92. (= Evan. 204).

*93. (= Evan. 205). *94. (= Evan. 206). *95. (= Evan. 209).

*96. (Paul. 109) Venet. 11 [XI] 4^o, an important copy, often resembling Cod. 142, from the monastery of St Michael de Troyna in Sicily. It has both a Latin and an Arabic version. *Mut. Act. i.* 1—12; xxv. 21—xxvi. 18; Philemon. Codd. 93—96 of the Acts, 106—112 of St Paul, were collated by G. F. Rink, "Lucubratio Critica in Act. Apost. Epp. Cath. et Paul." Basileae 1830.

97. (Paul. 241) Biblioth. Guelpherbyt. Gud. gr. 104. 2 [XII] 8^o; once belonging to Langer, librarian at Wolfenbüttel, who sent a collation to Griesbach. *Mut. Act. xvi.* 39—xvii. 18: it has marginal scholia from Chrysostom and Cæcumenius, prayers and dialogues subjoined. Deposited by one Theodoret in the Catechumens' library of the Laura (monastery) of S. Athanasius on Athos.

Codd. 98—107 were accurately collated by Matthæi for his N. T.

*98. (Paul. 113, Apost. 77) Codex Mosquensis (Mt. a) [XI], once belonged to Jeremias the patriarch of the monastery of Stauronicetas on Athos. Matthæi professes that he chiefly followed this manuscript, which is divided into three parts: viz. a, Church-lessons from the Acts, so arranged that no verse is lost, with various readings and scholia in the margin: a₁ (or simply a) the text with marginal various readings and scholia: a₂ Church-lessons from the Acts and Epistles.

*99. (Paul. 114) Mosq. Synod. 5 (Mt. c) [dated April 1445] fol., *chart.*, from the Iberian monastery on Athos, carelessly written by Theognostus, Metropolitan of Perga and Attalia: *prol., syn.*, and some Patristic writings.

*100. (Paul. 115) Synod. 334 (Mt. d) [XI] 4^o, with a catena and scholia.

*101. (Paul. 116) Synod. 333 (Mt. f) [XIII] 4^o, on cotton paper, carefully written, with scholia to the Acts and *prol.*

*102. This is Cod. K of the Catholic and Pauline Epistles, cited according to Matthæi's notation. See p. 162. Hort's 102 is k^{scr} (see p. 77, note).

*103. (Paul. 118) Synod. 193 (Mt. h) [XII] fol., from the Iberian monastery on Athos, is a volume of scholia, with the entire text in its margin for Act. i. 1—ix. 12; elsewhere only in fragments after the usual manner of scholia.

*104. (= Evan. 241).

*105. (= Evan. 242).

*106. (Paul. 122) Synod. 328 (Mt. m) [XI] 4^o, carefully written, from the Batopedion monastery on Athos, has *prol., syn.*, and the Psalms annexed.

107. (Paul. 237) Cod. Dresdensis, A. 104 [x?]. Tregelles, who examined it, states that the writing much resembles Paul. M (*fac-simile*, Plate XII. No. 34), and calls for a collation of the manuscript, which he found to contain the Acts and all the Epistles liturgically arranged.

108. (= Evan. 226).

109. (= Evan. 228).

Codd. 110—181 were first added to the list by Scholz, who states that he collated entire 115, 133, 160; in the greater part 120—3, 126, 127, 131, 137, 161—3, 174; the rest slightly or not at all.

110. (= Evan. 441) should be erased from the Catalogue (*see* p. 222). Hort's 110 is a^{ms} (p. 77, note), which is our 182.

*111. (= Ev. 440). This is Scrivener's o Act. and Paul.

112. Cantabrig. 2068 erase: it is the same as Cod. 9. Hort's 112 is c^{ms} (p. 77, note), which is our 184.

*113. (= Evan. 18). Codd. 113, 114, 117, being 132, 134, 137 of S. Paul and 54 Apoc. respectively, together with Act. 127 and Paul. 139, 140, 153, have been collated by J. G. Reiche, in his "Codicum aliquot Græcorum N. T. Parisiensium nova descriptio: præmissis quibusdam de neglecti MSS. N. T. studii causâ." Gott. 1847.

*114. (Paul. 134) Reg. 57 [XIII] 4°, a valuable copy, with *prol.*, *syn.*, some portions of the Septuagint version, and prayers for the service of the Greek Church.

115. (Paul. 135) Reg. 58, once Colbert's (as were 118, 121, 122, 124, 128, 129) [XIII] 4°, begins Act. xiv. 27, ends with 2 Tim.; there are no liturgical notes.

116. (Paul. 136, Apoc. 53) Reg. 59, once Teller's [xvi] 4°, *chart.*, *prol.*, and scholia to the Catholic Epistles.

*117. (= Evan. 263) of some value.

118. (Paul. 138, Apoc. 55) Reg. 101 [XIII] fol., on cotton paper, with *prol.*, scholia, and other matter. *Mut.* Act. xix. 18—xxii. 17.

119. (Paul. 139, Apoc. 56) Reg. 102 A. [x, but Apoc. XIII] fol., *prol.*, *syn.*, *mut.* 2 Cor. i. 8—ii. 4. The Catholic Epistles follow the Pauline, as would seem to be the case in Cod. 120. See p. 70.

120. (Paul. 141) Reg. 103 A. [xi] fol., *prol.*, much mutilated, beginning Act. xxi. 20 (although v. 38—vi. 7; vii. 6—16; 32—x. 25 are supplied [XIII] on cotton paper), *mut.* Act. xxviii. 23—Rom. ii. 26; Phil. i. 5—1 Thess. iv. 1; v. 26—2 Thess. i. 11; 1 John ii. 11—iii. 3; 24—v. 14; 2 John; ending 3 John 11.

121. (Paul. 142) Reg. 104 [XIII] fol., on cotton paper, was August. de Thou's before Colbert's: *lect.*, *syn.*

122. (Paul. 143) Reg. 105 [xi] 4°, correctly written, but a mere collection of disarranged fragments, containing Act. xiii. 48—xv. 22; 29—xvi. 36; xvii. 4—xviii. 26; xx. 16—xxviii. 17; 1 Pet. ii. 20—iii. 2; 17—1 John iii. 5; 21—v. 9; 2 John 8—3 John 10; Jude 7—Rom. iv. 16; 24—vii. 9: 18—1 Cor. i. 28; ii. 13—viii. 1; ix. 6—xiv. 2; 10—Gal. i. 10; ii. 4—Eph. i. 18; 1 Tim. i. 14—v. 5.

123. (Paul. 144) Reg. 106 A. [xiv] 8°, on cotton paper, with *prol.*, scholia and Church-hymns: *mut.* 1 Pet. i. 9—ii. 7.

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124. (Paul. 149, Apoc. 57) Reg. 124 [xvi] 16°, beautifully written by Angelus Vergecius (p. 42, note 2).

125. (Paul. 150) Reg. 125 [xiv] 12°, from Constantinople.

126. (Paul. 153) Reg. 216, from the Medici collection (p. 117, note 3) [x] fol., probably written at Constantinople, with *prol.* and a catena from Chrysostom, Ammonius, Origen, &c., sometimes in uncial letters, occasionally, especially in Hebr., as late as [xvi].

*127. (Paul. 154) Reg. 217 [xi] fol., carelessly written (Vansittart), one of the important manuscripts collated by Reiche. It has a catena in the Acts, scholia in the Catholic, Theodoret's commentary on the Pauline Epistles.

128. (Paul. 155) Reg. 218 [xi] fol., with a catena.

129. (Paul. 156) Reg. 220 [xiii] fol., a commentary, the text being sometimes suppressed.

130. Reg. 221 [xii] fol., from the East, with a catena: *mut.* Act. xx. 38—xxii. 3; 2 Pet. i. 14—iii. 18; 1 John iv. 11—Jude 8.

131. (Paul. 158) Reg. 223, once Boistaller's, contains the Pauline Epistles with *prol.* and a catena, written A. D. 1045 by Theopemptus, reader and calligrapher, followed by the Acts and Cath. Epp. [xii] fol.

132. (= Evan. 330).

133. (Paul. 166) Taurinens. 285 c. i. 40, at Turin [xiii] *chart.*, *pict.*, *prol.*, in a clear large hand; Dr Hort noticed good readings in the Catholic Epistles. The Epistle to the Hebrews precedes 1 Timothy, as Pasinus notes in his Catalogue.

134. (Paul. 167) Taurin. 315 (now 19) c. ii. 17 [xi] *prol.*, *mut.* Act. i. ii. Pasinus notes that the Pauline precede the Catholic Epistles. See p. 70. •

135. (= Evan. 339).

136. (Paul. 169) Taurin. 328 (now 1) c. ii. 31 [xii], *mut.* in Hebr.

137. (Paul. 176) Ambros. E. 97 *sup.*, at Milan [xi] 4°, *lect.*, *prol.*, bought at Corfu: so like Codd. DEc^{ms} (Act. 184) and the margin of the Philoxenian Syriac in the Acts, as to assist us when DE are mutilated, especially in additions: e.g. Acts xxvii. 5; xxviii. 16; 19 (*bis*). See Scrivener's *Cod. Bezae*, Introd. p. lix, note.

138. (Paul. 173) Ambros. E. 102 *sup.* [xiv] 4°, *chart.*, once J. V. Pinelli's; it contains the Epistles only.

139. (Paul. 174) Ambros. H. 104 *sup.* [written March 20, 1434, Indict. 12, by one Athanasius] fol., *chart.*, bought at Padua, 1603.

140. (Paul. 215, Apoc. 74) Venet. 546 [partly xi on vellum, partly xiii *chart.*] 4°. The Epistles have a catena, the Apocalypse a commentary.

141. (= Evan. 189).
142. (Paul. 178) Mutinensis [ccxliii] III B. 17, at Modena [XII] 12°; valuable, but with many errors; see however Cod. 96.
143. Laurent. vi. 5, contains the Catholic Epistles and commentaries on portions of the Gospels, but not the Acts. Scholz erroneously states that this copy = Evan. 362.
144. (= Evan. 363). 145. (= Evan. 365).
146. (= Evan. 367).
147. (Paul. 183, Apoc. 76) Laurent. iv. 30, at Florence [XII] 8°, *prol.* See Cod. 86.
148. (Paul. 184) Laurent. 2574 [written A. D. 984, Indict. 12, by Theophylact, priest and doctor of law], fol., *prol.*, once belonged to the Benedictine Library of S. Mary. See p. 40, note 1.
149. Laurent. 176 [XIII] 8°, contains the Catholic Epistles, with a Latin version.
150. (= Evan. 368). 151. (= Evan. 386).
152. (= Evan. 442), erase: see p. 222. 153. (= Evan. 444).
154. (Paul. 187) Vatican. 1270 [XV] 4°, contains the Acts, Catholic Epistles, Rom., 1 Cor., with a commentary.
155. (Paul. 188) Vat. 1430 [XII] fol., with a commentary in another hand. It does not contain the Acts, but all the Epistles.
156. (Paul. 190) Vat. 1650 [dated Jan. 1073], fol., written for Nicolas Archbishop of Calabria by the cleric Theodore. The Pauline Epistles have a commentary: it begins Act. v. 4.
157. (Paul. 191) Vat. 1714 [XII] 4°, is a heap of disarranged fragments, containing Act. xviii. 14—xix. 9; xxiv. 11—xxvi. 23; James iii. 1—v. 20; 3 John with κεφ. and *ἰνόςθεος* to Jude; Rom. vi. 22—viii. 32; xi. 31—xv. 23; 1 Cor. i. 1—iii. 12.
158. (Paul. 192) Vat. 1761 [XI] 4°, *prol.* From this copy Mai supplied the lacunæ of Cod. B in the Pauline Epistles (see p. 109, note).
159. Vat. 1968, Basil. 7 [XI] 8°, contains the Acts, James and 1 Peter, with scholia, whose authors' names are given: *mut.* Act. i. 1—v. 29; vi. 14—vii. 11.
160. (Paul. 193, Apoc. 24) Vat. 2062, Basil. 101 [XI] 4°, with scholia accompanied by the authors' names: it begins Act. xxviii. 19, ends Hebr. ii. 1. It is described with a *facsimile* in Bianchini's *Evan. Quadr.* Vol. II. Pt. 1, p. 522.
161. (Paul. 198, Apoc. 69) Vat. Ottob. 258 [XIII] 4°, *chart.*, with a Latin version: it begins Act. ii. 27, and the last chapters of the Apocalypse are lost. The latter part was written later [XIV].

162. (Paul. 200) Vat. Ottob. 298 [xv] small 4° or 8°, with the Latin Vulgate version (with which Scholz states that the Greek has been in many places made to harmonise) in a parallel column, contains many transpositions of words, and unusual readings introduced by a later hand¹.

163. (Paul. 201) Vat. Ottob. 325 [xiv] 8°, *chart.*, *mut.* Act. iv. 19—v. 1.

164. (= Evan. 390).

165. Vat. Ottob. 417 [xiv] 8°, *chart.*, contains the Catholic Epistles, with works of S. Ephraem and others.

166. (Paul. 204, Apoc. 22) Vallicellian. B. 86 [xiii] 12°, 255 leaves (the first supplied *chart.*), written by Joachim a monk, and by George, son of Elias. Described with *facsimile* in Bianchini, *Evan. Quadr.*, Vol. II. Pt. 1, pp. 535—8.

167. (= Evan. 393).

168. (Paul. 205) Vallicell. F. 13 [xiv] 4°, *chart.*

169. (Paul. 206) Ghigian. R. v. 29, at Rome [dated June 12, 1394²] fol., written by Joasaph at Constantinople in the monastery τῶν ὀδηγῶν. See Evangelistarium 86.

170. (= Evan. 394).

171, 172 (Paul. 209, 210) are both Collegii Romani [xvi] fol., *chart.*

173. (Paul. 211) Bibl. Borbon. Reg., at Naples, with no press mark [xi] 4°, *prol.*, *syn.*, indices of στίχοι (see p. 62) and μαρτυρίαι cited from Scripture and profane writers. This codex has 1 John v. 7, 8 in the margin, by a recent hand. Tregelles suggests that this is probably the same copy as Cod. 83, the readings ascribed to it being extracted from the margin of that manuscript.

174. (Paul. 212) Neapol. 1 C. 26 [xv] 8°, *chart.*

175. (Paul. 216) Messanensis II [xii] 4°, at S. Basil's monastery.

¹ Cod. 162 has attracted much attention from the circumstance that it is the only unsuspected witness among the Greek manuscripts for the celebrated text 1 John v. 7, 8, whose authenticity will be discussed in Chap. ix. A *facsimile* of the passage in question was traced in 1829 by Cardinal Wiseman for Bishop Burgess, and published by Horne in several editions of his *Introduction*, as also by Tregelles (*Horne*, Vol. iv. p. 217). If the *facsimile* is at all faithful, this is as rudely and indistinctly written as any manuscript in existence; but the illegible scrawl between the Latin column in the post of honour on the left, and the Greek column on the right, has been ascertained by Mr B. H. Alford (who examined the codex at Tregelles' request) to be merely a consequence of the accidental shifting of the tracing paper, too servilely copied by the engraver.

² Scholz says 1344, and Tischendorf corrects but few of his gross errors in these Catalogues: but A.M. 6902, which he cites from the manuscript, is A.D. 1394.

176. (= Evan. 421).

177. (= Evan. 123).

178. (Paul. 242, Apoc. 87 or m^{scr}) Meermann. 118 [xi or xii] 8°, bought at his sale in 1824 by the late Sir T. Phillipps Bart., of Middle Hill, Worcestershire: it is numbered 1461 in his Catalogue of manuscripts, and, with his other books, is now at Cheltenham (*see* p. 233). The Pauline Epistles are written smaller than the rest, but in the same clear hand. *Lect.*, κεφ. *t.*, *prol.*, κεφ. (but not in the Apocalypse), flourished rubric capitals. Scrivener in 1856 fully collated Apoc. (whose text is valuable), the rest slightly. It is sadly mutilated; it begins Act. iv. 24; *mut.* Act. v. 2—16; vi. 2—vii. 2; 16—viii. 10; 38—ix. 13; 26—39; x. 9—22; 43—xiii. 1; xxiii. 32—xxiv. 24; xxviii. 23—James i. 5; iii. 6—iv.* 16; 2 Pet. iii. 10—1 John i. 1; iii. 13—iv. 2; Jude 16—25; Rom. xiv. 23 (xvi. 25—27 was there placed)—xv. 14; 1 Cor. iii. 15—xv. 23; 2 Cor. x. 14—xi. 19; xiii. 5—13; Eph. i. 1—ii. 14; v. 29—vi. 24; Col. i. 24—26; ii. 4—7; 2 Thess. i. 1—iii. 5; Hebr. ix. 3—x. 29; Apoc. xiv. 4—14: ending Apoc. xxi. 12. The *ὑποθέσεις* and tables of κεφ. before each Epistle have suffered in like manner.

179. (Paul. 128, Apoc. 82) Monacens. 211, once the Bohemian Zomzerab's [xi] 4°, *lect.*, *prol.*, *ὑπογραφαί*, Dorotheus's treatise (*see* Cod. 89), fragments of *Eus. t.*, and (in a later hand) marginal scholia to S. Paul. The text is very near that commonly received. The portion of this manuscript which contains the Apocalypse is described by Delitzsch, *Handschriftliche Funde*, Leipzig, 1862, pp. 45—8, with a *facsimile* of Apoc. viii. 12, 13.

180. (= Evan. 431), important, but seems to have perished at Strasburg: *see* p. 246.

181. (= Evan. 400)¹.

The following codices also are described by Scrivener, *Cod. Augiens.* Introd. pp. lv—lxiv, and their collations given in the Appendix.

*182. a^{scr} (Paul. 252) Lambeth 1182 [xii] 4°, *chart.*, brought (as were also 183—6) by Carlyle from a Greek island. A later hand [xiv] supplied Act. i. 1—xii. 3; xiii. 5—15; 2, 3 John, Jude. In this copy and 183 the Pauline Epistles precede the Catholic (*see* p. 70). *Lect.*, *pict.*, κεφ., *prol.*, *syn.*, ἀποδημία παύλου, ἀντίφωνα for Easter,

¹ Here again we banish to the notes Scholz's list from Cod. 182 to Cod. 189, for the reasons stated p. 224.

182. (Paul. 243) Library of S. John's monastery at Patmos [xii] 8°, also another [xiii] 8°.

183. (Paul. 231) Library of the Great Greek monastery at Jerusalem 8 [xiv] 8°. This must be Coxe's No. 7 [x] 4°, beginning Act. xii. 6.

184. (Paul. 232, Apoc. 85) Jerusalem 9 [xiii] 4°, with a commentary. This is evidently Coxe's No. 15, though he dates it at the end of [x].

185. (Paul. 233) S. Saba, Greek monastery, 1 [xi] 12°.

186. (= Evan. 457).

187. (= Evan. 462).

188. (Paul. 236) S. Saba 15 [xii] 4°.

189. (= Evan. 466).

and other foreign matter. The various readings are interesting, and strongly resemble those of Cod. 69 of the Acts, and Cod. 61 hardly less, especially in Acts xiii.—xvii. This is Hort's Cod. 110.

*183. b^{ms} (Paul. 253) Lambeth 1183 [dated 1358] 4°, *chart.*, *mut.* 1 Cor. xi. 7—27; 1 Tim. iv. 1—v. 8. *Syn.*, *prol.*, *κεφ. τ.*, *τίτλοι*, *κεφ.*, *lect.*, in a beautiful hand, with many later corrections.

*184. c^{ms} (Paul. 254) Lambeth 1184 [xv] 4°, *chart.*, *mut.* Act. vii. 52—viii. 25. Having been restored in 1817 (*see* p. 231, Evan. 516), its readings (which, especially in the Acts and Catholic Epistles, are very important) are taken from an excellent collation (Lamb. 1255, 10—14) made for Carlyle about 1804 by the Rev. W. Sanderson of Morpeth. The text much resembles that of Cod. 61, and is almost identical with that of B—C III. 37 (Cod. 221) and of Cod. 137. This is Hort's Cod. 112.

*185. d^{ms} (Paul. 255) Lamb. 1185 [xiv?] 4°, *chart.*, miserably mutilated and ill-written. It must be regarded as a collection of fragments in at least four different hands, pieced together by the most recent scribe. *Mut.* Act. ii. 36—iii. 8; vii. 3—59; xii. 7—25; xiv. 8—27; xviii. 20—xix. 12; xxii. 7—xxiii. 11; 1 Cor. viii. 12—ix. 18; 2 Cor. i. 1—10; Eph. iii. 2—Phil. i. 24; 2 Tim. iv. 12—Tit. i. 6; Hebr. vii. 19—ix. 12. We have 1 Cor. v. 11, 12; 2 Cor. x. 8—15, written by two different persons. *Lect.*, *prol.*, *κεφ. τ.*, *syn.*, in wretched disorder.

*186. e^{ms} seems to have been Lambeth 1181 [xiv] 4° of the Acts, Catholic and Pauline Epistles (as we learn from the Lambeth Catalogue), but having been returned (*see* Evan. 516), we have access only a tolerable collation of Act. i. 1—xxvii. 12, made by the Rev. John Fenton for Carlyle (Lamb. 1255, 27—33). In its text it much resembles Cod. E (*see* p. 159).

*187. f^{ms} (= Evan. 543).

*188. g^{ms} (= Evan. 542).

*189. h^{ms} (= Evan. 201, Act. 91). A Duplicate.

190. (= Evan. 503).

191. (Paul. 245) Christ Church, Wake 38 [xi] 4°, in small and neat characters, from S. Saba (brought to England with the other Wake manuscripts in 1731), contains a catena, and at the end the date 1312 (*ἐτελείωθη τὸ παρὸν ἐν ἔτει 5ωκ'*) in a later hand. *Syn.*, *prol.*, full *lect.*, *mut.* Act. i. 1—11. (Walker: *see above*, pp. 229—30).

192. (Paul. 246) Christ Church, Wake 37 [xi] 4°, *mut.* Act. xii. 4—xxiii. 32. The last leaf is a palimpsest (*see* p. 146), and some later leaves are of paper.

*193. (= Evan. 492) Christ Church, Wake 12.

194. At Ferrara (Evan. 451), No. 187 NA. 7 vol. III. (*see* p. 224).

At Modena, 195, II. A. 13 [xiii], and 196 [Lxxi] II. C. 4, seen but not examined by Burgon.

197. At Milan, Ambros. Z. 34 *sup.*, (*see* p. 225).

198. (Paul. 280) Recently at Middle Hill (*see* Cod. 178), Phillipps 7681, is a copy of the Acts and all the Epistles from the Hon. F. North's collection, dated 1107 (*see* Evan. 583). A grand folio in double columns.

199. Phillipps 7682 (= Evan. 531).

200. Phillipps 1284 (= Evan. 527).

201. (Paul. 248) Cod. Boecleri [age not stated], on vellum, containing the Acts, Catholic and Pauline Epistles, the last arranged as one book, with a Prologue. It belonged to J. H. Boecler, Professor of History at Strasburg, and is alleged to have been destroyed in the siege of 1870 (*see* p. 246). Brought "a Græcis" by Steph. Gerlach, when in the suite of Baron Ungnad, Imperial Ambassador to the Porte.

Besides Evan. 226 and 228, entered above as Act. 108 and 109, Montana (*see* p. 207) sent to Mr Kelly a list of eight more in the Escorial:

202. Escorial ρ. III. 4 [XIII]. 203. Escorial τ. III. 12 [XIII].

204. Escorial χ. III. 3 [XII]. 205. Escorial λ. III. 10 [XII].

206. Escorial ξ. IV. 2 [XIV]. 207. Escorial ψ. III. 6 [XI].

208. Escorial φ. III. 18 [X]. 209. Escorial ω. IV. 22 [XV].

210. (Paul. 247) in the Library of S. Geneviève at Paris, A. O. 35 [xiv] 4°, of 132 leaves, beautifully written and illuminated, contains the Catholic and Pauline Epistles. Some name like *Λασκαρίς* stands on Fol. 1 in silver letters inclosed by a laurel-leaf. Described to Burgon by the librarian, M. Ruella.

The next three are at Oxford:

211. (= Evan. 488).

212. (Paul. 250) Canonici Gk. 110 [x] 4°, a beautiful copy of the Acts and all the Epistles, *pict.*, *prol.* of Euthalius, κεφ., &c. For its collation, *see* Evan. 105. It also contains one leaf from Cyril's Homilies, and two other later.

213. (Paul. 251) Bodl. Miscell. 118, Auct. F. 6. 24 [XIII] 4°. *Mut.*, also contains the Acts and all the Epistles: *lect.*, *syn.*, *men.*, and Euthalii *prol.* in the Pauline portion.

214. Muralt's 8^{vo} (= Evan. 476).

215. Parham 6 (= Evan. 534).

216. (Paul. 234) Parham 79. 14 [dated 1009] 4°, from S. Saba; a *facsimile* is given in the Parham Catalogue. This copy and the next two contain the Acts and all the Epistles.

217. (Paul. 235) Parham 81. 15 [xi] 4°, from Caracalla, with a marginal commentary.

218. (Paul. 236) Parham 82. 16 [†] fol., from Simo Petra on Athos.

230. B. M. Addit. 19392 [xi] 4°, two leaves of wonderful beauty, containing James i. 1—23, the heading illuminated, κεφ. at the tops of the pages, with a commentary on three sides of the text in a very minute hand.

231. (= Evan. 603).

232. (Paul. 271, Apoc. 107) B. M. Addit. 28816 [dated 1111, Indict. 4] fol., 149 leaves, a splendid copy, bought (*see* Evan. 603) of Sir Ivor Guest in 1871. A *facsimile* is exhibited in the Palæographical Society's work, Plate 84. It begins with Euthalii *ἔκθεσις* of the chapters of the Acts (*see* p. 61), followed by *prol.*, κεφ. *ι.*, *σημ.* Euthalius' Prologue also precedes the Pauline Epistles, and that of Arethas (*σύνοψις σχολικῆ*) the Apocalypse, with a table of his 72 κεφάλαια. Throughout the volume the numerals indicating the κεφάλαια of each book stand in the margin in red, and a list of the κεφ. before each. The *lect.* are very full, and there are many marginal glosses in a very minute hand. *Mut.* 1 Cor. xvi. 15—Prol. to 2 Cor., and one leaf (Eph. v. 3—vi. 16) is supplied [xv] *chart.* There are ten leaves at the end containing foreign matter, by the same hand, and in the colophon, besides the date, we read that the monk Andreas wrote it εἰς τὸ ὄρος τοῦ *πρσ* καὶ αὐ̄ μελετήσιον τῆς μονοπέλεως ἐν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ *σρσ*, adding of himself (as well he might) πολλὰ γὰρ ἑκοπίασα ἐν τρισὶν ἔτεσιν κτίζων αὐτήν. The foreign matter includes an exposition of the errors condemned by the seven general councils (foll. 143—5), resembling that in Evan. 69 (*see* p. 65).

233. (= Evan. 605).

234. (= Evan. 608).

235. (= Evan. 472).

Belsheim (*see* p. 244) enables us to add

236. (Paul. 273, Apoc. 108). Upsal 11, Björnsthal 1 [xii] 4°, of 182 leaves, containing the Acts, Epistles and Apocalypse.

237. (= Evan. 616, Paul. 274).

He also found at Linköping

238. Benzel 35, once belonging to Eric Benzel [1675—1743], Archbishop of Upsal [x] 4°, very beautiful, of 244 leaves, *lect.* at beginning and end, contains the Acts and all the Epistles (Paul. 272), the Epistle to the Hebrews preceding 1 Tim. (*see* p. 71, note). *Mut.* 2 Thess. iii. 7—Hebr. i. 5.

239. Vat. 652 [xiv] small fol., the Acts only for all that appears, with Theophylact's commentary, as printed in full in Vol. III. (pp. 189—317: *see* Præf. p. viii) of the Venice edition of Theophylact, 1758. *Lect.*, κεφ., τίτλοι, ἀρχ. and τέλος (Burgon).

The following fourteen copies were seen by Mr Coxe in the East (*above*, p. 224). Compare Scholz's list in p. 259, note.

(a) In the Patriarch's Library at Cairo, Shelf 1, No. 8, all the Epistles [xiv] 4°, *chart.* Shelf 4, No. 59, Acts and all the Epistles [xi] 4°. Shelf 5, No. 88, the same, with the Psalter [xi] fol.

(β) At the Greek Monastery at Jerusalem, besides Nos. 7, 15, which can be none other than Scholz's 183—4, we must add Nos. 40, 45 from p. 244.

(γ) At S. Saba Scholz found five copies, 185—9, and Coxe no larger number; although it is not easy to reconcile their statements. Coxe's No. 20, of the Acts, all the Epistles and Apocalypse [xi] small 4°, a palimpsest over uncials [vii], will ill suit Scholz's 187 or 189. Coxe's No. 35, Acts and all the Epistles [xi] 4°, may be either Scholz's 185 or 188. Coxe's other three contain the Gospels and all the Epistles: No. 52 [xi] small 4°, *syn.*; No. 53 [xi] 4°; No 54 [xii] 4°. See Scholz's 186, or his Evan. 457.

(δ) At Patmos both Scholz and Coxe observed two copies (Scholz's Cod. 182), of the Acts and all the Epistles: Coxe's No. 27 [xii] fol., with marginal glosses, and No. 31 [ix] fol.

It will be remarked that Coxe's dates are almost always earlier than Scholz's.

Lamy's 207 (*see* p. 245) we cannot well number.

Deducting 19 duplicates, &c., we have described 252 cursive manuscripts of the Acts and Catholic Epistles.

(3). *Manuscripts of St Paul's Epistles.*

- *1. (= Evan. 1). 2. (= Act. 2). 3. (= Evan. 3).
4. (= Act. 4). 5. (= Evan. 5). 6. (= Evan. 6).

7. Basil. A. N. III. 11 (formerly B. vi. 17) 4°, *prol.*, with notes and a finely written marginal commentary, ends Hebr. xii. 18. But Rom. 1, 2 Corinth. are in a different hand. It is plain that Erasmus must have used this copy: cf. Rom. v. 21; vi. 19; viii. 35; xv. 31; xvi. 22; 1 Cor. xi. 15; 2 Cor. v. 4; ix. 8; 12; Gal. i. 6; iii. 27; Phil. iii. 9; Col. i. 6; iii. 17; 1 Thess. i. 7; Tit. iii. 8; Philem. 15; Hebr. v. 4; vii. 5, in all which places it countenances peculiar readings of his first edition. Can it have contained *τὸ* in Rom. iv. 4 or *καὶ πικρότερος* in Hebr. xi. 13? (Wetstein).

8. (= Act. 50). 9. (= Act. 7). 10. (= Act. 8).
11. (= Act. 9). 12. (= Act. 10). See Act. 7.

13. Certain readings cited by J. le Fevre d'Étaples, in his commentary on St Paul's Epistles, Paris, 1512.

14. (= Evan. 90). 15. A manuscript cited by Erasmus, belonging to Amandus of Louvain.

16. (= Act. 12). *17. (= Evan. 33). See Act. 7.
18. (= Evan. 35). 19. (= Act. 16).

20. Coislin. 27, described (as is Cod. 23) by Montfaucon [x] fol., in bad condition, with *prol.* and a catena, from Athos (Wetstein). See Act. 7.

21. (= Act. 17). 22. (= Act. 18).
23. Coislin. 28 from Athos [xi] fol., *prol.*, and a commentary (Wetstein, Scholz).
24. (Evan. 105). 25. (= Act. 20). 26. (= Act. 21).
27. Cambridge Univ. Libr. 1152, Ff. i. 30 [xi; or, according to Simonides, an excellent judge, xii and xiii] fol., with Œcumenius' commentary: Rom. and 1, 2 Cor. are wanting (Wetstein, 1716). Mr Bradshaw finds that this manuscript, which came to Cambridge in 1574, is only the second part of Cod. 42, the last quire of the latter being numbered κα', while the first in Cod. 27 is κβ'. Hort's Cod. 27 is k^{ms} or Paul. 260.
28. (= Act. 23). *29. (= Act. 24). *30. (= Act. 53).
31. (= Act. 25). 32. (= Act. 26). 33. (= Act. 27).
- *34. (= Act. 28). 35. (= Act. 29). 36. (= Act. 30).
- *37. (= Evan. 69). 38. (= Evan. 51). 39. (= Act. 33).
- *40. (= Evan. 61). 41. (= Evan. 57).
42. Magdalen College, Oxford, Greek 7 [xi] fol., contains Rom. 1, 2 Cor. surrounded by Œcumenius' commentary, *prol.*, &c. (Waltton's Polyglott, Mill). See above, Cod. 27.
43. (= Act. 37). *44. (= Act. 38).
45. (= Act. 39). 46. (= Act. 40).
47. Bodleian. Roe 16, Mill's Roe 2 [xi or xii] fol., with a Patristic catena, in a small and beautiful hand, having a text much resembling that of Cod. A, and Cod. B still more, often when the two stand alone: its history is the same as that of Evan. 49. The Epistle to the Hebrews precedes 1 Tim.: see p. 71, note. (Mill, Tregelles for his edition of the N. T.: inspected by Mr Vansittart).
- *48. (= Act. 42). 49. (= Evan. 76). 50. (= Act. 52).
51. (= Evan. 82, Act. 44, Apoc. 5). 52. (= Act. 45).
- 53 of Wetstein is now Paul. Cod. M, the portion containing the Hebrews, or Bengel's Uffenbach 2 or 1 (see p. 173).
54. Monacensis 412 [xii] fol., is Bengel's August. 5 (see Act. 46) containing Rom. vii. 7—xvi. 24, with a catena from twenty Greek authors (see Cod. 127), stated by Bengel to resemble that in the Bodleian described by Mill (*N. T.*, Proleg. § 1448).
55. (= Act. 46).
56. Tigurinus, in the Public Library at Zurich, written in 1516, in the hand of the well-known Ulrich Zwingli. This is quite worthless if Wetstein is correct in calling it a transcript of Erasmus' first edition, then just published.
- *57. (= Evan. 218).

58. Vat. 165, "olim Cryptoferratensis," of the Monastery of Grotta Ferrata¹, near Tusculum [xii] (Zacagni).

59 of Wetstein and Griesbach comprises readings of two Median manuscripts of the Ephes. and Philipp., derived from the same source as Evan. 102, Act. 56, Apoc. 23: Scholz silently substitutes Coislin. 204 [xi] fol., with a catena.

60. Codices cited in the *Correctorium Bibliorum Latinorum* (*see* p. 192, and note).

*61. (= Act. 61). 62. (= Act. 59). 63. (= Act. 60).

64 of Griesbach is the portion of Cod. M now in the British Museum (*see* p. 173).

65. (= Act. 62).

66. Various readings extracted by Griesbach from the margin of Harl. 5552. 4°, which itself he considers but a transcript of Erasmus' first edition (*Symb. Crit.* p. 166).

67. (= Act. 66). 67** resembles Cod. B, yet is independent of it (Eph. III. 9; iv. 9, &c.). "These marginal readings must have been derived from a MS. having a text nearly akin to that of the fragmentary MS. called M, though not from M itself" (Hort, *Introduction*, p. 155).

68. (= Act. 63). 69. (= Act. 64). 70. (= Act. 67).

71. Cæsar-Vindobon. Forlos. 19, Kollar. 10 [xii] 4°, *mut.* Rom. i. 1—9; Titus; Philem.: with Hebrews before 1 Tim. (*see* p. 71, note). It includes a commentary and catechetical lectures of S. Cyril of Jerusalem (Alter, Birch).

72. (= Evan. 234). 73. (= Act. 68).

74. (= Act. 69). 75. (Addit. 5116, *see* Act. 22).

*76. Biblioth. Paulinæ Lipsiensis (Mt. s) [xiii] fol., contains Rom., 1 Cor., Gal. and part of Eph., with Theophylact's commentary (Matthæi).

Codd. 77—112 were cursorily collated by Birch, and nearly all by Scholz.

77. (= Evan. 131). 78. (= Evan. 133).

79. (= Act. 72). 80. (= Act. 73)*.

¹ "Ubi degunt ab antiquo tempore monachi, ordinis S. Basilii Magni, ritum Italo-Græcum observantes" Holmes. *Præf. ad Pentateuch.* on his Cod. 128, which came to the Vatican from the same place. It is the traditional Villa Luculli. *See* above, p. 115.

* Birch shows the connexion of Caryophilus with this important copy (which much resembles the Leicester manuscript, Evan. Cod. 69) from James v. 5, and especially from 3 John 5 *μσθδν* for *πισθδν*, a *lectio singularis*. *See* p. 197, note 1. In this codex, as in the others cited p. 71, note, Hebr. stands before 1 Tim.

81. Vat. 761 [xii] fol., with Œcumenius' Commentary. The Epistle to the Hebrews is wanting.

82. Vat. 762 [xii] fol., contains Rom., 1, 2 Cor., with a catena.

83. Vat. 765 [xi] fol., with a commentary.

84. Vat. 766 [xii] fol., with a commentary.

85. (Apoc. 39) Vat. 1136 [xiii] fol., contains *first* the Apocalypse (beginning ch. iii. 8) with a Latin version, then S. Paul's Epistles ending 1 Tim. vi. 5, with many unusual readings.

86. (= Evan. 141).

87. (= Evan. 142).

88. (= Evan. 149).

89. (= Act. 78).

90. (= Act. 79).

91. (= Act. 80).

92. (= Evan. 180).

93. (= Act. 83).

94. (= Act. 84).

95. (= Act. 85).

96. (= Act. 86). The same copy as Cod. 183.

97. (= Act. 87). 98. (= Act. 88). 99. (= Act. 89).

100. Laurent. x. 4 [xii] fol., with a commentary and additional scholia [xiv], from the Cistercian monastery of S. Salvator de Septimo, in the diocese of Florence.

101. Laurent. x. 6 [xi] fol., with *prol.* and a catena supplying the authors' names.

102. Laurent. x. 7 [xi] fol., *syn.*, a life of S. Paul, and catena with such names attached as Theodoret, Chrysostom, Œcumenius, Severianus, &c.

103. Laurent. x. 19 [xiii] fol., with *syn.* and a catena. At the end is a date "A.D. 1318, Ind. 1, Timotheus."

*104. (= Evan. 201 or h^{scr}) examined by Bloomfield.

105. (= Evan. 204). Dean Burgon has received a *facsimile* of 1 Tim. iii. 16 from the librarian at Bologna.

106. (= Evan. 205).

107. (= Evan. 206).

108. (= Evan. 209).

*109. (= Act. 96).

*110. Venet. 33 [xi] fol., with a catena, much being taken from Œcumenius (Rink, as also 111, 112: *see* Act. 96).

*111. Venet. 34 [xi] fol. with *prol.* and a commentary.

*112. Venet. 35 [xi] fol., with a commentary, a fragment beginning 2 Cor. i. 20, ending Hebr. x. 25; *mut.* 1 Thess. iv. 13—2 Thess. ii. 14.

Codd. 113—124 were collated by Matthæi.

*113. (= Act. 98).

*114. (= Act. 99).

*115. (= Act. 100).

*116. (= Act. 101).

146. Reg. 109 [xvi] 8°, contains Rom. with *prol.*, and the *ὑπόθεσις* to 1 Corinth.

147. Reg. 110 [dated 1511] 8°, contains 1, 2 Corinth.

148. Reg. 111 [xvi], contains Titus, Philem., Hebrews. Codd. 145-8 are surely the divided portions of the same manuscript.

149. (= Act. 124).

150. (= Act. 125).

151. Reg. 126 [xvi] 12°, written (like 149) by Angelus Vergecius (*see* p. 42, note 2).

152. (Apoc. 60) Reg. 136* [?] 8°, contains the Hebrews, Apoc., and a life of S. Alexius.

*153. (= Act. 126) Reiche.

154. (= Act. 127).

155. (= Act. 128).

156. (= Act. 129).

157. Reg. 222, once Colbert's [xi] fol., brought from Constantinople in 1676, with *prol.* and a commentary. *Mut.* Rom. i. 1-11; 21-29; iii. 26-iv. 8; ix. 11-22; 1 Cor. xv. 22-43; Col. i. 1-16.

158. (= Act. 131).

159. (Apoc. 64) Reg. 224 [xi] fol., very elegant. The Pauline Epistles have *prol.* and a catena, the Apocalypse Arethas' commentary.

160. Reg. 225 [xvi] fol., *chart.*, a fragment of S. Paul with Theophylact's commentary.

161. Reg. 226 [xvi] fol., *chart.*, contains the Romans with a commentary.

162. Reg. 227, once Bigot's [xvi] fol., *chart.*, contains only a catena on 1 Cor. xvi.

163. Reg. 238 [xiii] 8°, from Adrianople, contains Hebr. i.-viii. with a catena.

164. Reg. 849, once a Medicean manuscript (*see* p. 117, note 3) [xvi] fol., contains Theodoret's commentary with the text in the margin.

165. Taurinens. 284, c. i. 39, at Turin [xvi] *chart.*, contains from 1 Thess. to Hebrews.

166. (= Act. 133).

167. (= Act. 134).

168. Taurin. 325, c. ii. 38 [xii] fol., with *prol.*, and a commentary: it begins Rom. iii. 19.

169. (= Act. 136).

170. (= Evan. 339).

171. Ambros. B. 6 *inf.*, at Milan [xiii] fol., with a commentary: it ends Hebr. iv. 7, and Rom. i. 1-2 Cor. v. 19 are later, on cotton paper.

172. Ambros. 15 (suspected by Burgon to be A. 51 *sup.*) [xii] fol., with an abridgment of Chrysostom's commentary: bought at Reggio in Calabria, 1606.

270 [CHAP. II. § 3] ON THE CURSIVE GREEK MANUSCRIPTS

173. (= Act. 138). 174. (= Act. 139).
 175. Ambros. F. 125 *sup.* [xv] fol., *chart.*, with a continuous commentary: it was brought from Thessaly.
 176. (= Act. 137).
 *177. Mutinens. 14 (Ms. II. A. 14), at Modena [xv] 16°.
 *178. (= Act. 142).
 *179 is Cod. H. of Act.: see p. 161. The Pauline Epistles with a commentary are [xii].
 180. (= Evan. 363).
 181. (= Evan. 365, which seems to be non-existent).
 182. (= Evan. 367).
 183. (= Act. 147). This is the same copy as Cod. 96.
 184. (= Act. 148). 185. (= Evan. 393).
 186. (= Evan. 394). 187. (= Act. 154).
 188. (= Act. 155).
 189. Vat. 1649 [xiii] fol., with Theodoret's commentary: Hebr. precedes 1 Tim. (*see* p. 71, note).
 190. (Act. 156). 191. (= Act. 157).
 192. (= Act. 158). 193. (= Act. 160).
 194. (= Evan. 175).
 195. Vat. Ottob. 31 [x] fol., *mut.* Rom. and most of 1 Cor.; with a continuous commentary, and such names as Cœcumenius, Theodoret, Methodius, occasionally mentioned.
 196. Vat. Ottob. 61 [xv] 8°, *chart.*, with a commentary: here, as in Cod. 189, the Epistle to the Hebrews precedes 1 Tim.
 197. (Apoc. 78) Vat. Ottob. 176 [xv] 8°, *chart.*
 198. (= Act. 161). 199. (= Evan. 386).
 200. (= Act. 162). 201. (= Act. 163).
 202. Vat. Ottob. 356 [xv] 4°, *chart.*, "olim Aug. ducis ab Al-tamps," contains Rom. with a catena.
 203. (= Evan. 390). 204. (= Act. 166).
 205. (= Act. 168). 206. (= Act. 169).
 207. Ghigian. R. v. 32, at Rome [xv] 4°, *chart.*, with a commentary.
 208. Ghigian. VIII. 55 [xi] fol., with Theodoret's commentary.
 209. (= Act. 171). 210. (= Act. 172).
 211. (= Act. 173). 212. (= Act. 174).
 213. Barberin. 29 [dated 1338] *prol.*, scholia. From the reading $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ Col. ii. 2 (*see* below, Chapter ix.), this

The next ten are Scrivener's, collated in the Appendix to *Codex Augiensis*:

*252. (= Act. 182). *253. (= Act. 183). *254. (= Act. 184).

*255. (= Act. 185).

*256. (Apoc. 93) Lambeth 1186 or e^{ms} [xi] 4°, of which a *facsimile* is given in the Catalogue of Manuscripts at Lambeth, 1812. It contains the Pauline Epistles and the Apocalypse only. It begins Rom. xvi. 15 and ends Apoc. xix. 4. *Mut.* 1 Cor. iv. 19—vi. 1; x. 1—21; Hebr. iii. 14—ix. 19; Apoc. xiv. 16—xv. 7. *Lect., prol., τίτλ., κεφ.*, to each Epistle, and a few marginal glosses.

*257. (= Evan. 543). *258. (= Evan. 542).

*259. (= Evan. 568). *[h^{ms}: see Act. 189].

*260. (= Evan. 507). This is Hort's Cod. 27 in St Paul.

261. Muralt 8^{ms} (= Evan. 476). 262. (= Act. 223).

263. See Apoc. 91. Contains Hebr. ix. 14—xiii. 25 [xv].

The Baroness Burdett-Coutts has three copies of the Pauline Epistles:

*264. (= Act. 220). *265. (= Act. 221), and the beautiful fragment

*266. (Evan. 603) B.-C. II. 4 [x or xi] fol., also Apoc. 89, whose remarkable history has been told above, p. 242. These 67 leaves of fine vellum contain the ten Pauline Epistles from the Ephesians onwards (that to the Hebrews preceding 1 Timothy: see p. 71, note), and the Apocalypse complete. Illuminations, small but neat, stand at the head of each book: *τίτλ., κεφ.* in red in the Epistles, but no divisions in the Apocalypse. On three leaves at the end is the (unfinished) *ἐπίγραμμα* of Dorotheus of Tyre described above, Act. 89. Citations from the Old Testament are specially marked, and the margin contains some scholia and corrections, apparently by the first hand.

We now return to the British Museum:

267. B. M. Addit. 7142 [xiii] 4°, 198 leaves, with a life of S. Paul prefixed and marginal commentary. *Prol., κεφ. ι., τίτλ., lect.*, the last mostly by a later hand. The portion of five leaves which contains the commentary is lost, but the text is complete.

268. (= Evan. 576) Bloomfield. 269. (= Evan. 584).

270. (= Act. 229). 271. (= Evan. 603).

We do not number Lamy's codex (207: see p. 245), and for the Acts and Epistles five copies were seen by Mr Coxe more than by Scholz (see p. 224). One is noticed only by Coxe: viz. Patmos, No. 24 [xii] 4°, Rom. and 1, 2 Cor. with scholia.

272. (= Act. 238).

273, 274 are Acts 236, 237 respectively, Belsheim's codices at Upsal.

275. Basil, *olim* Cardinalis Passionei (*see* p. 162) 58 [*dated* 962], the Epistle to the Romans with Chrysostom's commentary described with *facsimile* by Vitali (Bianchini *Evan. Quadr.* II. 1 pp. 560, 563).

276. (= *Evan.* 472).

277. (= *Evan.* 492).

278. (= *Evan.* 560).

279. (= *Evan.* 582).

280. (= *Act.* 198).

281. (= *Evan.* 527).

Deducting but two duplicates (181, 183), inasmuch as we have filled up the other vacant numbers by fresh copies, we count 295 codices of St Paul's Epistles.

(4) *Manuscripts of the Apocalypse.*

1. Codex Johannis Reuchlini' [XII], the only one used in 1516 by Erasmus (who calls it "exemplar vetustissimum") and long lost, contains the commentary of Andreas of Cæsarea, in which the text is so completely imbedded that great care is needed to separate the one from the other. *Mut.* ch. xxii. 16—21, ending with $\rho\omega\upsilon\ \delta\alpha\delta$. This manuscript was happily re-discovered in 1861 by Professor F. Delitzsch at Mayhingen in Bavaria in the library of the Prince of Oettingen-Wallerstein, and a critical account of it published by him (illustrated by a *facsimile*) in the first part of his *Handschriftliche Funde* (1861). Tregelles also, in the second part of the same work, published an independent collation of his own (with valuable "Notes" prefixed), which he had made at Erlangen in 1862. *See* below, Chapter v. § 2. The identity of Cod. 1 with the recovered copy is manifest from such *monstra* as $\epsilon\beta\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\iota\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ ch. ii. 3, which is found in both; from the reading $\sigma\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\iota$ ch. xiii. 10 (*see* below, Chap. ix.); and from the clauses put wrong by Erasmus, as being lost in the commentary, e.g. ch. ii. 17; iii. 5, 12, 15; vi. 11, 15. Of this copy Dr Hort says (*Introd.* p. 263) that "it is by no means an average cursive of the common sort. On the one hand it has many individualisms and readings with small and evidently unimportant attestation: on the other it has a large and good ancient element,...and ought certainly (with the somewhat similar 38) to stand high among secondary documents."

2. (= *Act.* 10, Stephen's ϵ).

3. Codex Stephani ϵ 5', unknown; cited only 77 times throughout the Apocalypse in Stephen's edition of 1550, and that very irregularly; only once (ch. xx. 3) after ch. xvii. 8. It was not one of the

¹ "Egregius ille trilinguis eruditionis Phoenix," whose death in 1522 his loving friend Erasmus bewailed in the Colloquy entitled *Apotheosis Capnionis*; Capnio being Reuchlin's literary name, after the fanciful humour of that age.

copies in the King's Library, and the four citations noticed by Mill (*N. T.*, Proleg. § 1176) from Luke xxii. 30; 67; 2 Cor. xii. 11; 1 Tim. iii. 3 are probably mere errors of Stephen's press.

4. (= Act. 12).
5. Codices Laurentii Vallæ (*see* Evan. 82); the readings of which Erasmus used.
6. (= Act. 23).
- *7. (= Act. 25, 1st).
- *8. (= Act. 28, d^{scr}).
9. (= Act. 30).
10. (= Evan. 60).
11. (= Act. 39).
12. (= Act. 40).
- *13. (= Act. 42).
- *14. (= Evan. 69, f^{scr})¹.
15. Fragments of ch. iii. iv. annexed to Cod. E Evan. (*see* p. 127), in a later hand.
16. (= Act. 45).
17. (= Evan. 35).
18. (= Act. 18).
19. (= Act. 17).
20. (= Evan. 175), a few extracts made by Bianchini: so Cod. 24.

21, 22 of Wetstein were two unknown French codices, cited by Bentley in his specimen of Apoc. xxii., and made Wetstein's 23 (= Act. 56). Scholz, discarding these three as doubtful, substitutes Cod. 21 Cod. Vallicell. D. 20 [xiv] fol., *chart.*, with Andreas' comment.: Cod. 22. (= Act. 166): Cod. 23. (= Evan. 38), which he says he collated cursorily. But whatever readings he cites under these three numbers, are simply copied from Wetstein (Kelly's "Revelation," Introd. p. xi, note).

24. (= Act. 160).
25. (= Evan. 149).
- *26. Wake 12 [xi] *see* above, p. 228. Codd. 6, 26, 27, 28 were rather loosely collated for Wetstein by his kinsman Caspar Wetstein, chaplain to Frederick, Prince of Wales.
- *27. (= Evan. 503).
- *28. Cod. Barocc. 48 in the Bodleian, contains mixed matter by several hands (*see* p. 69), and is n^{scr} of the Apocalypse [xv] 4^o, *chart.*, *mut.* ch. xvii. 5—xxii. 21: *τίτλοι, κεφ.* (ch. v. 1—5 is repeated in the

¹ Mr B. W. Newton superintended the publication of Tregelles' last part of his Greek New Testament under circumstances which disarm criticism, but Tregelles could hardly have meant that in the Apocalypse "much of Cod. 14 (Leicestrensis) has been supplied by a later hand from the Codex Montfortianus, Apoc. 92" (Introductory Notice, p. 1). The original hand remains unchanged in the Leicester copy even on the last torn leaf containing portions of Apoc. xix., but the converse supposition is very maintainable, though not quite certain (*see* above p. 188), that the Apocalypse in Cod. 92 was transcribed from Cod. 14.

volume in a different hand). This is an important copy, akin to Codd. 7 and 96. Bentley also named it κ in his collation extant in the margin of Trin. Coll. B. xvii. 5 (*see* Cod. 51 Evan.).

*29. (= Act. 60, e^{xxx}). 30. (= Act. 69).

*31. Cod. Harleian. 5678 is c^{xxx}, but ch. i—viii. had been loosely collated for Griesbach by Paulus [xv] 4°, *chart.* Like Evan. 445 (p. 223), it once belonged to the Jesuits' College at Agen, and is important for its readings. As in Codd. 28, 32, 35, 38, 43, 49, 50, 58, 60, 65, 68, 81, there is much miscellaneous matter in this volume.

32. Codex Dresdensis A. 95 (Tregelles), antea Loescheri, deinde Brühlü (*see* Evst. 57) [x Griesb., xv Scholz] 4°, collated by Dassdorf and Matthaei (Mt. t), seems important. It consists of only 16 leaves. The close resemblance in the text of Codd. 29—32 is somewhat overstated by Griesbach.

*33. (= Evan. 218). 34. (= Act. 66).

35. Cæsar-Vindobon. Lambec. 248 [xiv] 4°, with Andreas' commentary: brought from Constantinople by de Busbeck (Alter). Described by Delitzsch, *Handschriftliche Funde* (Part II.) p. 41, (1862). In text it closely resembles Cod. 87.

36. Cæsar-Vindobon. Forlos. 29, Kollar. 26 [xiv] 8°, ends ch. xix. 20, with Andreas' commentary: the text is in $\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\chi\omicron\iota$ (Alter), having much in common with Codd. 8, 7, and other good copies.

37. (= Act. 72).

*38. Vatic. 579 [xiii] 8°, on cotton paper, in the midst of foreign matter. The text (together with some marginal readings *primâ manu*) closely resembles that of Codd. AC, and was collated by Birch, inspected by Scholz and Tregelles, and subsequently recollated by B. H. Alford at the request of Tregelles (*see* Cod. T, p. 142).

39. (= Paul. 85). 40. (= Evan. 141).

41. Alexandrino-Vat. 68 [xiv] *chart.*, with extracts from Cæcumenius and Andreas' commentary (Birch, Scholz: so Cod. 43).

42. (= Act. 80).

43. Barbérini 23 [xiv] 4°, contains ch. xiv. 17—xviii. 20, with a commentary, together with portions of the Septuagint.

44. (= Evan. 180). 45. (= Act. 89). 46. (= Evan. 209).

*47. (= Evan. 241). *48. (= Evan. 242).

*49. Moscow. Synod. 67 (Mt. o) [xv] fol., *chart.*, with Andreas' commentary, and Gregory Nazianzen's Homilies.

*50. Synod. 206 (Mt. p) [xii] fol., like Evan. 69, 206, 233, is partly of parchment, partly paper, from the Iberian monastery on Athos; it also contains lives of the Saints.

*50^a. Also from the Iberian monastery [x] is Matthaei's r, Tischendorf's 90.

Codd. 51—84 were added to the list by Scholz, of which he professes to have collated Cod. 51 entirely, as Reiche has done after him; Codd. 68, 69, 82 nearly entire; twenty-one others cursorily, the rest (apparently) not at all. Our Cod. 87 is Scrivener's m, collated in the Apocalypse only.

- *51. (= Evan. 18). 52. (= Act. 51). 53. (= Act. 116).
 54. (= Evan. 263). 55. (= Act. 118). 56. (= Act. 119).
 57. (= Act. 124).

58. Paris, Reg. 19, once Colbert's [xvi] fol., *chart.*, with "Hiob et Justini cohort. ad Græc." Scholz.

59. Reg. 99* [xvi] *chart.*, with a commentary. Once Giles de Noailles'.
 60. (= Paul. 152).

61. Reg. 491, once Colbert's [xiii] 4°, on cotton paper, *mut.*, with extracts from Basil, &c.

62. Reg. 239—40 [xvi] 4°, *chart.*, with Andreas' commentary.

63. Reg. 241, once de Thou's, then Colbert's [xvi] 4°, *chart.*, with Andreas' commentary. 64. (= Paul. 159).

65. University Library at Moscow, 25 (once Coislin's 229) [f] contains ch. xvi. 20—xxii. 21.

66. (= Evan. 131). Erase: Birch expressly states that this MS. does not contain the Apocalypse.

67. Vat. 1743 [*dated* 5 December, 1302], with Andreas' commentary.

68. Vat. 1904 [xi] 4°, contains ch. vii. 17—viii. 12; xx. 1—xxii. 21, with Arethas' commentary, and much foreign matter. This fragment (as also Cod. 72 according to Scholz, who however never cites it) agrees much with Cod. A. 69. (= Act. 161).

70. (= Evan. 386). 71. (= Evan. 390).

72. Cod. Ghigianus R. iv. 8 [xvi] 8°, *chart.*, with Andreas' commentary. The same description suits 73, in the Corsini Library 838.

74. (= Act. 140). 75. (= Act. 86).

76. (= Act. 147). Codd. 75, 76 are but one copy: *see* pp. 253, 257.

77. Cod. Laurent. vii. 9 at Florence [xv] 4°, *chart.*, with Arethas' commentary. 78. (= Paul. 197).

79. Cod. Monacensis 248, at Munich; once Sirlet's, the Apostolic chief notary (*see* Evan. 373 and Evst. 132) [xvi] 4°, *chart.*, with Andreas' commentary, whose text it follows. That excellent and modest scholar Fred. Sylburg collated it for his edition of Andreas, 1596, one of the last labours of his diligent life. An excellent copy.

80. Monacens. 544 (Bengel's Augustan. 7) [xii Sylburg, xiv Scholz, who adds that it once belonged to the Emperor Manuel that died A.D. 1180¹] 4°, on cotton paper, with Andreas' commentary.

81. Monacensis 23 [xvi] fol., *chart.*, with works of Gregory Nyssen, and Andreas' commentary, used by Theod. Peltanus for his edition of Andreas, Ingoldstadt 1547. Peltanus' marginal notes from this copy were seen by Scholz. 82. (= Act. 179).

83. (= Evan. 339): much like Cod. B (*see* p. 175) and other common-place copies, as Dr Hort reports, who collated five chapters in 1864, and sent his papers to Tregelles.

84. (= Evan. 368)*.

85. Escorial ψ . III. 17 [xii] "con commentarios Cl. Pablo" (Haenel and Montana, *see* p. 207).

86. (= Evan. 367). *87. (= Act. 178), m^{scr}. *See* Cod. 35.

88. (= Evan. 205). *89. (Paul. 266) B-C. II. 4.

*90. Tischend. = 50^o Scholz (Mt. r).

91. (Paul. 263) Mico's collation of the modern supplement [xv] to the great Cod. B, made for Bentley (*see* p. 106), and published in Ford's "Appendix" to the Codex Alexandrinus 1799. The whole supplement from Hebr. ix. 14 *πρὸς τὴν συνείδησιν* including the Apocalypse (but not the Pastoral Epistles) is printed at full length in Vercellone and Cozza's edition of Cod. Vaticanus (1868): *see* p. 113.

92. (= Evan. 61) published by Dr Barrett 1801 in his Appendix to Cod. Z., but suspected to be a later addition. *See* Cod. 14, p. 273, note 2.

Wm. Kelly, "The Revelation of John edited in Greek with a new English Version" 1860, thus numbers Scrivener's collations of six copies not included in the foregoing catalogue:

*93. (= Paul. 256 or e^{scr}) a^{scr}. *94. (= Evan. 201) b^{scr}.

*95. Cod. Parham 82. 17, g^{scr} [xii or xiii] 4°, brought by the late Lord de la Zouche in 1837 from Caracalla on Athos: it contains an epitome of the commentary of Arethas, in a cramped hand much less distinct than the text, which ends at ch. xx. 11. There are no divisions into chapters. This "special treasure," as Tregelles calls it, was regarded by him and Alford as one of the best cursive manuscripts of the Apocalypse: Dr Hort judges it inferior to none. It agrees with Cod. A. alone or nearly so in ch. xviii. 8, 10, (19), 23; xix. 14: compare also its readings in ch. xix. 6 (*bis*), 12.

¹ Unless indeed he means Manuel II., the son of Palaeologus, who visited England in 1400, the guest and suppliant of Henry IV.

² Here again we withdraw Scholz's copies, as virtually included in Coxe's (*see above*, p. 224), putting others in their room. They are 85. (= Act. 184). 86. (= Evan. 462), thrice cited *ineunte libro* (Tischendorf). 86² of Scholz, being 89 of Tischendorf (= Evan. 466).

*96. Cod. Parham 67. 2, h^{scr} [xiv] 4°, κεφ., on glazed paper, very neat, also from Caracalla, complete and in excellent preservation, with very short scholia here and there. These two manuscripts were collated by Scrivener in 1855, under the hospitable roof of their owner.

97, 98 both contain the whole New Testament, without commentaries, but have hitherto been collated only for this book.

*97. (= Evan. 584) Brit. Mus. Addit. 17469, j^{scr} [xiv] fol. (*see* p. 240), is full of interesting variations.

*98. (= Evan. 488) Canonici 34 in the Bodleian, k^{scr} [*dated* in the Apocalypse July 18, 1516] 4°, *chart.*: *see above*, p. 228. The Pauline Epistles (*dated* Oct. 11, 1515) precede the Acts (*see* p. 70). This copy much resembles Cod. 30, and is of considerable value.

Tischendorf in his eighth edition cites a certain Cod. 99 in ch. i. 1—8 and a Cod. 100 in ch. i. 3—ii. 4, and would doubtless have described them in his unwritten Prolegomena. We have no means of knowing where they are.

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|---------------------|---------------------|
| 101. (= Evan. 206). | 102. (= Evan. 451). |
| 103. (= Evan. 472). | 104. (= Evan. 531). |
| 105. (= Evan. 394). | 106. (= Evan. 605). |
| 107. (= Act. 232). | 108. (= Act. 236). |

Mr Coxe saw but two copies of the Apocalypse in the East (Jerusalem No. 15, S. Saba No. 20), though Scholz speaks of one more at S. Saba, which had doubtless been removed between 1830 and 1857 (*see* p. 244). We cannot identify 109, Bentley's R. (Regis Galliæ 1872): cf. Ellis, *Bentleyi Critica Sacra*, Intr. p. xxix.

Deducting Cod. 66, we have enumerated 111 cursive manuscripts of the Apocalypse.

SECTION IV.

On the Lectionaries, or Manuscript Service-books of the Greek Church.

HOWEVER grievously the great mass of cursive manuscripts of the New Testament has been neglected by Biblical critics, the Lectionaries of the Greek Church, partly for causes previously stated (p. 72), have received even less attention at their hands. Yet no sound reason can be alleged for regarding the testimony of these Service-books as of slighter value than that of other witnesses of the same date and character. The necessary changes interpolated in the text at the commencement and sometimes at the end of lessons are so simple and obvious that the least experienced student can make allowance for them¹: and if the same passage is often given in a different form when repeated in the same Lectionary, although the fact ought to be recorded and borne in mind, this occasional inconsistency must no more militate against the reception of the general evidence of the copy that exhibits it, than it excludes from our roll of critical authorities the works of Origen and other Fathers, in which the selfsame variation is even more the rule than the exception. Dividing, therefore, the Lectionaries that have been hitherto catalogued (which form indeed but a small portion of those known to exist in Eastern monasteries and Western libraries) into Evangelistaria containing extracts from the Gospels, and Praxapostoli or Apostoli comprising extracts from the Acts and Epistles (*see* p. 71); we purpose to mark with an asterisk the few that have been really collated, including them in the same

¹ In the sixth lesson for the Holy Passions (p. 83) the prefatory clause to Mark xv. 16 is founded on an obvious misconception: Τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ οἱ στρατιῶται ἀπήγαγον τὸν ἰῷ εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τοῦ καϊάφα, ὃ ἐστὶ πραιτώριον. We remember no similar instance of error.

list with the majority which have been examined superficially, or not at all. Uncial copies (some as late as the eleventh century: *see* p. 28) will be distinguished by †. The uncial codices of the Gospels amount to 66, those of the Acts and Epistles only to seven or perhaps eight, for Cod. 40 is doubtful. Lectionaries are usually (yet see below Codd. 111. 142. 178. 244. 249. 255. 256. 262. 266. 268. 275. Apost. 52. 69) written with two columns on a page, like the Codex Alexandrinus (*see* p. 27), FGI (1—6, 7) LMN^bPQRTUXΘ^dΛ. 8. 184. 207. 360. 418. 422. 463. 509 of the Gospels, and Cod. M of St Paul's Epistles.

(1) *Evangelistaria or Evangeliaria, containing Lessons from the Gospels.*

+1. Regius 278 Paris, once Colbert's [VIII ?] fol., *mut.* (Wetstein, Scholz).

+2. Reg. 280, once Colbert's [IX] fol., *mut.* (Wetstein, Scholz).

+3. Wheeler 3, Lincoln College, Oxford No. 15 [X] 4°, with coloured and gilt illuminations and capitals, red musical notes, and red crosses for stops: three leaves are lost near the end (Mill).

4. Cambridge Univ. Lib. Dd. 8. 49, or Moore 2 [XI] 4°, cursive, *syn., men.* (Mill).

+5. Bodleian. Barocc. 202, or Mill's Bodl. 3 [X ?] but *undated*: "700 annorum" Bentley], *mut. initio et fine* (Mill, Wetstein). This is Bentley's a in Trin. Coll. B. xvii. 5 marg (*see* Evan. 51).

*+6. (Apost. 1). Lugduno-Batav. 243, once Scaliger's [XI ?], *chart.*, with an Arabic Version, contains the Praxapostolos, Psalms, and but a few Lessons from the Gospels (Wetstein, Dermout).

7. Reg. 301, once Colbert's, as were 8—12; 14—17 [written by George, a priest, in 1205] fol. (Codd. 7—12; 14—17 were slightly collated by Wetstein, Scholz).

8. Reg. 312 or 302 *teste Tischendorf.* [xiv] fol., written by Cosmas, a monk.

9. Reg. 307 [xiii] fol. 10. Reg. 287 [xi] fol., *mut.*

11. Reg. 309 [xiii] fol., *mut.* 12. Reg. 310 [xiii] fol., *mut.*

+13. Coisl. 31 [x] fol., most beautifully written, the first seven pages in gold, the next fifteen in vermilion, the rest in black ink, *pict.*, described by Montfaucon (Scholz). Wetstein's 13 (Colbert. 1241 or Reg. 1982) contains no Evangelistarium.

14. Reg. 315 [xv] fol., *chart.* Wrongly set down as Evan. 322.

15. Reg. 302 [XIII] fol., *mut.*

16. Reg. 297 [XII] fol., much *mut.*

17. Reg. 279 [XII] fol., *mut.* (Tischendorf seems to have confounded 13 and 17 in his *N.T.*, Proleg. p. cxxvi. 7th edition).

18. Bodl. Laud. Gk. 32, or Laud. D. 121, Mill's Bodl. 4 [XI] fol., much *mut.*, beginning John iv. 53. Codd. 18—22 were partially examined by Griesbach after Mill.

19. (Apost. Paul. 3, Griesbach). Bodl. 3048, or Misc. 10, Auct. D. Infr. 2. 12; Mill's Bodl. 5 [XIII] fol., *mut.*, with musical notes, *rubro*: given in 1661, by Parthenius, Patriarch of Constantinople, to Heneage Finch, Earl of Winchelsea, our Ambassador there. This and Cod. 18 are said by Mill to be much like Stephen's 5^s, Evan. 7.

20. Bodl. Laud. 34, Mill's Laud. 4 [written by Onesimus, April 1047, Indiction 15] 4°, *mut.*¹

21. Bodl. 3386, or Selden 49, Mill's Selden 4 [XIV] 4°, coarsely written; a mere fragment, as is also

22. Bodl. 3384, or Seld. 47. Seld. 5 of Mill [XIV] 4°, *mut.*, with Patristic homilies [XI].

†23. Mead's, then Askew's, then D'Eon's, by whom it was sent to France. Wetstein merely saw it.

†24. Monacensis 383 (August. 4 of Bengel) [X] fol., the lessons for Saturdays and Sundays (*σαββατοκυριακαί*: see Evst. 110, 157, 186, 221, 227, 283, 289) and a menology, *mut.* (Bengel, Scholz). Is this Cod. Radzivil, with slightly sloping uncials, [VIII], of which Silvestre gives a *facsimile* (*Paléogr. Univ.* No. 68) ?

25. Mus. Brit. Harleian. 5650 [XII] 4°, a palimpsest, whose later writing is by Nicephorus the reader. The older writing, now illegible, was partly uncial, *mut.*

25^b represents a few Lessons in the same codex by a later, yet contemporary hand (Bloomfield). Codd. 25—30 were very partially collated by Griesbach.

26. (Apost. 28). Bodleian. 3390, Seld. 1, or Mill's Seld. 2 [XIII] 4°, *mut.*, a palimpsest, but the earlier uncial writing is illegible, and the codex in a wretched state, the work of several hands.

†27. Bodl. 3391, Seld. 2, or Mill's Seld. 3, a palimpsest [IX uncial, XIV later writing] 4°, *mut.*, in large ill-formed characters. Codd. 26, 27 were collated by Mangey, 1749 (see pp. 227, 229), but his papers appear to be lost.

¹ Laud. Gk. 36, which in the Bodleian Catalogue is described as an Evangelistarium, is a collection of Church Lessons from the Septuagint read in Lent and the Holy Week, such as we described above, pp. 73, 83. It has red musical notes, and seems *once* to have borne the date A.D. 1028. It is Dean Holmes' No. 61 (Præf. ad Pentateuch.).

28. Bodl. Misc. 11, Auct. D Infra 2. 14, Marsh 22 [XIII] 4°, *mut.*, in two careless hands.

29. Bodl. Misc. 12, Auct. D Infra 2. 15, Marsh 23 [XIII] 4°, *mut.* Elegantly written but much worn.

30. (Apost. Paul. 5, Griesbach). Bodl. 226, now Cromwell 11 [the whole written in 1225 by Michael, a *χωρικός καλλιγράφος*] 4°, containing Prayers and some Lessons from the Gospels (including *εὐαγγέλια ἀναστασιμᾶ*: see p. 83) and Epistles (Griesbach).

31. Cod. Norimberg. [XII] 4°, (Doederlein). Its readings are stated by Michaelis to resemble those of Codd. D (*e. g.* Luke xxii. 4) L. 1. 69.

*32. Cod. Gothanus, in the library of the Duke of Saxe Gotha [XII] fol., carelessly written, but with important readings: see Luke xxii. 17, &c., below Chapter IX. Edited by Matthaei, 1791.

†33. Cod. Cardinalis Alex. Albani [XI] 4°, a menology edited by Steph. Ant. Morcelli, Rome 1788.

†34. Monacens. 329, from Mannheim [X] 4°, in massive uncials, the last three out of four volumes, the menology suiting the custom of a monastery on Athos (Rink, Scholz). Burgon refers to Hardt's Catalogue, iii. 314 *seq.*

Codd. 35—39 were inspected or collated by Birch, 40—43 by Moldenhawer.

†35.¹ Vat. 351 [X or XI] fol., contains only the lessons for holidays.

*†36. Vat. 1067 [IX] fol., a valuable copy, completely collated.

37. (Apost. 7). Propaganda 287, Borgia 3 [XI] 4°, contains only 13 lessons from the Gospels.

38. Laurent. Florent. 1, and

39. Florent. 2, formerly in the Grand Duke's Palace, and neatly written, are only once cited by Birch. Scholz numbered these two over again as Evst. 117, 118, which see below (Burgon). Hort's 38 is x^{scr}, his 39 is y^{scr} (see pp. 77 note, and 296—7).

†40. Escorial I. [X] 4°, kept with the reliques there as an autograph of S. Chrysostom. It was given by Queen Maria of Hungary (who obtained it from Jo. Diassorin) to Philip II. Moldenhawer, who relates its history in a scoffing spirit, was only allowed to see it for a few hours, and collated 15 lessons. The text is of the common type, but in the oblong shape of the letters, false breathings and accents, the red musical notes, &c., it resembles Evst. 1, though its date is somewhat lower. Omitted by Montana, but see above, p. 207.

¹ I follow Birch's description. Scholz (whom Horne and Tischendorf merely copy) has given to this Cod. Vat. 351 the date and description which belong to Cod. Vat. 854, or 8 of the Gospels. It is described with a *facsimile* by Bianchini, *Evan. Quadr.* Vol. II. Pt. 1, p. 504, as is Evst. †36 on p. 508.

†41. Escorial χ . III. 12 [x, or XI with Montana] 4°, very elegant: the menology (as also that of Cod. 43) suited to the use of a Byzantine Church.

†42. Escorial χ . III. 13 [IX, or XI with Montana] 4°, *mut.* at the beginning. Two hands appear, the earlier leaning a little to the right. Montana, however, describes it as containing the Four Gospels.

43. Escorial χ . III. 16 [XI, or XII with Montana] 4°, *mut.* at the beginning, in large cursive letters; with full *men.*

44. (Apost. 8). Havniens. 3 [XV] *mut.*, and much in a still later hand. Its history resembles that of Evan. 234—5 (Hensler).

†45. Cæsar-Vindobon. Lambec. 15, Nessel 5 [x] fol., six leaves from the binding of a law-book: the letters resemble the Tübingen fragment, Griesbach's R (*see* p. 139) or Wetstein's 98 (Alter).

†46. Cæsar-Vindobon. Forlos. 23, Kollar. 7 [IX], on purple vellum with gold and silver letters. There is a Latin version (Bianchini, Treschow, Alter). Silvestre has a *facsimile*, *Palæogr. Univ.* No. 69.

*†47. Moscow, S. Synod. 43 (Matthæi B) [VIII] fol., "a barbaro scriptus est, sed ex præstantissimo exemplari," Matthæi, whose codices extend down to 57.

*48. Synod. 44 (Mt. c) [written by Peter, a monk, A.D. 1056] fol., from the Iberian monastery on Athos. In 1312 it belonged to Nicephorus, Metropolitan of Crete.

*49. Typograph. Synod. 11 (Mt. f.) [x and later] fol., *pict.* Superior in text to Cod. 48, but much in a later hand.

*†50. Typograph. Synod. 12 (Mt. H) [VIII?] fol. A very valuable copy, whose date Matthæi seems to have placed unreasonably high.

*51. Typograph. Syn. 9 (Mt. t) [XVI] 4°, *chart.*

*52. (Apost. 16) Synod. 266 (Mt. ξ) [XIV] 4°, contains a Euchology and *ἀποστολοευαγγέλια* (*see* p. 71), as also do 53, 54, 55.

*53. (Apost. 17). Synod. 267 (Mt. χ) [XIV or XV] 4°, *chart.*, from the monastery of Simenus on Athos.

*54. (Apost. 18). Synod. 268 (Mt. ψ) [written A.D. 1470, by Dometius, a monk] 4°, *chart.*, from the Batopedion monastery on Athos.

*55. (Apost. 19). Typogr. Syn. 47 (Mt. ω) [the Apost. copied at Venice 1602] 4°, *chart.*, wretchedly written.

*56. (Apost. 20). Typogr. Syn. 9 (Mt. 16) [XV or XVI] 16°, *chart.*, fragments of little value.

*57. Dresdensis 232 (Mt. 19) [XV] 8°, *chart.*, came from Italy, and, like Apoc. 32, once belonged to Loescher, then to the Count de Brühl. It is a Euchology, or Greek Service Book (Suicer, *Thesaur.*

Ecclesiast. i. p. 1287), on 344 leaves, described in Matthæi, Appendix to S. John's Gospel, p. 378.

Codd. 58—157 were added to the list by Scholz, who professes to have collated entire Cod. 60; in the greater part Codd. 81, 86.

58. Paris Reg. 50 a [xv] 4°, *chart.*, brought from some church in Greece.

59. Reg. 100 A [xvii] fol., *chart.* This is Evan. 289, repeated in error (Burgon). Hort's 59 is x^m (see p. 294).

*60. (Apost. 12). Reg. 375, once Colbert's, formerly De Thou's [written A.D. 1022 by Helias, a priest and monk, "in castro de Colonia," for the use of the French monastery of S. Denys] 8°; it contains many valuable readings (akin to those of Codd. ADE), but numerous errors.

†61. Reg. 182 [x] 4°, a fragment.

62. Reg. 194 A [xi?] fol. This is Evan. 303, repeated in error (Burgon).

†63. Reg. 277 [ix] fol., *mut.* at the beginning and end.

†64. Reg. 281 [ix] fol., from Constantinople; many leaves are torn.

†65. Reg. 282 [ix] fol., a palimpsest, with a Church-service in later writing [xiii].

†66. Reg. 283 [ix] fol., also a palimpsest, with the older writing of course misplaced; the later (*mut.* in fine) a Church-service [xiii].

†67. Reg. 284 [xi] fol., "optimæ notæ," with musical notes, &c.

68. Reg. 285, once Colbert's [xi] fol., *mut.* initio et fine.

69. Reg. 286 [xi] fol., *mut.* in fine.

70. Reg. 288 [xi] fol., brought from the East in 1669. A few leaves at the beginning and end later, *chart.*

71. Reg. 289, once Colbert's [written July 1066 by John, a priest, for George, a monk] fol., *mut.*, partly on vellum, partly on cotton paper.

72. Reg. 290 [written by Nicolas, 1257] fol. To this codex is appended

†72 b, three uncial leaves [ix] containing John v. 1—11; vi. 61—69; vii. 1—15.

73. Reg. 291 [xii] fol., *mut.*

74. Reg. 292, once Mazarin's [xii] fol.

75. Reg. 293, from the East [xii] fol.

76. Reg. 295, once Colbert's [xii] fol., *mut.*

77. Reg. 296 [xii] fol., from Constantinople.

78. Reg. 298, once Colbert's [xii] fol., *mut.* Some hiatus are supplied later on cotton paper.

79. Reg. 299 [xii] fol., *mut.* initio et fine.
80. Reg. 300 [xii] fol.
81. Reg. 305 [xiii] fol., perhaps written in Egypt. Some passages supplied [xv] on cotton paper.
82. (Apost. 31). Reg. 276 [xv] fol., *chart.*, with lessons from the Prophets.
83. (Apost. 21). Reg. 294 [xi] fol.
84. (Apost. 9) Reg. 32 a, and
85. (Apost. 10) Reg. 33 a, both [xii] fol., have lessons from the Old and New Testament.
86. Reg. 311 [written July 1336, Indict. 4, by Charito] fol., given by the monk Ignatius to the monastery τῶν ὁδηγῶν or Θεοτόκου at Constantinople (*see* Act. 169): afterwards it was Boistaller's, and is described by Montfaucon. John vii. 53—viii. 11 is at the end, obelized, and not appointed for any day, since the names of Pelagia or Theodora (*see* p. 85 and notes 2, 3) are not in the menology of this copy.
87. Reg. 313, once Colbert's (as were 88—91; 99—101), [xiv] fol.
88. Reg. 314 [xiv] fol. Many verses are omitted, and the arrangement of the lessons is a little unusual.
89. Reg. 316 [xiv] fol., on cotton paper, *mut.* in fine.
90. Reg. 317 [written by Stephen, a reader, A.D. 1533. Indict. 6], fol., *chart.*
91. Reg. 318 [xi] fol., a subscription, &c., written in Cyprus by the monk Leontius 1553 (Montfaucon. *Palæogr. Græc.* p. 89).
92. (Apost. 35). Reg. 324 [xiii] 4°, on cotton paper, with fragments of the Liturgy of S. Basil.
93. (Apost. 36). Reg. 326 [xiv] 4°, *chart.*, with the Liturgies of SS. Chrysostom and Basil.
94. (Apost. 29). Reg. 330 [xiii] 4°, *mut.*, with a Euchology and part of a Church-service in a later hand [xv].
95. Reg. 374 [xiv] 4°, from Constantinople.
96. Reg. 115° [xii] 4°, *chart.*, *mut.*, initio et fine.
97. (= Evan. 324, Apost. 32) Reg. 376, only the εὐαγγέλια τῶν παθῶν (*see* p. 82).
98. Reg. 377, once Mazarin's [xiii] 4°, portions are palimpsest, and the older writing seems to belong to an Evangelistarium.
99. Reg. 380 [xv] 4°, *chart.* Wrongly set down as Evan. 327.
100. Reg. 381 [written A.D. 1550 at Iconium by Michael Maurice] 4°, *chart.* Wrongly set down as Evan. 328.

101. Reg. 303 [XIII] fol., grandly written. Wrongly set down as Evan. 321.

102. Ambrosian. S. 62 *sup.*, at Milan [written Sept. 1381 by Stephen, a priest], fol., *chart.* (but with two leaves of parchment at the beginning, two at the end), bought at Taranto, 1606, *syn.*?, with "commentarii incerti auctoris in omnia Evangelia quæ per annum in Ecclesia Græca leguntur," according to Burgon.

103. Ambros. D. 67 *sup.* [XIII] 4°, *pict.*; bought 1606, "Corneliani in Salentiniis." See Apost. 46.

104. (Apost. 47). Ambros. D. 72 *sup.* [XII] 8°, *mut.* initio et fine: brought from Calabria, 1607.

105. Ambros. M. 81 *sup.* [XIII] 8°, carefully written, but the first 19 leaves [XVI] *chart.*

106. Ambros. C. 91 *sup.* [XIII] 4°, splendidly written in a large cursive hand. "Corcyræ emptus."

107. Venet. 548 (86 : 2) [XI] fol., *pict.*

108. Venet. 549 (86 : 5) [XI] a grand and gorgeous fol., *mut.* in fine.

109. Venet. 550 (86 : 7) [XI] 4°, (but [XIV] fol. Burgon), *pict.*, *chart.*

110. Venet. 551 (86 : 3) [XI] fol., a glorious codex, containing only the σαββαροκυριακαί (see Evst. 24): the last few leaves are ancient, although supplied on paper.

†111. Mutinensis 27 or [73] ii. C. 6, at Modena [x], small thick folio in one column on a page (see p. 280). Montfaucon assigns it to the eighth century, and Burgon admits that he might have done so too, but that it contains in the menology (Dec. 16) the name of Queen Theophano, who died A. D. 892.

112. (Apost. 48). Erase this copy. Scholz only means Apost. 4, which is Badia 2742 at Florence (Burgon).

113. Laurent. vi. 2 [foll. 1—213, XII; the rest written by one George, XIV] fol. Prefixed are verses of Arsenius, Archbishop of Monembasia (see Evan. 333), addressed to Clement VII. (1523—34).

114. Laurent. vi. 7 [XII] fol., magnificently illuminated.

†115. Laurent. vi. 21 [XI] 4°, elegantly written.

†116. Laurent. vi. 31 [x] fol., elegant, with musical notes *rubro*: *facsimile* in Silvestre, *Puléogr. Univ.* No. 73.

117. Laurent. 244 [XII] fol., most beautifully written in golden cursive letters, *pict.*, once kept among the choicest κειμήλια of the Grand Ducal Palace. See above, Evst. 38, 39.

†118. Laurent. 243, kept in a chest for special preservation [XI or XII] fol., most elegant. Codd. 113—8 were described by Canon Angelo Bandini, 1787.

119. Vat. 1155 [xiii] fol. 120. Vat. 1256 [xiii] fol.
 121. Vat. 1157 [xiii] fol., very splendid.
 122. Vat. 1168 [dated August 1175, Indict. 12: but the proper Indiction is 8] 4°, written by the monk Germanus for the monk Theodoret.
 †123. Vat. 1522 [ix or x] 4°, *pict.*, very correctly written, without points. This copy and the next four are described with *facsimiles* by Bianchini, *Evan. Quadr.*, Vol. II. Pt. 1, pp. 504, 518, 517, 503 and 524.
 124. Vat. 1988, Basil. 27 [xi or xiii] 4°, *mut.* initio et fine.
 125. Vat. 2017, Basil. 56 [xi or xii] 4°, with a subscription dated 1346, and a memorandum of the death (12 Oct. 1345) and burial of one Constantia.
 126. Vat. 2041, Basil. 80 [xi or xii] fol., written by one George; *δὲ ἀ συνδρομῆς γεωργίου*, whatever *συνδρομή* may mean.
 †127. Vat. 2063, Basil. 102 [ix] 4°, of 178 leaves, *mut.* initio et fine. The first two leaves of the festival-lessons [xiv]. Two not contemporaneous hands have been engaged upon this copy.
 128. Vat. 2133 [xiv] 4°. 129. Alexandrino-Vat. (Queen Christina's) 12 [xiii] 4°. Foll. 1—40 appear to have been written in France, and have an unusual text: foll. 41—220 [xiii] are by another hand: the other 71 leaves to the end [xv].
 †130. Vat. Ottobon. 2 [ix] fol., very beautiful.
 131. Vat. Ottob. 175 [xiv] 4°, a fragment.
 132. Vat. Ottob. 326 [xv] 4°, in silver letters. Procured at Rome, Sept. 11, 1590, "a Francisco et Accida" of Messina, and given to Cardinal Sirlet (*see* *Evan.* 373, *Apoc.* 79).
 133. (Apost. 39). Vat. Ottob. 416 [xv] 8°, *chart.*
 134. Barberin. 15 [xiii] fol., the first eight and last three leaves being paper.
 †135. Barber. 16, a palimpsest [vi, Scholz] 4°, is Tischendorf's *barb^v*, and by him referred to the middle of the 7th century, which is a somewhat earlier date than has hitherto been assigned to Lectionaries (*see above*, p. 72). He has given specimens of its readings in *Monum. sacr. ined.* Vol. I. pp. 207—210 (Matth. xxiv. 34—xxv. 16; John xix. 11—25).
 136. Barber. 16 [xii], the later writing of the palimpsest Cod. 135.
 137. Vallicellian. D. 63, once Peter Polidore's [xii] 4°, *mut.* initio.
 138. Neapol. I. B. 14 [xv] fol., *chart.*, given by Christopher Paleologus, May 7, 1584, to the Church of SS. Peter and Paul at Naples.

†139. Venet. 12 (86: 2) [x] fol., *mut.* initio, with many erasures.

140. Venet. 626 [XIII] 4°, *chart.*, of Scholz has no existence (Burgon).

141. Venet. I. ix (86: 7), Nanian. 2 [xi] large 4°, "Monasterii Divæ Catharinæ Sinaitarum quod extat Zacynthi."

142. Venet. I. xxiii (86: 6), Nanian. 16 [xiv] 8°, *mut.*, only 45 pages, with one column on a page (*see* p. 280).

143. Erase: it is Evan. 468, Venet. I. lvi., *see* p. 226.

†144. Cod. Biblio. Malatestianæ of Cesena xxvii. 4, now at Rome [x or xii] fol., very splendid.

145. Cod. xxix. 2, of the same library [xii] fol.

146. Cambridge University Libr. Dd. viii. 23 [xi] 4°, neatly written for a church at Constantinople.

147. Mus. Brit. Harleian. 2970 [xi] 4°.

148. Harl. 2994 [xi] 4°. 149. Harl. 5538 [xiv].

Codd. 147—9 should be erased; 147, 148 being in *Latin*, and 149 already described (Evan. 567) as a manuscript of the Gospels in their proper order.

*†150. Harl. 5598 [written by Constantine, a priest, May 27, 995. Indict. 8] fol., is Scrivener's H, and described in *Cod. Augiensis*, Introd. pp. xlvii—1: for an alphabet formed from it *see* our Plate III. No. 7. It was brought from Constantinople by Dr John Covell, in 1677 (*see above*, Cod. 65, p. 189), and by him shewn to Mill (*N. T.*, Proleg. § 1426); from Covell it seems to have been purchased (together with his other copies) by Harley, Earl of Oxford. It is a most splendid specimen of the uncial class of Evangelistaria, and its text presents many instructive variations. At the end are several lessons for special occasions, which are not often met with. Collated also by (Bloomfield), and *facsimiles* given by the Palæographical Society, Plates 26, 27.

151. Harl. 5785 [xii] fol., a splendid copy, in large, bold, cursive letters, with musical notes in red, and ornaments in gold. At the end is a note, written at Rome in 1699, by L. A. Zacagni (*see* p. 106), certifying that the volume was then more than 700 years old. The date assigned above is more likely. Inspected by Bloomfield, as was also Cod. 152.

†152. Harl. 5787 [x] fol., the uncials leaning to the right, a fine copy, with small uncial notes, well meriting collation. Called "Codex Prusensis" [Prusa, near mount Olympus: *see* p. 289, note, Scholz's 171], in a MS. note of H. Wanley. It begins John xx. 20, and is *mut.* in some other parts. For a *facsimile* page *see* the new "Catalogue of Ancient MSS. in the British Museum" (1881), Plate 17.

153. Meermann. 117 [xi] 4°, bought at Meermann's sale by Payne, the bookseller, for £200. Its present owner is unknown. *See* pp. 198 note, 222, corrected p. 237 (Evan. 562).

154. Monacensis 326 or A. 20, once at Mannheim [XIII], a fine fol., written very small and neatly, containing the lessons from the season of Lent (*see* p. 82) to the month of December in the menology (*see* p. 85). It seems adapted to the Constantinopolitan use.

†155. Cæsar-Vindobon. Nessel. 209, Lambec. 41 [x] 4°, a palimpsest, over which is written a commentary on S. Matthew [xiv].

156. Rom. Vallicellian. D. 4. 1 [xi] fol., of 380 leaves, described by Bianchini, *Evan. Quadr.*, Vol. II., Pt. 1. p. 537; now missing. It must have been a superb specimen of ancient art: about thirty of its pictures are enumerated.

157. Bodleian., Clarke 8 [XIII] 4°, *σαββατοκτυριακαί* (*see* Evst. 24), *mut. initio et fine*¹.

To Dean Burgon's care and industry we owe Codd. 158—178; 181—187.

158. At Paris: Supplement. Gr. 27 [xi] a grand folio, beautifully illuminated: "Present de Mr Desalleurs, ambassadeur pour le roy en 1753, remis par ordre de Mr le Cte. d'Argenson le 7 Juillet, 1753."

159. Suppl. Gr. 242 [xv], large folio, *chart.*, peculiarly bound, with oriental pictures.

160. At Bologna: Royal Library, a grand folio, written by one Anthimus. This is No. xviii in Talman's and in J. S. Assemani's manuscript Catalogue, No. 25 in Mezzofanti's Index.

161. At Parma: National Library No. 14 [xiv] *mut.* Contains the Gospel for St Pelagia's day (*see* p. 85, and note 3).

162. At Siena: Biblioteca Communale, one of the most splendid Service-books in the world, 12 inches by 14½, the first five columns

¹ As with the MSS. of the Gospels, and for the reasons assigned above (p. 224), we remove to the foot of the page, and do not reckon in our numbering, the twenty-one copies seen by Scholz in Eastern Libraries.

158. Library of the Great Greek Monastery at Jerusalem, No. 10 [xiv] fol.

159. "Biblioth. monasterii virginum τῆς μεγάλης παραγίας a S. Melana erect." [xiii] fol., very neat ("non sec. VIII. ut monachi putant" Scholz).

160. (Apost. 33) S. Saba 4, written there by one Antony [xiv] 8°.

161. S. Saba 5 [xv] 8°, *chart.* 162. S. Saba 6 [xv] 16°, *chart.*

163. S. Saba 13 [xiii] 4°, *chart.*, adapted (as also those that follow) to the use of Palestine. 164. S. Saba [xiv] 4°.

165. S. Saba 17 [xv] 4°, *chart.* 166. S. Saba 21 [xiii] fol.

167. S. Saba 22 [xiv] fol. 168. S. Saba 23 [xiii] fol.

169. S. Saba 24 [xiii] fol. 170. S. Saba 25 [xiii] fol.

171. (Apost. 52) S. Saba (unnumbered) [written July 1059, in the monastery of *Θεοβάτος*, by Sergius, a monk of Olympus in Bithynia] 8°.

†172. Library of St John's monastery at Patmos ["iv" Scholz, obviously a misprint] fol. †173. Patmos [ix] 4°. †174. Patm. [x] 4°.

†175. Patm. [x] 4°. 176. Patm. [xii] 4°. 177. Patm. [xiii] 4°.

178. Patm. [xiv] 4°, in the same Library, but not numbered.

in gold, the covers enriched with sumptuous silver enamels and graceful scroll-work. Bought at Venice in 1359 by Andrea di Grazia for the Hospital of S. Maria della Scala, of P. di Giunta Torregiani, a Florentine merchant, who a little before had bought it at Constantinople of the agent of the Emperor John Cantacuzenus [1341—55].

163. At Milan: †Ambros. L. 79 *sup.* a single uncial page of a 4° "Lectionary."

164. Ambros. E S. iv. 14, two separate fragments, one being fol., in two columns, roughly written.

165—9. Also five which appear in the Library Catalogue, but were not inspected: viz. E S. iii. 13; D. 108 *sup.*; A. 152 *sup.*; C. 160 *sup.*; P. 274 *sup.*

Besides examining the eight Evangelistaria at S. Mark's, Venice, described in the preceding catalogue (Evs. 107—10; 139—42), Burgon found, exclusive of Cod. 175, eight more: viz.

170. (1) Venet. I. iv (86: 6) [dated A.D. 1381] 4°, *chart.*, rather barbarously written by the priest John.

†171. (2) Venet. I. XLV (86: 3), Nanian. 164, very old uncial, *mut.* initio.

172. (3) Venet. I. XLVI (86: 7), Nanian. 165, fifty rough leaves.

173. (4) Venet. I. XLVII (86: 3), Nanian. 166 [dated A.D. 1046¹], a grand cursive folio, sumptuously adorned.

174. (5) Venet. I. XLVIII (86: 7), Nanian. 169, fine old 4°, with unusual contents.

*†175. ven^o. Venet. I. 49 (86: 7), Nanian. 171, three nearly illegible palimpsest leaves (edited by Tischendorf in *Monum. sacr. ined.*, Vol. I. pp. 199, &c.), assigned to the end of the seventh or the eighth century (*see* Cod. 135, p. 287), containing Matth. viii. 32—ix. 1; 9—13; John ii. 15—22; iii. 22—26; vi. 16—26; or 27 verses.

176. (6) Venet. I. L (86: 7), Nanian. 184 [xv ?] *chart.*

177. (7) Venet. I. LI (86: 1), Nanian. 222 [xv] 8°, *chart.*, eleven poor leaves.

178. (8) Venet. I. LII (86: 7), Nanian. 223, *chart.*, from Corfu, with only one column on a page (*see* p. 280).

¹ At the end in small gold uncials the following very curious colophon was deciphered by Dean Burgon and the learned sub-librarian Signor Veludo jointly: *Μηνι ματω 'Ινδ. ΙΑ. έτους 5 φνδ'. προσηνέχθη παρά βασιλεου μοναχου πρεσβυτέρου και ήγουμένου της σεβασμίας μονής της κοιμήσεως της θεκου εις την αυτην μονην βιβλια τέσσαρα· τὸ αὐτὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ἀπόστολοι, προφητεία, και ἀναγνωστικόν, ὁ βίος τοῦ ἁγίου. και ἐστύχηται διδωσθαι ὑπὲρ της αὐτης προσενέξαιως ἐνι ἐκάστῳ χρόνῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ δοχέλου της αὐτης μονής ὑπὲρ μνήμης αὐτ νόμισμα ἐν ἡμῶσον, μέχ[ρι γὰρ τοῦ]του τὰ τῶν χριστιανῶν [συ]νίσταται· περιφυλάττεται δὲ και ἡ ἅγια μονή αὐτή· ἐν γὰρ τῷ τυπικῷ της μονής περὶ τοῦ κατίδους (sic) τῶν αὐτης βιβλίων, και περὶ της διανομής τοῦ ἐνὸς ἡμῶσον νομίσματος σαφέστερον διερμηνεύει.*

*†179. (Apost. 55) Cod. Trevirensis, in the Cathedral Library of Trèves [x or xi] 4°, called S. Simeon's, and brought by him from Syria in the 11th century, consists chiefly of lessons from the Old Testament. It contains many itacisms and some unusual readings. Edited in 1834 by B. M. Steininger in his "Codex S. Simeonis exhibens lect. eccl. gr. dccc ann. vetustate insigne."

†180. Cæsar.-Vindob. ccix [ix] 4°, a palimpsest, with many itacisms (Scholz, Endlicher). Readings are given by Scholz (*N. T.* Vol. II. pp. lv—lxiii).

In the Treasury of the Church of S. Mark at Venice Burgon found, besides those named on p. 290, three others, nearly ruined by the damp of the place where they are kept.

181. (1) Venet. Thesaur. I. 53 [xiii] splendidly illuminated and bound in silver and enamel. Substitute this for Wake 12 (= *Evan.* 492), inserted in error as *Evst.* 181.

182. (2) Venet. Thesaur. I. 54 [xii], once a fine codex, now tied up in a parcel by itself.

183. (3) Venet. Thesaur. I. 55 [written by Sophronius at Ferrara, A.D. 1439] fol., *chart.*, poor enough inside, but kept in a glass case for the sake of its gorgeous silver cover, which came from S. Sophia's at Constantinople.

In the Chancery of the small neighbouring Church of S. Giorgio di Greco are three folios bound in red velvet, and in excellent preservation.

184. [xiv] is very splendidly illuminated, and was once used for the *Greek* service of this Church.

185. Professes to be written by Νικολαος ὁ Μαλω^{ος}, πρωτέδικος τῆς ἀγιωτάτης μητροπόλεως Λακεδαίμονι. It seems to have been brought hither A.D. 1422.

186. [xiii] is the largest, but contains only σαββατοκυριακαί (*see Evst.* 24).

187. At Florence is Laurent. Prædicat. S. Marci 706, 4°, cursive, much used.

188. Alex.-Vat. 33 [x or xi], a fine specimen, for which see Bianchini (*Evan. Quadr.*, Vol. II., Pt. I., p. 492), who gives also a *facsimile*, No. xiv.

†189. carp^m. at Carpentras [ix], examined by Tischendorf in 1843, in consequence of Haenel's assigning it to the 6th century. Extracts are given in his *Anecd. sacr. et prof.*, pp. 151, &c.

†190. tisch^m. Tischendorf. v. in the University Library at Leipsic [viii or ix], a palimpsest, described *Anecd. sacr. et prof.*, pp. 29, &c. [Tischendorf's tubing^m. is described under Cod. R, p. 139, and Bandur^m. under Cod. O, p. 137].

†191. Petrop^o. [ix] 69 leaves 4°, ill written, but with a remarkable text; the date being tolerably fixed by Arabic matter decidedly more modern, written 401 and 425 of the Hégira (i. e. about A. D. 1011 and 1035) respecting the birth and baptism of the two Holy infants. There are but 10 lessons from S. Matthew, and 19 from other parts of the New Testament, enumerated by Tischendorf in *Notitia Cod. Sinaitici*, p. 54. This copy contains the two leaves on cotton paper, with writing by the first hand, mentioned above, p. 23, note.

†192. (Apost. 73) Petrop^o.², a fragment of 93 leaves [xi or xii] 4°. Tischendorf, *Notitia Cod. Sinaitici*, p. 63.

193. Besançon 44 [?] 4°, 210 leaves, rubricated (M. Castan, the Librarian, to Burgon).

Next follow the five Lectionaries of E. de Muralt (*see above*, p. 226).

194. 1^o (Petrop. iv. 13) [ix], some fragments of Evangelistaria: Matth. viii. 10—13; xxvii. 1—9; Mark vi. 14—18; Luke iv. 33—36.

195. 3^o. Lectionary of the Gospels (Petrop. vii. 179) [x] and (Apost. 54) Praxapostolos (Petrop. viii. 80), "cum Codice G. [Angelico] consentiens exc. Act. xxvii. 29; xxviii. 2."

196. 6^o (Petrop. x. 180) [*dated* Salernum, 1022].

197. 9^o (Petrop. xi. 3. 181) [xiii], fragments: Matth. xxviii. 12—18; Luke iv. 16—22; John x. 9—14; xix. 6, 9—11; 14—19, 20; 25—28; 30—35.

198. 10^o. Panticapæense [of Kertch?], Palæologi, collated at Odessa, and the collation sent to Muralt.

199. Fragments of two leaves [ix], with musical notes in red, bound up in Evan. 68. *See* p. 190.

200. The cursive lessons which overlies the uncial fragment of S. Luke (Ξ). *See* p. 155.

†201. Barocc. 197 [x], five uncial palimpsest leaves, in two columns (*see* p. 280), used for binding.

†202. Bodleian. Canonici Gr. 85 (*see* p. 227) [ix] 4°, much *mut*. The uncials lean a little to the left.

†203. *Ibid.* 92 [x] large folio, very splendid, with gilt initial letters.

204. *Ibid.* 119 [xv] fol., *chart.*, on 155 leaves, belonging in 1626 to Nicolas, a priest.

205. *Ibid.* 126, eight leaves of an Evangelistarium.

In E. D. Clarke's collection are four besides Evst. Cod. 157 of Scholz.

206. Bodl. Clarke 45 [xii] large 4°; splendid but spoiled by damp, with musical notes and bold initial letters *rubro*.

207. *Ibid.* 46 [XIII] large 4°, *mut.* initio et fine. "A fine ruin, miserably cropped by the modern binder: the writing is very dissimilar in parts" (Burgon).

208. *Ibid.* 47 [XII] 4°, with musical notes *rubro*: much like Evst. 206.

209. *Ibid.* 48 [XIII] 4°, carelessly and ill written: *mut.* initio.

The following are also in the Bodleian:

210. Cromwell 27 [XI] fol., from Athos 1727, once Irene's *Men.*

211. Miscell. 119, Auct. F. 6. 25 [A.D. 1067] 4°, once belonged to Constantine Ducas βασιλεύς. It is carelessly written, and is preceded by

†One uncial palimpsest leaf, containing parts of Rom. xiv., Hebr. i. This volume was bought of Payne and Foss, London, in 1820.

212. Miscell. 140, Rawl. Auct. G. 2 [XI] small 4°, a very beautiful copy, one volume only out of a set of four. Evst. 210—2 have musical notes *rubro*.

Eight of the Wake manuscripts at Christ Church, Oxford (*see* p. 228) are Evangelistaria.

†213. No. 13 contains three uncial leaves [IX], the rest cursive [XI], in a very large, bold, peculiar hand. Two palimpsest leaves at the end have the older writing cursive. A table of lessons is in the hand-writing of the venerated Dr Burton, formerly Regius Professor of Divinity.

214. No. 14 [XII] fol., with one leaf *chart.*, and two leaves at the beginning and end from the Old Testament, 3 (1) Kings xvii. 12, &c.

215. No. 15 [*dated* 1068] 4°, the first and last leaves being earlier.

216. No. 16 [XIII] 4°, *mut.* initio et fine. There are musical notes *rubro*: so also in Evst. 219, 220.

217. No. 17 [XIII or XIV] 4°, *mut.* in fine. Fifteen leaves are supplied *chart.*

218. No. 18 [XII] fol., ill written. The first leaf contains the history of S. Varus and six martyrs. This is Walker's E (*see* p. 230): his H is

219. No. 19 [XI] 4°. Of this codex the 9th leaf is wanting.

220. No. 23 [XI?] fol., an elegant copy.

*221. Trin. Coll. Cambridge, O. iv. 22, once Dean Gale's (*see* Evan. 66) [XII] fol., in a bold hand, with illuminations and red musical notes. There are daily lessons from Easter to Pentecost, but afterwards only σαββατοκυριακαί (*see* Evst. 24), with full Saints' day lessons.

*222 or z^{ms}. Christ's College, Cambridge, F. 1. 8 [XI] fol., is much fuller than most Lectionaries, and contains many minute variations and interesting readings¹: it exhibits a subscription dated 1261, Indict. 4, much later than the codex, and a note stating that Francis Talyer, Preacher at Christ's Church, Canterbury [the Cathedral], gave it to the College in 1654. There are also 4 lessons from the prophets, and 4 from S. Paul (Apost. 53). A *facsimile* is given *Cod. Augiens.* Introd. p. lii. This is Hort's 59.

The next four were collated by Dr Bloomfield for his "Critical Annotations on the Sacred Text," *see* p. 241):

223. Lambeth Archiepiscopal Library 1187 [XIII] 4°.

224. Lambeth 1188 [XIII] 4°, judged by Bloomfield to be the fullest and most accurate here, or at the British Museum.

225. Lambeth 1189 [XIII] 4°.

226. Lambeth 1193 4°, *mut.* at the end. Bloomfield assigns this to [IX], but Archdeacon Todd, in his (undated) "Account of Greek Manuscripts, &c." at Lambeth, sets it down as [XIII].

In the Library of Sion College in the city of London (*see* p. 232) we have

227. Arc. I. 1 [XII] 4°, 194 leaves of *σαββατοκυριακαί* (*see* Evst. 24), a noble copy, one leaf (149) being much mutilated, one leaf in later writing [XVI], and perhaps one leaf lost at the end: otherwise complete, with fair illuminations and red musical notes. For its history *see* Evan. 518, as also that of

228. Arc. I. 2 [XIV] 4°, on 143 leaves of thick vellum, imperfect, with red musical notes and slight illuminations, some cut out. It begins at the lesson for the 3rd day of the second week (John iii. 19) and ends at Mark vi. 19, in the lesson for Aug. 29. Two leaves are on paper, not much later than the rest. There is a lesson for Aug. 1, not very common, *τῶν ἁγίων μακκαβαίων*, Matth. x. 16, &c.

229. Arc. I. 4 [XIV] 4°, 217 leaves, with slight illuminations and red musical notes, is complete up to the lesson for July 20 (Elijah), Luke iv. 22, broken off at *οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν* ver. 27. On the fly leaf we read *Τὸ παρὸν θύον καὶ ἱερὸν εὐαγγέλιον ὑπάρχει κτήμα τοῦ θήου καὶ ἁγίου ναοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου καὶ εὐαγγελιστοῦ μάρκου καὶ εἰ τῆς ἀποξένοι αὐτὸ ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ ἔχαιτο τῷ ἐπιτίμω[-ίω?] τῶν ἁγ. πρων*, with the date of α.χ.ιθ (1619).

At Glasgow, as verified by Professor Dickson's kindness (*see* p. 232).

230. Hunterian Museum Q. 3. 2 [?]

231. *ibid.* Q. 3. 3 [?]

232. (Apost. 44) *ibid.* Q. 3. 4, perhaps [XI], *see below*, p. 303.

¹ Thus 222, with only two other Evangelistaria (6. 13) and Evan. 59 by the first hand, supports Cod. N and Eusebius in the significant omission of *υἱοῦ βαραχίου* Matth. xxiii. 85.

There are four Evangelistaria at Parham (*see* p. 234), the first two collated by Scrivener :

*†233. P^{scr}. Parham 66. 1 [ix], three folio leaves from the monastery of Docheirou on Athos, containing the 33 verses, Matth. i. 1—11; 11—22; vii. 7, 8; Mark ix. 41; xi. 22—26; Luke ix. 1—4.

*†234. P^{scr}. (pa^{scr} in Tischendorf's N. T.) Parham 83. 18, belonged to the late Lord de la Zouche, who brought it from Caracalla on Athos in 1837 (*see* p. 234) [dated June 980, Indict. 8] fol., beautifully written at Cisciassa, in Cappadocia Prima; a note dated 1049 is subjoined by a reviser, who perhaps made the numerous changes in the text, and added two lessons in cursive letters. Our *facsimile* is Plate XIII, No. 36. For Evst. 233—4, *see* *Cod. Augiens.* Introd. pp. 1—lv.

235. Parham 84. 19, "the right royal codex," partly written in gold, perhaps by the Emperor Alexius Comnenus (1081—1118).

236. Parham 85. 20 [xii] fol., brought from S. Saba in 1834, must be on Scholz's list (*see* p. 289, note).

237. Ashburnham 205 [xii] 4°, 127 leaves, roughly executed and apparently made up of several copies: seen by Coxe and Burgon. Loose in the book is

238. Ashburnham 205* [xiii], 9 leaves, the fragment of a menology. These were purchased by the late Earl of Ashburnham at the sale of the library of "Athenian Aberdeen," who brought them from Greece.

The collection of the Baroness Burdett-Coutts (*see* p. 235) supplies :

239. B-C. I. 2. A fragment of 173 leaves [xiii] large 4°, one being on paper [xv] and 30 leaves palimpsest; having under the Church-lessons, in leaning uncials of two columns [viii or ix], fragments of legends relating to Saints in the menology, including the Apocryphal ἀποδημία of Barnabas. *Pict.*, capitals in red ink.

240. B-C. I. 8 [xiii] small 4°, is also a palimpsest, with uncial writing in two columns (almost illegible) under the later Church-lessons on the last leaf and the 3rd, 4th, 5th and 7th leaves from the end: *mut.* at the 13th Sunday of S. Matthew, and ends in the 10th εὐαγγέλιον ἀναστασιμῶν John xxi. 3 (ἐνέβησαν).

241. B-C. I. 23 [xiii] 4, a poor copy, with illuminations, the last leaf only being lost.

242. B-C. I. 24 [xiv] large 4°, *chart.*, complete, but the first leaf in a later hand.

243. B-C. II. 5 [xi or xii] large 4°, a fine copy, with headings, &c. in gold, and red musical or tone notes. Begins John i. 17, thence complete to the lesson εἰς ἐπινίκια βασιλείων. At the end are nine later leaves.

244. B-C. II. 23 [XIII], with only one column on a page (*see* p. 280). Ends Luke ii. 59.

245. B-C. II. 30 [XIV] fol., on glazed paper, complete. Titles and capitals in red. *Syn.* on a leaf of the binding.

246. B-C. III. 21 [XIII] a noble folio, with illuminations. Ends in the lesson for Aug. 29, Mark vi. 22.

247. B-C. III. 34 [XIII], neat and complete. A colophon states the scribe to be Romanus, a priest.

248. B-C. III. 43 [*dated* April 28, 1437, Ind. 15] 4°, *chart.*

[B-C. III. 44 is Evst. 289, described below, Apost. 78].

249. B-C. III. 46 [XIII or XIV] 4°, *mut.* in the beginning of the Saints' Day lessons: 15 leaves are palimpsest, over writing full two centuries earlier, containing in double columns lessons of the Septuagint from Genesis, Proverbs, and Isaiah. The other 205 leaves have only one column on a page (*see* p. 280).

250. B-C. III. 52 [XIII] large 4°, *chart.* is but a fragment.

The following are Euchologies (*see* Evst. 57), and are repeated among the Lectionaries of the Apostolos :

251. (Apost. 64) B-C. I. 10 [XII] 12°, wherein to the ordinary contents of a Euchology, and the Liturgies of SS. Chrysostom and Basil, are annexed Church lessons in a cramped and apparently later hand.

252. (Apost. 66) B-C. III. 29 [XIV] small folio, on coarse paper, lessons both from the Gospels and Epistles.

253. (Apost. 67) B-C. III. 42 [XIV], with the Liturgies as in Evst. 251, and much matter in various hands, has 15 lessons from the Gospels, Acts and Epistles, and 3 from Isaiah.

253*. (Apost. 68) B-C. III. 53 [XV] 8°, *chart., men., mut.*, rudely written with capitals in red.

254. John Ruskin's codex [XIII or XIV] 4°, *mut.*, but well repaired.

255. Woodhouse 28 [XIII] small 4°, 157 pages, a palimpsest, *mut.* at the beginning (32 leaves) and end, rather rudely written in single columns (*see* p. 280), on coarse parchment, with vermilion ornamentation. It abounds in uncouth *itacisms* (*see* p. 10). After Mr Woodhouse's death (*see* p. 238) it belonged to Aldermann Bragge from 1869 to 1876: it is now possessed by the Rev. W. F. Rose.

We now come to the British Museum, which contains thirty copies unknown to Scholz in 1830.

256. B. M. Arundel 536: *see above* Evan. 566, p. 238, [XIII] fol., 217 leaves of stout vellum, in one column, with musical notes.

*†257. B. M. Arundel 547, is x^{xxx} [IX] 4°, *mut.* at the end, but followed by a leaf in a rather later hand, containing John viii. 12—19; 21—23. *See* our *facsimile*, Plate VI. No. 16. A collation by

Bentley is preserved at Trinity College (B. xvii. 8). This is Hort's Cod. 38.

258. (Apost. 53). B. M. Harl. 5561 [xiv] 8°, is a Euchology (*see* Evst. 57) of 194 leaves of vellum, and 82 [xv] *chart.*, containing many short lessons from the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles.

259. B. M. Burney 22, is *y^m* [dated A. D. 1319; *see facsimile*, Plate XIII, No. 37, and pp. 41, 42 and note 1] fol., remarkable for its wide departures from the received text, and for that reason often cited by Tischendorf and Alford on the Gospels. *See also* Westcott in *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, 'New Testament.' Part of the first leaf (John i. 11—13) is on paper and later: Evst. 257, 259 are described in Scrivener's *Collations of the Holy Gospels*, Introd. pp. lix—lxiii. Like Evst. 23 it once was D'Eon's. This is Hort's Cod. 39.

260. B. M. Addit. 5153 [dated 1032] 4°, bound in two volumes, *mut.* and damaged, having red musical notes, and leaves supplied both on vellum and paper (Bloomfield).

261. B. M. 11840 [xi or xii] 4°, *mut.*, from Bp. Butler's collection, with musical notes, a very fine specimen, on 236 leaves (Bloomfield).

262. B. M. Addit. 17370 [xi], three leaves: one in double columns (Matth. vi. 14—21), two in single columns [xiii?] Luke xxiv. 25—35; John i. 35—51 (*see* p. 280). Sir F. Madden's note on the first fragment is "Presented by Mr Harris of Alexandria, June 28, 1848. A leaf of a Greek lectionary taken [by the Arabs deleted] out of a volume which afterwards fell into the hands of Gen. Menou.

263. B. M. Addit. 18212 [xii] 4°, on 297 leaves, much *mut.* at the end, with red musical notes, and an older leaf from the Old Testament prefixed (Bloomfield).

264. B. M. Addit. 19460 [xiii] 4°, on 104 pages, *mut.* at the beginning and end, in coarse and very unusual black writing (Bloomfield).

265. B. M. Addit. 19737 [xiii] fol., bought at Sotheby's 1854, 279 leaves, 12¾ inches by 9½. *Mut.* at the end, with illuminations, red musical notes, and frequent and beautiful gilt letters.

266. B. M. Addit. 19993 [dated 1335] 4°, 281 leaves, 10 inches by 17, *chart.*, in a single column on a page, in a bold hand and peculiar style. There is a *facsimile* page in the new "Catalogue of Ancient MSS." At the beginning is an Advertisement, signed G. Alefson, which ends literally thus: "Je l'ai acheté seulement pour le sauver des mains barbares qui allait le détruire intierement au prix de sch. 15 a Chypre, A. D. 1851." (Bloomfield).

267. B. M. Addit. 21260 [xiii] 4°, purchased of Messrs Boone in 1856, 360 leaves, with red musical notes, 12¾ inches by 10. *Mut.* at the end. The first 40 leaves of this splendid copy are injured by damp.

268. B. M. Addit. 21261 [XIII] 4°, 8 $\frac{2}{3}$ inches by 5 $\frac{1}{2}$, 196 leaves, written in a single column by various hands. Purchased of Mr H. Stevens, 1856.

269. B. M. Addit. 22735 [XIII] fol., 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 9 $\frac{1}{3}$, a fine, complete, and interesting codex of 297 leaves, bought (like Evan. 596, 597) of P. Lambros of Athens in 1859: as were also Evst. 270, 271, 272. Seven leaves of Patristic matter are bound up with it at the end.

270. B. M. Addit. 22742 [XIII] fol., 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 8 $\frac{1}{2}$: rather old and much mutilated throughout: 79 leaves, with red musical notes.

271. B. M. Addit. 22743 [XII?] large folio, 213 leaves, somewhat roughly executed, the capitals in red, the rubrical directions in dull brown ink, apparently written with a reed pen (*see* p. 26). *Mut.* The last leaf is a fragment of Chrysostom Hom. xlv. on Genesis.

Codd. 265, 269, 271 sometimes agree with each other in departing from the ordinary week-day Church lessons, and suggest, as Dean Burgon observes, some local fashion which is well worth investigating for textual purposes. The student will have noticed, in our Table of Lessons appended to Section I. of this Chapter (pp. 78—86), how often two other codices, Apost. 64, or B-C III. 24 and Evst. 253, or B-C III. 42, depart from the common use of Church lesson books, but only for the middle days of the week: not, it would seem, for Saturdays and Sundays.

272. B. M. Addit. 22744 [XIII] large 4°, 189 leaves, a beautiful copy, *mut.* at the beginning (to Sat. of 3rd week), the end, and elsewhere, 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches by 8 $\frac{1}{4}$, with red musical notes. See Evst. 269.

273. B. M. Addit. 24374 [XIII], a fragment of 90 leaves.

274. B. M. Addit. 24377 [XIV and XII] fol., 181 leaves, with musical notes in red, the first and some other leaves being lost; fol. 180, which is later, has palimpsest cursive writing under it.

275. B. M. Addit. 24378 [XIII] fol., part of a *Menseum*, in a small hand, written in a single column: imperfect and in bad condition.

276. B. M. Addit. 24379 [XIV] fol., 178 leaves, much *mut.* throughout, with liturgical headings and some crosses in red for stops.

277. B. M. Addit. 24380 [XIV] 4°, large, 125 leaves, with musical notes in red, *mut.* at beginning (to 6th day of 7th week) and end.

Codd. 273—277 were purchased of H. Stanhope Freeman in 1862, as was also Evan. 600.

278. B. M. Addit. 27860 [XI or XII] 4°, belonged to Sir F. Gage.

279. B. M. Addit. 28817 [*dated* 9 June 1185], clear, in fine condition and peculiar style. Like Evan. 603, bought in 1871 of Sir Ivor B. Guest, as was

280. B. M. Addit. 28818 [dated July 1272] large 8°, *chart.*, 119 damaged leaves, begins Jo. xvii. 20. The subscription states that it was written διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἀμαρτωλοῦ τολμῶ εἰπεῖν τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ μεταξάρη.

*281. B. M. Addit. 31208 [xiii] fol., bought of a dealer at Constantinople, cruelly mutilated (84 leaves out of 356 being missing), but once very fine. Collated by the Rev. W. F. Rose, who found it much to resemble Evst. 259 (γ^{sup}). Burgon gives a French version of an Armenian note, dated 908 of the Armenian era, or A. D. 1460, of no special interest.

The next three were sold this year (1882) from the Sunderland Library at Blenheim Palace, where Burgon and Rose had inspected them in 1875. See Evan. 523.

282. B. M. Addit. 31919, formerly Blenheim 3. D. 13, the eighth century palimpsest of the Gospels we have designated as Y (*see Addenda* at the end of our Preface), contains lessons from the Gospels [dated 1431] fol., written by Ignatius, Metropolitan of Selybria in Thrace, being the February portion of a Menæum.

283. B. M. Addit. 31920, formerly Blenheim 3. C. 14 [xi] 4°, containing only σαββατοκυριακαί (*see* Evst. 24), singularly unadorned, but very interesting and genuine.

284. B. M. Addit. 31921, formerly Blenheim 3. C. 13 [xii or xiii] 4°, with Church lessons for every day of the week. Several pages in a recent hand stand at the beginning: the first hand commences Matth. vi. 31.

285. B. M. Addit. 31949 [xiii] 4°, much dilapidated and *mut.*, was a gift to the Museum.

†286. The Golden Evangelistarium at S. Catharine's on Mount Sinai was seen in 1862 by Burgon, in 1864 by the Rev. E. M. Young, now Head Master of the King's School, Sherborne, and his friend, Mr Jo. Dury Geden, who published an account of their joint examination in the *Athenæum* of Nov. 12 and 19, 1864. It is said to be deteriorated by the promiscuous handling of strangers, although E. A. Sophocles tells us that local tradition absurdly assigns it to the Emperor Theodosius [d. 395¹] as the actual scribe. The book is written on about 200 leaves of fine vellum, in large and very beautiful Greek uncial letters, the pages measuring 11¼ inches by 8½, and is 3½ inches thick, in two columns, each containing about sixteen lines in a page. The volume opens with the Gospels for the first five days of Easter week, and which are followed by about 65 more from other parts of the yearly services, of which lessons Mr Geden gives a full list (*ubi supra*, p. 675). A specimen of the writing is given by Burgon in the *Guardian* of August 9, 1882, but though there are no spaces between the words, yet the frequent stops introduced; the breaking up of the text into short paragraphs, nearly corresponding to our modern verses and each beginning with a capital letter; above all, the complete system of breathings and accents, forbid our

¹ Unless, as Mr Geden suggests, Theodosius III (A. D. 716) be meant.

assigning it to an earlier date than the eighth century. This sumptuous volume, kept in the Archbishop's room and bound with silver-gilt plates and enamel ornaments, contains seven grand pictures of our Lord, the Blessed Virgin, S. Peter, and the four Evangelists. Will no traveller spend a useful fortnight in collating it?

*287. (= Act. 42, Apost. 56) contains only Matt. xvii. 16—23.

288. Bodleian Miscell. Gr. 307 [xi or early xm] 4°, very beautiful, *pict.* Mr Madan of the Bodleian transcribed a note on the last leaf, shewing that it once belonged to the Palæologi.

289. *ibid.* 308, from Constantinople [xii] 4°, *σαββατοκυριακαί* (*see* Evst. 24), has lost a very few lines at the end.

290. = (Apost. 78).

The following twenty-five were noted by Mr Coxe in the East (*see* p. 224): we cannot at present safely assign numbers to any of them.

At Cairo: No. 18. *Συναγωγή λέξεων ἐκ παλαιᾶς καὶ νέας* [xv] 4°, *chart.*

At Jerusalem: No. 12 [xi or xii] fol., which must be Scholz's Evst. 158.

At S. Saba Scholz saw twelve Evangelistaria (Codd. 160—171: *see* p. 289, note), two of them containing the Apostolos (Codd. 160, 171); and four Lectionaries of the Apostolos only (Codd. 49—51; 54). Coxe observed but one Apostolos, Tower Libr. No. 52 [xi] 4°, with musical notes; and nine Evangelistaria. Some seen at S. Saba by Scholz have perhaps been since taken into Europe, the rather as we know that Parham No. 20 (Evst. 236) came from that place.

Coxe's list runs: No. 17 [xii] large 4°; No. 23 [xii] fol.; No. 24—6 [xi] fol.; No. 40 [xii] fol. with an Arabic version; Nos. 44, 55 [xii] large 4°. In the Tower Library No. 12 [xi] 4°.

At Patmos Scholz enumerates seven Evangelistaria (Codd. 172—8: *see* p. 289, note), no Lectionary of the Apostolos: Coxe mentions only those four of Scholz's that are uncials (Codd. 172—5), viz. †No. 4 [xi] 4°; †No. 10 [xi] 4°; †No. 22 [xi] fol.; †No. 81 [viii] 4°.

At Milo (Melos), in private hands (*see* Evan. 591) was an Evst. [xii] fol., *mut.*

In the Patriarch of Jerusalem's Library at Constantinople (*see* p. 231, note 2) an Evst. [xii] 4°, over early writing from Ptolemy.

Such stray copies as the following may hereafter be assigned to vacant numbers as 62, 112, &c. Dr Hort has taken possession of numbers 38, 39, 59.

A codex offered for sale (£40) in London a few years ago, described as "[xii] fol., a fine manuscript on vellum, oak boards covered with red velvet, lined with vellum leaves [which formed] a portion of a very early Latin Lectionary, probably of the xith century," seems to have been the companion of Evst. 255 or Woodhouse 38 (*see* p. 296), bought by Thorpe at Sotheby's in 1872 for 14 guineas, and now lost sight of.

The Rev. Robert Horwood brought to the knowledge of Dean Burgon an Evst. [VIII¹] in Mr George Livermore's library, bought at Dr Hawtrey's sale, and named in *A Glance at Private Libraries*, by Luther Farnhaus, Boston, U. S., 1855.

†Evan. T⁴ and T^{*} (*see* p. 143) and Λ (1) (*see* p. 153) should also properly be classed as Lectionaries.

†crypt. Cryptoferrat. (*see* Paul. 58 and note) [x], named in C. R. Gregory's *Prospectus* of an edition of Tischendorf's N. T., 1877.

Apost. 15, and perhaps Apost. 24, also contain lessons from the Gospels.

There are at least three Evangelisteria, late in the Duke of Hamilton's collection (Burgon), but now, alas! transferred to Berlin.

The two copies of the Gospels, Lowes formerly Askew, membr. 4^o, mentioned by Scholz (*N. T.*, vol. I, p. cxix), and stated by Marsh on Michaelis, Vol. II. p. 662, to have been bought at Askew's sale (*see above*, p. 222, note) by Mr Lowes, the bookseller, are shewn by the sale Catalogue to have Evangelistaria. They have not yet been traced.

Deducting thirteen duplicates &c., there remain, at the least, 330 Evangelistaria.

(2) *Lectionaries containing the Apostolos or Praxapostolos.*

*+1. (= Evst.¹ 6). 2. Brit. Mus. Cotton. Vespas. B. XVIII [XI] 4^o, *mut. initio et fine* (Casley)². Written in a fine bold hand, with red musical notes. The Museum Catalogue is wrong in stating that it contains lessons from the Gospels. They exactly correspond with those in our list (p. 84, &c.), five of the Saints' Day lessons being from the Catholic Epistles.

3. Readings sent to Mill (*N. T.*, Proleg. § 1470) by John Batteley, D.D., as taken from a codex, now missing, in Trinity Hall, Cambridge. The extracts were from 1 Peter and John. Griesbach's Paul. 3 is Bodl. 5 (Evst. 19) cited by Mill only at Hebr. x. 22, 23.

4. Laurent. 24, Badia 2742, once at S. Mark's, Florence, N. 83, A. C. [XI] small 4^o, *mut. initio*.

*5. Gottingense 2 (in the University Library), once de Missy's, [xv] fol., formerly of the monastery Castamonitum (?) on Athos (Matthæi's v). Paul. 5 of Griesbach (= Evst. 30).

6. (= Evan. 117) fragments examined by Griesbach (Foll. 183—202).

7. (= Evst. 37).

8. (= Evst. 44).

9. (Evst. 84).

10. (Evst. 85).

¹ Evst. = Evangelistarium.

² In 1721. *See* Monk's *Life of Bentley*, Vol. II. p. 149. This is Bentley's O, John Walker's collation of which is preserved at Trin. Coll. (B. xvii. 84). Ellis, *Bentleii Critica Sacra*, Introd. pp. xxix., xxx.

11. Paris, Reg. 104^a [XII] 8^a, well written in some monastery of Palestine: with marginal notes in Arabic.

*12. (= Evst. 60).

*†13. Moscow, S. Synod. 4 (Mt. b) [x] fol., important: it would seem to be an uncial, once belonging to the Iberian monastery; renovated by Joakim, a monk, A.D. 1525. Cited by Tregelles as Frag. Mosq.

*14. S. Synod. 291 (Mt. e) [XII] 4^o, well written, from the monastery του ἐσφυγμένου on Athos.

*15. Topogr. Syn. 31 (Mt. tz) [dated 1116].

*16. (= Evst. 52).

*17. (= Evst. 53).

*18. (= Evst. 54).

*19. (= Evst. 55).

*20. (= Evst. 56).

Codd. 21—48 comprise Scholz's additions to the list, of which he describes none as collated entire or in the greater part. He seems, however, to have collated Cod. 12 entire.

21. (= Evst. 83).

22. Reg. 304 [XIII] fol., brought from Constantinople: *mut.* in fine.

23. Reg. 306 [XII] fol., *mut.* initio et fine.

24. Reg. 308 [XIII] fol., contains a few lessons from the New Testament, more from the Old: *mut.*

25. Reg. 319, once Colbert's [XI] fol., ill written, with a Latin version over some portions of the text.

26. Reg. 320 [XII] fol., *mut.*

27. Reg. 321, once Colbert's [XIII] fol., *mut.*, and illegible in parts.

28. (= Evst. 26).

29. (= Evst. 94).

30. Reg. 373 [XIII] 4^o, *mut.* initio et fine: with some cotton-paper leaves at the end.

31. (= Evst. 82).

32. (= Evan. 324, Evst. 97).

33. Reg. 382, once Colbert's [XIII] 4^o.

34. Reg. 383, once Colbert's [xv] 4^o, *chart.* In readings it is much with Apost. 12, and the best copies.

35. (= Evst. 92).

36. (= Evst. 93).

37. (= Evan. 368, Act. 150, Paul. 230, Apoc. 84).

38. Vat. 1528 [xv] 4^o, *chart.*, written by the monk Eucholius.

39. (= Evst. 133).

40. Barberini 18 [x] 4^o, a palimpsest (probably uncial, though not so stated by Scholz), correctly written, but mostly become illegible.

The later writing [xiv] contains lessons from the Old Testament, with a few from the Catholic Epistles at the end.

41. Barb. ? [xi] 4°, *mut.*

42. Vallicell. C. 46 [xvi] 4°, *chart.*, with other matter.

43. Richard. 2742 at Florence: seems to be the same as Cod. 48 below, and is not (as Scholz states) Evst. 139. We must erase both (Burgon), substituting as †43 the 17 palimpsest leaves in Evan. 561, written over the Gospels and table of lessons [viii or ix], containing Rom. xv. 30—33; 1 Cor. iv. 9—13; xv. 42—5; 2 Cor. ix. 6, 7.

44, 45. Hunterian Mus. Glasgow, Q. 3. 4 and P. 2. 9 (*see* pp. 232, 303), having been bought by Hunter at Cæsar de Missy's sale (BB and CC of de Missy, but Nos. 1633-4 of his sale Catalogue): 44 also contains lessons from the Gospels (Evst. 232): 45 is dated A.D. 1199.

46. Ambros. C. 63 *sup.* [xiv] 4°, bought (like Evst. 103) in 1606, "Corneliani in Iapygiâ."

47. (= Evst. 104).

48. (= Evst. 112). Erase¹.

49. Vatic. Basil 107 [xi], 233 leaves, described with a *facsimile* by Bianchini, *Evan. Quadr.* vol. II, Pt. 1, p. 523 and Plate IV: *εκλογάδιον του ἀποστόλου*, with a fine *pict.* *Mut.* at the end.

50. Mutin. [cii] II. D. 3 seen by Burgon at Modena.

51. Public Library at Besançon 41 [xiii?] small 4°, 141 leaves. (M. Castan: *see* Evst. 193).

52. Blenheim 3. C. 12, whose history is the same as that of Evan. 523, [?] a fine 4°, in single column, *mut.* at the end.

53. To this number we may assign the few lessons from the Acts and Epistles found in Evst. *222 and 258.

54. Praxapostolos in Mural's 3^o, (Petrop. viii. 80): *see* Evst. 195.

*55. (= Evst. 179).

*56. (= Act. 42, Evst. 287) contains only 1 Cor. ix. 2—12.

57. (= Evan. 492) Wake 12 inserted in error: *see* p. 228, and substitute Lambeth 1190 [xiii] 4°, neatly written, with many letters gilded, *mut.* at the beginning and end. Archdeacon Todd in the Lambeth Catalogue, p. 50, mistakes this for a copy of the Acts and all the Epistles. Bloomfield examined Codd. 57, 59—62.

58. Christ Church, Oxford, Wake 33 [dated 1172] fol., of 265 leaves, the ink having quite gone in parts.

¹ As in our preceding lists (*see above*, pp. 223, 259, 271, 276, 289), we remove to this foot-note Scholz's six copies seen at S. Saba, and occupy their numbers by other manuscripts. They are Apost. 49. S. Saba 16 [xiv] 4°, *chart.* 50. S. Saba 18 [xv] 8°. 51. S. Saba 26 [xv] fol. 52. (= Evst. 171.) 53. (= Evst. 160). 54. S. Saba (unnumbered) [xiii] 4°.

59. Lambeth 1191 [XIII] 4°, *mut.* at the beginning and end.
60. Lambeth 1194 [XIII] 4°, *mut.* at the end, the writing very neat, the letters often gilded.
61. Lambeth 1195 [XIII] 4°, *mut.* at the beginning.
62. Lambeth 1198 [XIII] 4°, *mut.* at the end. Todd's descriptions of all these copies are meagre enough.
63. The upper writing in Cod. P of the Acts (*see* p. 163), being fragments of the work of Euthalius. They are perpetually cited in Tischendorf's critical notes as Euthal^{ms}.
- *64. B-C I. 10 (= Evst. 251). *65. B-C III. 24 [XII or XIII] 4°.
- *66. B-C III. 29 (= Evst. 252). *67. B-C III. 42 (= Evst. 253).
- *68. B-C III. 53 (= Evst. 253ⁿ).
69. B. M. Addit. 29714 [*dated* 1306] 4°, written by one Ignatius on 178 leaves of one column each, complete; *syn.*, was bought of Nicolas Parassoh in 1874.
70. Bentley's Q, "a Parchment Lectionary containing Acts and Epistles, which belonged to Clagget, Bishop of S. David's, at least 700 years old" [X] (Ellis, *Bentley's Crit. Sacr.* Introd. p. xxx), seems to be lost, unless it be the same as Apost. 52, which J. Berriman (*Critical Dissertation on 1 Tim. iii.* 16, p. 105) states to have come from Constantinople, and to have been placed by Bp. Claggett in the Duke of Marlborough's library.
- *†71. †tisch.^{ms}: Bibl. Univers. Lipsiens. 6. F. (Tischendorf v) [IX or X], containing Hebr. i. 3—12, published in *Anecd. sacr. et profan.* p. 73, &c.
- *†72. Petrop., one leaf of a double palimpsest, now at St Petersburg, the oldest writing [IX] containing Acts xiii. 10; 2 Cor. xi. 21—23, cited by Tischendorf (*N. T.*, Proleg., p. ccxxvi. 7th edition).
- †73 (= Evst. 192). 74. Bodleian, Selden 9 is noted by Dean Holmes (*Præfat. ad Pentateuchum*, No. 132) as a palimpsest, containing under the Christmas sermons of Proclus, Patriarch of Constantinople, almost illegible lessons from the Septuagint, with one or two from the Epistles of SS. Peter and John.
74. (2^b) Harvard University Libr. Mass. K. 1 [XII], brought from Constantinople in 1819 by the Hon. E. Everett, written in two columns of 23 lines each, was collated in 1 Cor. xii. xiii. for A. Wellington Tyler of New York by E. A. Guy (*see* Evan. 603). I know of no other sacred manuscript in the United States, yet some there surely must be. *See* also above, p. 300.
75. B. M. Addit. 11841 [XII or XIII] 4°, is a Lectionary of the Old Testament on 886 leaves, *mut.* On fol. 78 (which should precede fol. 74) is a lesson for June 28 (κτ̄): but *see* above, p. 86) τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων πέτρου καὶ παύλου, ἀνάγνωσμα γ, containing 1 Pet. i. 3—19; ii. 11—24 (ζήσομεν).
76. Recently found in a drawer at the Bodleian by Mr E. B. Nicholson, now Bodley's Librarian, 14 loose vellum (?) leaves, four being Biblical [XIII] 4°, written in two columns on a page by Symeon

a reader, *ἀγιοσμειωνιτης*: the date, if once extant in the red letters of the colophon, being now rubbed away. There are nine *ἀναγνώσματα*, furnished with musical notes in red. The book is either a Euchology or a Typicum, more probably the former. The first lesson is 2 Tim. iii. 2—9. The remainder are numbered as lessons for the *δεκαήμερον*, or Twelve days from Christmas to Epiphany: they run thus, *α'* Rom. v. 18—21: *β'* viii. 3—9: *γ'* ix. 29—33: *δ'* 2 Cor. v. 15—21: *ε'* Gal. iii. 28—iv. 5: *ς'* Col. i. 18—22: *ζ'* Phil. iii. 3—9: *η'* Rom. viii. 8—14.

77. (= Act. 98, portions marked as *a*, and *a*₂).

78. (Evst. 290) B.C. III. 44 [xiv] 4^o, *chart.*, of 339 surviving leaves, is a *Typicum* (see p. 140) in two separate hands, and contains 29 lessons: viz. eleven from the Old Testament, six from the Apocrypha, two from the Gospels (Matth. xi. 27—30; Mark viii. 34—ix. 1), ten from S. Paul's Epistles.

79. Cambridge University Library Add. 679. 2, 96 leaves, being the companion volume to Evst. 291 (see p. 306), contains week-day Epistles from S. Paul. The first quire is in a different hand. *Mut.* 6 leaves. Ends 6th day of 33rd week (2 Thess. ii. 1).

80. (= Evst. 292). See p. 306.

81. A good copy of the Apostolos was bought for the British Museum (where it is as yet unnumbered) at the sale of the Sunderland Library, March 1883, which cannot be the same as Cod. 52, as it is written in double columns [xiii or xiv?], 4^o, 192 leaves, with red musical notes. The Menology breaks off at August 18, but it is otherwise complete.

Finally, Scholz says of Evst. 161, and to the same effect Coxe of Evst. Cairo 18, "continet lect. et pericop.;" which may possibly mean that these copies should be reckoned for the Apostolos also.

Deducting two duplicates, we have about 79 known Lectionaries of the Praxapostolos or Apostolos.

POSTSCRIPT. Dr Hort is good enough to furnish me with a description of the following manuscripts of the Gospels recently acquired for the University Library at Cambridge, as examined by Mr Bradshaw and himself. They are to be added to the list on p. 244.

618. Add. 720 [xi], 278 leaves, 5½ inches by 4½. *Am.*, *Eus.*, *κεφ.*, *τίτλ.* (fragments of *κεφ. t.*), *lect.*, *syn.*, *men.*, *pict.* But *Carp.*, *Eus. t.*, *κεφ. t.* of Matth., and perhaps *prol.* are apparently lost. *Mut.* Matth. xxviii. 1—20; Mark xv. 29—Luke iii. 33. In a later hand is Luke xxiv. 46—53.

619. Add. 1837 [xii or xiii], 164 leaves, 8½ inches by 6½, injured in parts by damp. *Κεφ.*, fragment of *κεφ. t.*, *lect.* No *Am.*, *Eus.*, *τίτλ.*, *prol.* *Mut.* Matth. i. 1—x. 42; xiii. 3—16; xxvii. 24—37; Mark xiv. 21—Luke iii. 16; iv. 35—v. 23; vii. 4—15. Ends Luke xix. 33.

620. Add. 1879. 11 [xii], 9 inches by $6\frac{1}{2}$, four leaves containing Matth. x. 42—xii. 43. *Am.* (not *Eus.*), κεφ., τίτλ. *Lect.* are in a later hand. From Tischendorf's collection, as is also

621. Add. 1879. 24 [xiii—xiv], $8\frac{1}{8}$ inches by $5\frac{1}{8}$, two leaves containing Matth. xxvi. 20—39 and ὑπόθεσις and verses before S. Mark. κεφ., τίτλ., *lect.*

I can obtain no definite account of a copy of the Gospels said to exist at Andover, Mass. (*see* p. 304).

The following Evangelistaria should also be added to the list (p. 300), the first seven being newly bought for Cambridge University Library and described by Dr Hort.

291. Add. 679. 1, being a compauion book to Apost. 79 [xii?], 171 leaves, 10 inches by 8, containing only the week-day lessons, except that two sets belong to Saturday and Sunday. Begins Matth. vii. 10, being on the 6th day of the first week of that Evangelist. *Mut.* elsewhere, but the end complete with a colophon, and fragments of two additional leaves. Initial capitals in red.

292 (Apost. 80). Add. 1836 [xiii], $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $5\frac{1}{2}$, with musical notes in red. Sunday and two Saturday lessons only for Epistles and Gospels. *Mut.* first 50 and four other leaves. Begins 2nd Sunday in S. Matthew (iv. 23). *Men.* full, followed by two Epistles and Gospels as ἀκολουθία εἰς ὁσίους. Additional lessons in another hand are inserted about the season of Epiphany.

293. Add. 1839 [xii or xiii], 104 leaves, 10 inches by $7\frac{1}{2}$: σαββατοκυριακαὶ only (*see* Evst. 24). *Mut.* first 77 and ten other leaves. Begins 6th Sunday of S. Luke (viii. 39). *Men.* ending Dec. 26.

294. Add. 1840 [xi or xii], 112 leaves, $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $8\frac{1}{2}$, in two columns with red musical notes. From the 11th Sunday of S. Luke downwards the week-day lessons are omitted. *Men.* followed by Gospels for several occasions. The arrangement of the week-day lessons in the Gospels of S. Matthew, S. Mark, and S. Luke, differs much from that usually found, though fundamentally akin to it. *Mut.* at the end and many other leaves.

295. †Add. 1879. 2 [x], $11\frac{3}{4}$ by $7\frac{7}{8}$ inches, an uncial in two columns, with illuminated initial capitals and red musical notes. Eight leaves of σαββατοκυριακαὶ from 11th Sunday in S. Luke (xiv. 20) to Sunday of the Publican (xviii. 14). Codd. 295-7 are from Tischendorf's collection.

296. Add. 1879. 12 [xi or xii], $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $6\frac{1}{2}$, in two columns, four leaves containing from 6th Saturday in Lent (John xi. 41) to Liturgy for Palm Sunday (John xii. 11), and part of Matins (from Matth. xxi. 36) and Vespers (to Matth. xxiv. 26) for Monday in Holy Week.

297. Add. 1879. 13 [xii], about 10 inches (when entire) by $8\frac{1}{2}$, in two columns, Greek and Arabic, being only the upper part of

four leaves of *σαββατοκυριακαὶ* in 5th and 6th Sundays of S. Luke (ch. xvi. 24 f.; 28—30; viii. 16—18; 21; 27; 29 f.; 32—34; 38 f.).

298. Keble College, Oxford, presented in 1882 by Mr Greville Chester, and described to me by the Rev. W. Lock, Tutor and Librarian of Keble [XII or XIII], large 8°, 151 leaves, slightly illuminated, beginning with the lesson for the 2nd day of the fifth week after Easter, and ending with the lesson for S. Helena's day, May 21.

299. The single leaf described below by Bp. Lightfoot, p. 398.

We find Latin versions in 8 uncial and 11 cursive codices; an Arabic version in Evan. 211; 450; Evst. 6; 297; Coxe's Evst. at S. Saba, No. 40; Latin and Arabic in Act. 96.

The total number of manuscripts we have recorded in the preceding catalogues are 61 uncial and 642 cursive of the Gospels; 14 uncial and 252 cursive of the Acts and Catholic Epistles; 22 uncial and 295 cursive of S. Paul; 5 uncial and 111 cursive of the Apocalypse; 339 Evangelistaria; and 82 Lectionaries of the Praxapostolos. In calculating this total of 1817 manuscripts we have deducted 78 duplicates, and must bear in mind that a few of the codices, whose present locality is unknown, may have reappeared under other heads.

Ὁ μὲν θειρισμὸς πολὺς, οἱ δὲ ἐργάται ὀλίγοι.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE ANCIENT VERSIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT IN VARIOUS LANGUAGES.

1. **T**HE facts stated in the preceding chapter have led us to believe that no extant manuscript of the Greek Testament yet discovered is older than the fourth century, and that those written as early as the sixth century are both few in number, and (with one notable exception) contain but incomplete portions, for the most part very small portions, of the sacred volume. When to these considerations we add the well-known circumstance that the most ancient codices vary widely and perpetually from the commonly received text and from each other, it becomes desirable for us to obtain, if possible, some evidence as to the character of those copies of the New Testament which were used by the primitive Christians in times anterior to the date of the most venerable now preserved. Such sources of information, though of a more indirect and precarious kind than manuscripts of the original can supply, are open to us in the *versions* of Holy Scripture, made at the remotest period in the history of the Church, for the use of believers whose native tongue was not Greek. Translations, certainly of the New and probably of the Old Testament, were executed not later than the second century in the Syriac and Latin tongues, and, so far as their present state enables us to judge of the documents from which they were rendered, they represent to us a modification of the inspired text which existed within a century of the death of the Apostles. Even as the case stands, and although the testimony of versions is peculiarly liable to doubt and error, the Peshito Syriac and Old Latin translations of the Greek Testament must be placed with a few of the most ancient manuscripts of the

original in the very first rank as authorities and aids for the critical revision of the text.

In a class apart from and next below the Peshito Syriac and Old Latin we may group together the Egyptian, the Curetonian Syriac, the Latin Vulgate, the Gothic, the Armenian, and Æthiopic versions, which we name in what seems to be their order in respect to value. Of these the Curetonian will be discussed more fitly hereafter (pp. 319—24); the Egyptian translations may have been formed, partly in the third, partly in the fourth century, and their value has of late years greatly increased in the estimation of Biblical scholars; the Latin Vulgate and the Gothic belong to the fourth century, the Armenian and possibly the Æthiopic to the fifth. The Philoxenian Syriac too, although not brought into its present condition before the beginning of the seventh century, would appear, for reasons that will be detailed hereafter, to hold a place in this class not much lower than the Latin Vulgate.

The third rank must be assigned to the several minor Syriac (so far as their character has been ascertained), to the Georgian and Slavonic, to some Arabic, and to one of the Persic versions: these are either too recent or uncertain in date, or their text too mixed and corrupt, to merit very particular attention. The other Persic (and perhaps one Arabic) version being derived from the Peshito Syriac, and the Anglo-Saxon or old English from the Latin Vulgate, can be applied only to the correction of their respective primary translations.

2. The weight and consideration due to versions of Scripture, considered as materials for critical use, depend but little on their merits as competent representations of the original¹. A very wretched translation, such as the Philoxenian Syriac, may happen to have high critical value; while an excellent one, like our Authorised English Bible, shall be of just no consequence at all. And, in general, the testimony of versions as witnesses to the state of the text is rendered much less considerable than that of manuscripts of the same date, by defects which, though they cleave to some of them far more than to others, are too inherent in their very nature to be absolutely eliminated from

¹ Canon Westcott ("Smith's Dictionary of the Bible": Vulgate) puts the case very neatly: "Versions supply authority for the text, and opinion only for the rendering."

any. These defects are so obvious as to need no more than a bare statement, and serve to render a various reading, *supported by versions alone*, of comparatively slight consideration.

(1). It may be found as difficult to arrive at the primitive text of a version, as of the Greek original itself; the variations in its different copies are often quite as considerable, and suspicions of subsequent correction, whether from the Greek or from some other version, are as plausible to raise and as hard to refute. This is preeminently the case in regard to the Latin version, especially in its older form; but the Peshito Syriac, the Armenian, the Georgian and almost every other have been brought into discredit, on grounds more or less reasonable, by those whose purpose it has served to disparage their importance.

(2). Although several of the ancient versions, and particularly the Latin, are rendered more closely to the original than would be thought necessary or indeed tolerable in modern times, yet it is often by no means easy to ascertain the precise Greek words which the translator had in his copy. While versions are always of weight in determining the authenticity of sentences or clauses inserted or omitted by Greek manuscripts¹, and in most instances may be employed even for arranging the order of words, yet every language differs so widely in spirit from every other, and the genius of one version is so much at variance with that of others, that too great caution cannot be used in applying this kind of testimony to the criticism of the Greek². The Aramæan idiom, for example, delights in a graceful redundancy of pronouns, which sometimes affects the style of the

¹ This use of versions was seen by Jerome (*Præfatio ad Damasum*) "Cum multarum gentium linguis scriptura ante translata, doceat falsa esse quæ addita sunt." It is even now, perhaps, the principal service they can perform for the critic.

² A good example of the precariousness of the testimony of versions may be seen in Acts xix. 8, where Tregelles, and indeed Tischendorf with some reserve, allege the Latin, Syriac, Egyptian, Armenian and Æthiopic versions to support the omission of *ra* before *wepl* in Codd. B D and one Greek lectionary (12). Yet in ch. i. 3; xxiii. 11, 15, where no Greek authority omits the article, the form adopted by the Vulgate, Peshito, and Coptic, probably also by the rest, is precisely the same as in ch. xix. 8. Compare also Acts viii. 12; xxviii. 23. On the other hand, observe the inference to be drawn from versions in James iv. 5 (*infra* Chap. ix).

Greek Testament itself (e.g. Matth. viii. 1; 5): so that the Syriac ought to have no influence in deciding a point of this kind, inasmuch as the translator would naturally follow the usage of his own language, rather than regard the precise wording of his original.

(3). Hence it follows that no one can form a trustworthy judgment respecting the evidence afforded by any version, who is not master of the language in which it was written. In a past generation, critics contented themselves with using Latin versions of the Egyptian, Æthiopic, &c., to their own and their readers' cost. The insertion or absence of whole clauses, indeed, are patent facts which cannot be mistaken, but beyond such matters the unskilled enquirer ought not to venture. The immediate result of this restriction may be to confine the student to the full use of the Syriac and Latin versions; a few Biblical scholars, as Bishop Lightfoot and especially the Rev. S. C. Malan, have made good progress in the ancient Egyptian; the rest of us must remain satisfied with a confession of ignorance, or apply our best diligence to remedy it.

From this rapid glance over the whole subject of versions, we pass on to consider them severally in detail; not aiming at a full literary history of any of them, which would be unsuitable to our limits and present design, but rather seeking to put the learner in possession of materials for forming an independent estimate of their relative value, and of the internal character of the chief among them.

3. SYRIAC VERSIONS. (1). *The Peshito.*

The Aramæan or Syriac (preserved to this day as their sacred tongue by several Eastern Churches) is an important branch of the great Semitic family of languages, and as early as Jacob's age existed distinct from the Hebrew (Gen. xxxi. 47). As we now find it in books, it was spoken in the north of Syria and in Upper Mesopotamia, the native region of the patriarch Abraham, about Edessa. It is a more copious, flexible, and elegant language than the Hebrew (which ceased to be vernacular at the Babylonish captivity) had ever the means of becoming, and is so intimately akin to the Chaldee as spoken at Babylon, and subsequently throughout Palestine, that the latter was

popularly known by its name (2 Kings xviii. 26; Isai. xxxvi. 11; Dan. ii. 4). As the Gospel took firm root at Antioch within a few years after the Lord's Ascension (Acts xi. 19—27; xiii. 1, &c.), we might deem it probable that its tidings soon spread from the Greek capital into the native interior, even though we utterly rejected the venerable tradition of Thaddæus' mission to Abgarus, toparch of Edessa, as well as the fable of that monarch's intercourse with Christ while yet on earth (Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* i. 13; II. 1). At all events we are sure that Christianity flourished in these regions at a very early period; it is even possible that the Syriac Scriptures were seen by Hegesippus in the second century (Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* iv. 22); they were familiarly used and claimed as his national version by Ephraem of Edessa (*see* p. 118) in the fourth. Thus the universal belief of later ages, and the very nature of the case, seem to render it unquestionable that the Syrian Church was possessed of a translation, both of the Old and New Testament, which it used habitually, and for public worship exclusively, from the second century of our era downwards: as early as A.D. 170 δ $\Sigma\upsilon\rho\sigma$ is cited by Melito on Genes. xxii. 13 (Mill, *Proleg.* § 1239)¹. And the sad history of that distracted Church can leave no room to doubt what that version was. In the middle of the fifth century, the third and fourth general Councils at Ephesus and Chalcedon proved the immediate occasions of dividing the Syrian Christians into three, and eventually into yet more, hostile communions. These grievous divisions have now subsisted for fourteen hundred years, and though the bitterness of controversy has abated, the estrangement of the rival Churches is as complete and hopeless as ever². Yet

¹ I cannot agree with Dr Field (*Origenis Hexaplorum quæ supersunt*, Proleg. lxxviii, 1874) that the Peshito is not the Syriac version here quoted by Melito; but, while he admits a frequent resemblance between it and the renderings imputed to "the Syrian," he certainly produces not a few instances of diversity between the two. Besides Theodoret, who often opposes δ $\Sigma\upsilon\rho\sigma$ to δ Ἑβραῖος (Thren. 1. 15 and *passim*), Field notes the following writers as citing the former,—Didymus, Diodorus, Eusebius of Emesa, Polychronius, Apollinarius, Chrysostom, Procopius (*ibid.* p. lxxvii).

² All modern accounts of the unorthodox sects of the East confirm Walton's gracious language two hundred years ago: "Etsi verb, olim in hæreses miserè prolapsi, se a reliquis Ecclesiæ Catholicæ membris separarint, unde justo Dei judicio sub Infidelium jugo oppressi serviunt, qui ipsis dominantur, ex continuis tamen calamitatibus edocti et sapientiores redditi (est enim Schola Crucis Schola

the same translation of Holy Scripture is read alike in the public assemblies of the Nestorians among the fastnesses of Koordistan, of the Monophysites who are scattered over the plains of Syria, of the Christians of St Thomas along the coast of Malabar, and of the Maronites on the mountain-terraces of Lebanon. Even though these last acknowledged the supremacy of Rome in the twelfth century, and certain Nestorians of Chaldæa in the eighteenth, both societies claimed at the time, and enjoy to this day, the free use of their Syriac translation of Holy Scripture. Manuscripts too, obtained from each of these rival communions, have flowed from time to time into the libraries of the West, yet they all exhibit a text in every important respect the same; all are without the Apocalypse and four of the Catholic Epistles, which latter we know to have been wanting in the Syriac in the sixth century (Cosmas Indicopleustes apud Montfaucon, "Collectio Nova Patrum et Script. Græc." Tom. II. p. 292), a defect, we may observe in passing, which alone is no slight proof of the high antiquity of the version that omits them; all correspond with whatever we know from other sources of that translation which, in contrast with one more recent, was termed "old" (ܘܪܘܫܝܢܐ) by Thomas of Harkel A.D. 616, and "Peshito" (ܦܫܝܬܐ) the "Simple," by the great Monophysite doctor, Gregory Bar-Hebræus [1226-86]. Literary history can hardly afford a more powerful case than has been established for the identity of the version of the Syriac now called the *Peshito* with that used by the Eastern Church, long before the great schism had its beginning in the native land of the blessed Gospel.

The first printed edition of this most venerable monument of the Christian faith was published in quarto at Vienna in the year 1555 (some copies are re-dated 1562), at the expense of the Emperor Ferdinand I., on the recommendation and with the active aid of his Chancellor, Albert Widmanstadt, an accomplished person, whose travelling name in Italy was John Lucretius. It was undertaken at the instance of Moses of Mardin, legate from the Monophysite Patriarch Ignatius to Pope Julius III.

Lucis tandem eorum misertus Misericordiarum Pater eos ad rectam sanamque mentem, rejectis antiquis erroribus, reduxit" (Walton, *Prolegomena*, Wrangham, Tom. II. p. 500).

(1550—55), who seems to have brought with him a manuscript, the text whereof was of the Jacobite family, although written at Mosul, for publication in the West. Widmanstadt contributed a second manuscript of his own, though it does not appear whether either or both contained the whole New Testament. This beautiful book, the different portions of which have separate dedications, was edited by Widmanstadt, by Moses, and by W. Postell jointly, in an elegant type of the modern Syriac character, the vowel and diacritic points, especially the *linea occultans*, being frequently dropped, with subscriptions and titles indicating the Jacobite Church lessons in the older, or Estrangelo, letter. It omits, as was natural and right, those books which the Peshito does not contain: viz. the second Epistle of Peter, the second and third of John, that of Jude and the Apocalypse, together with the disputed passage John vii. 53—viii. 11, and the doubtful, or more than doubtful, clauses in Matt. xxvii. 35; Acts viii. 37; xv. 34; xxviii. 29; 1 John v. 7, 8. For Luke xxii. 17, 18 *see* Chap. IX. on the passage. This *editio princeps* of the Peshito New Testament, though now become very scarce (one half of its thousand copies having been sent into Syria), is held in high and deserved repute, as its text is apparently based on manuscript authority alone.

Immanuel Tremellius [1510—80], a converted Jew (the proselyte, first of Cardinal Pole, then of Peter Martyr), and Professor of Divinity at Heidelberg, published the second edition in folio in 1569, containing the New Testament in Hebrew type, with a literal Latin version, accompanied by the Greek text and Beza's translation of it, having a Chaldee and Syriac grammar annexed. Tremellius used several manuscripts, especially one at Heidelberg, and made from them and his own conjecture many changes, that were not always improvements, in the text; besides admitting some grammatical forms which are Chaldee rather than Syriac. His Latin version has been used as their basis by later editors, down to the time of Schaaf. Tremellius' and Beza's Latin versions were reprinted together in London, without their respective originals, in 1592. Subsequent editions of the Peshito New Testament were those of the folio Antwerp or Royal Spanish Polyglott of Plantin (1569—72), in Hebrew and Syriac type, revised from a copy dated A.D. 1188, which Postell had brought from the East: two other editions of Plantin in

Hebrew type without points (1574, 8°; 1575, 24°), the second containing various readings extracted by Francis Rapheleng from a Cologne manuscript for his own reprints of 1575 and subsequently of 1583: the smaller Paris edition, also in unpointed Hebrew letters, 1584, 4°, by Guy Le Fevre, who prepared the Syriac portion of the Antwerp Polyglott: that of Elias Hutter, in two folio volumes (Nuremberg 1599—1600), in Hebrew characters; this editor venturing to supply in Syriac of his own making the single passages wanting in the *editio princeps* (p. 312), and the spurious Epistle to the Laodiceans. Martin Trost's edition (Anhalt-Cöthen, 1621, 4°), in Syriac characters, with vowel-points and a list of various readings, is much superior to Hutter's.

The magnificent Paris Polyglott (fol. 1645) is the first which gives us the Old Testament portion of the Peshito, though in an incomplete state. The Maronite Gabriel Sionita, who superintended this part of the Polyglott, made several changes in the system of vowel punctuation, possibly from analogy rather than from manuscript authority, but certainly for the better. His judgment however was much at fault when he inserted as integral portions of the Peshito the version of the four missing Catholic Epistles, which had been published in 1630 by our illustrious oriental scholar, Edward Pococke, from a manuscript in the Bodleian (*Orient.* 119)¹: and another of the Apocalypse, edited at Leyden in 1627 by Louis de Dieu, from an unpromising and recent manuscript, since examined by Tregelles, in the University Library there (*Scaliger MS.* 18). Of the two, the version of the Catholic Epistles seems decidedly the older, and both bear much resemblance to the later Syriac or Philoxenian translation, but neither have the smallest claim to be regarded as portions of the Peshito, to which, however, they have unhappily been appended ever since.

Bp. Walton's, or the London Polyglott (fol. 1654—7), affords us little more than a reprint of Sionita's Syriac text, with Trost's various readings appended, but interpolates the text yet further by inserting John vii. 53—viii. 11 from a manuscript (now lost)

¹ Dean Payne Smith's *Catalogue*, pp. 109—112. In the great Cambridge manuscript (*Oo.* 1. 1, 2, *see* p. 318) the Epistles of 2 Pet., 2 and 3 John, and Jude follow 1 John, and are continued on the same quire, as Mr Bradshaw reports.

once belonging to Archbishop Ussher, by whom it had been sent to de Dieu before 1631. As this passage is not in the true Philoxenian¹, we are left to conjecture as to its real date and character, only that de Dieu assures us that the Ussher manuscript contained the *whole* New Testament, which no second copy of the Peshito or other Syriac version yet known has been found to do. Ussher himself (*Todd's Life of Walton*, Vol. I. p. 196, citing the evidence of Parr, 1686) spoke of his own manuscript as distinct from, and superior to, that of de Dieu.

Giles Gutbier published at Hamburg (8°, 1664) an edition containing all the interpolated matter, and 1 Joh. v. 7, 8 in addition, from Tremellius' own version, which he inserted in *his* margin. Gutbier used two manuscripts, by one of which, belonging to Constantine L'Empereur, he corrected Sionita's system of punctuation. A glossary, notes, and various readings are annexed. The Salzburg edition 12°, 1684, seems a mere reprint of Plantin's; nor does that published in Rome in 1703 for the use of the Maronites, though grounded upon manuscript authority, appear to have much critical value.

A collation of the various readings in all the preceding editions, excepting those of 1684 and 1703, is affixed to the Syriac N. T. of J. Leusden and Ch. Schaaf (4°, Leyden, 1709: with a new title-page 1717). It extends over one hundred pages, and, though most of the changes noted are very insignificant, is tolerably accurate and of considerable value. This edition contains the Latin version of Tremellius not too thoroughly revised, and is usually accompanied with an admirable Syriac Lexicon (it might almost be called a Concordance) of the Peshito New Testament. Its worth, however, is considerably lessened by a fancy of Leusden for pointing the vowels according to the rules of Chaldee rather than of Syriac grammar: after his death, indeed, and from Luke xviii. 27 onwards, this grave mistake was corrected by Schaaf². Of modern editions the most convenient, or certainly the most accessible to

¹ In the Cod. Barsalibæi (*see* p. 327, note) this addition is attributed to Maras, A. D. 622, but in a Paris manuscript cited by Adler to Abbas Mar Paul.

² Yet, besides his error of judgment in bringing into the Peshito text such passages as we enumerated on p. 314, Schaaf follows the Paris and London Polyglotts when interpolating τῶν σωζομένων Apoc. xxi. 24, although the words had been omitted by de Dieu (1627) and Gutbier (1664).

English students, are the N. T. which Professor Lee prepared in 1816 for the British and Foreign Bible Society with the Eastern Church-lessons noted in Syriac, and that of Wm. Greenfield [d. 1831], both in Bagster's Polyglott of 1828, and in a small and separate form; the latter editor aims at representing Widmanstadt's text distinct from the subsequent additions derived from other sources. Lee's edition was grounded on a collation of three fresh manuscripts, besides the application of other matter previously available for the revision of the text; but the materials on which he founded his conclusions have never been printed, although their learned collector once intended to do so, and many years afterwards consented to lend them to Scrivener for that purpose; a promise which his death in 1848 ultimately hindered him from redeeming. An edition printed in 1829 by the British and Foreign Bible Society for the Nestorian Christians was based on a single manuscript brought from Mosul by Dr Wolff.

From the foregoing statement it will plainly appear that the Peshito Syriac has not yet received that critical care on the part of editors which its antiquity and importance so urgently demand; such a work in fact is one of the few great tasks yet open to the enterprise of scholars. Nor have we any cause to regret the scantiness of the means at our disposal for its accomplishment. In the Vatican, "ditissimo illo omnium disciplinarum promptuario," as Wiseman calls it in his honest pride ("Horæ Syriacæ," p. 151), the master-hand of the Dane Adler [1755—1805] has been engaged on several codices of the Peshito¹, one dated as early as A. D. 548; many more must linger unexamined in the recesses of continental libraries especially at Paris and Florence. Our own Museum, even before it was enriched from the monasteries of Egypt, possessed several copies of venerable age, one of which has been collated by Tregelles and others (Rich. 7157²); and if "the general result

¹ *Novi Testamenti Versiones Syriacæ, Simplex, Philoxeniana, et Hierosolymitana*...a J. G. Ch. Adler, Hafnia, 1789, 4°.

² Of this copy Professor Rosen, in the Preface to the Catalogue of Syriac MSS. in the British Museum, 1838, thus writes: "Inter quos ante alios omnes memorabile est N. T. exemplar Nestorianum, liber et antiquitate suâ, quum sæculo octavo scriptus est, et summâ scripturæ diligentia atque elegantia, inter omnia quotquot nobis innotuerunt Syriaca N. T. exemplaria, eximia laude dignus. Etenim remotioris etiam ætatis codices Syriacos extare comperimus

is, that though some materials are certainly thus afforded for the critical revision of the text, by far the greater part of the changes relate to grammatical forms, and particulars of that kind" (Tregelles' *Horne*, p. 264), yet here we have access to the kind of text current among the Nestorians in the eighth century, long before their copies could have been corrupted by intercourse with the Latins. At Cambridge too are deposited two manuscripts, both used by Lee, one of them containing the Old Testament also and the Clementine Homilies, but not the Apocalypse (Univ. Libr. Oo. 1. 1, 2: *see* p. 315, note), thought by some to be written about the seventh century (but Mr Bensly notes that a figure of Joshua in armour of the time of the Crusades reduces its date to the eleventh or twelfth), and brought from the Malabar coast in 1806 by Buchanan. In the Bodleian are *at least* those two whose readings were published by Jones in 1805. With such full means of information within our reach it will not be to our credit if a good critical edition of the Peshito be much longer unattempted.

It is not easy to determine why the name of *Peshito*, "the Simple," should have been given to the oldest Syriac version of Scripture, to distinguish it from others that were subsequently made¹. The term would seem to signify "faithful" rather than "literal;" for in comparison with the Philoxenian it is the very reverse of a close rendering of the original. We shall presently submit to the reader a few extracts from it, contrasted with the same passages in other Syriac versions (*below*, pp. 334—7); for the present we can but assent to the ripe judgment of Michaelis, who, after thirty years' study of its contents, declared that he could consult no translation with so much confidence in cases of difficulty and doubt. In regard to the criticism of the text, its

quidem; sed de nullo nos vel audire vel legere meminimus, qui omnes quos Nestoriani agnoscunt N. T. libros amplecteretur."

¹ Tregelles in "Smith's Dictionary of the Bible" thinks that the term was originally applied to the Syriac version of the Hebrew Old Testament, in order to discriminate between it and the Greek Hexapla, or the Syro-hexaplar translation derived from it, with their apparatus of obeli and asterisks. To this view Dr Field adds his weighty authority (*Origenis Hexapla*, Proleg. p. ix, note 1), adding that for this reason the pure Septuagint version also is called ἀπλοῦν (1 Kings vii. 13; xii. 22), to distinguish its rendering from what is given ἐν τῷ ἑξαπλῷ. The epithet which was proper to the Old Testament in course of time attached itself to the New.

connexion in many places with Cod. D and the Latin versions has been often dwelt upon. For its style, composed in the purest dialect of a perspicuous and elegant, if not a very copious language, no version can well be more exempt from the besetting faults of translators, constraint and stiffness of expression: yet while remarkable for its ease and freedom, it very seldom becomes loose or paraphrastic. Though a word or two may occasionally be inserted to unravel some involved construction (Acts x. 38; Eph. iii. 1; Col. ii. 14; 1 John i. 1), or to elucidate what else might be obscure (Luke ix. 34; xvi. 8; Acts i. 19; ii. 14; 24; v. 4; xii. 15; Rom. xii. 16; xiv. 1, &c.); yet seldom would its liberty in this particular offend any but the most servile adherent to the letter of the Greek. The Peshito has well been called "the Queen of versions" of Holy Writ, for it is at once the oldest and one of the most excellent of those whereby God's Providence has blessed and edified the Church.

(2). *The Curetonian Syriac.*

Dean Alford was bold enough to call this fragment "perhaps the earliest and most important of all the versions" (N. T. *Proleg.* p. 114); and though this estimate may be deemed a little unreasonable, we cannot doubt that its discovery is the most valuable of the many services rendered to sacred and profane literature by the late Canon Cureton [d. 1864], whose energy and practised sagacity, displayed in his researches among Syriac manuscripts, were aided by that good fortune which does not always fail those who deserve her smile. The volume which contained these portions of the Gospels (and no other copy of the translation has yet been found) had been brought by Archdeacon Tattam in 1842 from the same monastery as the palimpsest Cod. R described in the last chapter (p. 140). The eighty-two leaves and a half on which what remains of the version is written (although two of them did not reach England till 1847) were picked out by Dr Cureton, then one of the officers in the Manuscript department of the British Museum, from a mass of other matter which had been bound up with them by unlearned possessors, and comprise the Additional MS. 14,451*

of the Library they adorn. They are in quarto, with two columns on a page, in a bold hand and the Estrangelo or old Syriac character, on vellum originally very white, the single points for stops, some titles, &c. being in red ink: there are no marks of Church-lessons by the first hand, which Cureton (a most competent judge) assigned to the middle of the fifth century. The fragments contain Matth. i. 1—viii. 22; x. 32—xxiii. 25; Mark xvi. 17—20; John i. 1—42; iii. 6—vii. 37; xiv. 10—12; 16—19; 22—23; 26—29; Luke ii. 48—iii. 16; vii. 33—xv. 21; xvii. 24—xxiv. 44, or 1786 verses, so arranged that S. Mark's Gospel is immediately followed by S. John's (*see* p. 71). The Syriac text was printed in fine Estrangelo type in 1848, and freely imparted to such scholars as might need its help; it was not till 1858 that the work was published¹, with a very literal translation into rather bald English (*see above*, p. 8), a beautiful and exact *fac-simile* (Luke xv. 11—13; 16—19) by Mrs Cureton, and a Preface (pp. xcv), full of interesting or startling matter, which was soon criticised in no friendly tone. Indeed, the difficult but unavoidable investigation into the relation his new version bears to the Peshito was further complicated by Dr Cureton's persuasion that he had discovered in these Syriac fragments a text of S. Matthew's Gospel that "to a great extent, has retained the identical terms and expressions which the Apostle himself employed; and that we have here, in our Lord's discourses, to a great extent the very same words as the Divine Author of our holy religion himself uttered in proclaiming the glad tidings of salvation in the Hebrew dialect..." (p. xciii): that here in fact we have *to a great extent* the original of that Hebrew Gospel of S. Matthew of which the canonical Greek Gospel is but a translation. It is beside our present purpose to examine in detail the arguments of Dr Cureton on this head², and it would be the

¹ "Remains of a very antient recension of the four Gospels in Syriac, hitherto unknown in Europe, discovered, edited, and translated by William Cureton, D.D. ... Canon of Westminster," 4^o, London, 1858. Three more leaves of this version, containing Luke xv. 22—xvi. 12; xvii. 1—23; John vii. 37—52; viii. 12—19, discovered at Berlin (Royal Libr. Orient. quart. 528) were published by Roediger (*Monatsbericht* Berlin Royal Academy of Sciences, July 1872), and privately printed by Professor Wright to range with Cureton's volume.

² Less able writers than Dr Cureton have made out a strong, though not a convincing case, for the Hebrew origin of S. Matthew's Gospel, and thus far his argument is plausible enough. To demonstrate that the version he has

less necessary in any case, since they seem to have convinced no one save himself: but the place his version occupies with reference to the Peshito is a question that cannot be quite passed over, even in an elementary treatise like the present.

Any one who shall compare the verses we have cited from them in parallel columns (pp. 334—5, 337) will readily admit that the two translations have a common origin, whatever that may be; many other passages, though not perhaps of equal length, might be named where the resemblance is closer still; where for twenty words* together the Peshito and the Curetonian shall be positively identical, although the Syriac idiom would admit other words and another order just as naturally as that actually employed. Nor will this conclusion be shaken by the not less manifest fact that throughout many passages the diversity is so great that no one, with those places alone before him, would be led to suspect any connection between the two versions; for resemblances in such a case furnish a positive proof, not to be weakened by the mere negative presumption supplied by divergencies. Add to this the consideration that the Greek manuscripts from which either version was made or corrected (as the case may prove) were materially different in their character; the Peshito for the most part favouring Cod. A¹, the Curetonian taking part with Cod. D, or with the Old Latin, or often standing quite alone, unsupported by any critical authority whatever; and the reader is then in possession of the whole case, from whose perplexities we have to unravel our decision, which of these two recensions best exhibits the text of the Holy Gospels as received from the second century downwards by the Syrian Church.

discovered is based upon that Hebrew original, at least so far as to be a modification of it and not a translation from the Greek, he has but a single plea that will bear examination, viz. that out of the many readings of the Hebrew or Nazarene Gospel with which we are acquainted (the reader will see three, two of them previously unknown, above p. 155), his manuscript agrees with it in the one particular of inserting the *three kings*, ch. i. 8, though even here the number of *fourteen* generations retained in ver. 17 shews them to be an interpolation. Such cases as *Juda*, ch. ii. 1; *Ramtha*, ver. 18; ρ for $\delta\tau\iota$ or the relative, ch. xiii. 16, can prove nothing, as they are common to the Curetonian with the Peshito, from which version they may very well have been derived.

¹ "Si nous devons en croire Scrivener, la version syriaque dite *Peshito* s'accorde bien plus avec lui [Cod. A.] qu'avec (B)." ("Les Livres Saints," &c., Pau et Vevey, 1872, Préface, p. iii). The fact is notoriously true, and of course rests not on Scrivener's evidence, but on universal consent.

(1). Now it is obvious to remark, in the first place, that the Peshito has the advantage of *possession*, and that too of fourteen centuries standing. The mere fact that the Syriac manuscripts of the rival sects, whether modern or as old as the seventh century, agree with each other and with the citations from Aphraates in most important points (*see* p. 323, note), seems to bring the Peshito text, substantially in the same state as we have it at present, up to the fourth century of our era. Of this version, again, there are many codices, of different ages and widely diffused; of the Curetonian but one, of the fifth century, indeed, so far as the verdict of a most accomplished judge can determine so delicate a question; yet surely not to be much preferred, in respect to antiquity, to Adler's copy of the Peshito in the Vatican, *dated* A.D. 548. From the Peshito, as the authorised version of the Oriental Church, there are many quotations in Syriac books from the fourth century downwards; Dr Cureton, perhaps the profoundest Syriac scholar of his day in England, failed to allege any *second* citation from the Gospels by a native writer which corresponds with the newly discovered version better than with the old, and which might serve to keep in countenance the statement of Dionysius Barsalibi, late in the twelfth century, that "there is found occasionally a Syriac copy made out of the Hebrew, which inserts the three kings in the genealogy" (Matth. i. 8)¹. With every wish to give to this respectable old writer, and to others who bear testimony to the same reading, the consideration that is fairly their due, we can hardly fail to see that the weight of evidence enormously preponderates in the opposite scale.

(2). It will probably be admitted that in external proof Cureton's theory is not strong, while yet the internal character of the version may be deemed by many powerfully to favour his view. And herein, perhaps, he has been a little helped (if he had needed or cared for such aid) by those hostile critics who have thought to annihilate the critical influence of his version, when they had shewn it to be, as a translation, loose, careless, paraphrastic, full of interpolations, for which no authority, or only very bad authority, can be found elsewhere. Not that we quite assent to Tregelles' quaint remark, "unfortunately it has been criticised by those who do not understand

¹ Cureton, Preface, pp. xi, xciii.

the subject, and who have actually regarded its merits as defects" (Introd. Notice to Part II. of N. T., p. iii); negligent or licentious renderings (and the Curetonian Syriac is pretty full of them) cannot but lessen a version's usefulness as an instrument of criticism, by increasing our difficulty of reproducing the precise words of the original which the translator had before him; but in another point of view these very faults may still form the main strength of Dr Cureton's case. It is, no doubt, a grave suggestion, that the more polished, accurate, faithful, and grammatical of the two versions—and the Peshito richly deserves all this praise—is more likely to have been produced by a careful and gradual revision of one much its inferior in these respects, than the worse to have originated in the mere corruption of the better (Cureton, Pref. p. lxxxi). *A priori*, we readily confess that probability inclines this way; but it is a probability which needs the confirmation of facts, and by adverse facts may be utterly set aside. If, for instance, he had demonstrated at length, instead of hinting incidentally and almost by chance, that "upon the comparison of several of the oldest copies now in the British Museum of that very text of the Gospels which has been generally received as the Peshito, the more antient the manuscripts be, the more nearly do they correspond with the text of these Syriac fragments" (Pref. p. lxxiii) in respect to dialectic peculiarities; more especially if he could have extended his statement to matters more important than bare language or grammar, as he very possibly might have done¹; it could not be said of Dr Cureton, as now it must be

¹ Dr P. N. Land, of the National Reformed Communion in Holland, who reviewed Cureton's work in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, October 1858, very pertinently states that in the Edessene codex of A. D. 548 in the Vatican, as collated by Adler in his *Versiones Syriacæ*, "thirty-nine variations from Schaaf's Pēshittō occur within the first seven chapters; and among these thirty-nine, twenty-one are literally, and of some others traces are found in Dr Cureton's text" (p. 158). Professor Wright, on the other hand, has had occasion to notice the citations from the Gospels met with in the twenty-two Syriac Homilies written A. D. 337—45 by Aphraates the Persian sage, who was somewhat senior to Ephraem, and whose works have hitherto been ascribed to James of Nisibis. They are very loose, and bear some occasional resemblance to the Curetonian, but on the whole come much nearer to the text of the Peshito version. This whole subject has just been fully discussed by the Abbé Martin of Paris (*Des Versions Syriennes*, pp. 163—236, in lithograph), who regards Cureton's version as a corruption of the Peshito, made about the sixth century by the aid of a Greek manuscript closely akin to Codex Bezaë, which copy it

said, that on the most serious plea in his whole argument, he allowed judgment to pass against him by default.

Meanwhile we ought not to dissemble our conviction that many passages in which the Peshito differs from the Curetonian version bear strong traces of being corruptions on the part of the latter of readings already correctly given by the former; and thus form a class of facts very adverse to the higher authority claimed for the newly discovered translation. Such, for example, is Luke xxiv. 32, where all existing manuscripts (except Cod. D, which has a different reading altogether, *κεκαλυμμένη*) have *ἡ καρδία ἡμῶν καιομένη ἦν*, "our heart was burning," which the Peshito rightly translates by *ܠܘܚ ܒܝܫܡ ܕܚܝܒܐ*, while the Curetonian, by the slight change of the Estrangelo *dolath* ܕ into *rish* ܕ for *ܘܫܡ* "burning;" presents us with *ܘܫܡܐ* "heavy;" a variation supported only by those precarious allies the Thebaic and (apparently) the Armenian versions. Had the passage occurred in S. Matthew's Gospel, Dr Cureton would of course have thrown the error upon the Greek translator, as having misread his Aramaic original; as the matter stands, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that in this and not a few other passages the careless transcriber of the Curetonian mistook or corrupted the Peshito, rather than that the Peshito amended the defects, real or supposed, of the other. But on this head we can dwell no longer.

On the whole, then, fully admitting the critical value of this newly-discovered document, and feeling much perplexed when we try to account for its origin, we yet see no reason whatever to doubt its decided inferiority *in every respect* to the primitive version still read throughout the Churches of the East¹.

resembles in a stichometrical arrangement not found elsewhere in Syriac, the division into *στίχοι* being indicated by the red points which occur in almost every line of Cureton's codex.

¹ Christian Hermansen in his valuable *Disputatio de Cod. Evangeliorum Syriaco a Curetono typis descripto* (Hauniae, 4^o, 1859), appeals to a work I have not been able to see (J. Wichelhaus, *De N. T. versione Syra antiqua*, Halis, 1850), as advocating the same opinion in regard to the two versions which we have contended for. Hermansen himself, while he rejects Cureton's idea respecting St Matthew's Gospel (p. 320), feels bound to regard his version as the more ancient one, inasmuch as it is rougher, less elegant, and less like the received text than the Peshito. Dr Hort, as his theory (to be considered below, Ch. vii) imperatively demands, assumes throughout that Cureton's manu-

(3). *The Philoxenian or Harclean Syriac.*

Of the history of the Philoxenian Syriac version, which embraces the whole New Testament except the Apocalypse, we possess more exact information, though some points of difficulty may still remain unsolved. Moses of Aghel in Mesopotamia, who translated into Syriac certain works of the Alexandrian Cyril about A.D. 550, describes a version of the "New Testament and Psalter made in Syriac by Polycarp, Rural-Bishop¹ (rest his soul!) for Xenaias of Mabug," &c. This Xenaias or Philoxenus, from whom the translation takes its name, was Monophysite Bishop of Mabug (Hierapolis) in Eastern Syria (488—518), and doubtless wished to provide for his countrymen a more literal translation from the Greek than the Peshito aims at being. His scheme may perhaps have been injudicious, but it is a poor token of the presence of that quality which "thinketh no evil," to assert, without the slightest grounds for the suspicion, "More probable it is that his object was of a less commendable character; and that he meant the version in some way to subserve the advancement of his party."² Dr Davidson will have learnt by this time, that one may lie under the imputation of heresy, without being of necessity a bigot or a dunce.

Our next account of the work is even more definite. At the end of the manuscripts of the Gospels from which the script represents, though not in its purest form, the old state of the national or Peshito version, which (as he conjectures) was authoritatively revised in the latter part of the third or in the fourth century, and thus brought into the shape represented by the Peshito of extant manuscripts and of the Eastern Churches (*Introd.* pp. 84, 156). Mr Crowfoot's attempt to translate the Curetonian Syriac back into Greek, so as to arrive at a second century Greek text, can give satisfaction to no one, as may appear by a single instance, *Matth. vi. 11*, which he renders *ἄπρον ἐνδελεχῆ τῆς ἡμέρας*: yet here, at any rate, the Curetonian rendering is really preferable to that of the Peshito.

¹ On the order, functions, and decay of the *Χυρπιτακωαί*, see Bingham's *Antiquities*, Book II., Chapter xiv.

² Davidson, *Bibl. Crit.* Vol. II. p. 186, first edition. The Abbé Martin (*see* p. 323 note), after stating that this version was never used by any Syrian sect save the Monophysites or Jacobites, goes on to ask "Est-ce à dire que cette version soit entachée de monophysisme? Nous ne le pensons pas; pour l'affirmer, il faudra l'examiner très minutieusement; car l'hérésie monophysite est, à quelques points de vue, une des plus subtiles qui aient jamais paru" (*ubi supra*, p. 162).

printed text is derived, we read a subscription by the first hand, importing that "this book of the four holy Gospels was translated out of the Greek into Syriac with great diligence and labour...first in the city of Mabug, in the year of Alexander of Macedon 819 (A.D. 508), in the days of the pious Mar Philoxenus, confessor, Bishop of that city. Afterwards it was collated with much diligence by me, the poor Thomas, by the help of two [or three] approved and accurate Greek Manuscripts in Antonia, of the great City of Alexandria, in the holy monastery of the Antonians. It was again written out and collated in the aforesaid place in the year of the same Alexander 927 (A.D. 616), Indiction IV. How much toil I spent upon it and its companions, the Lord alone knoweth...&c." It is plain that by "its companions" the other parts of the N. T. are meant, for though but one manuscript of the Acts and Epistles in this version survives, a similar subscription (specifying but one manuscript) is annexed to the Catholic Epistles; those of S. Paul are defective from Hebr. xi. 27, but two manuscripts are cited in the margin.

That the labour of Thomas (surnamed from Harkel, his native place, and like Philoxenus, subsequently Monophysite bishop of Mabug) was confined to the collation of the manuscripts he names, and whose various readings, usually in Greek characters, with occasional exegetical notes, stand in the margin of all copies but one at Florence, is not a probable opinion. It is likely that he added the asterisks and obeli which abound in the version, and G. H. Bernstein ("De Charklensi N. T. transl. Syriac. Commentatio," Breslau, 1837) believes that he so modified the text itself, that it remains in the state in which Polycarp left it only in one codex now at Rome, which he collated for a few chapters of S. John. From this and other copies yet uncollated, as well as from quotations met with in Syriac writers, it may possibly appear that the difference between the state of the version before and after the recension of Thomas of Harkel is more considerable than from his own expressions we might have anticipated.

We have been reminded by Tregelles, who was always ready to give every one his due, that our own Pococke in 1630, in the Preface to his edition of the Catholic Epistles wanting in the Peshito (*see* p. 315), both quotes an extract from Dionysius.

Barsalibi, Bishop of Amida (Diarbekr), in the twelfth century (*see* p. 322), which mentions this version, and even shews some acquaintance with its peculiar character. Although again brought to notice in the comprehensive "Bibliotheca Orientalis" (1719—28) of the elder J. S. Assemani [1687—1768], the Philoxenian attracted no attention until 1730, in which year Samuel Palmer sent from Diarbekr to Dr Gloucester Ridley four Syriac manuscripts, two of which proved to belong to this translation, both containing the Gospels, one of them being the only extant copy of the Acts and all the Epistles. Fortunately Ridley [1702—1774] was a man of some learning and acuteness, or these precious codices might have lain disregarded as other copies of the same version had long done in Italy; so that though he did not choose to incur the risk of publishing them in full, he communicated his discovery to Wetstein, who came to England once more, in 1746, for the purpose of collating them for his edition of the N. T., then soon to appear: he could spare, however, but fourteen days for the task, which was far too short a time, the rather as the Estrangelo character, in which the manuscripts were written, was new to him. In 1761 Ridley produced his very careful and valuable tract, "De Syriacarum N. F. Versionum Indole atque Usu Dissertatio," and on his death his manuscripts went to New College, of which society he had been a Fellow. The care of publishing them was then undertaken by the Delegates of the Oxford Press, who selected for their editor Joseph White [1746—1814], then Fellow of Wadham College and Professor of Arabic, afterwards Canon of Christ Church; who, though now, I fear, chiefly remembered for the most foolish action of his life, was an industrious, able, and genuine scholar. Under his care the Gospels appeared in 2 vol. 4°, 1788¹, with a Latin version and satisfactory Prolegomena;

¹ "Sacrorum Evangeliorum Versio Syriaca Philoxeniana, ex Codd. MSS. Rideilianis in Bibliotheca Novi Collegii Oxon. repositis; nunc primum edita, cum Interpretatione Latina et Annotationibus Josephi White. Oxonii e Typographeo Clarendoniano", 1778. 2 tom. 4°. And so for the two later volumes. Ridley named that one of his manuscripts which contains only the Gospels Codex Barsalibæi, as notes of revision by that writer are found in it (e. g. John vii. 53—viii. 11). G. H. Bernstein has also published S. John's Gospel (Leipzig, 1853) from manuscripts in the Vatican: *see* p. 326. In or about 1877 Is. H. Hull, an American missionary, discovered at Beerût a manuscript in the Estrangelo character, much mutilated (of which he kindly sent me a photographed page containing the end of S. Luke and the beginning of S. John), which in the

the Acts and Catholic Epp. in 1799, the Pauline in 1803. Meanwhile Storr ("Observat. super N.T. vers. Syr." 1772) and Adler ("N. T. Version. Syr." 1789) had examined and described seven or eight continental codices of the Gospels in this version, some of which are thought superior to White's¹.

The characteristic feature of the Philoxenian is its excessive closeness to the original: it is probably the most servile version of Scripture ever made. Specimens of it will appear on pp. 334—7, by the side of those from other translations, which will abundantly justify this statement. The Peshito is beyond doubt taken as its basis, and is violently changed in order to force it into rigorous conformity with the very letter of the Greek. In the twenty verses of Matth. xxviii. we note 76 such alterations: three of them seem to concern various readings (vv. 2; 18; and 5 *marg.*); six are inversions in the order; about five are substitutions of words for others that may have grown obsolete: the rest are of the most frivolous description, the definite state of nouns being placed for the absolute, or *vice versa*; the Greek article represented by the Syriac pronoun; the inseparable pronominal affixes (that delicate peculiarity of the Aramæan dialects) retrenched or discarded; the most unmeaning changes made in the tenses of verbs, and the lesser particles. Its very defects, however, as a version give it weight as a textual authority (*see* p. 309): there can be no hesitation about the readings of the copies from which such a book was made. While those employed for the version itself in the sixth century resembled more nearly our modern printed editions, the three or more codices used by Thomas at Alexandria must have been nearly akin to Cod. D (especially in the Acts), and, next to D, support BL 1. 33. 69. "Taken altogether," is Dr Hort's comment, "this is one of the most confused texts preserved: but it may be rendered more intelligible by fresh collations and better editing, even if they should fail to distinguish the work of Thomas of Harkel from that of his predecessor Polycarpus" (*Introd.*, p. 156).

Gospels follows the Philoxenian version, although the text differs much from White's, but the rest of the N. T. is from the Peshito. Professor Abbot of Harvard University has extracted from it 300 various readings.

¹ Martin names as useful for the study of a version as yet too little known, the Lectionaries Bodleian 43; Brit. Mus. Addit. 7170, 7171, 7172, 14490, 14689, 18714; Paris 51 and 52; Rome, Vatic. 36 and Barberini vi. 32 (*ubi supra*, p. 162).

The asterisks (∩ #) and obeli (∩ −) of this version will be observed in our specimens (pp. 336—7), and seem to be due to Thomas of Harkel. Like the similar marks in Origen's Hexapla (from which they were doubtless borrowed) they have been miserably displaced by copyists; so that their real purpose is a little uncertain. Wetstein, and after him even Storr and Adler, refer them to changes made in the Philoxenian from the Peshito: White more plausibly considers the asterisk to intimate an addition to the text, the obelus to recommend a removal from it.

(4). *The Jerusalem Syriac.*

Of this version but one manuscript has been discovered, and that virtually by Adler, who collated, described, and copied a portion of it (Matth. xxvii. 3—32) for that great work in a small compass, his "N. T. Versiones Syriacæ" (1789): S. E. Assemani the nephew had merely inserted it in his Vatican Catalogue (1756). It is a partial Lectionary of the Gospels in the Vatican (MS. Syr. 19), on 196 quarto thick vellum leaves, written in two columns in a rude hand (F being expressed by ϖ, P by ϗ), with rubric notes of Church-lessons in the *Carshunic*, i.e. bad Arabic in Syriac letters. From a subscription we learn that the scribe was Elias, a presbyter of Abydos, who wrote it in the Monastery of the Abbot Moses at Antioch, in the year of Alexander 1341, or A.D. 1030. Adler gives a poor *fac-simile* (Matth. xxvii. 12—22): the character is peculiar, and all diacritic points (even that distinguishing *dolath* from *rish*), as well as many other changes, are thought to be by a later hand. Tregelles confirms Assemani's statement, which Adler had disputed, that the first six leaves, shewing traces of Greek writing buried beneath the Syriac, proceeded from another scribe. The remarkable point, however, about this version (which seems to be made from the Greek, and is quite independent of the Peshito) is the peculiar dialect it exhibits, and which has suggested its name. Its grammatical forms are far less Syriac than Chaldee, which latter it resembles even in that characteristic particular, the prefixing of *yud*, not *nun*, to the third person masculine of the future of verbs¹; the

¹ Thus also the termination of the definite state plural of nouns is made in [for] : the third person affix to plural nouns in ܘܟܘܢ for ܘܟܘܢܘ.

most ordinary words it employs can be illustrated only from the Chaldee portions of the Old Testament, from the Jerusalem Targum, or from the Talmud¹. Adler's account of the translation and its copyist is not very flattering, "satis constat dialectum esse incultam et inconcinnam.....orthographiam autem vagam, inconstantem, arbitrariam, et ab imperito librario rescribendo et corrigendo denuo impeditam" ("Vers. Syr." p. 149). As it is mentioned by no Syriac writer, it was probably used but in a few remote churches of Lebanon or Galilee: but though (to employ the words of Porter) "in elegance far surpassed by the Peshito; in closeness of adherence to the original by the Philoxenian" ("Principles of Textual Criticism," Belfast, 1848, p. 356); it has its value, and that not inconsiderable, as a witness to the state of the text at the time it was turned into Syriac; whether, with Adler, we regard it as derived from a complete version of the Gospels made not later than the sixth century, or with Tischendorf refer it to the fifth². Tregelles (who examined the codex at Rome) wrongly judged it a mere translation of some Greek Evangelistarium of a more recent date. Of all the Syriac books, this copy and Barsalibi's recension of the Philoxenian (*see* p. 327, note) alone contain John vii. 53—viii. 11; the Lectionary giving it as the Proper Lesson for Oct. 8, S. Pelagia's day (*see above*, p. 85). In general its readings much resemble those of Codd. BD, siding with B 85 times, with D 79, in the portions published by Adler; but with D *alone* 11 times, with B alone but 3.

The information afforded by Adler respecting this remark-

¹ Thus in the compass of the six verses we have cited from Adler (*below*, p. 336) occur not only the Greek words καί (*καί*) v. 3, and ναί (*ναί*) v. 5, which are common enough in all Syriac books, but such Chaldaisms as ܕܥܝܢܐ for ܕܥܝܢܐ, *de* (v. 4, 6, 7); ܕܥܝܢܐ, v. 3, "when;" ܕܥܝܢܐ, v. 3, "repented;" ܕܥܝܢܐ for ܕܥܝܢܐ, (v. 4, 6, 8), "blood;" ܕܥܝܢܐ, v. 4, "to us;" ܕܥܝܢܐ, v. 5, "himself;" ܕܥܝܢܐ, v. 6, "price" (Pesh. has ܕܥܝܢܐ, Philox. ܕܥܝܢܐ, τμήνη); ܕܥܝܢܐ, v. 8, "therefore;" ܕܥܝܢܐ, v. 8, "this," made up of Syr. ܕܥܝܢܐ and Chald. ܕܥܝܢܐ.

² Dr Hort's not very explicit judgment should now be added: "The Jerusalem Syriac Lectionary has an entirely different text [from the Harklean], probably not altogether unaffected by the Syriac Vulgate [meaning thereby the Peshito], but more closely related to the Old Syriac [meaning the Curetonian]. Mixture with one or more Greek texts containing elements of every great type, but especially the more ancient, has however given the whole a strikingly composite character" (*Introd.* p. 157).

able document gave rise to a natural wish that the whole manuscript should be carefully edited by some respectable scholar. This has now been done by Count Francis Miniscalchi Erezzo, who in 1861—4 published at Verona in two quarto volumes "Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum ex Codice Vaticano Palæstino deprompsit, edidit, Latinè vertit, Prolegomenis ac Glossario adornavit Comes F. M. E." This elaborate work, for such it is, although its execution fails on the whole to satisfy critics of the calibre of Land and the Abbé Martin, ends with a list of those chapters and verses of the Gospels (according to the notation of the Latin Vulgate), which the manuscript contains in full. Tischendorf, in the eighth edition of his Greek Testament, enriched his notes with the various readings these Church Lessons exhibit; their critical character being much the same as Adler's slight specimen had given us reason to expect. The Lectionary closely resembles that of the Greek Church as described above pp. 78—83, the slight differences in the beginnings and endings of the lessons scarcely exceeding those subsisting between different Greek copies, as noticed in our Synaxarion. It contains the Sunday and week-day Gospels for the first eight weeks beginning at Easter (with a few verses lost in two places of Week VIII); the Saturday and Sunday Gospels only for the rest of the year; the lessons for the Holy Week, complete as detailed on p. 82, with two or three slight exceptions; and the eleven Gospels of the Resurrection (p. 83). In the Menology or Calendar of Immoveable Feasts, there is a greater amount of variation in regard to the Saints' Days kept, as indeed we might have looked for beforehand (*see* p. 74). We subjoin a list of those whose Gospels are given at length in the manuscript, together with the portions of Scripture appointed for each day, in order that this curious Syriac service book may be compared with that of the Greeks (pp. 84—6).

September 1. Simaan Stylites, as p. 85. 3. Commemoratio patris nostri Antiocha, John x. 7—16. 4. Babul et sanctorum qui cum eo, Luke x. 1—12. 5. Zacharias, father of the Baptist, Matth. xxiii. 29—39. 6. Eudoxio, Mark xii. 28—37. 8. Birthday of the Virgin, *Matins*, Luke i. 39—56. *Ad Missam* as p. 85. Sunday before Elevation of the Cross, as p. 85. 14. Elevation of the Cross, John xi. 53; xix. 6—35. 15. Nikita, Matth. x. 16—22. 16. Eufemia, p. 85, note 2. 20. Eustatios et sociorum ejus, Luke xxi. 12—19. 21. Jonah the Prophet, Luke xi. 29—33. 30. Gregory the Armenian¹, Matth. xxiv. 42—51.

¹ See the "Life and Times of Gregory the Illuminator, the Founder and Patron Saint of the Armenian Church," translated by the Rev. S. C. Malan, London, 1868.

October 3. Dionysius the Bishop, (p. 85) Matth. xiii. 45—54. *Blagia*, (p. 85, note 3) John viii. 1—11. 18. Luke, as p. 85. 21. *Patris nostri Parion*, Luke vi. 17—23. 25. SS. *Scriptorum Marciano et Martoro*, Luke xii. 2—12. 26. *Demetrios et commemoratio terræ motus*, Matth. vii. 23—27.

November 1. SS. *T[h]aumaturgorum Kezma et Damian*. Matth. x. 1—8. December 4. *Barbara*, Mark v. 24—34. 20. *Ignatios*, as p. 85. 22. *Anastasia*, Mark xii. 28—44. "Dominica ante Nativitatem, et patrum sanctorum," Matth. i. 1—17. 24. *Ad nat. Nativitatis*, Matth. i. 18—25 (compare p. 85). *In nocte Nativitatis*, as p. 85. 25. *Christmas Day*, as p. 85. 26. *Commemoratio dominæ Mart. Mariam*, as p. 85. 28. *Jacob, frater Domini*¹, Mark vi. 1—5 (p. 85).

January 1. *Circumcision*, as p. 86. 3. Matth. iii. 1, 5—11. *Saturday and Sunday "ante missam aquæ"*, as p. 86. 5. *Nocte missæ aquæ*, p. 86. 6. *Missæ aquæ* (both lessons), as p. 86. 7. *Commemoration of John the Baptist*, as p. 86. *Saturday and Sunday post missam aquæ*, as p. 86. 8. Luke iii. 19—22. 10. John x. 39—42. 11. Luke xx. 1—8. *Theodosius*, Luke vi. 17—23. 15. *Juhanna Tentorii*, Matth. iv. 25; v. 1—12. 28. *Patris nostri Efrein*, Matth. v. 14—19.

February 2. *Ingressus Domini Jesu Christi in templum*, as p. 86. 24. *Finding of the Head of John the Baptist*, *ad Mat.* as p. 86: *ad Missam*, Matth. xi. 2—15.

March 9. *Martyrii xl martyrum Sebaite*, Matth. xx. 1—16. 25. *Annuntiationis Deiparæ*, *ad Missam*, as p. 86.

April 1. *Mariam Ægyptiacæ*, Luke vii. 36—50 (compare p. 85, note 2).

May 8. *Evan. Juhanna fil. Zebdiai*², as p. 86.

June 14. *Proph. Eliscias*, Luke iv. 22—30³. 24. *Birth of John the Baptist*, as p. 86. 29. *Peter*, as p. 86. † 30. *The Twelve Apostles*, Matth. ix. 36—x. 8.

July 22. *Mariam Magdalaitha*, Luke viii. 1—3.

August 1. *Amkabian Ascemonit, et filiorum suorum*, Matth. x. 16—22. 6. *Apparitio Domini nostri Jesu Christi in Monte Thabur*, Luke ix. 28—36; Matth. xvii. 1—9; 10—22. 29. *Beheading of John the Baptist*, as p. 86.

Appendix. Sanctæ Christianæ, Matth. xxv. 1—13 (*see* Sept. 24, p. 85). *Justorum*, Matth. xi. 27—30. *Dominica xi*, Matth. xv. 21—28.

This last (*of the Canaanites*, p. 82) had been omitted in its usual place, and two lessons inserted about the same place, which are not in the Greek, viz. "Jejunio sancto Banskiva fer. 4, vesp. Mark xi. 22—25," and "fer. 6, vesp. John xv. 1—12."

The foregoing list contains those Saints' Days only whose lessons are given at full length in the Jerusalem Syriac, and will sufficiently indicate to the reader what portions of the Gospels are contained in that most interesting and weighty manuscript.

(5). Akin to this Jerusalem version, as Tischendorf suspects, and certainly resembling it in the shape of its letters, is a palimpsest fragment brought by him "from the East" (*see* p. 149), and now at St Petersburg, briefly described in his "*Anecdota sacra et profana*," p. 13, and there illustrated by a *facsimile*. He assigns its date to the fifth century, but it yet remains to be collated.

¹ Kept by the Greeks Oct. 23. Gale O. 4. 22 and other Greek Evangelistaria commemorate this holiday.

² Dec. 27 in the Western Calendar.

³ So Gale O. 4. 22, with the same lesson.

(6). *The Karkaphensian Syriac.*

Assemani ("Biblioth. Orient." Tom. II. p. 283, see p. 327), on the authority of Gregory Bar-Hebræus (*above* p. 311), mentions a Syriac version of the N.T., other than the Peshito and Philoxenian, which was named "Karkaphensian" (ܟܪܟܦܗܝܢܝܢ), whether because it was used by Syrians of the *mountains*, or from *Carcuf*, a city of Mesopotamia. Adler ("Vers. Syr." p. 33, see p. 328) was inclined to believe that Bar-Hebræus meant rather a revised manuscript than a separate translation, but Cardinal Wiseman, in the course of those youthful studies which gave such seemly, precocious, deceitful promise ("Horæ Syriacæ," Rom. 1828), discovered in the Vatican (MS. Syr. 153) a Syriac translation of both Testaments, with the several portions of the New standing in the following order; Acts, James, 1 Peter, 1 John, the fourteen Epistles of S. Paul, and then the Gospels (*see* p. 70), these being the only books contained in the true Peshito (*see* p. 314). On being compared with that venerable translation, Vat. Cod. 153 was found to resemble it much (though the Peshito is somewhat less literal), only that in Proper Names and Greek words it follows the more exact Philoxenian. In the margin also are placed by the first hand many readings indicated by the notation $\alpha\zeta$, which turns out to mean the Peshito. The codex is on thick yellow vellum, in large folio, with the two columns so usual in Syriac writing; the ink, especially the points in vermilion, has often grown pale, and it has been carefully retouched by a later hand; the original document being all the work of one scribe: some of the marginal notes refer to various readings. There are several long and tedious subscriptions in the volume, whereof one states that the copy was written "in the year of the Greeks 1291 (A.D. 980) in the [Monophysite] monastery of Aaron on [mount] Sigara, in the jurisdiction of Calisura, in the days of the Patriarchs John and Menna, by David a deacon of Urin in the jurisdiction of Gera" [Γέppα, near Beroë or Aleppo]. It may be remarked that Assemani has inserted a letter in the "Bibliotheca Orientalis" from John the Monophysite Patriarch [of Antioch] to his brother Patriarch, Menna of Alexandria. This manuscript, of which Wiseman gives a rather rude *facsimile*, is deemed by him of great importance in tracing the history of the Syriac vowel-points. He names other manuscripts (e.g. Barberini 101) which seem to

belong to this version, reserving a full collation for that more convenient season which in his tumultuous life was never to come [d. 1865]. We subjoin Matth. i. 19 in four versions, wherein the close connexion of the Karkaphensian with the Peshito is very manifest. The vowel-points of the Karkaphensian are irregularly put, and deserve notice.

PESHITO.	KARKAPHENSIAN.
<p> ܘܗܘ ܥܠ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢ ܘܗܘ ܥܠ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢ ܘܗܘ ܥܠ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢ </p>	<p> ܘܗܘ ܥܠ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢ ܘܗܘ ܥܠ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢ ܘܗܘ ܥܠ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢ </p>
CURETONIAN.	PHILOXENIAN.
<p> ܘܗܘ ܥܠ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢ ܘܗܘ ܥܠ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢ ܘܗܘ ܥܠ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢ </p>	<p> ܘܗܘ ܥܠ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢ ܘܗܘ ܥܠ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢ ܘܗܘ ܥܠ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢ </p>
	<p><i>Marg. παραδειγματίσαι.</i></p>

We have now traced the history of the several Syriac versions, so far at least as to afford the reader some general idea of their relative importance as materials for the correction of the sacred text. On pp. 335—6 are given parallel versions of Matth. xii. 1—4; Mark xvi. 17—20 from the Peshito, the Curetonian, and the Philoxenian, the only versions known in full; for Matth. xxvii. 3—8, in the room of the Curetonian, which is here lost, we have substituted the Jerusalem Syriac, and have retained throughout Thomas' marginal notes to the Philoxenian, its asterisks and obeli. We have been compelled to employ the common Syriac type, though every manuscript of respectable antiquity is written in the Estrangelo character. Even from these slight specimens the servile strictness of the Philoxenian, and some leading characteristics of the other versions, will readily be apprehended by an attentive student (e.g. the Curetonian in Matth. xii. 1; 4; Mark xvi. 18; 20).

PESHITO.

(3) اَقْرَبُ مِمَّا يَسْتَوْزِلُ مَجْلَمِيَا. مِمَّا
 يَنْبَأُ الْبَيْتُ يَعْنِي الْبَابَ. وَآرَا
 اَقْبَصُ مَلِكِي لَأَكْبَابِ وَيَعْقِلُ كَرِيْبُ
 خَتِيَا كَلْبَعِيْعَا. (4) وَآفِيْدُ. سَلْبِيْه
 وَأَكْفِيْهَ وَمَا أَكْنَا. يَتَّبِعُ رَبَّ اِيْمُوْه
 كَس. لِيْ فَمَا لِيْ. اِيْهَ يَبْرُ اِيْهَ.
 (5) هُوْبِيْتِ وَيَعْقِلُ صَوْحَطَا هُوْبِيْ.
 وَآرَا سِيْلُ لُيْعِيْس. (6) زُيْبُ خَتِيَا
 رَبِّ فُجَلِيْتِ وَيَعْقِلُ وَآفِيْدُ. لَّا
 فُكِيْه. وَيُرْمِيْهَتِ فِيْ صِيْدِيَا.
 مِيْلَا وَيُعْطِ مِمَّا يَتِي. (7) هُوْبَعِ
 مَلِيَا: هُوْبِيْهَ فِيْ اِيْهَ وَيُعِيْسُ
 لُحِيْهَ صَعُوْرَا وَاحْقِيْبَا. (8) مِيْلَا
 تُوْنَا اَلْصِرْبُ اِيْهَ وَيُهَيَا: صِيْبِيَا
 وَيُمَّا مِمَّا كَسْمِيْدَا.

JERUSALEM SYRIAC.

(3) صَنَاهِ صِيْرَهَمَا صَحِيْ مِمَّا
 سَعُوْرَهَي وَيَعْنِي نَاهِ وَيَلْبَسُ لَسَا
 هَالْبُجُ لَأَكْبَابِ وَيَعْقِلُ كَرِيْبَا وَيَقْبَلُ
 هَوْعِيْعَا. (4) هُوْفِيْدُ اَفْحَلَا وَيَعْبِيْ
 اِيْمُوْرُ وَيَتَّبِعُ: سَتَقُ رَبَّ اِيْمُوْه مَلَا
 كَلْبِيْتِيْ اَلْ بَيْتِيَا: (5) هُوْمَا يَعْقِلُ
 صَوْحَطَا هُوْبِيَا هُوْبِيْ: (6) قَسَا
 وَيَقْبَلُ رَبَّ يَحْبِيْ وَيَعْقِلُ هُوْفِيْدُ لَّا
 مَلِيْه. وَيُمَّا نَاهِيْ صَوْحَوِيْدَا:
 كَرِيْبَا وَيَتَّبِعُ وَيُمَّا (7) يَحْقِيْ
 رَبَّ مَلِيْبُو (مَلِيْبُطَا s. m.) هُوْقِيْه
 صَوْحِيْ هُوْبِيْهَ وَيَسَا كَلْبَعِيْهَ
 لَّا احْقِيْبَا (8) كُجِبُ اَلْصِرْبُ هُوْدَا
 تُوْنَا مَعَلَا اِيْمُوْرَا مِمَّا.

[See pp. 820, 880, notes.]

PHILOENIAN.

(3) اَقْرَبُ مِمَّا يَسْتَوْزِلُ تُوْنَا
 وَامْلَمِيْسَه وَابْيَتِيْ: مِمَّا اَلْبَابُ:
 اَقْبَصُ مَلِكِي لَأَكْبَابِ يَحْقِلُ كَرِيْبُ
 قَطْبَا مَلْعَمِيْعَا (4) مِمَّا اَفِيْدُ:
 نَهْيَه وَأَكْفِيْهَ وَمَا اَحْبَا. يَتَّبِعُ
 رَبَّ اِيْمُوْه. مَلِيَا كَلْبُ. اِيْهَ بَيْتِيَا.
 (5) هُوْمُ يَبْرُ اِيْهَ يَحْقِلُ صَوْحَطَا:
 فُكِيْه هُوْبِيَا يَبْرُ - تُوْنَا لَسَا.
 (6) قَسَا يَحْقِلُ رَبَّ مِمَّا مَلِيْه اِيْهَ
 كَحْقِلُهَا اِيْمُوْه: لَّا فُكِيْه. كَفُورِهَمَا
 صَحِيْ هَوْبَوِيْلُ: مَلِيْلَا وَيُمَّا وَيُمَّا
 اَلْبَسِيْ. (7) مِمَّا مَلِيْبُطَا يَحْبِيْهَ:
 اَجْبِيْهَ مَلِيْبُو اِيْهَ وَيُهَيَا
 لُحِيْهَ صَعُوْرَا وَاحْقِيْبَا. (8) مَلِيْلَا
 تُوْنَا اَلْصِرْبُ تُوْنَا اِيْهَ وَيُهَيَا:
 اِيْهَ وَيُهَيَا مِمَّا كَسْمِيْدَا.

Marg. 1. αβωυ. 2. οψη. 3. ακηηζατο. 4. κορβαυαυ. 5. κερμαυαυ.

4. THE LATIN VERSIONS. (1). *The Old Latin, previous to Jerome's revision.*

Since we know that a branch of the Christian Church existed at Rome "many years" before S. Paul's first visit to that city (Rom. xv. 23), and already flourished there towards the end of the first century, it seems reasonable to conjecture that the earliest Latin version of Holy Scripture was made for the use of believers in the capital, or at all events in other parts of Italy (Hebr. xiii. 24). There are, moreover, passages in the works of the two great Western Fathers of the fourth century, Jerome [345?—420] and Augustine [354—430], whose obvious and literal meaning might lead us to conclude that there existed in their time *many* Latin translations, quite independent in their origin, and used almost indifferently by the faithful. Their statements are very well known, but must needs be cited anew, as bearing directly on the point now at issue. When Jerome, in that Preface to the Gospels which he addressed to Pope Damasus (366—84), anticipates but too surely the unpopularity of his revision of them among the people of his own generation, he consoles himself by the reflection that the variations of previous versions prove the unfaithfulness of them all: "verum non esse quod variat, etiam maledicorum testimonio comprobatur." Then follows his celebrated assertion: "Si enim Latinis exemplaribus fides est adhibenda, respondeant quibus: tot enim sunt exemplaria penè quot codices." The testimony of Augustine seems even more explicit, and at first sight conclusive. In his treatise *De Doctrinâ Christianâ* (Lib. II. capp. 11—15), when speaking of "Latinorum interpretum infinita varietas," and "interpretum numerositas," as not without their benefit to an attentive reader, he uses these strong expressions: "Qui enim Scripturas ex Hebræâ linguâ in Græcam verterunt, numerari possunt, Latini autem interpretes nullo modo. Ut enim cuique primis fidei temporibus in manus venit codex Græcus, et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguæ habere videbatur, ausus est interpretari" (c. 11); and he soon after specifies a particular version as preferable

to the rest: "In ipsis autem interpretationibus Itala¹ ceteris præferatur. Nam est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiæ" (c. 14—15). And, indeed, the variations subsisting between the several extant manuscripts of the Old Latin are so wide and so perpetual, as in the judgment of no less eminent a critic than Ernesti (*Instit. Interpretis*, Pt. III. Chap. IV. § 11, *Terrot's translation*) "to prove an original diversity of versions²." Such is, no doubt, the *primâ facie* view of the whole case.

When, however, the several codices of the version or versions antecedent to Jerome's revision came to be studied by Sabatier and Bianchini, and through their labours to be placed within the reach of all scholars³, it was soon perceived that, with many points of difference between them, there were evident traces of a common source from which all originally sprung: and on a question of this kind occasional divergency, however extensive, cannot weaken the impression produced by resemblance, if it be too close or too constant to be attributed to chance (*see above*, p. 321). A single example out of thousands, taken almost at random, will best illustrate our meaning (*Matth. xx. 1, 2*). "Simile est enim... [regn]um caelorum homini patri familias, qui exiit primo mane conducere operarios in vineam suam. Conventione autem facta cum operariis

¹ For *Itala* Bentley, "with a rashness which even he seldom exceeded" (Professor Jebb, *Bentley*, p. 168), conjectured *et illa*, changing the following *nam* into *quæ* (*Bentleii Critica Sacra*, pp. 157—9); Potter more plausibly suggests *usitata* for *Itala*: but alteration is quite needless, though Bentley is pleased to say "Versio Latina Italica somnium merum" (*Trin. Coll. B. xvii. 6*).

² Even now, against the full stream of modern opinion, Ziegler, the editor of *Cod. Freisingensis* (*r* of the *Epistles*: *see* p. 344), contends that there must have been several distinct versions, whereof his own manuscript is (naturally enough in his judgment) the genuine *Itala*. Dr Caspar R. Gregory kindly supplies me with the reference, *Theologischer Literaturblatt, München, 1876*, No. 16, coll. 378—81. Dr Hort, who adheres upon the whole to the notion that there was originally but one Old Latin version, is fain to confess that there are certain differences between texts now extant which "afford some justification for the alternative view that Italy had an indigenous version of her own, not less original than the African" (*Introd.* p. 79).

³ *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinæ Versiones Antiquæ, seu Vetus Italica, et ceteræ quæcunque in Codicibus MSS. et Antiquorum Libri reperiri potuerunt... Operâ et studio D. Petri Sabatier.* Romæ 1713—9, fol., 3 tom., and the more sumptuous work, "Evangeliarium Quadruplex Latinæ Versionis Antiquæ, seu Veteris Italicæ, editum ex Codicibus Manuscriptis... a Josepho Blanchino." Romæ 1749, fol., 2 tom.

ex denario diurno, misit eos in vineam suam." Thus stand the verses in the Vercelli manuscript, the oldest and probably the best monument of the Latin before Jerome. In the other copies there is pretty much variation; five or six omit *enim*, one reads *autem* in its room: one (*ff*¹) spells *coelorum*¹; in one *pater* is inserted before *exiit*; two have *exiuit*; one reads *primū mane*; one (Tischendorf's Codex Palatinus) begins ver. 2 more idiomatically, "et convenit illi cum operariis denario diurno et misit..."; one adds *operari* after *misit eos*. The general form of the construction, however, is the same in all; all (except the Latin of Cod. D, which hardly belongs to this class of documents: see p. 126) retain the characteristic "*denario diurno*": so that the result of the whole, and of innumerable like instances, is a conviction that they are all but offshoots from one parent stock, modifications more or less accidental of one single primitive version. Now when, this fact fairly established, we look back again to the language employed by Jerome and Augustine, we can easily see that, with some allowance for his habit of rhetorical exaggeration, the former may mean no more than that the scattered copies (*exemplaria*) of the one Old Latin translation vary widely from each other; and though the assertions of Augustine are too positive to be thus disposed of, yet he is here speaking not from his personal knowledge so much as from vague conjecture; of what had been done not in his own time, but "in the first ages of our faith"; and the illustrious Bishop of Hippo, with all his earnest godliness, his spiritual discernment, his mighty strength of reasoning, must yield place as a Biblical critic and an investigator of Christian history to many (Eusebius or Jerome for example) who were far his inferiors in intellectual power.

On one point, however, Augustine must be received as a competent and most sufficient witness. We cannot hesitate to believe that one of the several translations or recensions current towards the end of the fourth century was distinguished from the rest by the name of *Itala*, and in his judgment deserved praise for its clearness and fidelity. It was long regarded as certain that in Augustine's *Italic* we might find the Old Latin version in its purest form, and that it had obtained that appel-

¹ This is manifestly a mere error of the editor, Martianay. *Caelum* is invariably the form in Latin manuscripts of every age and kind.

lation from Italy, the native country of the Latin language and literature, where Walton thinks it likely that it had been used from the very beginning of the Church, "cum Ecclesia Latina sine versione Latinâ esse non potuerit" (*Proleg.* x. 1). Mill, indeed, who bestowed great pains on the subject, reminds us that the first Christians at Rome were composed to so great an extent of Jewish and other foreigners whose vernacular tongue was Greek, that the need of a Latin translation of Scripture would not at first be felt; yet even he could not place its date later than the Pontificate of Pius I. (142—57), the first Bishop of Rome after Clement that bears a Latin name (Mill, *Proleg.* § 377). It was not until attention had been specially directed to the style of the Old Latin version that scholars began to suspect its AFRICAN origin, of which no hint had been given by early ecclesiastical writers, and which possesses in itself no great inherent probability. This opinion, which had obtained favour with Eichhorn and some others before him, may be considered as demonstrated by Cardinal Wiseman, in a brief and fugitive pamphlet entitled "*Two letters on some parts of the controversy concerning 1 John v. 7,*" Rome, 1835, since republished in his *Essays on various subjects*, Vol. I. 1853. So far as his argument rests on the exclusively Greek character of the primitive Roman Church, a fact which Mill seems to have insisted on quite enough, it may not bring conviction to the reflecting reader. Even though the early Bishops of Rome were of foreign origin, though Clement towards the end of the first, Caius the presbyter late in the second century, who are proved by their names to be Latins, yet chose to write in Greek; it does not at all follow that the Church contained not many humbler members, both Romans and Italians, ignorant of any language except Latin, for whose instruction a Latin version would still be urgently required. On the ground of internal evidence, however, Wiseman has made out a case which all who have followed him, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Davidson, Tregelles, accept as irresistible: indeed it is not easy to draw any other conclusion from his elaborate comparison of the words, the phrases, and grammatical constructions of the Latin version of Holy Scripture, with the parallel instances by which they can be illustrated from African writers, and from them only (*Essays*, Vol. I. pp. 46—66). It is impossible to exhibit any adequate

abridgement of an investigation which owes all its cogency to the number and variety of minute particulars, each one weak enough by itself, the whole comprising a mass of evidence which cannot be gainsaid. As the earliest citations from the Old Latin are found in the ancient translation of Irenæus, and the African fathers Tertullian [150 ?—220 ?] and Cyprian [d. 258]; so from the study of Tertullian and other Latin authors natives of North Africa, especially of the Roman proconsular province of that name, we may understand the genius and character of the peculiar dialect in which it is composed; such writers are Appuleius in the second century, Arnobius, Lactantius, and Augustine of the fourth. In their works, as in the Old Latin version, are preserved a multitude of words which occur in no Italian author so late as Cicero: constructions (e. g. *dominantur eorum* Luke xxii. 25; *faciam vos fieri* Matth. iv. 19) or forms of verbs (*sive consolamur . . . sive exhortamur* 2 Cor. i. 6) abound, which at Rome had long been obsolete; while the palpable lack of classic polish is not ill atoned for by a certain terseness and vigour which characterise this whole class of writers, but never degenerate into vulgarity or absolute barbarism.

Besides the vestiges of the Old Latin translation detected by Sabatier and others in the Latin Fathers and Apologists from Tertullian down to Augustine, the following manuscripts of the version are extant, and have been cited since the appearance of Lachmann's edition of the New Testament (1842—50) by the small italic letters of the alphabet.

Old Latin Manuscripts of the Gospels.

a. CODEX VERCELLENSIS [IV] at Vercelli, said to have been written by Eusebius Bishop of Vercellæ and Martyr. Bianchini, when Canon of Verona, heard of this great treasure in 1726, and collated it in the next year. *Mut.* in many letters and words throughout, and entirely wanting in Matth. xxv. 1—16; Mark i. 22—34; iv. 17—24; xv. 15—xvi. 7 (xvi. 7—20 is in a later hand, taken from Jerome's Vulgate); Luke i. 1—12; xi. 12—25; xii. 38—59. Published by J. A. Irici ("Sacrosanctus Evangeliorum Codex S. Eusebii Magni"), Milan 1748, and by Bianchini on the left-hand page of his great "Evangeliarium Quadruplex" (1749); the latter gives a *facsimile*, but Tregelles states that Irici represents the mutilated fragments the more accurately. In

Codd. *aa, ef.*, as in *d* and its Greek, the Gospels stand in the usual Western order, Matthew, John, Luke, Mark. See p. 70 and note 3.

b. COD. VERONENSIS [IV or V] at Verona, also in Bianchini's "Evangeliarium Quadruplex," on the right-hand page. *Mut.* Matth. i. 1—11; xv. 12—23; xxiii. 18—27; Mark xiii. 9—19; 24—xvi. 20; Luke xix. 26—xxi. 29; also John vii. 44—viii. 12 is *erased*.

c. COD. COLBERT. [XI] at Paris, very important though so late; edited in full by Sabatier (*see* p. 339 note 3), but beyond the Gospels the version is Jerome's, and in a later hand.

d. COD. BEZÆ, its Latin version: *see* pp. 120—127, and for its defects p. 120, note 2.

e. COD. PALATINUS [IV or V] at Vienna, where it was acquired from some uncertain source between 1800 and 1829: on purple vellum, 14 inches by 9½, written with gold and silver letters, as are Codd. *abfij*, edited by Tischendorf ("Evangelium Palatinum ineditum"), Leipzig, 1847. Only the following portions are extant: Matth. xii. 49—xiii. 13; 24—xiv. 11 (*with breaks, twelve lines being lost*); 22—xxiv. 49; xxviii. 2—John xviii. 12; 25—Luke viii. 30; 48—xi. 4; 24—xxiv. 53; Mark i. 20—iv. 8; 19—vi. 9; xii. 37—40; xiii. 2, 3; 24—27; 33—36: i.e. 2627 verses, including all S. John but 13 verses, all S. Luke but 38. Another leaf, bought for Trinity College, Dublin, by Dr Todd before 1847, containing Matth. xiii. 13—23, was published by T. K. Abbott in his edition of Cod. Z (*see* p. 148), and ought perhaps to be sent to Vienna. It was recognised in 1880 to be a fragment of *e* by Mr French, the sub-librarian.

f. COD. BRIXIANUS [VI] at Brescia, edited by Bianchini beneath Cod. *b*. *Mut.* Mark xii. 5—xiii. 32; xiv. 70—xvi. 20.

ff¹, ff². CODD. CORBEIENSES, very ancient, once at the Abbey of Corbey near Amiens in Picardy. Of *ff¹* T. Martianay edited S. Matthew and S. James ("Vulgata Antiqua Latina et Itala versio ev. Matth. et ep. Jacobi"...Paris 1695), the first of any portion of the Old Latin, and Bianchini repeated it underneath Cod. *a*, giving in its place the text of *ff²* in the other Gospels: but Sabatier cites *ff¹* in Mark i. 1—v. 18 and *ff²* in all parts except Matth. i. 1—xi. 16; John xvii. 15—xviii. 9; xx. 22—xxi. 8; Luke xi. 44—xii. 7 (in this order), wherein it is *mut.* Dean Burgon found *ff²*, a beautiful copy of 192 leaves, in the Royal Library at Paris, Lat. 17225¹. Tischendorf (*N. T.* 8th edition) tells us that *ff¹* [VIII], which had been missing, is now safe at S. Petersburg (*see* p. 166). For the history of the library at Corbey consult Delisle *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 1860, p. 438, and Mr Bensly's *Fourth Book of Esdras*, p. 7.

g¹, g². CODD. SANGERMANENSES, like Paul. E. (p. 166) and others, once at the Abbey of S. Germain des Prez, near Paris; very ancient. Bianchini repeated the readings of these from Martianay in the margin of Cod. *ff¹* of S. Matthew, but Sabatier had given the variations of both throughout the Gospels: *g²* is not often cited by him, and seems

¹ Is this the copy seen at Corbey by A. Calmet (*Wetstein, N. T. Tom. I. p. 548*) with the Gospels in the same order as in *a. e. f*?

mut. Canon Westcott copies a remarkable inscription found in *g'* ("Smith's Dictionary of the Bible," Latin Versions). The MS. is now at Paris (Lat. fonds 11553) [IX]. It is Walker's p., and S. Matthew's Gospel is being reprinted for the Clarendon Press by Mr J. Wordsworth (*see* p. 363).

h. COD. CLABOMONTANUS [IV or V] bought for the Vatican by Pius VI. (1774—99), contains only S. Matthew in the Old Latin, the other Gospels in Jerome's revision. *Mut.* Matth. i. 1—iii. 15; xiv. 33—xviii. 12. Sabatier gave extracts, and Mai published S. Matthew in full in his "Script. Vet. nova collectio Vaticana," Tom. III. p. 257, Rom. 1828.

i. COD. VINDOBONENSIS [V or VI] brought from Naples to Vienna, contains Luke x. 6—xxiii. 10 ("evangel. secundum Lucanum" it is termed); Mark ii. 17—iii. 29; iv. 4—x. 1; 33—xiv. 36; xv. 33—40. This valuable codex has been published by Alter and Paulus in Germany in such a form that Tregelles has been obliged to resort to Bianchini's and Griesbach's extracts, though Tischendorf has used Alter's publication¹.

j. COD. SARZANNENSIS or SARETIANUS [V] was discovered in 1872 in the Church of Sarezzano near Tortona. It consists of eight quires written on purple vellum in silver letters, and contains (much mutilated) 292 verses of S. John, viz. ch. i. 38—iii. 23; iii. 33—v. 20; vi. 29—49; 49—67; 68—vii. 32; viii. 6—ix. 21, with two columns on a page. The text is peculiar, and much with *abde*. Guerrino Amelli, sub-librarian of the Ambrosian Library, published at Milan the same year "Dissertazione Critico-Storica con note illustrative" 18 pp., with a lithographed *facsimile*, whose characters much resemble the round and flowing shape of those in *abf*. Amelli displays a good spirit of criticism, but he ought to have published the entire text.

k. COD. BOBBIENSIS [IV or V] brought with a vast number of others from Bobbio to Turin (G. vii. 15); it was once S. Columban's copy, and is beautifully written. The text is very important, much resembling that of Codd. *κ* B. It contains Mark viii. 19—xvi. 8, followed by Matth. i. 1—iii. 10; iv. 2—xiv. 17; xv. 20—xvi. 1; 5—7. It was most wretchedly edited by F. F. Fleck in 1837, and not very well by Tischendorf in the "Wiener Jahrbücher" 1847, but his papers are now at the Clarendon Press awaiting Canon Wordsworth's use.

l. COD. RHEDIGERIANUS [VII] at S. Elizabeth's church, Breslau; *mut.*, especially in S. John. J. E. Scheibel in 1763 published SS. Matthew and Mark, far from correctly: D. Schulz wrote a Dissertation on it in 1814, and inserted his collation of it in his edition of Griesbach's N. T., Vol. I. 1827. It was edited in full by H. F. Haase, Breslau, 1865—6.

m. This letter indicates the readings extracted by Mai ("Spicilegium Romanum," 1843, Tom. IX. pp. 61—86) from a "Speculum"

¹ His citation is from Alter, "N. Repert. d. bibl. u. morgenl. Literatur," III. 115—170 (1791), and from Paulus' *Memorabilia* (1795), VII. p. 68—96 (Tischend. N. T. Prol. p. 244, 7th edn.).

[VI or VII] which has been ascribed to Augustine (entitled at its close *Liber Testimoniorum*), and is unique for containing extracts from the whole N. T. except S. Mark, 3 John, Hebrews, and Philemon. It is or was in the Monastery of Santa Croce, or Bibliotheca Sessoriana (No. 58) at Rome¹. Wiseman drew attention to it in his celebrated "Two Letters," 1835 (*see* p. 341), because it contains 1 John v. 7, 8 in two different places. Both he and Mai furnish *facsimiles*. This "Speculum" (published in full by Mai, "Patrum Nova Collectio," Vol. I. pt. 2, 1852) consists of extracts from both Testaments, arranged in chapters under various heads or topics. See also Forster's "New Plea for the Three Heavenly Witnesses" (1867), pp. 145—6.

For the next four we are indebted to Tischendorf, who inserted them in his 7th edition (N. T. *Proleg.* p. 245), and purposed to edit them in full.

n. COD. SANGALLENSIS [V or IV] at S. Gall (*see* p. 150). It contains Matth. xvii. 1—5; 14—18; xvii. 19—xviii. 20; xix. 21—xx. 7; 7—23 (*defective*); 23—xxi. 3; xxvi. 56—60; 69—74; xxvii. 3; 62—64; 66—xxviii. 2; 8—20; Mark vii. 13—31; viii. 32—ix. 9; xiii. 2—20; xv. 22—xvi. 13; 199 verses.

o, p are other fragments at S. Gall: o [VII?] contains Mark xvi. 14—20 in a hand of the Merovingian period; p [VII or VIII] contains John xi. 14—44; it seems part of a lectionary in a Scottish (i.e. Irish) hand, and from a specimen Tischendorf gives would appear to be very loose and paraphrastic.

q. COD. MONACENSIS [VI] at Munich. *Mut.* Matth. iii. 15—iv. 25; v. 25—vi. 4; 28—vii. 8; John x. 11—xii. 39; Luke xxiii. 22—36; xxiv. 11—39; Mark i. 7—22; xv. 5—36: an important copy.

r. COD. DUBLINENSIS, fragments, "Gilbert and Bradshaw MS., specimens only": Hort *Introd.*, Notes p. 4.

s. COD. MEDIOLAN. [VI or V] at Milan, four palimpsest leaves containing in uncials Luke xvii. 3—29; xviii. 39—xix. 47; xx. 46—xxi. 22 mutilated, and in confused order. Published in 1861 by Ceriani in *Monumenta Sacra et Profana, ex Codd. præsertim Bibliothecæ Ambrosianæ*. We presume that this is the same book as Milan, Ambros. I. 61 *sup.*, shewn by Ceriani to Burgon as "Liber Sancti Columbani de Bobio." But see Cod. k.

Add to this list Cod. δ, the interlinear Latin of Cod. Δ (*see* p. 151), whatever may be its value. A more important accretion is a, of Hort (*Introd.*, Notes p. 4), "Fragmenta antiquissimæ Evangelii Lucani versionis latinæ [v], e membranis Curiensibus ed. atque adnotationibus instruxit E. Ranke, Vindobonæ, 1873." Two leaves contain Luke xi. 11—29; xiii. 16—34, to which Ranke annexes a very full critical commentary and a photograph. They were discovered by B. Hidber, a Professor at Berne, among the episcopal archives of Coire (*Curia Rætica*) of the Grisons. The Gospels must have once stood in the same order as in Cod. a (*see* p. 343).

¹ In the fly-sheet prefixed to the eighth edition of his N. T. (1865) Tischendorf cited it as "m. Vatic."

In the Acts we have Codd. *dm* as in the Gospels: *e* the Latin version of Cod. E of the Acts (see above p. 160), and *s* COD. BOBBIENSIS, now at Vienna [v?], containing palimpsest fragments of Acts xxiii, xxvii, xxviii: edited by Tischendorf and Eichenfeld ("Wiener Jahrbücher," 1847). Mr Vansittart (*Journal of Philology*, Vol. II. No. 4, pp. 240—6) described a palimpsest of 18 leaves (10 containing the Acts, 2 the Apocalypse), cited by Sabatier (Tom. III. p. 507) as Reg. 5367, but now Lat. 6400 G. It is in a graceful semi-uncial character [v or vi at latest], with 23 long lines on a page, now very hard to decipher. Dr Hort indicates it, here and in the Apocalypse, by (*h*).

g. GIGAS HOLMIENSIS, a Bohemian manuscript of the whole N. T., now at Stockholm, so called from its great size [XIII], follows the Old Latin in the Acts and Apocalypse only, the Vulgate elsewhere. Edited by John Belsheim, *Die Apostelgeschichte und die Offenbarung Johannis*, Christiania, 1879. The text is peculiar, e.g. it reads with Cod. \aleph *supra sanctos* in Apoc. xxii. 21.

g, of Hort is Fragmentum Ambrosianum [x or xi], Ceriani.

In the Catholic Epistles are *ff* (Martianay) of S. James, and *m* as in the Gospels; *s* as in the Acts, containing James i. 1—5; iii. 13—18; iv. 1; 2; v. 19; 20; 1 Pet. i. 1—12. A few fragments of 1, 2 Pet., 1 John are also found in *r* of the Pauline Epistles; see below.

In the Pauline Epistles we have *m* as in the Gospels. Codd. *d*, *e*, *f*, *g* are the Latin versions of Codd. DEFG of S. Paul, described above, Cod. D, p. 164; Cod. E, p. 166; Cod. F, p. 167; Cod. G, p. 170. Sabatier had given extracts from *de*, though not very carefully: *f* (if we except the interlinear Latin, see p. 169) belongs rather to Jerome's recension.

gue. COD. GUELFERBYTANUS [vi], fragments of Rom. xi. 33—xii. 5; 17—xiii. 1; xiv. 9—20; xv. 3—13 (33 verses), found in the great Gothic palimpsest at Wolfenbüttel (see p. 138), published with the other matter by Knittel in 1762, and more fully by Tischendorf, "Anecdota sacra et profana," p. 153, &c. In the eighth edition of his N. T. he adds readings from Rom. xiii. 3, 4, 6; 1 Tim. iv. 15.

r. COD. FREISINGENSIS [v or vi] on the covers of some books at Munich. Three precious fragments (1 Cor. i. 1—27; 28—iii. 5; xv. 14—43; xvi. 12—24; 2 Cor. i. 1—10; iii. 17—v. 1; ix. 10—xi. 21) were discovered by J. A. Schmeller, were read and intended for publication by Tischendorf. This codex, with additional fragments (Rom. xiv. 10—23; xv. 1—13; 1 Cor. v. 1—vii. 7; xv. 43—2 Cor. v. 1; vii. 10—xi. 21; xii. 14—xiii. 10; Gal. ii. 5—iii. 5; Eph. i. 16—ii. 16; Phil. i. 8—20; 1 Tim. i. 12—ii. 15; v. 18—vi. 13; Hebr. vi. 6—viii. 1; ix. 27—xi. 7; 1 John iii. 8—v. 10), was published by Leo Ziegler, with *facsimiles*, at Marburg, 1876. Another fragment, also published by Ziegler, contains Phil. iv. 11—23; 1 Thess. i. 1—10 [vii]. This last is Hort's r_p , who also names r_s , Gottvicensis [vi or vii], Rönsch's fragments of Rom. and Gal.

In the Apocalypse we have only *m* of the Gospels and *g* of the Acts. Also two leaves of the Apocalypse (*h*) from the palimpsest Paris Lat. 6400 G, described above (p. 346), whereof the three pages which are legible, containing Rev. i. 1—ii. 1; viii. 7—ix. 2 (much mutilated), were edited by Mr Vansittart (*Journal of Philology*, Vol. iv. No. 8, pp. 219—22). Add to these large extracts in the commentary of Primasius, an African writer of the sixth century, which were first edited by Sabatier, and comprise our best authority for the Old Latin in the Apocalypse.

These thirty-eight (or, counting the same copy more than once, forty-eight) codices, compared with what extracts we obtain from the Latin Fathers, comprise all we know of the version before Jerome. Codd. *abc*, the fragments of *i*, and *h* of the Acts and Apocalypse, have been deemed to represent the Old Latin in its primitive form, as it originated in Africa, and agree remarkably with Cod. D and the Curetonian Syriac in regard to interpolations and improbable or ill-supported readings: so far as they represent a text as old as the second century, they prove that some manuscripts of that early date had already been largely corrupted. Cod. *e*, also, though the specimens we shall give below (pp. 362—3) shew extensive divergency from the rest, often bears a striking resemblance to Cod. *d* and its parallel Greek. There are, however, copies (Cod. *f* for instance) of which Lachmann speaks, which “ab Afrâ suâ origine mirum quantum discrepant, et cum inimicissimis quasi collidunt” (N. T. *Proleg.* Vol. I. p. xiii); and since these best agree with the quotations of Augustine, who commended the *Italic* version (*see* p. 339), and counselled that “emendatis non emendati cedant” (*De Doct. Christ.* Lib. II. c. 14), and that “Latinis quibuslibet emendandis, Græci adhibeantur” (*ib.* c. 15); it has been inferred, not improbably, though on somewhat precarious grounds, that such codices are of the *Italic* recension, formed perhaps in the North of Italy, by correcting the elder *African* from Greek manuscripts of a more approved class. It is obvious, however, that little dependence can be placed on a theory thus slenderly supported¹, nor would the critical value of the *Italic* be diminished

¹ I do not perceive the cogency of what Lachmann says that “Wisemanus egregie demonstravit” (N. T. *Proleg.* Vol. I. p. xiii) on this head from Augustine's argument against Faustus, the *African* Manichean (*Advers. Faust.* Lib. XI. c. 2). That heretic adopted the principle we are so familiar with now, of accept-

were we certain that it had sprung from a revision made by the aid of such Greek codices as were the most highly esteemed in the third or fourth century. Of the remaining copies, Codd. *hm?n*, each with many peculiarities of its own, are assigned to the African family, *k* and *q* (which Tischendorf praises highly) to the Italic, though *k* has been amended from "a Greek text more Alexandrian than that which had been the original basis of the Latin version" (Tregelles' *Horne*, p. 239), and is otherwise very remarkable, especially for a habit of abridging whole passages. Cod. *l* is said to possess a mixed text, and *ff*^s, *g*¹, *g*² to be of but little use, so far as they have been cited. It is evident that much of this division is arbitrary, and that the whole subject needs renewed and close investigation. Dr Hort indeed believes in a third type of text more African than Italian, which sprang from repeated changes in the rough style of the former and from a comparison with Greek manuscripts (*Introd.* p. 79), a type chiefly to be found in Augustine's writings, and fairly represented by *r* of the Epistles.

(2). *Jerome's revised Latin Version, commonly called the Vulgate.*

The extensive variations then existing between different copies of the Old Latin version, and the obvious corruptions which had crept into some of them, prompted Damasus, Bishop of Rome, in A.D. 382, to commit the important task of a formal revision of the New, and probably of the Old Testament, to Jerome, a presbyter born at Stridon on the confines of Dalmatia and Pannonia, probably a little earlier than A.D. 345. This learned, fervent, and holy man had just returned to Rome, where he had been educated, from his hermitage in Bethlehem, and in the early ripeness of his high reputation undertook a work for which he was specially qualified, and whose delicate nature

ing just so much of Scripture as suited his purpose, and no more: *Inde probo hoc illius esse, illud non esse, quia hoc pro me sonat, illud contra me.* Augustine, of course, insists in reply on the evidence of "exemplaria veriora, vel plurimum codicum vel antiquorum vel linguae praecedentis" [i.e. the Greek],... "vel ex aliarum regionum codicibus, unde ipsa doctrina comaeavit." How all this tends to prove that Faustus used African, Augustine Italic manuscripts, is not easily understood.

he well understood¹. Whatever prudence and moderation could do (although these were not the peculiar excellences of his character) to remove objections or relieve the scruples of the simple, were not neglected by Jerome, who not only made as few changes as possible in the Old Latin when correcting its text by the help of "ancient" Greek manuscripts², but left untouched many words and forms of expression, and not a few grammatical irregularities, which in a new translation (as his own subsequent version of the Hebrew Scriptures makes clear) he would most certainly have avoided. The four Gospels, as they stand in the Greek rather than the Latin order (*see* p. 70, note 3), revised but not re-translated on this wise principle, appeared in A.D. 384, accompanied with his celebrated Preface to Damasus ("summus sacerdos"), who died that same year. Notwithstanding his other literary engagements, it is probable enough that his recension of the whole New Testament for public use was completed A.D. 385, though the proof alleged by Mill (*N. T. Proleg.* § 862), and by others after his example, hardly meets the case. In the next year (A.D. 386), in his Commentary on Galat., Ephes., Titus and Philem., he indulges in more freedom of alteration as a translator than he had previously deemed advisable; while his new version of the Old Testament from the Hebrew (completed about A.D. 405) is not founded at all on the Old Latin, which was made from the Greek Septuagint; the Psalter excepted, which he executed at Rome at the same date, and in the same spirit, as the Gospels. The boldness of his attempt in regard to the Old Testament is that portion of his labours which *alone* Augustine disapproved³ (Au-

¹ "Novum opus me facere cogis ex veteri: ut post exemplaria Scripturarum toto orbe dispersa, quasi quidam arbiter sedeam: et quia inter se variant, quæ sint illa quæ cum Græca consentiant veritate, decernam. Pius labor, sed periculosa præsumptio, judicare de ceteris, ipsum ab omnibus judicandum: senis mutare linguam, et canescentem jam mundum ad initia retrahere parvulorum." *Præf. ad Damasum.*

² "[Evangelia] Codicum Græcorum emendata collatione, sed veterum, quæ ne multum a lectionis Latine consuetudine discreparent, ita calamo temperavimus, ut his tantum quæ sensum videbantur mutare correctis, reliqua manere pateremur ut fuerant." *Ibid.* For a signal instance see below, Chap. IX., note on *Matth. xxi. 31.*

³ To his well-known censure of Jerome's rendering of the Old Testament from the Hebrew, Augustine adds, "Proinde non parvas Deo gratias agimus de

gust. ad Hieron. Ep. x. Tom. II. p. 18, Lugd. 1586, A.D. 403), and indeed it was never received entire by the Western Church, which long preferred his slight revision of the Old Latin, made at some earlier period of his life. Gradually, however, Jerome's recension of the whole Bible gained ground, as well through the growing influence of the Church of Rome, as from its own intrinsic merits: so that when in course of time it came to take the place of the older version, it also took its name of the *Vulgate*, or common translation. Cassiodorus indeed, in the middle of the sixth century, is said to have compared the new and old Latin (of the New, perhaps of both Testaments) in parallel columns, which thus became partially mixed in not a few codices: but Gregory the Great (590—604), while confessing that his Church used both ("quia sedes Apostolica, cui auctore Deo præsideo, utrâque utitur," Epist. Dedic. ad Leandrum, c. 5), awarded so decided a preference to Jerome's translation from the Hebrew, that this form of his Old Testament version, not without some mixture with his translation from the Septuagint (Walton, *Polyglott*, Prol. x. pp. 242—244, Wrangham), and his Psalter and New Testament as revised from the Old Latin, came at length to comprise the Vulgate Bible, the only shape in which Holy Scripture was accessible in Western Europe (except to a few scattered scholars) during the long night of the Middle Ages. To guard it from accidental or wilful corruption, Charlemagne (A.D. 797) caused our countryman Alcuin [735?—800?] to review and correct certain copies by the best Latin manuscripts, without reference to the original Greek. More than one of these are supposed by some even yet to survive; one in the British Museum¹, another described by Bianchini, in the

opere tuo, quod Evangelium ex Græco interpretatus es: quia pene in omnibus nulla offensio est, cum Scripturam Græcam contulerimus."

¹ The noble volume called Charlemagne's Bible, since 1836 the glory of the British Museum (Addit. 10546), as also one in the Royal Library at Paris (Reg. 9380), called the Bible of Theodulfus, Bp. of Orleans, A.D. 788—821, are more probably to be referred to the time of Charles the Bald (A.D. 843—77). The latter copy is copiously described by Leopold Delisle (*Les Bibles de Théodulfe*, Paris, 1879), who compares it with *hub.* and *puy.* (see below p. 359). He regards the revision of Theodulfus as separate from and more thorough than that of Alcuin, the standard of the latter being B. M. Addit. 10546, of the former *puy.* Paris 9380, and B. M. Addit. 24142 (*hub.*). Wordsworth also has examined Reg. 9380, and *hub.* See pp. 363—4.

“Bibliotheca Vallicellensis” at Rome, which belongs to the Fathers of the Oratory of S. Philip Neri. Our Primate and benefactor, the Lombard Lanfranc (1069—89), attempted a similar task (Mill, N. T. *Proleg.* § 1058); the aim too of the several subsequent “Correctoria Bibliorum” (*see above*, p. 192, note) was directed to the same good end. These remedies, as applied to written copies, were of course but partial and temporary; yet they were all that seemed possible before the invention of printing. The firstfruits of the press, as it was very right they should be, were Latin Bibles; the earliest (of which some eighteen copies remain) a splendid and beautiful volume, published at Mentz by Gutenberg and Fust, in or about 1452. Of the many editions which followed, that in the Complutensian Polyglott (1514, &c.: *see* Chapter v.) may be named as very elegant; but in none of these does much attention seem to have been paid to the purity of the text. Hence when the Council of Trent in 1546 had declared that “hæc ipsa vetus et vulgata editio, quæ longo tot sæculorum usu in ipsâ ecclesiâ probata est,” should be chosen “ex omnibus Latinis editionibus quæ circumferuntur sacrorum librorum,” and “in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, prædicationibus, et expositionibus pro *authenticâ* habeatur” (Sess. iv. Can. 2); after assigning the lowest sense possible to that ambiguous term “authentic¹,” it became the manifest duty of the Church of Rome to provide for its members the most correct recension of the Vulgate that skill and diligence could produce: in fact the Council went on to direct that “posthac Scriptura sacra, potissimum verò hæc ipsa vetus et

¹ I must confess I see nothing unreasonable in the statements of the Roman doctors cited by Walton, *Proleg.* x. Wrangham, Tom. ii. pp. 249—262. Westcott, after Van Ess, quotes Bellarmine *De Verbo Dei* x, which is more moderate than anything taken by Walton from the same great authority: “Nec enim Patres [Tridentini] fontium ullam mentionem fecerunt. Sed solum ex tot Latinis versionibus, quæ nunc circumferuntur, unam delegerunt, quam ceteris anteponerent.” Modern writers speak far more rigidly. Peter Dens, for instance, in his “Theologia” Vol. ii. p. 106 (Dublin, 1862), in answer to the enquiry “Quanta est auctoritas vulgatæ editionis Latinæ?” replies boldly enough, “Summa est et infallibilis, quia decreto Concilii Tridentalis Sess. iv. recepta est, et approbata, ac declarata authentica, ac adeo quod sit certa et infallibilis fidei nostræ regula, quod in eâ nihil contineatur fidei aut moribus adversum, nec ulla sententia falsa vel erronea.” Dens then goes on to make concessions both in regard to matter and diction, destructive of his whole case. For this last citation, and other kindly criticism on the first edition of the present work, I am indebted to the late Sir Henry Martin, Bart.

vulgata editio, quam emendatissimè imprimatur." Yet it was not until the Latin Bible had been left upwards of forty years longer to the enterprise of private persons (e.g. Rob. Stephen in 1540, who gave various readings from twenty manuscripts; Jo. Hentenius in the Louvain Bible of 1547; F. Lucas Brugensis in 1573, 1584, &c.), that Sixtus V. (1585—90), apparently after bestowing in person much laudable pains on the work, which had been in preparation during the time of his three immediate predecessors, sent forth what we might term his Authorised Edition in 1590; not only commanding in the Bull prefixed to the volume that it should be taken as the standard of all future reprints, but even that all copies should be corrected by it; and that all things contrary thereto in any manuscript or printed book, which for its elegance might still be preserved, be of no weight or authority. This edition (which in places had itself received manual corrections by the pen or by paper pasted over it) was soon found so faulty that it was called in to make room for another but two years afterwards (1592) published by Clement VIII. (1592—1605), from which it differs in many places. The high tone adopted by both these Popes, and especially by Sixtus, who had yet to learn that "there is no papal road to criticism" (Tregelles' *Horne*, Vol. iv. p. 251), afforded a rare opportunity to their enemies for upbraiding them on the palpable failure of at least one of them. Thomas James, in his "*Bellum Papale sive Concordia Discors*" (London 1600), gives a long and curious list of the differences between the Sixtine and Clementine Bibles, very humorous perhaps as a kind of *argumentum ad homines*, but not a little unbecoming when the subject is remembered to be an earnest attempt to improve the accuracy of a great and widely-spread version of Holy Scripture¹. One thing, however, is certain, that neither the Sixtine nor the Clementine edition (the latter of which retains its place of paramount authority in the Roman Church) was prepared on any intelligent principles of criticism, or furnishes us with such a text as the best manuscripts of Jerome's Vulgate supply to our hands.

It was easy for us to enumerate all known codices of the Latin before Jerome (p. 347): those of his own version deposited

¹ The variations between the Sixtine and Clementine Bibles are set down by Vercellone at 3000, and are fully given by H. de Bukantop, *Lux de luce*, lib. iii. p. 315 (Westcott).

in the libraries of Western Europe are absolutely countless: they probably much exceed in number all extant manuscripts of the Greek Testament, certainly those of any other work whatsoever. By the aid of the oldest and best of them Bentley proposed, Lachmann and Tregelles to some slight extent accomplished, the arduous task of reducing the Vulgate from its Clementine form to the condition in which Jerome left it¹. A few of the best documents that have been hitherto employed are all that need to be described here.

am. CODEX AMIATINUS, brought into the Laurentian Library at Florence from the Cistercian Monastery of Monte Amiato, in Tuscany. It contains both Testaments, nearly perfect, in a fine hand, stichometrically written by the Abbot Servandus, about A. D. 541. A. M. Bandini first particularly noticed it (though from a memorandum appended to it we find it had been looked at—hardly much used—in 1587-90, for the Sixtine edition)². The New Testament was wretchedly edited by the luckless F. F. Fleck in 1840; collated by Tischendorf 1843, and by Tregelles 1846 (del Furia re-collating the codex in the places at which the two differed); published by Tischendorf 1850, and again 1854. The Old Testament is yet in a great measure unexamined. The Latin text of Tregelles' N. T. (*see* Chapter v.) is based on this, doubtless the best manuscript of the Vulgate.

fuld. or *fu.* CODEX FULDENSIS, of about the same age, is in the Abbey of Fulda in Hesse Cassel. It contains the New Testament, all in the same hand, written by order of Victor, Bishop of Capua, who himself corrected it, and subscribed to the Acts the date, A. D. 546. The Gospels are arranged in a kind of Harmony generally following the order of Tatian (*see* p. 57, note 2), a circumstance which diminishes their critical value. It was described by Schannat 1723 ("Vindemiæ Literariæ Collectio," pp. 218—221), collated by Lachmann and his coadjutor Ph. Buttmann in 1839 for the Latin portion of his N. T. (*see* Chapter v.), and edited in 1868 by Ern. Ranke at Marburg, who directs attention to a peculiar system of capitulation prefixed in it to the Epistle to the Romans, differing from that which in common with all other manuscripts of the Vulgate it exhibits in the text, which latter the Vulgate seems to have inherited from the Old Latin (Lightfoot, *Journal of Philology*, Vol. III. No. 6, pp. 202—3). The Epistle to the Laodiceans (*see* p. 171) occurs between that to the Colossians and 1 Timothy.

¹ The great though unfinished work of Vercellone, the editor of Cod. Vaticanus (p. 113), *Varia Lectiones Vulg. Lat. Bibl.* (Tom. i. 1860; Tom. ii. P. 1, 1862), makes us regret all the more keenly the death of one whom Christian learning could ill afford to lose. Of Prebendary John Wordsworth's labours in the same wide field, we shall give some account below, p. 363.

² Westcott cites as examples of the use of *am.* in the Sixtine O. T. Gen. ii. 18; v. 26; vi. 21; vii. 3; 5; ix. 18, 19; xi. 1, where *am.* stands nearly or quite alone. The Clementine text often receives readings of *am.* which the Sixtine had neglected.

tol. CODEX TOLETANUS, at Toledo [x]¹, of both Testaments, 3 vol., in Gothic letters written with a reed (p. 26). Collated in 1588 for Sixtus' Bible by Christ. Palomares, whose papers were published by Bianchini, "Vindiciæ Canoniarum Scripturarum," 1740. It is now in the National Library at Madrid, where Prebendary John Wordsworth collated the New Testament, 1882.

for. CODEX FOROJULIENSIS [vi]. Bianchini ("Evangelium Quadruplex," Appendix) published three of the Gospels (*mut.* John xix. 29—40; xx. 19—xxi. 25). S. Mark's Gospel is partly at Venice in a wretched and illegible plight, partly (xii. 21—xvi. 20) at Prague. This last portion (*prag.*) was edited by Dobrowsky, 1778. Mr Vansittart found at Paris (Lat. 17226) an uncial manuscript, containing apparently little of S. Mark (but the first two Gospels are mixed up together), resembling *for.* in the passage quoted below, pp. 362, 363, but not elsewhere, as Wordsworth ascertained by examination. It was bound by Bozerian jeune, which looks as if it had arrived at Paris early in this century (*Journal of Philology*, Vol. II. No. 4, p. 245). Happily Ceriani is able to certify that *for.* is safe at Cividale, the Liburnian Forum Julii, near Udine.

per. Fragments of S. Luke (i. 26—ii. 46; iii. 4—16; iv. 9—22; 28—v. 36; viii. 11—xii. 7) at Perugia, somewhat carelessly edited by Bianchini, "Evangelium Quadruplex," Appendix.

*harl.*¹ COD. HARLEIAN. 1775 [vi or vii], the Gospels, partially collated by Griesbach, *Symbolæ Criticæ* Vol. I. pp. 305—26, for critical merit is much valued by Canon Westcott, who gives a *facsimile* of it in "Smith's Dictionary of the Bible," Vulgate version. There is a better in the publication of the Palæographical Society, No. 16. It is Bentley's Z, collated by him or Walker (Trin. Coll. B. xvii. 14). My ever kind friend, the Rev. G. Williams, B.D., late Senior Fellow of King's College, Cambridge [d. 1878], once hoped to publish his complete collation of this important manuscript with Bodl. 857, Harl. 1772 (both named below), B. M. Addit. 5463 (Bentley's F), King's Library, 1 B. vii (Bentley's H in Trin. Coll. B. xvii. 14) and 1 E. vi [vii] (Bentley's P), a lovely copy of which Westwood and the Palæographical Society give *facsimiles*, all compared with the great copy alleged to have been sent by Pope Gregory to Augustine [vi or vii], now at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (cclxxxvi. Evan.), which came from S. Augustine's, Canterbury, and is Bentley's B, and is illustrated by a *facsimile* in the Palæographical Society's work, No. 33.

Tregelles cites for the Gospels (*N. T.* 1857, 1860) no more than the above-named: the following, derived from Tischendorf's list (*N. T.*, 7th edition, Prol. pp. 248—51) and elsewhere, are less known, and some of them of slighter value.

and. Gospels at St Andrew's, Avignon: extracts in Martianay 1695, Calmet 1726.

¹ Not [vii] as has been stated by Mariana and others. The MS. contains a notice that its "auctor possessorque Servandus" gave it John, Bp of Cordova, who offered it to the see of Seville in 1026 of the Spanish era, that is A. D. 988. By "auctor" we may understand the person for whom it was written.

bodl. Bodleian, kept in a glass case, and said to have been given by Pope Gregory the Great to our S. Augustine: D. 5. 4 outside, (2698) 857, Auct. 2. D. 14, with two columns on a page [vii]. *Mut.* Matth. i. 1—iv. 14; viii. 29—ix. 18; John xxi. 15—25. *Prol.* before SS. Mark, Luke, and John. Tituli and capita in the margin: readings *secundâ manu* between the lines. Collated by Prebendary John Wordsworth, and partly by Mr F. Madan, inspected by Mill and Tisch. It is Casley's ψ .

cav. From the Trinity Monastery at Corpo di Cava, near Salerno [viii or ix], the whole Bible, *Danila scriptore*: used by Tisch. for 1 John v. 7, 8, and by the Abbé de Rozan, 1822. Wordsworth, who collated it in 1878—9, considers it a Spanish MS., of the same family as *tol*.

*corb.*² (Tischendorf, *N. T.*, 8th edition, 2 Pet. iii. 9, 13.)

demid. The whole Bible [xii], from old sources, edited by Matthæi (N. T.), in the Act. Epp. Apoc.: it belonged to Paul Demidov.

em. From S. Emmeram's, Ratisbon; now at Munich [*dated* 870]. Collated by P. C. Sanftl, 1786. Contains the Gospels, as does also *erl.*, at Erlangen, used by Sanftl.

flor. Floriacensis, a Lectionary in Sabatier.

fos. Fossatensis of the Gospels [viii^f], used at St Germain's by Sabatier.

gat. Gospels at S. Gatien's, Tours, but apparently lost [vii], in Calmet, Sabatier, Bianchini.

gue. lect. A Wolfenbüttel palimpsest [v], seen by Tisch.

hal. Halensis, in Tischendorf's 8th edition, cited 1 Tim. i. 1; 2 Tim. i. 1, &c.

*harl.*² Harleian 1772 [viii], a text much mixed with the Old Latin, contains all the Epistles (that to the Colossians following 2 Thess., and 1 John v. 7—Jude being crowded on one leaf, and the Apoc. (*mut.* xiv. 16—fin.). Collated in part by Griesbach, *Symb. Crit.* Vol. i. pp. 326—82. This is Bentley's M (Trin. Coll. B. xvii. 14), a notation apparently also belonging in B. xvii. 5 to

*harl.*² Harleian 2788, "mille annorum" [viii], large fol., 208 leaves, written throughout in golden uncials, except the Epistle to Damasus and some other preliminary matter. The colours used for illumination, as also the vellum, are quite fresh, and it is perhaps the finest copy of the Latin N. T. in existence. *Κεφ. ι., κεφ. pict., prol., syn.* (foll. 199—208). Corrections are made in small uncial letters. (Westcott.)

*harl.*⁴ Harleian 2826 [viii or ix], identified by Westcott as Bentley's H in Trin. Coll. B. xvii. 5, reads *si sic volo* p. m. John xxi. 22 (*see* p. 122, note 2).

jac. S. James, Gospels [ix], used by Sanftl.

ing. Gospels brought from Ingolstadt to Munich [vii], begins Matth. xxii. 39; *mut.* elsewhere. Seemiller 1784, Tisch. 1844.

laud. Oxford, Bodl. Laud. Lat. 108 (E. 67) [ix].

Lc. Brug. Readings extracted by Lucas Brugensis (*see* p. 192,

note) from *Correctoria Bibliorum Latinorum*, and used by Sabatier. These readings are reprinted at length from the Antwerp Polyglott 1569—72 in Walton's Polyglott, Tom. vi. xvii. p. 30.

lips. 4, 5, 6. Three Leipsic copies of Apoc., collated in Matthæi's N. T. 1785.

lux. Luxoviensis, a Lectionary; written about A.D. 1050 by Gerard, Abbot of the great Benedictine house of Luxeuil: sold at Didot's sale in 1879 to the National Library at Paris for 15,000 francs. (Mabillon 1729, Sabatier).

mar. Cæsar Vindob. 287 [dated 1079], written by Mariana the Scot (i.e. Irishman). S. Paul's Epistles, collated in Alter's N. T. Vol. ii. pp. 1040—80.

mich. (Tischendorf, N. T., 8th edition) is, like *mar.*, a Lectionary.

mm. "Majoris Monasterii (Marmoutier 87)," perhaps now B. M., Egerton 609 [x]. Gospels collated by Calmet, Sabatier, Bianchini.

mt. Gospels at S. Martin's, Tours, 22 [viii]. Sabatier used it for all the Gospels but S. Matthew. This is Walker's ρ .

reg. Several copies of the Gospels examined by Sabatier at Paris, one fragment in purple and gold from S. Germain's [vii] by Tischendorf.

san. Fragments at S. Gall of Gospels and S. Paul, the latter palimpsest [vi], a very pure text, brought to light by Tischendorf in 1857, who states that some leaves of the Gospels are at Zurich.

taur. Gospels at Turin [vii], Tischendorf, *Anecd. sacr. et prof.* p. 160; used by him in S. Mark.

theo. or *theotisc.* (Tischendorf, N. T., 8th edition, Matt. xx. 28)¹.

trevir. Gospels at Trèves, mentioned by Sanftl.

trin. Trinity Coll. Cambridge, B. x. 5 (Bentley's S) [ix], begins 1 Cor. vii. 32, ends about 1 Thess. Readings sent by Dr Hort to Tregelles. There are later copies there also, B. v. 2 [xi or xii]; B. vi. 1 [xii]; B. x. 4 is Bentley's T.

vat. "S. Mich., Breviar. Moz, Vat. olim reginæ Suec. 11," cited in *Magnificat* and *Benedictus*, Luke i, by Tischendorf after Sabatier.

To this list must be added several copies of great value and interest, which contain a text wherein the Old Latin was being gradually displaced by the Vulgate (p. 350). Some of them were of Irish or Scottish origin, often to be distinguished as such by the peculiar shape of the ornamental capital letters², and also by the

¹ "Fragmenta Theotisca versionis antiquissimæ Evangelii S. Matthæi et aliquot homiliarum. E membranis Moscuensibus Bibliothecæ Palatinæ Vindobonensis ediderunt Stephants Endlicher et Hoffmann Fallerslebensis. Vindobonæ. Typis Caroli Gerold 1834, fol. Ed. ii., cura T. F. Massmann Viennæ, 1841, 4°." The Theotisc or old German mixed with Gothic is on the right, the Latin on the left of this bilingual copy.

² Harl. 1772 (*harl.*², see p. 355) also might be reckoned in this class, as containing many capital letters of a like shape. They also appear in the Pro-

illuminated title-page beginning at Matth. i. 18, the preceding genealogy being regarded as a Preface to the Gospel proper.

arm. The Book of Armagh [VIII or IX] is the only Irish copy of the whole Latin Bible, the Pauline Epistles following the Gospels (which stand in their usual Greek order), the Epistle to the Laodiceans (*see* p. 171) following that to the Colossians, as in *fuld.* The Catholic Epistles follow the Pauline, the Acts follow the Apocalypse. Dr Reeves has been long engaged on editing this manuscript for the Provost and Seniors of Trinity College, Dublin.

chad. S. Chad's Gospels, now in the Chapter Library at Lichfield, is awaiting publication by myself at the cost of Dean Bickersteth [VIII]. *Mut.* after "exciditur," Luke iii. 9, and it contains many rare readings. It was once at S. Telian's (Llandaff), as appears from inscriptions in Latin and old Welsh which have hardly yet been deciphered. This is Bentley's ξ , collated apparently by himself ("quum diu in manibus detinuerit" Sam. Smalbroke: *see* p. 227) in Trin. Coll. B. xvii. 5. There are *facsimiles* in Westwood and in the Palæographical Society's work, Nos. 20, 21, 35.

holm. (Hort, *Intro.*, Notes p. 5) COD. HOLMIENSIS OR AUREUS [VI or VII] in the Royal Library at Stockholm, edited with *facsimiles* and full Prolegomena by John Belsheim (Christiania, 1878), exhibits on 195 leaves the Gospels complete except that one leaf is lost, which contained Luke xxi. 8—30. From an inscription in old English preserved on the title-page, it appears that the book was purchased by Alfred the alderman from the pagans [apparently the Danes] when Alfred was King and Ethelred archbishop (A. D. 871—89) for the use of Christ Church, Canterbury. It afterwards found its way to Madrid, where Sparvenfeldt (*see* p. 244 note 1) bought it in 1690 from the library of the Marquis de Liche. Belsheim regards it as a manuscript of the Old Latin, but it is as close to the Vulgate as any of its class.

kells, Book of, at Trinity College, Dublin [VII or VIII], was in Primate Ussher's hands a little before 1661, and has been very partially collated. R. King of Ballymena refers it to [VI], and Miss Stokes says of its exquisite writing, that "the stronger the magnifying power brought to bear upon it, the more is its perfection revealed." There are *facsimiles* in Westwood and in the Palæographical Society's work.

durrow, Book of, is an Evangelistarium of the same age, now also at Trin. Coll. Dublin, once in Ussher's keeping. There is a *facsimile* in Westwood.

lind. Lindisfarne, sometimes called the Book of Durham, in the British Museum, Cotton, Nero D. iv [VII or VIII], with an interlinear version in the Northumbrian dialect [XI], a splendid copy, wonderfully fresh, with rich illuminations: *Carp., Eus. t.* This is Bentley's Y.

logue to S. Mark in Cotton, Otho C. v [VIII?], now a collection of shrivelled fragments of 64 leaves surviving from the fire of 1731, the last leaf containing Mark xvi. 6—20. Astell had fortunately made a *facsimile* for Lord Harley before that event. Otho B. ix, containing 12 scorched leaves from Matth., Mark, John, has rich capitals, but not in the Irish style.

Facsimiles are given in the Palæographical Society's work, Nos. 3—6, 22.

mac-durnan, once Archbishop Parker's, now at Lambeth [ix], only 6½ inches by 4¼. There is a *facsimile* in Westwood.

mac-regol. Bodl. Arch. D. 24. Rushworth, 4°, collated by Wordsworth and a friend. *Mut.* Luke iv. 29—viii. 38; x. 19—39; xv. 16—xvi. 26. This is Bentley's or Casley's χ (Trin. Coll. B. xvii. 5), which he regards as of the same age as *chad*, and so like it in text, that it might be the work of the same scribe. Wordsworth dates it circa 820 A.D. *Facsimiles* are given by Westwood and in the Palæographical Society's work, Nos. 90, 91.

æcon. CC. (C in Trin. Coll. B. xvii. 5) in Corpus Christi College, Oxford (No. 122, V. 2. 14), "literis Hibernicis, mille annorum," 8°, is said by Bentley to be wonderfully like *chad*. (ξ) and *mac-regol* (χ). *Mut.* John i. 1—33; vii. 33—xviii. 20.

Paris Latin 10439 from the Church of Chartres [?], 263 leaves of eleven lines to a page, only 3 inches by 2¼, resembling *ff.* in appearance, but the text is Vulgate (Wordsworth).

N.B. In the publication of the Palæographical Society are *facsimiles* of Codd. C.C.C.C. 286, *chad*, Harl. 1775, *kells*, King's Libr. 1 E. vi, *lind.*, *mac-regol*, *ston.* (see p. 359).

J. O. Westwood, in *Palæographia Sacra Pictoria* 1843—5 and especially in *Facsimiles of the miniatures and ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish Manuscripts*, fol. 1868, has coloured *facsimiles* of *chad*, *durrow*, *kells*, King's Libr. 1 E. vi, *lind.*, *mac-durnan*, *mac-regol*.

Sir F. Madden notes B.M. Harl. 1023 and 1802 (Bentley's W) as of the Irish style, of about the date of A.D. 1140. Cod. 1023 is the harder to read, and has illuminations, *pict.*, and some Irish writing on the back. It was stolen from Paris by Aymont (see p. 164).

Canon Westcott in *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible* notices *cant.*^a Cambridge Univ. Library, Kk. i. 24 [viii], as written in the Irish character, and gives a *facsimile*. This is Bentley's χ in B. xvii. 14.

Other important codices, not used by Tischendorf or Tregelles, as having but lately come to light, are as follows:

amb. in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, C. 39 *infra* [vi], 286 leaves, nearly resembling *am.*, with the numbers of the sections and canons in small Greek uncials. Shewn by Ceriani to Burgon, and now collated for Wordsworth by Padre Fortunato Villa, one of the Scrittori of the Library. It begins Matth. i. 6. *Mut.* Matth. i. 25—iii. 12; xxiii. 25—xxv. 41; Mark vi. 10—viii. 12. In a later hand [ix] are Mark xiv. 35—48; John xix. 12—23, also a repeated Passion lesson, John xiii.—xviii.

*cant.*¹ Cambridge Univ. Library, Ee. i. 9 (xiii).

cant.^a *ibid.* Ff. 4. 10 [xiii], from Christ Church Library, Canterbury.

dunelm. Durham Chapter Library, A. 2. 16 [viii], 134 leaves, 13¾ inches by 9½, being Bentley's K. S. John begins at ch. i. 27. Collated in 1882 by Wordsworth and Dr Sanday.

gig. Gigas Holmiensis at Stockholm [XIII], so called from its size, published by Belsheim 1879. The text is Old Latin rather than Vulgate in the Acts and Apocalypse (*see* p. 346).

harv. at Harvard University, Cambridge, U. S., made known to us by Mr Tyler of New York, writing on 1 Cor. xiii.

hub. B. M. Add. 24142 [x], "an excellent manuscript," according to Wordsworth, who has examined it. It contains the Old Testament, the Gospels, the Pauline and Catholic Epistles to 1 Pet. iv. 3. From S. Hubert in the Ardennes.

puy. A Bible belonging to the Cathedral at Puy, in the Department of the Upper Loire, was brought to the Paris Exhibition in 1878, when it was described to the Institute in a paper read by L. Delisle (*see* p. 350, note)¹. It is nearly of the age of Charlemagne, and both in text and outward appearance closely resembles Paris 9380.

rem. B. M. Addit. 28107 [*dated* 1097, ipso eodem anno quo versus Jerusalem fuerat gentium plurimarum profectio] from S. Remacle's at Stavelot, near Liege (Lightfoot, *Journal of Philology*, Vol. III. No. 6, pp. 197, &c.).

rush. Rushworth Gospels as collated by Stevenson and Skeat, a mixed text.

ston. Stonyhurst [VII] of S. John only, collated by Wordsworth in 1879: "a very valuable text." This is S. Cuthbert's book, once kept in his coffin at Durham. There is a *facsimile* in the Palæographical Society's work, No. 17.

ulm. B. M. Addit. 11852 from S. Gall, 215 leaves, bought at Frankfort by Bp Butler (Dobbin, *Cod. Montfort.*, Introd. p. 44). Written for Hartmotus, Abbot of S. Gall from 872 to 884.

vall. Vallicellianus, *see* p. 201 [ix] (Bianchini), a collation thereof being, with Walker's η , preserved in Trin. Coll. B. x. 5: in the judgment of Wordsworth, a good authority for the recovery of Alcuin's revision (*see above*, p. 350, and note).

Westcott specifies for notice B. M., King's Library 1 A. 18 [x] (Bentley's O), and Addit. 11852 [ix]. We might add King's Libr. 1 D. ix, [x], large 4°, beautifully illustrated in gold, referred to as 'CNUTES' in an Anglo-saxon colophon annexed to the Preface before S. Mark. This is Bentley's A.

Besides *tol.*, now at Madrid, Wordsworth saw and examined slightly in Spain (1882)

emil. Cod. S. Emiliani, from the Abbey of S. Millan between Burgos and Lagroño, but now in the Royal Academy of History at

¹ After a minute description of this codex and its subscriptions Delisle concludes, "Tout se réunit pour donner à ces formules et à ces subscriptions un caractère original; et les personnes à qui la paléographie carlovingienne est familière n'hésiteront pas à déclarer que le manuscrit du Puy est bien un travail exécuté sous la direction de Théodulfe, qui occupa le siège d'Orléans depuis 788 jusqu'en 821 ou environ." p. 8.

Madrid, evidently the second volume of a whole Bible [ix] in two columns, very like *cav.* in handwriting and text, but less beautiful. *Mut.* in many places after the Gospels. The Pauline Epistles follow the Acts, as is also the case with

*leon.*¹, the property of the Cathedral of Leon, whose Chapter, formally convened for the purpose, permitted Wordsworth to use it for *half an hour*. This also is the second volume of a whole Bible, said to have once belonged to the convent of SS. Cosmas and Damian in the Valle de Torio, and to have been written in the time of Ordugno II. [913—23]. It was penned by two scribes, Vimara "presbiter" and Johannes diaconus. This is a specimen of the Visigothic minuscule, and contains 1 John v. 7, 8 in a varied form.

*leon.*², in the church of S. Isidore in the same city [dated 968 of the Spanish era, or A.D. 930], written "a notario Sancti prbro," was collated on behalf of the Sixtine revision of the Vulgate for Card. Carafa, and by him called Codex Gothicus: this collation is still preserved in Vat. 4859. The order of the books is Gospels, Paul., Cath. Epp., Acts, Apoc.: 1 John v. 7, 8 is here found only in the margin. We may regard *cav.* (see p. 355), *emil.*, *leon.*^{1,2}, *tol.* (see p. 354) as comprising the Spanish type of Latin MSS.

In the Acts we may add

seld. Oxford, Bodleian 3418 [vii or viii], collated by Wordsworth. This is Casley's χ . *Mut.* ch. xiv. 26—xv. 32.

S. john. St John's College, Oxford [xiv], in the Acts curiously resembling *hart.*¹ (Harleian 1775), described above, p. 354 (Westcott).

Also in the Epistles

mil. Milan E. 26. *inf.* [ix] from Bobbio, containing parts of the O. T. and S. Paul's Epistles, collated in Galat. by Wordsworth, who found that it contained a peculiar text.

nev., the Neville MS. in Trinity College, Cambridge, B. x. 5 [ix], mentioned by Hort. Pauline Epistles only.

oxon. Bodleian. Laud. Lat. 108, Casley's χ , ending Hebr. xi. 34, to be collated by Wordsworth.

Paris, Latin 335, in Lombard characters [viii]. In these two last copies 1, 2 Thess. precede Coloss. (Wordsworth).

On the whole it will be found that both as a translation and as an aid to the criticism of the Greek text of the New Testament, the Vulgate is far superior to the Old Latin, which was either formed from manuscripts early interpolated, or (what is perhaps more likely) was corrupted at a later period. Jerome would probably allow great influence to the revised Greek codices of Origen, of Pierius and Pamphilus, to which he occa-

sionally refers with approbation¹; and since his copies were of a character that Augustine also viewed with favour², we have no right to doubt that, so far as Jerome deemed it prudent or necessary to correct the current Latin text, he followed the Greek manuscripts most highly esteemed, at least in the West, at the end of the fourth century. The connection between the several forms of the Latin, before and after Jerome's recension, may be further seen from the following specimens.

In the diction of these several codices, notwithstanding many individual peculiarities, there is enough to convince us (as we saw above, p. 339) that they all had the same remote origin. On the whole *f* comes nearest to Jerome's version, and *a* nearer than *bce*, which have much in common, though *e* is farthest removed from the Vulgate, being the loosest and least grammatical of them all: *d* seldom agrees with any.

a. CODEX VERCELLENSIS
(Marc. ii. 1—5).

(1) Et cum introisset iterum in Capharnaum post dies, cognitum est quod in domo esset; (2) et protinus convenerunt multi, in tantum ut jam non posset capere usque ad januam, et loquebatur illis verbum. (3) Et veniunt ad eum, adferentes paralyticum, qui tollebatur a quatuor. (4) Et cum non possent accedere propter turbam, ascendentes, denudaverunt tectum, ubi erat Jesus; et dimiserunt grabattum ubi paralyticus decumbebat. (5) Cum vidisset autem Jesus fidem illorum, ait paralytico, Fili, remittuntur tibi peccata tua.

b. CODEX VERONENSIS.

(1) Et iterum venit Capharnaum post dies: et auditum est quod in domo esset; (2) et convenerunt multi, ita ut jam nec ad januam caperet, et loquebatur ad eos verbum. (3) Et veniunt ad illum, ferentes paralyticum in grabatto. (4) Et cum accedere non possent prae multitudine, detexerunt tectum, ubi erat; et summiserunt grabbattum, in quo paralyticus jacebat. (5) Cum vidisset autem Jesus fidem illorum, ait paralytico: Fili, remissa sunt tibi peccata.

c. CODEX COLBERTINUS.

(1) Et cum venisset Capharnaum post dies, auditum est quod in domo esset, (2) et confestim convenerunt ad eum multi, ita ut non caperet eos introitus januae, et loquebatur ad eos verbum. (3) Venerunt autem ad eum portantes in lecto paralyticum, (4) Et cum non possent accedere prae turba, denudaverunt tecta ubi erat Jesus: et summiserunt grabattum in quo paralyticus jacebat. (5) Cum vidisset autem Jesus fidem illorum, ait paralytico, Fili remittuntur tibi peccata tua.

¹ The passages are cited at length in that curious medley of exact learning and bad reasoning, Dr Nolan's *Inquiry into the Integrity of the Greek Vulgate*, 1815, pp. 171, 100, 85, &c. The principal are *Com. in Matth. xxiv.* [v. 86], *Hier. Tom. vi. p. 54*, and *Cat. Script. Eccl., Pamphilus, Tom. i. p. 128*.

² To the words quoted, p. 349, note 3, Augustine immediately adds: "Unde, si quispiam veteri falsitati contentiosius fuerit, prolatis collatisque codicibus vel docetur facillimè, vel refellitur."

e. CODEX PALATINUS.	f. CODEX BEZIANUS.	am. CODEX AMIATINUS (Vulg.).
(1) Et venit iterum in capharnaum post dies et auditum est quoniam domi est (2) et continuo collecti sunt multi ita ut nō caperet domus et loquebatur illis verbum. (3) Et venerunt ad illum portantes in grabatto paralyticum (4) et cum non possent accedere prae Turbam denudaverunt tectum ubi erat ihs et summiserunt grabattum in quo paralyticus jacebat (5) et cum vidisset ihs fidem illorum dixit paralytico fili remittatur tibi peccata.	(1) Et iterum intravit Capharnaum post dies et auditum est quod in domo esset. (2) et confestim convenerunt multi. ita ut non caperet usque ad januam. et loquebatur eis verbum. (3) Et venerunt ad eum portantes in grabato paralyticum inter quatuor. (4) Et cum offerre eum non possent prae turba, nudaverunt tectum ubi erat Jesus. et patefacientes. submiserunt grabatum. in quo paralyticus jacebat. (5) Cum vidisset autem Jesus fidem illorum. ait paralytico Fili dimissa sunt tibi peccata tua.	(1) Et iterum intravit Capharnaum post dies; et auditum est quod in domo esset, (2) et convenerunt multi, ita ut non caperet neque ad januam, et loquebatur eis verbum. (3) Et venerunt ferentes ad eum paralyticum qui a quattuor portabatur. (4) Et cum non possent offerre eum illi prae turba, nudaverunt tectum ubi erat, et patefacientes summiserunt grabatum in quo paralyticus jacebat. (5) Cum vidisset autem Jesus fidem illorum, ait paralytico Filii [<i>lege Fili cum editis</i>] dimittuntur tibi peccata.

N.B. The Clementine Vulgate reads ver. 3, ad eum ferentes. ver. 5, autem vidisset. *id.* tibi peccata tua.

The criticism of the text would lead us to much the same conclusion. In ver. 1 *f am.* read *πάλιν εισήλθεν*, *b* (apparently) *πάλιν ἦλθεν*, *c* *ἐλθὼν* (omitting *πάλιν*), *e* *ἦλθε πάλιν*, *a* *εἰσελθὼν πάλιν*: in ver. 3 *αἰρόμενον ὑπὸ τεσσάρων* is read only in *af am.*, and that with some variation: *cef* insert *ἐν κραβάτῳ* (*-τῳ e*) before *παρὰλυτικόν*, *b* after it; in *a am.* it is quite absent: in ver. 5 *σοι αἱ ἁμαρτίαι σου* is given fully in *acf* and the Clementine Vulgate, *σου* is omitted in the other three. Other instances will readily present themselves to a careful reader.

We will now transcribe John vii. 53—viii. 11 from *ce am.*, with the variations of *for.* in the last. The passage is wholly omitted in *af*, and has been erased from *b*.

c. CODEX COLBERTINUS.	e. CODEX PALATINUS.	am. for. CODD. AMIAT., FOROJULIENSIS.
(53) Et reversi sunt unusquisque in domum suam. (viii. 1) Jesus autem ascendit in montem oliveti. (2) Et mane cum factum esset, iterum venit in templo, et uni-	(53) Et abierunt singuli ad domos suas. (viii. 1) Ihs autem abiit in montem oliveti. (2) deluculo autem reversus est in templo et omnis plebs veniebat ad eum et	(53) Et reversi sunt unusquisque in domum suam. (viii. 1) Jesus autem perrexit in montem oliveti: (2) et diluculo iterum venit in templum, et omnis populus venit

c. CODEX COLBERTINUS.

versus populus conveniebat ad eum, et cum consedisset, docebat eos. (3) Scribae autem et Pharisei adduxerunt ad eum mulierem in adulterio deprehensam, quam cum stauissent in medio (4) dixerunt ad Jesum Magister haec mulier deprehensa est in adulterio. (5) In lege autem praecipit nobis Moyses, ut qui in adulterio deprehenditur, lapidetur. Tu autem quid dicis de ea? (6) Haec ideo dicebant tentantes eum, ut haberent causam accusandi eum. Jesus autem, inclinato capite, digito scribebat in terrâ (7) Cum autem perseverarent interrogantes eum, erexit se, et dicit eis: Qui sine peccato est vestrum, primus in illam lapidem jactat. (8) Et iterum se inclinans, scribebat in terra. (9) Illi igitur cum audissent, paulatim secedebant singuli, incipientes a senioribus omnes recesserunt: et relictus est solus: et ecce mulier illa in medio erat stans. (10) Cumque se erexisset Jesus, dixit ad mulierem: Ubi sunt? nemo te condemnavit? (11) Quae dixit, Nemo Domine. Dixit autem illi Jesus: Nec ego te condemnabo: Vade, et ex hoc jam noli peccare.

e. CODEX PALATINUS.

sedens docebat eos. (3) et adduxerunt autem scribae et farisaei mulierem in adulterio deprehensam et eum stauissent eam in medio (4) dixerunt Illi magister haec mulier deprehensa est sponte maecata. (5) in lege autem nobis moyses mandavit hujusmodi lapidare tu ergo quid dicis. (6) hoc enim dicebant temptantes eum ut haberent quo modo eum accusarent. *I*hs autem inclinato capite digito supra terram scribebat (7) cum ergo perseverarent interrogantes eum adiecit capud et dixit illis: si quis vestrum sine peccato est ipse prior super illâ inciat lapidem. (8) Et iterum inclinato capite supra terram scribebat. (9) Illi autem cum audissent unus post unum exiebant, incipientes a senioribus et relictus est *i*hs solus et mulier in medio. (10) Cum adievasset autem capud *i*hs dixit ei. mulier ubi sunt nemo te judicavit. (11) Dixit et illa nemo *d*ne. dixit autem—*i*hs ad illam neo ego te judico. i et amplius noli peccare.

am. for. CODD. AMIAT.,
FOROJULIENSIS.

ad eum, et sedens docebat eos. (3) Adducunt autem scribae et Pharisei mulierem in adulterio deprehensam et statuerunt eam in medio (4) et dixerunt ei Magister, haec mulier modo deprehensa est in adulterio. (5) In lege autem Moses (*Moses for.*) mandavit nobis hujusmodi lapidare: tu ergo quid dicis? (6) Haec autem dicebant temptantes (*temptantes for.*) eum, ut possent accusare eum. Jesus autem inclinans se deorsum digito scribebat in terra. (7) Cum autem perseverarent interrogantes eum, erexit se et dixit eis, Qui sine peccato est vestrum primus in illam lapidem mittat. (8) Et iterum se inclinans scribebat in terra. (9) Audientes autem unus post unum exiebant, incipientes (*incipiens Am. p. m.*) a senioribus, et remansit solus et mulier in medio stans. (10) Erigens autem se Jesus dixit ei Mulier, ubi sunt (+ qui te accusant *for.*)? nemo te condemnavit? (11) Quae dixit Nemo domine. Dixit autem Jesus (-- Dixit autem Jesus *for.*) Neo ego te condemnabo: vade et amplius jam noli peccare.

N. B. The Clementine Vulgate reads ver. 7, ergo (*pro* autem); ver. 9, exibant; + Jesus (*post* solus); ver. 10, ubi sunt qui te accusabant; ver. 11 jam amplius.

The Delegates of the Oxford University Press have added to the many services they have rendered to theological learning by entrusting to Prebendary John Wordsworth, Tutor of Brasenose, one of the third generation of a family of scholars, the

responsible but most serviceable task of editing a critical edition of the Latin Vulgate New Testament, on which he has been diligently engaged for about three years, but which will need for its completion a much longer period¹. Mr Wordsworth has taken for his text the Codex Amiatinus (*am.*), with which he has already collated, either fully or in part, the several manuscripts we have enumerated above in connection with his name: viz. *amb.*, *bodl.*, *cav.*, *dunelm.*, *emil.*, *hub.*, *mac-reg.*, *mm.* or Egerton 609, *leon.*¹, *leon.*², *seld.*, *mil.* (Paul.), *Paris* 9380, 10439. Add to this list *Paris* 281 and 298 (Walker's π), 335, 2328, 11353 (Walker's μ), and many other Latin MSS. there. He has also carefully examined the collations of Casley, J. Walker, and Bentley, preserved at Trinity College, Cambridge (B. xvii. 5, 6, 14).

It would be out of the power of any single person, and indeed it would serve no useful end, to expend time and labour on the promiscuous mass of codices of the Vulgate which abound in all libraries (p. 353), but every necessary purpose may be answered by a liberal and judicious selection of materials. Mr Wordsworth proposes to compare with *am.*, at least one codex of the Old Latin (*f*, see p. 343) which most agrees with it, and, at the other end of the long list of authorities, the Sixtine and Clementine editions (p. 352). He also seeks to discriminate the generic peculiarities of Spanish (p. 360), Irish (p. 356), and other classes of manuscripts, devoting special attention to the revisions of Alcuin and Theodulfus (see p. 350 and note). He also expects to receive some help from *Correctoria Bibliorum Latinorum* (see p. 192 and note), and of these he has examined Vat. 3466 [xiii] and two [xiv] in the library of the Arsenal at Paris (No. 131 by Jo. Puichard from S. Victor's at Paris, and No. 94), which differ much from each other and from that in the Vatican. M. Delisle also told him of a very valuable corrected Bible at Dijon, the work of a Cistercian Abbot. The large field of Patristic evidence cannot be fully occupied by a single critic, however diligent, but the chief Latin Fathers, especially S. Jerome, will always be cited in doubtful or important passages.

¹ This description is taken from a brief Prospectus issued by Mr Wordsworth in Nov. 1882, and more especially from papers which he has kindly allowed me to use in the construction of the foregoing list of manuscripts of the Vulgate (pp. 358—360).

No one who loves sacred learning and values the Latin translation of Holy Scripture can fail to wish success to this new edition, which is undertaken with such judicious zeal and carried onward under auspices so propitious.

The critical worth of the Egyptian versions has only very recently been appreciated as it deserves, and the reader is indebted for the following account of them to the liberal kindness of one of the few English scholars acquainted with the languages in which they are written, the Rev. J. B. Lightfoot, D.D., then Canon of S. Paul's, and Hulsean Professor of Divinity at Cambridge; who, in the midst of varied and pressing occupations, found time to comply with my urgent, though somewhat unreasonable, request for his invaluable aid in this particular for the benefit of the second edition of the present work. His yet more arduous labours, as Bishop of Durham, have not hindered him from revising his contribution for the enriching of the present edition. The result of his investigations seems to place the date of the Memphitic and Thebaic versions somewhat earlier than has been hitherto supposed (*see* p. 371, &c.).

5. THE EGYPTIAN OR 'COPTIC' VERSIONS.

Most ancient authors, from Herodotus downwards, referring to the heathen period of Egyptian history, mention two distinct modes of writing, the sacred and the common. In place of the former however Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* v. 4, p. 657), who has left the most precise account of Egyptian writing, substitutes two modes, which he designates *hieroglyphic* and *hieratic* (or priestly) respectively; but since the hieratic is only a cursive adaptation of the hieroglyphic, the two are treated as one by other writers under the common designation of 'sacred' (*ιερά*). Both these forms of the sacred writing are abundantly represented in extant monuments, the one chiefly in sculptured stone, the other on papyrus rolls, as we might have anticipated.

The common writing is designated by various names. It is sometimes the 'demotic' or 'vulgar' (*δημοτικά* Herod. ii. 36,

δημῶδη Diod. iii. 3); sometimes the 'native' or 'enchorial' (ἐγχωρία in the bilingual inscriptions of Rosetta and Philæ); sometimes 'epistolographic' or letter-writer's character (Clem. Alex. l. c.); and in a bilingual inscription recently (1866) discovered at Tanis (Reinisch u. Roesler *Die Zweisprachige Inschrift von Tanis*, Wien 1866, p. 55) it is called 'Egyptian' simply (ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ Ἑλληνικοῖς). This last designation, as Lepsius remarks (*Zeitsch. f. Aegyptische Sprache* iv. p. 30, 1866), shows how completely the common writing had outstripped the two forms of sacred character at the time of this inscription, the 9th year of Ptolemy Euergetes I. This demotic character also is represented in a large number of extant papyri of various ages.

These two modes of writing however—the sacred and the vulgar—besides the difference in external character exhibit also two different languages, or rather (to speak more correctly) two different forms of the same language. Of ancient writers indeed the Egyptian Manetho alone mentions the existence of two such forms (Joseph. c. *Ap.* i. 14), saying that in the word *Hyksos* the first syllable is taken from 'the sacred tongue' (τὴν ἱερὰν γλῶσσαν), the second from the 'common dialect' (τὴν κοινὴν διάλεκτον): but this solitary and incidental notice is fully borne out by the extant monuments. The sacred character, whether hieroglyphic or hieratic, presents a much more archaic type of the Egyptian language than the demotic, differing from it very considerably, though the two are used concurrently. The connexion of the two may be illustrated by the relation of the Latin and the Italian, as the ecclesiastical and vulgar tongues respectively of mediæval Italy. The sacred language had originally been the ordinary speech of Egypt; but having become antiquated in common conversation it survived for sacred uses alone. Unlike the Latin however, it retained its archaic written character along with its archaic grammatical forms. (See Brugsch *De Natura et Indole Linguae Popularis Aegyptiorum*, Berlin 1850, p. 1 sq.)

The earliest example of this demotic or enchorial or vulgar writing belongs to the age of Psammetichus (the latter part of the seventh century B.C.); while the latest example of which I have found a notice must be referred to some time between the years A.D. 165—169, as the titles (Armeniacus, Parthicus, etc.)

given to the joint sovereigns M. Aurelius and L. Verus show¹. During the whole of this period, comprising more than eight centuries, the sacred dialect and character are used concurrently with the demotic.

The term *Coptic* is applied to the Egyptian language as spoken and written by Christian people and in Christian times. It is derived from the earliest Arabic conquerors of Egypt, who speak of their native Christian subjects as Copts. No instance of this appellation is found in native Coptic writers, with one very late and doubtful exception (*Zoega Catal.* p. 648). Whence they obtained this designation, has been a subject of much discussion. Several theories which have been broached to explain the word will be found in J. S. Assemani *Della Nazione dei Copti* etc. p. 172 (printed in *Mai Script. Vet. Coll.* V. P. 2), and in Quatremère *Recherches Critiques et Historiques sur la Langue et la Littérature de l'Égypte*, Paris 1808, p. 30 sq. A very obvious and commonly adopted derivation is that which connects it with the town Coptos in Upper Egypt; but as this place was not at that time prominent or representative, and did not lie directly across the path of the Arab invaders, no sufficient reason appears why it should have been singled out as a designation of the whole country. In earlier ages however it seems to have been a much more important place, both strategically and commercially (see Brugsch *Die Geographie des Alten Ägyptens* I. p. 200, *Egypt under the Pharaohs* I. p. 212 sq., Eng. Trans.). Even as late as the Roman epoch Strabo (xvii. p. 815) describes it as 'a city with a mixed population of Egyptians and Arabians' (πόλις κοινήν Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Ἀράβων), and elsewhere (xvi. p. 781) he mentions it as a station of Egyptian traffic with Arabia and India. Possibly therefore this Arabic

¹ My authority for these facts is Brugsch, *Grammaire Démotique* p. 4, but what does he mean by the words which I have underlined? 'Au nombre des auteurs les plus récents qui nous aient donné des témoignages sur l'existence du démotique il faut citer St Clément, prêtre de l'église chrétienne à Alexandrie, et qui vivait vers l'an 190 de notre ère, ou environ le temps où régnait l'empereur Sévère. Mais les monuments nous prouvent que cette date n'est pas la dernière; il se trouve encore des inscriptions d'une époque plus rapprochée; telle est par exemple une inscription démotique que M. de Sauley avait copiée en Égypte et qu'il eut la complaisance de me communiquer pendant mon séjour à Paris; elle date du règne en commun d'Aurelius et de Verus, ce qui prouve que dans la première moitié du troisième siècle le démotique était encore connu et en usage.' L. Verus died A. D. 169.

name for the Egyptians is a survival of those early times. On the whole however it seems more probable that the Arabic word is a modification of the Greek *Αἴγυπτος* (Schwartz *Das alte Aegypten* I. p. 956).

From this account it will appear that the Coptic, as a language, cannot differ materially from the demotic. As a matter of fact the two are found on examination to represent two successive stages of the same language—a result which history would lead us to anticipate. But while the language is essentially the same, the character of the writing is wholly different. The demotic character was derived ultimately from the hieroglyphic. Hence it represents the same medley of signs. Only a small number are truly alphabetic, i. e. denote each a single sound. Others represent syllables. Others again, and these a very large number, are not phonetic at all, but pictorial. Of these pictorial or ideographic signs again there are several kinds; some represent the thing itself directly; others recall it by a symbol; others again are determinative, i. e. exhibit the class or type, to which the object or action belongs. It is strange that this very confused, cumbrous, and uncertain mode of writing should have held its ground for so many centuries, while all the nations around employed strictly phonetic alphabets; but Egypt was proverbially a land of the past, and some sudden shock was necessary to break up a time-honoured usage like this and to effect a literary revolution. This moral earthquake came at length in Christianity. Coincidentally with the evangelization of Egypt and the introduction of a Christian literature, we meet with a new and strictly phonetic alphabet. This new Egyptian or Coptic alphabet comprises thirty letters, of which twenty-four are adopted from the Greek alphabet, while the remaining six, of which five represent sounds peculiar to the Egyptian language and the sixth is an aspirate, are signs borrowed from the existing Egyptian writing. If there is no direct historical evidence that this alphabet was directly due to Christianity, yet the coincidence of time and historic probability generally point to this. The Christians indeed had a very powerful reason for changing the character, besides literary convenience. The demotic writing was interspersed with figures of the Egyptian deities, used as symbolic or alphabetical signs. It must have been a suggestion of propriety, if not a dictate

of conscience, in translating and transcribing the Scriptures to exclude these profane and incongruous elements from the sacred text.

The date at which this important change was introduced into Egyptian writing has been a matter of much dispute. If it is correctly attributed to Christian influences, the new alphabet must have been coeval with the birth of a native Christian literature in Egypt. The earliest extant remains of such a literature, to which we can fix a date with any certainty, are the Epistles of St Antony (who was born about the middle of the third century) to Athanasius and Theodore; but, as we shall see presently, one or both of the two principal Egyptian versions must have been already in common use at this time. Indeed, if the date assigned to a recently discovered writing be correct, the introduction of the new character was much earlier than this. On the back of a papyrus in the British Museum, containing the Funeral Oration of Hyperides, is a horoscope in Greek and Egyptian, the latter written in Greek characters with the additional six letters almost, though not quite, identical with the forms in the ordinary Coptic alphabet. Mr C. W. Goodwin, who describes this important document in Chabas *Mélanges Egyptologiques* 2me série, p. 294 sq., and in the *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache* VI. p. 18 sq., February 1868, calculates (though he does not speak confidently) that it is the horoscope of a person born A.D. 154¹.

Any account of the Coptic dialects must start from the well-known passage in the Copto-Arabic grammar of Athanasius, bishop of Kos in the Thebaid, who flourished in the 11th century. 'The Coptic language,' he writes, 'is divided into three dialects; that is to say, the Coptic dialect of Misr, which is the same as the *Sahidic*; the *Bahiric*, which gets its name from the province of Bahirah; and the *Bashmuric* in use in the region of Bashmur. At the present time only the Bahiric and Sahidic continue to be used. These different dialects are derived from one and the same language' (quoted in Quatremère *Sur la Langue*, etc. p. 20 sq.). For the present I will dismiss the

¹ The date however is placed very much earlier by Revillout *Mélanges d'Archéologie Égyptienne et Assyrienne* p. 40), who supposes the Coptic alphabet to have been a work commenced by pagan Gnostics, completed by Christian Gnostics, and adopted when complete by their orthodox successors.

Bashmurić, as it will require further investigation hereafter. The remaining two, the Bahiric and Sahidic, were the principal dialects of the language, being spoken in Lower and Upper Egypt respectively; and are largely represented in extant remains of biblical and ecclesiastical literature. Sahid and Bahirah are the Arabic names for these two districts of Egypt. But in place of these Arabic names the terms *Thebaic* and *Memphitic* have been commonly adopted as a more convenient nomenclature, being derived from the Egyptian cities which were the ancient capitals of the two kingdoms of Egypt. Owing to the accident that the Memphitic dialect was the form of Coptic best known and earliest studied in Western Europe, the term Coptic has been sometimes confined to the Bahiric or Memphitic dialect, as distinguished from the Sahidic or Thebaic, and so it is still used by Tischendorf and others; but this usage is erroneous and misleading.

The Thebaic and Memphitic dialects are well-defined and separate from each other. Among other distinctive features the Thebaic delights in the multiplication of vowels as compared with the Memphitic; thus it has ελεοολε for αλολι, мнше for мнш, ραλαατε for ραλατι, шелеет for шелет, etc. Again the Thebaic has smooth-breathings where the Memphitic has aspirates, e.g. пште for фноти 'heavens,' тит for фнот 'wind'; and it substitutes the simple aspirate for the stronger guttural, e.g. ωηρ for ωησ 'life,' παρ for φασ 'rend.' Besides these more general distinctions, the two dialects have special peculiarities, not only in their grammatical forms, but even in their ordinary vocabulary; thus Theb. αωκ for Memph. ι 'to go,' Theb. ρε for Memph. ρη† 'manner,' Theb. ραρ for Memph. мнш 'a multitude' 'many,' and so forth. Indeed the relations of the Thebaic and Memphitic dialects to each other may be fairly illustrated, as will have appeared from these facts, by the relation of the Ionic and Attic, though the differences in the Egyptian dialects are greater than in the Greek. Like the Attic, the Memphitic is the more literary and cultivated dialect of the two.

The demotic writing does not give the slightest indication that there were different dialects of the spoken language (see Brugsch *Grammaire Démotique* p. 10). In the Coptic, i.e. Christian, literature we learn this fact for the first time; and

yet in the earliest age of this literature the dialects are found to be fully developed. Brugsch however has shown (*de Natura etc.* p. 10) that transcriptions of several Egyptian words into Greek in the age of the Ptolemies occur in two different forms, which correspond fairly to the two dialects; and indeed it would seem probable that the separation of the Memphitic and Thebaic should be ascribed to the more remote time, when these regions formed separate kingdoms. The older Egyptian writing, whether sacred or demotic, would obscure the distinction of dialects, partly from a conservative fondness for time-honoured modes of representation, but chiefly owing to the nature of the character itself. Thus this character makes no provision for the nicer distinction of the vowel-sounds, while the dialectic differences depend very largely on the divergent vocalisation. Thus again it sometimes represents allied consonants, such as *l* and *r*, by the same sign; while one of the most striking peculiarities of dialect is the common substitution of *l* in the Bashmureic for *r* in the Thebaic and Memphitic, as e.g. κλπ for κρη 'wine,' λαμπι for ρομπι 'year,' λιμι for ριμι 'weeping,' and the like.

Of the time when the Scriptures were translated into the two principal dialects of Egypt no direct record is preserved. Judging however from the analogy of the Latin and Syriac and other early versions, and indeed from the exigencies of the case, we may safely infer that as soon as the Gospel began to spread among the native Egyptians who were unacquainted with Greek, the New Testament, or at all events some parts of it, would be translated without delay. Thus we should probably not be exaggerating, if we placed one or both of the principal Egyptian versions, the Memphitic and the Thebaic, or at least parts of them, before the close of the second century¹. There are, so far as I am aware, no phenomena whether of text or of interpretation in either, which are inconsistent with this early date. Somewhat later than this we meet with notices which certainly presuppose the common use of a native version or versions of the Scriptures. Quatremère (*Sur la Langue etc.* p. 9 sq.)

¹ Schwartz, whose opinion will not be suspected of any theological bias, infers from the historical notices that 'the greatest part of the New Testament writings, if not all, and a part of the Old Testament, especially the Psalms, had been already translated in the 2nd century into the Egyptian language, and indeed into that of Lower as well as into that of Upper Egypt' (p. 968).

and Schwartze (*Das alte Aegypten* p. 956 sq.) have collected a number of such notices, from which we may gather that it was the exception and not the rule, when a native Egyptian bishop or monk in the early centuries could speak the Greek language besides his own. Thus for instance St Antony, who was born about the year 250, could only speak his native tongue, and in conversing with Greeks was obliged to use an interpreter (Athan. *Vit. Ant.* 74, Hieron. *Vit. Hilar.* 30, Pallad. *Hist. Laus.* 26). His own letters, of which fragments are extant, were written in Egyptian. Yet he was a son of Christian parents, and as a boy listened constantly to the reading of the Scriptures (Athan. l. c. § 1). When only 18 or 20 years old, we are told, he was powerfully influenced by hearing the Gospel read in church (§ 2, 3); and throughout his life he was a diligent reader and expositor of the Scriptures. Indeed it is quite plain from repeated notices, that the Scriptures in the Egyptian tongue were widely circulated and easily accessible at this time (see esp. § 16 ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς [i. e. τοῖς μοναχοῖς] τῇ Αἰγυπτιακῇ φωνῇ ταῦτα τὰς μὲν γραφὰς ἱκανὰς εἶναι πρὸς διδασκαλίαν κ. τ. λ.). Again his contemporary Theodore, a famous abbot to whom one of his letters is addressed, was equally ignorant of any language but his own, and had to use an interpreter in speaking with strangers and Alexandrians (Sahid. MS clxxvii in Zoega *Catal.* p. 371). The notices of Theodore's master Pachomius, the founder of Egyptian monasteries, point in the same direction. This famous person, who was converted as a young man in the early years of the 4th century, was till late in life unacquainted with any language but his own. Receiving a visit from an Alexandrian, another Theodore, he assigned to him as his companion and interpreter a monk who could speak Greek. After some time he himself applied himself to the study of this language that he might be able to converse with his new friend (Zoega p. 77 sq., and references in Quatremère *Sur la Langue etc.* p. 12). Pachomius drew up rules for the guidance of his monastery in the Egyptian language. These rules, which are extant in Greek and Latin translations (Migne *Patrol. Græc.* XL. p. 947, Hieron. *Op.* II. p. 53 sq.), demand a very diligent study of the Scriptures from the brethren, even from novices before admission into the order. Again and again directions are given relating to the use of manuscripts. These notices indeed refer chiefly to the Thebaid,

which was the great seat of the Egyptian monasteries; but the first part of St Antony's life was spent in the monasteries of Alexandria, and it was only later that he retired to the Thebaid (*Athan. Vit. Ant.* 49). Though probably more common in Lower than in Upper Egypt, the knowledge of Greek was even there an accomplishment denied to a large number of native Christians. Thus for instance, when Palladius visited John of Lycopolis, an abbot of the Nitrian desert, he found his knowledge of Greek so slight that he could only converse through an interpreter (*Hist. Laus.* 43). These, it will be remembered, are the most prominent names among the Egyptian Christians; and from such examples it must be plain that the ordinary monk would be wholly dependent on a native version for his knowledge of the Scriptures. Yet the monks swarmed both in Upper and Lower Egypt at this time. Palladius reckons as many as 7000 brethren under Pachomius in the Tabennitic monastery (*Hist. Laus.* 38; comp. Hieron. *Præf. in Reg. Pach.* 2, II. p. 54), while Jerome states that close upon 50,000 would assemble together at the chief monastery of the order to celebrate the anniversary of the Lord's Passion (*ib.* § 7). After all allowance made for exaggeration, the numbers must have been very great. Even at a much later date the heads of the Egyptian Church were often wholly dependent on their native tongue. At the Robber's Synod of Ephesus (A.D. 449) Calosirius, bishop of Arsinoe, spoke and signed through his deacon, who acted as interpreter (*Labbe. Conc.* IV. p. 1119, 1179, 1188, ed. Colet.). And again two years later, when Dioscorus of Alexandria started for the Council of Chalcedon, he was accompanied by one Macarius, bishop of Tkou, a man of some note in his day, who could not be made to understand a word of Greek (*Memph. MS liv, in Zoega Catal.* p. 99).

(1). *The Bahiric or Memphitic Version.*

The Memphitic Version was not included in the Polyglotts, though others much later in date and inferior in quality found a place there. The first use of it is found in Bp. Fell's Oxford N. T. (1675), to which many readings were contributed by the Oxford Oriental scholar, T. Marshall, Rector of Lincoln College. It was afterwards employed by Mill, who recognised its im-

portance and gave various readings from it in the notes and appendix to his edition of the Greek Testament (1707). These readings he obtained partly from the papers of Marshall, who had contemplated an edition of the Coptic Gospels but was prevented by death from accomplishing his design, and partly from the communications of a foreign scholar Lud. Piques. The MSS which supplied the former belonged at one time to Marshall himself and are now in the Bodleian; the latter were taken from MSS in the Royal Library at Paris (see Mill's *Prolog.* pp. clii, clx, clxvii).

The editio princeps of the Memphitic version appeared a few years later with the title *Novum Testamentum Ægyptium vulgo Copticum ex MSS Bodleianis descripsit, cum Vaticanis et Parisiensibus contulit, et in Latinum sermonem convertit David Wilkins Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Presbyter, Oxon. 1716.* The editor Wilkins was a Prussian by birth, but an Oxonian by adoption. In his preface he gives an account of the MSS which he used, and which will be described below. The materials at his disposal were ample, if he had only known how to use them; but unfortunately his knowledge of the language was not thoroughly accurate, nor had he the critical capacity required for such a task. His work was very severely criticized at the time by two eminent Egyptian scholars Jablonsky and La Croze, whose verdict has been echoed by most subsequent writers; and no doubt it is disfigured by many inaccuracies. But he may fairly claim the indulgence granted to pioneers in untrodden fields of learning, and he has laid Biblical scholars under a debt of gratitude which even greater errors of detail could not efface. With some meagre exceptions this was the first work which had appeared in the Egyptian tongue; and under these circumstances much may be forgiven in an editor. The defects which render caution necessary in using it for critical purposes are twofold. *First.* The text itself is not constructed on any consistent or trustworthy principles. It is taken capriciously from one or other of the sources at his disposal; no information is given respecting the authority for the printed text in any particular passage; and, as a rule, no various readings are added. In the prolegomena indeed (p. xi sq.) notices of two or three variations are given, but even here we have no specification of the MSS from which they are taken.

Secondly. The translation cannot be trusted. The extent of this inaccuracy may be seen from the examples in Woide *Append. Cod. Alex.* p. 16 sq., and Schwartz *Evang. Memph.* Præf. p. xxii. One instance will suffice. In 1 Cor. xiii. 3 Wilkins gives the rendering 'ut comburar,' corresponding to the common reading *ἵνα καυθήσομαι*; though the Memphitic has *ἵνα ὑποὑποὑπο ἰμοῖ* = *ἵνα κανχήσωμαι*. Yet Wilkins' error has been so contagious that Tattam in his Lexicon gives *κατεῖν* 'incendere' as a sense of *ὑποὑποὑπο*, referring to this passage as an example, though its universal meaning is 'to praise,' 'to glorify.'

In 1829 the British and Foreign Bible Society published an edition of the Four Gospels in Coptic (Memphitic) and Arabic. It is a handsomely printed 4to, intended for the use of the native Christians of Egypt. In the Coptic portion, which was edited by Tattam, the text of Wilkins was followed for the most part, but it was corrected here and there from a recent MS which will be described below, *Evang.* 14. This edition has no critical value.

Between the edition of Wilkins and those of Schwartz and Boetticher more than a century and a quarter elapsed; but no important step was taken during this period towards a more critical use of the Memphitic Version. Wetstein appears to have been satisfied with the information obtainable from Mill and Wilkins. Bengel was furnished with a few various readings from the Berlin MSS by La Croze; and Woide again in his preface p. [13] gave a collation of Mark i from the Berlin MS of this Gospel. Griesbach seems not to have gone beyond published sources of information; and this has been the case with later editors of the Greek Testament.

The title of Schwartz's edition is *Quatuor Evangelia in dialecto linguæ Copticæ Memphitica perscripta ad Codd. MS. Copticorum in Regia Bibliotheca Berolinensi adservatorum nec non libri a Wilkinsio emissi fidem edidit, emendavit, adnotationibus criticis et grammaticis, variantibus lectionibus expositis atque textu Coptico cum Græco comparato instruit M. G. Schwartz.* St Matthew and St Mark appeared in 1846, St Luke and St John in the following year. The title of the work fully explains its aim. The editor was an exact Egyptian scholar, and so far it is thoroughly trustworthy. The defects of this edition however for purposes of textual criticism are

not inconsiderable. (1) Schwartz's materials were wholly inadequate. Though the libraries of England, Paris, and Rome contain a large number of MSS of different ages and qualities, not one of these was consulted; but the editor confined himself to one good MS and one indifferent transcript, both in the Berlin library. These will be described below. The text of the Memphitic Gospels therefore still remains in a very unsatisfactory state. (2) His collation with the Greek text is at once superfluous and defective. This arises from his capricious choice of standards of comparison, the Codex Ephraem and the printed texts of Lachmann and Tischendorf (1843). If he had given an accurate Latin translation of the whole, and had supplemented this with a distinct statement of the reading of the Memphitic Version where variations are known to exist in other authorities and where at the same time a Latin version could not be made sufficiently explicit, the result would have been at once more simple, more complete, and more available. As it is, he has contented himself with translating particular sentences (more especially those which are mistranslated in Wilkins), while his method of comparison necessarily overlooks many variations. With all its defects however this edition has a far higher value than its predecessor for critical purposes. Not the least useful part of Schwartz's notes is the collation of the published portions of the Thebaic Version, where also he has corrected errors in the edition of Woide and Ford (see below, p. 396 sq.).

Schwartz only lived to complete the four Gospels. He had however made some collations for the Acts and Epistles during his last visit to England; and after his death they were placed in the hands of P. Boetticher, who continued the work. The titles of Boetticher's editions are *Acta Apostolorum Coptice*, and *Epistulae Novi Testamenti Coptice*, both dated *Halæ* 1852. His plan however differs wholly from Schwartz's. He substitutes an 8vo size for the 4to of his predecessor; and he gives no translation or collation with the Greek, but contents himself with noting the variations of his MSS in Coptic at the foot of the page. Thus his book is absolutely useless to any one who is unacquainted with the language. Moreover his materials, though less scanty than Schwartz's, are far from adequate. For the Acts and for the Catholic Epistles he employed Schwartz's

collations of two English MSS, which he calls *tattamianus* and *curetonianus*, and himself collated or obtained collations of two others in the Paris Library, (*p*), (*m*); while for the Pauline Epistles he again used Schwartz's collations of the same two English MSS, together with *another* Paris MS (*p*), and the Berlin MSS, which will be described below. The account, which he gives in his preface, of the MSS employed by him is so meagre, that in some cases they are with difficulty identified. Nor again are the collations used for this edition nearly complete. I have pointed out below the defects in Schwartz's collation of one of the English MSS, which I have partially examined; and Brugsch in an article in the *Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch.* VII. p. 115 sq. (1853) has given a full collation of the Berlin MS of the Epistle to the Romans, showing how many variations in this MS are not recorded in Boetticher's edition. The Apocalypse has never appeared.

About the same time a magnificent edition of the whole of the New Testament in Coptic (Memphitic) and Arabic was published under the auspices of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The first part, which is entitled ΠΙ ΧΩΜ ΗΝ Ξ ΗΠΙΣΤΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΕΤΟΤΑΗ, 'The Book of the Four Holy Gospels,' bears the date 1847; the second, comprising the remaining books including the Apocalypse, is called ΠΙ ΧΩΜ ΜΑΡΚ ΗΠΤΕ ΤΑΛΘΗΚΗ ΗΒΕΡΙ, 'The Second Book of the New Testament,' and appeared in 1852. We are informed in a Coptic colophon at the end, that the book was edited by 'Henry Tattam the presbyter of the Anglican Church for the Holy Patriarch and the Church of Christ in Egypt.' The type is large and bold, and the volumes are very handsome in all respects, being designed especially for Church use. The editor's eminent services to Coptic literature are well known, but the titles and colophon do not suggest any high expectations of the value of this edition to the scholar. The basis of the text in this edition was a copy belonging to the Coptic Patriarch; but the editor collated it with MSS in his own possession and with others belonging to the Hon. R. Curzon, adopting from these such variations as seemed to him to agree with the best readings of the Greek MSS. As no various readings are recorded, this edition is quite useless for critical purposes: nor indeed was the aim

which the editor set before him consistent with the reproduction of the Memphitic New Testament in its authentic form. The interpolated passages for instance are printed without any indication that their authority is at all doubtful.

The following account of the Memphitic MSS existing in European libraries, though probably very imperfect, will yet be found much fuller than any which has hitherto been given. Indeed the list in le Long (*Bibl. Sacr.* i. p. 140 sq.) is the only one which aims at completeness; and the date of this work (1723) would alone disqualify it, as a guide on such a subject at the present time. Those manuscripts which I describe from personal inspection are marked with an asterisk. In other cases my authorities are given.

A. *The Gospels.*

In the Bodleian Library at Oxford are;

(1)* *Hunt.* 17, fol. paper, Copt. Arab., a very fine and highly important MS. Among other illuminations are seated figures of the four Evangelists prefixed to the several Gospels. The date is given at the close of St John as the year 890 (of the martyrs), i. e. A. D. 1174¹. Wilkins (p. vi), though giving the Coptic numerals correctly $\overline{\omega}\overline{\tau}\overline{\eta}$, interprets them 790, i. e. A. D. 1074. This will serve as an example of his inaccuracy; and in future I shall not consider it necessary to point out his errors, which are very numerous, unless there is some special reason for doing so. The scribe's name, John a monk, appears in a colophon at the end of St Mark.

The importance of this MS consists in a great measure in its marginal additions, which are very frequent. The text seems to give the original Memphitic Version in a very pure form; while the margin supplies all or nearly all the passages which in fewer or greater numbers have crept into the text of other Memphitic MSS, and which (so far as regards the Memphitic Version itself) must be regarded as interpolations², whatever sanction they may have in Greek MSS or other ancient authorities. Among these marginal additions I have noted Matt. vi. 13 (the doxology); Mark vi. 11 *ἀμὴν λέγω κ.τ.λ.*, vii. 16 *εἰ τις ἔχει ὄρα κ.τ.λ.*, xiii. 14 *τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ Δαυῆλ τοῦ προφήτου*, xv. 28 *καὶ ἐπληρώθη κ.τ.λ.*; Luke i. 28 *εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξίν* (in this case however not in the margin, but in the text in a smaller hand); xxii. 43, 44 (the agony); xxiii. 17 *ἀνάγκην δὲ εἶχεν κ.τ.λ.*; xxiii. 34; John vii. 53—viii. 11. On the other hand the descent of the angel, John v. 3, 4, which is wanting in many Memphitic MSS and can hardly have been

¹ I have always added 284 to the year of the Martyrs for the year A. D.; but this will not give the date accurately in every case, as the Diocletian year began in August or September; see Clinton *Fast. Rom.* ii. p. 210.

² I have observed Luke xxiii. 17 in at least three wholly distinct forms in different Memphitic MSS.

part of the original Memphitic Version, stands in the text here. At the end of St Mark the margin gives in an ancient hand (whether coeval with the MS or not, I am unable to say) the alternative ending of this Gospel substantially as it is found in L and other authorities. This marginal note runs as follows; *οτορ κη τηροτ εταρρονκεν ιμορ [ιμωοτ?] ιμνητ ατι μενεκσα πετροс οτορ δεκ οτωκρ εβολ ατσακι ιμωοτ οτορ μενεκσα παλ δε οη αροτωκρ ερωοτ ηκε ιηс ιскеп ιμαпшαι ητε φρη ша пeчмапρωтп οτορ αροτωρпoт e ρι шeппoтчп εεοтаδ ηατmoтпк ητε πωпс пeпeρ aμпп παλ οη ηεωοτ eтпп ηтoтoт oтoρ мeнeкca пaл εεταρωoт [ετταρωoт?] η[ηке?] ραпшeορтeр пeм ραпpoтpeк oтoρ ιпoтxε ρлп ηρлп ηсаки πατεροτ ταρ πε, 'And all those things he commanded to those that went after Peter, and they told them openly, and after these things again also (δε) Jesus appeared to them from the rising of the sun unto the setting thereof, and sent them to preach the holy and imperishable gospel of eternal life. Amen. These again are reckoned (added) to them; And after these things troubles and afflictions possess them, and they said not a word to any man, for they were afraid.' I have translated the emendations suggested in brackets, for without them it is hardly possible to make sense. But, even when thus corrected, the passage is not free from confusion. The alternative ending, as here given, most closely resembles the form in the Æthiopic MSS.*

(2)* *Hunt*. 20, fol. paper. The titles, initials, etc. are illuminated. The Ammonian Sections and Eusebian Canons are marked, besides two other capitulations. This MS omits the additions in Matt. xviii. 11, Luke xxii. 43, 44, Joh. v. 3, 4, vii. 53—viii. 11, but contains those of Matt. xxiii. 13 (after ver. 14), Luke xxiii. 17, 34. The catalogue ascribes this MS, which is undated, to the 13th century; but this is probably much too early.

(3)* *Bodl.* 171 (*Marshall* 3), fol. paper. The titles, initials, etc. illuminated. The Ammonian Sections and Eusebian Canons are marked. This MS is very like the last in general appearance. It is dated, as I read it, A. Mart. 1234, i.e. A.D. 1518. In the catalogue the date is given as A. Mart. 1214. It contains the additions Luke xxii. 43, 44, xxiii. 17, 34, Joh. v. 3, 4, vii. 53—viii. 11, but omits Matt. xviii. 11.

(4)* *Bodl.* 166 (*Marshall* 6), fol. paper. The last few pages are supplied by a later hand. I have no note of the date; but the catalogue gives the year of the original MS as A. Mart. 1036, and that of the later addition as A. Mart. 1357. This MS omits the additions of Luke xxii. 43, 44, xxiii. 17, Joh. v. 3, 4, vii. 53—viii. 11.

(5)* *Bodl.* 16 (*Marshall* 99), small 8vo, paper, containing the Gospel of St John only. A comparatively recent MS. It omits John v. 3, 4, vii. 53—viii. 11.

In the British Museum;

(6)* *Oriental* 425, 4to, paper, Copt. Arab. Fol. 2a—6b contain the Eusebian tables, after which originally followed the four Gospels in the common order, ending fol. 116 b. The whole of St Luke however, and the

whole of St John except xix. 6—xx. 13 and xxi. 13—25, are wanting owing to the mutilation of the MS. The original paging shows that they once formed part of the volume. The subsequent matter is not Biblical. The Ammonian Sections and Eusebian Canons are given throughout. A colophon at the end of St John gives the name of the scribe John, and the date 1024 of the Martyrs, i.e. A.D. 1308. This MS was purchased at Archdeacon Tattam's sale. The addition in Matt. xviii. 11 is wanting.

(7)* *Oriental* 426, 4to, paper, Copt. Arab. The Gospel of St John, of which the beginning as far as i. 13 is wanting. After this Gospel follow some extracts from the New Testament, Ephea. iv. 1—13, Matt. xvi. 13—19, Luke xix. 1—10, with other matter. Like the last MS, this was bought at Tattam's sale. It has not the additions Joh. v. 3, 4, vii. 53—viii. 11.

(8)* *Oriental* 1001, large 8vo, paper, with illuminations, Copt. Arab., 'bought of N. Nassif, 21 May, 1869.' The four Gospels complete. Each Gospel is preceded by introductory matter, table of contents, etc. The first few leaves of the book are supplied by a later hand. A note (fol. 77 b) written by Athanasius, Bishop of Apotheke or Abutig, states that the original date of the MS was A. Mart. 908 (= A.D. 1192). This date is also repeated fol. 264 b. It may possibly be correct, though the MS does not appear so old. On fol. 125 b this same Athanasius records that he presented the book to the convent of St Antony, A. Mart. 1508 (= A.D. 1792). It contains Luke xxiii. 34, and the pericope John vii. 53—viii. 11; but omits the additions Luke xxii. 43, 44, John v. 3, 4.

(9)* *Additional* 5995, folio, paper, Copt. Arab. 'brought from Egypt by Major-General Turner, August 1801.' The four Gospels complete. The few first leaves of St Matthew and the last leaf of St John, besides some others in the middle of the volume, are added in a later hand. In an Arabic colophon (fol. 233 b) it is stated that the book was repaired A. Mart. 1492 (i.e. A.D. 1776) by one Ibrahim son of Simeon, but that its original date was more than 400 years earlier. This is perhaps an exaggeration. The same colophon says that it was written for the convent of Baramus in the desert of Scete. It has the Ammonian Sections and Eusebian Canons written in a cursive hand. It has not Luke xxii. 43, 44, xxiii. 17, nor the pericope Joh. vii. 53—viii. 11; but contains Luke xxiii. 34, and the interpolation in Joh. v. 3, 4.

(10)* *Additional* 14,740 A. A folio volume in which various Memphitic and a few Armenian fragments are bound up together, of various sizes and ages, some on vellum, some on paper. The following fragments of the Memphitic New Testament on vellum are important on account of their antiquity;

- (i) Luke viii. 2—7, 8—10, 13—18.
- (ii) 2 Cor. iv. 2—v. 4.
- (iii) Ephea. ii. 10—19, ii. 21—iii. 11.
- (iv) 1 Thess. iii. 3—6, iii. 11—iv. 1.

The fragment from the Ephesians, the most ancient of them all, appears from the handwriting to rival in antiquity the oldest Thebaic fragments.

- They are all more or less mutilated. This volume also contains several paper fragments of the Memphitic New Testament, belonging chiefly (it would appear) to lectionaries, but these are not worth enumerating.

(11)* *Oriental* 1315. The four Gospels, 4to, Copt. Arab. The letter to Carpianus, Eusebian tables, etc., are prefixed; said to be dated 1208. This and the two following MSS are from Sir C. A. Murray's collection. I have glanced at them but not examined them.

(12)* *Oriental* 1316. The four Gospels, fol., Copt. Arab., illuminated and dated A.D. 1663.

(13)* *Oriental* 1317. The four Gospels, 8vo, Copt. Arab., elaborately illuminated and dated 1814.

In the British and Foreign Bible Society's Library ;

(14)* The four Gospels, 8vo size (5 leaves in a quire), paper, Copt. Arab. The volume begins with the letter to Carpianus and the tables. Introductions are prefixed to the Gospels. The Ammonian Sections and Eusebian Canons are marked. This volume is a copy made from one in the possession of the Patriarch of Cairo for the Bible Society, and bears the date A.D. 1816 (in a colophon at the end of St Luke). It was partially used for the Society's edition of the Coptic Gospels (see above p. 377). It contains Luke xxii. 43, 44, xxiii. 17, 34, Joh. v. 3, 4, vii. 53—viii. 11, and seems to represent the common Coptic text of the present day.

In private Libraries in England¹;

(15) The Library of the *Earl of Crawford and Balcarres*. Folio. The four Gospels. It was written (see colophon at the end of St Luke) by a scribe, Simon of Tampet, A.D. 1484. Several leaves however in different parts of the volume were added much later, A. Mart. 1540 (i.e. A.D. 1824), by one George, a monk. It is illustrated and has the Ammonian Canons throughout. There is a tendency to Sahidic forms. For these particulars my thanks are due to Mr Rodwell who kindly allowed me to see his catalogue of Lord Crawford's collection. Through inadvertence I omitted to inspect the MS itself.

(16)* *Parham* 116, 117, 118 (nos. 9, 10, 11 in the printed Catalogue, p. 29), in Lord Zouche's Library at Parham in Sussex. Folio, paper, Copt. Arab. These three MSS, which contain respectively the Gospels of St Matthew, St Luke, and St John, must originally have formed part of the same volume, which St Mark is wanted to complete. The last leaf of St Luke is numbered $\tau\kappa$, the first of St John $\tau\kappa\alpha$. Several pages at the beginning and end of St Matthew are supplied by a later hand. The Ammonian Sections and Eusebian Canons are marked. These volumes are written in a large hand, and have illuminations. They contain the additions Luke xxiii. 34, Joh. vii. 53—viii. 11, but not Luke xxii. 43, 44, xxiii. 17, nor Joh. v. 3, 4.

¹ My sincere thanks are due to the late Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, and to Lord Zouche, for their kindness in allowing me free access to their valuable collections of Egyptian MSS, and in facilitating my investigations in many ways.

(17)* *Parham* 122 (no. 14, p. 29, in the printed Catalogue), 12mo, paper, Copt. Arab. The four Gospels in a small neat hand, smaller than I remember to have seen in any Coptic MS. Introductions and tables of contents are prefixed to each Gospel. This MS has the additions Luke xxiii. 34, Joh. vii. 53—viii. 11, but not Luke xxii. 43, 44, xxiii. 17, nor Joh. v. 3, 4, just as was the case with the MS last described, no. 16¹.

In the Paris National Library;

(18)* *Cod. Copt.* 13, folio, vellum. The four Gospels. A very fine

¹ The volume, **Parham* 102, described in the printed Catalogue (no. 1, vellum, p. 27) as a MS of the Gospels of St Matthew and St Mark, is really a selection of passages taken in order from the four Gospels with a patristic catena attached to each. The leaves however are much displaced in the binding, and many are wanting. The title to the first Gospel is ⲩⲉⲣⲙⲏⲛⲓⲁ ⲛⲓⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛⲧⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲟⲟⲩⲁⲕ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲙⲁⲉⲟⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗⲓⲣⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲓⲛⲥⲁⲑ ⲟⲩⲟⲗ ⲛⲑⲱⲥⲓⲛⲣ ⲛⲓⲧⲉ ⲩⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ, etc. 'The interpretation of the Holy Gospel according to Matthew from numerous doctors and luminaries of the Church.' Among the fathers quoted I observed Athanasius, Basil, Chrysostom, Clement, the two Cyrils (of Jerusalem and of Alexandria), Didymus, Epiphanius, Eusebius, Evagrius, the three Gregories (Thaumaturgus, Nazianzen, and Nyssen), Hippolytus, Irenæus, Severianus of Gabala, Severus of Antioch (often styled simply the Patriarch), Symeon Stylites, Timotheus, and Titus.

In the account of this MS in the Catalogue it is stated that 'the name of the scribe who wrote it is Sapita Leporos, a monk of the monastery, or monastic rule, of Laura under the sway of the great abbot Macarius,' and the inference is thence drawn that it must have been written before 395, when Macarius died. This early date however is at once set aside by the fact that writers who lived in the sixth century are quoted. Prof. Wright (*Journal of Sacred Literature* vii. p. 218), observing the name of Severus in the facsimile, points out the error of date, and suggests as an explanation that the colophon (which he had not seen) does not speak of the great Macarius, but of 'an abbot Macarius.' The fact is, that though the great Macarius is certainly meant, there is nothing which implies that he was then living. The scribe describes himself as ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲩⲁ ⲛⲓ ⲧⲁⲗⲉⲛⲱⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲩⲁⲓ, 'I the unhappy one (*ταλαιπωρος*) who wrote it' (which has been wrongly read and interpreted as a proper name Sapita Leporos). He then gives his name ⲉⲟⲟⲩⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲓⲣⲓ (Theodorus of Busiris?) and adds, ⲛⲓⲧⲁⲓⲛⲛⲩⲁ ⲓⲙⲟⲛⲁⲅⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲧⲉ ⲩⲗⲁⲧⲣⲁ ⲉⲟⲟⲩⲁⲕ ⲛⲓⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲩⲩⲉ ⲁⲃⲏⲁ ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓ, 'the unworthy monk of the holy laura of the great abbot Macarius.' He was merely an inmate of the monastery of St Macarius; see the expression quoted from the Vat. MS Lxi in Tattam's *Lexicon* p. 842. This magnificent MS would well repay careful inspection; but its value may not be very great for the Memphitic Version, as it is perhaps translated from the Greek.

The **Parham* MS 106 (no. 5, p. 28) is wrongly described as containing the Gospel of St John. The error is doubtless to be explained by the fact that the name ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩ occurs at the bottom of one of the pages; but the manuscript is not Biblical. Another MS (no. 18, p. 29) is described as 'St Matthew with an Arabic translation, very large folio: a modern MS copied at Cairo from an antient one in the library of the Coptic Patriarch.' I was not able to find this, when through the courtesy of Lord Zouche I had access to the Parham collection.

manuscript, elaborately illuminated, with pictures of the principal scenes in the Gospel history. It has the Ammonian Sections and Eusebian Canons in the margin, with the tables at the end of the Gospels. The writer, Michael, bishop of Damietta, gives his name in a colophon at the end of St Mark. The date at the end of St Matthew is 894 (or A.D. 1178); of the other Gospels 896 (or A.D. 1180). This MS is erroneously dated 1173 in the Catalogue, and 1164 in le Long. The additions Luke xxiii. 17, 34, and John vii. 53—viii. 11, are part of the original text. Also Luke xxii. 43, 44, is written *prima manu* and in the text, but in smaller characters so as to make a distinction. On the other hand the interpolation John v. 3, 4, is wanting.

(19)* *Cod. Copt.* 14, folio, paper, Copt. Arab. The four Gospels. It has the Ammonian Sections and Eusebian Canons, and two other capitulations besides. It contains Luke xxiii. 34, but has not the additions Luke xxii. 43, 44, xxiii. 17, Joh. v. 3, 4, vii. 53—viii. 11. It is referred in the Catalogue to 13th century, which is probably about its date.

(20)* *Cod. Copt.* 15 (*Colbert* 2913, *Reg.* 330. 3), 4to. The scribe Victor gives his name in a colophon at the end. It belongs to the more ancient Coptic MSS, though no date is given. The Ammonian Sections and Eusebian Canons are given. The passages Luke xxii. 43, 44, xxiii. 17, 34, Joh. v. 3, 4, are added in the margin, but form no part of the original text. On the other hand Joh. vii. 53—viii. 11 now forms part of the text, but the leaf containing it and several which follow have been supplied by a much later hand. This is the case also with the beginning of St Matthew and the end of St John.

(21)* *Cod. Copt.* 16 (*De la Mare* 579, *Reg.* 330. 2), 4to, Copt. Arab., paper. Owing to the Calendar at the end it is assigned to the 13th century. It has the Ammonian Sections and Eusebian Canons and (like *Cod. Copt.* 14) two other capitulations besides. It contains Luke xxii. 43, 44, xxiii. 17, 34, but not Joh. v. 3, 4, nor Joh. vii. 53—viii. 11.

(22)* *Cod. Copt.* 59 (*St German.* 25), 'Ex Bibl. Coisl. olim Seguer.' Folio, paper. The four Gospels. It has the Ammonian Sections and Eusebian Canons, and two other capitulations besides. The date at the end is given as 841 (? i.e. A.D. 1125). It does not contain the additions Luke xxii. 43, 44, xxiii. 17, 34. The earlier part of St John containing the test passages is wanting.

(23)* *Cod. Copt.* 60, folio, paper, a late MS. The four Gospels. On a fly leaf is written 'Quatuor evangelia Coptice Venetiis emta per me Fr. Bernardum de Montfaucon anno 1698, die 11 Augusti.' It has not the Ammonian Sections. The additions Luke xxii. 43, 44, xxiii. 17, Joh. v. 3, 4, are wanting; but Luke xxiii. 34, Joh. vii. 53—viii. 11, stand as part of the text.

(24)* *Cod. Copt.* 61, 8vo, paper. St John's Gospel. A late MS. The leaves are bound up in the wrong order, and some are wanting. It contains Joh. vii. 53—viii. 11.

(25)* *Cod. Copt.* 62, 4to, paper. St John's Gospel. Arabic words are written interlinearly in the earlier part, but not throughout. It has not v. 3, 4, nor vii. 53—viii. 11. It appears to be of fair antiquity.

In the Berlin Royal Library ;

(26) *MS Orient. Diez. A.* Fol. 40, described by Schwartz (Præf. xiii sq.), who collated it for his edition. He says (p. xx), 'decimum sæculum non superat, dummodo æquet.' The great body of this MS is written by two different scribes ; the two first and two last leaves are supplied by a third and more recent hand. Of the two earlier scribes the second was not contemporary with the first, as the similarity of the paper and ink might suggest, but the MS was already mutilated when it came into his hands, and he supplied the missing leaves. There is a tendency to Sahidic forms, more especially in the parts supplied by the second scribe. This MS is generally free from the interpolated additions, e.g. Luke xxii. 43, 44, xxiii. 17, 34, Joh. v. 3, 4, vii. 53—viii. 11, and seems to be of high value.

(27) *MS Orient. Quart.* 165, 166, 167, 168, four transcripts by Petrus, also collated by Schwartz (see Præf. p. ix). The first (165) has the lessons for Sundays and Festivals from the four Gospels ; the other three (166, 167, 168) contain the Gospels of St Matthew, St Mark, and St Luke respectively, with the exception of the parts included in the ecclesiastical lessons. These transcripts were made, in the year 1662, from a MS (or MSS?) which Petrus describes as 'vetustum' and 'vetustissimum.' This MS is unknown, but judging from the readings, it does not appear to have had any high value.

In the Göttingen University Library ;

(28) *Orientalis* 125, described by Lagarde *Orientalia* Heft i, p. 4. The four Gospels, written A.D. 1774 (or A.D. 1574?), but copied from an earlier MS dated A. Mart. 1073 (A.D. 1357). Some portions are written in another hand and on different paper from the rest.

In the Vatican Library at Rome ;

(29) *Copt.* 8, folio, paper, Copt. Arab. The four Gospels. Some leaves at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end have been supplied more recently. The scribe of these later leaves was one Arcadius son of John, who gives the date 1303 (i. e. A.D. 1587). The body of the MS is ascribed by Assemani to the 14th century. For further particulars see *Mai Coll. Vet. Script.* v. 2, p. 120 sq. From the collection of I. B. Raymund (no. i), left by will to the Vatican Library.

(30) *Copt.* 9 (*Raymund* iv), folio, paper, Copt. Arab., with fine illuminations. The four Gospels, preceded by the letter of Eusebius to Carpianus and the Eusebian tables. It was given to the monastery of St Antony in the Arabian desert, A. Mart. 986 (= A.D. 1270), by one Michael Abu-Gelica, as recorded in a colophon written by Gabriel who was patriarch of Alexandria at the time. Assemani states that this Michael was also the writer of the MS, and probably this was the case ; but the colophon as given by him does not directly state it. After the plunder of

the monastery by the Arabs, the MS came into the possession of two other patriarchs of the Copts, John (A.D. 1506) and Gabriel (A.D. 1526), and was afterwards placed (A.D. 1537) in the Church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus at Alexandria. These facts are stated in other colophons. See Mai l. c. p. 122 sq.

(31) *Copt. 10 (Raymund vi)*, 4to, paper, Copt. Arab. The four Gospels; ascribed to the 14th century by Assemani. See Mai l. c. p. 125.

(32) *Copt. 11 (Petri de Valle vi)*, folio, paper, Copt. Arab. The Gospel of St John. It bears the date 1062 (i. e. A.D. 1346). See Mai l. c. p. 125.

B. *The Pauline Epistles, Catholic Epistles and Acts.*

In the Bodleian Library at Oxford are ;

(1)* *Hunt. 43*, folio, paper, Copt. Arab., containing Paul. Ep., Cath. Ep., Acts, and Apocalypse. The paging ceases at the end of the Acts, and between the Acts and Apocalypse are some blank pages. I did not however notice any difference in the handwriting of the two parts. The date given at the end of the Acts is 1398 (i. e. A.D. 1682).

(2)* *Hunt. 203*, 4to, paper. The Pauline Epistles. The beginning Rom. i. 1—ii. 26, and the end 2 Tim. iv. 4—Tit. ii. 6, are in a later hand. This later transcriber ends abruptly in the middle of a page with ε̅ε̅ρ̅ο̅ν̅, Tit. ii. 6. Thus the end of Titus and the whole of Philemon are wanting. There are several lacunæ in the body of the work owing to lost leaves. The description in Wilkins is most inaccurate.

(3)* *Hunt. 122*, 4to, paper, illuminated. The Pauline Epistles. The beginning and end are wanting. The MS begins with Rom. viii. 29, and ends with 2 Tim. i. 2. The date is given at the end of 2 Corinthians as 1002 of the Diocletian era, i. e. A.D. 1236. The scribe gives his name as 'π̅ο̅λ̅ε̅γ̅α̅ζ̅ the son of the bishop.'

In the British Museum ;

(4)* *Orient. 424*, 4to, paper, Copt. Arab., containing Paul. Ep., Cath. Ep., Acts. At the end of the Pauline Epistles, and at the end of the Acts, are two important Arabic colophons, in which the pedigree of the MS is given. From these we learn that both portions of this MS were written A. Mart. 1024 (= A.D. 1308) by one Abu Said. They were copied however from a previous MS in the handwriting of the patriarch Abba Gabriel and bearing the date A. Mart. 966 (= A.D. 1250). This Abba Gabriel stated that 'he took great pains to copy it accurately and correct it, both as to the Coptic and Arabic texts, to the best of human ability.' This MS of Abba Gabriel again was copied from two earlier MSS, that of the Pauline Epistles in the handwriting of Abba Yuhanna, bishop of Sammanud, that of the Catholic Epistles and Acts in the handwriting of 'Jurja ibn Saksik (?) the famous scribe.' This MS belonged to Archdeacon Tattam, and was purchased for the British Museum at the sale of his

books. It is the MS designated 'tattamianus' in the edition of Boetticher, who made use of a collation obtained by Schwartz. The corrections in this MS (designated t* in Boetticher) are written in red ink.

(5) *Oriental*, 4to, Copt. Arab., dated A. Mart. 1132 = A.D. 1416.

In private collections in England ;

(6)* *Parham* 120 (no. 12, p. 29, in the printed Catalogue), folio, paper, Copt. Arab. ; Paul Ep., Cath. Ep., Acta. There are several blank leaves at the end of the Pauline Epistles, and the numbering of the leaves begins afresh with the Catholic Epistles, so that this MS is two volumes bound together. They are however companion volumes and in the same handwriting. This is doubtless the MS of which Schwartz's collation was used by Boetticher (see above p. 377), and which he calls 'curetonianus.' I am informed that it is designated simply *cur.* by Schwartz himself. It certainly never belonged to Cureton, but was brought with the other Parham MSS by the Hon. R. Curzon (afterwards Lord Zouche) from the East, and ever afterwards belonged to his library. Boetticher's designation therefore is probably to be explained by a confusion of names. I gather moreover from private correspondence which I have seen, that some of Mr Curzon's Coptic MSS were in the keeping of Cureton at the British Museum about the time when Schwartz's collation was made, and this may have been one. If so, the mistake is doubly explained. I infer the identity of this MS with the *curetonianus* of Boetticher for the following reasons : (1) Having made all enquiries, I cannot find that Dr Cureton ever possessed a Coptic MS of the whole or part of the New Testament ; (2) The MS in question must have been in England, and no other English MS satisfies the conditions. My first impression was that the MS next described, *Parham* 121, would prove to be the *curetonianus*, for I found between the leaves an envelope addressed to Mr Cureton at the British Museum, and bearing the post mark, January 1849 ; this fact indicating that it had been in Mr Cureton's hands about the time when Schwartz's collation was made. But a comparison of the readings soon showed that this identification must be abandoned. (3) The cipher which Boetticher gives for the date is also found in this MS in two places, after the Pauline Epistles and again after the Acta. This coincidence is the more remarkable, as the cipher is not very intelligible. (4) The readings of our MS, *Parham* 120, where I compared them, agree with those of Boetticher's *curetonianus*, with an occasional exception which may be accounted for by the inaccuracy of the collation. This is the case with crucial readings, as for instance the marginal alternative in Acts vii. 39. At the same time Schwartz's collation, if Boetticher has given its readings fully, must have been very imperfect. In a short passage which I collated I found more variations omitted than there were verses.

(7)* *Parham* 121 (no. 13, p. 29, printed Catalogue), small 4to, paper, in a very neat hand, with illuminations, Copt. Arab. It contains the Pauline Epistles, Catholic Epistles, and Acta. The Epistle to the Hebrews stands after Philemon as in no. (15), and not before the Pastoral Epistles according to the usual Memphitic order.

In the National Library at Paris ;

(8)* *Copt.* 17, folio, paper, Copt. Arab., described in the Catalogue as 'antiquus et elegantissime scriptus.' It contains the 14 Pauline Epistles. Is this the MS collated by Boetticher for these Epistles and designated *p* by him ?

(9)* *Copt.* 63, small folio, paper, 'emta per me Bernardum de Montfaucon Venetiis anno 1698, 11 Augusti.' It contains the 14 Pauline Epistles, and is dated at the end ⲁⲧⲠⲞⲤ, i.e. 1376 = A.D. 1660.

(10)* *Copt.* 64, folio, paper, Copt. Arab. 'Manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de Saumaise acquis par l'abbé Sallier pour le B. R. en 1752.' It contains the 14 Pauline Epistles.

(11)* *Copt.* 66, 4to, paper, with occasional Arabic notes in the margin. It belonged to the Coislín library, and previously to the Seguerian. It contains the Catholic Epistles and Acts. The date of its completion is given at the end as 1325, i.e. A.D. 1609. A collation of this MS was used by Boetticher for his edition, and is designated *p* by him.

(12)* *Copt.* 65, folio, paper. 'Emta Venetiis per me Fr. I. Bernardum de Montfaucon anno 1698, 2 Augusti.' This volume contains the Apocalypse, Catholic Epistles, and Acts. It consists of two parts, fol. 1—32 containing the Apocalypse, and fol. 33—102 containing the Catholic Epistles, and Acts. The two parts are written on different paper, and apparently in different hands. At the end of the Apocalypse the date is given 1376 = A.D. 1660. At the end of the Acts also the same date 1376 is given, and the scribe there mentions his name ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲈⲧⲧⲉⲣⲟϥ. Boetticher collated this MS for his edition and designates it *m*.

In the Royal Library at Berlin ;

(13) *Orient.* 115, folio, Copt. Arab., containing the Epistles to the Colossians, Thessalonians, Philemon, Hebrews, Timothy, Titus.

(14) *Orient.* 116, folio, Copt. Arab., containing the Epistles to the Romans and Corinthians.

(15) *Orient.* 169, 4to. A transcript of the Epistles to the Ephesians and Philippians in Coptic made by Petrus at Leyden in 1660.

These three were collated by Boetticher, from whom I have extracted this meagre account, which is all that he gives. He designates them *b*.

In the Vatican ;

(16) *Copt.* 12 (*I. B. Raymund* ii), folio, paper, Copt. Arab. The Pauline Epistles, Catholic Epistles, and Acts ; ascribed by Assemani to the 14th century. In this MS the Epistle to the Hebrews stands after the Epistle to Philemon, thus departing from the usual Memphitic order, as above no. (6). See *Mai Coll. Vet. Script.* v. 2, p. 125 sq.

(17) *Copt.* 13 (*I. B. Raymund* iii), folio, paper, Copt. Arab., ascribed by Assemani to the 13th century. The fourteen Pauline Epistles. See *Mai* l. c. p. 127 sq.

(18) *Copt. 14* (*I. B. Raymund v*), 4to, paper, Copt. Arab., containing the Pauline Epistles, Catholic Epistles, and Acts. It was written by Michael the monk of the city of Bembge in the year 1074 (i.e. A. D. 1358), except the last leaf which was supplied in 1220 (i. e. A. D. 1504). See Mai l. c. p. 128 sq.

C. *The Apocalypse.*

In England ;

(1)* Bodleian. *Hunt.* 43, already described under Epistles (1).

(2)* *Library of Lord Crawford and Balcarres.* A very small folio, paper, with illuminations, Copt. Arab. $\text{Ἡ ἀποκαλίμας ἡτε ἰωάννης}$. The Apocalypse itself is followed by 'The Benediction which is read before the Holy Apocalypse.' The date 1091 (i.e. A. D. 1375) is given at the end of the Apocalypse, where also the scribe mentions his name Peter. On a later page he describes himself as a monk and presbyter. There are corrections in the margin of the Apocalypse, some in red, others in black ink. Some of these contain various readings, e.g. x. 11 $\text{πεχλωστ λέγουσι πεχλας λέγει}$. This MS once belonged to Tattam.

(3)* *Parham* 123 (no. 15, p. 29 in the printed Catalogue). Small folio, paper, rudely written in a recent hand. Copt. Arab. It contains the Apocalypse, followed by the 'Book of the Holy Benediction, etc.' The scribe, who has evidently a very indifferent knowledge of Coptic, gives his name as Matthew the son of Abraham, and states that the work was finished $\text{ἔπερ ἡμερῶν ἐπὶ μαρτυροῦσιν}$. This ought to be the year 1105 of the Martyrs (= A. D. 1389); but the MS must be later than this date. The colophon itself is perhaps copied from an earlier MS.

(4)* *Parham* 124 (no. 16, p. 29 in the printed Catalogue). A large 12mo, paper. Copt. Arab. It contains about 15 lines in a page, and about 11 letters in a line. Two or three pages towards the beginning are in a later hand. The date is given at the end, A. Mart. 1037 = A. D. 1321. This Apocalypse is not Sahidic, as described in the printed Catalogue, but Memphitic.

At Paris ;

(5)* *Copt. 65*, already described under Epistles (11).

(6)* *Copt. 91*, 8vo, paper, Copt. Arab., containing the Apocalypse alone, $\text{Ἡ ἀποκαλίμας ἡτε ἰωάννης πεταρτελιστής}$. It is dated at the end 1117 (? = A. D. 1401).

In the printed Catalogue **Copt. 34* (*Delamare* 581, *Reg.* 342. 3) is also stated to contain 'Apocalypsis e Græca lingua in Copticam conversa,' but there seems to be some mistake about this.

At Rome ;

(7)* *Angelic Library* C. i. 9. The Apocalypse in Copt. Arab. $\text{Ἡ ἀποκαλίμας ἡτε ἰωάννης πεταρτελιστής ὁσὸς ἀποστόλος}$, etc., said to belong to the 15th century.

(8) *Library of the Propaganda*, large 8vo, paper, in a modern hand. Copt. Arab. The Apocalypse somewhat mutilated. It contains i. 12—ii. 26, and iii. 9—xxii. 12. It is briefly described among the Borgian MSS by Zoega, p. 3.

(9) Vatican *Copt.* 15, folio, paper, Copt. Arab. The Apocalypse followed by *Ordo dominicæ palmarum* (fol. 59). Referred by Assemani to the 14th century. See *Mai Coll. Vet. Script.* v. 2, p. 130.

(10) Vatican *Copt.* 16 (*I. B. Raymund*, no. xi), quarto, paper, Copt. Arab. The Apocalypse, followed by a *Benedictio*. It was written by one John son of Abul-Menna in 1061 (i.e. A.D. 1345). The scribe prays 'omnes amicos suos sinceros...ut castigant atque corrigant errata illius pro sua prudentia, quoniam ausus sum fungi munere mihi ignoto.' See *Mai* l. c. p. 130 sq.¹

Besides these MSS of different parts of the New Testament there is also a considerable number of Memphitic Lectionaries in the different libraries of Europe.

From this account of the MSS it appears that, with the single exception of the Apocalypse, the Memphitic New Testament, as far back as we can trace its history, contained all the books of our present Canon. Nor have I noticed any phenomena in the language of the several books, which point to any want of uniformity or separation of date; though it is possible that a more thorough investigation and a more complete mastery of the language might reveal such. It seems clear however that the Apocalypse had not a place among the Canonical books. In the majority of cases it is contained in a separate MS. In the exceptions which I have investigated, where it is bound up with other books (the MSS numbered 1, 12, of the Epistles and Acts), it is distinguished from them in some marked way; and probably this will be found to be the case with any which have not yet been examined. In short there is not a single authenticated case of a MS in which it is treated as of equal authority with the other Canonical books. Moreover in Copto-Arabic vocabularies it is omitted from its proper place at the end of the New Testament, all the other books being taken in order. This depreciation of the Apocalypse may perhaps be taken as indicating the date of the

¹ My inspection of the several MSS in the above list was far too cursory; but I hope that I have avoided serious errors; and, if my account is found very imperfect, it may nevertheless serve as the basis of some more complete catalogue hereafter.

completion or codification of the Memphitic Version. The earlier Alexandrian writers, Clement and Origen, in the first decades of the third century, quote the Apocalypse without hesitation as the work of St John. The later Alexandrian Church also from the close of the third century onward seems to have had no doubt about its Apostolic authority (see Westcott, *Canon* p. 321). But about the middle of the third century doubts were entertained respecting its authorship, to which expression was given by Dionysius of Alexandria (flor. A.D. 233—265), though even Dionysius did not deny its canonicity. The difficulty however may have been powerful enough to cause its exclusion from the Egyptian Canon.

The order of the several parts of the New Testament in the MSS is (1) Gospels, (2) Pauline Epistles, (3) Catholic Epistles, (4) Acts. The Gospels occur in their common order. It is remarkable however that in the vocabularies St John frequently stands first, so that we get the order John, Matthew, Mark, Luke, which (with the doubtful exception of the Thebaic) is unique. Of this however there is no trace in the MSS; and, as some of these must carry the tradition further back than the vocabularies, the arrangement is perhaps to be explained in some other way. The Pauline Epistles include the Hebrews, which is placed after 1, 2 Thessalonians and before 1, 2 Timothy¹, as in the Greek MSS \aleph ABC etc. (see p. 71). This accords with the general opinion of the Alexandrian school, which regarded this Epistle as the work of St Paul (see Westcott, *Canon* p. 323 sq.). In other respects the familiar order is observed in the Pauline Epistles, as is also the case with the Catholic Epistles².

The Memphitic Version is for the most part a faithful rendering of the original, and the Egyptian language which by this time had borrowed largely from the Greek vocabulary is fairly adequate for the purpose. This version therefore may generally be consulted even for minute variations in the text. The connecting particles are commonly observed; and as the language has both definite and indefinite articles, it may be employed, though with some caution, by the textual critic where other versions fail him. In one point however it is

¹ The MSS 7 and 16 are exceptions.

² No weight can be given to the abnormal order in no. 12, until we know something more of this MS, which is perhaps a late transcript.

quite useless. When the question lies between a participle and a finite verb in the construction of a sentence, the looseness of the Egyptian syntax will seldom afford any clue to the reading which the translator had before him. Perhaps the weakest point in the language is the absence of a passive voice, for which the third person plural active, used impersonally, acts as a substitute. This produces strange awkwardnesses of expression. Thus Joh. i. 6 ἀπεσταλμένος παρὰ Θεοῦ is rendered 'whom they sent from God,' ἐ αὐτοσρηγ εἰολρητεν φϣ, and i. 17 ὁ νόμος διὰ Μωυσέως ἐδόθη 'The law they gave it by Moses,' πϣ πομοϣ αῤτηνη εἰολρητεν μωτϣηϣ. Another grave defect is the want of a word corresponding to the simple meaning of ἔχειν, which has to be rendered by various expedients according to the context.

To the adoption of Greek words there seems to be hardly any limit, but the caprice of the translator. Already in the demotic writing we find a few of these foreign intruders naturalized; but in the Coptic, as used for ecclesiastical purposes, they occur in the greatest profusion. Very frequently their adoption cannot be explained by any exigencies of translation. Thus for instance the translator will sometimes render one Greek word by another, e.g. Joh. xiii. 5, νιπτῆρ by λακάνη or λεκάνη; Acts xix. 40, ἐγκαλεῖν by κατηγορεῖν; xxviii. 17, ἔθος by συνήθεια. Thus again he will diversify the rendering in the same passage, using indifferently the Greek and the Egyptian word for the same original, e.g. σωπτ and πυραζην (πειράζειν), Matt. iv. 1, 3; κροϣ and σπερμα Joh. viii. 33, 37; ποτρο and κεϣαρ (Καῖσαρ), Joh. xix. 12, 15; ιϣ and ϣεμωπ (δαιμόνιον), Matt. viii. 16, 23, 33. And again and again Greek words are used, where common Egyptian equivalents were ready to hand. The conjunctions ἀλλά, δέ, γάρ, οὖν, were doubtless needed to supply a want in the Egyptian language, which, like the Hebrew and Aramaic, was singularly deficient in connecting particles; but we should hardly have looked for such combinations as ὅμως μέντοι, πόσω μᾶλλον, μήτι, οὐ γάρ, οὐχ ὅτι, ὅτι μὲν γάρ, καί γε, καίτοι, οὐ μόνον δέ, ἐφ' ὅσον, πῶς οὖν, ἵνα κἀν, ἵνα μήπως, μενούνηγε, and the like. Nor should we expect to find Greek terms introduced with such reckless prodigality as in the following sentences: John xviii. 3, πεμ ραπφαποϣ πεμ ραπ λαμπασ πεμ ραπ ροπλοη; Acts xxiii. 8, ἕμοη ἀπασταϣιϣ οὔτῃ αὔτελοϣ οὔτῃ

πνευμα; Acts xxvii. 12, κατακταν ε φοβουζ ε ερ παραρμα-
 ζην δεν οτ λτημη; Rom. vi. 13, πετεν μελος η ρολπον ητε †
 αληκια.

Of all the versions, the Memphitic is perhaps the most important for the textual critic. In point of antiquity it must yield the palm to the Old Syriac and the Old Latin; but, unlike them, it preserves the best text as current among the Alexandrian fathers, free from the corruptions which prevailed so widely in the copies of the second century.

(2). *The Sahidic or Thebaic Version.*

The Thebaic Version did not attract attention till a comparatively late date. When Wilkins published his Memphitic New Testament, he mentioned having found among the Oxford manuscripts two which he described as 'lingua plane a reliquis MSS Copticis, quæ unquam vidi, diversa' (Præf. p. vii). These are written in the Thebaic or Sahidic dialect, of which, as we may infer from his language, he did not even know the existence. After no long time however we find La Croze and Jablonski, with other Egyptian scholars, turning their attention to the dialect of Upper Egypt: and at length in 1778, C. G. Woide issued a prospectus in which he announced his intention of publishing from Oxford MSS the fragments of the New Testament 'juxta interpretationem dialecti Superioris Ægypti, quæ Thebaidica seu Sahidica appellatur.' In the same year he gave to the world some various readings of this version in J. A. Cramer's *Beyträge zur Beförderung theologischer und anderer wichtigen Kenntnisse*, Pt. iii., Kiel u. Hamburg, 1778. But before Woide's work appeared he was partially anticipated by other labourers in the same field.

In the same year 1778 appeared a grammar of the two Egyptian dialects by Raphael Tuki, Roman Bishop of Arsinoe, with the title *Rudimenta Linguae Coptae sive Ægyptiacæ ad usum Collegii Urbani de Propaganda Fide, Romæ*. It contains profuse quotations from the Thebaic Version of the Old and New Testaments. This work, which preserves a large number of passages not to be found elsewhere, has been strangely neglected

by textual critics¹. Caution however must be observed in the use of it, as the passages are apparently obtained, at least in many instances, not directly from MSS of the version itself, but through the medium of Arabo-Egyptian grammars and vocabularies; nor is Tuki's work generally at all accurate or critical².

In 1785, J. A. Mingarelli published two fasciculi of an account of the Egyptian MSS in the Nanian Library under the title *Ægyptiorum codicum reliquæ Venetiis in Bibliotheca Naniana asservatæ, Bononiæ*. In these he printed at length two portions of the Thebaic New Testament, Matt. xviii. 27—xxi. 15, and John ix. 17—xiii. 1.

In 1789, A. A. Giorgi (Georgius), an Augustinian eremite, brought out a work entitled *Fragmentum Evangelii S. Joannis Græco-Copto-Thebaicum Sæculi IV etc. Romæ*. This volume contains John vi. 21—58, and vi. 68—viii. 23, introduced by an elaborate preface and followed by other matter. The MS from which they are taken belonged to the Borgian collection at Velletri, and has been described already among the Greek MSS, p. 141 sq. It is ascribed to the fourth or fifth century.

In the same year 1789, additional fragments of this version from other Borgian MSS were published by M. F. Münter in a volume bearing the title *Commentatio de Indole Versionis Novi Testamenti Sahidicæ. Accedunt Fragmenta Epistolarum Pauli ad Timotheum ex membranis Sahidicis Musei Borgiani Velitris. Hafniæ*. The fragments referred to are 1 Tim. i. 14—iii. 16, vi. 4—21, 2 Tim. i. 1—16. Münter gives also some various readings of this version in different parts of the four Gospels, taken likewise from the Borgian MSS.

Lastly; in 1790 Mingarelli published a third fasciculus of his work on the Egyptian MSS in the Nanian Library, and in it he printed another important fragment of this version, Mark

¹ It is used in the Apocalypse by Tregelles, and apparently also by Tischendorf in his 8th Edition; and in the Rev. S. C. Malan's *Gospel according to S. John translated from the Eleven Oldest Versions except the Latin*, London 1862, all Tuki's Thebaic fragments of this Evangelist are included.

² See Münter *de Indole etc. Pref.* p. iv. Schwartz (*Quat. Evang.* p. xx) says, 'Præterquam quod sicut omnes Tukii libri scatent vitiis, etiam angustioris sunt fidel Rudimenta, Sahidicis locis partim e versione Arabica a Tuki concinnatis.' I do not know on what grounds Schwartz makes this last statement.

xi. 29—xv. 32. This third part is very rarely met with, and I have not seen a copy.

Meanwhile Woide was busily engaged on his edition, and had already advanced far when his labours were interrupted by death in May 1790. His papers were placed in the hands of H. Ford, Professor of Arabic at Oxford, who after several years completed the work. It was published with the title *Appendix ad Editionem Novi Testamenti Græci e Codice MS Alexandrino a C. G. Woide descripti, in qua continentur Fragmenta Novi Testamenti juxta interpretationem Dialecti Superioris Ægypti quæ Thebaidica vel Sahidica appellatur, etc. Oxoniæ 1799.* Woide's materials were:

(1) Several MSS of the Huntington collection in the Bodleian. These consist of (a) Two folio lectionaries on paper (*Hunt.* 3, *Hunt.* 5); (b) A folio likewise on paper, containing fragments of St John's Gospel (*Hunt.* 4); (c) An 8vo containing fragments of the Acts and Catholic Epistles (*Hunt.* 394). Woide gives as the date A. Mart. 1041, and A.D. 1315, 'si recte conjicio,' but the two are not reconcilable; (d) A 4to on paper (*Hunt.* 393) written A. Mart. 1109 (i.e. A.D. 1393) and containing *De Mysterio literarum Græcarum Discursus Gnostici*, the work of one Seba an anchorite (see Ford's *Præf.* p. vi. sq., and p. [21], note a).

(2) A very ancient papyrus belonging to the famous traveller Bruce, who had brought it from Upper Egypt. It contains two Gnostic works, in which are quoted passages from the Old and New Testaments. It is now in the Bodleian.

(3) An ancient vellum MS containing the Gnostic treatise *Pistis Sophia*, then belonging to Askew and now in the British Museum. It quotes some passages of the Old and New Testaments. The *Pistis Sophia* has been since transcribed by Schwartz, and published from his papers by Petermann after his death (1853).

(4) Several fragments belonging to Woide himself, having been transmitted to him from Upper Egypt while he was employed on the work. Some are Sahidic; others Græco-Sahidic. These formed a highly important accession to his materials. They now belong to the Clarendon Press at Oxford.

One of these, a Græco-Thebaic MS, said to belong to the 4th or 5th century, has been already described, p. 142. But I am unable to assent to the opinion which is maintained by Tregelles and Tischendorf, and in which Dr Scrivener there acquiesces, that these Woidian fragments (T^a or T^{wol}) were originally part of the same MS with the Borgian Græco-Thebaic fragments (T) published by Giorgi. And this for two reasons. (1) The paging of the two sets of fragments is quite inconsistent. The Woidian fragments, Luke xii. 5—xiii. 23 and John viii. 22—32, are paged $\tau\theta\text{--}\tau\eta\alpha$ (459—484) and $\chi\eta\zeta$, $\chi\eta\eta$ (657, 658) respectively (see Ford's *Præf.* p. [24]). On the other hand the pages of the Borgian fragments, Luke xxii. 12—xxiii. 11, John vi. 21—58, vi. 68—viii. 23, are numbered $\epsilon\lambda\theta\text{--}\epsilon\eta\alpha$ (239—254), $\tau\lambda\alpha\text{--}\tau\mu\epsilon$, $\tau\mu\epsilon\text{--}\tau\zeta\alpha$ (334—343, 346—361) respectively (see Zoega p. 184, Georgius p. 11 sq.). (2) Though the last Woidian fragment begins *somewhere about* where the last Borgian fragment ends, it does not begin at exactly the same place. The Borgian fragment ends $\alpha\eta\bar{\nu}$ $\alpha\eta\sigma\kappa$ $\sigma\tau$ $\epsilon\beta\sigma\lambda\zeta\eta$ $\tau\eta\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\omega\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon$ (*ἐγὼ ἐκ τῶν ἄνω εἰμί· ὑμεῖς*) viii. 23; the Woidian fragment begins ϵ $\bar{\eta}\eta\alpha\delta\omega\kappa$ $\epsilon\pi\sigma\zeta$ (*ὅπου ἐγὼ ὑπάγω*) viii. 22. Thus the two have several lines in common. For these reasons the later judgment of Tregelles, who pronounces them to be 'certainly parts of the same MS' (Introductory notice to his G. T.), must be abandoned; and we must revert to his earlier and more cautious opinion in which he describes the Woidian fragment as 'a portion of a MS almost a counterpart of T' (Horne's *Introduction* p. 180).

(5) A Sahidic vocabulary in the Royal Library at Paris (*Copt.* 44), containing several passages from the Sahidic Bible.

(6) A few fragments communicated by Adler from the collection of Card. Borgia at Velletri. Besides these Woide incorporated the fragments published by Mingarelli in his first two fasciculi. The works of Giorgi and Münter however, and the third fasciculus of Mingarelli, were overlooked by him or by his successor Ford.

Besides elaborate prefaces by Ford and Woide this work gives a Latin translation in parallel columns with the Thebaic. It would not be difficult to point out numerous errors in the execution of this volume; but all allowance must be made for a

posthumous work completed by a second editor who had to educate himself for the task, and the heavy obligation under which Woide and Ford have laid Biblical scholars may well silence ill-natured criticism¹.

Some years later appeared a highly important contribution to Thebaic literature in G. Zoega's *Catalogus Codicum Coptico-rum manusccriptorum qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris adseruantur, Romæ* 1810, a posthumous work. The compiler of this catalogue prints at length Ephes. v. 21—33, Apoc. xix. 7—18, xx. 7—xxi. 3, and gives besides (p. 200) a full list of the fragments of the Thebaic version, which are found in this rich collection of Egyptian MSS. These would go far towards filling up the gaps in Woide's edition. Thus, for instance, they contain about three-quarters of S. Mark's Gospel, the whole of the Epistle to the Ephesians, and the whole of the Epistle to the Philippians with the exception of five or six verses at the beginning.

In the following year (1811) appeared Engelbreth's work on the Bashmuriic Version, which will be noticed below (p. 402). In it he printed, for the sake of comparison with the Bashmuriic, the following passages of the Sahidic Version: 1 Cor. i. 1—16, xv. 5—33, Phil. i. 7—23, 1 Thess. i. 4—iii. 5, Heb. vii. 11—13, 16—21, ix. 2—10, 24—28, x. 5—10. These were derived wholly from the Borgian MSS with the exception of a few verses taken from Woide's book. Beyond this meagre contribution of Engelbreth's, nothing has been done during more than sixty years which have elapsed since the appearance of Zoega's work towards the publication of these valuable remains, important alike for the knowledge of the Egyptian language and for purposes of Biblical criticism. A complete collection of all the fragments of the Thebaic New Testament is now the most pressing want in the province of textual criticism.

The materials for such an edition are the following:

¹ In the interval between Woide and Zoega, Griesbach (1806) appears to have obtained a few readings of this version from the Borgian MSS, e. g. Acts xxiv. 23, 23, xxv. 6, xxvii. 14, Col. ii. 2. At least I have not succeeded in tracing them to any printed source of information.

Of the use which Schwartze has made of the published portions of the Thebaic text in his edition of the Memphitic Gospels, I have already spoken (p. 376). He has added no unpublished materials.

(1) The MSS used by Woide and Ford, which however will require collating afresh.

(2) The Nanian fragments published by Mingarelli. The MSS which he used are said to have disappeared.

(3) The MSS of the Borgian collection, as indicated in the catalogue of Zoega. After the dispersion of the museum at Velletri the Biblical MSS found their way to the Library of the Propaganda at Rome, where they now are.

(4) The quotations in Tuki, though for reasons already stated these must be used with caution. They should be traced, if possible, to their sources.

To these known materials the following, which (so far as I am aware) have never been publicly noticed, must be added :

(1) *Brit. Mus. *Papyrus* xiii, four leaves or eight pages numbered 8μα—8μη, containing Joh. xx. 1—29 mutilated. It does not differ in any important respects from the text printed by Woide, but I noticed the following variations: ver. 3, Σίμων Πέτρος; ver. 8, add οὖν after τότε; ver. 10, om. οἱ μαθηταί; ver. 12, ins. καὶ before θεωρεῖ; ver. 17, om. δὲ after πορεύου; ver. 18, om. δὲ after ἔρχεται; ver. 21, εἶπεν οὖν for εἶπεν δέ; ἦ. add [ὁ] Ἰησοῦς after αὐτοῖς; ver. 28, add αὐτῷ after ἀπεκρίθη.

(2) *Paris *Copt.* 102. Thebaic fragments of various ages, some very old. Those from the N. T. are (a) Luke iii. 21—iv. 9; (b) Joh. xvii. 17—26, Theb. Arab., paper; (c) Acts vii. 51—viii. 3, vellum; (d) Apoc. i. 13—ii. 2, vellum. The pages of this last fragment are marked ε—κ.

(3) *Crawford and Balcarres* collection. Several very important Sahidic fragments which formerly belonged to Archdeacon Tattam. These are :

(i)* Mark ix. 18—xiv. 26, vellum, six leaves, the pages numbered 10—λ, 2 columns in a page, and 39 or 40 lines in a column. I observed the following readings: ix. 24, om. μετὰ δακρύων; 44, 46, om. ὅπου ὁ σκόληξ κ.τ.λ.; 50, om. καὶ πᾶσα θυσία ἀλλ' ἀλισθήσεται; xi. 26, omitted; xiii. 14, om. τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ Δανῆλ τοῦ προφήτου; xiv. 22, om. φάγετε; 24 has καινῆς.

(ii)* Luke iii. 8—vi. 37, vellum, two columns in a page, 35 lines in a column. A very beautiful MS. The Ammonian Sections and Eusebian Canons are given, and also the τίτλοι. There is occasionally a rough concordance in the margin; e.g. on Luke v. 18, ἰϛ̄ ἐτῆνετςκς̄. ἰω ϛ̄. μϩ̄ ἰϛ̄. μρ. ε̄, where S. John stands first. I noted down the following readings: iii. 19, om. Φλίππου; 27, Ἰωανάν; 30, Ἰωανάμ; 32, Ἰωβήδ; 32, καλα for Σαλμών, just as in ver. 35; iv. 26, Σιδωνίας; 41, om. ὁ Χριστός; ver. 38, om. καὶ ἀμφότεροι συντηροῦνται. In vi. 16 Ἰούδαν Ἰακώβου is translated 'Judas the son of James.'

(iii)* Luke xvii. 18—xix. 30, vellum, 2 columns in a page, 27 lines in a column, 5 leaves, paged πα to πι (sic). No sections are marked. It has these readings: xvii. 24, om. ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτοῦ; xviii. 28, τὰ ἴδια; xix. 5, om. εἶδεν αὐτὸν καὶ.

(iv)* Gal. i. 14—vi. 16, folio, vellum, 8 leaves, 2 columns in a page, 29 lines in a column, the pages marked *ρθ* onward. It has these readings; i. 15, *ὁ θεός*; ii. 5, *οἷς οὐδέ*; ii. 20, *τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ*; iii. 1, om. *τῆ ἀληθεία μὴ πείθεισθαι*; iii. 17, om. *εἰς χριστόν*; iv. 7, *κληρονόμος διὰ [τοῦ] χριστοῦ*; iv. 14, *τὸν πειρασμὸν μου τὸν ἐν κ.τ.λ.*; 15, *πού*; v. 1, *στήκετε οὖν*.

Of these four fragments (ii) and (iv) are the most ancient; while (i) and (iii) are much later, but still old. Beyond this I do not venture to hazard an opinion as to their date, remembering that Zoega with all his knowledge and experience declines to pronounce on the age of undated Egyptian MSS.¹

(4)* A fragment (a single leaf) of a Græco-Sahidic lectionary in double column, belonging to the Rev. G. Horner, of Mella, who brought it from Upper Egypt in 1873. The Greek and Sahidic are not in opposite columns, but the Greek is followed by the Sahidic. The Greek is Matt. iv. 2—11 *τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τεσσεράκοντα νύκτας... ἀκηρόν αὐτῷ*; the Sahidic is iv. 1—6 *τότε... ἐπὶ χειρῶν ἀρούσι σε*. The Coptic character resembles classes v and vi in Zoega. The Greek text has been already numbered as Evst. 299: see p. 307.

The order of the books in the Thebaic New Testament, so far as regards the great groups, appears to have been the same as in the Memphitic, i. e. (1) The Four Gospels, (2) The Pauline Epistles, (3) The Catholic Epistles and Acts (see above p. 390). This may be inferred from the order of quotations in the Thebaic vocabulary described by Woide *Præf.* p. [18]; for the Thebaic MSS are so fragmentary that no inference on this point can be drawn from them. Like the Memphitic, the original Thebaic Canon seems to have excluded the Apocalypse. In the vocabulary just mentioned it does not appear as part of the New Testament, but liturgical and other matter interposes before it is taken. Moreover in most cases it is evident from the paging of the fragments which remain that the MSS containing this book formed separate volumes. In the Paris fragment described above (p. 397) this is plainly the case, and it is equally obvious in the Borgian MSS lxxxviii, lxxxix (Zoega p. 187). Thus in lxxxviii, pp. 39—44 contain Apoc. xii. 14—xiv. 13; and in lxxxix, pp. 59, 60, 63, 64 contain Apoc. xix. 7—18, xx. 7—xxi. 3. On the other hand in lxxxvii, where Apoc. iii. 20 begins on p. 279, this fragment must have formed part of a much larger volume, which contained (as we may suppose) a considerable portion of the New Testament.

¹ *Catal.* p. 169; 'Si deestate codicum quæris, scio equidem non defuisse qui singulos ad sæcula sua referre satagerent, qui si aliquid profecerunt, ego sane non obstrepro. Sed quoniam meum sit quacumque in re ignorantiam fateri potius quam quæ mihi non satisfaciunt, aliis velut explorata offerre, etc.'

The order of the four Gospels presents a difficulty. In the Thebaic vocabulary already referred to, the sequence is John, Matthew, Mark, Luke; and this order is also observed in the marginal concordance to the Crawford and Balcarres MS described above. Thus there is reason for supposing that at one time S. John stood first. But the paging of the oldest MSS does not favour this conclusion. In the Woidian and Borgian fragments of the Græco-Thebaic gospels, which belong to the fourth or fifth century, the numbering of the pages (see p. 395) shows that S. Luke stood before S. John. It is possible indeed that in the MSS the transcriber was guided by the usual Greek arrangement. But in other MSS also the synoptic evangelists precede S. John, e.g. Borg. xlvi, l, lxiv; while in other fragments again (Borg. lxx, lxxiv) the high numbers of the pages of S. John show that the Evangelist cannot have stood first in the volume.

In this version, as in the Memphitic, the Epistle to the Hebrews was treated as the work of S. Paul; but instead of being placed, as there, after 2 Thessalonians and before 1 Timothy, it stood between 2 Corinthians and Galatians¹. It clearly occupies this position in the Borgian MS lxxx (Zoega p. 186): and by calculating the pages I have ascertained that this must also have been its place in all the other MSS of the Pauline Epistles of which fragments after 2 Corinthians are preserved. These are the Borgian fragments lxxxii, lxxxv, lxxxvi (Zoega p. 186 sq.), and the Crawford and Balcarres fragment (iv) described above (p. 398); all of which happily are paged.

The Oxford MS *Hunt.* 394 is a proof that the Acts followed the Catholic Epistles in the Thebaic New Testament, as is the case also in the Memphitic. Woide indeed (*Præf.* p. [22]), when describing this MS, says, '*exorditur* ab Actis Apostolicis'; but, even if this be so, his own account of the paging shows that the leaves have been displaced in binding, and that the Catholic Epistles originally stood first. The vocabulary also places them before the Acts.

The Thebaic version appears to be in one respect less faithful to the original than the Memphitic. So far as I am able to

¹ Its position was before Galatians, and not, as in the archetype of the Codex Vaticanus, after it.

pointed out that the passage in Herodotus will not bear the interpretation put upon it by Giorgi, and that, as a matter of fact, the Ammonians speak not a Coptic, but a Berber dialect. He also refuted Giorgi's opinion about the position of Bashmur, and showed conclusively (p. 147 sq.) from several notices in Arabic writers that this region must be placed in the Delta. In a later work (*Mémoires Géographiques et Historiques sur l'Égypte* I. p. 233, 1811) he identified it more definitely with Elearchia, the country of the Bucoli, that fierce and turbulent race of herdsmen, who, living in the marshy pasture land and protected by the branches of the Nile, gave so much trouble to their Persian, Greek, and Roman rulers successively (see Engelbreth p. x). The defiant attitude, which in earlier times these Bucoli assumed towards their successive masters, was maintained to the end by the Bashmurites towards their Arab conquerors. While the other Copts succumbed and made terms, they alone stubbornly resisted. At length the Arab invaders were victorious, and the Bashmuric race was extirpated. It would seem therefore that Bashmur is the Arabic modification of the Coptic *πασμωρ*, 'regio cincta,' the country girdled by the Nile.

But this being so, Quatremère, looking at the linguistic character of these fragments, denies that they belong to the Bashmuric dialect at all; and suggests for them a locality which will explain their affinities to both the Memphitic and Thebaic, assigning them to the Great and Little Oasis, and accordingly designating them *Oasitic*. In 1810 Zoega's *Catalogus*, a posthumous work, appeared, in which he published all the fragments of this third Egyptian dialect found in the Borgian collection, comprising (besides a portion of Isaiah) John iv. 23—53, 1 Cor. vi. 19—ix. 16, xiv. 33—xv. 35, Ephes. vi. 18—24, Phil. i. 1—ii. 2, 1 Thess. i. 1—iii. 6, Heb. v. 5—9, v. 13—vi. 3, vi. 8—11, 15—vii. 5, 8—13, 16—x. 22, nearly all of these passages being more or less mutilated. And in the following years these same passages were edited by Engelbreth (*Fragmenta Basmurico-Coptica Veteris et Novi Testamenti, Havniæ* 1811), who had not seen Zoega's edition. Both Zoega and Engelbreth, though agreeing with Quatremère in the position of Bashmur (the former without having seen Quatremère's book), yet claimed these fragments as Bashmuric.

In this opinion there is good reason for acquiescing. It seems highly improbable that Athanasius of Kos, a Christian bishop, can have been ignorant of a dialect so important that the Christian scriptures were translated into it (for the various fragments oblige us to suppose a complete version of the Old and New Testaments), a dialect moreover which, on Quatremère's hypothesis, was spoken not so very far from his own neighbourhood. And on the other hand it is not very probable that all traces of a dialect which was known to him should have perished, as would be the case if these fragments are not Bashmuri¹. To counterbalance this twofold difficulty involved in Quatremère's hypothesis, the linguistic objections ought to be serious indeed. But until we are better acquainted with the early history of Egypt than we are ever likely to be, it will be impossible to say why the Bashmuri dialect should not be separated geographically from the Thebaic by a dialect like the Memphitic with which it has fewer, though still some special affinities. The interposition of an Ionic between two Dorian races in Greece will show the insecurity of this mode of argument. And indeed, as Engelbreth (p. ix sq.) and others have pointed out, there were peculiar circumstances which would tend to a special development in the Memphitic. The influence of the literary and sacerdotal caste at Memphis would lead to the cultivation of a smoother and more refined dialect, while the Egyptians of the Bashmur, isolated by their situation, would retain their ruder speech, little modified by the neighbourhood of the more educated language.

To the question when the Bashmuri Version was made, it is difficult to reply with confidence. We read of martyrs in the Bashmur suffering in the great persecution, and of Bishops from the Bashmur assembled at the Nicene council. On the other hand S. Jerome writes of Hilarion, who died about 371, that he designed to visit 'ea loca quae vocantur Bucolia, eo quod nullus ibi Christianorum esset, sed barbara tantum et ferox natio' (*Vit. Hilar.* § 43, II. p. 38), so that parts of the Bashmur were still wholly pagan (Engelbreth p. xix). With these notices before us, we shall probably be near the mark, if we date this

¹ Quatremère can only point to a single word accidentally preserved, which according to his hypothesis belongs to the real Bashmuri (*Sur la Langue*, etc. p. 213 sq.).

version not later than the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century. As it is not an independent translation from the original, but merely an adaptation of the Thebaic, made by introducing such modifications of language as the difference of dialect required, it would be made without any difficulty, as soon as the occasion demanded it. The Bashmurites were almost extirpated after their defeat in the year 839, the remnant of the race being transported to Bagdad; and this circumstance will explain why the dialect was no longer spoken when Athanasius wrote in the 11th century. It will also account for the fact that so few remains have come down to us.

I have spoken of these fragments throughout as exhibiting a separate dialect from the Memphitic or the Thebaic: for though some writers have discovered in them only a corrupt and accidental admixture of the two ('idioma male conflatum ex Memphitica et Thebana,' Peyron *Gramm. Ling. Copt.* p. xx), it seems impossible after the elaborate analysis of Schwartze (*Das alte Aegypten* I. p. 1039 sq.: see esp. p. 2034) to deny their claim to this distinction. A prominent characteristic of the Bashmuric is its partiality for the *a* sound, which is shown sometimes in the substitution of this letter for some other vowel, as *anaa*, *elaaali*, *naai*, for *ana*, *eloolo*, *noai*, and sometimes in its reduplication as *aa*, *otaaah*, for *a*, *otah*, etc. As we compared the Memphitic and Thebaic to the Attic and Ionic respectively, so also we might, looking at this characteristic, describe the Bashmuric as the Doric of the Egyptian language. Another peculiarity of this dialect, the substitution of *lambda* for *rho*, has been noticed already (p. 371).

As the Bashmuric is a secondary version, it has no independent value, and is only useful in passages where the Thebaic is wanting.

Thus far the Bishop of Durham.—Of the remaining versions the Persic, Arabic, and one or two others, are of almost no service to the critic; and those who do not understand the languages in which the rest are written, cannot be too careful in applying their alleged evidence to the revision of the text, except in the case of their testifying to the addition or omission of whole sentences, or smaller clauses, and sometimes of single words. A

brief description will suffice even for the most important among them, the rather as all our information has been obtained at second hand.

6. THE GOTHIC VERSION (Goth.).

The history of the Goths, who from the wilds of Scandinavia overran the fairest regions of Europe, has been traced by the master-hand of Gibbon (*Decline and Fall*, Chapters x. xxvi. xxxi., &c.), and needs not here be repeated. While the nation was yet seated in Mœsia, Ulphilas or Wulfilas [318—388], a Cappadocian, who succeeded their first Bishop Theophilus in A.D. 348, though himself an Arian and a teacher of that subtil heresy to his adopted countrymen, became their benefactor, by translating both the Old¹ and New Testament into the Gothic, a dialect of the great Teutonic stock of languages, having previously invented or adapted an alphabet expressly for their use. There can be no question, from internal evidence, that the Old Testament was rendered from the Septuagint, the New from the Greek original²: but the existing manuscripts testify to some corruption from Latin sources, very naturally arising during the occupation of Italy by the Goths in the fifth century. These venerable documents are principally three.

(1) CODEX ARGENTEUS, the most precious treasure of the University of Upsal, in the mother-country of the Gothic tribes. It appears to be the same copy as Ant. Morillon saw at Werden in Westphalia towards the end of the sixteenth century, and was taken by the Swedes at the siege of Prague in 1648. Queen Christina gave it to her librarian, Isaac Vossius, and from him it was very rightly purchased about 1662 by the Swedish nation and deposited at Upsal. This superb codex contains fragments of the Gospels (in the Western order, Mat-

¹ "But he prudently suppressed the four books of Kings, as they might tend to irritate the fierce and sanguinary spirit of the barbarians," Gibbon, chap. xxxvii.

² "A faithful, a stern and noble Teutonic rendering of the Greek" is the verdict of Prebendary S. C. Malan (*S. John's Gospel Translated from the Eleven Oldest Versions except the Latin*, &c. 4to., 1872, Preface, p. viii.). Bishop Ellicott also praises this version as usually faithful and accurate, yet marks an Arian tinge in the rendering of Phil. ii. 6—8.

thew, John, Luke, Mark, *see* p. 70, and note 3) on 188 leaves 4to (out of about 320) of purple vellum, the bold, uncial, Gothic letters being in silver, sometimes in gold, of course much faded, and so regular that some have imagined, though erroneously, that they were impressed with a stamp (*see* p. 136). The date assigned to it is the fifth or early in the sixth century, although the several words are divided, and some various readings stand in the margin *primâ manu*. (2) CODEX CAROLINUS, described above for Codd. PQ (p. 138) and for the Old Latin *gue* (p. 346), contains in Gothic about forty verses of the Epistle to the Romans, first published by Knittel, 1762. (3) Palimpsest fragments of five codices, apparently like Cod. Carolinus, from Bobbio, and of about the same date, discovered by Mai in 1817 in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, and published by him and Count C. O. Castiglione ("*Ulphile Partium Ineditarum...Specimen*," Milan, 1819). The last-named manuscripts are minutely described and illustrated by a rude *facsimile* in Horne's *Introduction*, and after him in Tregelles' *Horne*, Vol. iv. pp. 304—7. Unlike the Codex Argenteus (at least if we trust Dr E. D. Clarke's *facsimile* of the latter) the words in Mai's palimpsests are continuous: they contain parts of Esther, Nehemiah (apparently no portion of the books of *Kings*), a few passages of the Gospels, and much of S. Paul¹. H. F. Massmann ("*Ulphilas*," Stuttgart, 1855) also added from an exposition a few verses of S. John.

These fragments (for such they still must be called)², in spite of the influence of the Latin, approach nearer to the received text, in respect of their readings, than the Egyptian or one or two other versions of about the same age; and from their similarity in language to the Teutonic have been much studied in Germany. The fullest and best edition of the whole

¹ "Goth. Version. Paul. Epist. quæ supersunt," C. O. Castiglione, Milan, 1834.

² Matth. iii. 11; v. 8; 15—vi. 32; vii. 12—x. 1; 23—xi. 25; xxv. 38—xxvi. 8; 65—xxvii. 19; 42—65; Mark i. 1—xii. 38; xiii. 16—29; xiv. 4—16; 41—xvi. 12; Luke i. 1—x. 30; xiv. 9—xvi. 24; xvii. 3—xx. 46; John i. 29; iii. 8—32; v. 21—23; 35—38; 45—xii. 49; xiii. 11—xix. 13; Rom. vi. 23; vii. 1—viii. 10; 84—xiv. 20; xv. 3—13; xvi. 21—24; 1 Cor. i. 12—25; iv. 2—12; v. 8—vi. 1; vii. 5—28; viii. 9—ix. 9; 19—x. 4; 15—xi. 6; 21—31; xii. 10—22; xiii. 1—12; xiv. 20—Gal. i. 7; 20—iii. 6; 27—Eph. v. 11; 17—29; vi. 8—24; Phil. i. 14—ii. 8; 22—iv. 17; Col. i. 6—29; ii. 11—iv. 19; 1 Thess. ii. 10—2 Thess. ii. 4; 15—1 Tim. vi. 16; 2 Tim. i. 1—iv. 16; Tit. i. 1—ii. 1; Philem. 1—23, but no portion of the Acts, Hebrews, Catholic Epistles, or Apocalypse.

collected, with a grammar and lexicon, is by H. C. de Gabelentz and T. Loebe ("*Ulphilas. Vet. et N. Testamenti versionis Gothicae fragmenta quae supersunt*," Leipsic, 1843), and of the Codex Argenteus singly that of And. Uppström (with a good *facsimile*), Upsal, 1854. This scholar published separately in 1857 ten leaves of the manuscript which had been stolen between 1821 and 1834, and were restored through him by the penitent thief on his death bed. The Gothic Gospels, however, had been cited as early as 1675 in Fell's N. T., and more fully in Mill's, through Francis Junius' edition (with Marshall's critical notes) which was printed at Dort in 1665, from Derrer's accurate transcript of the Upsal manuscript, made in or about 1655, when it was in Isaac Vossius' possession. Other editions of the Codex Argenteus were published by G. Stiernhielm in 1671 for the College of Antiquaries at Stockholm; by E. Lye at the Clarendon Press in 1750 from the revision of Eric Benzel, Archbishop of Upsal (*see* p. 263); and (with the addition of the fragments in the Codex Carolinus) by Jo. Ihre in 1763, and by J. C. Zahn in 1805. Add also "*Ulfila, oder die Gotische Bibel (N. T.)*," E. Bernhardt, Halle, 1875, and S. Mark with a grammatical commentary, R. Müller and H. Hoeppe, 1881.

7. THE ARMENIAN VERSION (Arm.).

If the Gothic dates from the fourth century, the Armenian seems to belong to the fifth. Earlier it could not be, as Miesrob, who actually invented an alphabet for his nation, which had previously used the Syriac characters and the Peshito version, was enabled to undertake a vernacular translation direct from the Greek, only by the aid of manuscripts brought from the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431) by Joseph and Eznak ("*Johannes Ekelensis et Josephus Palnensis*," as Tischendorf calls them), who, together with the historian of Armenia, Moses Chorenensis, were associated with Miesrob in this godly labour (*Moses Chor. Lib. III. cap. 61*). By the diligence of these men the whole Bible was translated into their native tongue (noted by Malan "for clearness and dignity of expression"), the Old Testament from the Septuagint, the New (as Louis Piques saw long ago, Mill, N. T. *Proleg.* § 1404) direct from the Greek;

although many traces of the influence of the old Syriac yet survive, as might be expected from the early habits of the translators. Two circumstances detract considerably from the critical value of this version, even to the few who can use it with confidence; viz. that like the Memphitic its existing codices are comparatively modern, and differ widely in the text they represent; and that their very close resemblance to the Vulgate Latin¹ has lent countenance to a tradition, in itself sufficiently probable, that on the submission of the Armenian Church to that of Rome, King Haitho (1224—70) revised the Armenian version by the Latin: it seems to be ascertained that he did translate into Armenian and insert in his national Bible the Prefaces in the Vulgate which are ascribed to Jerome.

The first printed edition of the Armenian Bible is that of Bishop Uscan or Oscan of Erivan, who had been sent into the West for that purpose by a synod of Armenian prelates in 1662, under the sanction of their Patriarch (arm. usc.). After vain attempts to obtain aid at Rome, Uscan (whether that be a proper name or a local appellation) published his volume at Amsterdam in 1666, from which were derived several reprints, and the various readings furnished to Mill by Piques, and to Wetstein by La Croze. The best edition is that of Zohrab, *N. T.* 1789, *Biblia*, 1805, 4to. (arm. zoh.), on the basis of a Cilician codex [xiv], compared with twenty others of the *N. T.*, and eight of the whole Bible; it was printed at Venice at the expense of the Armenian College of the monks of the island of S. Lazarus. This last edition Griesbach was enabled to use for critical purposes by the help of Bredenkamp of Hamburg; Scholz, by means of Cirbied, Armenian Professor at Paris, and the Mechitarist monks at Vienna; Tregelles, through the aid of a close comparison with the Greek text, instituted for him by Dr Charles Rieu of the British Museum. It should be added that Zohrab does not acknowledge any systematic corruption of the Armenian from the Latin Bible, and that only one of his eighteen copies of the Epistle contains 1 John v. 7, 8, which had been given in Uscan's book. A beautiful 8vo edition appeared at Venice in 1816, another at

¹ Malan, however, limits this resemblance to Uscan's edition (1666), which opinion seems to be favoured by Dr Hort (*N. T. Introd.* p. 86, and *Notes*, p. 6).

Paris in 1825, and Aucher of S. Lazarus informed Tischendorf in 1843 that his Society was preparing another recension of the whole Bible, from fresh and (as we may trust) more ancient authorities.

8. THE ÆTHIOPIC VERSION (Æth.).

The Æthiopic language is akin to the Arabic and others of the Semitic family; it was formerly spoken in Abyssinia, especially in the province of Axoum (where it was called *Gheez*, or "the free," Walton, *Proleg.* xv. c. 10), though it has now given place to a later dialect, the Amharic, of which there is also a version, the work of Abu Rumi. Without resting on the rhetorical statement of Chrysostom, that in his time the Scriptures had been translated into the tongues of the Syrian and Egyptian, the Indian, the Persian and Æthiopian, and "ten thousand other nations¹," such a version must have been much needed shortly after the conversion of the Abyssinians by Frumentius in the fourth century. Dillman attributes it to that age: Gildemeister, however, and other Orientalists, assign it to the sixth or seventh century, and its surviving codices are even more modern [xv] than those of the Memphitic or Armenian. The Old Testament (which has not yet been published in full) was made from the Septuagint (Walton *Proleg.* xv. c. 10, III.), the New Testament obviously from the Greek and by a person imperfectly acquainted with that language², although Gildemeister, a Professor at Marburg (who collated portions of the Æthiopic for Tischendorf's N. T. of 1859), remarks that it must in that case have been largely interpolated from Syriac or Arabic sources. In fact the version is so tautological, confused, and unequal in style (that of S. Paul's Epistles in particular often degenerating into a paraphrase) that some have thought our present text to be a compound of two several translations, and even Tregelles supposes that "there was originally *one* version of the Gospels, afterwards compared with Greek MSS. of a *different* class; and the MSS. in general bearing proofs of

¹ Ἄλλα καὶ Σύροι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Ἰνδοὶ καὶ Πέρσαι καὶ Αἰθίοπες καὶ μύρια ἕτερα ἔθνη, εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν μεταβαλόντες γλώτταν τὰ παρὰ τοῦτου δόγματα εἰσαχθέντα, ἕμεινον βάρβαροι φιλοσοφεῖν. II Hom. in Johan., Opera (Montfaucon), Tom. VIII. p. 10.

² Compare Tregelles in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. III. p. 1614.

containing a text *modified* by such comparison; while others contain throughout *conflate* readings" (Tregelles' *Horne*, Vol. iv. p. 320)¹. It is obvious how great caution is needed in applying this version to the criticism of the N. T. Yet this was the earliest printed of all the Eastern versions. The Psalms were published by Potken at Rome, 1513: the New Testament (except the first thirteen Epistles of S. Paul, which followed the year after) at Rome, 1548, by native editors ("Memores estote nostrum... Tesfa-Sionis Malhesini, Tensea Waldi, et Zaslaski," as runs the subscription to S. Matthew), who, for want of manuscripts, themselves translated Act. ix. 29—x. 32; xxvi. 8—xxviii. 31. In Walton's Polyglott the New Testament was reprinted with many faults, and an unusually bad Latin translation by Dudley Loftus, from which Mill and his successors derived their various readings. C. A. Bode published a new or revised version of the Æthiopic N. T. given in the Polyglott (Brunswick, 1753), and in what he ill-naturedly calls his "*Pseudo-critica Millio-Bengeliana*" (Halle, 1767—9) corrects some of the errors of those great scholars. Lastly, in 1826—30 in London, Th. Pell Platt, A.M., edited for the British and Foreign Bible Society "*Nov. Testamentum... Æthiopicè, ad codicum manuscriptorum fidem.*" Respecting these codices and their readings, at least in the Gospels, Mr Platt gave Tregelles some loose notes, and the latter engaged L. A. Prevost, of the British Museum, to collate Walton's and Platt's texts with the Greek for the use of his N. T., as Tischendorf was similarly indebted to Gildemeister. Mr Platt's edition, being purely of a practical character, is so unsystematic in its employment of manuscripts as to be nearly useless to Biblical critics². Dr Wright furnished Hort and Westcott with the

¹ Malan, however, whose acquaintance with this class of languages is probably greater than that of any other living Englishman, commends the Æthiopic for "a certain breadth as well as a detail of expression which have great merit" (*ubi supra*, p. viii). Bp. Ellicott also, from personal experience, "cannot in any way agree" with Tregelles' estimate, adding, "in S. Paul's Epistles I have found it any thing but the dreary paraphrase which he terms it" (*Ep. to Philippians, Preface*, p. viii. Note 2). Dr Hort, after Tregelles, somewhere speaks of its "bold conflateions."

² Among the Æthiopic manuscripts brought from Abyssinia in 1868 was one of which two pages of S. Mark's Gospel have been photographed. It contains two columns of 36 or 38 lines on each page, with 15 or 16 letters in a line, and

readings of selected Æthiopic MSS. "in an ample list of passages" (Hort, *Introd., Notes* p. 6).

The remaining versions may sometimes be consulted with advantage for a special object, but for the purposes of critical science, as distinguished from interpretation, they are of little weight. A very short notice will suffice for all of them.

9. THE GEORGIAN (Georg.) or Iberian (Iber.) version of the whole Bible, assigned to the fifth or sixth century (the Gospels at least to the reign of Artchil, A.D. 413—446), is written in a language very little known, and was published at Moscow in 1743 from manuscripts said to be in many places corrupted from the Slavonic; the orthodox Georgian church, more happy than its Armenian neighbour, having always held close communion with the Slaves of Christian Russia. It is doubtful whether it was made from the Greek, the Syriac, or the Armenian. Both Scholz and Tischendorf saw ancient and perhaps purer codices at the monastery of the Holy Cross at Jerusalem, which may afford us a hope of restoring this version to something like its primitive state. J. H. Petermann edited Philemon in lithograph as a specimen (Berlin, 1844), and from F. C. Alter's description of its readings (*Ueber Georgiamische Literat.*, 1798) it appears that the present text contains even such plain interpolations as 1 John v. 7, 8. Prebendary Malan used for his Translation of S. John's Gospel from Georgian into English, two editions published at S. Petersburg, one (1816) in the ecclesiastical, the other (1818) in the civil character, but otherwise exactly resembling each other. He praises "the Georgian for particles even brighter than the Greek ones, and for a double use of the pronouns which gives great force to many renderings" (*Preface*, p. vii.). When at Etchmiadzin (the great convent and church of the orthodox Armenians at the foot of Ararat) he consulted its older manuscripts, and found that they all contained the doxology (Matt. vi. 13) and Mark xvi. 9—20.

10. THE SLAVONIC VERSION (SL), though made as late as the ninth century, was rendered from the best Greek codices of

measures 9 inches by 6 $\frac{1}{8}$. Its style looks older than that of the fifteenth century.

that age, although it would seem to have been subsequently altered from the Latin, or (as Tischendorf thinks) from other sources. Two Greek brothers, Cyril and Methodius, about A.D. 870 or a little earlier, converted those tribes of the great Slavonic race that were settled about the Danube in Moravia and its neighbourhood. They then proceeded to translate the Bible (or certainly the New Testament) into Slavonic, for which barbarous tongue Cyril (like Ulphilas and Miesrob before him) had previously constructed an alphabet. This version was brought into Russia on the conversion of Wladimir, its Grand Duke, in 988, in which country it received many changes (perhaps with a view to modernize the style) from the fourteenth century downwards. The oldest manuscript of the whole Bible is dated 1499, and the first printed Bible, 1581. Of the New Testament there are many codices, of widely differing recensions, some few as old as the tenth or eleventh century; e.g. an *Evangelistarium*, dated 1056, and the Gospels at Rheims [x], on which the Kings of France used to take the coronation oath. These were fully described and in part collated by J. Dobrowsky for Griesbach's N. T. 2nd ed. See also Tischendorf, N. T., 7th ed. *Proleg.* pp. ccliii—lv; Malan, S. John, *Preface*, p. ix. (1872). The latter used a copy of the Ostromir Gospels, written in the middle of the eleventh century¹.

11. ANGLO-SAXON VERSIONS (Sax.) of the New Testament and parts of the Old (e.g. the Psalms) are numerous and apparently independent, dating from the eighth to the eleventh century, but can only be applied to the criticism of the Latin Vulgate, from which they are all rendered. Manuscripts in this language abound in English libraries (Tischendorf names one in the British Museum with the interlinear Latin, which he attributes to the eighth century), but even of the N. T. the Gospels alone are printed. For them Mill uses Marshall's edition of 1665 in parallel columns with the Gothic (*see* p. 407), and Tischendorf that published by Benj. Thorpe, London, 1842,

¹ Tregelles (*Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. III. p. 1625) suspects that the Apocalypse was late, because *ἐμαῖς* for *ἐραῖς* ch. ii. 13, which appears in two Slavonic manuscripts (Sl. 3. 4), seems to rest on no other authority except Erasmus' N. T. (1516, &c.), and the margin of Codex Montfortianus (Evan. 61, Apoc. 92) by a yet later hand (*see* p. 188).

which Malan (*ubi supra*, p. x) pronounces to be in many respects inferior to Marshall's.

12. A FRANKISH VERSION (Fr.) of S. Matthew, from a manuscript of the ninth century at S. Gall, in the Frankish dialect of the Teutonic, was published by J. A. Schmeller in 1827. Tischendorf (N. T., *Proleg.* p. 225) thinks it worthy of examination, but does not state whether it was translated from the Greek or Latin: the latter supposition is the more probable.

13. PERSIC VERSIONS (Pers.) of the Gospels only, in print, are two: (1) one in Walton's *Polyglott* (pers^a) with a Latin version by Samuel Clarke (which C. A. Bode thought it worth his while to reconstruct, Helmstadt, 1750—51, with a learned Preface), obviously made from the Peshito Syriac, which the Persians had long used ("yet often so paraphrastic as to claim a character of its own" Malan, *ubi supra*, p. xi), "interpretate Symone F. Joseph Taurinensi," and taken from a single manuscript belonging to E. Pococke, *probably* dated A.D. 1341. This version may prove of some use in restoring the text of the Peshito. (2) The second, though apparently modern [xiv?], was made from the Greek (pers^a). Its publication was commenced in 1652 by Abraham Wheelocke, Professor of Arabic and Anglo-Saxon and University Librarian at Cambridge, at the expense of Sir Th. Adams, the generous and loyal alderman of London. The basis (as appears from the volume itself) was an Oxford codex (probably Laud. A. 96 of the old notation), which Wheelocke, in his elaborate notes at the end of each chapter, compared with Pococke's and with a third manuscript at Cambridge (Gg. v. 26), dated 1014 of the Hegira (A.D. 1607). On Wheelocke's death in 1653 only 108 pages (to Matth. xviii. 6) were printed, but his whole text and Latin version being found ready for the press, the book was published with a second title-page, dated London, 1657, and a short Preface by an anonymous editor (said to be one Pierson), who in lieu of Wheelocke's notes, which break off after Matth. xvii, appended a simple collation of the Pococke manuscript from that place. The Persians have older versions, parts of both Testaments, still unpublished. There is another copy of the Persian Gospels at Cambridge, which once belonged to Arch-

bishop Bancroft, and was brought from Lambeth in 1646, but was not restored in 1662 with the other books belonging to the Lambeth Library.

14. ARABIC VERSIONS (Arab.) are many, though mostly of the slightest possible critical importance: their literary history, therefore, need not be traced with much minuteness of detail. It is known that John, Bishop of Seville, translated the Bible (from the Latin Vulgate, as it is thought) into Arabic, A.D. 719 (Walton, *Proleg.* XIV. c. 18), and Tischendorf enumerates several manuscripts brought by himself and others from the East, assigned by competent judges to the eighth and following centuries (N. T. *Proleg.* 1859, pp. 236—9). The printed editions of the New Testament portion, are (1) The Roman edition of the Gospels, from the Medicean press, 1590—1 (ar^r), edited by J. Baptista Raymundi, some copies having a Latin version by Gabriel Sionita, who was engaged on the work described below as (3) fifty years later (Mill, N. T. *Proleg.* § 1295). T. W. J. Juynboll (Leyden, 1838) holds that this edition, and the text of a Franeker codex of the Gospels, belong to the version of John of Seville. (2) The whole N. T. from a Scaliger manuscript, and (in the Gospels) from a second dated 988 of the era of the Martyrs, or A.D. 1272¹, edited at Leyden by Th. Erpenius [1584—1624] in 1616. This excellent version, the best and most genuine of all those in Arabic, generally agrees with (1), but, if made directly from the Greek, it must have been revised on the Egyptian versions, probably in the eleventh century (Malan, *ubi supra*, p. x) (ar^e). It is called *Fayyumiyyeh*, from having been made in the Fayūm, a province of Egypt. (3) The N. T. in the Paris Polyglott (ar^p), 1645. (4) The N. T. in the London Polyglott, 1657. (5) The N. T., Peshito and Arabic, in the Carshunic cha-

¹ This Manuscript of the Gospels only, together with seventy others which once belonged to Erpenius, was bought for the University of Cambridge by its Chancellor, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, just before his murder in 1628. It is now in the University Library, Gg. v. 83, and in the margin of its subscription we find ".i. anno Christi 1272" in Erpenius' handwriting. Pr. Lee (who did not know its history) inferred its identity with Erpenius' codex from the subscription, and other internal marks (*Prolegomena to Bagster's Polyglott*, p. 81, note). There is a second copy of the Gospels in the same Library, Gg. v. 27, with an inscription by the Patriarch Cyril Lucar (*see* p. 93), dated 1618.

racter (i.e. the Arabic in Syriac letters), Rome, 1703, based on a manuscript brought from Cyprus. Editions published by the Propaganda, *Biblia*, Rome, 1672, and altered from the Latin, as also by our venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, N. T., London, 1727, and altered from the original Greek, both designed for circulation in the East, need not be considered.

Since the "Dissertatio inaug. critica de Evan. Arab." of G. C. Storr appeared (Tübingen, 1775) it seems to have been acknowledged that the several published editions of the Gospels have sprung from one version, and that one taken from the Greek, though now sadly mixed and confused: Juynboll, however, has rendered it probable that its original was the Latin, which was subsequently corrected by the Greek. The Acts and Epistles in Erpenius' N. T. were certainly made from the Peshito; his Apocalypse seems to have been derived from the Memphitic: but in both Polyglotts all except the Gospels are undoubtedly from the Greek. A list of Greek manuscripts attended with Arabic versions is given above, p. 307. •

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE CITATIONS FROM THE GREEK NEW TESTAMENT OR ITS VERSIONS MADE BY EARLY ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS, ESPECIALLY BY THE CHRISTIAN FATHERS.

1. **WE** might at first sight be inclined to suppose that the numerous quotations from the New Testament contained in the remains of the Fathers of the Church and other Christian writers from the first century of our era downwards, would be more useful even than the early versions, for enabling us to determine the character of the text of Scripture current in those primitive times, from which no manuscripts of the original have come down to us. Unquestionably the testimony afforded by these venerable writings will be free from some of the objections which so much diminish the value of translations for critical purposes (*see above*, p. 309—11). But not to insist on the fact that many important passages of the New Testament have not been cited at all in any very ancient work now extant, this species of evidence will be received with increasing distrust, the more familiar we become with its uncertain and precarious nature. Not only is this kind of testimony fragmentary and not (like that of versions) continuous, so that it often fails us where we should most wish for information: but the Fathers were better theologians than critics; they frequently quoted loosely or from memory, often no more of a passage than their immediate purpose required; and what they actually wrote has been found peculiarly liable to change on the part of copyists and unskilful editors: they can therefore be implicitly trusted, even as to the manuscripts which lay before them, only in the compara-

tively few places wherein their own direct appeal to their codices, or the course of their argument, or the current of their exposition, renders it manifest what readings they approved. In other cases, the same author perpetually cites the self-same text under two or more various forms; in the Gospels it is often impossible to determine to which of the three earlier ones reference is made; and, on the whole, Scriptural quotations from ecclesiastical writers are of so much less consideration than ancient translations, that where they are single and unsupported, they may safely be disregarded altogether. An *express* citation, however, by a really careful Father of the first four or five centuries (as Origen, for example), if supported by manuscript authority, and countenanced by the best versions, claims our respectful attention, and powerfully vindicates the reading which it favours¹.

2. The practice of illustrating the various readings of Scripture from the reliques of Christian antiquity is so obvious and reasonable, that all who have written critical annotations on the sacred text have resorted to it, from Erasmus downwards: the Greek or Latin commentators are appealed to in four out of the five marginal notes found in the Complutensian N. T. (*see* below, p. 425). When Bishop Fell, however, came to prepare the first edition of the Greek Testament attended with any considerable apparatus for improving the text (*see* Chapter v.), he expressly rejected "S. Textus loca ab antiquis Patribus aliter quam pro recepto more laudata," from which the toil of such a task did not so much deter him, "quam cogitatio quod minus utile esset futurum iisdem insistere." (N. T. 1675, *Præf.*) "Venerandi enim illi scriptores," he adds, "de verborum apicibus non multum solliciti, ex memoriâ quæ ad institutum suum factura videbantur passim allegabant; unde factum ut de priscâ lectione ex illorum scriptis nil ferè certi potuerit hauriri." It is certainly

¹ I am glad to be able to coincide thus far with the judgment of Mr Hammond, who says: "The value of even the most definite Patristic citation is only corroborative. Standing by itself, any such citation might mean no more than that the writer found the passage in his own copy, or in those examined by him, in the form in which he quotes it. The moment, however, it is found to be supported by other good evidence, the writer's authority may become of immense importance" ("Outlines of Textual Criticism," p. 66, 2nd edition). His illustration is the statement of Irenæus in Matth. i. 18, which is discussed below, Chap. ix.

to the credit of Mill's sagacity that he did not follow his patron's example by setting aside Patristic testimony in so curt and compendious a manner, yet I would not speak with him (N. T. *Proleg.* § 1478) of Bp. Fell's "præpropera opinio"; he merely stated as *universally* true what for the most part certainly is so. No one can study Mill's *Prolegomena* without being conscious of the fact, that the portion of them relating to the history of the text, as gathered from ecclesiastical writers, and the accumulation of that mass of quotations from the Fathers which stands below his Scripture text, must have been, what he asserts, the result of some years' labour (N. T. *Proleg.* § 1513): yet these are just the parts of his celebrated work that have given the least satisfaction. The field indeed is too vast to be occupied by one man, or by many men within the space of a few years. A whole library of authors has to be thoroughly searched; each cited passage must be patiently examined; the fallacious help of *indices* should be renounced; the text of the very writers is to be corrected, so far as may be, by the collation of better manuscripts than the printed editions are usually based upon; and all this with the knowledge that codices of the Fathers are for the most part of much lower date than those of Scripture which we desire to amend by their aid; not many being older than the tenth century, the far greater part considerably more modern¹.

3. To Griesbach must be assigned the merit of being the earliest editor of the Greek Testament who saw, or at least who acted upon the principle, that it is far more profitable as well as more scholarlike to do one thing well, than to attempt more than can be performed completely and with accuracy. He was led by certain textual theories he had adopted (which we shall best describe hereafter; see Chapter v.) to a close examination of the works of Origen, the most celebrated Biblical critic of antiquity. The result, published in the second volume of his *Symbolæ Criticæ*, is a lasting monument both of his industry

¹ Take the case of Irenæus, in some respects the most important of them all. The *editio princeps* of Erasmus (1526) was printed from manuscripts now unknown. The three best manuscripts are in Latin only. The oldest of them I saw at Middle-hill (see p. 233), an exquisite specimen of the tenth or eleventh century, *olim* Claromontanus; another, of the twelfth, is in the Arundel collection in the British Museum; the third once belonged to Vossius.

and acuteness; and, if not quite faultless in point of correctness, deserves to be taken as a model by his successors. What Griesbach has done for Origen, has hitherto not been imitated by others for writers of little less importance, such as Clement of Alexandria or Eusebius, Athanasius or the Cyrils; and until that be accomplished, we cannot use the citations derived from their works with any high degree of confidence. Tregelles, of whose Greek Testament we shall presently speak (Chapter v.) has evidently bestowed much pains on his Patristic citations; they are at once more definite, more numerous, and yet more select than those of his predecessors; to Eusebius of Cæsarea, especially to those portions of his works which have been recently edited or brought to light, he has paid great attention: Chrysostom, however, has been grievously neglected, although the subjects of a large portion of his writings, the early date of some of his codices¹, the extensive collations of Matthaëi, and the excellent modern editions of most of his Homilies, might have sufficed to commend him to our particular regard. The custom, commenced by Lachmann, and adopted by Tregelles (though not uniformly by Tischendorf), of recording the exact edition, volume, and page of the writer quoted, and in important cases of copying his very words, cannot be too much praised: we would suggest, however, the expediency of further indicating, by an asterisk or some such mark, those passages about which there can be no ambiguity as to the reading adopted by the author, in order to distinguish them from others which are of infinitely less weight and importance.

4. It may be convenient to subjoin an alphabetical list of the ecclesiastical writers, both Greek and Latin (with the usual abridgements for their names), which are the most often cited in critical editions of the New Testament. The Latin authors are printed in italics, and unless they happen to appeal unequivocally to the evidence of Greek codices, are available only for the correction of their vernacular translation. The dates annexed *chiefly* indicate the death of the persons they

¹ Tischendorf (N. T. *Proleg.* p. 256, 7th edition) speaks of one Wolfenbüttel manuscript of the sixth century containing the Homilies on S. Matthew, which he designed to publish in his *Monumenta sacra inedita*, Vol. VII. He indicates its readings by Chr^m.

refer to. Fuller details are given by Tischendorf, N. T., *Proleg.* pp. 257—69, 7th edition.

- Ambrose* Bp. of Milan, A.D. 397 (Ambr.)
Ambrosiaster, the false Ambrose, perhaps *Hilary* the Deacon, of the third century. (Ambrst.)
Ammonius of Alexandria, 220 (Ammon.) in *Catenis*.
Andreas of Crete, 7th century (probably not the same person as)
Andreas Bishop of Cæsarea, 6th century? (And.)
Arethas Bp. of Cæsarea Capp., 10th century? (Areth.)
Arnobius of Africa, 306 (Arnob.)
Athanasius Bp. of Alexandria, 373 (Ath.)
Athenagoras of Athens, 177 (Athen.)
Augustine Bp. of Hippo, 430 (Aug.)
Barnabas, 1st or 2nd century? (Barn.)
Basil Bp. of Cæsarea, 379 (Bas.)
Basil of Seleucia, fl. 440 (Bas. Sel.)
Bede the Venerable, 735 (Bede).
Cæsarius of Constantinople 368 (Cæs.)
Canons Apostolic, 3rd century (Canon.)
Cassiodorus, 575 (Cassiod.)
Chromatius Bp. of Aquileia, 402 (Chrom.)
Chrysostom Bp. of Constantinople, 407 (Chrys.)
Clement of Alexandria, fl. 194 (Clem.)
Clement Bp. of Rome, fl. 90 (Clem. Rom.)
Constitutiones Apostolicæ, 3rd century (Constit.)
Cosmas Indicopleustes, 535 (Cosm.)
Cyprian Bp. of Carthage, 258 (Cypr.)
Cyril Bp. of Alexandria, 444 (Cyr.)
Cyril Bp. of Jerusalem, 386 (Cyr. Jer.)
Damasceus John, 730 (Dam.)¹
Didymus of Alexandria, 370 (Did.)
Dionysius Bp. of Alexandria, 265 (Dion.)
Dionysius (Pseudo-) Areopagita, 5th century (Dion. Areop.)
Ephraem the Syrian, 378 (Ephr.)
Epiphanius Bp. of Cyprus, 403 (Epiph.)
Eusebius Bp. of Cæsarea, 340 (Eus.)
Euthalius Bp. of Sulci? 458 (Euthal.)
Euthymius Zigabenus, 1116 (Euthym.)
Evagrius of Pontus, 380 (Evagr.)
Fulgentius, 5th cent. (Fulg.)
Gaudentius, 4th cent. (Gaud.)
Gregory of Nazianzus, the Divine, Bp. of Constantinople, 389 (Naz.)
Gregory Bp. of Nyssa, 396 (Nyssa.)
Gregory Thaumaturgus Bp. of Neocæsarea, 243 (Thauma.)
Gregory the Great, Bp. of Rome, 605 (Greg.)
Haymo, Bp. of Halberstadt, 9th century (Haym.)
Hieronymus (Jerome), 420 (Hier.) or (Jer.)
Hilary Bp. of Poitiers, fl. 354 (Hil.)
Hippolytus Bp. of Pontus, fl. 220 (Hip.)
Ignatius Bp. of Antioch, 107 (Ign.)
Irenæus Bp. of Lyons, fl. 178; chiefly extant in an old Latin version (Iren.)
Isidore of Pelusium, 412 (Isid.)
Justin Martyr, 164 (Just.)
Juvenius, 380 (Juv.)
Lactantius, 306 (Lact.)
Lucifer Bp. of Cagliari, 367 (Luc.)
Marcion the heretic, 130? (Mcion), cited by Epiphanius (Mcion-e) and by *Tertullian* (Mcion-t).
Maximus Taurinensis, 466 (Max. Taur.)
Maximus the Confessor, 662 (Max. Conf.)
Methodius, 311 (Meth.)
Nonnus, fl. 400 (Nonn.)
Novatianus, fl. 300? (Novat.)
Œumenius Bishop of Tricca, 10th century? (Œcu.)
Origen, b. 186, d. 253 (Or.)
Pamphilus the Martyr, 308 (Pamph.)

¹ *Damascus* ^{and}. i.e. Joh. Damasceni parallela sacra ex cod. Rupefuc. sæculi ferè 8." Tischendorf, N. T., Preface to Vol. I. of the eighth edition, 1869. He promised full information in his *Prolegomena*, which never appeared. Here we have a manuscript ascribed to the same century as the Father whose work it contains.

Peter Bp. of Alexandria, 311 (Petr.)	(Thdor. Mops.)
Photinus Bp. of Constantinople, 891 (Phot.)	Theodoret Bp. of Cyrus or of Cyrhus in Comagene, 458 (Thdrt.)
Polycarp Bp. of Smyrna, 166 (Polyc.)	Theophilus Bp. of Antioch, 182 (Thph. Ant.)
Primasius Bp. of Adrumetum, fl. 550 (Prim.)	Theophylact Archbp. of Bulgaria, 1071 (Theophyl.)
Prudentius 406 (Prud.)	Tichonius the Donatist, fl. 390 (Tich.)
Rufinus of Aquileia, 397 (Ruf.)	Titus Bp. of Bostra, fl. 370 (Tit. Bost.)
Severianus, a Syrian Bp., 409 (Sevrn.)	Victor of Antioch, 430 (Vict. Ant.) ²
Socrates } Church { fl. 440 (Soc.)	Victor Bp. of Tunis, 565 (Vict. Tun.)
Sozomen } Historians, { 450 (Soz.)	Victorinus Bp. of Pettau, 360 (Vic- torin.)
Suidas the lexicographer, 980? (Suid.)	Vigilius of Thapsus, 484 (Vigil.)
Tatian of Antioch, 172 (Tat.)	
Tertullian of Africa, fl. 200 (Tert.) ¹	
Theodore Bp. of Mopsuestia, 428	

Add to these the Greek Scholia published by Matthæi (N. T., *see* Chap. v.), and the Catenæ of the Greek Fathers edited by Possinus (1673), Cramer (1838 &c.), Mai, and others.

The following anonymous works in Latin belong to the fourth century:

- Auctor libri de XLII. mansionibus (auct. mans.).
- Auctor libri de Promissionibus dimid. temporis (Prom.).
- Auctor libri de Rebaptismate (Rebapt.).
- Auctor libri de Vocatione gentium (Vocat.).
- Auctor libri de singularitate clericorum (auct. sing. cler.).
- Opus imperfectum in Matthæum (Op.).
- Quæstiones ex utroque Testamento (Quæst.).

¹ This important witness for the Old Latin version must now be used with H. Roensch's *Das Neue Testament Tertullian's*, Leipzig, 1871, wherein all his citations from the N. T. are arranged and critically examined.

² So much requires to be done for almost all the ecclesiastical writers of antiquity before they can be securely used as instruments of criticism, that Dean Burgon's Appendix (D) to his "Last Twelve verses of S. Mark" pp. 269—287 well deserves the praise accorded to it by a not very friendly critic. The Dean discusses at length the genius and character of Victor of Antioch's Commentary on S. Mark, and enumerates the manuscripts which contain it.

CHAPTER V.

ON THE EARLY PRINTED, AND LATER CRITICAL EDITIONS OF THE GREEK NEW TESTAMENT.

IT would be quite foreign to our present design, to attempt to notice all the editions of the New Testament in Greek which have appeared in the course of the last three centuries and a half, nor would a large volume suffice for such a labour. We will limit our attention, therefore, to those early editions which have contributed to form our commonly received text, and to such others of more recent date as not only exhibit a revised text, but contain an accession of fresh critical materials for its more complete emendation¹.

Since the Latin Bible of 1452 was the first production of the new-born printing-press (*see* p. 351), and the Jews had published the Hebrew Bible in 1488, we must impute it to the general ignorance of Greek among divines in Western Europe, that although the two songs *Magnificat* and *Benedictus* (Luke i.) were annexed to a Greek Psalter which appeared first at Milan in 1481, without a printer's name; next at Venice in 1486, being edited by a Greek; again at Venice from the press of Aldus in 1496 or 1497: and although the first six chapters of S. John's Gospel were published at Venice by Aldus Manutius

¹ Since the first edition of this book was issued, Ed. Reuss has published "Bibliotheca Novi Testamenti Græci, cujus editiones ab initio typographiæ ad nostram ætatem impressas quotquot reperiri potuerunt collegit digessit illustravit E. R. Argentoratensis" (Brunsvigæ, 1872), to which the reader is referred for editions which our purpose does not lead us to notice. Some of his statements regarding the text of early editions we have repeated in the notes of the present chapter. His enumeration is not grounded on a complete collation of any book, but from the study of a thousand passages (p. 24) selected for his purpose. Hence his numerical results are perpetually less than our own, or even than Mill's.

in 1504, and John vi. 1—14 at Tübingen in 1514, the first *printed* edition of the whole N. T. in the original is that contained in

1. THE COMPLUTENSIAN POLYGLOTT¹ (6 Vol. folio), the munificent design of Francis Ximenes de Cisneros [1437—1517], Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, and Regent of Castile (1506—17). This truly eminent person, six years of whose humble youth were spent in a dungeon through the caprice of one of his predecessors in the Primacy of Spain, experienced what we have seen so conspicuously illustrated in other instances, that long imprisonment ripens the intellect which it fails to extinguish. Entering the Franciscan order in 1482, he carried the ascetic habit of his profession to the throne of Toledo and the palace of his sovereign. Becoming in 1492 Confessor to Queen Isabella the Catholic, and Primate three years later, he devoted to pure charity or to public purposes the enormous revenues of his see; founding the University at Alcalá de Henares in New Castile, where he had gone to school, and defraying the cost of an expedition which as Regent he led to Oran against the Moors. In 1502 he conceived the plan of the first Polyglott Bible, to celebrate the birth of him who afterwards became the Emperor Charles V., and gathered in his University of Alcalá (*Complutum*) as many manuscripts as he could procure, with men he deemed equal to the task, of whom James Lopez de Stunica (subsequently known for his controversy with Erasmus) was the principal: others being Æ. Antonio of Lebrixa, Demetrius Ducas of Crete, and Ferdinand of Valladolid (*Pintianus*). The whole outlay of Cardinal Ximenes on the Polyglott is stated to have exceeded 50,000 ducats or about £23,000, a vast sum in those days:—but his yearly income as Primate was four times as great. The first volume printed, Tom. v., contains the New Testament in two parallel columns, Greek and Latin, the latter being that modification of the Vulgate then current: the colophon on the last page of the Apocalypse states that it was completed January 10, 1514, the printer being Arnald William de Brocario. Tom. VI., comprising a Lexicon, indices, &c. bears date March 17, 1515; Tom. I—IV. of the Old

¹ *Novum Testamentum Græce et Latine in academia complutensi noviter impressum, Tom. v.*

Testament and Apocrypha, 1517, (Tom. iv. dated July 10), on November 8 of which year the Cardinal died, full of honours and good deeds. This event must have retarded the publication of the whole, since Pope Leo's licence was not granted until March 22, 1520, and Erasmus did not see the book before 1522. As not more than six hundred copies were printed, this Polyglott must from the first have been scarce and dear, and is not always met with in Public Libraries.

The Apocryphal books, like the N. T., are of course given only in two languages; in the Old Testament the Latin Vulgate holds the chief place in the middle, between the Hebrew and the Septuagint Greek¹. The Greek type in the other volumes is of the common character, with the usual breathings and accents; in the fifth, or New Testament volume, it is quite different, being modelled after the fashion of manuscripts of about the thirteenth century, very bold and elegant (*see* Plate x. No 26), without breathings, and accentuated according to a system defended and explained in a bilingual preface *πρὸς τοὺς ἐντευξομένους*, but never heard of before or since: monosyllables have no accent, while in other words the *tone* syllable receives the acute, the grave and circumflex being discarded. The Latin is in a noble church-character, references are made from the one text to the other by means of small letters, and where in either column there is a void space, in consequence of words omitted or otherwise, it is filled up by such curves as are seen in the bottom line of our specimen. The foreign matter in this volume consists of the short Preface in Latin and Greek, Eusebius Carpiano (but without the canons), Jerome's letter to Damasus (*see* p. 349), with the ordinary Latin Prologues and Arguments before each book. S. Paul's Epistles precede the Acts, as in Codd. №. 61. 69. 90, &c. (*see* p. 70), and before them stand the *ἀποδημία παύλου*, Euthalii *περὶ χρόνων* (*see* p. 65),

¹ Quite enough has been made of that piece of grim Spanish humour, "Mediam autem inter has latinam beati Hieronymi translationem velut inter Synagogam et Orientalem Ecclesiam posuimus: tanquam duos hinc et inde latrones, medium autem Jesum, hoc est Romanam sive latinam Ecclesiam collocantes" (Prol. Tom. 1.). The editors plainly meant no disparagement to the original Scriptures, *as such*; but they had persuaded themselves that Hebrew codices had been corrupted by the Jew, the Septuagint by the schismatical Greek, and so clung to the Latin as the only form (even before the Council of Trent) in which the Bible was known or studied in Western Europe.

the ordinary *ὑποθέσεις* to all the 21 Epistles (grouped together), with Theodoret's *prologues* subjoined to 13 of the *ὑποθέσεις*. By the side of the Latin text are numerous parallel passages, and there are also five marginal notes (on Matth. vi. 13; 1 Cor. xiii. 3; xv. 31; 51; 1 John v. 7, 8). The only divisions are the common Latin chapters, subdivided by the letters A, B, C, D, &c. (*see* p. 67). Copies of laudatory verses¹, an interpretation of Proper Names, and a Greek Lexicon of the N. T., close the volume.

It has long been debated among critics, what manuscripts were used by the Complutensian editors, especially in the N. T. Ximenes is reported to have spent 4000 ducats in the purchase of such manuscripts; in the Preface to the N. T. we are assured that "non quevis exemplaria impressioni huic archetypa fuisse: sed antiquissima emendatissimaque: ac tante preterea vetustatis, ut fidem eis abrogare nefas videatur: Que sanctissimus in Christo pater et dominus noster Leo decimus pontifex maximus, huic instituto favere cupiens ex apostolica bibliotheca educta misit..." Yet these last expressions can hardly refer to the N. T., inasmuch as Leo X. was not elected Pope till March 11, 1513, and the N. T. was *completed* Jan. 10 of the very next year². Add to this that Vercellone, whose services to sacred literature have been spoken of above (pp. 108, 113), brought to light the fact that only two manuscripts are recorded as having been sent to the Cardinal from the Vatican in the first year of Leo, and neither of them (Vat. 330, 346) contained any part of the N. T.³ The only one of the Complutensian codices specified

¹ Of these, two copies are in Greek, three in Latin Elegiacs. I subjoin those of the native Greek editor, Demetrius Ducas, as a rather favourable specimen of verse composition in that age: the fantastic mode of accentuation described above was clearly not *his* work.

Εἰπράξεις ὅσαι ἀρετῆτε βροτοῦς ἐς ἄλυμνον,
 ἐσμακάρων χάρον καὶ βλον ἄδεν ἀγειν,
 ἀρχιερεὺς ξιμένης θεῖος πέλει. ἔργα γὰρ αὐτοῦ
 ἦδε βιβλος. θνητοῖς ἀξια δῶρα τάδε.

² Tregelles (*Account of the Printed Text*, p. 7, note) states that he was elected Febr. 28, crowned March 11: Sir Harris Nicolas (*Chronology of History*, p. 194) that he was elected March 11, without naming the date of his coronation as usual, but mentioning that "Leo X, in his letters, dated the commencement of his pontificate before his coronation."

³ The following is the document (a curiosity in its way) as cited by Vercellone: "Anno primo Leonis PP. X. Reverendiss. Dom. Franciscus Card. Tolentanus de mandato SS. D. N. Papæ habuit ex bibliotheca a Dom. Phædro

by Stunica, the Cod. Rhodiensis (Act. 52, *see* p. 250), has entirely disappeared, and from a Catalogue of the thirty volumes of Biblical manuscripts once in the library at Alcalá, but now at Madrid, communicated in 1846 by Don José Gutierrez, the Librarian, we find that they consist exclusively of Latin and Hebrew books, with the exception of two which contain portions of the Septuagint in Greek¹. Thus we seem cut off from all hope of obtaining direct information as to the age, character, and present locality of the materials employed for the Greek text of this edition.

It is obvious, however, that in the course of twelve years (1502—14), Ximenes may have obtained *transcripts* of codices he did not himself possess, and since some of the more remarkable readings of the Complutensian are found in but one or two manuscripts (e.g. Luke i. 64 in Codd. 140, 251; ii. 22 in Cod. 76), such copies should of course be narrowly watched. We have pointed out above (p. 250) the resemblance that Seidel's codex (Act. 42, Paul. 48, Apoc. 13) bears to this edition: so too Cod. 4 of the Gospels. Mill first noticed its affinity to Laud. 2 or Evan. 51, Act. 32, Paul. 38 (*see* p. 185), and though this is somewhat remote in the Gospels, throughout the Acts and Epistles it is close and indubitable². We see, therefore,

Bibliothecario duo volumina græca: unum in quo continentur libri infrascripti; videlicet Proverbia Salomonis, Ecclesiastes, Cant. Cant., Job, Sapientia, Ecclesiasticus, Esdras, Tobias, Judith [this is Vat. 846, or 248 of Parsons]. Sunt in eo folia quingenta et duodecim ex papyro in nigro. Fuit extractum ex blanco primo bibliothecæ græcæ communis. Mandatum Pontificis super concessione dictorum librorum registratum fuit in Camera Apostolica per D. Franciscum De Attavantes Notarium, ubi etiam annotata est obligatio. Promisit restituere intra annum sub pena ducentorum ducatorum."—"Restituit die 9 Julii, MDXVIII. Ita est. Fr. Zenobius Bibliothecarius."

¹ The Catalogue is copied at length by Tregelles (*Account of the Printed Text*, pp. 15—18). It is scarcely worth while to repeat the silly story taken up by Moldenhawer, whose admiration of *las cosas de España* was not extravagantly high, that the Alcalá manuscripts had been sold to make sky-rockets about 1749; to which statement Sir John Bowring pleasantly adds in 1819, "To celebrate the arrival of some worthless grandees." Gutierrez's recent list comprehends all the codices named in the University Catalogue made in 1745; and we may hope that even in Spain all grandees are not necessarily worthless.

² Thus in S. Mark the Complutensian varies from Laud. 2 in 51 places, and nowhere agrees with it except in company with a mass of other copies. In the Acts on the contrary they agree 189 times, and differ but 41, some of their *loci singulares* being quite decisive: e.g. x. 17; 21; xii. 12; xvii. 81; xx. 38; xxiv. 16; 1 Pet. iii. 12; 14; 2 Pet. i. 11. In most of these places Seidel's Codex, in

no cause for believing that either Cod. B, or any manuscript much resembling it in character, or any other document of high antiquity or first-rate importance, was employed by the editors of this Polyglott. The text it exhibits does not widely differ from that of most codices written from the tenth century downwards.

That it was corrupted from the parallel Latin version was contended by Wetstein and others on very insufficient grounds. Even the Latinism *βεελαξεβουβ* Matth. x. 25, seems a mere inadvertence, and is corrected immediately afterwards (xii. 24, 27), as well as in the four other places wherein the word is used. We need not deny that 1 John v. 7, 8 was interpolated, and probably translated from the Vulgate; and a few other cases have a suspicious look (Rom. xvi. 5; 2 Cor. v. 10; vi. 15; and especially Gal. iii. 19); the articles too are employed as if they were unfamiliar to the editor (e.g. Acts xxi. 4; 8): yet we must emphatically deny that on the whole the Latin Vulgate had an appreciable effect upon the Greek. This last point had been demonstrated to the satisfaction of Michaelis and of Marsh by Goeze¹, in whose short tract many readings of Cod. Laud. 2 are also examined. In the more exact collation of the N. T. which we have made with the common text (*Elzevir* 1624), and which appeared in the first edition of the present work, out of 2777 places in all, wherein the Complutensian edition differs from that of Elzevir (viz. 1046 in the Gospels, 576 in the Pauline Epistles, 541 in the Acts and Catholic Epistles, 614 in the Apocalypse), in no less than 849 the Latin is at variance with the Greek; in the majority of the rest the difference cannot be expressed in another language. Since the Complutensian N. T. could only have been published from manuscripts, it deserves more minute examination than it has received from Mill or Wetstein; and it were much to be desired that minute collations could be made of several other early editions, especially the whole five of Erasmus.

some of them Act. 69, and in nearly all Cod. Havn. 1 (Evan. 234, Act. 57, Paul. 72) are with Laud. 2. On testing this last at the Bodleian in some forty places, I found Mill's representation fairly accurate. As might have been expected, his Oxford manuscripts were collated much the best.

¹ Goeze's "Defence of the Complutensian Bible," 1766. He published a "Continuation" in 1769. See also Franc. Delitzsch's "Studies on the Complutensian Polyglott" (Bagster 1872), derived from his Academical Exercise as Dean of the Theological Faculty at Leipsic, 1871—2.

Since this Polyglott has been said to be very inaccurately printed, it is necessary to state that we have noted just 50 pure errors of the press; in one place, moreover (Hebr. vii. 3), part of the ninth Euthalian κεφάλαιον (εν ω ότι και του αβραάμ προετιμήθη) has crept into the text. All the usual peculiarities observable in later manuscripts are here, e.g. 224 itacisms (chiefly ω for ο, η for ει, ει for ι, υ for η, οι for ει, and *vice versa*); 32 instances of ν ἐφέλικτυκόν, or the superabundant ν, before a consonant; 15 cases of the hiatus for the lack of ν before a vowel; ουως is something found before a consonant, but ουτω 68 times; ουκ and ουχ are interchanged 12 times. The following peculiarities, found in many manuscripts, and here retained, may shew that the grammatical forms of the Greek were not yet settled among scholars: παρήγγελεν Mark vi. 8; διάγγελε Luke ix. 60; καταγγέλειν Acts iv. 2; διαγγέλων Acts xxi. 26; καταγγέλων 1 Cor. ii. 1; παραγγέλω 1 Cor. vii. 10; αναγγέλων 2 Cor. vii. 7; παραγγέλομεν 2 Thessa. iii. 4; παράγγελε 1 Tim. iv. 11; v. 7; vi. 17. The augment is omitted 9 times (Matth. xi. 17; Acts vii. 42; xxvi. 32; Rom. i. 2; Gal. ii. 13; 1 Tim. vi. 10; 2 Tim. i. 16; Apoc. iv. 8; xii. 17); the reduplication twice (John xi. 52; 1 Cor. xi. 5): μέλλω and μέλει are confounded Mark iv. 38; Acts xviii. 17; Apoc. iii. 2; xii. 4. Other anomalous forms (some of them would be called Alexandrian, see Chap. viii.) are παμπόλου Mark viii. 1; νηρέαν Rom. xvi. 15; εἰσῆρθε 1 Cor. v. 13; αποκτείνει 2 Cor. iii. 6, *passim*; στιχοῦμεν Gal. v. 25; εἶπα Heb. iii. 10; ευράμενος *ibid.* ix. 12; απεσχέσθαι 1 Pet. ii. 11; καταλειπόντες 2 Pet. ii. 15; περιβαλλείται Apoc. iii. 5; δειγνίντος *ibid.* xxii. 8. The stops are placed carelessly in the Greek, being (·), (·), rarely (·), never (·). In the Latin the stops are pretty regular, but the abbreviations very numerous, even such purely arbitrary forms as xps for *Christus*. In the Greek σ often stands at the end of a word for s, τ and often υ or υ are set at the beginning of syllables: there are no instances of *ι ascript* or *subscript*, and no capital letters except at the beginning of a chapter, when they are often flourished. The following forms are also derived from the general practice of manuscripts, and occur perpetually: ἀπάρτι, ἀπάρχης, δαν (for δ' ἄν), εἰμή, εἰσαντής, επιτοαυτό, εφόσον, εωσότου, καίτοιγε, καθημέραν, κατιδιαν, κατόναρ, μεθήμων, μέντοι, ουμή, τουτέστι; and for the most part διαπαντός, διατί, διατότο, εἶτις, ουκέτι. Sometimes the preposition and its case make but a single word, as παραφύσω, and once we find ευκοήσαι, Vulg. *benefacere* (Mark xiv. 7).

The Complutensian text has been followed in the main by only a few later editions, chiefly by Chr. Plantin's N. T. 1564, &c., and in his Antwerp Polyglott (1569—72)¹.

¹ Reuss says boldly that the Complutensian text "purus et authenticus a veteribus nunquam repetitus est" (p. 25), and gives a list of 44 places in which the Complutensian and Plantin editions are at variance (pp. 16, 17). He subjoins a list of 185 cases in which the two are in unison against Erasmus and Stephen jointly (pp. 18—21), so that the influence of the former over the latter cannot be disputed.

2. ERASMUS' NEW TESTAMENT was by six years the earlier published, though it was printed two years later than the Complutensian. Its editor, both in character and fortunes, presents a striking contrast with Ximenes; yet what he lacked of the Castilian's firmness he more than atoned for by his true love of learning, and the cheerfulness of spirit that struggled patiently, if not boldly, with adversity. Desiderius Erasmus (*ἐράσμος*, i.e. Gerald) was born at Rotterdam in 1465, or, perhaps, a year or two later, the illegitimate son of reputable and (but for that sin) of virtuous parents. Soon left an orphan, he was forced to take reluctantly the minor orders, and entered the priesthood in 1492. Thenceforward his was the hard life of a solitary and wandering man of letters, earning a precarious subsistence from booksellers or pupils¹, now learning Greek at Oxford (but *αὐτοδιδάκτος*)², now teaching it at Cambridge (1510); losing by his reckless wit the friends his vast erudition had won; restless and unfrugal, perhaps, yet always labouring faithfully and with diligence. He was in England when John Froben, a celebrated publisher at Basle, moved by the report of the forthcoming Spanish Bible and eager to forestall it, made application to Erasmus, through a common friend, to undertake immediately an edition of the N. T.: "*se daturum pollicetur, quantum alius quisquam,*" is the argument employed. This proposal was sent on April 17, 1515, years before which time Erasmus had prepared numerous annotations to illustrate a revised Latin version he had long projected. On September 11 it was yet unsettled whether this improved version should stand

¹ At forty he obtained the countenance of that good and bountiful rather than great prelate, William Wareham, Archbishop of Canterbury (1502—82), who, prosperous in life, was so singularly "*felix opportunitate mortis.*" It gladdens and makes sad at once an English heart to read what Erasmus writes about him ten years later: "*Cujusmodi Mæcenas, si mihi primis illis contigisset annis, fortassis aliquid in bonis literis potuissem. Nunc natus sæculo parum felici, cum passim impunè regnaret barbaries, præsertim apud nostrates, apud quos tum crimen etiam erat quicquam bonarum literarum attingisse, tantum aberat ut honos aleret hominum studia in eâ regione, quæ Baccho Cæterique dicata sunt verius quam musis*" (N. T., 1516, Annot. 1 Thess. II. p. 554).

² Bp. Middleton may have lost sight of this pregnant fact when he wrote of Erasmus, "an acquaintancè with Greek criticism was certainly not among his best acquirements, as his Greek Testament plainly proves: indeed he seems not to have had a very happy talent for languages" (*Doctrine of the Greek Article*, p. 395, 3rd edition).

by the Greek in a parallel column (the plan actually adopted), or be printed separately: yet the colophon at the end of Erasmus' first edition, a large folio of 1027 pages in all, is dated February, 1516; the end of the Annotations, March 1, 1516; Erasmus' dedication to Leo X., Feb. 1, 1516; and Froben's Preface, full of joyful hope and honest pride in the friendship of the first of living authors, Feb. 24, 1516. Well might Erasmus, who had besides other literary engagements to occupy his time, declare subsequently that the volume "præcipitatum fuit verius quam editum;" yet both on the title-page, and in his dedication to the Pope, he allows himself to employ widely different language¹. When we read the assurance he addressed to Leo, "Novum ut vocant testamentum universum ad Græcæ originis fidem recognovimus, idque non temere neque levi opera, sed adhibitis in consilium compluribus utriusque linguæ codicibus, nec iis sane quibuslibet, sed vetustissimis simul et emendatissimis," it is almost painful to be obliged to remember that a portion of ten months at the utmost could have been devoted to his task by Erasmus; while the only manuscripts he can be imagined to have constantly used are Codd. Evan. 2, Act. Paul 2 and 7 (*see above*, p. 264), with occasional reference to Evan. Act. Paul. 1 and Act. Paul. 4 (all still at Basle, and described, Chap. II. Sect. III.) for the remainder of the New Testament, to which add Apoc. 1 (now happily recovered, *see* p. 273) alone for the Apocalypse. All these, excepting Evan. Act. Paul 1, were neither ancient nor particularly valu-

¹ The title-page is long and rather boastful. "Novum Instrumentum omne, diligenter ab Erasmo Roterodamo recognitum et emendatum, non solum ad græcam veritatem, verum etiam ad multorum utriusque linguæ codicum, eorumque veterum simul et emendatorum fidem, postremo ad probatissimorum autorum citationem, emendationem, et interpretationem, præcipue, Origenis, Chrysostomi, Cyrilli, Vulgarii, Hieronymi, Cypriani, Ambrosii, Hilarii, Augustini, una cum Annotationibus, quæ lectorem doceant, quid qua ratione mutatum sit. Quisquis igitur amat veram theologiam, lege, cognosce, ac deinde iudica. Neque statim offendere, si quid mutatum offenderis, sed expende, num in melius mutatum sit. Apud inelytam Germaniæ Basileam." The *Vulgarium* of Erasmus' first edition is no less a person than Theophylact, Archbishop of Bulgaria (*see* p. 421), as appears plainly from his Annotations, p. 819, "nec in ullis græcorum exemplaribus addita reperi [*ἐκ σοῦ*, Luke i. 85], ne apud *Vulgarium* quidem, nec in antiquis codicibus Latinis." He had found out his portentous blunder by 1528, when, in his *Responsio ad Object. xvi. Hispanorum*, he gives that commentator his right name.

able, and of Cod. 1 he made but small account¹. As Apoc. 1 was mutilated in the last six verses, Erasmus turned these into Greek from the Latin; and some portions of his self-made version, which are found (however some editors may speak vaguely, *see* p. 76) *in no one known Greek manuscript whatever*, still cleave to our received text². Besides this scanty roll, however, he not rarely refers in his Annotations to other manuscripts he had seen in the course of his travels (e.g. on Heb. i. 3; Apoc. i. 4; viii. 13), yet too indistinctly for his allusions to be of much use to critics. Some such readings, as alleged by him, have not been found elsewhere (e.g. Acts xxiv. 23; Rom. xii. 20), and may have been cited loosely from distant recollection (comp. Col. iii. 3; Heb. iv. 12; 2 Pet. iii. 1; Apoc. ii. 18).

When Ximenes, in the last year of his life, was shown Erasmus' edition which had thus got the start of his own, and his editor, Stunica, sought to depreciate it, the noble old man replied, "would God that all the Lord's people were prophets!

¹ Yet he could have followed none other than Cod. 1 in Matth. xxii. 28; xxiii. 25; xxvii. 52; xxviii. 3; 4; 19; 20; Mark vii. 18; 19; 26; x. 1; xii. 22; xv. 48; Luke i. 16; 61; ii. 43; ix. 1; 15; xi. 49; John i. 28; x. 8; xiii. 20; in all which passages the Latin Vulgate is neutral or hostile.

² Such are *ὁρθρῶς* Apoc. xxii. ver. 16; *ἐλθέ bis*, *ἐλθέτω*, *λαμβάνετω τὸ* ver. 17; *συμμαρτυροῦμαι γάρ*, *ἐπιτιθῆ* *πρὸς ταῦτα*,—*τῷ* (*ante βιβλίῳ*) ver. 18; *ἀφαιρῆ*, *βιβλου*, *ἀφαιρήσει*, *βιβλου* *secund.*, *καὶ ult.*,—*τῷ* (*ante βιβλίῳ*) ver. 19; *ἡμῶν*, *ὕμῶν* ver. 21. Erasmus in his Annotations fairly confesses what he did: "quanquam in calce hujus libri, nonnulla verba reperi apud nostros, quæ aberant in Græcis exemplaribus, ea tamen ex latinis adjecimus." But since the text and commentary in Cod. Reuchlini are so mixed up as to be undistinguishable in parts without the aid of a second manuscript (Tregelles *Delitzsch's Handschriftliche Funde*, Part II. pp. 2—7), it is no wonder that in other places Erasmus in his perplexity was sometimes tempted to translate into his own Greek from the Latin Vulgate such words or clauses as he judged to have been wrongly passed over by his sole authority, e.g. ch. ii. 2; 17; iii. 5; 12; 15; vi. 11; 15 (*see* p. 273); vii. 17; xiii. 4; 5; xiv. 16; xxi. 16; xxii. 11, where the Greek words only of Erasmus are false; while in ch. ii. 3; v. 14 (*bis*); vi. 1; 3; 5; 7; xiii. 10; xiv. 5 (as partly in xxii. 14) he was misled by the recent copies of the Vulgate, whereto alone he had access, to make additions which no Greek manuscript is known to support. Bengel's acuteness had long before suspected that ch. v. 14; xxii. 11, and the form *ἀκαθάρτητος* ch. xvii. 4 (where Apoc. 1 has *τὰ ἀκάθαρτα*) had their origin in no Greek copy, but in the Vulgate. Nor does Apoc. 1 lend any countenance to ch. xvii. 8, *καίπερ ἔστι*, or to ver. 13, *διαδιδάσκουσιν*. For Erasmus' *πληρώσανται* ch. vi. 11, Apoc. 1 has *πληρώσωσιν*, the Latin *impleantur*; for his *σφραγίζωμεν*, ch. vii. 3, we find *σφραγίσωμεν* in Apoc. 1, but the latter omits *τῆς ἀμπέλου* ch. xiv. 18, and so does Erasmus on its authority.

produce better, if thou canst; condemn not the industry of another¹." His generous confidence in his own work was not misplaced. He had many advantages over the poor scholar and the enterprising printer of Basle, and had not let them pass unimproved. The typographical errors of the Complutensian Greek have been stated (p. 428); Erasmus' first edition is in that respect the most faulty book I know. Œcolampadius, or John Hausschein of Basle [1482—1531], afterwards of some note as a disputer with Luther on the Sacramentarian controversy, had undertaken this department for him, and was glad enough to serve under such a chief; but Froben's hot haste gave him little leisure to do his part. No less than 501 *itacisms* (p. 10) are imported from the manuscripts into his printed text, and the *ν ἐφέλευστικόν* is perpetually used with verbs, before a consonant beginning the next word. We must, however, impute it to design that *ι subscript*, which is elsewhere placed pretty correctly, is here set under *η* in the plural of the subjunctive mood active, but not in the singular (e. g. James ii. 3, *ἐπιβλέψητε, εἵρηγε bis*, but ver. 2, *εἰσέλθη bis*). With regard to the text, the difference between the two editions is very wide in the Apocalypse, the text of the Complutensian being decidedly preferable; elsewhere they resemble each other more closely, and while we fully admit the error of Stunica and his colleagues in translating from the Latin version into Greek, 1 John v. 7, 8, it would appear that Erasmus has elsewhere acted in the same manner, not merely in cases which for the moment admitted no choice, but in places where no such necessity existed: thus in Acts ix. 5, 6, the words from *σκληρόν το πρὸς αὐτόν* are interpolated from the Vulgate, partly by the help of Acts xxvi. 14 (see p. 12)².

Erasmus died at Basle in 1536, having lived to publish four editions besides that of 1516. The second has enlarged annotations, and very truly bears on its title the statement, "multo quam antehac diligentius ab Er. Rot. recognitum;" for a large

¹ Tregelles, *Account of the Printed Text*, p. 19.

² It sometimes happens that a reading cited in the Annotations is at variance with that given in the text; but Erasmus had been engaged in writing the former for about ten years at intervals (see p. 429), and had no leisure to revise them then. Thus John xvii. 2 *δώσει* (after Cod. 1, but corrected to *δῶση* in the errata); 1 Thess. ii. 8; iii. 1; 1 Tim. v. 21; Apoc. i. 2; ii. 18; xiv. 10; 18; xxi. 6.

portion of the misprints, and not a few readings of the first edition, are herein corrected, the latter chiefly on the authority of a fresh codex, Evan. Act. Paul. 3 (*see* p. 179). The colophon to the Apocalypse is dated 1518, Froben's Epistle to the reader, Feb. 5, 1519. In this edition *ι subscript* is for the most part set right; *Carp., Eus. t., κεφ. t., τίτλοι, Am., Eus.* (*see* p. 178), are added in the Gospels; Dorotheus' *Lives of the four Evangelists* (*see* Cod. Act. 89, p. 253) stood before S. Matthew in 1516; but now the longer *Lives* by Sophronius, with Theophylact's *Prologues*, are set before each Gospel. *Κεφάλαια* (not the Euthalian) are given in both editions in Rom. 1, 2 Corinth. only, but the Latin chapters are represented in the margin throughout, with the subdivisions A, B, C, D, &c. (*see* p. 67). Of these two editions put together 3300 copies were printed. The third edition (1522) is chiefly remarkable for its insertion of 1 John v. 7, 8 in the Greek text¹, under the circumstances described above, p. 187, in consequence of Erasmus' controversy with Stunica and with a much weaker antagonist, Edward Lee, afterwards Archbishop of York, who objected to his omission of a passage which no Greek codex was then known to contain. This edition again was said to be "tertio jam ac diligentius...recognitum," and contains also "Capita argumentorum contra morosos quosdam ac indoctos," which he subsequently found reason to enlarge. The fourth edition (dated March, 1527) contains the text in three parallel columns, the Greek, the Latin Vulgate, and Erasmus' recension of it. He had seen the Complutensian Polyglott in 1522, shortly after the publication of his third edition, and had now the good sense to avail himself of its aid in the improvement of the text, especially in the Apocalypse, wherein he amended from it at least ninety readings. His last edition of 1535 once more discarded the Latin Vulgate, and differs very little from the fourth as regards the text².

¹ The first complete printed English N. T. (Tyndale 1526) followed Erasmus' third edition rather than his second: cf. Rom. viii. 20, 21 as well as 1 John v. 7, 8.

² I never saw the Basle manuscripts, and probably Dean Alford had been more fortunate, otherwise I do not think he has evidence for his statement that "Erasmus tampered with the readings of the very few MSS. which he collated" (N. T. Vol. i. *Proleg.* p. 74, 4th edition). The truth is, that to save time and trouble, he used them as *copy* for the press, as was intimated above p. 179, where Burgon's evidence is quite to the point. For this purpose corrections

A minute collation of all Erasmus' editions is a desideratum we may one day come to see supplied. The present writer hopes soon to publish a full comparison of his first and second editions with the Complutensian text¹, as also with that of Stephen 1550, of Beza 1565, and of Elzevir 1624. All who have followed Mill over any portion of the vast field he endeavoured to occupy, will feel certain that his statements respecting their divergences are much below the truth: such as they are, we repeat them for want of more accurate information. He estimates that Erasmus' second edition contains 330 changes from the first for the better, 70 for the worse (N. T. *Proleg.* § 1134); that the third differs from the second in 118 places (*ibid.* § 1138)²; the fourth from the third in 106 or 113 places, 90 being those from the Apocalypse just spoken of (*ibid.* § 1141)³. The fifth he alleges to differ from the fourth only four times, so far as he noticed (*ibid.* § 1150): but we meet with as many variations in S. James' Epistle alone⁴.

3. In 1518 appeared the *Græca Biblia* at Venice, from the celebrated press of Aldus: the work professes to be grounded on a collation of many most ancient copies⁵. However true this must be with regard to the Old Testament, which was now published in Greek for the first time, Aldus follows the first edition of Erasmus so closely in the New as to reproduce his very errors of the

would of course be necessary (those made by Erasmus were all too few), and he might fairly say, in the words cited by Wetstein (N. T., *Proleg.* p. 127), "se codices suos præcastigasse." Any wanton "tampering" with the text I am loth to admit, unless for better reasons than I yet know of.

¹ Reuss (p. 24) enumerates 347 passages wherein the first edition of Erasmus differs from the Complutensian, 42 of which were changed in his second edition. In 15 places the first edition agrees with the Complutensian against the second (p. 30).

² Besides the weighty insertion of 1 John v. 7, 8, Reuss (p. 32) gives us only seven changes in the third edition from the second: Mill's other cases, he says, must be mere trifles.

³ Here again Reuss declares "paucissimas novas habet" (p. 36), and names only six.

⁴ "Non deserit quartam nisi duobus in locis: 1 Cor. xii. 2; Act. ix. 28" (Reuss, p. 37). Reuss had evidently not seen the first edition of the present work.

⁵ Multis vetustissimis exemplaribus collatis, adhibita etiam quorundam cruditissimorum hominum cura, Biblia (ut vulgo appellant) græce cuncta eleganter descripsi (*Andreas Aesulanus Cardinali Ægidio*).

press (Mill, N. T., *Proleg.* § 1122), even those which Ecolampadius had corrected in the list of errata (*see* p. 432); though Aldus is stated to differ from Erasmus in about 200 places, for the better or worse¹. If this edition was really revised by means of manuscripts (*see* p. 199, Cod. 131) rather than by mere conjecture, we know not what they were, or how far intelligently employed.

Another edition out of the many which now began to swarm, wherein the testimony of manuscripts is believed to have been followed, is that of Simon Colinaeus, Paris 1534, in which the text is an eclectic mixture of the Complutensian and Erasmusian². Mill states (*Proleg.* § 1144) that in about 150 places Colinaeus deserts them both, and that his variations are usually supported by the evidence of known codices (Evan. 119, 120 at Paris, and Steph. *α'*, i.e. Act. 8, Paul. 10, have been suggested), though a few still remain which may perhaps be deemed conjectural. Wetstein (N. T., *Proleg.* Vol. I. p. 142) thinks that for Bogard's Paris edition of 1543 with various readings Evan. 120 or Steph. *δ'* might have been used, but his own references hardly favour that notion.

4. The editions of Robert Stephen (Estienne), mainly by reason of their exquisite beauty, have exercised a far wider influence than these, and Stephen's third or folio edition of 1550 is by many regarded as the received or standard text. This eminent and resolute man [1503—59] early commenced his

¹ This is Mill's calculation, but Wetstein followed him over the ground, adding (especially in the Apocalypse) not a few variations of Aldus which Mill had overlooked, now and then correcting his predecessor's errors (e.g. 2 Cor. xi. 1; Col. ii. 23), not without mistakes of his own (e.g. Luke xi. 34; Eph. vi. 22). Since Wetstein's time no one seems to have gone carefully through the Aldine N. T., except Delitzsch in order to illustrate the Codex Reuchlini in the Apocalypse (*see* p. 273). Reuss (p. 28) notes eleven places in which it agrees with the Complutensian against Erasmus; seven wherein it rejects both books.

² The title-page runs *εν λευκεια των παρησιων, παρα σιμωνι τω κολιναει δεκεμβριου μηνος δευτερα φθινογτος, ετει απο της θεογονιας μφλδ*. This book has no Preface, and the text does not contain 1 John v. 7, 8. It stands alone in reading *αγγελια* 1 John i. 5. Reuss (p. 46), who praises Colinaeus highly, states that he deserts Erasmus' third edition 113 times out of his own thousand, 53 of them to side with the Complutensian, and subjoins a list of 52 passages wherein he stands alone among early editors, for most of which he may have had manuscript authority.

useful career as a printer at Paris, and, having incurred the enmity of the Doctors of the Sorbonne for his editions of the Latin Vulgate (*see* p. 352), was yet protected and patronised by Francis I. [d. 1547] and his son Henry II. It was from the Royal Press that his three principal editions of the Greek N. T. were issued, the fourth and last being published in 1551 at Geneva, to which town he finally withdrew the next year, and made public profession of the Protestant opinions which had long been gathering strength in his mind. The editions of 1546, 1549 are small 12° in size, most elegantly printed with type cast at the expense of Francis: the opening words of the Preface common to both, "*O mirificam Regis nostri optimi et præstantissimi principis liberalitatem*"... have given them the name by which they are known among connoisseurs. Erasmus and his services to sacred learning Stephen does not so much as name, nor indeed did he as yet adopt him for a model: he speaks of "*codices ipsa vetustatis specie pene adorandos*" which he had met with in the King's Library, by which, he boldly adds, "*ita hunc nostrum recensuimus, ut nullam omnino literam secus esse pateremur quam plures, iique meliores libri, tanquam testes, comprobarent.*" The Complutensian, as he admits, assisted him greatly, and he notes its close connection with the readings of his manuscripts¹. Mill assures us (*Proleg.* § 1220) that Stephen's first and second editions differ but in 67 places. My own collation of the two books gives 139 cases of divergence in the text, 28 in punctuation. They differ jointly from the third edition 334 times in the text, 27 in punctuation. In the Apocalypse the first and second editions are close to the text of Erasmus, differing from each other but in 11 places, while the third edition follows the Complutensian or other authorities against the first in 61 places. In the folio or third edition of 1550 the various readings of the codices, obscurely referred to in the Preface to that of 1546, are entered in the margin. This fine volume (bearing on its title-

¹ Beuss (pp. 50, 51, 54) mentions only nine places wherein Stephen's first edition does not agree either with the Complutensian or Erasmus; in the second edition four (or rather three) more; in the third nine, including the great erratum 1 Pet. iii. 11. He further alleges that in the Apocalypse whatever improvements were introduced by Stephen came from the fourth edition of Erasmus, not from the Complutensian.

page, in honour of Henry II., the inscription Βασιλεῖ τ' ἀγαθῷ, κρατερῷ τ' αἰχμητῇ) derives much importance from its being the earliest ever published with critical apparatus. In the Preface or Epistle to the Reader, written after the example of the Complutensian editors both in Greek and Latin, his authorities are declared to be sixteen; viz., α', the Spanish Polyglott; β', which we have already discussed (*above*, p. 121, *note* 1), γ', δ', ε', ς', ζ', η', ι', ιε' taken from King Henry II.'s Library; the rest (i.e. θ', ια', ιβ', ιγ', ιδ', ις') are those ἀ αὐτοὶ πανταχόθεν συνηθροίσασμεν, or, as the Latin runs, "quæ undique corrogare licuit:" these, of course, were not necessarily his own; one at least (ιγ', Act. 9, Paul. 11, *see* p. 247) we are sure was not. Although Robert Stephen professed to have collated the whole sixteen for his two previous editions, and that too ὡς οἶόν τε ἦν ἐπιμελέστατα, this part of his work is now known to be due to his son Henry [1528—98], who in 1546 was only eighteen years old (Wetstein, N. T. *Proleg.* Vol. I. pp. 143—4). The degree of accuracy attained in this collation may be estimated from the single instance of the Complutensian, a book printed in very clear type, widely circulated, and highly valued by Stephen himself. Deducting mere *errata*, itacisms, and such like, it differs from his third edition in more than 2300 places, of which (including cases where π. or πάντες stands for *all* his copies) it is cited correctly 554 times (viz. 164 in the Gospels, 94 in S. Paul, 76 in the Acts and Catholic Epistles, 220 in the Apocalypse), and falsely no less than 56 times, again including errors from a too general use of πάντες¹. I would not say with some that these authorities stand in the margin more for parade than use, yet the text is perpetually at variance with the majority of them, and in 119 places with them all². If we trust ourselves once more to the guidance of Mill (*Proleg.* § 1228), the folio of 1550 departs from its smaller predecessors

¹ Mill states that Stephen's citations of the Complutensian are 598, Marsh 578, of which 48, or one in twelve, are false; but we have tried to be as exact as possible. Certainly some of Stephen's inaccuracies are rather slight, viz. Act. ix. 6; xv. 29; xxv. 5; xxviii. 3; Eph. iv. 32; Col. iii. 20; Apoc. i. 12; ii. 1; 20; 24; iii. 2; 4; 7; 12; iv. 8; xv. 2: β' seems to be put for α' Matt. x. 25.

² viz. in the Gospels 81, Paul. 20, Act. Cath. 17, Apoc. 1 (ch. vii. 5): but for the Apocalypse the margin had only three authorities, α', ιε', ις' (ις' ending ch. xvii. 8), whose united readings Stephen rejects no less than 54 times. See, moreover, *above*, p. 121, *note* 1.

of 1546, 1549, in 284 readings¹, chiefly to adopt the text of Erasmus' fifth edition, though even now the Complutensian is occasionally preferred (e.g. *εὐλογήσας* Matth. xxvi. 26), most often in the Apocalypse (*see* p. 431), and that with very good reason. Of his other fifteen authorities, *ια'* (= Act. 8) and *ις'* (= Apoc. 3) have never been identified, but were among the six in private hands: *β'* certainly is Cod. D or Bezae (*see* p. 121); the learned have tried, and on the whole successfully, to recognise the remainder, especially those in the Royal (or Imperial, or National) Library at Paris. In that great collection leLong has satisfied us that *γ'* is probably Evan. 4; *δ'* is certainly Evan. 5; *ε'* Evan. 6; *ς'* Evan. 7; *η'* Evan. L; *ζ'* he rightly believed to be Evan. 8 (*see above*, p. 180, note); *ι'* appears to be Act. 7. Of those in the possession of individuals in Stephen's time, Bp. Marsh (who in his *Letters to Mr Archdeacon Travis*, 1795, was led to examine this subject very carefully) has proved that *ιγ'* is Act. 9 (*see* p. 247); Wetstein thought *θ'* was Evan. 38 (*but see* p. 184, note); Scholz seems to approve of Wetstein's conjecture which Griesbach doubted (N. T., *Proleg.* Sect. I. p. xxxviii), that *ιβ'* is Evan. 9: Griesbach rightly considers *ιδ'* to be Evan. 120; *ιε'* was seen by leLong to be Act. 10: these last four are now in the Royal Library. It has proved the more difficult to settle them, as Robert Stephen did not even print all the materials that Henry had gathered; many of whose various readings were published subsequently by Beza² from the collator's own manuscript, which itself must have been very defective. With

¹ Here, again, my own collation represents Stephen's first edition as differing from his third in 797 places, of which 372 only are real various readings, the rest relating to accents, or being mere errata. Of these 372 places, the third edition agrees in 56 places with *τ.* or *πάντες* of its own margin, and in 55 with some of the authorities cited therein. Stephen no doubt knew of manuscript authority for many of his other changes, though some may be mere *errata*.

² Wetstein (N. T., *Proleg.* Vol. I. p. 36) instances the readings of Cod. D (indicated as "quidam codex" by Beza in 1565) in Mark ix. 38; x. 50; Luke vii. 35. We may add that Beza in 1565 cites the evidence of one Stephanic manuscript for the omission of *ἰμῶν* Matth. xxiii. 9; of two for *κατεδιώξεν* Mark i. 36; in later editions of two also in Luke xx. 4, and Acts xxii. 25; of three for *ἐτέρω* Matth. xxi. 30, two of which would be Cod. D and Evan. 9 (Steph. *ιβ'*). In his dedication to Queen Elizabeth in 1565, Beza speaks plainly of an "exemplar ex Stephani nostri bibliotheca cum viginti quinque plus minus manuscriptis codicibus, et omnibus penè impressis, ab Henrico Stephano ejus filio, et paternæ sedulitatis hærede, quam diligentissimè collatum."

all its faults, however, the edition of 1550 was a foundation on which others might hereafter build, and was unquestionably of great use in directing the attention of students to the authorities on which alone the true text of Scripture is based. This standard edition contains the following supplementary matter besides the Epistle to the reader: Chrysostom's Hom. I. in S. Matthæum (then first published): *Carp., Eus. t.*: Πίναξ μαρτυριῶν of O. T. passages cited in the N. T. being (1) literal, (2) virtual: 72 Hexameter lines, headed Ερρικός ο Ρωβερτου Στεφανου, φιλοθεω παντι: *prol.* by Theophylact following *Lives* by Sophronius and Dorotheus of Tyre (*see* p. 253), with *κεφ. t.* before each Gospel: τίτλ., *κεφ., Am., Eus.* Before the Acts stand Ἀποδημία Παύλου and Euthalius *περὶ τῶν χρόνων, κεφ. t.* Before the Epistles is a new title-page. Chrysostom's *prol.* on the Pauline Epistles begins the new volume. Each separate Epistle has prefixed *prol.* (chiefly by Theodoret) and *κεφ. t.* The Acts and Epistles have *κεφ.*, but the Apocalypse no *prol.* or *κεφ.*, except the ordinary Latin chapters, which are given throughout the N. T., subdivided by letters (*see* p. 67).

R. Stephen's smaller edition (16°), published in 1551 at Geneva, though that name is not on the title-page, is said to contain the Greek text of 1550 almost unchanged¹, set between the Vulgate and Erasmus' Latin versions. In this volume we first find our present division of the N. T. into verses (*see above*, p. 68): "triste lumen," as Reuss calls it (p. 58), "nec posthac extingendum."

5. Theodore de Bèze [1519—1605], a native of Vezelai in the Nivernois, after a licentious youth, resigned his ecclesiastical preferments at the age of 29 to retire with the wife of his early choice to Geneva, that little city to which the genius of one man has given so prominent a place in the history of the sixteenth century. His noble birth and knowledge of the world, aided by the impression produced at the Conference at Poissy (1561) by his eloquence and learning, easily gained for Beza the chief

¹ But here again we must qualify previous statements. Reuss (p. 58) cites six instances wherein Stephen's third and fourth editions differ (Matt. xxi. 7; xxiii. 13, 14; xxiv. 15; Luke xvii. 36; Col. i. 20; Apoc. iii. 12): to which list add Mark xiv. 21; xvi. 20; Luke i. 50; viii. 31; xii. 1; Acts xxvii. 13; 2 Cor. x. 6; Heb. vii. 1.

place among the French Reformed on the death of their teacher Calvin in 1564. Of his services in connexion with the two Codd. D, we have elsewhere spoken (pp. 121—2; 164): he himself put forth, at long intervals, five editions of the N. T.¹ (1556, 1565, 1582, 1589, 1598)², with his own elegant Latin version (first published 1556), the Latin Vulgate, and Annotations. A better commentator perhaps than a critic, but most conspicuous as the earnest leader of a religious party, Beza neither sought very anxiously after fresh materials for correcting the text, nor made any great use of what were ready at hand, namely, his own two great codices, the papers of Henry Stephen (*see* p. 438), and Tremellius' Latin version of the Peshito (*see* p. 314). All his editions vary somewhat from Stephen and from each other, yet there is no material

¹ Reuss (p. 85) thinks fit to reckon only four primary editions of Beza's N. T., and indeed the book of 1566 is Beza's only in regard to the Latin version: but it is somewhat too bold not to acquiesce in an author's representation of his own works. Not only does he claim the book of 1565 on its title-page as his second edition, but he thus begins his Epistle to the reader in 1598: "Annus agitur quadragesimus secundus, ex quo Novi Testamenti Latinam interpretationem emendare sum aggressus, Græco contextu non modò cum novemdecim vetustissimis quam plurimis manuscriptis et multis passim impressis codicibus, sed etiam cum Syra interpretatione collato:" the forty-two years clearly bringing us back to 1556. But for his calling his N. T. of 1565 a second edition, we might impute his claim in 1598 to the same cause as his language respecting the Cod. Beza noted in p. 122, note 2.

² Professor Abbot (*Schaff's Revision of the English Version*, 1873, *Introd.* p. xxix.) will please to accept my acknowledgment of error in having regarded the edition of 1565 as Beza's first, which in Beza's own estimation it was not, and reckoning one of 1576 (other than that of Henry Stephen, *see* p. 68) as his second. Observing that there must be something wrong about the matter, both from the statement of Wetstein (N. T., *Proleg.* Vol. i. p. 146), and from the variations between the readings actually cited by critics as those of Beza's first edition, I had been for years vainly trying to find the book of 1576 in public libraries and sale catalogues. Meanwhile I had only to follow Mill (N. T., *Proleg.* § 1264), Michaelis, Griesbach (N. T., *Proleg.* i. p. xl.), Horne (*Introduction*, 1834, &c.), and Tregelles (*Account of the Printed Text*, p. 83), though not without much misgiving. Ernesti repeats Wetstein's, which is the true account of the case; but I fear that in my turn (as Abbot alleges) I have misled Canon Westcott, a better scholar than any of us. Professor Abbot should also know that the book which was used in preparing the Cambridge Greek Testament (1860), bore on its title-page the date of 1565, the place of publication being *London*. It is doubtless an unauthorised and very poor reprint in quarto of the edition of 1566, which, as we said above, Beza in his old age came to think his own, in respect to the Greek text as well as the Latin. In numbering Beza's own editions we take no account of such reprints, which were pretty numerous.

difference between any of them¹. He exhibits a tendency, not the less blameworthy because his extreme theological views would tempt him thereto, towards choosing that reading out of several which might best suit his own preconceived opinions. Thus in Luke ii. 22 he adopts (and our Authorised English version condescends to follow his judgment) τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ αὐτῆς from the Complutensian, for which he could have known of no manuscript authority whatever: *ejus* of the Vulgate would most naturally be rendered by αὐτοῦ (*see Campbell in loc.*). Wetstein calculates that Beza's text differs from Stephen's in some fifty places (an estimate we shall find below the mark), and that either in his translation or his Annotations he departs from Stephen's Greek text in 150 passages (Wetst. N. T., *Proleg.* Tom. II. p. 7).

6. The brothers Bonaventure and Abraham Elzevir set up a printing-press at Leyden which maintained its reputation for elegance and correctness throughout the greater part of the seventeenth century. One of their minute editions, so much prized by bibliomanists, was a Greek Testament, 24°, 1624, alleging on the title-page (there is no Preface whatever) to be *ex Regiis aliisque optimis editionibus cum cura expressum*: by *Regiis*, we presume, Stephen's editions are meant, and especially that of 1550. The supposed accuracy (for which its good name is not quite deserved) and the great neatness of this little book procured for it much popularity. When the edition was exhausted, a second appeared in 1633, having the verses broken up into separate sentences, instead of their numbers being indicated in the margin, as in 1624. In the Preface it

¹ Reuss says fairly enough (p. 85) that Beza was the true author of what is called the received text, from which the Elzevir of 1624 departs so rarely (*see* p. 442, note). He used as his basis the fourth edition of Stephen, from which he departed in 1565, so far as Reuss has found, only 25 times, 9 times to side with the Complutensian, 4 times with Erasmus, thrice with the two united; the other 9 readings are new, whereof two (Acts xvii. 25; James v. 12) had been adopted by Colinaeus (*see* p. 435). The third edition of 1582 withdraws one of the peculiar readings of its predecessor, but adds 14 more. The fourth edition (1589), so far as Reuss knows, departs from the third but five times, and the fifth (1598) from the fourth only twice: Matt. vi. 1 (δικαιοσύνη); Hebr. x. 17 (add. τότε ελθκε), neither of which I can verify. These results, on Reuss's system of investigation, can be only approximately true (*see* p. 422, note), and do not include some changes silently introduced into Beza's Latin version, suggested in his Annotations.

seems to allude to Beza's N. T., without directly naming him : "Ex regis ac *ceteris editionibus*, quæ maxime ac præ ceteris nunc omnibus probantur." To this edition is prefixed, as in 1624, a table of quotations (*πίναξ μαρτυριῶν*) from the Old Testament, to which are now added tables of the *κεφάλαια* of the Gospels, *ἔκθεσις κεφαλαίων* of the Acts and all the Epistles. Of the person entrusted with its superintendence we know nothing; nearly all his readings are found either in Stephen's or Beza's N. T. (he leans to the latter in preference¹); but he speaks of the edition of 1624 as that "omnibus acceptam;" and boldly states, with a confidence which no doubt helped on its own accomplishment, "textum ergo habes nunc ab omnibus receptum, in quo nihil immutatum aut corruptum damus." His other profession, that of superior correctness, is also a little premature: "ut si quæ vel minutissimæ in nostro, aut in iis, quos secuti sumus libris, superessent mendæ, cum iudicio ac cura tollerentur." Although some of the worst misprints of the edition of 1624 are amended in that of 1633 (Matt. vi. 34; John v. 2; Acts xxvii. 13; 1 Cor. x. 10; Col. ii. 13; 1 Thess. ii. 17; Hebr. viii. 9; 2 Pet. i. 7), others just as gross are retained (Acts ix. 3; Rom. vii. 2; xiii. 5; 1 Cor. xii. 23; xiii. 3; 2 Cor. iv. 4; v. 19; viii. 8; Hebr. xii. 9; Apoc. iii. 12; vii. 7; xviii. 16), to which must be added a few peculiar to itself (e.g. Mark iii. 10; John v. 2 *secundo loco*; Rom. xv. 3; 1 Cor. ix. 2; 2 Cor. i. 11; vi. 16; Col. i. 7; iv. 7; Apoc. xxii. 3): *ἐθύθη* in 1 Cor. v. 7 should not be reckoned as an erratum, since it was adopted designedly by Beza, and after him by both the Elzevir editions. Of real various readings between the two Elzevirs we mark but eight instances (in six of which that of 1633 follows the Complutensian); viz. Mark iv. 18; viii. 24; Luke xi. 33; xii. 20; John iii. 6 *bis*; 2 Tim. i. 12; Hebr. ix. 12; Apoc. xvi. 5.

Since Stephen's edition of 1550 and that of the Elzevirs have been taken as the standard or *Received text*, the former chiefly in England, the latter on the continent, and inasmuch as nearly all collated manuscripts have been compared with one

¹ Reuss (p. 109) states that out of his thousand select examples (*see p. 416, note*) Elzevir 1624 differs from Beza's smaller N. T. of 1565 in only eight readings, all of which may be found in some of Beza's other editions (e.g. the small edition of 1580), except one misprint (Rom. vii. 2).

or the other of these, it becomes absolutely necessary to know the precise points in which they differ from each other, even to the minutest errors of the press. Mill (N. T., *Proleg.* 1307) observed but twelve such variations; Tischendorf gives a catalogue of 150 (N. T., *Proleg.* p. lxxxv, 7th ed.). For the first edition of the present work a list of 287 was drawn up, which, it is hoped, will soon be reprinted, in a more convenient shape, in a volume now in preparation (*see* p. 235).

7. R. Stephen was the first to bring together any considerable body of manuscript evidence, however negligently or capriciously he may have applied it to the emendation of the sacred text. A succession of English scholars was now ready to follow him in the same path, the only direct and sure one in criticism; and for about eighty years our countrymen maintained the foremost place in this important branch of Biblical learning. Their van was led by Brian Walton [1600—61], afterwards Bishop of Chester, who published in 1657 the London Polyglott, which he had planned twelve years before, as at once the solace and meet employment of himself and a worthy band of colleagues during that sad season when Christ's Church in England was for a while trodden in the dust, and its ministers languished in silence and deep poverty. The fifth of his huge folios was devoted to the N. T. in six languages, viz. Stephen's Greek text of 1550¹, the Peshito-Syriac, the Latin Vulgate, the Æthiopic, Arabic, and (in the Gospels only) the Persic. The exclusively critical apparatus, with which alone we are concerned, consists of the readings of Cod. A set at the foot of the Greek text (*see* pp. 75, 99) and, in the sixth or supplementary volume, of Lucas Brugensis' notes on various readings of the Gospels in Greek and Latin (*see* p. 105); of those given by the Louvain divines in their edition of the Vulgate (*see* p. 352, and Walton, *Polygl.* Tom. VI. No. XVII); and especially of a collation of sixteen authorities, whereof all but three had never been used before (Walton, Tom. VI. No. XVI). These various readings had been gathered by the care and diligence of Archbishop Ussher [1580—1656], then living in studious and devout

¹ Reuss (p. 56) excepts Matth. ix. 17; 2 Tim. iv. 13; Philem. 6, where Walton prefers the Complutensian reading.

retirement near London¹. They are (1) *Steph.* the sixteen copies extracted from Stephen's margin (*see* p. 437): (2) *Cant.* or *Evan. D* (p. 122): (3) *Clar.* or *Paul. D* (p. 165): (4) *Gon.* or *Evan. 59* (p. 186): (5) *Em.* or *Evan. 64* (p. 189), and also *Act. 53* (p. 251): (6) *Goog.* or *Evan. 62* (p. 188): (7) *Mont.* or *Evan, 61* (p. 187): (8) *Lin.* or *Evan. 56* (p. 186) and also *Act. 33* (p. 249): (9) *Magd. 1* or *Evan. 57* (p. 186): (10) *Magd. 2* or *Paul. 42* (p. 265): (11) *Nov. 1* or *Evan. 58* (p. 186): (12) *Nov. 2* or *Act. 36* (p. 249): (13) *Bodl. 1* or *Evan. 47* (p. 185): (14) *Trit.* or *Bodl. 2*, *Evan. 96* (p. 194): (15) *March. Veles.*, the Velesian readings, described above, p. 196: (16) *Bib. Wech.*, the Wechelian readings, which deserve no more regard than the Velesian. They were derived from the margin of a Bible printed at Frankfort, 1597, by the heirs of And. Wechel. It is indifferent whether they be referred to Francis Junius (p. 407), or F. Sylburg (p. 276) as editors, since all the readings in the N. T. are found in Stephen's margin, or in the early editions.

Walton was thus enabled to publish very extensive additions to the existing stock of materials. That he did not try by their means to form thus early a corrected text, is not at all to be regretted; the time for that attempt was not yet arrived. He cannot, however, be absolved from the charge to which R. Stephen had been before amenable (p. 438), of suppressing a large portion of the collations which had been sent him. The Rev. C. B. Scott, Head Master of Westminster School, found in the Library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, the readings of *Codd. D. 59, 61, 62*, prepared for Walton (*Dobbin, Cod. Montfort. Introd. p. 21*), which Mill had access to, and in his N. T. made good use of, as well as of Ussher's other papers (*Mill. Proleg. § 1505*).

8. *Steph. Curcellæus* or *Courcelles* published his N. T. at Amsterdam in 1658, before he had seen Walton's Polyglott.

¹ If Ussher lacked severe accuracy in collating his manuscripts, as well as skill in deciphering them, we have not to look far for the cause. In a Life prefixed to Ussher's *Body of Divinity*, 1678, p. 11, we are told that "in the winter evenings he constantly spent two hours in comparing old MSS. of the Bible, Greek and Latin, taking with his own hand the *varie lectiones* of each:" on which statement Dean Burgon (*Letter in the Guardian*, June 28, 1882) makes the pregnant comment, "Such work carried on at seventy or more by candlelight, is pretty sure to come to grief, especially when done with a heart-ache."

The peculiar merit of his book arises from his marginal collection of parallel texts, which are more copious than those of his predecessors, yet not too many for convenient use: later editors have been thankful to take them as a basis for their own. There are many various readings¹ (some from two or three fresh manuscripts) at the foot of each page, or thrown into an appendix, mingled with certain rash conjectures which betray a Socinian bias: but since the authorities are not cited for each separate reading, these critical labours were as good as wasted².

A more important step in advance was taken in the Greek Testament in 8vo, issued from the Oxford University Press in 1675. This elegant volume (whose Greek text is mainly that of Elzevir, 1633³) was superintended by John Fell [1625—86], Dean of Christ-Church, soon afterwards Bishop of Oxford, the biographer of saint-like Hammond, himself one of the most learned and munificent, if not quite the most popular Prelate, of that golden age of the English Church, in whose behalf Anthony à Wood designates him "the most zealous man of his time." His brief yet interesting Preface not only discusses the causes of various readings⁴, and describes the materials used

¹ 1 John v. 7, 8 is included in brackets. Reuss (p. 130) thinks that the text follows Elzevir 1633 everywhere else but in Luke x. 22. Mill (N. T. *Proleg.* § 1397) says that it was printed "ad editiones priores Elzevirianas, typis Elzevirianis nitidissimis."

² "Stephani Curcellæi annotationes variantium lectionum, pro variantibus lectionibus non habendæ, quia ille non notat codices, unde eas habeat, an ex manuscriptis, an vero ex impressis exemplaribus. Possunt etiam pro uno codice haberi." Canon XIII. pp. 11, 69—70 of the *N. T.* by *G. D. T. M. D.* (see below, p. 451).

³ But it goes with Elz. 1624 in Mark iv. 18; 2 Tim. i. 12; Apoc. xvi. 5, and sometimes prefers the readings of Stephen 1550, e.g. Mark i. 21; vi. 29, and notably Luke ii. 22 (αὐτῶν); Luke x. 22; Rom. vii. 2; Philem. 7. Peculiarities of this edition are *El δε* for *Elra* Hebr. xii. 9; *συγκληρονόμοις* 1 Pet. iii. 7. Wetstein's text follows its erratum Acts xiii. 29, *ἐρέλησαν*. Mill seems to say (N. T. *Proleg.* § 1409) that Fell's text was taken from that of Curcellæus.

⁴ Fell imputes the origin of various readings to the causes brought under heads (9), (4), (6), (8), (17), (7) in the first Chapter of the present volume, adding one which does not seem very probable, that accidental slips once made were retained and propagated through a superstitious feeling of misplaced reverence, citing in illustration Apoc. xxii. 18, 19. He alleges also the well-known subscription of Irenæus, preserved by Eusebius, which will best be considered hereafter (Chap. VII.); and remarks, with whatever truth, that contrary to the practice of the Jews and Muhammedans in regard to their sacred books, it was

for his edition, but touches on that weak and ignorant prejudice which had been already raised against the collection of such variations in the text of Scripture; and that too sometimes by persons like John Owen¹ the Puritan, intrusive Dean of Christ-Church under Cromwell, who, but that we are loth to doubt his integrity, would hardly be deemed a victim of the panic he sought to spread. In reply to all objectors the Bishop pleads the comparative insignificance of the change produced by various readings in the general sense of Holy Writ, and especially urges that God hath dealt so bountifully with his people "ut necessaria quæque et ad salutis summam facientia in S. literis sæpius repeterentur; ita ut si forte quidpiam minus commode alicubi expressum, id damnum aliunde reparari possit" (*Præf.* p. 1). On this assurance we may well rest in peace. This edition is more valuable for the impulse it gave to subsequent investigators than for the richness of its own stores of fresh materials, although it is stated on the title-page to be derived "*ex plus 100 MSS. Codicibus.*" Patristic testimony, as we have seen, Bishop Fell rather undervalued (p. 417): the use of versions he clearly perceived, yet of those at that time available, he only attends to the Gothic and Coptic as revised by Marshall (pp. 373, 407): his list of manuscripts hitherto untouched is very scanty. To those used by Walton we can add only *R*, the Barberini readings, then just published (*see* p. 196); *B*, twelve Bodleian codices "quorum plerique intacti prius," in no-wise described, and cited only by the number of them which may countenance each variation; *U*, the two Ussher manuscripts Evan. 63, 64 (p. 188) as collated by H. Dodwell; *P*, three copies from the Library of Petavius (Act. 38, 39, 40, pp. 249—50); *Ge.*, another from S. Germain's (Paul. E, p. 166): the readings of the last four were furnished by Joh. Gachon. Yet this slight volume (for so we must needs regard it) was the legitimate parent of one of the noblest works in the whole range of Biblical literature.

allowed "e vulgo quibusvis, calamo pariter et manu profanis, sacra ista [N. T.] tractare" (*Præf.* p. 4).

¹ *Considerations on the Biblia Polyglotta*, 1659: to which Walton rejoined, sharply enough, in *The Considerator considered*, also in 1659.

9. NOVUM TESTAMENTUM GRÆCUM of Dr John Mill, Oxford, 1707, in folio. This able and laborious critic, born in 1645, quitted his native village in Westmoreland at sixteen for Queen's College, Oxford, of which society he became a Fellow, and was conspicuous there both as a scholar and as a ready extemporary preacher. In 1685 his College appointed him Principal of its affiliated Hall, S. Edmund's, so honourably distinguished for the Biblical studies of its members; but Mill had by that time made good progress in his Greek Testament, on which he gladly spent the last thirty years of his life, dying suddenly in 1707, a fortnight after its publication. His attention was first called to the subject by his friend, Dr Edward Bernard, the Savilian Professor at Oxford, whom he vividly represents as setting before him an outline of the work, and encouraging him to attempt its accomplishment. "Vides, Amice mi, opus...omnium, mihi crede, longè dignissimum, cui in hoc ætatis tuæ flore, robor animi tui, vigiliis ac studiis, liberaliter impendas" (*Proleg.* § 1417). Ignorant as yet both of the magnitude and difficulty of his task, Mill boldly undertook it about 1677, and his efforts soon obtained the countenance of Bp Fell, who promised to defray the expense of printing, and, mindful of the frailty of life, urged him to go to press before his papers were quite ready to meet the public eye. When about 24 chapters of S. Matthew had been completed, Bp Fell died prematurely in 1686, and the book seems to have languished for many following years from lack of means, though the editor was busy all the while in gathering and arranging his materials, especially for the *Prolegomena*, which well deserve to be called "marmore perenniora." As late as 1704 John Sharp [1644—1714], Archbishop of York, whose remonstrances to Queen Anne some years subsequently hindered the ribald wit that wrote *A Tale of a Tub* from polluting the episcopal throne of an English see, obtained from her for Mill a stall at Canterbury, and the royal command to prosecute his N. T. forthwith. The preferment came just in time. Three years afterwards the volume was given to the Christian world, and its author's course was already finished: his life's work well ended, he had entered upon his rest. He was spared the pain of reading the unfair attack alike on his book and its subject by our eminent Commentator, Daniel Whitby (*Examen Variantium Lectionum*,

1710), and of witnessing the unscrupulous use of Whitby's arguments made by the sceptic Anthony Collins in his *Discourse of Free Thinking*, 1713.

Dr Mill's services to Biblical criticism surpass in extent and value those rendered by any other, except perhaps one or two men of our own time. A large proportion of his care and pains, as we have seen (p. 418), was bestowed on the Fathers and ancient writers of every description who have used or cited Scripture. The versions are usually considered his weakest point, although he first accorded to the Vulgate and to its prototype the Old Latin the importance they deserve. His knowledge of Syriac was rather slight, and for the other Eastern tongues, if he was not more ignorant than his successors, he had not discovered how little Latin translations of the Æthiopic, &c. can be trusted. As a collator of manuscripts the list subjoined will bear full testimony to his industry: without seeking to repeat details we have entered into elsewhere (Chap. II. Sect. III., IV.), it is right to state that he either himself re-examined, or otherwise represented more fully and exactly, the codices that had been previously used for the London Polyglott and the Oxford N. T. of 1675. Still it would be wrong to dissemble the fact that Mill's style of collation is not such as the strictness of modern scholarship demands. He seldom notices at all such various readings as arise from the transposition of words, the insertion or omission of the Greek article, homœoteleuta (*see* p. 9), itacisms (p. 10), or manifest errors of the pen; while in respect to general accuracy he is as much inferior to those who have trod in his steps, as he rises above Stephen and Ussher, or the persons employed by Walton and Fell. It has been my fortune to collate not a few manuscripts after this great critic, and I have elsewhere been obliged to notice these plain facts, I would fain trust in no disparaging temper. During the many years that Mill's N. T. has been my daily companion, my reverence for that diligent and earnest man has been constantly growing: the principles of internal evidence which guided his choice between conflicting authorities (*see* below Chap. VI.) were simple (as indeed they ought to be), but applied with rare judgment, sagacity, and moderation: his zeal was unflagging, his treatment of his sacred subject deeply reverential. Of the criticism of the N. T. in the hands of Dr

John Mill it may be said, that he found the edifice of wood, and left it marble.

The following Catalogue of the manuscripts known to Mill exhibits the abridged form in which he cites them (*see* p. 75), together with the more usual notation, whereby they are described in Chapter II. Sect. II.—IV. of this volume, and, will tend, it is believed, to facilitate the use of Mill's N. T.

<i>Alex.</i>Cod. A	<i>Cov.</i> 1Evan. 65	<i>Mont.</i>Evan. 61
<i>Barb.</i>Evan. 112 (Wetstein)	<i>Cov.</i> 2Act. 25	<i>N.</i> 1Evan. 58
<i>Baroc.</i>Act. 23	<i>Cov.</i> 3Act. 26	<i>N.</i> 1Act. 36
<i>B.</i> 1Evan. E	<i>Cov.</i> 4Act. 27	<i>N.</i> 2Act. 87
<i>B.</i> 2Act. 2	<i>Cov.</i> 5 <i>Sin.</i> Act. 28	<i>Per.</i>Evan. 91
<i>B.</i> 3Act. 4	<i>Cypr.</i>Evan. K	<i>Pet.</i> 1Act. 38
<i>Bodl.</i> 1Evan. 45	<i>Em.</i> <i>videas</i> p. 189	<i>Pet.</i> 2Act. 39
<i>Bodl.</i> 2Evan. 46	<i>Eph.</i>Evan. 71	<i>Pet.</i> 3Act. 40
<i>Bodl.</i> 3Evan. 5	<i>Gal.</i>Evan. 66	<i>Roe.</i> 1Evan. 49
<i>Bodl.</i> 4Evan. 18	<i>Ger.</i>Paul. E	<i>Roe.</i> 2Paul. 47
<i>Bodl.</i> 5Evan. 19	<i>Genev.</i>Act. 29	<i>Seld.</i> 1Evan. 53
<i>Bodl.</i> 6Evan. 47	<i>Go.</i>Evan. 62	<i>Seld.</i> 2Evan. 54
<i>Bodl.</i> 7Evan. 48	<i>Gon.</i>Evan. 59	<i>Seld.</i> 3Evan. 55
<i>Bu.</i>Evan. 70	<i>Hunt.</i> 1 ...Act. 30	<i>Seld.</i> 4Evan. 21
<i>Cant.</i>Evan. Act. D	<i>Hunt.</i> 2 ...Evan. 67	<i>Seld.</i> 5Evan. 22
<i>Cant.</i> 2Act. 24	<i>L.</i>Evan. 69	<i>Steph. codices</i> xvi. <i>videas</i> pp. 437
<i>Cant.</i> 3Act. 53	<i>Laud.</i> 1 ...Evan. 50	<i>Trin.</i>Apost. 3
<i>Clar.</i>Paul. D	<i>Laud.</i> 2 ...Evan. 51	<i>Trit.</i>Evan. 96
<i>Colb.</i> 1Evan. 27	<i>Laud.</i> 3 ...Act. E	<i>Vat.</i>Cod. B
<i>Colb.</i> 2Evan. 23	<i>Laud.</i> 4 ...Evan. 20	<i>Vel.</i>Evan. 111 (Wetstein)
<i>Colb.</i> 3Evan. 29	<i>Laud.</i> 5 ...Evan. 52	<i>Vien.</i>Evan. 76
<i>Colb.</i> 4Evan. 30, 31	<i>Lin.</i>Evan. 56	<i>Usser.</i> 1 ...Evan. 63
<i>Colb.</i> 5Evan. 32	<i>Lin.</i> 2Act. 38	<i>Usser.</i> 2 ...Evan. 64
<i>Colb.</i> 6 ...} Act. 13	<i>Lu.</i>Act. 21	<i>Wheel.</i> 1 ...Evan. 68
<i>Colb.</i> 7 ...} Paul 17	<i>M.</i> 1Evan. 60	<i>Wheel.</i> 2 ...Evan. 95
<i>Colb.</i> 8 ...} Evan. 33	<i>M.</i> 2Evan. 4	<i>Wheel.</i> 3 ...Evan. 3
<i>Colb.</i> 9 = Colb. 1	<i>Magd.</i> 1 ...Evan. 57	<i>Wech. videas</i> p. 444
<i>Colb.</i> 10 = Colb. 2	<i>Magd.</i> 2 ...Paul. 42	
<i>Colb.</i> 11 = Colb. 1	<i>Med.</i>Evan. 42	

Mill merely drew from other sources *Barb.*, *Steph.*, *Vel.*, *Wech.*; the copies deposited abroad (*B* 1—3, *Clar.*, *Colb.* 1—11, *Cypr.*, *Genev.*, *Med.*, *Per.*, *Pet.* 1—3, *Vat.*, *Vien.*) and *Trin.* or *Apost.* 3 he only knew from readings sent to him; all the rest, not being included in Walton's list (p. 443), and several of them also, he collated for himself.

The Prolegomena of Mill, divided into three parts—(1) on the Canon of the New Testament; (2) on the History of the Text, including the quotations of the Fathers (*see* p. 418) and the early editions; and (3) on the plan and contents of his own work, though by this time too far behind the present

state of knowledge to bear reprinting, comprise a monument of learning such as the world has seldom seen, and contain much information the student will not even now easily find elsewhere. Although Mill perpetually pronounces his judgment on the character of disputed readings¹, especially in his Prolegomena, which were printed long after some portions of the body of the work, yet he only aims at reproducing Stephen's text of 1550, though in a few places he departs from it, whether by accident or design².

In 1710 Ludolph Kuster, a Westphalian, republished Mill's Greek Testament, in folio, at Rotterdam (or with a new title-page, Leipsic 1723, Amsterdam 1746), arranging in its proper place the matter cast by Mill into his Appendix, as having reached him too late to stand in his critical notes, and adding to those notes the readings of twelve fresh manuscripts, ten collated by Kuster himself, which he describes in a Preface well worth reading. Nine of these codices are in the Royal Library at Paris (viz. *Paris*. 1, which is Evan. 285 (see p. 180); *Paris*. 2 = Evan. M; *Paris*. 3 = Evan. 9; *Paris*. 4 = Evan. 11; *Paris*. 5 = Evan. 119; *Paris*. 6 = Evan. 13; *Paris*. 7 = Evan. 14; *Paris*. 8 = Evan. 15; *Paris*. 9 = the great Cod. C): but *Lips.* = Evan. 78 was collated by Boerner; *Seidel.* = Act. 42 by Westermann; *Boerner.* = Paul. G (see p. 169) by Kuster himself. He keeps his own notes separate from Mill's by prefixing and affixing the marks †, ‡, and his collations both of his own codices and of early editions will be found more complete than his predecessor's.

10. In the next year after Kuster's Mill (1711), appeared at Amsterdam, from the press of the Wetsteins, a small N. T.,

¹ Dr Hort says that "his comprehensive examination of individual documents, seldom rising above the wilderness of multitudinous details, [is] yet full of sagacious observations" (*Introd.* p. 180).

² As Mill's text is sometimes reprinted in England as if it were quite identical with that commonly received, it is right to note the following passages wherein it does not coincide with Stephen's of 1550, besides that it corrects his typographical errors: Matth. xx. 15; 22; xxiv. 15; Mark ix. 16; xi. 22; xv. 29; Luke vii. 12 *bis*; x. 6; xvii. 1; John viii. 4; 25; xiii. 30, 31; xix. 7; Acts ii. 36; vii. 17; xiv. 8; Rom. xvi. 11; 1 Cor. iii. 15; x. 10; xv. 28; 2 Cor. vi. 16; Eph. iv. 25; Tit. ii. 10; 1 Pet. iii. 11; 21; iv. 8; 2 Pet. ii. 12; Apoc. ii. 5; xx. 4. Beuss (p. 149) tells us that Kuster's edition recalls the Stephanic readings in Matth. xxiv. 15; Apoc. ii. 5.

8°, containing all the critical matter of the Oxford edition of 1675, a collation of one Vienna manuscript (*Caes.* = *Evan.* 76), 43 canons "secundum quos variantes lectiones N. T. examinandæ," and discussions upon them, with other matter, especially parallel texts, forming a convenient manual, the whole by G. D. T. M. D., which being interpreted means Gerhard de Trajecto Mosæ Doctor, this Gerhard à Mâstricht being a Syndic of Bremen. The text is Fell's, except in *Apoc.* iii. 12, where the portentous erratum $\lambda\alpha\phi$ for $\nu\alpha\phi$ of Elzevir is corrected. A second and somewhat improved edition was published in 1735, but ere that date the book must have become quite superseded.

We have to return to England once more, where the criticism of the New Testament had engrossed the attention of RICHARD BENTLEY [1662—1742], whose elevation to the enviable post of Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1699, was a just recognition of his supremacy in the English world of letters. As early as 1691 he had felt a keen interest in sacred criticism, and in his "*Epistola ad Johannem Millium*" had urged that editor, in language fraught with eloquence and native vigour, to hasten on the work (whose accomplishment was eventually left to others) of publishing side by side on the opened leaf *Codd.* A, D (*Bezae*), D (*Clarom.*), E (*Laud.*). For many years afterwards Bentley's laurels were won on other fields, and it was not till his friend was dead, and his admirable labours were exposed to the obloquy of opponents (some honest though unwise, others hating Mill because they hated the Scriptures which he sought to illustrate), that our Aristarchus exerted his giant strength to crush the infidel and to put the ignorant to silence. In his "*Remarks upon a late Discourse of Free Thinking in a letter to F[rancis] H[are] D.D. by Phileleutherus Lipsiensis*," 1713, Bentley displayed that intimate familiarity with the whole subject of various readings, their causes, extent, and consequences (*see above*, p. 7), which has rendered this occasional treatise more truly valued (as it was far more important) than the world-renowned "*Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris*" itself. As his years were now hastening on and the evening of life was beginning to draw nigh, it was seemly that the first scholar of his age should seek for his rare abilities an employment more entirely suited to his sacred office than even

the most successful cultivation of classical learning; and so, about this time, he came to project what he henceforth regarded as his greatest effort, an edition of the Greek New Testament. In 1716 we find him in conference with J. J. Wetstein, then very young, and seeking his aid in procuring collations (*see* p. 118). In the same year he addressed his memorable *Letter* to Wm. Wake [1657—1737], Archbishop of Canterbury, whose own mind was full of the subject, wherein he explains, with characteristic energy and precision, the principles on which he proposed to execute his great scheme. As these principles must be reviewed in Chap. VII, we will but touch upon them now. His theory was built upon the notion that the oldest manuscripts of the Greek original and of Jerome's Latin version resemble each other so marvellously, even in the very order of the words, that by this agreement he could restore the text as it stood in the fourth century, "so that there shall not be twenty words, or even particles, difference." "By taking two thousand errors out of the Pope's [i.e. the Clementine] Vulgate, and as many out of the Protestant Pope Stephen's [1550], I can set out an edition of each in columns, without using any book under nine hundred years old, that shall so exactly agree word for word, and, what at first amazed me, order for order, that no two tallies, nor two indentures, can agree better¹." In 1720, some progress having been made in the task of collation, chiefly at Paris, by John Walker, Fellow of Trinity, who was designated by Bentley "overseer and corrector of the press," but proved in fact a great deal more; Bentley published his *Proposals for Printing*², a work which "he consecrates, as a *κειμήλιον*, a *κτῆμα ἐσαεὶ*, a *charter*, a *magna charta*, to the whole Christian Church; to last when all the ancient MSS. here quoted may be lost and extinguished." Alas for the emptiness of human anticipations! Of this noble design, projected by one of the most diligent, by one of the most highly gifted men our

¹ Ellis, *Bentleii Critica Sacra*, Introductory Preface, p. xv.

² Ellis, *ubi supra*, pp. xvii—xix. These *Proposals* were also very properly reprinted by Tischendorf (N. T., *Proleg.* LXXXVII—XCVI, 7th edition) together with the specimen chapter (Apoc. xxiii.). The full title was to have been: "Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ Græce. Novum Testamentum Versionis Vulgatæ, per s^{ctum} Hieronymum ad vetusta exemplaria Græca castigatæ et exactæ. Utrumque ex antiquissimis Codd. MSS., cum Græcis tum Latinis, edidit Richardus Bentleius."

dear mother Cambridge ever nourished, nothing now remains but a few scattered notices in treatises on Textual Criticism, and large undigested stores of various readings and random observations, accumulated in his College Library; papers which no real student ever glanced through, but with a heart saddened—almost sickened—at the sight of so much labour lost¹. The specimen chapter (Apocalypse xxii.) which accompanied his *Proposals* shews clearly how little had yet been done towards arranging the materials that had been collected; codices are cited there, and in many of his loose notes, not separately and by name, as in Mill's volume, but mostly as "*Anglicus unus, tres codd. veterrimi, Gall. quatuor, Germ. unus,*" &c., in the rough fashion of the Oxford N. T. of 1675.

It has been often alleged that Bentley seems to have worked but little on the Greek Testament after 1729: that his attention was diverted by his editions of *Paradise Lost* (1732) and of *Manilius* (1739), by his Homeric studies and College litigation, until he was overtaken by a paralytic stroke in 1739, and died in his eighty-first year in 1742. Walker's collations of cursive manuscripts at Christ Church (*see* p. 230), however, obviously made for Bentley's use, bear the date of 1732, and a closer examination of his papers, bequeathed to Trinity College, shews that much more progress had been made by him than has been usually supposed. Besides full collations of the uncial Codd. AD (Gospels and Acts), of Cod. F (his θ) and G of S. Paul, of Arundel 547 (Evst. 257) executed by Bentley himself, of Codd. B (p. 106) and C (p. 118) by others at his cost, three volumes are found there full of critical materials, which have been described by Mr Ellis, and digested by Dr Westcott. One of these (B. xvii. 5) I was allowed by the Master and Seniors to study at leisure at home. It is a folio edition of the N. T., Greek and Latin (Paris. *ap. Claud. Sonnius*, 1628, the Greek text being that of Elzevir 1624), whose margin and spaces

¹ This is all the more lamentable, inasmuch as Bentley was not accurate enough as a collator to make it unnecessary to follow him over the same ground. Dr Westcott confirms my own experience in this respect when in a MS. note inserted by him on a blank leaf of Trin. Coll. B. xvii. 14, he states that "Bentley's testimony, when he quotes a reading, may always be taken as true; but it is not so when he notes no variation in particular. On an average he omits *one-third* of the variations of the MSS., without following, as far as I can discover, any law in the selection of readings."

between the lines are filled with various readings in Bentley's hand, but not all of them necessarily the results of his own labour, collected out of ten Greek and thirty Latin manuscripts. The Greek are all cursives save Evst. 5, and his connection with them has been referred to above in Chap. II. § 3 and 4. They are

Evan. 51 (γ),	Evan. 507 (τ),
.... 54 (κ),	... 508 (δ),
... 60 (ϵ),	Act. 23 (χ),
... 113 (θ ?),	Apoc. 28 (κ),
... 440 (α , see p. 230),	Evst. 5 (α).

The Latin copies, which alone are described by Bentley in the fly-leaves of the volume, may not be as easily identified, but some of them are of great value, and are described above in Chap. III. These are

<i>chad.</i> (ξ , p. 357),	<i>oxon.</i> (C, p. 358),
<i>dunelm.</i> (K, p. 358),	<i>oxon.</i> (Paul. χ , p. 360),
<i>harl.</i> ³ (M, p. 355),	<i>seld.</i> (Act. χ , <i>ibid.</i>),
<i>lind.</i> (η , p. 357),	<i>vall.</i> (p. 359),
<i>mac-regol</i> (χ , p. 358),	Westcott adds <i>harl.</i> ⁴ (H, see p. 355).

A second mass of materials, all Latin, about twenty in number, and deposited in England, is contained in the first volume of the Benedictine edition of S. Jerome's works (Paris. 1693). In this book (B. xvii. 14) Dr Westcott has pasted a valuable note, wherein he identifies the manuscripts used by Bentley by the means of his own actual collation. Those described above in Ch. III. are the following :

- B. M. Harl. 1802 (W, p. 358),
- harl.*³ (M. of Epistles, &c. p. 355),
- Addit. 5463 (F, p. 354),
- King's Lib. I. A. 18 (O, p. 359),
- I. B. VII. (H, p. 354),
- I. E. VI. (P, p. 354),
- C. C. C. Camb. 286 (B, p. 354),
- Trin. Coll. Camb. B. x. 5 (S, p. 356),
- B. x. 4 (T, *ibid.*),
- lind.* (Y, p. 357 : as in B. xvii. 5),
- Camb. Univ. Lib. Kk. i. 24 (χ , p. 358).

Westcott further appropriates B. M. Cotton, Otho B. ix. (*see* p. 356, note 2), as Bentley's D; Cotton Tib. A. ii. ("the Coronation book") as his ϵ ; Cotton Otho C.v. (*see above*) as his ϕ ; C. C. C. Camb. 197 as his C; King's Library 1 D. ix. (p. 359) as his A. His ξ in B. xvii. 14 seems unrecognised.

These, of course, are no more than the rough materials of criticism. Another copy of the N. T. has been carefully and curiously made available for my use by the goodness of my friend Edwin Palmer, D.D., Archdeacon of Oxford. It is numbered B. xvii. 6, and is a duplicate copy (without its title-page) of the same printed book as B. xvii. 5. It is interleaved throughout, and was prepared very early in the course of this undertaking, inasmuch as Bentley describes it in an undated letter to Wetstein, which the latter answered Nov. 3, 1716. In the printed text itself both Greek and Latin, as they stand in parallel columns, Bentley makes the corrections which he at that period was willing to adopt. There is no critical apparatus to justify his changes in the Latin version, but on the blank leaves of the book he sets down his Greek authorities, always cited by name, as *Alex., Cant., Rom.* (Cod. B.), *Ox.* in the Acts (Cod. E), θ in S. Paul for Cod. Augiensis (F), though this last did not reach him before 1718 (*see* p. 167). Cod. C is sometimes called *Eph.* (p. 118), sometimes it is mixed up with Wetstein's other copies (1 Wetstein, 2 Wetstein, &c.). This most interesting volume, therefore, contains the first draught of Bentley's great design, and must have been nearly in its present state when the *Proposals* were published in 1720, since the specimen chapter (Apoc. xxii.) which accompanied them is taken *verbatim* from B. xvii. 6, save that authorities are added to vindicate the alterations of the Latin text, which is destitute of them in the printed book. Mr Ellis too has printed the Epistle to the Galatians from the same source, and this specimen also produces much the same impression of meagreness and imperfection. It was doubtless in some degree to remedy an apparent crudeness that cursive copies were afterwards called in, as in B. xvii. 5 and in Walker's Oxford collections. The fact is that Bentley's main principle, as set forth by him from 1716 to 1720, that of substantial identity between the oldest Greek and Latin copies, is more favoured by Cod. A, which he knew soonest and best, than by any other really ancient documents,

least of all by Cod. B, with which he obtained fuller acquaintance in or about 1720. Our Aristarchus then betook himself at intervals to cursive codices in the vain hope of getting aid from them, and so lost his way at last in that wide and pathless wilderness. We cannot but believe that nothing less than the manifest impossibility of maintaining the principles which his *Letter* of 1716 enunciated, and his *Proposals* of 1720 scarcely modified, in the face of the evidence which his growing mass of collations bore against them¹, could have had power enough to break off in the midst that labour of love from which he had looked for undying fame².

11. The anonymous text and version of W. Mace, said to have been a Presbyterian minister (*The New Testament in Greek and English*, 2 vol. 8°, 1729) are alike unworthy of serious notice, and have long since been forgotten. And now original research in the science of Biblical criticism, so far as the New Testament is concerned, seems to have left the shores of England, to return no more for upwards of a century³; and we must look to Germany if we wish to trace the further

¹ Mr Jebb (*Life of Bentley*, p. 164) imputes the failure of Bentley's grand scheme partly to the worry of litigation which harassed him from 1729 to 1738; partly to a growing sense of complexity in the problem of the text, especially after he became better acquainted with the Vatican readings, i.e. about 1720 and 1729 (*see* p. 106). Reuss (p. 172) ought never to have conditioned the ultimate success of such a man by the proviso "si consilio par fuerit perseverantia."

² "This thought has now so engaged me, and in a manner insalvaged me, that *væ mihi* unless I do it. Nothing but sickness (by the blessing of God) shall hinder me from prosecuting it to the end" (*Bentley to Archbp. Wake*, 1716: Ellis, *ubi supra*, p. xvi.). A short article in the *Edinburgh Review* for July 1860, apparently from the pen of Tregelles, draws attention to "Nicolai Toinardi *Harmonia Græco-Latina*" Paris, 1707, fol., who so far anticipates Bentley's labours, that he forms a new Greek text by the aid of two Roman manuscripts (Cod. B being one of them) and of the Latin version.

³ I cannot help borrowing the language of Donaldson, used with reference to an entirely different department of study, in the opening of one of his earliest and by far his most enduring work: "It may be stated as a fact worthy of observation in the literary history of modern Europe, that generally, when one of our countrymen has made the first advance in any branch of knowledge, we have acquiesced in what he has done, and have left the further improvement of the subject to our neighbours on the continent. The man of genius always finds an utterance, for he is urged on by an irresistible impulse—a conviction that it is his duty and vocation to speak: but we too often want those who shall follow in his steps, clear up what he has left obscure, and complete his unfinished labours" (*New Cratylus*, p. 1).

progress of investigations which our countrymen had so auspiciously begun. The first considerable effort made on the continent was

The New Testament of John Albert Bengel, 4^o, Tubingen, 1734¹: his *Prodromus N. T. Gr. rectè cautèque adornandi* had appeared as early as 1725. This devout and truly able man [1687—1752], who held the office (whatever might be its functions) of Abbot of Alpirspach in the Lutheran communion of Wurtemberg, though more generally known as an interpreter of Scripture from his invaluable *Gnomon Novi Testamenti*, yet left the stamp of his mind deeply imprinted on the criticism of the sacred volume. As a collator his merits were not high; nearly all his sixteen codices have required and obtained fresh examination from those who came after him². His text (which he arranged in convenient paragraphs, *see* p. 68) is the earliest important specimen of intentional departure from the received type; hence he imposes on himself the strange restriction of admitting into it no reading (excepting in the Apocalypse) which had not appeared in one or more of the editions that preceded his own. He pronounces his opinion on other *select* variations by placing them in his lower margin with Greek numerals attached to them, according as he judged them decidedly better (α), or somewhat more likely (β), than those which stand in his text: or equal to them (γ); or a little (δ), or considerably (ϵ), inferior. This notation has advantages which might well have commended it to the attention of succeeding editors. In his *Apparatus Criticus* also, at the end of his volume, he first set the example, now generally followed, of recording the testimony in favour of a received reading, as well as that against it.

¹ The full title is “*Ἡ κωνὴ διαθήκη. Novum Testamentum Græcum ita adornatum ut Textus probatarum editionum medullam, Margo variantium lectionum in suas classes distributarum locorumque parallelorum delectum, Apparatus subjunctus criseos sacre Millianæ præsertim compendium limam supplementum ac fructum exhibeat, inserviente J. A. B.*”

² They consist of seven Augsburg codices (*Aug.* 1=Evan. 83; *Aug.* 2=Evan. 84; *Aug.* 3=Evan. 85; *Aug.* 4=Evst. 24; *Aug.* 5=Paul. 54; *Aug.* 6=Act. 46; *Aug.* 7=Apoc. 80); *Poson.*=Evan. 86; extracts sent by Isel from three Basle copies (*Bas.* α =Evan. E; *Bas.* β =Evan. 2; *Bas.* γ =Evan. 1); *Hirsaug.*=Evan. 97; *Moec.*=Evan. V, *see* p. 144, note: extracts sent by F. C. Gross. To these add Uffenbach's three, *Uffen.* 2 or 1=Paul. M; *Uffen.* 1 or 2=Act. 45; *Uffen.* 3=Evan. 101.

But the peculiar importance of Bengel's N. T. is due to the critical principles developed therein. Not only was his native acuteness of great service to him, when weighing the conflicting probabilities of internal evidence (*see* Chap. VI.), but in his fertile mind sprang up the germ of that theory of *families* or *recensions*, which was afterwards expanded by J. S. Semler [1725—91], and grew to such formidable dimensions in the skilful hands of Griesbach. An attentive student of the discrepant readings of the N. T., even in the limited extent they had hitherto been collected, could hardly fail to discern that certain manuscripts, versions, and ecclesiastical writers, have a manifest affinity with each other; so that one of them shall seldom be cited in support of a variation (not being a manifest and gross error of the copyist), unless accompanied by several of its kindred. The inference is direct and clear, that documents which thus withdraw themselves from the general mass of authorities, must have sprung from some common source, distinct from those which in characteristic readings they but slightly resemble. It occurred, therefore, to Bengel as a hopeful mode of making good progress in the criticism of the N. T., to reduce all extant testimony into "companies, families, tribes, and nations," and thus to simplify the process of settling the sacred text by setting class over against class, and trying to estimate the genius of each, and the relative importance they may severally lay claim to. He wished to divide all extant documents into two nations: the *Asiatic*, chiefly written in Constantinople and its neighbourhood, which he was inclined to disparage; and the *African*, comprising the few of a better type (*Apparatus Criticus*, p. 669, 2nd edition, 1763). Various circumstances hindered Bengel from working out his principle, among which he condescends to set his dread of exposing his task to senseless ridicule¹; yet no one can doubt that it comprehends the ele-

¹ It is worth while to quote at length Bengel's terse and vigorous statement of his principle: "Posset variarum lectionum ortus, per singulos codices, per paria codicum, per syzygias minores majoresque, per familias, tribus, nationesque illorum, investigari et repræsentari; et inde propinquitates discessionisque codicum ad schematismos quosdam reduci, et schematismorum aliquæ concordantis fieri; atque ita res tota per tabulam quandam quasi genealogicam oculis subjici, ad quam tabulam quælibet varietas insignior cum agmine suorum codicum, ad convincendos etiam tardissimos dubitatores exigeretur. Magnam conjectanea nostra sylvam habent: sed manum de tabulâ, ne risum periculo

ments of what is both reasonable and true; however difficult it has subsequently proved to adjust the details of any consistent scheme. For the rest, Bengel's critical verdicts, always considered in relation to his age and opportunities, deserve strong commendation. He saw the paramount worth of Cod. A, the only great uncial then much known (N. T., *Apparat. Crit.* pp. 390—401). The high character of the Latin version, and the necessity for revising its text by means of manuscripts (*ibid.* p. 391), he readily conceded, after Bentley's example. His mean estimate of the Greek-Latin codices (Evan. Act. D; Act. E; Paul. DFG) may not find equal favour in the eyes of all his admirers; he pronounces them "re verâ bilingues;" which, for their perpetual and wilful interpolations, "non pro codicibus sed pro rhapsodiis, haberi debeant" (*ibid.* p. 386).

12. The next step in advance was made by John James Wetstein [1693—1754], a native of Basle, whose edition of the Greek New Testament ("cum lectionibus varianfibus Codicum MSS., Editionum aliarum, Versionum et Patrum, necnon Commentario pleniore ex scriptoribus veteribus, Hebræis, Græcis, et Latinis, historiam et vim verborum illustrante") appeared in two volumes folio, Amsterdam, 1751—2. The genius, the character, and (it must in justice be added) the worldly fortunes of Wetstein were widely different from those of the good Abbot of Alpirspach. His taste for Biblical studies shewed itself early. When ordained pastor at the age of twenty he delivered a disputation, "De variis N. T. lectionibus," and zeal for this fascinating pursuit became at length with him a passion—the master-passion which consoled and dignified a roving, troubled, unprosperous life. In 1714 his eager search for manuscripts led him to Paris, in 1715—6 and again in 1720 he visited England, and was employed by Bentley in collecting materials for his projected edition (*see* p. 118), but he seems to have imbibed few of that great man's principles: the interval between them, both in age and station, almost forbad much sympathy. On

exponatur veritas. Bene est, quod prætergredi montem hunc, et planiore via pervenire datur ad codices discriminandos. Datur autem per hanc regulam æquissimam: Quo asspius non modo singuli codices, sed etiam syzygiæ minores eorum vel majores, in aberrationes manifestas tendunt; eo levius ferunt testimonium in discrepantiis difficilioribus, eoque magis lectio ab eis deserta, tanquam genuina retineri debet" (N. T., *Apparat. Crit.* p. 387).

his return home he gradually became suspected of Socinian tendencies, and it must be feared with too much justice; so that in the end he was deposed from the pastorate (1730), driven into exile, and after having been compelled to serve in a position the least favourable to the cultivation of learning, that of a military chaplain, he obtained at length (1733) a Professorship among the Remonstrants at Amsterdam (in succession to the celebrated Leclerc), and there continued till his death in 1754, having made his third visit to England in 1746 (*see* p. 327). His *Prolegomena*, first published in 1730, and afterwards, in an altered form, prefixed to his N. T.¹, present a painful image both of the man and of his circumstances. His restless energy, his undaunted industry, his violent temper, his love of paradox, his assertion for himself of perfect freedom of thought, his silly prejudice against Jesuits and bigots, his enmities, his wrongs, his ill-requited labours, at once excite our respect and our pity: while they all help to make his writings a sort of unconscious autobiography, rather interesting than agreeable. *Non sic itur ad astra*, whether morally or intellectually; yet Wetstein's services to sacred literature were of no common order. His philological annotations, wherein the matter and phraseology of the inspired writers are illustrated by copious—too copious—quotations from all kinds of authors, classical, Patristic, and Rabbinical, have proved an inexhaustible storehouse from which later writers have drawn liberally and sometimes without due acknowledgement; but many of the passages are of such a tenor as (to use Tregelles' very gentle language respecting them) "only to excite surprise at their being found on the same page as the text of the New Testament" (*Account of Printed Text*, p. 76). The critical portion of his work, however, is far more valuable, and in this department Wetstein must be placed in the very first rank, inferior (if to any) to but one or two of the highest names. He first cited the manuscripts under the notation by which they are commonly known (*see* p. 75), his list already embracing A—O, 1—112 of the Gospels; A—G, 1—58 of the Acts; A—H, 1—60 of S. Paul; A—C, 1—28 of the Apocalypse; 1—24 Evangelistaria; 1—4 of the Apostolos. Of these Wetstein himself collated about one hundred and

¹ The opposition of Frey and his other adversaries delayed that *opus magnum* for twenty years (N. T., *Proleg.* Vol. 1. p. 218).

two¹; if not as fully or accurately as is now expected, yet with far greater care than had hitherto been usual: about eleven were examined for him by other hands. On the versions and early editions he has likewise bestowed great pains; with the Fathers he has been less successful. His text is that of Elzevir (1633) not very exactly printed (e.g. ὁ Θεόφιλε is entirely omitted, Act. i. 1, where there is no various reading²), and immediately below it he placed such readings of his manuscripts as he judged preferable to those received. The readings thus approved by Wetstein (which do not amount to five hundred, and those chiefly in the Apocalypse) were inserted in the text of a Greek Testament published in London 1763, 2 vol., by W. Bowyer, the learned printer, with a collection of critical conjectures annexed, which were afterwards published separately (*see* p. 491, note).

Wetstein's Prolegomena have also been reproduced by J. S. Semler (Halle, 1764), with good notes and *facsimiles* of certain manuscripts, and more recently, in a compressed and modernized form, by J. A. Lotze (Rotterdam 1831), a book which neither for design nor execution can be much praised. The truth is that both the style and the subject-matter of much that Wetstein wrote are things of the past. In his earlier edition of his Prolegomena (1730) he had spoken of the oldest Greek uncial copies as they deserve; he was even disposed to take Cod. A as the basis of his text. By the time his N. T. was ready, twenty years later, he had come to include it, with all the older codices of the original, under a general charge of being conformed to the Latin version. That such a tendency may be de-

¹ We here reckon separately, as we believe is both usual and convenient, every distinct portion of the N. T. contained in a manuscript. Thus Codd. C and 69 Evan. will each count for four.

² Other errors of Wetstein's text will be found in Mark ix. 30; Luke ii. 51; xi. 34; John xi. 31; Acts i. 26; xiii. 29 (*ἐρέλησαν*, from the Oxford N. T. 1675). He corrects a few obvious misprints of Elzevir 1633, but his note shews that he does not *intend* to read τῷ in Mark vi. 29. The following seem to be deliberate variations from the Elzevir text: Matth. xiii. 15; xxi. 41; Mark xiv. 54; Luke ii. 22; xi. 12; xiii. 19; 1 Cor. i. 29; v. 11; xii. 23; xiv. 15; Phil. iii. 5; 1 Tim. iii. 2; 11 (yet not Tit. ii. 2); Philem. 7; 1 Pet. i. 3; iii. 7. He spells *ναφαρ* uniformly, except in John i. 46, 47. Reus (p. 183) adds nine changes made by Wetstein in the text for critical reasons: Matth. viii. 28; Luke xi. 2; John vii. 53—viii. 11; Acts v. 36; xx. 28; 1 Tim. iii. 16 (δ); Apoc. iii. 2; x. 4; xviii. 17.

tected in some of the codices accompanied by a Latin translation, is both possible in itself, and not inconsistent with their general spirit; but he has scattered abroad his imputations capriciously and almost at random, so as greatly to diminish the weight of his own decisions. Cod. A, in particular, has been fully cleared of the charge of Latinising by Woide, in his excellent *Prolegomena* (§ 6: see above p. 99). His thorough contempt for that critic prevented Wetstein from giving adequate attention to Bengel's theory of families; indeed he can hardly be said to have rejected a scheme which he scorned to investigate with patience. On the other hand no portion of his labours is more valuable than the "Animadversiones et Cautiones ad examen variarum lectionum N. T. necessariæ," (N. T. Tom. II. pp. 851—74), which might be discussed more suitably in the next chapter (p. 493). In this tract his natural good sense and extensive knowledge of authorities of every class have gone far to correct that impetuous temperament which was ever too ready to substitute plausible conjecture in the room of ascertained facts.

13. During the twenty years immediately ensuing on the publication of Wetstein's volumes, little was attempted in the way of enlarging or improving the domain he had secured for Biblical science. In England the attention of students was directed, and on the whole successfully, to the criticism of the Hebrew Scriptures; in Germany, the younger (J. D.) Michaelis [1717—91] reigned supreme, and he seems to have deemed it the highest effort of scholarship to sit in judgment on the labours of others. In process of time, however, the researches of John James Griesbach [1745—1812], a native of Hesse Darmstadt and a pupil of Semler and J. A. Ernesti [1707—81] (whose manual *Institutio Interpretis N. T.* 1761 has not long been superseded), began to attract general notice. Like Wetstein, he made a literary tour in England early in life (1769), and with far more profit; returning to Halle as a Professor, he published before he was thirty (1774—5) his first edition of the N. T., which contained the well-defined embryo of his future and more elaborate speculations. It will be convenient to reserve the examination of his views until we have described the investigations of several collators who unknowingly (and in one

instance, no doubt very unwillingly) were busy in gathering stores which he was to turn to his own use.

(1) Christian Frederick Matthaei, a Thuringian [1744—1811], was appointed, on the recommendation of his tutor Ernesti, to the Professorship of Classical Literature at Moscow: so far as philology is concerned, he probably merited Bp Middleton's praise, as "the most accurate scholar who ever edited the N. T." (*Doctrine of the Greek Article*, p. 244, 3rd edition). At Moscow he found a large number of Greek manuscripts, both Biblical and Patristic, originally brought from Athos (*see* p. 209), quite uncollated, and almost entirely unknown in the west of Europe. With laudable resolution he set himself to examine them, and gradually formed the scheme of publishing an edition of the New Testament by the aid of materials so precious and abundant. All authors that deserve that honourable name may be presumed to learn not a little, even on the subject they know best, while preparing an important work for the public eye; but Matthaei was as yet ignorant of the first principles of the critical art; and beginning thus late, there was much, and that of a very elementary character, which he never understood at all. When he commenced writing he had not seen the volumes of Mill or Wetstein; and to this significant fact we must impute that inability which clave to him to the last, of discriminating the relative age and value of his own or others' codices. The palæographical portion of the science, indeed, he gradually acquired from the study of his documents, and through the many *facsimiles* of them he represents in his edition; but what can be thought of his judgment, when he persisted in asserting the intrinsic superiority of Cod. 69 of the Acts [XIII, *see* p. 252] to the great uncials AC (*N. T.* Tom. XII. p. 222)¹? Hence it results that Matthaei's text, which of course he moulded on his own views, must be held in slight esteem: his services as a collator comprehend his whole claim (and that no trifling one) to our thankful regard. To him

¹ One other specimen of Matthaei's critical skill will suffice: he is speaking of his Cod. H, which is our Evst. 50 (*see* p. 288). "Hic Codex scriptus est literis quadratis, estque eorum omnium, qui adhuc in Europa innotuerunt et vetustissimus et præstantissimus. Insanus quidem fuerit, qui cum hoc aut Cod. V [p. 144] comparare, aut æquiparare voluerit Codd. Alexandr. Clar. Germ. Boern. Cant. [Evan. AD, Paul. ADEG], qui sine ullo dubio pessimè ex scholiis et Versione Latinâ Vulgatâ interpolati sunt" (*N. T.*, Tom. ix. p. 254).

solely we are indebted for Evan. V; 237—259; Act. 98—107; Paul. 113—124; Apoc. 47—50^a (*i. e. r.*); Evst. 47—57; Apost. 13—20; nearly all at Moscow: the whole seventy¹, together with the citations of Scripture in about thirty manuscripts of Chrysostom², being so fully and accurately collated, that the reader need not be at a loss whether any particular copy supports or opposes the reading in the common text. Matthaei's further services in connection with Cod. G Paul. (p. 169) and a few others (Act. 69, &c.) have been noticed in their proper places. To his Greek text was annexed the Latin Vulgate (the only version, in its present state, he professes to regard, Tom. XI. p. xii.) from the Cod. Demidovianus (*see* p. 355). The first volume of this edition appeared in 1782, after it had been already eight years in preparation: this comprised the Catholic Epistles. The rest of the work was published at intervals during the next six years, in eleven more thin parts 8°, the whole series being closed by SS. Matthew and Mark in 1788. Each volume has a Preface, much descriptive matter, and *facsimiles* of manuscripts (twenty-nine in all), the whole being in complete and almost hopeless disorder, and the general title-page absurdly long. Hence his critical principles (if such they may be termed) must be picked up piecemeal; and it is not very pleasant to observe the sort of influence which hostile controversy exercised over his mind and temper. While yet fresh at his task (1782), anticipating the fair fame his most profitable researches had so well earned, Matthaei is frank, calm, and rational: even at a later period J. D. Michaelis is, in his estimation, the keenest of living judges of codices, and he says

¹ In using Matthaei's *N. T.* the following index of manuscripts first collated by him will be found useful: a = Evan. 259, Act. 98, Paul. 113: B = Evst. 47: b = Apost. 13: c = Act. 99, Paul. 114, Evst. 48: d = Evan. 237, Act. 100, Paul. 115: e = Evan. 238, Apost. 14: f = Act. 101, Paul. 116, Evst. 49: g = Evan. 239, Act. 102, Paul. 117: H = Evst. 50: i = Evan. 240: k = Evan. 241, Act. 104, Paul. 120, Apoc. 47: l = Evan. 242, Act. 105, Paul. 121, Apoc. 48: m = Evan. 243, Act. 106, Paul. 122: n = Evan. 244, Paul. 123: o = Evan. 245: p = Evan. 246: q = Evan. 247, Paul. 124: r = Evan. 248, also Apoc. 50²: s = Evan. 249, Paul. 76: t = Apoc. 32, Evst. 51: V, *see* p. 144: v = Evan. 250: x = Evan. 251: z = Evan. 252: 10 = Evan. 253: 11 = Evan. 254: 12 = Evan. 255: 14 = Evan. 256: 15 = O, *see* p. 137: 16 = Evst. 56, Apost. 20: 17 = Evan. 258: 18 = Evan. 99: 19 = Evst. 57: ξ = Evst. 52, Apost. 16: χ = Evst. 53, Apost. 17: ψ = Evst. 54, Apost. 18: ω = Evst. 55, Apost. 19.

² The copies of Chrysostom freshly collated by this editor are noted 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 13. α. β. γ. δ. ε. ζ. η. θ. λ. μ. π. ρ. φ.

so the rather "quod ille vir doctissimus multis modis me, *quâ de causâ ipse ignoro*, partim jocosè, partim seriò, vexavit." (Tom. II. 1788, p. xxxi.) Bengel, whose sentiments were very dissimilar from those of the Moscow Professor, "pro acumine, diligentia et religione sua," would have arrived at other conclusions, had his Augsburg codices been better (*ibid.* p. xxx). But for Griesbach and his recension-theory no terms of insult are strong enough; "risum vel adeo pueris debet ille Halensis criticus," who never saw, "*ut credibile est*," a manuscript even of the tenth century (*ibid.* p. xxiii), yet presumes to dictate to those who have collated seventy. The unhappy consequence was, that one who had taken up this employment in an earnest and candid spirit, possessed with the simple desire to promote the study of sacred literature, could devise no fitter commencement for his latest Preface than this: "Laborem igitur molestum invidiosum et infamem, inter convicia ranarum et latratus canum, aut ferreâ patientiâ aut invictâ pertinaciâ his quindecim annis vel sustinui, vel utcunque potui perfeci, vel denique fastidio et tædio, ut fortasse non nulli opinantur, deposui et abjeci" (Tom. I. *Præf.* p. 1): he could find no purer cause for thankfulness, than (what we might have imagined but a very slight mercy) that he had never been commended by those "of whom to be dispraised is no small praise;" or (to use his own more vigorous language) "quod nemo scurra...nemo denique de grege novorum theologorum, hanc qualemcunque operam meam ausus est ore impuro suo, laudeque contumeliosâ comprobare." Matthæi's second edition in three volumes (destitute of the Latin version and most of the critical notes) bears date 1803—7¹. For some cause, now not easy to understand, he hardly gave to this second edition the advantage of his studies during the fifteen years which had elapsed since he completed his first. We saw his vain labours bestowed on the Zittau N. T. in 1801—2 (*Evan.* 605, p. 243). On the last leaf of the third volume of his second edition, writing from Moscow in May 1805, he speaks of a book containing collations of no less than twenty-four manuscripts, partly fresh, partly corrected, which, when he returned into Russia, he delivered to Augustus Schumann, a

¹ Reuss (p. 207) calculates that, besides misprints, Matthæi's second and very inferior edition differs in text from his first in but 24 places, none of them being in the Gospels.

bookseller of Ronneburg (in Saxe Altenburg), to be published in close connection with his second edition against the Easter Fair at Leipsic in 1805. Another book contained extracts from S. Chrysostom with a commentary and index, to be published at the same time, and both at Schumann's risk. "Utrum isti libri jam prodierint necne," our author adds pathetically, "non-dum factus sum certior. Certe id vehementer opto." But in 1805 evil times were hastening upon Germany, and so these collections have disappeared and left no trace behind.

(2) The next, and a far less considerable contribution to our knowledge of manuscripts of the N. T., was made by Francis Karl Alter [1749—1804], a Jesuit, born in Silesia, and Professor of Greek at Vienna. His plan was novel, and, to those who are compelled to use his edition (*N. T. Græcum, ad Codicem Vindobonensem Græcè expressum*, 8°, Vienna, 2 tom., 1786—7), inconvenient to the last degree. Adopting for his standard a valuable, but not very ancient or remarkable, manuscript in the Imperial Library (Evan. 218, Act. 65, Paul. 57, Apoc. 33: see p. 207), he prints this copy at full length, retaining even the ν *ἑφελευστικὸν* when it is found in his model, but not (as it would seem) all the itacisms or errors of the scribe, conforming in such cases to Stephen's edition of 1546. With this text he collates in separate Appendices twenty-one other manuscripts in the same great Library, comprising twelve copies of the Gospels (Codd. N., a fragment, 3. 76. 77. 108. 123. 124. 125. 219. 220. 224. 225); six of the Acts &c. (3. 43. 63—4; 66—7); seven of S. Paul (3. 49. 67—71); three of the Apocalypse (34. 35. 36), and two Evangelistaria (45. 46). He also gives readings from Wilkins' Coptic version, four Slavonic codices and one Old Latin (i: see p. 344). In employing this ill-digested mass, it is necessary to turn to a different place for every manuscript to be consulted, and Alter's silence in any passages must be understood to indicate resemblance to his standard, Evan. 218, and not to the common text. As this silence is very often clearly due to the collator's mere oversight, Griesbach set the example of citing these manuscripts in such cases within marks of parenthesis: thus "218 (108. 220)" indicates that the reading in question is certainly found in Cod. 218, and (so far as we may infer *ex Alteri silentio*) not improbably in the other two. Most of these

Vienna codices were about the same time examined rather slightly by Andrew Birch.

(3) This eminent person, who afterwards bore successively the titles of Bishop of Lolland, Falster, and Aarhuus, in the Lutheran communion established in Denmark, was one of a company of learned men sent by the liberal care of Christian VII. to examine Biblical manuscripts in various countries. Adler (Chap. III. *see* pp. 317, 329) pursued his Oriental studies at Rome and elsewhere; D. G. Moldenhawer and O. G. Tychsen were sent into Spain in 1783—4; Birch travelled on the same good errand in 1781—3 through Italy and Germany. The combined results of their investigations were arranged and published by Birch, whose folio edition of the Four Gospels, with Stephen's text of 1550¹, and the various readings contributed by himself and his associates, full descriptive Prolegomena and *facsimiles* of seven manuscripts (Codd. S. 157 Evan.; and five in Syriac), appeared at Copenhagen in 1788. Seven years afterwards (1795) a fire destroyed the Royal Printing-house, the type, paper, and unsold stock of the first volume, the collations of the rest of the N. T. having very nearly shared the same fate. These poor fragments were collected by Birch into two small 8° volumes, those relating to the Acts and Epistles in 1798, to the Apocalypse (with *facsimiles* of Codd. 37, 42) in 1800. In 1801 he revised and re-edited the various readings of the Gospels, in a form to correspond with those of the rest of the N. T. Nothing can be better calculated to win respect and confidence than the whole tone of Birch's several Prolegomena: he displays at once a proper sense of the difficulties of his task, and a consciousness that he had done his utmost to conquer them². It is indeed much to be regretted that, for some cause he does not wish to explain, he accomplished but little for Cod. B (*see* p. 106); many of

¹ "Textui ad Millianum expresso" says Reuss (p. 151), which is not quite the same thing: *see* p. 450 note 2.

² "Conscius sum mihi, me omnem et diligentiam et intentionem adhibuisse, ut hæc editio quam emendatissima in manus eruditorum perveniret, utque in hoc opere, in quo ingenio non fuit locus, curæ testimonium promererem; nulla tamen mihi est fiducia, me omnia, quæ exigi possint, peregisse. Vix enim potest esse ulla tam perpetua legentis intentio, quæ non obtutu continuo fatigetur, præsertim in tali genere, quod tam multis, sæpe parvis, observationibus constat." (*Lecturis Editor*, p. v., 1788.) Well could I testify to the truth of these last words!

the manuscripts on his long list were beyond question examined but very superficially; yet he was almost the first to open to us the literary treasures of the Vatican, of Florence, and of Venice. He more or less inspected the uncials Cod. B, Codd. ST of the Gospels, Cod. L of the Acts and Epistles. His catalogue of cursives comprises Codd. 127—225 of the Gospels; Codd. 63—7, 70—96 of the Acts; Codd. 67—71, 77—112 of S. Paul; Codd. 33—4, 37—46 of the Apocalypse; *Evangelistaria* 35—39; *Apostolos* 7, 8: in all 191 copies, a few of which were thoroughly collated (e.g. Evan. S. 127. 131. 157. *Evst.* 36). Of Adler's labours we have spoken elsewhere (p. 317, &c.); they are incorporated in Birch's work, and prefaced with a short notice (*Birch, Proleg.* p. lxxxv) by their author, a real and modest scholar. Moldenhawer's portion of the common task was discharged in another spirit. Received at the Escorial with courtesy and good-will, his colleague Tychsen and he spent four whole months in turning over a collection of 760 Greek manuscripts, of which only 20 related to the Greek Testament. They lacked neither leisure, nor opportunity, nor competent knowledge; but they were full of dislike for Spain and its religion, of overweening conceit, and of implicit trust in Griesbach and his recensions. The whole paper contributed by Moldenhawer to Birch's *Prolegomena* (pp. lxi—lxxxiv) is in substance very disappointing, while its arrogance is almost intolerable. What he effected for other portions of the N. T. I have not been able to trace (226, 228 Evan., which also contain the Acts and Epistles, are but nominally on Scholz's list for those books); the fire at Copenhagen may probably have destroyed his notes. Of the Gospels he collated eight codices (226—233), and four *Evangelistaria* (40—43), most of them being dismissed, after a cursory review, with some expression of hearty contempt. To Codd. 226, 229, 230 alone was he disposed to pay any attention; of the rest, whether "he soon restored them to their primitive obscurity" (p. lxxi), or "bade them sweet and holy rest among the reliques of Saints and Martyrs" (p. lxxvii), he may be understood to say, once for all, "Omnino nemo, qui horum librorum rationem ac indolem...perspectam habet, ex iis lectionis varietatem operosè eruere aggredietur, nec, si quam inde acquisiverit, operæ pretium fecisse a peritis arbitris existimabitur" (p. lxxiv). It was not thus that Matthæi dealt with the manuscripts at Moscow.

14. Such were the materials ready for Griesbach's use when he projected his second and principal edition of the Greek Testament (Vol. I. 1796, Vol. II. 1806). Not that he was backward in adding to the store of various readings by means of his own diligence. His *Symbolæ Criticæ*¹ (Vol. I. 1785, Vol. II. 1793) contained, together with the readings extracted from Origen (*see* above, Chap. IV. p. 418), collations, in whole or part, of many copies of various portions of the N. T., Latin (*see* pp. 354—5) as well as Greek. Besides inspecting Codd. AD (Evan.), and carefully examining Cod. C,² he consulted no less than 26 codices (including GL) of the Gospels, 10 (including E) of the Acts, &c., 15 (including DEH) of S. Paul, one of the Apocalypse (Cod. 29), twelve Lectionaries of the Gospels, and two of the Apostolos, far the greater part of them being deposited in England. It was not, however, his purpose to exhibit in his N. T. (designed, as it was, for general use) all the readings he had himself recorded elsewhere, much less the whole mass accumulated by the pains of Mill or Wetstein, Matthæi or Birch. The distinctive end at which he aims is to form such a selection from the matter their works contain, as to enable the theological student to decide for himself on the genuineness or corruption of any given reading, by the aid of principles which he devotes his best efforts to establish. Between the text (in which every departure from the Elzevir edition of 1624 is plainly indicated by its being printed in smaller type³) and the critical notes at the foot of each page, intervenes a narrow space or inner margin, to receive those portions of the common text which Griesbach has rejected, and such variations of his authorities as he judges to be of equal weight with the received readings which he retains, or but little inferior to them. These decisions he intimates by several symbols, not quite so simple as those employed by Bengel (*see* p. 457), but conceived in a similar

¹ *Symbolæ Criticæ ad supplendas et corrigendas variarum N. T. lectionum Collectiones. Accedit multorum N. T. Codicum Græcorum descriptio et examen.*

² Yet Tischendorf (N. T., *Proleg.* p. xvii, 7th ed.) states that he only added two readings (Mark vi. 2; 4) to those given by Wetstein for Cod. C. From Cod. D too he seems to have taken only one reading, and that erroneously, επηγεραν, Acts xiv. 2.

³ In the London edition of 1809 δλλοι is printed for the first οὐρα, Mark iv. 18. Griesbach also omits καὶ in 2 Pet. i. 15: no manuscript except Cod. 182 (a¹⁰⁰) is known to do so.

spirit; and he has carried his system somewhat further in his small or manual edition, published at Leipsic in 1805, which may be conceived to represent his last thoughts with regard to the recension of the Greek text of the N. T. But though we may trace some slight discrepancies of opinion between his earliest¹ and his latest works², as might well be looked for in a literary career of forty years; yet the theory of his youth was maintained, and defended, and temperately applied by Griesbach even to the last. From Bengel and Semler (*see* p. 458) he had taken up the belief that manuscripts, versions, and ecclesiastical writers divide themselves, with respect to the character of their testimony, into races or families. This principle he strove to reduce to practice by marshalling all his authorities under their respective heads, and then regarding the evidence, not of individuals, but of the classes to which they belong. The advantage of some such arrangement is sufficiently manifest; if only it could be made to rest on grounds in themselves certain, or, at all events, fairly probable. We should then possess some better guide in our choice between conflicting readings, than the very rough and unsatisfactory process of counting the *number* of witnesses produced on either side. It is not that such a mode of conducting critical enquiries would not be very convenient, that Griesbach's theory is universally abandoned by modern scholars, but because there is no valid reason for believing it to be true.

At the onset of his labours, indeed, this acute and candid enquirer was disposed to divide all extant materials into five or six different families; he afterwards limited them to *three*, the Alexandrian, the Western, and the Byzantine recensions. The standard of the Alexandrian text he conceived to be Origen; who, although his works were written in Palestine, was assumed to have brought with him into exile copies of Scripture, similar to those used in his native city. To this family would belong a few manuscripts of the earliest date, and confessedly of the highest character, Codd. ABC, Cod. L of the Gospels, the Egyptian and some lesser versions. The Western recension would survive in Cod. D of the Gospels and Acts, in the other

¹ *Dissertatio critica de Codicibus quatuor Evangeliorum Origenianis*, Halæ 1771: *Cursus in historiam textus Græci epistolæ Paulinæ*, Jenæ, 1777.

² *Commentarius Criticus in textum Gr. N. T.*, Pt. i. 1798; Pt. ii. 1811.

ancient copies which contain a Latin translation, in the Old Latin and Vulgate versions, and in the Latin Fathers. The vast majority of manuscripts (comprising perhaps nineteenth-twentieths of the whole), together with the larger proportion of versions and Patristic writings, were grouped into the Byzantine class, as having prevailed generally in the Patriarchate of Constantinople. To this last class Griesbach hardly professed to accord as much weight as to either of the others, nor, if he had done so, would the result have been materially different. The joint testimony of two classes was, *ceteris paribus*, always to prevail; and since the very few documents which comprise the Alexandrian and Western recensions seldom agree with the Byzantine even when at variance with each other, the numerous codices which make up the third family would thus have about as much share in fixing the text of Scripture, as the poor citizens whose host was included in one of Servius Tullius' lower classes possessed towards counterbalancing the votes of the wealthy few that composed his first or second¹.

Inasmuch as the manuscripts on which our received text was based must, beyond question, be referred to his Byzantine family, wide as were the variations of Griesbach's revised text from that of Elzevir², had his theory been pushed to its legitimate consequences, the changes it required would have been greater still. The very plan of his work, however, seemed to reserve a slight preference for the received text *as such*, in cases of doubt and difficulty; and this editor, with a calmness and sagacity which may well be called judicial, was usually disposed

¹ The following specimen of a reading, *possessing no internal excellence*, preferred or favoured by Griesbach on the slightest evidence, will serve to illustrate the dangerous tendency of his system, had it been consistently acted upon throughout. In Matth. xvii. 4 for ἀθῶν he indicates the mere gloss δίκαιον as equal or preferable, on the authority of the *later* margin of Cod. B, of Cod. L, the Thebaic, Armenian, and Latin versions and Fathers, and Origen in four places (ἀθῶν once). He adds the Syriac, but this is an error as regards the Peshito or Philoxenian; the Jerusalem may countenance him (*see* p. 336); though in such a case the testimony of versions is precarious on either side. Here, however, Griesbach defends δίκαιον against all likelihood, because BL and Origen are Alexandrian, the Latin versions Western.

² Reuss (p. 198) calculates that in his second edition out of Reuss' thousand chosen passages Griesbach stands with the Elzevir text in 648, sides with other editions in 298, has 59 peculiar to himself. The second differs from the first edition (1774—5) in about 50 places only.

to relax his stern mechanical law when persuaded by reasons founded on internal probabilities, which (as we cheerfully admit) few men have been found able to estimate with so much patience and discrimination. The plain fact is, that while disciples like Moldenhawer and persons who knew even less than he, were regarding Griesbach's system as self-evidently true, their wiser master must have had many a misgiving as to the safety of that imposing structure his rare ingenuity had built upon the sand. The very essence of his theory consisted in there being not two distinct families, but *three*; the majority deciding in all cases of dispute. Yet he hardly attempted, certainly neither he nor any one after him succeeded in the attempt, to separate the Alexandrian from the Western family, without resorting to arguments which would prove that there are as many classes as there are manuscripts of early date. The supposed accordance of the readings of Origen, so elaborately scrutinised for this purpose by Griesbach (*see* p. 469), with Cod. A, on which our editor lays the greatest stress, has been shown by Archbishop Laurence (*Remarks on Griesbach's Systematic Classification*, 1814), to be in a high degree imaginary¹. It must have been in anticipation of some such researches, and in a partial knowledge of their sure results, that Griesbach was driven to that violent and most unlikely hypothesis, that Cod. A follows the Byzantine class of authorities in the Gospels, the Western in the Acts and Catholic Epistles, and the Alexandrian in S. Paul.

It seems needless to dwell longer on speculations which, however attractive and once widely received, will scarcely again find an advocate. Griesbach's text can no longer be regarded as satisfactory, though it is far less objectionable than such a system as his would have made it in rash or unskilful hands. His industry, his moderation, his fairness to opponents, who (like Matthæi) had shown him little forbearance, we may all imitate to our profit. His logical acuteness and keen intellectual perception fall to the lot of few; and though they may have helped to lead him into error, and have even kept him from retracing his steps, yet on the whole they were worthily exercised in the

¹ Laurence, in the Appendix to his *Remarks*, shows that while Cod. A agrees with Origen against the received text in 154 places, and disagrees with the two united in 140, it sides with the received text against Origen in no less than 444 passages.

good cause of promoting a knowledge of God's truth, and of keeping alive, in an evil and unbelieving age, an enlightened interest in Holy Scripture, and the studies which it serves to consecrate¹.

15. Of a widely different order of mind was John Martin Augustine Scholz [d. 1852], Roman Catholic Dean of Theology in the mixed University of Bonn. It would have been well for the progress of sacred learning and for his own reputation had the accuracy and ability of this editor borne some proportion to his zeal and obvious anxiety to be useful. His first essay was his "*Curae Criticae in historiam textus Evangeliorum*," in two dissertations, Heidelberg, 4°, 1820, containing notices of 48 Paris manuscripts (nine of them hitherto unknown) of which he had fully collated seventeen: the second Dissertation is devoted to Cod. K of the Gospels (*see* p. 132). In 1823 appeared his "*Biblich-Kritische Reise*," Leipsic, 8°, Biblio-Critical Travels in France, Switzerland, Italy, Palestine and the Archipelago, which Schulz laid under contribution for his improved edition of Griesbach's first volume¹. Scholz's "N. T. Græce," 4°, was published at Leipsic, Vol. I. 1830 (Gospels), Vol. II. 1836.

The accession of fresh materials made known in these works is almost marvellous: Scholz was the first to indicate Codd. 260—469 of the Gospels; 110—192 of the Acts, &c.; 125—246 of S. Paul; 51—89 of the Apocalypse; 51—181 Evangelistaria; 21—58 Lectionaries of the Apostolos; in all 616 cursive codices. His additions to the list of the uncials comprise only the three fragments of the Gospels W^a Y and the Vatican leaves of N (*see* p. 135). Of those examined previously by others he paid most attention to Evan. KX (M also for its synaxaria), and G (now L) Act., Paul.; he moreover inspected slightly 82 cursive codices of the Gospels after Wetstein, Birch, and the rest; collated entire five (Codd. 4. 19. 25. 28. 33), and twelve in the greater part, adding much to our knowledge of the important Cod. 22. In the Acts, &c. he inspected 27 of those known before, partially collated two; in S. Paul he collated partially two, slightly 29; in the Apocalypse 16, cursorily enough it

¹ David Schulz published at Berlin 1827, 8vo, a third and much improved edition of his N. T. Vol. I. (Gospels), containing also collations of certain additional manuscripts, unknown to Griesbach.

would seem (*see* p. 274, Codd. 21—3): of the Lectionaries he touched more or less 13 of the Gospels, 4 of the Apostolos. On turning to the 616 codices Scholz placed on the list for the first time, we find that he collated entire but 13 (*viz.* five of the Gospels, three of the Acts, &c., three of S. Paul, one each of the Apocalypse and Evangelistaria): a few of the rest he examined throughout the greater part; many in only a few chapters; while some were set down from printed Catalogues, whose plentiful errors we have used our best endeavours to correct in the present volume, so far as the means were within our reach.

Yet, after making a large deduction from our first impressions of the *amount* of labour performed by Scholz, enough and more than enough would remain to entitle him to our lasting gratitude, if it were possible to place any tolerable reliance on the correctness of his results. Those who are, however superficially, acquainted with the nature of such pursuits, will readily believe that faultless accuracy in representing myriads of minute details is not to be looked for from the most diligent and careful critic. Oversights will mar the perfection of the most highly finished of human efforts; but if adequate care and pains shall have been bestowed on detecting them, such blemishes as still linger unremoved are no real subject of reproach, and do not greatly lessen the value of the work which contains them. But in the case of Scholz's Greek Testament the fair indulgence we must all hope for is abused beyond the bounds of reason or moderation. The student who has had much experience of his volumes, especially if he has ever compared the collations there given with the original manuscripts, will never dream of resorting to them for information he can expect to gain elsewhere, or rest with confidence on a statement of fact merely because Scholz asserts it. J. Scott Porter (*Principles of Textual Criticism*, Belfast, 1848, pp. 263—66) and Tischendorf (*N. T. Proleg.* c—cII. 7th edition) have dwelt upon his strange blunders, his blind inconsistencies, and his habitual practice of copying from his predecessors without investigation and without acknowledgment; so that it is needless for us to repeat or dwell on that ungracious task¹; but it is our duty to put the student

¹ One of Porter's examples is almost amusing. It was Scholz's constant habit to copy Griesbach's lists of critical authorities (errors, misprints, and all) without giving the reader any warning that they were not the fruit of his own

once for all on his guard against what could not fail to mislead him, and to express our sorrow that twelve years and more of hard and persevering toil should, through mere heedlessness, have been nearly thrown away.

As was natural in a pupil of J. L. Hug of Freyburg (*see* p. 107), who had himself tried to build a theory of recensions on very slender grounds, Dr Scholz attempted to settle the text of the N. T. upon principles which must be regarded as a modification of those of Griesbach. In his earliest work, like that great critic, he had been disposed to divide all extant authorities into five separate classes; but he soon reduced them to two, the Alexandrian and the Constantinopolitan. In the Alexandrian family he included the whole of Griesbach's Western recension, from which indeed it seems vain to distinguish it by any broad line of demarcation: to the other family he referred the great mass of more recent documents which compose Griesbach's third or Byzantine class; and to this family he was inclined to give the preference over the other, as well from the internal excellency of its readings, as because it represents the uniform text which had become traditional throughout the Greek Church. That such a standard, public, and authorised text existed he seems to have taken for granted without much enquiry. "Codices qui hoc nomen [Constantinopolitanum] habent," he writes, "parum inter se dissentiunt. Conferas, quæso, longè plerosque quos huic classi adhærere dixi, atque lectiones diversas viginti tringentave

labours. The note he borrowed from Griesbach on 1 Tim. iii. 16, contains the words "uti docuimus in Symbolis Criticis:" this too Scholz appropriates (Tom. II. p. 334, col. 2) so as to claim the *Symbolæ Criticæ* of the Halle Professor as his own! See also p. 217, Evan. 365; p. 253, Act. 86, and Tischendorf's notes on Acts xix. 25; 2 Pet. 1. 15 (N. T., eighth edition). His very text must have been set up by Griesbach's. Thus, since the latter, by a mere press error, omitted *με* in 2 Cor. ii. 13, Scholz not only follows him in the omission, but cites in his note a few cursives in which he had met with *με*, a word really absent from no known copy. In Hebr. ix. 5, again, both editors in error prefix *τῆς* to *ἀλλήλων*. Scholz's inaccuracy in the description of manuscripts which he must have had before him when he was writing is most wearisome to those who have had to trace his steps, and to verify, or rather to falsify, his statements. He has half filled our catalogues with duplicates and codices which are not Greek or are not Biblical at all. After correcting not a few of his misrepresentations of books in the Libraries at Florence, Burgon breaks out at last: "What else but calamitous is it to any branch of study that it should have been prosecuted by such an incorrigible blunderer, a man so abominably careless as this?" (*Guardian*, Aug. 27, 1873).

in totidem capitibus vix reperies, unde conjicias eos esse accuratissimè descriptos, eorumque antigrapha parum inter se discrepasse" (N. T. *Proleg.* Vol. I. § 55). It might have occurred to one who had spent so many years in studying Greek manuscripts, that this marvellous concord between the different Byzantine witnesses (which is striking enough, no doubt, as we turn over the pages of his Greek Testament) is after all due to nothing so much as to the haste and carelessness of collators. The more closely the cursive copies of Scripture are examined, the more does the individual character of each of them become developed. With certain points of general resemblance, whereby they are distinguished from the older documents of the Alexandrian class, they abound with mutual variations so numerous and perpetual as to vouch for the independent origin of nearly all of them, and their exact study has "swept away at once and for ever" (Tregelles' *Account of Printed Text*, p. 180) the fancy of a standard Constantinopolitan text, and every inference that had been grounded upon its presumed existence. If (as we firmly believe) the less ancient codices ought to have their proper weight and appreciable influence in fixing the true text of Scripture, our favourable estimate of them must rest on other arguments than Scholz has urged in their behalf.

Since this editor's system of recensions differed thus widely from Griesbach's, in suppressing altogether one of his three classes, and in yielding to the third, which the other slighted, a decided preference over its surviving rival, it might have been imagined that the consequences of such discrepancy in theory would have been strongly marked in their effects on his text. That such is not the case, at least to any considerable extent (especially in his second volume), must be imputed in part to Griesbach's prudent reserve in carrying out his principles to extremity (*see pp. 471—2*), but yet more to Scholz's vacillation and evident weakness of judgment. In fact, on his last visit to England in 1845, he distributed among Biblical students here a "*Commentatio de virtutibus et vitiis utriusque codicum N. T. familie*," that he had just delivered on the occasion of some *Encaenia* at Bonn, in which (after various statements that display either ignorance or inattention respecting the ordinary phenomena of manuscripts which in a veteran collator is really

unaccountable¹) he declares his purpose, chiefly it would seem from considerations of internal evidence, that if ever it should be his lot to prepare another edition of the New Testament, “se plerasque codicum Alexandrinorum lectiones illas quas in margine interiore textui editionis suæ Alexandrinas dixit, in textum recepturum” (p. 14): The text which its constructor distrusted, can have but small claim on the faith of others.

16. “*Novum Testamentum Græce et Latine, Carolus Lachmannus recensuit, Philippus Buttmannus Ph. F. Græcæ lectionis auctoritates apposuit*” is the simple title-page of a work, by one of the most eminent philologists of his time, the first volume of which (containing the Gospels) appeared at Berlin (8°) 1842, the second and concluding one in 1850, whose boldness and originality have procured it, as well for good as for ill, a prominent place in the history of the sacred text. Lachmann had published as early as 1831 a small edition containing only the text of the N. T., with a list of the readings wherein he differs from that of Elzevir, preceded by a notice of his plan not exceeding a few lines in length, itself so obscurely worded that even to those who happened to understand his meaning it must have read like a riddle whose solution they had been told beforehand; and referring us for fuller information to what he strangely considered “a more convenient place,” a German periodical of the preceding year’s date². Authors who take

¹ Some of these statements are discussed in Scrivener’s *Collation of the Greek Manuscripts of the Holy Gospels*, Introd. pp. lxi.—lxxi.

² The following is the *whole* of this notice, which we reprint after Tregelles’ example: “De ratione et consilio hujus editionis loco commodiore expositum est (*Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, 1830, pp. 817—845). Hic satis erit dixisse, editorem nusquam judicium suum, sed consuetudinem antiquissimarum orientis ecclesiarum secutum esse. Hanc quoties minus constantem fuisse animadvertit, quantum fieri potuit quæ Itolorum et Afrorum consensu comprobarentur prætulit: ubi pervagatam omnium auctorum discrepantiam deprehendit, partim uncis partim in marginibus indicavit. Quo factum est ut vulgatæ et his proximis duobus sæculis *receptæ lectionis* ratio haberi non posset. Hujus diversitatis (?) hic in fine libri adjecta est, quoniam ea res doctis iudicibus necessaria esse videbatur.” Here we have one of Lachmann’s leading peculiarities—his absolute disregard of the received readings—hinted at in an incidental manner: the influence he was disposed to accord to the Latin versions when his chief authorities were at variance is pretty clearly indicated: but no one would guess that by the “custom of the oldest Churches of the East” he intends the few very ancient codices comprising Griesbach’s Alexandrian class, and not the

so little pains to explain their fundamental principles of criticism, especially if (as in the present case) these are novel and unexpected, can hardly wonder when their drift and purpose are imperfectly apprehended; so that a little volume, which we now learn had cost Lachmann five years of thought and labour, was confounded, even by the learned, with the mass of common, hasty, and superficial reprints. Nor was the difficulty much removed on the publication of the first volume of his larger book. It was then seen, indeed, how clean a sweep he had made of the great majority of Greek manuscripts usually cited in critical editions:—in fact he rejects all in a heap excepting Codd. ABC, the fragments PQTZ (and for some purposes D) of the Gospels; DE of the Acts only; DGH of S. Paul. Yet even now he treats the scheme of his work as if it were already familiarly known, and spends his time in discursive controversy with his opponents and reviewers, whom he chastises with a heartiness which in this country we imputed to downright malice, till Tregelles was so good as to instruct us that in Lachmann it was but “a tone of pleasantry,” the horseplay of coarse German wit (*Account of Printed Text*, p. 112). The supplementary Prolegomena which preface his second volume of 1850 are certainly more explicit: both from what they teach and from the practical examples they contain, they have probably helped others, as well as myself, in gaining a nearer insight into his whole design.

It seems, then, to have been Lachmann’s purpose, discarding the slightest regard for the *textus receptus* as such, to endeavour to bring the sacred text back to the condition in which it existed during the fourth century, and this in the first instance by documentary aid alone, without regarding for the moment whether the sense produced were probable or improbable, good or bad; but looking solely to his authorities, and following them implicitly wheresoever the numerical majority might carry him. For accomplishing this purpose he possessed but one Greek copy written as early as the fourth century, Cod. B; and of that he not only knew less than has since come to light (and even this is not quite sufficient), but he did not avail himself of Bartolucci’s papers (*see* p. 106), to which Scholz had already drawn attention.

great mass of authorities, gathered from the Churches of Syria, Asia Minor, and Constantinople, of which that critic’s Byzantine family was made up.

His other codices were not of the fourth century at all, but varying in date from the fifth (ACT) to the ninth (G); and of these few (of C more especially) his assistant or colleague Buttman's representation was loose, careless, and unsatisfactory. Of the Greek Fathers, the scanty Greek remains of Irenæus and the works of Origen are all that are employed; but considerable weight is given to the readings of the Latin version. The Vulgate is printed at length as revised, after a fashion, by Lachmann himself, from the Codices Fuldensis and Amiatinus (*see* p. 353): the Old Latin manuscripts *abc*, together with the Latin versions accompanying the Greek copies which he receives¹, are treated as primary authorities: of the Western Fathers he quotes Cyprian, Hilary of Poitiers, Lucifer of Cagliari, and in the Apocalypse Primasius also (*h*: *see* p. 347). The Syriac and Egyptian translations he considers himself excused from attending to, by reason of his ignorance of their respective languages.

The consequence of this voluntary poverty where our manuscript treasures are so abundant, of this deliberate rejection of the testimony of many hundreds of documents, of various countries, dates, and characters, may be told in a few words. Lachmann's text seldom rests on more than four Greek codices, very often on three, not unfrequently on two; in *Matth.* vi. 20—viii. 5, and in 165 out of the 405 verses of the Apocalypse, on but *one*. It would have been a grievous thing indeed if we really had no better means of ascertaining the true readings of the N. T. than are contained in this editor's scanty roll; and he who, for the sake of some private theory, shall presume to shut out from his mind the great mass of information God's Providence has preserved for our use, will hardly be thought to have chosen the most hopeful method for bringing himself or others to the knowledge of the truth.

But supposing, for the sake of argument, that Lachmann had availed himself to the utmost of the materials he has selected, and that they were adequate for the purpose of leading him up to the state of the text as it existed in the fourth century, would he have made any real advance in the criticism

¹ These are *d* for Cod. Bezae, *e* for Cod. Laud. 85, *f* being Lachmann's notation for Paul. Cod. D, as *ff* is for Paul. Cod. E (whose Latin translation is cited independently, *see* p. 167), *g* for Paul. Cod. G.

of the sacred volume? Is it not quite evident, even from the authorities contained in his notes, that copies in that age varied as widely—nay even more widely—than they did in later times? that the main corruptions and interpolations which perplex the student in Cod. Bezae and its Latin allies, crept in at a period anterior to the age of Constantine? From the Preface to his second volume (1850) it plainly appears (what might, perhaps, have been gathered by an esoteric pupil from the Preface to his first, pp. v, xxxiii), that he regarded this fourth century text, founded as it is on documentary evidence alone, as purely provisional; as mere subject-matter on which individual *conjecture* might advantageously operate (Præf. 1850, p. v). Of the many examples wherewith he illustrates his principle we must be content with producing one, as an ample specimen both of Lachmann's plan and of his judgment in reducing it to practice. In Matth. xxvii. 28 for *ἐκδύσαντες*, which gives a perfectly good sense, and seems absolutely required by τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ in ver. 31, BDabc read *ἐνδύσαντες*, a variation either borrowed from Mark xv. 17, or more probably a mere error of the pen. Had the whole range of manuscripts, versions, and Fathers been searched, no other testimony in favour of *ἐνδύσαντες* could have been found save Cod. 157, ff^a and q of the Old Latin, the Latin version of Origen, and a few codices of Chrysostom¹. Against these we might set a vast company of witnesses, exceeding those on the opposite side by full a hundred to one; yet because Cod. A and the Latin Vulgate alone are on Lachmann's list, he is compelled by his system to place *ἐνδύσαντες* in the text as the reading of his authorities, reserving to himself the privilege of removing it on the ground of its palpable impropriety: and all this because he wishes to keep the "recensio" of the text distinct from the "emendatio" of the sense (Præf. 1850, p. vi). Surely it were a far more reasonable, as well as a more convenient process, to have reviewed from the first the entire case on both sides, and if the documentary evidence were not unevenly balanced, or internal evidence strongly preponderated in one

¹ We must now except the seventh century corrector of Cod. B called by Tischendorf C⁷, who actually changes the original reading *εκδ.* into *ενδ.*, to be himself set right by a later hand C⁶. This is one out of many proofs of something more than an accidental connection between Codd. B and B at a remote period. See p. 92 and note.

scale, to place in the text once for all the reading which upon the whole should appear best suited to the passage, and most sufficiently established by authority.

But while we cannot accord to Lachmann the praise of wisdom in his design, or of over-much industry and care in the execution of it (*see* Tischendorf, N. T., *Proleg.* pp. cvii.—cxii.), yet we would not dissemble or extenuate the power his edition has exerted over candid and enquiring minds. Earnest, single-hearted, a true scholar both in spirit and accomplishments, he has had the merit of restoring the Latin versions to their proper rank in the criticism of the N. T., which since the failure of Bentley's schemes they seem to have partially lost. No one will hereafter claim for the received text any further weight than it is entitled to as the representative of the manuscripts on which it was constructed: and the principle of recurring exclusively to a few ancient documents in preference to the many (so engaging from its very simplicity), which may be said to have virtually originated with him, has not been without influence with some who condemn the most strongly his hasty and one-sided, though consistent, application of it. Lachmann died in 1851.

17. "*Novum Testamentum Græce. Ad antiquos testes denuo recensuit, apparatus criticum omni studio perfectum apposuit, commentationem isagogicam prætexuit Ænoth. Frid. Const. Tischendorf, editio octava.*" Lipsiæ, 1865—1872. This is beyond question the most full and comprehensive edition of the Greek Testament existing; it contains the results of the latest collations and discoveries, and as copious a body of various readings as is compatible with the design of adapting it for general use: though Tischendorf's notes are not sufficiently minute (as regards the cursive manuscripts) to supersede the need of perpetually consulting the labours of preceding critics. His earliest enterprise¹ in connexion with Biblical studies was a small edition of the N. T. (12mo, 1841) completed at Leipsic in 1840, which, although greatly inferior to his subsequent works, merited the encouragement which it procured for him, and the

¹ In dedicating the third volume of his *Monumenta sacra inedita* in 1860 to the Theological Faculty at Leyden, Tischendorf states that he took to these studies twenty-three years before, that is, at about twenty-two years of age.

praises of D. Schultz, which he very gratefully acknowledged. Soon afterwards he set out on his first literary journey: "quod quidem tam pauper suscepi," he ingenuously declares, "ut pro pænula quam portabam solvere non possem;" and, while busily engaged on Cod. C, prepared three other editions of the N. T., which appeared in 1843 at Paris, all of them being booksellers' speculations on which, perhaps, he set no high value; one inscribed to Guizot, the Protestant statesman, a second (having the Greek text placed in a parallel column with the Latin Vulgate, and somewhat altered to suit it) dedicated to Denys Affre, the Archbishop of Paris who fell so nobly at the barricades in June 1848. His third edition of that year contained the Greek text of the second edition, without the Latin Vulgate. It is needless to enlarge upon the history of his travels, sufficiently described by Tischendorf in the Preface to his seventh edition (1859); it will be enough to state that he was in Italy in 1843 and 1866 (see pp. 107, 111); four times he visited England (1842, 1849, 1855, 1865); and thrice went into the East, where his chief discovery—that of the Cod. Sinaiticus—was ultimately made (see pp. 87, 88). In 1849 came forth his second Leipsic or fifth edition of the N. T., showing a very considerable advance upon that of 1841, though, in its earlier pages more especially, still very defective, and even as a manual scarce worthy of his rapidly growing fame. The sixth edition was one stereotyped for Tauchnitz in 1850 (he put forth another stereotyped edition in 1862), representing the text of 1849 slightly revised: the seventh, and up to that date by far the most important, was issued in parts at Leipsic during the four years 1856—9. It is indeed a monument of persevering industry which the world has not often seen surpassed: yet it was soon to be thrown into the shade by his eighth and latest edition, also issued in parts, between 1865 and 1872, the text of which is complete, but the Prolegomena, to our great loss, were never written, by reason of his illness and death (Dec. 7. 1874)¹.

¹ Tischendorf left almost no papers behind him. Hence the task of writing Prolegomena to his eighth edition, gallantly undertaken by two American scholars, Dr Caspar René Gregory of Leipsic and Dr Ezra Abbot of Cambridge, U. S., but for their own independent researches, might seem to resemble that of making bricks without straw.

Yet it may truly be asserted that the reputation of Tischendorf as a Biblical scholar rests less on his critical editions of the N. T., than on the texts of the chief uncial authorities which in rapid succession he has given to the world. In 1843 was published the New Testament, in 1845 the Old Testament portion of *Codex Ephraemi Syri rescriptus* (Cod. C, see p. 118), 2 vol. 4to, in uncial type, with elaborate Prolegomena, notes, and *facsimiles*. In 1846 appeared *Monumenta sacra inedita*, 4to, containing transcripts of Codd. F^aLNW^aYΘ^a of the Gospels, and B of the Apocalypse; the plan and apparatus of this volume and of nearly all that follow are the same as in the *Codex Ephraemi*. In 1846 he also published the *Codex Friderico-Augustanus* (see p. 30) in lithographed *facsimile* throughout: in 1847 the *Evangelium Palatinum ineditum* of the Old Latin (e, see p. 343): in 1850 and again in 1854 less splendid but good and useful editions of the *Codex Amiatinus* of the Latin Vulgate (am, see p. 353). *Codex Claromontanus* (D of S. Paul), 1852 (see p. 163), was of precisely the same nature as his editions of Cod. Ephraemi, &c., but *Anecdota sacra et profana*, 1855, exhibit a more miscellaneous character, comprising (together with other matter) transcripts of O^a of the Gospels (p. 137), M of S. Paul (p. 173); a collation of Cod. 61 of the Acts (see p. 252), being the only cursive copy he seems to have examined; notices and *facsimiles* of Codd. IΓΑ tisch.¹ or Evan. 478 (p. 227) of the Gospels, and of the lectionaries tisch.^{ev} (Evst. 190, p. 291) and tisch.^{a. f.} (Apost. 71, p. 304). Next was commenced a new series of *Monumenta sacra inedita* (projected to consist of nine volumes), on the same plan as the book of 1846. Much of this series is devoted to codices of the Septuagint version, to which Tischendorf paid great attention, and whereof he published four editions (the latest in 1869), hardly worthy of him; but Vol. I. (1855) contains transcripts of Codd. I (p. 131), ven^{ev}. (Evst. 175, p. 290); Vol. II. (1857) of Codd. N^bRΘ^a; Vol. III. (1860) of Codd. PQW^a, all of the Gospels; Vol. IV. (1869) was given up to the Septuagint, as Vol. VII. would have been to the Wolfenbüttel manuscript of Chrysostom, of the sixth century (see p. 419 note)¹; but Cod. P of the Acts, Epistles, and

¹ Through his haste to publish Cod. E of the Acts, in which design he feared to be forestalled by a certain Englishman, Tischendorf postponed to it Voll. VII. and VIII., which he did not live to resume. Oscar von Gebhardt, now of Berlin,

Apocalypse (p. 162) comprises a portion of Voll. v. (1865) and VI. (1869); while Vol. VIII. was to have been devoted to palimpsest fragments of both Testaments, such as we have described in Chap. II., Sect. II.: the Appendix or Vol. IX. (1870) contains Cod. E of the Acts, &c. (p. 161). An improved edition of his system of Gospel Harmony (*Synopsis Evangelica*, 1851) appeared in 1864, with some fresh critical matter (*see* p. 157). His achievements in regard to Codd. \aleph and B we have spoken of in their proper places. He published his *Notitia Cod. Sinaitici* in 1860, his great edition of that manuscript in 1862, with full notes and Prolegomena; smaller editions of the New Testament only in 1863 and 1865; an *Appendix Codd. celeberrimorum Sinaitici, Vaticani, Alexandrini* with *facsimiles* about 1866. His marvellous yet unsatisfactory edition of Cod. Vaticanus, prepared under the disadvantages we have described (pp. 111, 112), appeared in 1867; its *Appendix* (including Cod. B of the Apocalypse) in 1869; his unhappy *Responsa ad calumnias Romanas* (p. 114, note 1) in 1870. To this long and varied catalogue must yet be added exact collations of Codd. EGHKMUX Gospels, EGHL Acts, FHL of S. Paul, all made for his editions of the N. T. A poor issue of the Authorised English Version of the N. T. was put forth in his name in 1869, being the thousandth volume of Tauchnitz's series. *

The consideration of the text of Tischendorf's several editions will be touched upon in Chapter VII. To the *general* accuracy of his collations every one who has followed him over a portion of his vast field can bear and is bound to bear cheerful testimony. For practical purposes his correctness is quite sufficient, even though one or two who have accomplished very much less may have excelled in this respect some at least of his later works. For the unflinching exertions and persevering toil of full thirty years Tischendorf was called upon in 1873 to pay the natural penalty in a stroke of paralysis, which prostrated his strong frame, and put a sudden end to his most fruitful studies. He was born at Lengenfeld in the kingdom of Saxony in 1815 and died in 1874, having nearly completed his sixtieth year¹.

will complete Vol. VII.; Caspar René Gregory hopes to do what is possible for Vol. VIII.

¹ For further information respecting this indefatigable scholar and his

18. "*The Greek New Testament, edited from ancient authorities; with the various readings of all the ancient MSS., the ancient versions, and earlier ecclesiastical writers (to Eusebius inclusive); together with the Latin version of Jerome, from the Codex Amiatinus of the sixth century. By Samuel Prideaux Tregelles, LL.D.*" 4to. 1857—1872, pp. 1017. [Appendix by Dr Hort 1879, pp. i—xxxii; 1018—1069].

The esteemed editor of the work of which the above is the full title, first became generally known as the author of *The Book of Revelation in Greek, edited from ancient authorities; with a new English Version*, 1844: and, in spite of some obvious blemishes and defects, his attempt was received in the English Church with the gratitude and respect to which his thorough earnestness and independent views justly entitled him. He had arranged in his own mind as early as 1838 the plan of a Greek Testament, which he announced on the publication of the Apocalypse, and now set himself vigorously to accomplish. His fruitless endeavour to collate Cod. B has already been mentioned (p. 108), but when he was on the continent in 1845—6, and again in 1849—50, he thoroughly examined all the manuscripts he could meet with, that fell within the compass of his design. In 1854 he published a volume full of valuable information, and intended as a formal exposition of his critical principles, intitled *An Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament*. In 1856 he re-wrote, rather than re-edited, that portion of the Rev. T. Hartwell Horne's well-known *Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures* which relates to the New Testament, under the title of *An Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament, &c.*¹ In 1857

labours we may refer to a work published at Leipsic in 1862 "Constantin Tischendorf in seiner fünfundzwanzigjährigen schriftstellerischen wirksamkeit. Literar-historische skizze von Dr Joh. Ernst Volbeding." I have also seen by Dr Ezra Abbot's courtesy, his paper in the *Unitarian Review*, March 1875.

¹ A pamphlet of 86 pages appeared late in 1860, *Additions to the Fourth Volume of the Introduction to the Holy Scriptures, &c.*, by S. P. T. Most of this industrious writer's other publications are not sufficiently connected with the subject of the present volume to be noticed here, but as throwing light upon the literary history of Scripture we may mention his edition of the *Canon Muratorianus*, liberally printed for him in 1867 by the Delegates of the Oxford University Press. Burgon, however, on comparing Tregelles' book with the document itself at Milan, cannot overmuch laud his minute correctness (*Guardian*, Feb. 5, 1873). Isaac H. Hull (*see* p. 327, note) made the same comparison at Milan and con-

appeared, for the use of Subscribers only, the Gospels of SS. Matthew and Mark, as the first part of his *Greek New Testament* (pp. 1—216); early in 1861 the second part, containing SS. Luke and John (pp. 217—488), with but a few pages of "Introductory Notice" in each. In that year, paralysis, *mercurialium pestis virorum*, for a while suspended our editor's too assiduous labours: but he recovered health sufficient to publish the Acts and Catholic Epistles in 1865, the Epistles of S. Paul down to 2 Thess. in 1869. Early in 1870, while in the act of revising the concluding chapters of the Apocalypse, he was visited by a second and very severe stroke of his fell disease. The remaining portion of the Pauline Epistles was sent out in 1870 as he had himself prepared it; the Revelation (alas! without the long-desired *Prolegomena*) in 1872, as well as the state of Tregelles' papers would enable his friends S. J. B. Bloxidge and B. W. Newton to perform their office. The revered author could contribute nothing save a message to his Subscribers, full of devout thankfulness and calm reliance on the Divine wisdom. The text of the Apocalypse differs from that which he arranged in 1844 in about 229 places.

Except Codd. OΞ, which were published in 1861 (*see* pp. 137, 155—6), this critic has not edited in full the text of any document, but his renewed collations of manuscripts are very extensive: viz. Codd. EGHKMN^bRUXZΓA 1. 33. 69 of the Gospels; HL 1. 13. 31. 61 of the Acts; DFLM 1. 17. 37 of S. Paul, 1. 14 of the Apocalypse, *Am.* of the Vulgate. Having followed Tregelles through the whole of Cod. 69 (Act. 31, Paul. 37, Apoc. 14) I am able to speak positively of his scrupulous exactness, and in regard to other manuscripts now in England it will be found that where Tischendorf and Tregelles differ, the latter is seldom in the wrong. To the versions and Fathers (especially to Origen and Eusebius) he has devoted great attention. His volume is a beautiful specimen of typography¹, and its arrangement is very convenient, particularly his happy expedient for

firming Burgon's judgment. The custodian of the Ambrosian Library at Milan, the famous Ceriani (p. 345), had nothing to do with the work or with the lithograph *facsimile*.

¹ As a whole it may be pronounced very accurate as well as beautiful, with the conspicuous drawback that the Greek accents are so ill represented as to show either strange ignorance or utter indifference about them on the part of the person who revised the sheets for the press.

showing at every open leaf the precise authorities that are extant at that place.

The peculiarity of Tregelles' system is intimated, rather than stated, in the title-page of his Greek N. T. It consists in resorting to "ancient authorities" alone in the construction of his revised text, and in refusing not only to the received text, but to the great mass of manuscripts also, all voice in determining the true readings. This scheme, although from the history he gives of his work (*An Account of Printed Text*, pp. 153, &c.), it was apparently devised independently of Lachmann, is in fact essentially that great scholar's plan, after those parts of it are withdrawn which are manifestly indefensible. Tregelles' "ancient authorities" are thus reduced to those manuscripts which, not being Lectionaries, happen to be written in uncial characters, with the remarkable exceptions of Codd. 1. 33. 69 of the Gospels, 61 of the Acts, which he admits because they "preserve an ancient text." We shall hereafter enquire (Chap. VII.) whether the text of the N. T. can safely be grounded on a basis so narrow as that of Tregelles.

This truly eminent person, born at Falmouth of a Quaker family January 30th, 1813, received what education he ever got at Falmouth Classical School (of which I was Master twenty years later), from 1825 to 1828. At an early age he left the communion in which he was bred, to join a body called the Plymouth Brethren, among whom he met with much disquietude and some mild persecution: his last years were more happily spent as a humble lay member of the Church of England, a fact he very earnestly begged me to keep in mind. The critical studies he took up as early as 1838, when he was only twenty-five years old, were the main occupation of his life. The inconvenient and costly form in which he published his Greek Testament, brought upon him pecuniary loss, and even trenched upon the moderate fortune of his true and loving wife. After several years of deep retirement he died at Plymouth, April 24, 1875: and whereas his widow, who has since followed him to the other world, was anxious that his great work should be as far as possible completed, Dr Hort has manifested his veneration for an honoured memory by publishing in 1879 an *Appendix* to the Greek New Testament,

embracing what materials for Prolegomena Tregelles' published writings supplied, and supplementary corrections to every page of the main work, compiled by the Rev. A. W. Streane, Fellow of C. C. C., Cambridge, which comprise a wonderful monument of minute diligence and devotion.

Of Tischendorf and Tregelles, that duumvirate of Biblical critics, I may be allowed to repeat a few words, extracted from the Preface to the Greek Testament of 1876, in the series of "Cambridge Texts:" "Eheu quos vros! natu ferè æquales, indole et famâ satis dispares, ambo semper in adversum nitentes, ambo piis laboribus infractos, intra paucos menses mors abripuit immatura."

19. "*The New Testament in the original Greek. The text revised by Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D.* [Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge], and *Fenton John Anthony Hort, D.D.* [Hulsean Professor of Divinity there], Vol. I. Cambridge and London, 1881". *Introduction and Appendix*, in a separate volume, by Dr Hort only, 1881. This important and comprehensive work, the joint labour of two of our best living scholars toiling, now separately, now in counsel, for five and twenty years, was published, the text a few days earlier than the Revised English Version (May 17, 1881), the Introduction about four months later. The text, or one almost identical with it, had been submitted to the Revisers of the N. T., and to a few other Biblical students, several years before, so that the general tenor and spirit of our authors' judgment was known to many: the second edition of my present work was enriched by the free permission granted by them to announce their conclusions regarding passages which come up for discussion in Chapter IX. and elsewhere. Drs Westcott and Hort depart more widely from the *textus receptus* than any previous editor had thought necessary; nor can they be blamed for carrying out their deliberate convictions, if the reasons they allege shall prove sufficient to justify them. Those reasons are given at length by Dr Hort in his "Introduction," a treatise whose merits may be frankly acknowledged by persons the least disposed to accept his arguments: never was a cause, good or bad in itself, set off with higher ability and persuasive power. On the validity of his

theory we shall have much to say in Chapters VII. and IX., to which we here refer once for all. The elegant volume which exhibits the Greek text contains in its margin many alternative readings, chiefly recorded in passages wherein a difference of opinion existed between the two illustrious editors. Words or passages supposed to be of doubtful authority are included in brackets ([]), those judged to be probably or certainly spurious—and their number is ominously large—in double brackets ([[]]). Mark xvi. 9—20; John vii. 53—viii. 11 are banished to the end of their respective Gospels, as if they did not belong to them. Finally, quotations from and even slight allusions to the Old Testament, in great but judicious plenty, are printed in a kind of uncial letter, to the great benefit of the student.

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE LAWS OF INTERNAL EVIDENCE, AND THE LIMITS OF THEIR LEGITIMATE USE.

WE have now described, in some detail, the several species of external testimony available for the textual criticism of the New Testament, whether comprising manuscripts of the original Greek (Chap. II.), or ancient translations from it (Chap. III.), or citations from Scripture made by ecclesiastical writers (Chap. IV.). We have, moreover, indicated the chief editions wherein all these materials are recorded for our use, and the principles that have guided their several editors in applying them to the revision of the text (Chap. V.). One source of information, formerly deemed quite legitimate, has been designedly passed by. It is now agreed among competent judges that *Conjectural Emendation* must never be resorted to, even in passages of acknowledged difficulty¹; the absence of proof that a reading proposed to be substituted for the common one is actually supported by some trustworthy document being of itself a fatal objection to our receiving it². Those that have

¹ Dr Hort (*Introd.* p. 277) hardly goes so far as this: "Those" he says "who propose remedies which cannot possibly avail are not thereby shown to have been wrong in the supposition that remedies were needed; and a few have been perhaps too quickly forgotten."

² I hope that the change made in the wording of the above sentence from what stood in the first edition will satisfy my learned and acute critic, Mr Linwood (*Remarks on Conjectural Emendations as applied to the New Testament*, 1878, p. 9 note); although I fear that the difference between us is in substance as wide as ever. At the same time I would hardly rest the main stress of the argument where Dr Roberts does when he says that "conjectural criticism is entirely banished from the field, &c., simply because all sober critics feel that there is no need for it" (*Words of the N. T.*, p. 24). There are texts, no doubt, some of those for example which Dr Westcott and Dr Hort have branded with a marginal † in their edition; e.g. Acts vii. 46; xiii. 82; xix. 40; xxvi. 28; Rom. viii. 2; 1 Cor. xii. 2 (where Eph. ii. 11 might suggest *ἐν τῷ πνεύματι*); 1 Tim. vi. 7, and especially in the kindred Epistles, 2 Pet. iii. 10; 12; Jude 5; 22, 23,

been hazarded aforetime by celebrated scholars, when but few codices were known or actually collated, have seldom, very seldom, been confirmed by subsequent researches: and the time has now fully come when, in the possession of abundant stores of variations collected from memorials of almost every age and country, we are fully authorised in believing that the reading which no manuscript, or old version, or primitive Father has borne witness to, however plausible and (for some purposes) convenient, cannot safely be accepted as genuine or even as probable; even though there may still remain a few passages respecting which we cannot help framing a shrewd suspicion that the original reading differed from any form in which they are now presented to us¹.

In no wise less dangerous than bare conjecture destitute of external evidence, is the device of Lachmann (*see* p. 480) for unsettling by means of emendation (*emendando*), without reference to the balance of conflicting testimony, the very text he had previously fixed by revision (*recensendo*) through the means of critical authorities: in fact the earlier process is but so much

wherein, whether from internal difficulties or from the actual state of the external evidence, we should be very glad of more light than our existing authorities will lend us. What I most urge is the plain fact, that the conjectures, even of able and accomplished men, have never been such as to approve themselves to any but their authors, much less to commend themselves to the judgment of scholars as intuitively true.

¹ Bentley, the last great critic who paid much regard to conjectural emendations, promised in his Prospectus of 1720 (*see* p. 452) that "If the author has anything to suggest towards a change of the text, not supported by any copies now extant, he will offer it separate in his *Prolegomena*." It is really worth while to turn over Wm Bowyer's *Critical Conjectures and Observations on the N. T.* (*see* p. 461), or the summary of them contained in Knappe's *N. T.* of 1797, if only to see the utter fruitlessness of the attempt to illustrate Scripture by ingenious exercise of the imagination. The best (*e. g.* συναλιζόμενος Acts i. 4; πορκελας for πορρελας *ibid.* xv. 20, 29), no less than the most tasteless and stupid (*e. g.* ηρημιαν for ηρηρελας Acts xxvii. 9) in the whole collection, are hopelessly condemned by the deep silence of a host of authorities which have since come to light. Nor are Mr Linwood's additions to the over-copious list likely to fare much better. Who but himself will think πρώτη in Luke ii. 2 corrupted through the intermediate πρώτοι from πρώτω έρει (*ubi supra*, p. 5); or that τὰ πολλὰ in Rom. xv. 23 ought to be έτη πολλά (p. 18)? Add to this, that he gives up existing readings much too easily, even where his emendations are more plausible than the foregoing, as when he would adopt δε & for εταν in John viii. 44 (p. 6); and this is perhaps his best attempt. His worst surely is OC for ΘC (θεός) Rom. ix. 5, which could not be endured unless έστω followed δε, as it does in the very passage (Rom. i. 25) which he cites in illustration (p. 18).

trouble misemployed, if its results are liable to be put aside by abstract judgment or individual prejudices. Not that the most sober and cautious critic would disparage the fair use of internal evidence, or withhold their proper influence from those reasonable considerations which in practice cannot, and in speculation should not, be shut out from every subject on which the mind seeks to form an intelligent opinion. Whether we will or not, we unconsciously and almost instinctively adopt that one of two opposite statements, *in themselves pretty equally attested to*, which we judge the better suited to recognised phenomena, and to the common course of things. I know of no person who has affected to construct a text of the N. T. on diplomatic grounds exclusively, without paying some regard to the character of the sense produced; nor, were the experiment tried, would any one find it easy to dispense with discretion and the dictates of good sense: nature would prove too strong for the dogmas of a wayward theory. "It is difficult not to indulge in *subjectiveness*, at least in some measure," writes Dr Tregelles (*Account of Printed Text*, p. 109): and, thus qualified, we may add that it is one of those difficulties a sane man would not wish to overcome.

The foregoing remarks may tend to explain the broad distinction between mere conjectural emendation, which must be utterly discarded, and that just use of internal testimony which he is the best critic who most judiciously employs. They so far resemble each other, as they are both products of the reasoning faculty exercising itself on the sacred words of Scripture: they differ in this essential feature, that the one proceeds in ignorance or disregard of evidence from without, while the office of the other has no place unless where external evidence is evenly, or at any rate not very unevenly, balanced. What degree of preponderance in favour of one out of several readings, all of them affording some tolerable sense, shall entitle it to reception as a matter of right; to what extent canons of subjective criticism may be allowed to eke out the scantiness of documentary authority; are points that cannot well be defined with strict accuracy. Men's decisions respecting them will always vary according to their temperament and intellectual habits; the judgment of the same person (the rather if he be by constitution a little unstable) will fluctuate from time to

time as to the same evidence brought to bear on the self-same passage. Though the *canons* or rules of internal testimony be themselves grounded either on principles of common sense, or on certain peculiarities which all may mark in the documents from which our direct proofs are derived. (*see below*, p. 499); yet has it been found by experience (what indeed we might have looked for beforehand), that in spite, perhaps in consequence, of their extreme simplicity, the application of these canons has proved a searching test of the tact, the sagacity, and the judicial acumen of all that handle them. For the other functions of an editor accuracy and learning, diligence and zeal are sufficient: but the delicate adjustment of conflicting probabilities calls for no mean exercise of a critical genius. This innate faculty we lack in Wetstein, and notably in Scholz; it was highly developed in Mill and Bengel, and still more in Griesbach. His well-known power in this respect is the main cause of our deep regret for the failure of Bentley's projected work, with all its faults whether of plan or execution.

Nearly all the following rules of internal evidence, being founded in the nature of things, are alike applicable to all subjects of literary investigation, though their general principles may need some modification in the particular instance of the Greek Testament.

I. PROCLIVI SCRIPTIONI PRÆSTAT ARDUA: the more difficult the reading the more likely it is to be genuine. It would seem more probable that the copyist tried to explain an obscure passage, or to relieve a hard construction, than to make that perplexed which before was easy: thus in John viii. 39, Lachmann's addition of *δεδομένον* to *οὐπω ἦν πνεῦμα ἄγιον* is very improbable, though countenanced by Cod. B and (of course) by several of the chief versions. We have here Bengel's prime canon, and although Wetstein was pleased to deride it (*N. T.*, Vol. I. *Proleg.* p. 157), he was himself ultimately obliged to lay down something nearly to the same effect¹. Yet this excellent rule may easily

¹ "VII. Inter duas variantes lectiones, si quæ est *εὐφωρότερος* aut planior aut Græcior, alteri non protinus præferenda est, sed contra sæpius. VIII. Lectio exhibens locutionem minus usitatam, sed alioqui subjectæ materiæ convenientem, præferenda est alteri, quæ, cum æque conveniens sit, tamen phrasim habet minus insolentem, usuque magis tritam." Wetstein's whole tract, *Animad-*

be applied on a wrong occasion, and is only true *ceteris paribus*, where manuscripts or versions lend strong support to the harder form. "To force readings into the text merely because they are difficult, is to adulterate the divine text with human alloy; it is to obtrude upon the reader of Scripture the solecisms of faltering copyists, in the place of the word of God" (Bp. Chr. Wordsworth, N. T. Vol. I. *Preface*, p. xii.)¹. See Chap. IX. on Matth. xxi. 28—31. Compare also Chap. I. p. 13 (§ 11).

II. That reading out of several is preferable, from which all the rest may have been derived, although it could not be derived from any of them. Tischendorf (N. T., *Proleg.* p. xlii. 7th edition) might well say that this would be "omnium regularum principium," if its application were less precarious. Of his own two examples the former is too weakly vouched for to be listened to, save by way of illustration. In Matthew xxiv. 38 he and Alford would simply read *ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τοῦ κατακλισμοῦ* on the very feeble evidence of Cod. L, one uncial Evst. (13), *a. e. ff*¹, the Thebaic version, and Origen (in two places); because the copyists, knowing that the eating and drinking and marrying took place not in the days of the flood, but before them (*καὶ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν ἕως ἦλθεν ὁ κατακλισμὸς* ver. 39), would strive to evade the difficulty, such as it was, by adopting one of the several forms found in our copies: *ἡμέραις πρὸ τοῦ κατακλ.*

versiones et Cautiones ad examen variarum lectionum N. T. necessariae (N. T. Vol. II. pp. 851—874) deserves attentive study. See also the 43 *Canones Critici* and their *Confirmatio* in N. T. of G. D. T. M. D. (*above*, p. 451).

¹ So even Dr Roberts, whose sympathies on the whole would not be the same as the Bishop of Lincoln's; "Of course occasions might occur on which, from carelessness or oversight, a transcriber would render a sentence obscure or ungrammatical which was clear and correct in his exemplar; but it is manifest that, so far as intentional alteration was concerned, the temptation all lay in the opposite direction" ("Words of the New Testament," p. 7). So again speaks E. G. Punchard on James iii. 8 in Bp. Ellicott's *Commentary*, "The supporters of such curious corrections argue that the less likely is the more so; and thus every slip of a copyist, either in grammar or spelling, becomes more sacred in their eyes than is the Received text with believers in verbal inspiration." Sir Edmund Beckett (*Should the Revised New Testament be Authorised?*, 1862) writes in so scornful a spirit as to neutralise the effects on a reader's mind of his native acuteness and common sense, but he deals well with the argument "that an improbable reading is more likely right, because nobody would have invented it." "I suppose," he rejoins, "an accidental piece of carelessness can produce an improbable and absurd error in copying as well as a probable one." (p. 7).

οἱ ἡμέραις ταῖς πρὸ τοῦ κατακλ., οἱ ἡμέραις ἐκείναις πρὸ τοῦ κατακλ., οἱ ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ταῖς πρὸ τοῦ κατακλ., οἱ even ἡμέραις τοῦ νῶε. In his second example Tischendorf is more fortunate, unless indeed we choose to refer it rather to Bengel's canon. James iii. 12 certainly ought to run *μη δύναται, ἀδελφοί μου, συκῆ ἐλαίας ποιῆσαι, ἢ ἄμπελος σύκα; οὔτε (vel οὐδέ) ἀλυκὸν γλυκὺ ποιῆσαι ὕδωρ*, as in Codd. \aleph ABC, in not less than six good cursives, the Vulgate and other versions. To soften the ruggedness of this construction, some copies prefixed *οὕτως* to *οὔτε* or *οὐδέ*, while others inserted the whole clause *οὕτως οὐδεμία πηγὴ ἀλυκὸν καὶ* before *γλυκὺ ποιῆσαι ὕδωρ*. Other fair instances may be seen in Chap. ix., notes on Luke x. 41, 42; Col. ii. 2¹. In the Septuagint also the reading of \aleph *συνεισελθόντας* 1 Macc. xii. 48 appears to be the origin both of *συνελθόντας* with A, the uncial 23, and four cursives at least, and of *εἰσελθόντας* of the Roman edition and the mass of cursives.

III. "Brevior lectio, nisi testium vetustorum et gravium auctoritate penitus destituatur, præferenda est verbosiori. Librarii enim multò proniores ad addendum fuerunt, quam ad omittendum" (Griesbach, N. T., *Proleg.* p. lxiv. Vol. I.). This canon bears an influential part in the system of Griesbach and his successors, and by the aid of Cod. B (*see* p. 116) and a few others, has brought great changes into the text as approved by some critics. Dr Green too (*Course of Developed Criticism on Text of N. T.*) sometimes carries it to excess in his desire to remove what he considers *accretions*. It is so far true, that scribes were no doubt prone to receive marginal notes into the text which they were originally designed only to explain or enforce

¹ One other example to illustrate this rule, so difficult in its practical use, may be added from Alford on Mark ii. 22, where the reading *καὶ ὁ οἶκος ἀπόλλυται καὶ οἱ δόκοι* (whether the verse end or not in these words) appears to have been the original form, since "it fully explains all the others, either as emendations of construction, or corrections from parallel places." The reader may apply this canon, if he pleases, to Aristotle, *Ethic.* iv. 9, in selecting between the three different readings *ὀκνηροί* or *νωθροί* or *νοεροί* to close the sentence *οὐ μὴν ἡλίθιοι γὰρ οἱ τοιοῦτοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον...* having careful reference to the context in which it stands: or to the easier case of *καίραγε* and its variations in Acts xvii. 27: or to Rom. viii. 24, where the first hand of B and the margin of Cod. 47 (very expressly), by omitting *τί καὶ*, appear to present the original text.

(e.g. 1 Johñ v. 7, 8)¹; or sought to amplify a brief account from a fuller narrative of the same event found elsewhere, whether in the same book (e.g. Act. ix. 5 compared with ch. xxvi. 14), or in the parallel passage of one of the other synoptical Gospels (*see* p. 12). In quotations, also, from the Old Testament the shorter form is always the more probably correct (*ibid.*). Circumstances too will be supplied which were deemed essential for the preservation of historical truth (e.g. Act. viii. 37), or names of persons and places may be inserted from the Lectionaries (*see* pp. 11, 279): and to this head we must refer the graver and more deliberate interpolations so frequently met with in Cod. D and a few other documents. Yet it is just as true that words and clauses are sometimes wilfully omitted for the sake of removing apparent difficulties (e.g. *ἰοῦ βαπαχίου*, Matth. xxiii. 35 in Cod. \aleph and a few others), and that the negligent loss of whole passages through *ὁμοιοτέλευτον* (*see* p. 9) is common to manuscripts of every age and character. On the whole, therefore, the indiscriminate rejection of portions of the text regarded as supplementary, on the evidence of but a few authorities, must be viewed with considerable distrust and suspicion.

IV. That reading of a passage is preferable which best suits the peculiar style, manner, and habits of thought of an author; it being the tendency of copyists to overlook the idiosyncrasies of the writer. For example, the abrupt energy of S. James' *asyndeta* (e.g. ch. i. 27), of which we saw a marked instance in p. 495, is much concealed by the particles inserted by the common text (e.g. ch. ii. 4, 13; iii. 17; iv. 2; v. 6): S. Luke in the Acts is fond of omitting "said" or "saith" after the word indicating the speaker, though they are duly supplied by recent scribes (e.g. ch. ii. 38; ix. 5; xix. 2; xxv. 22; xxvi. 28, 29). Thus again, in editing Herodotus, an Ionic form is more eligible than an Attic one equally well attested, while in the Greek Testament an Alexandrian termination should be chosen under similar circumstances. Yet even

¹ "Though the theory of explanatory interpolations of marginal glosses into the text of the N. T. has been sometimes carried too far (e.g. by *Wassenberg* in *Valcken. Schol.* in N. T. Tom. 1.), yet probably this has been the most fertile source of error in some MSS. of the Sacred Volume." (Bp. Chr. Wordsworth, *N. T.*, on 2 Cor. iii. 8.) Yes, in *some* MSS.

this canon has a double edge: habit or the love of critical correction will sometimes lead the scribe to change the text to his author's more usual style, as well as to depart from it through inadvertence (*see* also Chap. I. § 12, p. 13, to which may be added Acts iv. 17; 1 Pet. ii. 24): so that we may securely apply the rule only where the external evidence is not unequally balanced.

V. Attention must be paid to the genius and usage of each several authority, in assigning the weight due to it in a particular instance. Thus the testimony of Cod. B is of the less influence in omissions, that of Cod. D (Bezae) in additions, inasmuch as the tendency of the former is to abridge, that of the latter to amplify the sacred text. The value of versions and ecclesiastical writers also much depends on the degree of care and critical skill which they display.

Every one of the foregoing rules might be applied *mutatis mutandis* to the emendation of the text of any author whose works have suffered alteration since they left his hands: the next (so far as it is true) is peculiar to the case of Holy Scripture.

VI. "Inter plures unius loci lectiones ea pro suspectâ merito habetur, quæ orthodoxorum dogmatibus manifestè præ ceteris favet" (Griesbach N. T., *Proleg.* p. lxvi. Vol. I.). I cite this canon from Griesbach for the sake of annexing Archbishop Magee's very pertinent corollary: "from which, at least, it is reasonable to infer, that whatever readings, in favour of the Orthodox opinion, may have had *his* sanction, have not been preferred by him from any bias in behalf of Orthodoxy" (*Discourses on Atonement and Sacrifice*, Vol. III. p. 212). Alford says that the rule, "sound in the main," does not hold good, when, "*whichever reading is adopted, the orthodox meaning is legitimate, but the adoption of the stronger orthodox reading is absolutely incompatible with the heretical meaning,*—then it is probable that *such stronger orthodox reading was the original*" (N. T., *Proleg.* Vol. I. p. 83, note 6, 4th edition): instancing Act. xx. 28, where the weaker reading τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ κυρίου would quite satisfy the orthodox, while the alternative reading τοῦ θεοῦ "would have been certain to be altered by the heretics." But in truth there seems no good ground for believing that the rule

is "sound in the main," though two or three such instances as 1 Tim. iii. 16¹ and the insertion of *θεόν* in Jude ver. 4 might seem to countenance it (*see above*, p. 17). We dissent altogether from Griesbach's statement "Scimus enim, lectiones quas-cunque, etiam manifestò falsas, dummodo orthodoxorum placitis patrocina-rentur, inde a tertii seculi initiis mordicus defensas seduloque propagatas, ceteras autem ejusdem loci lectiones, quæ dogmati ecclesiastico nil præsidii afferrent, hæreticorum perfidiæ attributas temere fuisse" (Griesb. *ubi supra*), if he means that the orthodox forged those great texts, which, *believing them to be authentic*, it was surely innocent and even incumbent on them to employ². The Church of Christ "inde a tertii seculi initiis" has had her faults, many and grievous, but she never did nor shall fail in her duty as a faithful "witness and keeper of Holy Writ." But while vindicating the copyists of Scripture from all wilful tampering with the text, we need not deny that they, like others of their craft, preferred that one out of several extant readings that seemed to give the fullest and most emphatic sense: hence Davidson would fain account for the addition *ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων αὐτοῦ* (which, however, is not unlikely to be genuine³) in Eph. v. 30. Since the mediæval scribes belonged almost universally to the monastic orders, we will not dispute the truth of Griesbach's rule, "Lectio præ aliis sensum pietati (præsertim monasticæ) alendæ aptum fundens, suspecta est," though its scope is doubtless very limited⁴. Their habit of composing and transcribing Homilies has

¹ On this passage Canon Liddon justly says "The question may still perhaps be asked...whether here, as elsewhere, the presumption that copyists were always anxious to alter the text of the New Testament in theological interests, is not pressed somewhat excessively" (Bampton Lectures, 1866, p. 467, note).

² Griesbach's "etiam manifestò falsas" can allude only to 1 John v. 7, 8; yet it is a strong point against the authenticity of that passage that it is not cited by Greek writers, who did not find it in their copies, but only by the Latins who did.

³ The clause might have been derived from Gen. ii. 23, yet the evidence against it is strong and varied (NAB. 17. 67**. Memph., &c.).

⁴ Alford's only *definite* example (and that derived from Wetstein, N. T., Vol. II. p. 11) is found but in a single cursive (4) in Rom. xiv. 17, *οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ βρώσις καὶ πόσις, ἀλλὰ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἀσκήσις καὶ εὐφροσύνη*. Tregelles (*An Account of Printed Text*, p. 222) adds 1 Cor. vii. 5; Act. x. 30; Rom. xii. 13 (!). More to their purpose, perhaps, if we desired to help them on, would be the suspected addition of *καὶ νηστεία* in Mark ix. 29, and of the whole verse in the parallel place Matth. xvii. 21; the former being brought into doubt on the very

also been supposed to have led them to give a hortatory form to positive commands or dogmatic statements (*see* p. 17), but there is much weight in Wordsworth's remark, that "such suppositions as these have a tendency to destroy the credit of the ancient MSS.; and if such surmises were true, those MSS. would hardly be worth the pains of collating them" (*note on* 1 Cor. xv. 49).

VII. "Apparent probabilities of erroneous transcription, permutation of letters, itacism and so forth," have been designated by Bp. Ellicott "*paradiplomatic* evidence" (*Preface to the Galatians*, p. xvii. 1st ed.), as distinguished from the "*diplomatic*" testimony of codices, versions, &c. This species of evidence, which can hardly be deemed internal, must have considerable influence in numerous cases, and will be used the most skilfully by such as have considerable practical acquaintance with the rough materials of criticism. We have anticipated what can be laid before inexperienced readers on this topic in our first Chapter, when discussing the sources of various readings¹: in fact, so far as canons of internal or of paradiplomatic

insufficient authority of Codd. \aleph (by the first hand) B, of the beautiful Latin copy *k* from Bobbio (p. 344), and by reason of the silence of Clement of Alexandria; the latter on the evidence of the same Greek manuscripts (*k* being defective) with Cod. 88, both (?) Egyptian, the Curetonian and Jerusalem Syriac, the Latin *e. ff.*¹, some forms of the Æthiopic version, and from the absence of the Eusebian canon, which ought to have referred us to the parallel place in S. Mark, whereas that verse is assigned to the *tenth* canon (*see* p. 60). In the face of such readings of \aleph B it is hard to understand the grounds of Mr Darby's vague suspicion that they "bear the marks of having been in ecclesiastical hands." (N. T., *Preface*, p. 8).

¹ See (6) and (7) p. 10; (17) p. 15; (18) p. 16. The uncial characters most liable to be confounded by scribes (p. 10) are AAA, EC, OΘ, NII, and less probably ΓIT. An article in a foreign Classical periodical, written by Professor Cobet, the co-editor of the Leyden reprint of the N. T. portion of Cod. B (p. 110, note 1), unless regarded as a mere *jeu d'esprit*, would serve to prove that the race of conjectural emendators is not so completely extinct as (before Mr Linwood's pamphlet) I had supposed (*see* p. 490, note 2). By a dexterous interchange of letters of nearly the same form (Δ for A, Ε for C, I for T, C for Ε, K for IC, T for I) this modern Bentley—and he well deserves the name—suggests for ACTEIOC τῶ θεῶ Act. vii. 20 [compare Hebr. xi. 23] the common-place ΔΕΚΤΟC τῶ θεῶ, from Act. x. 35. Each one of the *six* necessary changes Cobet profusely illustrates by examples, and even the reverse substitution of δεκτός for ἀρετός from Alciphron: but in the absence of all manuscript authority for the very smallest of these several permutations in Act. vii. 20, he excites in us no other feeling than a sort of grudging admiration of his misplaced ingenuity. In the same

evidence are at all trustworthy, they instruct us in the reverse process to that aimed at in Chap. I.; the latter shewing by what means the pure text of the inspired writings was brought into its present state of *partial* corruption, the former promising us some guidance while we seek to retrace its once downward course back to the fountain-head of primeval truth¹. To what has been previously stated in regard to paradiplomatic testimony it may possibly be worth while to add Griesbach's caution "lectiones RHYTHMI fallaciâ facillimè explicandæ, nullius sunt pretii" (N. T., *Proleg.* p. lxvi.), a fact whereof 2 Cor. iii. 3 affords a memorable example. Here what once seemed the wholly unnatural reading ἐν πλαξὶ καρδίαις σαρκίναις, being disparaged by dint of the rhyming termination, is received by Lachmann in the place of καρδίας, on the authority of Codd. AB (*sic*) CDEGLP, perhaps a majority of cursive copies (seven out of Scrivener's twelve, and Wake 12 or Paul. 277); to which add Cod. N unknown to Lachmann, and that abject slave of manuscripts, the Philoxenian Syriac. Codd. FK have καρδίας, with all the other versions. If we attempt to interpret καρδίαις, we must either render with Alford, in spite of the order of the Greek, "on fleshy tables, [your] hearts": or with the Revisers of 1881 "in tables *that are* hearts of flesh"; yet surely σαρκίναις as well as λιθίναις must agree with πλαξί. Dr Hort in mere despair would almost reject the second πλαξί (*Introd.*, Notes, p. 119).

It has been said that "when the cause of a various reading is known, the variation usually disappears²." This language may seem extravagant, yet it hardly exaggerates what may be effected by internal evidence, when it is clear, simple, and unambiguous. It is, therefore, much to be lamented that this is seldom the case

spirit he suggests ΗΑΕΙΟΝΑ for ΗΑΕΙΟΝΑ, Hebr. xi. 4; while in 1 Cor. ii. 4 for ἐν κειθαῖς σοφίας λόγους he simply reads ἐν κειθαῖ σοφίας the σ which begins σοφίας having become accidentally doubled and λόγους subsequently added to explain κειθαῖς, which he holds to be no Greek word at all: it seems indeed to be met with nowhere else. Dr Hort's comment on this learned trifling is instructive: "Though it cannot be said that recent attempts in Holland to revive conjectural criticism for the N. T. have shewn much felicity of suggestion, they cannot be justly condemned on the ground of principle" (*Introd.*, p. 277).

¹ Thus Canon i. of this Chapter includes (12) p. 18; (19) p. 16: Canon iii. includes (2), (3) p. 8; (4) p. 9; (8), (9), (10) pp. 11, 12; while (13) p. 14 comes under Canon iv; (20) p. 17 under Canon vi.

² *Canon Criticus* xxiv, N. T. by G. D. T. M. D. p. 12, 1735: see above, p. 451.

in practice. Readings that we should uphold in virtue of one canon, are very frequently (perhaps in a majority of really doubtful passages) brought into suspicion by means of another; yet they shall each of them be perfectly sound and reasonable in their proper sphere. An instance in point is Matth. v. 22, where the external evidence is divided. Codd. \aleph B (in Δ *secundâ manu*) 48. 198, Origen *twice*, the Æthiopic and Vulgate, omit *εἰκῆ* after *πᾶς ὁ ὀργιζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ*, Jerome fairly stating that it is "in quibusdam codicibus," not "in veris," which may be supposed to be Origen's (*above*, p. 360), and therefore removing it from his revised Latin version. It is found, however, in all other extant copies (including DEKLMSUVA *primâ manu* II. 1. 33. 604, all the Syriac and Old Latin copies, the Memphitic, Armenian and Gothic versions), in Eusebius, in the Latin Fathers from Irenæus downwards, and even in the Old Latin version of Origen himself; the later authorities for once uniting with Cod. D and its associates against the two oldest manuscripts extant. Under such circumstances the suggestions of internal evidence would be precious indeed, were not that just as equivocal as diplomatic proof. "Griesbach and Meyer," says Dean Alford, "hold it to have been expunged from motives of moral rigorism:—De Wette to have been inserted to soften the apparent rigour of the precept¹." Our sixth Canon is here opposed to our first². The important yet precarious and strictly auxiliary nature of rules of internal evidence will not now escape the attentive student; he may find them exemplified very slightly and imperfectly in the ninth Chapter of this volume, but more fully by all recent critical editors of the Greek Testament; except perhaps by Tregelles, who usually passes them by in silence,

¹ "The precept, if we omit the phrase, is in striking harmony with the at first sight sharp, extreme, almost paradoxical character of various other precepts of the 'Sermon on the Mount.'" Milligan "Words of the N. T." p. 111.

² Very similar in point of moral feeling is the variation between *ἀργιστίαν*, the gentler, intrinsically perhaps the more probable, and *ἀπιστίαν*, the more emphatic term, in Matth. xvii. 20. Both must have been current in the second century, the former having the support of Codd. \aleph B. 1. 13. 22. 33. 124. 346 [*Mat* 69], the Curetonian Syriac (and that too against Cod. D), both Egyptian, the Armenian and Æthiopic versions, Origen, Chrysostom (very expressly, although his manuscripts vary), John Damascene, but of the Latins Hilary alone. All the rest, including Codd. CD, the Peshito Syriac, and the Latins among first class witnesses, maintain *ἀπιστίαν* of the common text.

though to some extent they influence his decisions; and by Lachmann, in the formation of whose provisional text (see pp. 480, 491) they have had no share. We will close this investigation by citing a few of those crisp little periods (conceived in the same spirit as our own remarks) wherewith Davidson is wont to inform and sometimes perhaps to amuse his admirers:

“Readings must be judged on internal grounds. One can hardly avoid doing so. It is natural and almost unavoidable. It must be admitted indeed that the choice of readings on internal evidence is liable to abuse. Arbitrary caprice may characterise it. It may degenerate into simple *subjectivity*. But though the temptation to misapply it be great, it must not be laid aside. . . . While allowing superior weight to the external sources of evidence, we feel the pressing necessity of the subjective. Here, as in other instances, the objective and subjective should accompany and modify one another. They cannot be rightly separated.” (*Biblical Criticism*, Vol. II. p. 374, 1852).

CHAPTER VII.

ON THE HISTORY OF THE TEXT AND OF THE PRINCIPAL SCHEMES THAT HAVE BEEN PROPOSED FOR RESTORING IT TO ITS PRIMITIVE STATE, INCLUDING RECENT VIEWS OF COMPARATIVE CRITICISM.

AN adequate discussion of the subject of the present Chapter would need a treatise by itself, and has been the single theme of several elaborate works. We shall here limit ourselves to the examination of those more prominent topics, a clear understanding of which is essential for the establishment of trustworthy principles in the application of *external* evidence to the correction of the text of the New Testament. The use of *internal* evidence has been sufficiently considered in the preceding Chapter.

1. It was stated at the commencement of this volume that the autographs of the sacred writers "perished utterly in the very infancy of Christian history" (p. 2): nor can any other conclusion be safely drawn from the general silence of the earliest Fathers, and from their constant habit of appealing to "ancient and approved copies¹," when a reference to the originals, if extant, would have put an end to all controversy on the subject of various readings. Dismissing one passage in the genuine Epistles of Ignatius (d. 107), which has no real connexion with the matter², the only allusion to the autographs of Scripture

¹ e. g. Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, v. 30. 1, for which see below, p. 507: the early date renders this testimony most weighty.

² In deference to Lardner and others, who have supposed that Ignatius refers to the sacred autographs, we subjoin the sentence in dispute. 'Ἐπει ἤκουσά τινων λεγόντων, ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις εὐρω, ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ οὐ πιστεύω καὶ λέγοντός μου αὐτοῖς, ὅτι γέγραπται, ἀπεκρίθησάν μοι, ὅτι πρόκειται. 'Ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀρχαία ἐστὶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός κ. τ. λ. (*Ad Philadelph.* c. 8). On account of ἀρχαία in the succeeding clause, ἀρχαίος has been suggested as a substitute for the manuscript reading ἀρχαίος, and so the interpolators of the genuine Epistle have actually

met with in the primitive ages is the well-known declaration of Tertullian (fl. 200): "Percurre Ecclesias Apostolicas, apud quas ipsæ adhuc Cathedræ Apostolorum suis locis præsentent, apud quas ipsæ Authenticæ Literæ eorum recitantur, sonantes vocem, et repræsentantes faciem uniuscujusque. Proximè est tibi Achaia, habes Corinthum. Si non longè es a Macedonia, habes Philippos, habes Thessalonicenses. Si potes in Asiam tendere, habes Ephesum. Si autem Italiae adjaces, habes Romam..." (*De Præscriptione Hæreticorum*, c. 36). Attempts have been made, indeed, and that by very eminent writers, to reduce the term "*Authenticæ Literæ*" so as to mean nothing more than "genuine, unadulterated Epistles," or even the authentic Greek as opposed to the Latin translation¹. It seems enough to reply with Ernesti, that any such non-natural sense is absolutely excluded by the word "*ipsæ*," which would be utterly absurd, if "genuine" only were intended (*Institutes*, Pt. III. Ch. II. 3)²: yet the African Tertullian was too little likely to be well informed on this subject, to entitle his rhetorical statement to any real attention³. We need not try to explain away

written. But without denying that a play on the words was designed between ἀρχαῖος and ἀρχαία, both copies of the Old Latin version maintain the distinction made in the Medicean Greek ("si non in veteribus invenio" and "Mihi autem principium est Jesus Christus"), and any difficulty as to the sense lies not in ἀρχαῖος but in ἰσχυροί. Chevallier's translation of the passage is perfectly intelligible, "Because I have heard some say, Unless I find it in the ancient writings, I will not believe in the Gospel. And when I said to them, 'It is written [in the Gospel],' they answered me 'It is found written before [in the Law].'" Gainsayers set the first covenant in opposition to the second and better one.

¹ Thus Dr Westcott understands the term, citing from Tertullian *De Monogamia* xi. "sciamus planè non sic esse in Græco authenticò." Dean Burgon refers us to Routh's *Opuscula*, Vol. i. pp. 151 and 206.

² Compare too Jerome's expression "*ipsa authentica*" (*Comment. in Epist. ad Titum*), when speaking of the autographs of Origen's Hexapla: below, p. 513.

³ The view I take is Coleridge's (*Table Talk*, p. 89, 2nd ed.). "I beg Tertullian's pardon; but among his many *bravuras*, he says something about St. Paul's autograph. Origen expressly declares the reverse;" referring, I suppose, to the passage cited below, p. 509. Bp. Kaye, the very excellencies of whose character almost unfitted him for entering into the spirit of Tertullian, observes: "Since the whole passage is evidently nothing more than a declamatory mode of stating the weight which he attached to the authority of the Apostolic Churches; to infer from it that the very chairs in which the Apostles sat, or that the very Epistles which they wrote, then actually existed at Corinth, Ephesus, Rome, &c., would be only to betray a total ignorance of Tertullian's style" (Kaye's *Ecclesiastical History...illustrated from the writings of Tertullian*, p. 313, 2nd ed.). Just so: the autographs were no more in those cities than the chairs were: but it

his obvious meaning, but we may fairly demur to the evidence of this honest, but impetuous and wrong-headed man. We have no faith in the continued existence of autographs which are vouched for on no better authority than the real or apparent exigency of *his* argument¹.

2. Besides the undesigned and, to a great extent, unavoidable differences subsisting between manuscripts of the New Testament within a century of its being written, the wilful corruptions introduced by heretics soon became a cause of loud complaint in the primitive ages of the Church². Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, addressing the Church of Rome and Soter its Bishop (A.D. 168—176), complains that even his own letters had been tampered with: *καὶ ταύτας οἱ τοῦ διαβόλου ἀποστολοὶ ζιζανίων γεγέμικαν, ἃ μὲν ἐξαιροῦντες, ἃ δὲ προστιθέντες οἷς τὸ οὐαὶ κείται*: adding, however, the far graver offence, *οὐ θαυμαστὸν ἄρα εἰ καὶ τῶν κυριακῶν ραδιουργησαί τινες ἐπιβέβληνται γραφῶν* (Euseb. *Ecll. Hist.* IV. 23), where *αἱ κυριακαὶ γραφαὶ* can be none other than the Holy Scriptures. Nor was the evil new in the age of Dionysius. Not to mention the Gnostics Basilides (A.D. 130 ?) and Valentinus (A.D. 150 ?)

suited the purpose of the moment to suppose that they were extant; and, *knowing nothing to the contrary*, he boldly sends the reader in search of them.

¹ I do not observe, as some have thought, that Eusebius (*Hist. Ecll.* v. 10) intimates that the copy of S. Matthew's Gospel in Hebrew letters, left by S. Bartholomew in India, was the Evangelist's autograph; and the fancy that S. Mark wrote with his own hand the Latin fragments now at Venice (*for.*, see p. 354) is unworthy of serious notice. The statement twice made in the *Chronicon Paschale* of Alexandria, compiled in the sixth century, *but full of ancient fragments*, that *ὡσεὶ τριτῇ* was the true reading of John xix. 14 "*καθὼς τὰ ἀκριβῆ βιβλία περιέχει, αὐτὸ τε τὸ ἰδιόχειρον τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ ὅπερ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν πεφύλακται χάριτι Θεοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐφεσίῳ ἀγιωτάτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πιστῶν ἐκείσε προσκυνεῖται*" (Dindorf, *Chron. Pasch.* pp. 11 and 411) is simply incredible. Isaac Casaubon, however, a most unimpeachable witness, says that this passage, and another which he cites, were found by himself in a fine fragment of the Paschal treatise of *Peter Bp. of Alexandria and martyr* [d. 311], which he got from Andrew Damarius, a Greek merchant or calligrapher (Pattison, *Life of Is. Casaubon*, p. 88). Casaubon adds to the assertion of Peter "*Hec ille. Ego non ignoro quid adversus hanc sententiam possit disputari: de quo iudicium esto eruditorum*" (*Exercit. in Annal. Eccles.* pp. 464, 670, London 1614).

² "I have no doubt" says Tischendorf, "that in the very earliest ages after our Holy Scriptures were written, and before the authority of the Church protected them, wilful alterations, and especially additions, were made in them" English N. T., 1869 (see p. 484), *Introd.* p. xv.

who published additions to the sacred text which were avowedly of their own composition, Marcion of Pontus, the arch-heretic of that period, coming to Rome on the death of its Bishop Hyginus (A.D. 142)¹, brought with him that mutilated and falsified copy of the New Testament, against which the Fathers of the second century and later exerted all their powers, and whose general contents are known to us chiefly through the writings of Tertullian and subsequently of Epiphanius. It can hardly be said that Marcion deserves very particular mention in relating the history of the sacred text. Some of the variations from the common readings which his opponents detected were doubtless taken from manuscripts in circulation at the time, and, being adopted through no private preferences of his own, are justly available for critical purposes. Thus in 1 Thess. ii. 15 Tertullian, who saw only *τοὺς προφήτας* in his own copies, objects to Marcion's reading *τοὺς ἰδίους προφήτας* ("licet suos adjectio sit hæretici"), although *ἰδίους* stands in the received text, in Codd. KL (DE in later hands) and all cursives except eight, in the Gothic and both (?) Syriac versions, in Chrysostom, Theodoret, and John Damascenus. Here the heretic's testimony is useful in shewing the high antiquity of *ἰδίους*, even though \aleph ABDEFGP, eight cursives, Origen thrice, the Vulgate, Armenian, Æthiopic, and all three Egyptian versions, join with Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort in rejecting it, some of them perhaps in compliance with Tertullian's decision. In similar instances the evidence of Marcion, as to matters of fact to which he could attach no kind of importance, is well worth recording²: but where on the contrary the dogmas of his own miserable system are touched, or no codices or other witnesses countenance his changes (as is perpetually the case in his edition of S. Luke, the only Gospel—and that maimed or interpolated from the others—he seems to have acknowledged at

¹ "Neodum quoque Marcion Ponticus de Ponto emerisset, cujus magister Cerdon sub Hygino tunc episcopo, qui in Urbe nonus fuit, Romam venit: quem Marcion secutus..." Cyprian. *Epist.* 74. Cf. Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* iv. 10, 11.

² In 1 Cor. x. 9 Marcion seems to uphold the true reading against the judgment of Epiphanius: ὁ δὲ μαρκίων ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐν χϛ̄ ἐποίησεν. Consult also Bp. Lightfoot's note (*Epistle to the Colossians*, p. 836, n. 1) on Heraclion's variation of *περε* for *ἐξ* in John ii. 20. "There is no reason to think" he says, "that Heraclion falsified the text here; he appears to have found this various reading already in his copy."

all), his blasphemous extravagance may very well be forgotten. In such cases he does not so much as profess to follow anything more respectable than the capricious devices of his misguided fancy.

3. Nothing throws so strong a light on the real state of the text in the latter half of the second century as the single notice of Irenæus (fl. 178) on Apoc. xiii. 18. This eminent person, the glory of the Western Church in his own age, whose five books against Heresies (though chiefly extant but in a bald old Latin version) are among the most precious reliques of Christian antiquity, had been privileged in his youth to enjoy the friendly intercourse of his master Polycarp, who himself had conversed familiarly with S. John and others that had seen the Lord (Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* v. 20). Yet even Irenæus, though removed but by one stage from the very Apostles, possessed (if we except a bare tradition) no other means of settling discordant readings than are now open to ourselves; namely, to search out the best copies and exercise the judgment on their contents. His *locus classicus* must needs be cited in full, the Latin throughout, the Greek in such portions as survive. The question is whether S. John wrote $\chi\xi\varsigma'$ (666), or $\chi\iota\varsigma'$ (616).

“His autem sic se habentibus, et in omnibus antiquis et probatissimis et veteribus scripturis numero hoc posito, et testimonium perhibentibus his qui facie ad faciem Johannem viderunt (τούτων δὲ οὕτως ἔχόντων, καὶ ἐν πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς σπουδαίοις καὶ ἀρχαίοις ἀντιγράφοις τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τούτου κεμένου, καὶ μαρτυρούντων αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν κατ' ὄψιν τὸν Ἰωάννην ἑωρακότων, καὶ τοῦ λόγου διδάσκοντος ἡμᾶς ὅτι ὁ ἀριθμὸς τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ θηρίου κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ψήφον διὰ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ γραμμάτων [ἐμφαίνεται]), et ratione docente nos quoniam numerus nominis bestię, secundum Græcorum computationem, per literas quę in eo sunt sexcentos habebit et sexaginta et sex: ignoro quomodo erraverunt quidam sequentes idiotismum et medium frustrantes numerum nominis, quinquaginta numeros deducentes, pro sex decadis unam decadem volentes esse (οὐκ οἶδα πῶς ἐσφάλησάν τινες ἐπακολουθήσαντες ἰδιωτισμῷ καὶ τὸν μέσον ἠθέτησαν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ ὀνόματος, ἢ ψήφισμα ὑφέλοντες καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξ δεκάδων μίαν δεκάδα βουλόμενοι εἶναι). Hoc autem arbitror scriptorum peccatum fuisse, ut solet fieri, quoniam et per literas numeri ponuntur, faciliè literam Græcam quę sexaginta enuntiat numerum, in iota Græcorum literam expansam... Sed his quidem qui simpliciter et sine malitia hoc fecerunt, arbitramur veniam dari a Deo.” (*Contra Hæres.* v. 30. 1: Harvey, Vol. II. pp. 406—7.)

Here we obtain at once the authority of Irenæus for receiving the Apocalypse as the work of S. John; we discern the living interest its contents had for the Christians of the second century, even up to the *traditional* preservation of its minutest readings; we recognise the fact that numbers were then represented by letters¹; and the far more important one that the original autograph of the Apocalypse was already so completely lost, that a thought of it never entered the mind of the writer, though the book had not been composed one hundred years, perhaps not more than seventy².

4. Clement of Alexandria is the next writer who claims our attention (fl. 194). Though his works abound with citations from Scripture, on the whole not too carefully made ("in adducendis N. T. locis creber est et *castus*," is rather too high praise, Mill, *Proleg.* § 627), the most has not yet been made of the information he supplies. He too complains of those who tamper with (or metaphrase) the Gospels for their own sinister ends, and affords us one specimen of their evil diligence³.

¹ See Chap. ix. on Acts xxvii. 37.

² Irenæus' anxiety that his own works should be kept free from corruption, and the value attached by him to the labours of the corrector, are plainly seen in a remarkable subscription preserved by Eusebius (*Ecll. Hist.* v. 20), which illustrates what was said above, p. 53. 'Ὁρῶ σε τὸν μεταγραφόμενον τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο, κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ, καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἐνδόξου παρουσίας αὐτοῦ, ἧς ἐρχεται κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, ἵνα ἀντιβάλλῃς ὁ μεταγράψω, καὶ κατορώσῃς αὐτὸ πρὸς τὸ ἀντιγραφὸν τοῦτο, ὅθεν μεταγράψω ἐπιμελώσῃ, καὶ τὸν ὄρκον τοῦτον ὁμοίως μεταγράψῃς, καὶ θῆσῃς ἐν τῷ ἀντιγράφῳ. Here the copyist (ὁ μεταγραφόμενος) is assumed to be the same person as the reviser or corrector. Mr Linwood also (*ubi supra* p. 11) illustrates from Martial (Lib. vii. Epigram. x.) the reader's natural wish to possess an author's original manuscript rather than a less perfect copy: *Qui vis archetypas habere pugas*. A still stronger illustration of the passage in Irenæus (v. 30) is Linwood's citation of a well-known passage in Aulus Gellius, a contemporary of that Father, wherein he discusses with Higinus the corrupt variation *amato* for *amaror* in Virgil, *Geor.* ii. 247 (*Noctes Atticæ* Lib. i. cap. 21).

³ Μακάριοι, φησίν, οἱ δεδιωγμένοι ἕκεν δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ Θεοῦ κληθήσονται· ἢ, ὡς τινες τῶν μετατιθέτων τὰ Εὐαγγέλια, Μακάριοι, φησίν, οἱ δεδιωγμένοι ὑπὸ τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἔσονται τέλει· καὶ, μακάριοι οἱ δεδιωγμένοι ἕνεκα ἐμοῦ, ὅτι ἔξουσι τόπον ὅπου οὐ διωχθήσονται (*Stromata*, iv. 6). Tregelles (*Horæ*, p. 39, note 2) pertinently remarks that Clement, in the very act of censuring others, subjoins the close of Matth. v. 9 to ver. 10, and elsewhere himself ventures on liberties no less extravagant, as when he thus quotes Matth. xix. 24 (or Luke xviii. 25): πειστέον οὖν πολλῷ μᾶλλον τῇ γραφῇ λεγοσῆς, Θάττων κάμηλον διὰ τρυπήματος βελόνης διελεύσεισθαι, ἢ πλοῦσιον φιλοσοφεῖν (*Stromata*, ii. 5).

His pupil Origen's [185—254] is the highest name among the critics and expositors of the early Church; he is perpetually engaged in the discussion of various readings of the New Testament, and employs language in describing the then existing state of the text, which would be deemed strong if applied even to its present condition, after the changes which sixteen more centuries must needs have produced. His statements are familiar enough to Biblical enquirers, but, though often repeated, cannot be rightly omitted here. Seldom have such warmth of fancy and so bold a grasp of mind been united with the life-long patient industry which procured for this famous man the honourable appellation of *Adamantius*. Respecting the sacred autographs, their fate or their continued existence, he seems to have had no information, and to have entertained no curiosity: they had simply passed by and were out of reach. Had it not been for the diversities of copies in all the Gospels on other points (he writes)—*καὶ εἰ μὲν μὴ καὶ περὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν διαφωνία ἦν πρὸς ἄλληλα τῶν ἀντιγράφων*—he should not have ventured to object to the authenticity of a certain passage (Matth. xix. 19) on internal grounds: *νυνὶ δὲ δηλονότι πολλῇ γέγονεν ἡ τῶν ἀντιγράφων διαφορά, εἴτε ἀπὸ ῥαθυμίας τινῶν γραφέων, εἴτε ἀπὸ τόλμης τινῶν μοχθηρῶς τῆς διορθώσεως τῶν γραφομένων, εἴτε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ ἑαυτοῖς δοκοῦντα ἐν τῇ διορθώσει προστιθέντων ἢ ἀφαιρούντων* (Comment. on Matth. Tom. III. p. 671, *De la Rue*). "But now," saith he, "great in truth has become the diversity of copies, be it from the negligence of certain scribes, or from the evil daring of some who correct what is written, or from those who in correcting add or take away what they think fit¹." just like Irenæus had previously described revisers

¹ In this place (contrary to what might have been inferred from the language of Irenæus, cited above, p. 508, note 2) the copyist (*γραφεὺς*) is clearly distinct from the corrector (*διορθωτής*), who either alters the words that stand in the text, or adds to and subtracts from them. In Cobet's masterly Preface to his own and Kuenen's *N. T. ad fidem Cod. Vatican*, Leyden, 1860, pp. xxvii—xxiv, will be found most of the passages we have used that bear on the subject, with the following from Classical writers, "Nota est Strabonis querela XIII. p. 609 de bibliopolis, qui libros edebant *γραφεῖσι φαύλοις χρώμενοι, καὶ οὐκ ἀντιβδλλοῦτες*... Sic in Demosthenis Codice Monacensi ad finem Orationis xi annotatum est *Διορθώθη πρὸς δύο Ἀττικιστῶν, id est, correctus est (hic liber) ex duobus codicibus ab Attico (nobili calligrapho) descriptis*." Just as at the end of each of Terence's plays the manuscripts read "Calliopius recensui."

of the text as persons "qui peritiores apostolis volunt esse" (*Contra Hæres.* IV. 6. 1).

5. Nor can it easily be denied that the various readings of the New Testament current from the middle of the second to the middle of the third century, were neither fewer nor less considerable than such language would lead us to anticipate. Though no surviving manuscript of the Old Latin version dates before the fourth century, and most of them belong to a still later age, yet the general correspondence of their text with that used by the first Latin Fathers is a sufficient voucher for its high antiquity (*see pp.* 338—42). The connexion subsisting between this Latin version, the Curetonian Syriac, and Codex Bezae, proves that the text of these documents is considerably older than the vellum on which they are written; the Peshito Syriac also, most probably the very earliest of all translations (*see pp.* 311—3), though approaching far nearer to the received text than they, sufficiently resembles these authorities in many peculiar readings to exhibit the general tone and character of one class of manuscripts extant in the second century, two hundred years anterior to Codd. \aleph B. Now it may be said without extravagance that no set of Scriptural records affords a text less probable in itself or less sustained by any rational principles of external evidence, than that of Cod. D, of the Latin codices, and (so far as it accords with them) of Cureton's Syriac. Interpolations, as insipid in themselves as unsupported by other evidence, abound in them all¹: additions so little in accordance with the genuine spirit of Holy Writ that some critics (though I, for one, profess no skill in such alchemy) have declared them to be as easily separable from the text which they encumber, as the foot-notes appended to a modern book are from the main

¹ No doubt certain that are quite or almost peculiar to Cod. D would deserve consideration if they were not destitute of adequate support. Some may be inclined to think the words cited above in p. 8 not unworthy of Him to whom they are ascribed. The margin of the Philoxenian Syriac alone countenances D in that touching appendage to Acts viii. 24, which every one must wish to be genuine, *ος πολλα κλαιων ου διελυ[ι]μηνεν*. Several minute facts are also inserted by D in the latter part of the same book, which are more likely to rest on traditional knowledge than to be mere exercises of an idle fancy. Such are *αρωρας εως δεκατης* annexed to the end of Acts xix. 9: *και Μυρα* to Acts xxi. 1; the former of which is also found in Cod. 137 and the Philoxenian margin; the latter in the Thebaic and one or two Latin copies.

body of the work (Tregelles, *An Account of the Printed Text*, p. 138, note). It is no less true to fact than paradoxical in sound, that the worst corruptions to which the New Testament has ever been subjected, originated within a hundred years after it was composed; that Irenæus and the African Fathers and the whole Western, with a portion of the Syrian Church, used far inferior manuscripts to those employed by Stunica, or Erasmus, or Stephen thirteen centuries later, when moulding the *Textus Receptus*. What passage in the Holy Gospels would be more jealously guarded than the record of the heavenly voice at the Lord's Baptism? Yet Augustine (*De Consensu Evangelist.* II. 14) marked a variation which he thought might be found "in aliquibus fide dignis exemplaribus," though not "in antiquioribus codicibus Græcis," where, in the place of *ἐν σοὶ ἠὲ δόκησα* (Luke iii. 22), the words *ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε* are substituted from Psalm ii. 7: so also reads the Manichæan Faustus apud Augustin.; *Enchiridion ad Laurentium* c. 49. The only Greek copy which maintains this important reading is D: it is met with moreover in *abc* (in *d* of course), in *ff*¹ *primâ manu*, and in *l*, whose united evidence leaves not a doubt of its existence in the primitive Old Latin; whence it is cited by Hilary three times, by Lactantius and Juvencus, to which list Abbot adds Hilary the deacon (*Quæstiones V. et N. T.*). Among the Greeks it is known but to Methodius, and to those very early writers, Justin Martyr and Clement of Alexandria, who seem to have derived the corruption (for such it must doubtless be regarded) from the Ebionite Gospel (Epiphan. *Hæres.* XXI. 13)¹. So again of a doubtful passage which we shall examine in Chapter IX, Irenæus cites Act. viii. 37 without the least misgiving, though the spuriousness of the verse can hardly be doubted; and expressly testifies to a reading in Matth. i. 18 which has not till lately found many advocates. It is hard to believe that 1 John v. 7, 8 was not cited by Cyprian, and even the interpolation in Matth. xx. 28 was widely known and received. Many

¹ Considering that Cod. D and the Latin manuscripts contain the variation in Luke iii. 22, but not in Matth. iii. 17, we ought not to doubt that Justin Martyr (p. 331. B, Ed. Paris, 1636) and Clement (p. 113, Ed. Potter) refer to the former. Hence Bp. Kaye (*Account of the writings of Clement*, p. 410) should not have produced this passage among others to shew (what in itself is quite true) that "Clement frequently quotes from memory."

other examples might be produced from the most venerable Christian writers, in which they countenance variations (and those not arbitrary, but resting on some sort of authority) which no modern critic has ever attempted to vindicate.

6. When we come down to the fourth century, our information grows at once more definite and more trustworthy. Copies of Scripture had been extensively destroyed during the long and terrible period of affliction that preceded the conversion of Constantine. In the very edict which marked the beginning of Diocletian's persecution, it is ordered that the holy writings should be burnt (*τὰς γραφὰς ἀφανεῖς πυρὶ γενέσθαι*, Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* VIII. 2); and the cruel decree was so rigidly enforced that a special name of reproach (*traditores*), together with the heaviest censures of the Church, was laid upon those Christians who betrayed the sacred trust (Bingham, *Antiquities*, Book XVI, Ch. VI. 25). At such a period critical revision or even the ordinary care of devout transcribers must have disappeared before the pressure of the times. Fresh copies of the New Testament would have to be made in haste to supply the room of those seized by the enemies of our Faith; and, when made, they had to circulate by stealth among persons whose lives were in jeopardy every hour. Hence arose the need, when the tempest was overpast, of transcribing many new manuscripts of the Holy Bible, the rather as the Church was now receiving vast accessions of converts within her pale. Eusebius of Cæsarea, the Ecclesiastical Historian, seems to have taken the lead in this happy labour; his extensive learning, which by the aid of certain other less commendable qualities had placed him high in Constantine's favour, rendered it natural that the Emperor should employ his services for furnishing with fifty copies of Scripture the Churches of his new capital, Constantinople (*see above*, p. 27, note 1). Eusebius' deep interest in Biblical studies is exhibited in several of his surviving works, as well as in his *Canons for harmonising the Gospels* (*see pp. 57—60*): and he would naturally betake himself for the text of his fifty codices to the Library founded at his Episcopal city of Cæsarea by the martyr Pamphilus, the dear friend and teacher from whom he derived his own familiar appellation *Eusebius Pamphili*. Into this Library Pamphilus had gathered manuscripts of Origen as

well as of other theologians, and of these Eusebius made an index (τοὺς πίνακας παρεθέμην: *Eccles. Hist.* vi. 32). From this collection Cod. H of S. Paul and others are stated to have been derived, nay even Cod. N in its Old Testament portion (see p. 53 and note), which is expressly declared to have been corrected to the Hexapla of Origen. Indeed we know from Jerome (*Comment. in Epist. ad Tit.*) that the very autograph ("ipsa authentica") of Origen's Hexapla was used by himself at Cæsarea, and Montfaucon (*Preliminaria in Hexapl.* Chap. I. 5) cites from one manuscript the following subscription to Ezekiel, Ὁ Εὐσέβιος ἐγὼ σχόλια παρέθηκα. Πάμφιλος καὶ Εὐσέβιος ἐδιωρθώσαντο.

7. We are thus warranted, as well from direct evidence as from the analogy of the Old Testament, to believe that Eusebius mainly resorted for his Constantinopolitan Church-books to the codices of Pamphilus, which might once have belonged to Origen. What critical corrections (if any) he ventured to make in the text on his own judgment is not so clear. Not that there is the least cause to believe, with Dr Nolan (*Inquiry into the Integrity of the Greek Vulgate*, p. 27), that Eusebius had either the power or the will to suppress or tamper with the great doctrinal texts 1 John v. 7, 8; 1 Tim. iii. 16; Acts xx. 28; yet we cannot deny that his prepossessions may have tempted him to arbitrary alterations in other passages, which had no direct bearing on the controversies of his age¹. Codd. NB are quite old enough to have been copied under his inspection², and it is certainly very

¹ This point is exceedingly well stated by Canon Cook (*Revised Version of the first three Gospels*, p. 176): "I will not dwell upon indications of Arian tendencies. They are not such as we should be entitled to rely upon... Eusebius was certainly above the suspicion of consciously introducing false statements or of obliterating true statements. As was the case with many supporters of the high Arian party, which came nearest to the sound orthodox faith, Eusebius was familiar with all scriptural texts which distinctly ascribe to our Lord the divine attributes and the divine name, and was far more likely to adopt an explanation which coincided with his own system, than to incur the risk of exposure and disgrace by obliterating or modifying them in manuscripts which would be always open to public inspection."

² "This is possible, though there is no proof of it" is Professor Abbot's comment (*ubi supra*, p. 190; see above, p. 47 note 2). Now we have come to know that Cod. B is arranged in quires of five sheets (see p. 101), that manuscript will hardly answer to the description τρισσὰ καὶ τετρασσὰ (see p. 27, note 1) as Cod. N does. Indeed Canon Cook (*Revised Version, &c.*, p. 162) objects to Valesius' explanation altogether, on the ground that his sense would

remarkable that these two early manuscripts omit one whole paragraph (Mark xvi. 9—16) with his sanction, if not after his example (*see below*, Chap. ix.). Thus also in Matth. xxiii. 35 Cod. \aleph , with no other countenance than we have before mentioned (p. 294 note), discards *υιου βασιλιου*, for which change Eusebius (*silentio*) is literally the only authority among the Fathers, Irenæus and even Origen retaining the words, in spite of their obvious difficulty. The relation in which Cod. \aleph stands to the other four chief manuscripts of the Gospels, may be roughly estimated from analysing the transcript of four pages first published by Tischendorf¹, as well as in any other way. Of the 312 variations from the common text therein noted, \aleph stands alone in 45, in 8 agrees with ABCD united (much of C, however, is lost in these passages), with ABC together 31 times, with ABD 14, with AB 13, with D alone 10, with B alone but once (Mark i. 27), with C alone once: with several authorities against AB 39 times, with A against B 52, with B against A 98. Hence, while the discovery of this precious document has unquestionably done much to uphold Cod. B (which

rather require *τριπλόα και τετραπλόα*, and that the rare words *τρισά* ("three by three") and *τετρασά* ("four by four") exactly describe the arrangement of three columns on a page in Cod. B, and four on a page in Cod. \aleph . The Canon has since observed that the same view is maintained by O. von Gebhardt ("Bibel-text" in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie*, Leipzig 1878, 2nd edition). On the other hand Archdeacon Palmer, in an obliging communication made to me, comparing the words *πεντήκοντα σωματια εν διφθέραις εγκατασκευοις* (c. 36) with *εν πολυτελει ησκημενοις τευχουσιν τρισά και τετρασά διαπεμψάντων ημων*, and interpreting Eusebius' compliance (c. 37) by means of Constantine's directions (c. 36), is inclined to refer *τρισά και τετρασά* to *σωματια*, as if it were "we sent abroad the collections [of writings] in richly adorned cases, three or four in a case." It will probably be thought that the expression is on the whole too obscure to be depended on for any controversial purposes. It is safer to argue that if the sections and canons extant in Cod. \aleph be by a contemporary hand (*see* p. 91, and Dean Gwynn's *Memoranda* in our *Addenda* for that page), that circumstance, the great antiquity of the manuscript considered, will confirm the probability of Eusebius' connection with it. Eusebius agrees also with \aleph in omitting *η πολη*, Matth. vii. 13, and knew of copies, not however the best or with his approval, which inserted *ησαου* before *του προφητου* in Matth. xiii. 35: \aleph being the only uncial which exhibits that reading. So again Eusebius after Origen maintains the impossible number *εκατον εξήκοντα* of \aleph and a few others in Luke xxiv. 13.

¹ In the *Notitia Editionis Cod. Sin.*, 1860. They are Matth. xxvii. 64—xxviii. 20; Mark i. 1—35; Luke xxiv. 24—58; John xxi. 1—25. Other like calculations, with much the same result, are given in Scrivener's *Cod. Sin.*, *Introd.* pp. xlii. xliii.

is the more correctly written, and doubtless the more valuable of the two) in many of its more characteristic and singular readings, it has made the mutual divergencies of the very oldest critical authorities more patent and perplexing than ever¹:

8. Codd. \aleph B were apparently anterior to the age of Jerome, the latest ecclesiastical writer whose testimony need be dwelt upon, since from his time downwards the stream of extant and direct manuscript evidence, beginning with Codd. AC, flows on without interruption. Jerome's attention was directed to the criticism of the Greek Testament by his early Biblical studies, and the knowledge he thus obtained had full scope for its exercise when he was engaged on revising the Old Latin version (*see* pp. 348—50). In his so-often cited *Præfatio ad Damasum*, prefixed to his recension of the Gospels, he complains of certain "codices, quos a Luciano et Hesychio nuncupatos, paucorum hominum asserit perversa contentio," and those not of the Old Testament alone, but also of the New. This obscure and passing notice of corrupt and (apparently) interpolated copies has been made the foundation of more than one theory as fanciful as ingenious. Jerome further informs us that he had adopted in his translation the canons which Eusebius "Alexandrium secutus Ammonium" (*but see* pp. 56—59) had invented or first brought into vogue; stating, and, in his usual fashion, somewhat exaggerating², an evil these canons helped to remedy, the mixing up of the matter peculiar to one Evangelist with the narrative of another (*see* p. 12). Hence we might naturally expect that the

¹ And that too hardly to the credit of either of them. "Ought it not," asks Dean Burgon, "sensibly to detract from our opinion of the value of their evidence to discover that it is easier to find two consecutive verses in which the two MSS. differ, the one from the other, than two consecutive verses in which they entirely agree?... On every such occasion only one of them can possibly be speaking the truth. Shall I be thought unreasonable if I confess that these perpetual inconsistencies between Codd. B and A—grave inconsistencies, and occasionally even gross ones,—altogether destroy my confidence in either?" (*Last Twelve Verses of S. Mark*, pp. 77—8).

² Magnus siquidem hic in nostris codicibus error inolevit, dum quod in eadem re alius Evangelista plus dixit, in alio, quia minus putaverint, addiderunt. Vel dum eundem sensum alius aliter expressit, ille qui unum e quatuor primum legerat, ad ejus exemplum ceteros quoque existimaverit emendandos. *Unde accidit ut apud nos mixta sint omnia* (*Præf. ad Damasum*).

Greek manuscripts he would view with special favour, were the same as Eusebius had approved before him. In the scattered notices throughout his works, Jerome sometimes speaks but vaguely of "quædam exemplaria tam Græca quam Latina" (Luke xxii. 43—4, almost in the words of Hilary, his senior); or appeals to readings "in quibusdam exemplaribus et maximè in Græcis codicibus" (Mark xvi. 14). Occasionally we hear of "multi et Græci et Latini codices" (John vii. 53), or "vera exemplaria" (Matth. v. 22; xxi. 31), or "antiqua exemplaria" (Luke ix. 23), without specifying in which language: Mark xvi. 9—20 "in raris fertur Evangeliiis," since "omnes Græciæ libri pæne" do not contain it¹. In two places, however, he gives a more definite account of the copies he most regarded. In Galat. iii. 1 τῆ ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πειθεσθαι is omitted by Jerome, because it is not contained "in exemplaribus Adamantii," although (as he elsewhere informs us) "et Græca exemplaria hoc errore confusa sint." The other passage has been alluded to already (p. 361 and note 1). In some Latin copies of Matth. xxiv. 36 *neque filius* is added, "quum in Græcis, et maxime Adamantii et Pierii exemplaribus, hoc non habeatur adscriptum." Pierius the presbyter of Alexandria, elsewhere called by Jerome "the younger Origen" (*Cat. Scriptt. Eccl.* I. p. 128), has been deprived by fortune of the honour due to his merit and learning. A contemporary, perhaps the teacher of Pamphilus (Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* vii. 32) at Cæsarea, his copies of Scripture would naturally be preserved with those of Origen in the great Library of that city. Here they were doubtless seen by Jerome when, to his deep joy, he found Origen's writings copied in Pamphilus' hand (*Cat. Scriptt. Eccl., ubi supra*), which volumes Acacius and Euzoius, elder contemporaries of Jerome himself, had taken pious care to repair and renew (*ibid.* I. p. 131; *ad Marcell. Ep.* cxli.). It is not therefore wonderful if, employing as they did and setting a high value on precisely the same manuscripts of the N. T., the readings approved by Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome should closely agree.

9. Epiphanius [d. 403], who wrote at about the same period as Jerome, distinguishes in his note on Luke xix. 41 or xxii. 44

¹ The precise references may be seen in Tischendorf's, and for the most part more exactly in Tregelles' N. T. That on Matth. xxiv. 36 is Tom. vii. p. 199, or vi. p. 54; on Galat. iii. 1 is Tom. vii. pp. 418, 487.

(Tom. II. p. 36) between the uncorrected copies (*ἀδιορθώτοις*), and those used by the Orthodox¹. Of the function of the "corrector" (*διορθωτής*) of an ancient manuscript we have spoken several times before (pp. 53, 508 note 2, 509 note): but a system was devised by Professor J. L. Hug of Freyburg (*Einleitung*, 1808), and maintained, though with some modifications, by J. F. Eichhorn, which assigned to these occasional, and (as they would seem to be) unsystematic labours of the reviser, a foremost place in the criticism of the N. T. Hug, whom Dr Hort (N. T. *Introd.* p. 181) believes to have lacked sobriety of judgment, conceived that the process of corruption had been going on so rapidly and uniformly from the Apostolic age downwards, that by the middle of the third century the state of the text in the general mass of codices had degenerated into the form exhibited in Codd. D. 1. 13. 69. 124 of the Gospels, the Old Latin and Thebaic (he would now have added the Curetonian Syriac) versions, and to some extent in the Peshito and in the citations of Clement of Alexandria and of Origen in his early works. To this uncorrected text he gave the name of *κοινή ἔκδοσις*, and that it existed, substantially in the interpolated shape now seen in Cod. D, the Old Latin, and Cureton's Syriac, as early as the second century, need not be doubted. What we may fairly dispute is that it ever had extensive circulation or good repute in the Churches whose vernacular language was Greek. This "common edition" Hug supposes to have received three separate emendations in the middle of the third century; one made by Origen in Palestine, which he thinks Jerome adopted and approved; two others by Hesychius and Lucian (a presbyter of Antioch and Martyr), in Egypt and Syria respectively, both which Jerome condemned (*see* p. 515), and Pope Gelasius (A. D. 492—6) declared to be apocryphal². To Origen's recension

¹ See our note on Luke xxii. 44 below in Chap. ix. This same writer testifies to a practice already partially employed, of using breathings, accents, and stops in copies of Holy Scripture. 'Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τινες κατὰ προσφθίαν ἔστιζαν τὰς γραφὰς καὶ περὶ τῶν προσφθῶν τάδε· ὀξεῖα', δασεῖα', βαρεῖα', ψιλή', περισπωμένη', ἀπόστροφος', μακρὰ -, ὑψὲν υ, βραχεῖα σ, ὑποδιαστολή', . Ὀσαύτως καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν σημείων κ.τ.λ. (Epiphanius, *De Mensur.* c. 2, Tom. III. p. 237 Migne). This passage may tend to confirm the statements made above, pp. 43—6, respecting the presence of such marks in very ancient codices, though on the whole we may not quite vouch for Sir F. Madden's opinion as regards Cod. A.

² "Evangelia quæ falsavit Lucianus, apocrypha." "Evangelia quæ falsavit Esaitius [alii Hesychius vel Isidus], apocrypha," occur separately in the course of

he referred such copies as AKM. 42. 106. 114. 116. 253 of the Gospels, the Philoxenian Syriac, the quotations of Chrysostom and Theodoret; to Hesychius the Alexandrian codices BCL; to Lucian the Byzantine documents EFGHSV and the mass of later books. The practical effect of this elaborate theory would be to accord to Cod. A a higher place among our authorities than some recent editors have granted it, even than it quite deserves; yet its correspondence with Origen in many characteristic readings would thus be admitted and accounted for (*see* p. 472). But in truth Hug's whole scheme is utterly baseless as regards historical fact, and most insufficiently sustained by internal proof. Jerome's slight and solitary mention of the copies of Lucian and Hesychius abundantly evinces their narrow circulation and the low esteem in which they were held; and even Eichhorn perceived that there was no evidence whatever to shew that Origen had attempted a formal revision of the text. The passages cited above, both from Eusebius and Jerome (*see* pp. 512—3, 516)—and no others are known to bear on the subject—will carry us no further than this:—that these Fathers had access to codices of the N. T. once possessed by Adamantius, and here and there, perhaps, retouched by his hand. The manuscripts copied by Pamphilus (p. 516) were those of Origen's own works; and while we have full and detailed accounts of what he accomplished for the Greek versions of the Old Testament, no hint has been thrown out by any ancient writer that he carried his pious labour into the criticism of the New. On the contrary, he seems to disclaim the task in a sentence now extant chiefly in the old Latin version of his works, wherein, to a notice of his attempt to remove diversity of reading from codices of the Septuagint by the help of "the other editions" (*κριτηρίω χρησάμενοι ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐκδόσεσιν*, i. e. the versions of Aquila and the rest), he is represented as adding, "In exemplaribus autem Novi Testamenti, hoc ipsum me posse facere sine periculo non putavi" (Origen, Tom. III. p. 671).

a long list of spurious books (such as the Gospels of Thaddæus, Matthias, Peter, James, that "nomine Thomæ quo utuntur Manichæi," &c.) in Appendix III. to Gelasius' works in Migne's *Patrologia*, Tom. LIX. p. 162 [A. D. 494]. But the authenticity of those decrees is far from certain, and since we hear of these falsified Gospels nowhere else, Gelasius' knowledge of them might have been derived from what he had read in Jerome's *Præf. ad Damasum*.

10. Hug's system of recensions was devised as a corrective to those of Bengel (*see* p. 458) and of Griesbach (p. 470), which have been adequately discussed in Chapter v. The veteran Griesbach spent his last effort as a writer in bringing to notice the weak points of Hug's case, and in claiming him, where he rightly could, as a welcome ally¹. But neither did Hug's scheme, nor that propounded by Scholz some years later (*see* p. 475), obtain the general credit and acceptance which had once been conceded to Griesbach's. It was by this time plainly seen that not only were such theories unsupported by historical testimony (to which indeed the Professor of Halle had been too wise to lay claim), but that they failed to account for more than a part, and that usually a small part, of the phenomena disclosed by minute study of our critical materials. All that can be inferred from searching into the history of the sacred text amounts to no more than this: that extensive variations, arising no doubt from the wide circulation of the New Testament in different regions and among nations of diverse languages, subsisted from the earliest period to which our records extend. Beyond this point our investigations cannot be carried, without indulging in pleasant speculations which may amuse the fancy, but cannot inform the sober judgment. Such is the conclusion to which we are reluctantly brought after examining the principles laid down, as well by the critics we have named above, as by Lach-

¹ Griesbach rejoices to have Hug's assent "in eo, in quo disputationis de veteribus N. T. recensionibus cardo vertitur; nempe exitisse, inde a secundo et tertio sæculo, plures sacri textus recensiones, quarum una; si Evangelia spectes, supersit in Codice D, altera in Codd. BCL, alia in Codd. EFGHS et quæ sunt reliqua (*Meletemata*, p. lxxviii., prefixed to *Commentarius Criticus*, Pars II. 1811). I suppose that Tregelles must have overlooked this decisive passage (probably the last its author wrote for the public eye) when he states that Griesbach now "virtually gave up his system" as regards the possibility of "drawing an actual line of distinction between his Alexandrian and Western recensions" (*An Account of the Printed Text*, p. 91). He certainly shewed, throughout his *Commentarius Criticus*, that Origen does not lend him the support he had once anticipated; but he still held that the theory of a triple recension was the very *hinge* on which the whole question turned, and clung to that theory as tenaciously as ever. THIRD EDITION. Dr Hort (*N. T. Introd.* p. 186) has since confirmed our opinion that Griesbach was faithful to the last to the essential characteristics of his theory, adding that "the *Meletemata* of 1811...reiterate Griesbach's familiar statements in precise language, while they shew a growing perception of mixture which might have led him to further results if he had not died in the following spring."

mann (p. 478), by his disciple Tregelles (p. 487), and even by the *par nobis* of Cambridge Doctors, Professor Hort and Canon Westcott, of whose labours we shall speak presently.

Yet is it true that we are thus cast upon the wide ocean without a compass or a guide? Can no clue be found that may conduct us through the tangled maze? Is there no other method of settling the text of the New Testament than by collecting and marshalling and scrutinising the testimony of thousands of separate documents, now agreeing, now at issue with each other:—manuscripts, versions, ecclesiastical writers, whose mutual connection and interdependence, so far as they exist (and to some extent they do and *must* exist), defy all our skill and industry to detect and estimate aright? This would surely be a discouraging view of critical science as applied to the sacred volume, and it is by no means warranted by proved and admitted facts. Elaborate systems have failed, as might have been looked for from the first. It was premature to frame them in the present stage of things, while the knowledge we possess of the actual contents of our extant authorities is imperfect, vague, and fragmentary; while our conclusions are liable to be disturbed from time to time by the rapid accession of fresh materials, of whose character we are still quite ignorant. But if we be incompetent to devise theories on a grand or imposing scale, a more modest and a safer course is open. Men of the present generation may be disqualified for taking a general survey of the whole domain of this branch of divine learning, who may yet be employed, serviceably and with honour, in cultivating each one for himself some limited and humble field of special research, to which his taste, his abilities, or opportunities have attached him: those persons may usefully improve a farm, who cannot hope to conquer a kingdom. Out of the long array of uncollated manuscripts which swell our catalogues (*see* p. 307), let the student choose from the mass a few within his reach which he may deem worthy of complete examination; or exhaust the information some ecclesiastical writer of the first six centuries can afford; or contribute what he can to an exact acquaintance with some good ancient version, ascertaining the genius of its language and (where this is attainable) the literary history of its text. If, in the course of such quiet toil, he shall mark (as a patient observer will find cause to

mark) resemblances and affinities more than accidental, between documents of widely different ages and countries; he will not only be contributing to the common stock what cannot fail to be available hereafter as raw material, but he will be helping to solve that great problem which has hitherto in part eluded the most earnest inquiries, the investigation of the true laws and principles of COMPARATIVE CRITICISM.

The last-mentioned term has been happily applied by Tregelles to that delicate and important process, whereby we seek to determine the *comparative* value, and trace the mutual relation, of authorities of every kind upon which the original text of the N. T. is based. Thus explained (and in this enlarged sense scholars have willingly accepted it), its researches may be pursued with diligence and interest, without reference to the maintenance or refutation of any particular system or scheme of recensions. The mode of procedure is experimental and tentative, rather than dogmatical; the facts it gradually develops will eventually (as we trust) put us on the right road, although for the present we meet with much that is uncertain, perplexing, ambiguous. It has already enabled critics in some degree to classify the documents with which they have to deal; it may possibly lead them, at some future period, to the establishment of principles more general, and therefore more simple, than we can now conceive likely or even possible to be attained to.

11. In the course of investigations thus difficult and precarious, designed to throw light on a matter of such vast consequence as the genuine condition of the text of Scripture, one thing would appear at first sight almost too clear for argument, too self-evident to be disputed,—that it is both our wisdom and our duty to *weigh the momentous subject at issue in all its parts*, shutting out from the mind no source of information which can reasonably be supposed capable of influencing our decision. Nor can such a course become less right or expedient because it must perforce involve us in laborious, extensive, and prolonged examination of a vast store of varied and voluminous testimony. It is essential that divines should strive to come to definite conclusions respecting disputed points of sacred criticism; it is not necessary that these conclusions should be drawn within a certain limited period, either this year, or even in the lifetime of our

generation. Hence such a plan as that advocated by Lachmann, for abridging the trouble of investigation by the arbitrary rejection of the great mass of existing evidence, must needs be condemned for its rashness by those who think their utmost pains well bestowed in such a cause; nor can we consistently praise the determination of others, who, shunning the more obvious errors into which Lachmann fell, yet follow his example in constructing the text of the N. T. on a foundation somewhat less narrow, but scarcely more firm than his. As the true science of Biblical criticism is in real danger of suffering harm from the efforts of disciples of this school, it cannot be out of place if we examine the pleas which have been urged in vindication of their scheme, and assign (as briefly as we may) our reasons for believing that its apologists are but labouring in vain.

12. *Brevis vita, ars longa.* For this lawful cause, if for no other, the most ardent student of Biblical criticism would fain embrace some such system as is advocated by Lachmann and his followers, if only it could be done in tolerable safety. The process of investigation might thus be diminished twenty-fold, and the whole subject brought within a compass not too vast for one man's diligence or the space of an ordinary lifetime. The simplicity and comparative facility of this process of resorting to the few for instruction hitherto supposed to be diffused among the many, has created in its favour a strong and not unnatural prejudice, which has yielded, so far as it has yet yielded at all, to nothing but the stubborn opposition of indisputable facts. It will also readily be admitted, that certain principles, not indeed peculiar to this theory, but brought by it into greater prominence, are themselves most reasonable and true. No one will question, for example, that "if the reading of the ancient authorities in general is unanimous, there can be but little doubt that it should be followed, whatever may be the later testimonies; for it is most improbable that the independent testimony of early MSS., versions, and Fathers should accord with regard to something entirely groundless" (Tregelles, *N. T. Introductory Notice*, p. 2). No living man, possessed of a tincture of scholarship, would dream of setting up testimony exclusively modern against the unanimous voice of antiquity. The point on which we insist is

briefly this:—that the evidence of ancient authorities is anything but unanimous; that they are perpetually at variance with each other, even if we limit the term ancient within the narrowest bounds. Shall it include, among the manuscripts of the Gospels, none but the five oldest copies Codd. \aleph ABCD? The reader has but to open the first recent critical work he shall meet with, to see them scarcely ever in unison; perpetually divided two against three, or perhaps four against one. All the readings these venerable monuments contain must of course be *ancient*, or they would not be found where they are; but they cannot all be true. So again, if our search be extended to the versions and primitive Fathers, the same phenomenon unfolds itself, to our grievous perplexity and disappointment. How much is contained in Cureton's Syriac and the Old Latin for which no Greek original can now be alleged? Do not the earliest ecclesiastical writers describe readings as existing and current in their copies, of which few traces can be met with at present? If the question be fairly proposed, "What right have we to set virtually aside the agreement in the main of our oldest uncials, at the distance of one or two centuries,—of which, owing probably to the results of persecution, we have no MS. remains,—with the citations of the primitive fathers, and with the earliest versions?": the answer must be rendered, without hesitation, *no right whatever*. Where the oldest of these authorities really agree, we accept their united testimony as practically conclusive. It is not at all our design to seek our readings from the later uncials, supported as they usually are by the mass of cursive manuscripts; but to employ their confessedly secondary evidence in those numberless instances wherein their elder brethren are hopelessly at variance. We do not claim for the recent documents the high consideration and deference fitly reserved for a few of the oldest; just as little do we think it right to pass them by in silence, and allow to them no more weight or importance than if they had never been written. "There are passages," to employ the words of a very competent judge, "where the evidence of the better cursives

¹ E.g. Matth. i. 18; Acts viii. 37 for Irenæus: Acts xiii. 33 for Origen. It is rare indeed that the express testimony of a Father is so fully confirmed by the oldest copies as in John i. 28, where $\epsilon\gamma\theta\alpha\lambda\epsilon$, said by Origen to be $\sigma\chi\epsilon\delta\delta\upsilon\nu \epsilon\nu \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota \tau\acute{o}\iota\varsigma \delta\omicron\tau\iota\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\omicron\iota\varsigma$, actually appears in \aleph^*ABC^* .

may be of substantial use in confirming a good reading, or in deciding us between two of nearly equal merit to place one in the text and assign the other to the margin¹."

13. It may readily be supposed that the very few manuscripts which, being ancient themselves, are regarded by the school of Lachmann as alone preserving an ancient and genuine form, have not been selected as virtually the sole authorities for the settling of the sacred text, except for reasons which those who thus adopt them regard as weighty, and which merit at any rate our best consideration before we put them aside as insufficient. The great uncials, we are told, are treated with so much deference, not only or chiefly because they are old, but because they have been rigorously tested and have proved on trial to deserve the confidence which has been reposed in them. The process of investigation shall now be stated, as fairly and even favourably as possible. It is not worth while, as it certainly is not our desire, to snatch a transient advantage by misrepresenting the views we are controverting. We would rather comprise in our own system all that is sound and exact in them, while we withstand the attempt to carry them beyond the limits which they may legitimately occupy, and refuse to generalise on the strength of facts which are only partially true.

We have already laid down the axiom admitted by all, that manuscripts of the original hold the first rank among our critical materials (*see* p. 21); versions (*see* p. 308), and, yet more, the citations of ecclesiastical authors (*see* p. 416) being subordinate to them. Yet whatever other disadvantages the Patristic writings may labour under, we are at any rate certain respecting the age in which they were composed, the works themselves being assumed to be authentic. If Irenæus, or Tertullian, or Origen, expressly assure us that particular words which they name were

¹ Mr A. A. Vansittart, *Journal of Philology*, Vol. II. No. 3, p. 35. I suppose too that Mr Hammond means much the same thing when he says "It seems almost superfluous to affirm that *every element of evidence must be allowed its full weight*; but it is a principle that must not be forgotten" (*Outlines of Textual Criticism*, p. 93, 2nd edition). Truly it is not superfluous to insist on this principle when we so perpetually find the study of the cursive manuscripts disparaged by the use of what we may venture to call the Caliph Omar's argument, that if they agree with the older authorities their evidence is superfluous, if they contradict them, it is necessarily false.

read in their copies of Scripture, we cannot withstand their testimony that such words were really found in manuscripts of the New Testament in the second and third centuries, one or two hundred years before Codd. \aleph B were in existence. If, therefore, we take a various reading of the text for which any one of these venerable men has vouched, and observe that it is supported perhaps by a few manuscripts of various ages, then by a version or two, especially if they be natives of different countries, and flow together into the same stream from sources remote from each other;—the rather too if the reading be plausible and even probable in itself:—and if, after having formed an opinion that on the whole it deserves to be respectfully considered, we then turn to \aleph or B, or to both, and discover the same reading in them also:—not only has the variation itself made out an urgent case for our acceptance, but the character of \aleph and B as faithful witnesses is largely enhanced. It is moreover evident, that if the same method of investigation be pursued many times over with the same, or something approaching to the same success, the value of \aleph and B as truthful codices will be proportionally increased.

A single good example of this process will make it yet more intelligible to the careful student. It shall be one that has been chosen for the purpose by more than one of the advocates of the system we are on the whole opposing. Of the two forms in which the Lord's Prayer is delivered to us, Matth. vi. 13 has the clause *ἀλλὰ ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ* in every known authority: in Luke xi. 4 the case is far otherwise. That Tertullian, when citing the words before and after it, should take no notice of it, would of itself prove little. Origen, however, once passes it by in like manner, once more expressly declares that it was not in S. Luke (*παρὰ τῷ Λουκᾷ σεσιωπῆται*), a third time explains in his most happy manner why it was omitted by the one Evangelist, inserted by the other. The question thus raised sets us upon the inquiry what other evidence we have for rejecting the clause in S. Luke. It appears to be wanting in several Greek manuscripts, such as L. 1. 22. 57. 130 both Greek and Latin, 131. 226*. 237. 242. 426. 582, and in the catenas annexed to 36. 237. 239. 253. 259. 426; several of these codices (as 57. 226. 242) not being much found in such company. It is absent from the Vulgate version, and apparently from some forms

of the Old Latin, the rather as Augustine says that S. Luke gives five petitions in the Lord's Prayer, S. Matthew seven, and attributes the omission of our clause to some such reason as Origen had assigned. It is omitted also in the Armenian version, which, if it had been quite free from suspicion of later emendation (*see* p. 408), would be said to differ *toto cælo* from the Latin in country and genius. The list is closed by the younger Cyril, a pure witness from another region, very different lines of evidence thus converging into one. Then comes the probability that if one of the Gospels contained the Lord's Prayer in a shorter form than the other, nothing was so likely as that a scribe in perfect innocence would supply what he considered an undoubted defect, without staying to reflect with Origen and Augustine that the two were delivered on different occasions, to different classes of persons, with different ends in view. Turning therefore now, with a strong case already made out for the omission of the clause, to \aleph and B, which have been hitherto kept out of sight, we find that B has not the disputed words at all, nor had \aleph by the first hand, but in one three centuries later. The clear result, so far as it goes, is at once to vindicate the claim of \aleph B to high consideration, and to make out a formidable case against the genuineness of the six words involved. We say advisedly a formidable, not necessarily a fatal case, for the counter evidence is still very strong, and comes as much as that alleged above from different quarters, being also as early as widely diffused. It consists of Codd. ACDEFGHKMR¹SUVT Δ II, of all cursives

¹ The evidence of Cod. R (*see* p. 141), which contains only the decisive letters \aleph ρ σ γ , is the more valuable, inasmuch as it has been alleged to support the readings of documents of the other class (which no doubt it often does) and thus to afford a confirmation of their authority; it cannot help them much when its vote is against them. On analysing the 908 readings for which R is cited in Tischendorf's eighth edition, I find that it sides with A, the representative of the one class, 356 times; with its better reputed rival B 157 times, where A and B are at variance. It is with A alone of the great uncials 101 times, with B alone 4, with \aleph alone 5, with C alone (but C is lost in 473 places out of the 908) 6; with D alone 24. Some of its other combinations are instructive. It is with AC 42 times and with ACL 16; with AD 51 and with ADL 18; with \aleph B eleven and with \aleph BL 29; with \aleph L 9 times; with AL 19; with BL 15; with CL never; with DL twice. Cod. R stands unsupported by any of the preceding 89 times, seldom without some countenance (but *see* Luke xi. 24, $\epsilon\kappa$), such as the Memphitic version, or later codices. In the places where its fragments coincide with those of Cod. \aleph (which is much more friendly to B, *see* p. 156), they agree 127 times, differ 105.

not named above, of the Old Latin *b. c. f. ff. i. l. q.*, whereof *f.* mostly goes with the Vulgate (*hiant a. e.*), the Memphitic, Peshito, Curetonian, Philoxenian Syriac (the Jerusalem not containing this week-day Lesson), and the Æthiopic versions. So far as this side is weak at all, it lacks Patristic evidence (which would be difficult to obtain under the circumstances), and the balance of internal evidence is decidedly adverse to it.

14. The student may try the same experiments on two other passages often urged in this debate, Matth. v. 22, for which he will find the materials above, p. 501, and Matth. xix. 17, which will be discussed in Chap. ix. We freely admit that these are but a few out of many cases where the statements of ancient writers about whose date there can be no question are borne out by the readings of the more ancient codices, especially of *Æ* or *B*, or of the two united. Undoubtedly this circumstance lends a weight and authority to these manuscripts, and to the few which side with them, which their mere age would not procure for them: it does not entitle them to be regarded as virtually the only documents worthy of being consulted in the recension of the sacred text; as qualifying to be sole arbiters in critical questions relating to the New Testament, against whose decision there can be no appeal. Yet nothing less than this is claimed in behalf of one or two of them by their devoted admirers. In a court of justice, we are told, when once the evidence of a witness has been thoroughly probed and tested, it is received thenceforth as true, even on those points where it stands alone, and in the face of strong antecedent improbabilities. Now reasoning in metaphor has its advantages, as well for the sake of clearly expressing our meaning, as of making an impression on those we address; but it is attended with this grave inconvenience, that, since the analogy between no two things that can be compared is quite complete, we are sorely tempted to apply to the one of them properties which appertain exclusively to the other. In the present instance, besides the properties wherein documentary can be assimilated to oral testimony, such as general accuracy and means of information, an important element is present in the latter, to which the former has nothing parallel, namely, moral character, that full persuasion of a witness's good faith and disinterested integrity to which a jury will

often surrender, and rightly surrender, all earlier impressions and predilections. Of this we can have nothing in the case of the manuscripts of Scripture which we now possess. In the second century we have seen too many instances of attempts to tamper with the text of Scripture, some merely injudicious, others positively dishonest (*see* p. 505); but all this was over long before the scribes of the fourth and fifth centuries began their happy task, as simple and honest copyists of the older records placed before them. Let their testimony be received with attention at all times; let it be accepted as conclusive whensoever there are no grave reasons to the contrary, but let not their paramount authority shut out all other considerations, external and internal, which might guide us to the true reading of a passage; nor let us be so illogical as to conclude, because \aleph and B are sometimes right, that therefore they never are in the wrong¹.

The results of this excessive and irrational deference to one of our chief codices, that which he was so fortunate as to bring to the light twenty-five years ago, appears plainly in Tischendorf's eighth edition of the New Testament. That great critic had never been conspicuous for stability of judgment. His third edition was constructed almost without any reference to the cursive manuscripts, which, unless they be, what no one asserts or imagines, merely corrupt copies, or copies of copies, of existing uncials, must needs be the representatives of yet older codices which have long since perished: "respectable ancestors" (as one has quaintly put the matter) "who live only in their descendants" (Long, *Cicero's Verrin. Orat.*, Præf. p. vi.)². In

¹ Dean Burgon avers that he is thoroughly convinced that "no reading can be of real importance,—I mean has a chance of being *true*,—which is witnessed to exclusively by a very few copies, whether uncial or cursive...Nothing else are such extraordinary readings, *wherever they may happen to be found*, but fragments of primitive error, repudiated by the Church ('a witness and keeper of Holy Writ') in her corporate capacity" (Letter in the *Guardian*, July 12, 1882). I cannot go quite so far as this.

² Not that we can in any way assent to the notions of Canon T. R. Birks (*Essay on the right estimation of manuscript evidence in the text of the N. T.*, 1878), whose proposition that "Constant increase of error is no certain and inevitable result of repeated transcription" (p. 33) is true enough in itself, though we cannot follow him when he adds that "Errors, after they have found entrance, may be removed as well as increased in later copies. A careful scribe may not only make fewer mistakes of his own, but he may correct manifest faults of

Tischendorf's seventh edition, completed in 1859, that error was rectified, and the sum of textual variations between the third and seventh edition in consequence amounted to 1296, in no less than 595 of which (430 of the remainder being mere matters of spelling) he returned to the readings of the Received text, which he had before deserted, but to which fresh materials and larger experience had brought him back¹. In the eighth edition another disturbing element is introduced, and that edition differs from his seventh in as many as 3369 places, to the scandal of the science of Comparative Criticism, as well as to his own grave discredit for discernment and consistency. The evidence of Cod. N, supported or even unsupported by one or two authorities of any description, proved with him sufficient to outweigh all other witnesses, whether manuscripts, versions, or ecclesiastical writers.

The foregoing examination will probably have satisfied the student that we have no right to regard Cod. B as a second Infallible Voice proceeding from the Vatican, which, when it has once spoken, must put an end to all strife. Yet nothing less than this is claimed for it by writers, who yet have bestowed much thought and labour on this controversy. "Seeing that

the manuscript from which he copies, and avail himself of the testimony of others, so as to revise and improve the text of that on which he chiefly relies." Only such a scribe would no longer be a witness for the state of the text as extant in his generation, but a critical editor, working on principles of his own, whether good or bad alike unknown to us.

¹ Very pertinent to this matter is a striking extract from J. G. Reiche (a critic "remarkable for extent and accuracy of learning, and for soundness and sobriety of judgment," as Canon Cook vouches, *Revised Version*, p. 4), given in Bloomfield's *Critical Annotations on the Sacred Text*, p. 5, note: "In multis sanè N. T. locis lectionis variæ, iisque gravissimi argumenti, de verâ scripturâ judicium firmum et absolutum, quo acquiescere possis, ferri nequit, nisi omnium subsidiorum nostrorum alicujus auctoritatis suffragia, et interna veri falsique indicia, diligenter explorata, justâ lance expendantur...Quod in causâ est, ut re non satis omni ex parte circumspectâ, non solum critici tantopere inter se dissentiant, sed etiam singuli sententiam suam toties retractant atque commutent." In the same spirit Lagarde, speaking of the more recent manuscripts of the Septuagint, thus protests: "Certum est eos non a somniis monachorum undecimi vel alius cujusquam sæculi natos, sed ex archetypis uncialibus aut ipsos aut intercedentibus aliis derivatos. Unde elucet criticum acuto judicio et doctrinâ probabili instructum codicibus recentioribus collectis effecturum esse quid in communi plurium aliquorum archetypo scriptum fuerit" (*Genesis*, p. 19). Compare also Canon Cook, *Revised Version of the First Three Gospels*, p. 5.

the Vatican manuscript does not contain one single passage that can be demonstrated to be spurious, or that by the evidence of other manuscripts and of the context, admits of just doubt as to its authenticity, a position that no other manuscript enjoys, man is bound to accept the testimony of that manuscript alone, as his present text of the sacred record, wherever he possesses its teaching¹." I am not sure whether, if we conceded this writer's premisses, we should be bound to accept his conclusion; but the easiest way of disposing of his argument, as well as of that of persons, who, in heart agreeing with him, would hardly like to enunciate their principle so broadly, is presently (pp. 543—52) to lay before the student a few readings of Cod. B, either standing alone, or supported by \aleph and others, respecting whose authenticity, or rather genuineness, some of us must be forgiven if we cherish considerable doubts. It is right, however, to declare that this discussion is forced upon us through no wish to dissemble the great value of the Codex Vaticanus, which in common with our opponents we regard as the most weighty single authority that we possess, but entirely by way of unavoidable protest against a claim for supremacy set up in its behalf, which can belong of right to no existing document whatsoever.

15. But indeed the theories of preceding critics, as well as the practical application of those theories to the sacred text, have been thrown into the shade by the more recent and elaborate publications of Drs Hort and Westcott, briefly noticed in a preceding chapter (p. 488), and claiming in this place our serious attention². The system on which their text has been construct-

¹ "So extravagant a statement could scarcely be deemed worthy of the elaborate confutation with which Dr Scrivener has condescended to honour it" (*Saturday Review*, Aug. 20, 1881). Yet this scheme of *Comparative Criticism made easy* has obtained, for its childlike simplicity, more acceptance than the Reviewer could reasonably suppose. Dr Hort, of course, speaks very differently: "B must be regarded as having preserved not only a very ancient text, but a very pure line of very ancient text, and that with comparatively small depravation either by scattered ancient corruptions otherwise attested or by individualisms of the scribe himself. On the other hand, to take it as the sole authority except where it contains self-betraying errors, as some have done, is an unwarrantable abandonment of criticism, and in our opinion inevitably leads to erroneous results" (*Introd.* p. 250).

² The textual labours of the Cambridge duumvirate have received all the fuller consideration in the learned world by reason of their authors having been members of the New Testament Revision Company, in whose deliberations they

ed has been vindicated, so far as vindication was possible, in Dr Hort's *Introduction*, a very model of earnest reasoning, calling for and richly rewarding the close and repeated study of all who would learn the utmost that can be done for settling the text of the New Testament on dogmatic principles. The germ of this theory can be traced in the speculations of Bentley and Griesbach; its authors would confess themselves on many points disciples of Lachmann, although their process of investigation is far more artificial than his. But there is little hope for the stability of their imposing structure, if its foundations have been laid on the sandy ground of ingenious conjecture: and since barely the smallest vestige of historical evidence has ever been alleged in support of the views of these accomplished editors, their teaching must either be received as intuitively true, or dismissed from our consideration as precarious, and even visionary. This much said by way of preface, we will endeavour to state the principles they advocate, as fairly and concisely as we can.

(a) The books of the New Testament, even the Holy Gospels themselves, could not well have been collected into one volume till some time after the death of S. John. During this early period, each portion of the inspired record would be circulated separately, until at length the four Gospels would be brought together in one book or Quaternion, and, since each component member had to receive a distinctive appellation, the simplest and the earliest headings would ascribe them to their

had a real influence, though, as a comparison of their text with that adopted by the Revisionists might easily have shewn, by no means a preponderating one. I have carefully studied the chief criticisms which have been published on the controversy, without materially adding to the acquaintance with the subject which nearly eleven years of familiar conference with my colleagues had necessarily brought to me. The formidable onslaught on Dr Hort's and Canon Westcott's principles in three scarcely anonymous articles in the *Quarterly Review*, especially in the number for April 1882, and Canon F. O. Cook's *Revised Version of the First Three Gospels* (1882), must be known to most scholars, and abound with materials from which a final judgment may be formed. *The Ely Lectures on the Revised Version of the N. T.* (1882), which my friend and benefactor Canon Kennedy was pleased to inscribe to myself, are none the less valuable for their attempt to hold the balance even between opposite views of the questions at issue. The host of pamphlets and articles in periodicals which the occasion has called forth could hardly be enumerated in detail, but some of them have been used with due acknowledgment in Chap. ix.

respective authors, *κατὰ Ματθαῖον, κατὰ Μάρκον, κ.τ.λ.*, the general title of the four being *Εὐαγγέλιον*. "It is quite uncertain to what extent the whole N. T. was ever included in a single volume in Ante-Nicene times" (Hort, *Introd.* pp. 223, 268), only that the Gospels had certainly been collected together when Justin Martyr wrote his first Apology between A.D. 139 and 150, inasmuch as he appeals thrice over to the Memoirs of the Apostles, which he once identifies with the Gospels (*οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἐν τοῖς γενομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπομνημονεύμασιν ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια*). Justin's disciple Tatian, again, composed a Harmony of the Four (*Διὰ τεσσάρων*), respecting the precise nature of which we have recently gained very seasonable information (*see above*, p. 57, note 2). "The idea, if not the name, of a collective 'Gospel' is implied throughout the well-known passage in the third book of Irenæus, who doubtless received it from earlier generations" (Hort, p. 321). Hence it is not unreasonable to suspect that our great codices (NABC), which originally contained the whole N. T., may have been transcribed in their several parts from copies differing from each other in genius and in date. With such a possibility before us we ought not to be perplexed if the character of the text whether of Cod. A or of Cod. B differs in the Gospels from that which it bears in the Acts and the Epistles; or if Cod. C in the Apocalypse (*see above*, p. 119, note), and Cod. Δ in S. Mark (*see above*, p. 151) appear to belong to a family or group apart from that of the rest of their respective codices.

(β) At this remote period, during the first half of the second century, must have originated the wide variations from the prevailing text on the part of our primary authorities, both manuscripts and versions, which survive in Cod. Bezae of the Greek, and in the Old Latin codices or at least in some of them. The text they exhibit is distinguished as Western, and they have been joined by a powerful ally, the Curetonian Syriac. Critics of every school agree in admitting the primitive existence of this Western recension (*see above*, pp. 470, 510), and in their estimate of its general spirit. "The earliest readings which can be fixed chronologically belong to it...But any prepossessions in its favour that might be created by this imposing early ascendancy are for the most part soon dissipated by continuous study of its internal character" (Hort, p. 120). "The

chief and most constant characteristic of the Western readings is a love of paraphrase. Words, clauses, and even whole sentences were changed, omitted, and inserted with astonishing freedom, wherever it seemed that the meaning could be brought out with greater force and definiteness" (*ibid.* p. 122). "Another equally important characteristic is a disposition to enrich the text at the cost of its purity by alterations or additions taken from traditional and perhaps from apocryphal and other non-biblical sources" (*ibid.* p. 123). Especially may we note among other interpolations the long passage after Matth. xx. 28 which we cited above, p. 8.

(γ) We now come to the feature which distinguishes Dr Hort's system from any hitherto propounded; by the acceptance or non-acceptance of which his whole edifice must stand or fall. He seems to exaggerate the force of extant evidence when he judges that the corrupt Western "was the more widely-spread text of Ante-Nicene times" (*ibid.* p. 120); but he tacitly assumes that many codices, versions, and ecclesiastical writers, remained free from its malignant influence. The evidence of this latter class was preserved comparatively pure until the middle of the third century, when it was taken in hand, at some time between A.D. 250 and 350, "at what date it is impossible to say with confidence, and even for conjecture the materials are scanty" (*ibid.* p. 137), by the Syrian bishops and Fathers of the Patriarchate of Antioch, who undertook (1) "an authoritative revision at Antioch" of the Greek text, which (2) was then taken as a standard for a similar authoritative revision of the Syriac text, and (3) was itself at a later time subjected to a second authoritative revision, carrying out more completely the purposes of the first" (*ibid.* p. 137). Of this two-fold authoritative revision of the Greek text, of this formal transmutation of the Curetonian Syriac into the Peshito (for this is what Dr Hort means, though his language is a little obscure), although they must have been of necessity public acts of great Churches in ages abounding in Councils General or Provincial, not one trace remains in the history of Christian antiquity; no one writer seems conscious that any modification either of the Greek Scriptures or of the vernacular translation was made in or before their times. It is as if the Bishops' Bible had been

thrust out of the English Church service and out of the studies of her divines, and the Bible of 1611 had silently taken its place, no one knew how, or when, or why, or indeed that any change whatever had been made. Yet regarding his speculative conjecture as undubitably true, Dr Hort proceeds to name the text as it stood before his imaginary era of transfusion a *Pre-Syrian* text, and that into which it was changed, sometimes *Antiochian*, more often *Syrian*¹; while of the latter recension, though made deliberately, as our author believes, by the authoritative voice of the Eastern Church, he does not shrink from declaring that "all distinctively Syrian readings must be at once rejected" (*ibid.* p. 119), thus making a clean sweep of all critical materials, Fathers, versions, manuscripts uncial or cursive, comprising about nineteen twentieths of the whole mass, which do not correspond with his preconceived opinion of what a correct text ought to be (*ibid.* p. 163).

(8) But one or two steps yet remain in this thorough elimination of useless elements. A few authorities still survive which are honoured as *Pre-Syrian*, and continued unaffected by the phantom revisions, which, for critical purposes, have reduced their colleagues to ignominious silence. Besides the Western, Dr Hort has in reserve two other groups, the Alexandrian and the Neutral. The former retains a text essentially pure from Syrian (though not from Western) mixture, but its component members are portentously few in number, being tolerably void of corruption as regards the substance, with "no incorporation of matter extraneous to the canonical text of the Bible, and no habitual or extreme license of paraphrase ...the changes made having usually more to do with language than with matter, and being marked by an effort after correctness of phrase" (*ibid.* p. 131). There are no unmixed vouchers for this Non-Western, *Pre-Syrian*, Alexandrian class, though Cyril of Alexandria seems to come the nearest to purity

¹ We are concerned not with names but with things, so that Dr Hort may give his *ignis fatuus* what appellation he likes, only why he calls it Syrian it is hard to determine. The notices connecting his imaginary revision with Lucian of Antioch which we have given above (pp. 515, 517 and note 2) he feels to be insufficient, for he says no more than that "the conjecture derives some little support from a passage of Jerome, which is not itself discredited by the precariousness of the modern theories which have been suggested by it" (Hort, p. 138).

(*ibid.* p. 141), then Origen, occasionally other Alexandrian Fathers, also the Thebaic, and especially the Memphitic version (*ibid.* p. 131). No extant MS. has preserved so many Alexandrian readings as Cod. L (*ibid.* p. 153). Cod. C has some, T and Ξ more: in the Gospels they are chiefly marked by the combination \aleph CLXZ 33 (*ibid.* p. 166). In Cod. A, for the Acts and Epistles (*see above*, pp. 101, 472, 531), the Alexandrian outnumber both the Syrian and Western readings (Hort, p. 152), but they all are mere degenerations so far as they depart from Dr Hort's standard.

(e) The *Neutral* type of text: so called because it is free from the glaring corruption of the Western, from the smooth assimilations of the Syrian, and from the grammatical purism of the Alexandrian. Only two documents come under this last head, Codd. B and \aleph , and of these two, when they differ, B is preferable to \aleph , which has a not inconsiderable Western element, besides that the scribe's bold and rough manner has rendered "all the ordinary lapses due to rapid and careless transcription more numerous" than in B (*ibid.* p. 246). Yet, with certain slight exceptions which he carefully specifies, it is our learned author's belief "(1) that the readings of \aleph B should be accepted as the true readings until strong internal evidence is found to the contrary, and (2) that no readings of \aleph B can safely be rejected absolutely, though it is sometimes right to place them only on an alternative footing, especially where they receive no support from Versions and Fathers" (*ibid.* p. 225): and this their preeminence, in our critic's judgment, "is due to the extreme, and, as it were, primordial antiquity of the common original from which the ancestries of the two MSS. have diverged, the date of which cannot be later than the earlier part of the second century, and may well be yet earlier" (*ibid.* p. 223).

That \aleph B should thus lift up their heads against all the world is much, especially having regard to the fact that several versions and not a few Fathers are older than they: for, while we grant that a simple patristic citation, standing by itself, is of little value (*see above*, pp. 416—7), yet when the context or current of exposition renders it clear what reading these writers had before them, they must surely for that passage be equivalent as authorities to a manuscript of their own age. Nor will Dr Hort allow us to make any deduction from the weight of the united

testimony of \mathfrak{NB} by reason of the curious fact, demonstrated as well to his satisfaction (Hort, p. 213) as to our own, that the scribe of B was the actual writer of three distinct quires, forming three pairs of conjugate leaves of \mathfrak{N} (*see above*, p. 92, note); but on this head we think he will find few readers to agree with him. His devotion to Cod. B when it stands alone is of necessity far more intelligent than that of the unnamed writer cited above (p. 529, 530), yet we believe that his implied confidence is scarcely the less misplaced. He is very glad when he can to find friends for his favourite, and discusses with great care the several binary combinations, such as BL , BC , BT , $B\Xi$, BD (which last, indeed, is unsafe enough), AB , BZ , $B\mathfrak{3}$ or $B\Delta$ (for $S.$ Mark) in the Gospels; AB , BC , &c., in the rest of the $N. T.$ (Hort, p. 227). He does not disparage the *subsingular* readings of B , meaning by this convenient, perhaps novel, term, the agreement of B with "inferior Greek MSS., Versions, or Fathers, or combinations of documentary evidence of these kinds" (*ibid.* p. 230). But, when the worst comes to the worst, and Cod. B is left absolutely alone, its advocates need not despair, inasmuch as no readings of that manuscript, not involving clerical error (and "the scribe reached by no means a high standard of accuracy" *ibid.* p. 233), must be lightly or hastily rejected, so powerfully do they commend themselves on their own merits (*ibid.* p. 238). This transcendent excellency, however, belongs to it chiefly in the Gospels. In the Acts and Catholic Epistles, if the value of A increases (*see above*, p. 535), that of B is somewhat diminished; while in the Pauline Epistles a "local Western element of B " (Hort, p. 240) brings it into the less reputable company of DFG or even of D alone. Hence in the formation of Westcott and Hort's Pauline text we sometimes meet with what appears the paradoxical result that the evidence of B alone is accepted, while that of B attended by other codices is laid aside as insufficient.

It is very instructive to compare the foregoing sketch of Dr Hort's system, brief and inadequate, yet not we trust unfair, as it is, with the theory of Griesbach (*see above*, pp. 470—2), for whose labours and genius we share much of his successor's veneration. As regards the modification of text called Western their views are nearly identical, only that Griesbach was necessarily ignorant of such important constituents of it as the Curetonian Syriac and the Old Latin codices which have come to

light since his day, and thus was exempted from the temptation to which Dr Hort has unhappily yielded, of believing that Codd. \aleph B, with all their comparative purity, represent a primitive text already corrupted by certain accretions from which the Western copies were free (*see below*, p. 555 and note 2): a violent supposition which seriously impairs the homogeneousness and self-consistency of his whole argument (Hort, pp. 175—6). Griesbach's Alexandrian class includes not only that which Dr Hort understands by the name, but the later critic's *Neutral* class also, which indeed we fail to distinguish from the other by any marked peculiar characteristics. The more mixed text which Griesbach called Constantinopolitan, and which is represented by Cod. A in the Gospels, in part by Cod. C, the Latin Vulgate, and later authorities, differs from Dr Hort's Syrian in much more than name. Wider and deeper researches have made it evident that Griesbach's notion of a gradual modernising of the text used from the fourth century downwards in the Patriarchate of Constantinople, would not adequately account for the phenomena wherewith we have to deal. The general, almost universal, prevalence of such a departure from the readings of \aleph B, met with in ecclesiastical writers at least as early in date as the parchment of those manuscripts themselves, can be explained by nothing less than a comprehensive, deliberate, authoritative recension of the sacred books, undertaken by the chief rulers of the Antiochene Church, accepted throughout that great Patriarchate, yet, in spite of all this, never noticed even in the way of passing reference by writers of any description from that period onwards, until its consequences, not its process, became known to eminent critics in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Nothing less than the exigency of his case could have driven our author to encumber himself with a scheme fraught with difficulties too great even for his skill to overcome.

Dr Hort's system, therefore, is entirely destitute of historical foundation. He does not so much as make a show of pretending to it: but then he would persuade us, as he has persuaded himself, that its substantial truth is proved by results; and for results of themselves to establish so very much, they must needs be unequivocal, and admit of no logical escape from the conclusions they lead up to. But is this really the case? "Two Members of the New Testament Company" of Revisers, in a temperate and

very able pamphlet, have answered in the affirmative, and have assigned, after Dr Hort, but with greater precision than he, *three* reasons "for the belief that the Syrian text is posterior in origin to those which he calls Western, Alexandrian, and Neutral" (*The Revisers and the Greek text of the N. T.*, p. 25). Granting for our present purpose the reality of this Syrian text, of whose independent existence we have no direct proof whatever, let us see what the three reasons will amount to.

(a) "The first reason appears to us almost sufficient to settle the question by itself. It is founded on the observation ...that the Syrian text presents numerous instances of readings which, according to all textual probability, must be considered to be combinations of early readings still extant."... "The reader will find in Dr Hort's own pages abundant illustration of the fact in eight examples rigorously analysed, which seem to supply a proof, as positive as the subject admits, that Syrian readings are posterior both to Western readings, and to other readings which may be properly described as Neutral" (*ibid.* pp. 25—6). But the misfortune is that the subject does not admit of positive proof; that what appears to one scholar "textual probability," appears to another a mere begging of the whole question. These eight examples have been re-analysed by Canon Cook (*Revised Version*, pp. 205—18), and just before him by the *Quarterly Reviewer* (April 1882, pp. 325—6), writers not destitute either of learning or of natural acuteness, who would fain lead us to draw directly opposite inferences from Dr Hort's. We will take but one specimen, the eighth and last, to make our meaning as clear as possible. "This simple instance," says Dr Hort complacently, "needs no explanation" (Hort, p. 104).

Luke xxiv. 53. *καὶ ἦσαν διαπαντὸς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, αἰνοῦντες καὶ εὐλογοῦντες τὸν Θεόν.* Thus it stands in the Received text with AC**FHKMSUVXΓΔΔΠ, all cursives, even those most esteemed by Westcott and Hort, with *c. f. g.*, the Vulgate, Peshito and Philoxenian Syriac, the Armenian, and Æthiopic virtually (*εὐλογοῦντες καὶ αἰνοῦντες τὸν Θεόν*). This is called the Syrian reading.

The two so-termed Pre-Syrian forms are,

om. *καὶ αἰνοῦντες* NBCL*, Memphitic (Hort), Jerusalem Syriac. This is the Neutral and Alexandrian text.

om. *εὐλογούντες καὶ* D *a. b. e. ff. l. gat., bōdl.*, Memphitic (Tischendorf). This is the Western text.

The assumption of course is that the Syrian reading is a *conflation* of those of the other two classes, so forming a full but not over-burdened clause. But if this *præjudicium* be met with the plea that D and the Latins perpetually, B and its allies very often, seek to abridge the sacred original, it would be hard to demonstrate that the latter explanation is more improbable than the former. Beyond this point of subjective feeling the matter cannot well be carried, whether on one side or the other.

Dr Hort's other examples of conflation have the same double edge as Luke xxiv. 53, and there is no doubt that Dr Sanday is right in asserting that like instances may be found wheresoever they are looked for; but they prove nothing to any one who has not made up his mind beforehand as to what the reading ought to be. We have already confessed that there is a tendency on the part of copyists to assimilate the narratives of the several Gospels to each other; and that such Harmonies as that of Tatian would facilitate the process (*see above*, p. 12); that synonymous words are liable to be exchanged and harsh constructions supplied (*above*, p. 13). Part of the value of the older codices arises from their comparative freedom from such corrections: but then this modernising process is on the part of copyists unsystematic, almost unconscious; it is wholly different from the deliberate formal emendations implied throughout Dr Hort's volume.

(β) The second reason adduced by the *Two Revisers* "is almost equally cogent" in their estimation. It is that while the Ante-Nicene Fathers "place before us from separate and in some cases widely distant countries examples of Western, Alexandrian, and Neutral readings, it appears to be certain that before the middle of the third century we have no historical traces of readings which can properly be entitled distinctively Syrian" (*The Revisers &c.*, p. 26). Now the middle of the third century is the earliest period assigned by Dr Hort for the inception of his phantom scheme of Syrian revision, and we feel sure that the epoch of Patristic evidence was not put thus early, in order to exclude Origen, whose support of his Alexandrian readings Griesbach found so partial and precarious (*see above*, p. 472). In fact Dr. Hort expressly states that "The only

period for which we have any thing like a sufficiency of representative knowledge consists roughly of three-quarters of a century from about 175 to 250: but the remains of four eminent Greek Fathers, which range through this period, cast a strong light on textual history backward and forward. They are Irenæus, of Asia Minor, Rome, and Lyons; his disciple Hippolytus, of Rome; Clement, of Athens and Alexandria; and his disciple, Origen, of Alexandria and Palestine" (Hort, p. 112). Even if the extant writings of these Fathers had been as rigorously examined and as thoroughly known as they certainly are not, "their scantiness and the comparative vagueness of the textual materials contained in them" (*ibid.*) would hinder our drawing at present any positive conclusions regarding the sacred text as known to them. Even the slender specimens of controverted readings collected in our Chap. IX. would suffice to prove that their evidence is by no means exclusively favourable to Dr Hort's opinions, a fact for which we will allege but one instance out of many, the support given to the Received text by Hippolytus in that grand passage, John iii. 13¹.

There are three considerable works relating to the criticism of the N. T. still open to the enterprise of scholars, and they can hardly be taken up at all except by the fresh hopefulness of scholars yet young. We need a fuller and more comprehensive collation of the cursive manuscripts (Hort, pp. 76—7): "a complete collection of all the fragments of the Thebaic New Testament is now the most pressing want in the province of textual criticism," writes Bp Lightfoot (*see above*, p. 396), and he might have added a better edition of the Memphitic also: but for the demands of the present controversy we must set in the first rank the necessity for a complete survey of the Patristic literature of the first five centuries at the least (*see above*, p. 418). While we concede to Dr Hort that as a rule "negative patristic evidence"—that derived from the mere silence of the writer, "is of no force at all" (Hort, p. 201), and attach very slight importance to citations which are not express (*see above*, pp. 416—7), it is from this source that we must look for any stable decision regarding the comparative purity in

¹ Other examples may be seen in our notes in ch. ix. on Luke ii. 14 for Methodius; Luke xxii. 43, 44 for Hippolytus again; Luke xxiii. 34 for Irenæus and Origen. Add Luke x. 1 for Irenæus (p. 546, note 1).

reference to the sacred autographs of the several classes of documents which have passed under our review.

(γ) Hence the second reason for supporting the text of Westcott and Hort urged by the *Two Revisers* relates to an investigation of facts hitherto but partially ascertained: the third, like the first, involves only matters of opinion, in which individual judgments and prepossessions bear the chief part. "Yet a third reason is supplied by Internal Evidence, or, in other words, by considerations...of Intrinsic or of Transcriptional Probability" (*The Revisers &c.*, p. 26): and "here," they very justly add, "it is obvious that we enter at once into a very delicate and difficult domain of textual criticism, and can only draw our conclusions with the utmost circumspection and reserve" (*ibid.*). On the subject of Internal Evidence enough for our present purpose has been said in Chap. VI. (pp. 490, &c.), and Dr Hort's Transcriptional head appears to be Bp Ellicott's *paradiplomatic* (see our p. 499) under a more convenient name. Our author's discussion of what he calls the "rudimental criticism" of Internal evidence (Hort, Part II. pp. 19—72), if necessarily somewhat abstruse, is one of the most elaborate and interesting in his admirable volume. It is sometimes said that all reasoning is analytical, not synthetical; the reducing a foregone conclusion to the first principles on which it rests, rather than the building upon those first principles the materials wherewith to construct the conclusion. Of this portion of Dr Hort's labours the *dictum* is emphatically true. Cod. B and its characteristic peculiarities are never out of the author's mind, and those lines of thought are closely followed which most readily lead up to the theory of that manuscript's practical impeccability. We allege this statement in no disparaging spirit, and it may be that Dr Hort will not wholly disagree with us. Not only is he duly sensible of the precariousness of Intrinsic evidence, inasmuch as "the uncertainty of the decision in ordinary cases is shown by the great diversity of judgement which is actually found to exist" (Hort, p. 21), but he boldly, and no less boldly than truly, intimates that in such cases the ultimate decision must rest with the individual critic: "in almost all texts variations occur where personal judgement inevitably takes a large part in the final decision...Different minds will be

impressed by different parts of the evidence as clearer than the rest, and so virtually ruling the rest: here therefore personal discernment would seem the surest ground for confidence" (*ibid.* p. 65). For the critic's confidence perhaps, not for that of his reader.

The process of grouping authorities, whether by considerations of their geographical distribution or (more uncertainly) according to their genealogy as inferred from internal considerations (*ibid.* pp. 49—65), occupies a large measure of Dr Hort's attention. The idea has not indeed originated with him, and its occasional value will be frankly acknowledged in the ensuing pages (*see below*, pp. 553—6), so that on this head we need not further enlarge. In conclusion we will say, that the more our Cambridge Professor's *Introduction* is studied the more it grows upon our esteem for fulness of learning, for patience of research, for keenness of intellectual power, and especially for a certain marvellous readiness in accounting after some fashion for every new phenomenon which occurs, however apparently adverse to the acceptance of his own theory. With all our reverence for his genius, and gratitude for much that we have learnt from him in the course of our studies, we are compelled to repeat as emphatically as ever our strong conviction that the hypothesis to whose proof he has devoted so many laborious years, is destitute not only of historical foundation, but of all probability resulting from the internal goodness of the text which its adoption would force upon us¹.

This last assertion we will try to verify by subjoining a select number of those many passages in the N. T. wherein the two great codices \aleph and B, one or both of them, are witnesses

¹ For reasons which will be readily understood, we have quoted sparingly from the trenchant article in the *Quarterly Review*, April 1882, but the following summary of the consequences of a too exclusive devotion to Codd. \aleph B seems no unfit comment on the facts of the case: "Thus it would appear that the Truth of Scripture has run a very narrow risk of being lost for ever to mankind. Dr Hort contends that it more than half lay *perdu* on a forgotten shelf in the Vatican Library;—Dr Tischendorf that it had found its way into a waste-paper basket in the convent of S. Catherine at the foot of Mount Sinai,—from which he rescued it on the 4th February 1859:—neither, we venture to think, a very likely supposition. We incline to believe that the Author of Scripture hath not by any means shown Himself so unmindful of the safety of the Deposit as these learned persons imagine" (p. 365).

for readings, nearly all of which, to the best of our judgment, are corruptions of the sacred originals¹.

Matth. vi. 8. The transparent gloss δ θεός is inserted before δ πατήρ ὑμῶν by Codd. \aleph^*B and the Thebaic version².

Ver. 22. Ὁ λύχνος τοῦ σώματος ἐστὶν ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς σου B. a. b. c. ff'. n'.². h. l., the printed Vulgate, some Latin writers, and the Æthiopic. The addition of σου is more strongly attested in Luke xi. 34, but is intolerable in either place.

Matth. xvi. 21. Ἀπὸ τότε ἤρξατο ἰησοῦς χριστός: so the first hands of \aleph and B, with the Memphitic version only, their very frequent companion.

Matth. xxvii. 28. On the impossible reading of \aleph^*BD and a few others enough has been said in Chap. v., p. 480.

Ver. 49. We are here brought face to face with the gravest interpolation yet laid to the charge of B, whose tendency is usually in the opposite direction (p. 116). Westcott and Hort alone among the editors feel constrained to insert in the text, though enclosed in their double brackets and regarded as "most probably an interpolation," a sentence which neither they nor any other competent scholar can easily believe that the Evangelist ever wrote. After σώσων αὐτόν are set the following words borrowed from John xix. 34, with a slight verbal change, and representing that the Saviour was pierced before his death: ἄλλος δὲ λαβὼν λόγχην ἐνέθεν αὐτοῦ τὴν πλευράν, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὕδωρ καὶ αἷμα. Thus we read in $\aleph BOLU$ (which has εὐθέως before ἐξῆλθεν αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ) Γ. 5. 48. 67. 115. 127*, five good manuscripts of the Vulgate *gat.*, *mm.*, *chad.*, *Harl.* 1023 and 1802* (see p. 358) and the margin of 1 E. vi. (see p. 354), the Jerusalem Syriac once when the Lesson occurs, and the Æthiopic. Chrysostom thus read in his copy, but used the clause with so little reflection that he regarded the Lord as dead already. Severus of Antioch [d. 539], who himself protested against this gross corruption, tells us that

¹ Yet while refusing without hesitation the claim of the *monstra* which follow to be regarded as a part of the sacred text, we are by no means insensible to the fact impressed upon us by the Dean of Ilandaff, that there are readings which conciliate favour the more we think over them: it being the special privilege of Truth always to grow upon candid minds. We subjoin his persuasive words: "It is deeply interesting to take note of the process of thought and feeling which attends in one's own mind the presentation of some unfamiliar reading. At first sight the suggestion is repelled as unintelligible, startling, almost shocking. By degrees, light dawns upon it—it finds its plea and its palliation. At last, in many instances, it is accepted as adding force and beauty to the context, and a conviction gradually forms itself that thus and not otherwise was it written." (Vaughan, *Epistle to Romans*, Preface to the third edition, p. xxi.)

² The harmony subsisting between B and the Thebaic in characteristic readings, for which they stand almost or quite alone, is well worth notice: e. g. Acts xxvii. 37; Rom. xiii. 13; Col. iii. 6; Hebr. iii. 2; 1 John ii. 14; 20.

Cyril of Alexandria as well as Chrysostom received it. A scholion found in Cod. 72 refers this addition *εις τὸ καθ' ἱστορίαν εὐαγγέλιον Διοδώρου καὶ Τατιάνου καὶ ἄλλων διαφόρων ἀγίων πατέρων*, on the authority of Chrysostom; and from the unintentional blunders of Harmonists like Tatian such an insertion might very well have crept in (*see* p. 57). The marvel is that it found favour so widely as it did¹.

Matth. xxviii. 19. *βαπτίζαντες* occurs only in BD (whose Latin has *baptizantes*), as though Baptism were to precede instruction in the faith. Tregelles alone dares to place this reading in the text: Westcott and Hort have it in their margin.

Mark iii. 14, 16. After noticing the evidence which supported the corrupt sentence in Matth. xxvii. 49, we are little disposed to accept what is in substance the same for such feeble glosses as are afforded us in these two verses; namely, *οὓς καὶ ἀποστόλους ὀνόμασεν* after *δώδεκα* in ver. 14 (derived from Luke vi. 13), and *καὶ ἐποίησε τοὺς δώδεκα* at the beginning of ver. 16. Westcott and Hort receive both clauses, Tischendorf only the latter, with \aleph BC* Δ (*see* p. 150) and an Æthiopic manuscript: yet the former, if less likely to be genuine, is the better supported. It is found in \aleph BC* Δ (with some variation), in 13. 28. 69. 124. 238. 346, the Memphitic, the margin of the Philoxenian Syriac, the Æthiopic, the Arabic of the Polyglott: a goodly array from divers sources to uphold so bad a reading.

Mark vi. 2. *οἱ πολλοὶ* is read by Westcott and Hort instead of *πολλοὶ* with BL. 13. 28. 69. 346. Three out of the four cursives belong to Professor Ferrar's group: *see* p. 181.

Ver. 22. In the room of *τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῆς τῆς Ἡρωδιάδος* a serious variation of \aleph BDL Δ . 238. 473. 558 is admitted into the text by Westcott and Hort, *τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ* (+ *τῆς* 238. 558) Ἡρωδιάδος, thus bringing S. Mark into direct contradiction with Josephus, who expressly states that the wretched girl was named Salome, and was the daughter of Herod Philip by Herodias, who did not leave her husband till after Salome's birth (Josephus *Antiq.* Lib. xviii. ch. v. § 4). Add to this the extreme improbability that even Herod the Tetrarch should have allowed his own child to degrade herself in such wise as Salome did here, or that she could not have carried her point with her father without resorting to licentious allurements. We must therefore regard *αὐτοῦ* as certainly false, while *αὐτῆς* strongly expresses the writer's feeling that even Herodias could stoop so low, and being used emphatically has so much offended a few that they omit it altogether. Such are l. 118. 209. and some versions (*b. c. f.*, the Memphitic, Armenian, Æthiopic and Gothic) which did not understand it. Tischendorf was hardly right in adding the Peshito to the list².

¹ Yet in Penn's *Annotations to the Vatican Manuscripts* (1837) "The restoration of this verse to its due place" is described as "the most important circumstance of this [sc. his own] revision." Its omission is imputed to "the undue influence of a criticism of Origen [*ἦδη δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀποθανόντος*], whom Jerome followed."

² "This gross perversion of the truth, alike of Scripture and of history—a reading as preposterous as it is revolting," is the vigorous protest of the *Quarterly Reviewer* (Oct. 1881, p. 345).

Mark ix. 1. ὧδε τῶν for τῶν ὧδε (*ἔστηκότων*) is the almost impossible reading of BD* c. k* (*a. d. g. n.* are uncertain), adopted the more readily by Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort, because all have the proper order τῶν ὧδε in Matth. xvi. 28.

Mark xiii. 33. Lachmann, Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort reject (Tregelles more fitly sets within brackets) καὶ προσεύχεσθε with BD. 122. and the Latin *a. c. k.* and *tol.** of the Vulgate only. It is in the favour of the two words that they cannot have come from the parallel place in S. Matthew (ch. xxiv. 42), nor is the preceding verb the same in ch. xiv. 38. Here even *ⲚⲘⲗⲁ* side against B with AC and all other authorities, including the Egyptian and most Latin, as well as the Syriac versions.

Luke iv. 44. The wonderful variation *Ἰουδαίας* is brought into the text of Hort and Westcott, the true reading *Γαλιλαίας* being banished to their margin. Their change is upheld by a strong phalanx indeed: *ⲚⲔⲘⲘⲒⲠ*. 1. 21. 71. Evst. 222. 259 and some twenty other cursives (Evan 503 and two Lectionaries read *αὐτῶν* instead of either), the Memphitic and the text of the Philoxenian; authorities enough to prove anything not in itself impossible, as *Ἰουδαίας* is in this place. Not only is Galilee the scene of the events recorded immediately before and after the present verse, but the passage is manifestly parallel to Mark i. 39. The three Synoptic Gospels are broadly distinguished from that of S. John by their silence respecting the Lord's ministry in Judæa before he went up to the last passover. Yet Alford *in loco*, while admitting that "our narrative is thus brought into the more startling discrepancy with that of S. Mark, in which unquestionably the same portion of the sacred history is related," most strangely adds "Still these are considerations which must not weigh in the least degree with the critic. It is his province simply to track out what is the sacred text, not what, in his own feeble and partial judgment, *it ought to have been.*"

Luke vi. 48. It is surprising how a gloss so frigid as *διὰ τὸ καλῶς οἰκοδομηῆσθαι αὐτὴν* could have been accepted by Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort, in the room of *τελεμῖωτο γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν*, chiefly, it may be presumed, because the latter is the expression of S. Matthew (ch. vii. 25). Yet such is the reading of *ⲚⲔⲘⲘ*, of the two best cursives 33. 157, of the Memphitic (with some variation in its copies), of the margin of the Philoxenian, and of Cyril of Alexandria. The *Æthiopic* preserves both forms. As the present *οἰκοδομοῦντι* early in the verse involves a plain contradiction when compared with the perfect *οἰκοδομηῆσθαι* at the end, Tregelles changes the latter into *οἰκοδομείσθαι* on the feeble authority of the third hand of B, of 33, and possibly of 157.

Luke viii. 40. For *αὐτὸν* after *προσδοκῶντες* we find *τὸν θεὸν* in *Ⲛ* only. Of course the variation is quite wrong, but it is hard to see the pertinency of Dr Vance Smith's hint (*Theological Review*, July, 1875) "that it cannot have got in by accident."

Luke x. 1. This case is interesting, as being one wherein B (not *Ⲛ*) is at variance with the very express evidence of the earliest ecclesiastical writers, while it makes the number of these disciples, not

seventy, but seventy-two¹. With B are DM, also R ("ita enim certè omnino videtur," Tisch, *Monum. sacra inedita*, Vol. II., Proleg. p. xviii.) in the prefixed table of *τίτλοι* (see p. 55), its text being lost, Codd. 1. 42, *a. c. e. g*¹? *l*, the Vulgate, Curetonian Syriac, and Armenian. Lachmann with Westcott and Hort insert *δύο*, but within brackets, for the evidence against it is overwhelming both in number and in weight: namely, Codd. \aleph ACEGHKLSUVX Γ ΔΔΞΠ, all other cursives, *b. f. g.* of the Old Latin, the Memphitic, the three other Syriac, the Gothic, and Æthiopic versions.

Luke xiv. 5. Here again we have a strong conviction that \aleph , though now in the minority, is more correct than B, supported as the latter is by a dense array of witnesses of every age and country. In the clause *τινος υμῶν ὄνος ἢ βοῦς* of the Received text all the critical editors substitute *viός* for *ὄνος*, which introduces a bathos so tasteless as to be almost ludicrous². Yet *viός* is found with or without *ὄ* before it in AB (*hant* CF)EGHMSUV Γ ΔΔ, in no less than 125 cursive copies already cited by name³ (also *viός υμῶν* Evst. 259), in *e. f. g.*, the Thebaic, Peshito and Philoxenian⁴ Syriac versions: Cod. 508 and the Curetonian combine both forms *viός ἢ βοῦς ἢ ὄνος*, and Cod. 215 has *viός ἢ ὄνος* without *βοῦς*. Add to these Cyril of Alexandria (whose words are cited in catenas, as in the scholia to X. 253. 259), Titus of Bostra the commentator, Euthymius, and Theophylact. For *ὄνος* are \aleph KLXII. 1. 33. 66 *secundâ manu*, 69 (*ὄπος*). 71. 207 *sec. man.* 211. 213. 407. 413. 492. 509. 512. 547. 549. 550. 569. 570. 599. 602, and doubtless others not cited: also the text of X. 253. 259 in spite of the annexed commentary; of the versions *a. b. c. i. l.* of the Old Latin, the Vulgate, Memphitic, Jerusalem Syriac, Armenian and Æthiopic (*bos eius aut asinus*), though the Slavonic codices and Persic of the Polyglott make for *viός*. Cod. 52 (*sic*) and the Arabic of the Polyglott omit *ὄνος ἢ*, while D has *πρόβατον* (*ovis d*) for *ὄνος* (comp. Matth. xii. 11). YC or OIC mistaken as the contraction for YIOC is a mere guess, and we are safest here in clinging to common sense against a preponderance of outward evidence.

¹ "Post enim duodecim apostolos septuaginta alios Dominus noster ante se misisse invenitur; septuaginta autem nec octonario numero neque denario" (Irenæus p. 146, Massuet). Tertullian, just a little later (re-echoed by the younger Cyril), compares the Apostles with the twelve wells at Elim (Ex. xv. 27), the seventy with the three-score and ten palm trees there (*Adv. Marc.* iv. 24). So Eusebius thrice, Basil and Ambrose. On the other hand in the Recognitions of Clement, usually assigned to the second or third century, the number adopted is seventy-two, "vel hoc modo recognitâ imagine Moysis" and of his elders, traditionally set down at that number. Compare Num. xi. 16. Epiphanius, Hilary (Scholz), and Augustine are also with Cod. B.

² To enable us to translate "a son, nay even an ox," would require *ἢ καὶ*, which none read. The argument, moreover, is one *a minori ad majus*. Compare Ex. xxi. 38 with Ex. xxiii. 4; ch. xiii. 15.

³ Let me add *ex meo* Codd. 22. 558. 559. 576. 582. 584. 594. 596. 597. 598. 601, being no doubt a large majority of cursives. So Cod. 662, apparently after correction.

⁴ But not in the Beirât MS. discovered in 1877 by Is. H. Hull, see p. 327, note.

Luke xv. 21. Here by adding from ver. 19 *ποίησόν με ὡς ἓνα τῶν μισθίων σου* (placed in the text by Westcott and Hort within brackets) the great codices \aleph BD, with UX. 33. 512. 543. 558. 571, a catena, and four manuscripts of the Vulgate (*bodl. gat. mm. tol.*), manage to keep out of sight that delicate touch of true nature which Augustine points out, that the son never carried out his purpose of offering himself for a hireling, "quod post osculum patris generosissime jam dedignatur."

Luke xvi. 12. It is hard to tell how far thorough scholars and able critics are prepared to push a favourite theory, when Westcott and Hort place τὸ ἡμέτερον τίς δώσει ὑμῖν in the text, reserving ἡμέτερον for the margin. Not to mention that the interchange of η and υ in these pronouns is the most obstinate of all known itacisms, and one to which B is especially prone (e.g. Acts xvii. 28; 1 Pet. ii. 24; 1 John ii. 25; iii. 1, see p. 11), ἡμέτερον is found only in BL, Evst. 21 and Origen once: in 157. e. i. λ and in Tertullian twice it is softened down to ἐμόν.

Luke xxi. 24: ἄχρι οὗ πληρωθῶσιν [καὶ ἔσονται] καιροὶ ἐθνῶν. The words within brackets appear thus in Westcott and Hort's text alone; what possible meaning can be assigned to them in the position they there occupy it is hard to see. They are obviously derived by an error of the scribe's eye from καὶ ἔσονται (the reading of \aleph BD, &c.) at the beginning of ver. 25. This unintelligible insertion is due to B; but L, the Memphitic, and a codex cited in the Philoxenian margin also have it with another καιροὶ prefixed to καὶ ἔσονται. D runs on thus: ἄχρις οὗ πληρωθῶσιν καὶ ἔσονται σημεῖα (om. καιροὶ ἐθνῶν). Those who discover some recondite beauty in the reading of B compare with this the genuine addition καὶ ἔσμέν after κληθῶμεν in 1 John iii. 1. *Nempe amatorem turpia decipiunt cæcum vitia, aut etiam ipsa hæc delectant.*

Luke xxiii. 32. For ἕτεροι δύο κακοῦργοι, which is unobjectionable in the Greek, though a little hard in a close English translation, \aleph B and the two Egyptian versions, followed by Westcott and Hort, have the wholly impossible ἕτεροι κακοῦργοι δύο.

John ii. 3. The loose paraphrase of Cod. \aleph in place of ὑπερήσαντος οἴνου commends itself to no one but Tischendorf, who in his turn admires the worst deformities of his favourite: it runs καὶ οἶνον οὐκ εἶχον ὅτι συνετελέσθη ὁ οἶνος τοῦ γάμου, in which few readers will be able to discern with him the manner and style of S. John. The Old Latin *a. b. ff.* and Gaudentius [1v]; also e. l., the Æthiopic, and the margin of the Philoxenian in part, exhibit the same vapid circumlocution. Cod. \aleph in this Gospel, and sometimes elsewhere, has a good deal in common with the Western codices and Latin Fathers, and some of its glosses are simply deplorable: e.g. *καλοκαγαθίας* for *κακοπαθείας*, James v. 10; *συνομιλοῦντες* for *συνοικοῦντες*, 1 Pet. iii. 7; *ἀποθανόντος* for *παθόντος*, 1 Pet. iv. 1 after ch. ii. 21, where it does not stand alone, as here. Of a better character is its bold supplement of *ἐκκλησία* before *συνεκλεκτῇ* in 1 Pet. v. 13, apparently borrowed from primitive tradition, and supported by the Peshito, Vulgate (in its best manuscripts and editions), and Armenian versions.

John iv. 1. After βαπτίζει we find ἦ omitted in AB* (though it

is added in what Tischendorf considers an ancient hand, his B²: see p. 112) GLF. 262, Origen and Epiphanius, but appears in \aleph CD and all the rest. Tregelles rejects η in his margin, Hort and Westcott put it within brackets. Well may Dr Hort say (*Notes*, p. 76) "It remains no easy matter to explain how the verse as it stands can be reasonably understood without η , or how such a mere slip as the loss of μ after ϵ should have so much excellent Greek authority, more especially as the absence of η increases the obvious no less than the real difficulty of the verse."

John vii. 39. One of the worst faults a manuscript (the same is not true of a version) can have is a habit of supplying, either from the margin or from the scribe's misplaced ingenuity, some word that may clear up a difficulty, or limit the writer's meaning. Certainly this is not a common fault with Cod. B, but we have here a conspicuous example of it. It stands almost alone in receiving *δεδομένον* after *πνεῦμα*: one cursive (254) has *δοθέν*, and so read *a. b. c. e. ff.* *g. l. q.*, the Vulgate, the Peshito, and the Georgian (Malan, *S. John*), the Jerusalem Syriac, the Polyglott Persic, a catena, Eusebius and Origen in a Latin version: the margin of the Philoxenian Syriac makes a yet further addition. The Thebaic, Æthiopic, and Erpenius' Arabic also supply some word. But the versions and commentators, like our own English translations, probably meant no more than a bold exposition. The whole blame of this evident corruption rests with the two manuscripts. No editor follows B here.

John ix. 4. Most readers will think with Dean Burgon that the reading *ἡμᾶς δεῖ ἐργάζεσθαι τὰ ἔργα τοῦ πέμψαντος* (whether followed by *με* or *ἡμᾶς*) "carries with it its own sufficient condemnation" ("Last Twelve Verses" &c., p. 81). The single or double *ἡμᾶς*, turning the whole clause into a general statement, applicable to every one, is found in \aleph^* BDL, the two Egyptian, Jerusalem Syriac, Erpenius' Arabic, and Roman Æthiopic versions, in the younger Cyril and the versifier Nonnus. Origen and Jerome cite the passage as if the reading were *ἐργάζεσθε*, which, by a familiar *itacism* (see p. 10), is the reading of the first hand of B. The first *ἡμᾶς* is adopted by Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort: the second by Tischendorf alone after \aleph^* L, the Memphitic, Roman Æthiopic, Erpenius' Arabic, and Cyril. Certainly *με* of BD, the Thebaic, and Jerusalem Syriac, is very harsh.

John x. 22. For *δὲ* after *ἐγένετο* Westcott and Hort read *τότε* with BL. 33., the Thebaic, Gothic, Slavonic and Armenian versions. No such use of *τότε* in this order, and without another particle, will be found in the New Testament, or easily elsewhere. The Memphitic and *gal.* (see p. 355) of the Vulgate have *δὲ τότε*, which is a different thing. Moreover, the sense will not admit so sharp a definition of sameness in time as *τότε* implies. Three months intervened between the feast of Tabernacles, in and after which all the events named from ch. vii. downwards took place, and this winter feast of Dedication.

John xviii. 5. For *λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ ἰησοῦς ἐγὼ εἰμι*, B and *a* have the miserable variation *λέγει αὐτοῖς ἐγὼ εἰμι ἰησοῦς*, which Westcott and Hort advance to a place in their margin. The first IC (omit-

ting *o*) was absorbed in the last syllable of ΑΥΤΟΙC, the second being a mere repetition of the first syllable of ΙCΤΗΚΕΙ (*sic* B *prima manu*). Compare p. 10. With so little care was this capital document written (*see* p. 116 and note 2)¹.

Acts iv. 25. We have here, upheld by nearly all the authorities to which students usually defer, that which cannot possibly be right, though critical editors, in mere helplessness, feel obliged to put it in their text: *ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου στόματος δαυεὶδ παιδὸς σου εἰπών*. Thus read **N**ABE. 13. 15. 27. 29. 36. 38. Apost. 12, a catena and Athanasius. The Vulgate and Latin Fathers, the Philoxenian Syriac and Armenian versions conspire, but with such wide variations as only serve to display their perplexity. We have here two several readings, either of which might be true, combined into one that cannot. We might either adopt with D *ὁ δὲ διὰ πῶσ' ἁγίου διὰ τοῦ στόματος λαλήσας δαυεὶδ παιδὸς σου* (but *dauid pueri tuo d*), or better with Didymus *ὁ διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου στόματος δὲ δαυεὶδ παιδὸς σου εἰπών* (which will fairly suit the Peshito and Memphitic); or we might prefer the easier form of the Received text *ὁ διὰ στόματος δαβιδ τοῦ παιδὸς σου εἰπών*, which has no support except from P^s and the cursives 1. 31. 40. 220. 221, &c. (the valuable copy 224 reads *ὁ διὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἐν δαδ*), and from Theophylact, Chrysostom being doubtful. Tischendorf justly pleads for the form he edits that it has second, third, and fourth century authority, adding "*singula verba præter morem sed non sine causâ collocata sunt.*" *Præter morem* they certainly are, and *non sine causâ* too, if this and like examples shall lead us to a higher style of criticism than will be attained by setting up one or more of the oldest copies as objects of unreasonable idolatry.

Acts vii. 46. *ἤγήσατο εὐρεῖν σκῆνωμα τῷ θεῷ Ἰακώβ*. The portentous variant *οἰκῶ* for *θεῷ* is adopted by Lachmann, and by Tischendorf, who observes of it "*minimè sensu caret:*" even Tregelles sets it in the margin, but Westcott and Hort simply obelize *θεῷ* as if they would read *τῷ Ἰακώβ* (compare Psalm xxiv. 6, cxxxii. 5 with Gen. xlix. 24). Yet *οἰκῶ* appears in **N***BDH against **N***ACEP, all cursives (including 13. 31. 61. 220. 221), all versions. Observe also in ch. viii. 5 *καίσαρος* in **N*** for *σαμαρείας* on account of ver. 40 and ch. xxi. 8.

Acts x. 19. *Ἰδοὺ ἄνδρες δύο* is the reading of Westcott and Hort's text ([*τρεις*] margin) after B only, the true number being three (ver. 7): in ch. xi. 11 Epiphanius only has *δύο*. There might be some grounds for omitting *τρεις* here, as Tischendorf does, and Tregelles more doubtfully in his margin (with DHLP. 24. 31. 111. 182. 183. 184. 185. 188. 189. 220. 221. 224. *m.*, the later Syriac, the Apos-

¹ A more ludicrous blunder of Cod. B has been pointed out to me in the Old Testament, Ps. xvii. 14 "they have children at their desire": *εχορτασθησαν ἔγιων* Cod. A, but *εχορτασθησαν ἔγιων* Cod. B. The London papyrus has *γῶν* for *γιων*.

² Codex P (*see* p. 162) is of far greater value than others of its own date. It is frequently found in the company of B, sometimes alone, sometimes with other chief authorities, especially in the Catholic Epistles, e.g. James iv. 15; v. 4; 14; 2 Pet. i. 17 (partly); ii. 6; 1 John ii. 20.

tological Constitutions, the elder Cyril, Chrysostom and Theophylact, Augustine and Ambrose), no reason surely for representing the Spirit as speaking only of the *δύο οικέται*.

Acts xii. 25. An important passage for our present purpose. That the two Apostles returned from, not to, Jerusalem is too plain for argument (ch. xi. 29, 30), yet *εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ* (which in its present order surely cannot be joined with *πληρώσαντες*) is the reading of Westcott and Hort's text (*ξξ* and the fatal obelus † being in their margin) after \aleph BHLP. 61, four of Matthaëi's copies, Codd. 2. 4. 14. 24. 26. 34. 64. 78. 80. 95. 224, and perhaps twenty other cursives, but besides these only the margin of the Philoxenian, the Roman Æthiopic, the Polyglott Arabic, some copies of the Slavonic and of Chrysostom, with Theophylact and Erasmus' first two editions, who says in his notes "ita legunt Græci," i. e. his Codd. 2. 4. A few which substitute "Antioch" for "Jerusalem" (28. 38. 66 *margin*. 67**. 97 *margin*. Apost. 5) are witnesses for *εἰς*, but not so those which, reading *ξξ* or *ἀπό*, add with the Complutensian *εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν* (E. 7. 14**. 27. 29. 32. 42. 57. 69. 98 *margin*. 100. 105. 106. 111. 126**. 182. 183. 186. 220. 221, the Thebaic, Peshito and Erpenius' Arabic): Cod. 76 has *εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἀπό Ἱερουσαλήμ*. C is defective here, and the only three remaining uncials are divided between *ξξ* (A. 13. 27. 29. 69. 214. Apost. 54., Chrysostom sometimes) and *ἀπό* (DE. 15. 18. 36. 40. 68. 73. 76. 81. 93. 98. 100. 105. 106. 111. 113. 180. 183. 184, a catena, a copy of Chrysostom, and the Vulgate *ab*). The two Egyptian, the Peshito, the Philoxenian text, the Armenian and Pell Platt's Æthiopic have "from," the only possible sense, in spite of \aleph B. Tischendorf in his N. T. Vaticanum 1867 alleges that in that codex "litteræ εἰς ἱερου primâ ut videtur manu rescriptæ. Videtur primum ἀπο pro εἰς scriptum fuisse." But since he did not repeat the statement three years later in his eighth edition, he may have come to feel doubtful about it. Dr Hort conjectures that the original order was *τὴν εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ πληρώσαντες διακονίαν*.

Acts xvii. 28. Here Westcott and Hort place *ὑμᾶς* in their text, *ἡμᾶς* in the margin. For *ἡμᾶς* we find only B. 33. 68. 95. 96. 105. 137, and rather wonder than otherwise that the itacism is not met with in more cursives than six. The Memphitic has been cited in error on the same side. It needs not a word to explain that the stress of S. Paul's argument rests on *ὑμᾶς*. To the Athenians he quotes not the Hebrew Scriptures, but the poets of whom they were proud. Compare Luke xvi. 12, *above*, p. 547.

An itacism not quite so gross in ch. xx. 10 *μὴ θορυβεῖσθαι* (B*, 185. 224*) is likewise honoured with a place in Westcott and Hort's margin. In Matth. xi. 16 they follow Tischendorf and Tregelles in adopting *ἐτέροις* for *ἐταίροις* with BCDZ, and indeed the mass of copies. This last itacism (for it can be nothing better) was admitted so early as to affect many of the chief versions.

Acts xx. 30. Cod. B omits *αὐτῶν* after *ὑμῶν*, where it is much wanted, apparently with no countenance except from Cod. 186, for this is just a point in which versions (the Thebaic and both Æthiopic) can be little trusted. The present is one of the countless examples of Cod. B.'s inclination to abridge (*see* p. 116), which in the Old Testa-

ment is carried so far as to eject from the text of the Septuagint words that are, and always must have been, in the original Hebrew. Westcott and Hort include $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\upsilon\upsilon$ within brackets.

Acts xxv. 13. Agrippa and Bernice went to Caesarea to greet the new governor ($\acute{\alpha}\sigma\pi\alpha\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$), not surely after they had sent their greeting before them ($\acute{\alpha}\sigma\pi\alpha\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$), which, if it had been a fact, would not have been worth mentioning. Yet, though the reading is so manifestly false, the evidence for the aorist seems overwhelming (\aleph ABHLP, the Greek of E, 13. 24*. 31. 68. 105. 180. 220. 224*, a few more copies, and the Coptic and Æthiopic versions). The future is found possibly in C, certainly in 61. 221 and the mass of cursives, in ϵ and other versions, in Chrysostom, and in one form of Theophylact's commentary. Here again Dr Hort suspects some kind of prior corruption (*Notes*, p. 100).

Acts xxviii. 13. For $\pi\epsilon\pi\epsilon\lambda\theta\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ of all other manuscripts and versions \aleph^*B have $\pi\epsilon\pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, evidently borrowed from ch. xxvii. 40. Even this vile error of transcription is set in Westcott and Hort's text, the alternative not even in their margin. In ver. 15 they once set $\omicron\iota$ within brackets¹ on the evidence of B. 96 only. Cod. B is very prone to omit the article, especially, but not exclusively, with Proper Names.

Rom. vii. 22. The substitution of $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\nu\omicron\omicron\varsigma$ (cf. ver. 23) for $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ seems peculiar to Cod. B.

Rom. xv. 31. Lachmann and Tregelles (in his margin only) accept the manifest gloss $\delta\omega\pi\omicron\phi\omicron\upsilon\pi\alpha$ for $\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu\iota\alpha$ with B (see p. 536 for its "Western element") D*FG ($d. e$ have *remuneratio*) and Ambrosiaster (*munerum meorum ministratio*). But $\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu\iota\alpha$ is found in \aleph ACD² and ϵ and consequently in E (see p. 166), f (*ministratio*), g (*administratio*), Vulg. (*obsequii mei oblatio*), so d^{***} . *fuld.* and Origen in the Latin (*ministerium*), with both Syriac, the Memphitic, Armenian and Æthiopic versions, Chrysostom, Theodoret, and John Damascene.

1 Cor. xiii. 5. Never was a noble speech more cruelly pared down to a trite commonplace than by the reading of B and Clement of Alexandria (very expressly) $\omicron\upsilon$ $\zeta\eta\tau\acute{\epsilon}\iota$ $\tau\grave{\alpha}$ $\mu\grave{\eta}$ $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu\tau\eta\varsigma$, in the place of $\omicron\upsilon$ $\zeta\eta\tau\acute{\epsilon}\iota$ $\tau\grave{\alpha}$ (or $\tau\acute{\omicron}$) $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu\tau\eta\varsigma$ of the self-same Clement just as expressly elsewhere (see p. 508 and note 3), and of all other authorities of every description. Here Westcott and Hort place $\tau\acute{\omicron}$ $\mu\grave{\eta}$ in their margin.

Col. iv. 15. For $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ Lachmann, Tregelles' margin, Hort and Westcott have $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$ from B. 67**, and the text of the later Syriac, thus implying that $\nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\phi\alpha$ is the Doric feminine form, which is very unlikely.

1 Thess. v. 4. Lachmann with Hort and Westcott (but not their margin) reads $\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\alpha\varsigma$ for $\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\eta\varsigma$ with AB and the Memphitic, but this cannot be right.

Heb. vii. 1. For $\acute{\omicron}$ $\sigma\upsilon\nu\alpha\pi\tau\eta\varsigma\alpha\varsigma$ Lachmann, Tregelles, Hort and Westcott's text have $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ $\sigma\upsilon\nu\alpha\pi\tau\eta\varsigma\alpha\varsigma$ with \aleph ABC**D $\acute{\epsilon}$ K. 17., a broken sentence: but this is too much even for Dr Hort, who says, in the

¹ We note many small variations between the text of these critics as communicated to scholars some years before (see p. 488), and that finally published in 1881. The latter, of course, we have treated as their standard.

language habitual to him (*see* p. 534), that δ seems "a right emendation of the Syrian revisers" (*Notes*, p. 130).

James i. 17. What can be meant by ἀποσκίασματος of \aleph^*B it is hard to say. The versions are not clear as to the sense, but *ff* alone seems to suggest the genitive (*modicum obumbrationis*). That valuable Cod. 184, now known only by Sanderson's collation at Lambeth (No. 1255, 10—14)¹, is said by him to *add* to the end of the verse οὐδὲ μέχρι ὑπονοίας τινὸς ὑποβολὴ ἀποσκίασματος, which seems like a scholion on the preceding clause, and is found also in Cod. 221.

Nor will any one praise certain readings of Cod. B in James i. 9 ; 1 Pet. i. 9 ; 11 ; ii. 1 ; 12 ; 25 ; iii. 7 ; 14 ; 18 (*om. τῷ θεῷ*) ; iv. 1 ; v. 3 ; 2 Pet. i. 17 ; 1 John iii. 15 ; 3 John 4 ; 9 ; Jude 9, which passages the student may work out for himself.

Enough of the weary and ungracious task of finding fault. The foregoing list of errors patent in the most ancient codices might be largely increased: two or three more will occur incidentally in Chapter IX. (1 Cor. xiii. 3 ; Phil. ii. 1 ; 1 Pet. i. 23 ; *see* also pp. 500, 565). Even if the reader has not gone with me in every case, more than enough has been alleged to prove to demonstration that the true and pure text of the sacred writers is not to be looked for in \aleph or B, in $\aleph B$, or BD, or BL, or any like combination of a select few authorities, but demands, in every fresh case as it arises, the free and impartial use of every available source of information. Yet after all, Cod. B is a document of such value, that it grows by experience even upon those who may have been a little prejudiced against it by reason of the excessive claims of its too zealous friends².

¹ This precious cursive forms one of a small class which in the Catholic Epistles and sometimes in the Acts conspire with the best uncials in upholding readings of the higher type: the other members are 69. 137. 182, to which will sometimes be added the text or margin of the Philoxenian Syriac, Codd. 27. 29, the second hands of 57 and 66. 100. 180. 185, and particularly 221, which is of special interest in these Epistles. The following passages, examined by means of Tischendorf's notes, will prove what is here alleged: 1 Pet. iii. 16 ; 2 Pet. i. 4 ; 21 ; ii. 6 ; 11 ; 1 John i. 5 ; 7 ; 8 ; ii. 19 ; iii. 1 ; 19 ; 22 ; iv. 19 ; v. 5.

² Notice especially those instances in the Catholic Epistles, wherein the primary authorities are comparatively few, in which Cod. B accords with the later copies against Codd. $\aleph A(C)$, and is also supported by internal evidence: e.g. 1 Pet. iii. 18 ; iv. 14 ; v. 2 ; 2 Pet. ii. 20 ; 1 John ii. 10 ; iii. 23, &c. In 1 John iii. 21, where the first ἡμῶν is omitted by A and others, the second by C almost alone, B seems right in rejecting the word in both places. So in other cases internal probabilities occasionally plead strongly in favour of B, when it has little other support: as in Rom. viii. 24, where τῆς ἐλπίσε; as against

Its best associate, in our judgment, is Cod. C, where the testimony of that precious palimpsest can be had. BC together will often carry us safe through difficulties of the most complicated character, as for instance, through that vexatious passage John xiii. 25, 26. Compare also Acts xxvi. 16. Yet even here it is necessary to commend with reserve: BC stand almost alone in maintaining the ingenious but improbable variation *ἐκώσαι* in Acts xxvii. 39 (*see* Chap. IX.), and the frigid gloss *κρίνοντι* in 1 Pet. iv. 5: they unite with others in foisting on S. Matthew's text its worst corruption, ch. xxvii. 49 (*see* p. 543). In Gal. iii. 1, C against AB contains the gloss *τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πειθεσθαι*. Again, since no fact relating to these pursuits is more certain than the absolute independence of the sources from which A and B are derived, it is manifest that their occasional agreement is always of the greatest weight, and is little less than conclusive in those portions of the N. T. where other evidence is slender in amount or consideration, e.g. 1 Pet. i. 21 and v. 10 (with the Vulgate); v. 11: also supported by those admirable cursives 27. 29, in 1 Pet. v. 14; 1 John iv. 3; 19; 2 John 3; 12. See also 1 John v. 18, to be discussed in Ch. IX.

16. Those who devote themselves to the criticism of the text of the New Testament have only of late come to understand the full importance of attending closely to the mutual connection subsisting between their several materials of every description, whether manuscripts, versions, or Fathers. The study of *grouping* has been recently and not untruly said to be the foundation of all enduring criticism¹ (*see* p. 542). Now that theories about the formal recensions of whole classes of these documents

τις, τι καὶ ἄριστα; , though B and the margin of Cod. 47 stand alone here, best accounts for the existence of other variations (*see* p. 494). In Eph. v. 22, B alone, with Clement and Jerome, the latter very expressly, omits the verb in a manner which can hardly fail to commend itself as representing the true form of the passage. In Col. iii. 6 B, the Thebaic, the Roman Æthiopic (p. 410), Clement (twice), Cyprian, Ambrosiaster and auct. de singl. cler. (p. 421), are alone free from the clause interpolated from Eph. v. 6.

¹ Thus far we are in agreement with the *Two Members of the N. T. Company*, however widely we may differ from their general views: "The great contribution of our own times to a mastery over materials has been the clearer statement of the method of genealogy, and, by means of it, the corrected distribution of the great mass of documentary evidence" (p. 19). Only that arbitrary theories ought to be kept as far as possible out of sight.

have generally been given up as purely visionary, and the very word *families* has come into disrepute by reason of the exploded fancies it recalls, we can discern not the less clearly that certain groups of them have in common not only a general resemblance in regard to the readings they exhibit, but characteristic peculiarities attaching themselves to each group. Systematic or wilful corruption of the sacred text, at least on a scale worth taking into account, there would seem to have been almost none; yet the tendency to licentious paraphrase and unwarranted additions distinguished one set of our witnesses from the second century downwards; a bias towards grammatical and critical purism and needless omissions appertained to another; while a third was only too apt to soften what might seem harsh, to smooth over difficulties, and to bring passages, especially of the Synoptic Gospels, into unnatural harmony with each other. All these changes appear to have been going on without notice during the whole of the third and fourth centuries, and except that the great name of Origen is associated (not always happily) with one class of them, were rather the work of transcribers than of scholars. Eusebius and Jerome, in their judgments about Scripture texts, are more the echoes of Origen than independent investigators.

Now, as a first approximation to the actual state of the case, the several classes of changes which we have enumerated admit of a certain rude geographical distribution, one of them appertaining to Western Christendom and the earliest Fathers of the African and Gallic Churches (including North Italy under the latter appellation); a second to Egypt and its neighbourhood; the third originally to Syria and Christian Antioch, in later times to the Patriarchate of Constantinople. We have here, no doubt, much to remind us of Griesbach and his scheme of triple recensions on which we enlarged in Chapter VI. (pp. 470—3, 536—7), but with this broad distinction between his conclusions and those of modern critics, that whereas he regarded the existence of his families as a patent fact, and grounded upon it precise and mechanical rules for the arrangement of the text, we are now content to perceive no more than unconscious tendencies, liable to be modified or diverted by a thousand occult influences, of which in each single case it is impossible to form an estimate beforehand. Even that marked bias in the direc-

tion of adding to the record, which is the reproach of Codex Bezae and some of its compeers, and renders the text of the Acts as exhibited by DE, by the cursive 137, and the margin of the Philoxenian Syriac, as unlike that commonly read as can well be imagined¹, is mixed up with a proneness to omissions which we should look for rather from another class of documents (e.g. the rejection of *ψευδόμενοι* Matth. v. 11), and which in the latter part of S. Luke's Gospel almost suggests the idea of representing an earlier edition than that now in ordinary use, yet proceeding from the Evangelist's own hand (*see* p. 18)². Again, the process whereby the rough places are made plain and abrupt constructions rounded, is abundantly exemplified in the readings of the great uncial A, supported as it is by the mass of later manuscripts (e.g. Mark i. 27; Acts xv. 17, 18; xx. 24); yet in innumerable instances (as we have sufficiently proved in pp. 543—52), these self-same codices retain the genuine text of the sacred writers which their more illustrious compeers have lost or impaired.

Hence it follows that in judging of the character of a various reading proposed for our acceptance, we must carefully mark whether it comes to us from many directions or from one. And herein the native country of the several documents, even when we can make sure of it, is only a precarious guide. If the Æthiopic or the Armenian versions have really been corrected by

¹ So that we may be sure what we should have found in Cod. D, and with high probability in Cod. E, were they not defective, when in Acts xxvii. 5 we observe *δι' ἡμερῶν δεκαπέντε* inserted after *διαπλεύσαντες* in 137, 184, and the Philoxenian margin with an asterisk; as also when we note in Acts xxviii. 16 *ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς* before *σὺν* in the last two and in *demid*. See also p. 552 note 1.

² e.g. Luke xxiv. 3 *τοῦ κυρίου ἰησοῦ* omitted by D. a. b. c. ff.² l.; ver. 6 *οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε ἀλλὰ ἠγέρθη* (comp. Mark xvi. 6) omitted by the same; ver. 9 *ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου* by the same, by c. and the Armenian; the whole of ver. 12, by the same (except ff.²) with *fuld.*, but surely not by the Jerusalem Syriac, even according to Tischendorf's shewing, or by Eusebius' canon, for he knew the verse well (comp. John xx. 5); ver. 36 *καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, εἰρήνη ὑμῖν* omitted by D. a. b. c. ff.² l. as before (comp. John xx. 19, 26); the whole of ver. 40, omitted by the same and by Cureton's Syriac (comp. John xx. 20); ver. 51 *καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν* and ver. 52 *προσκυνήσαντες αὐτὸν* omitted by the same and by Augustine, the important clause in ver. 51 by N* also, and consequently by Tischendorf. Yet, as if to shew how mixed the evidence is, D deserts a. b. ff.² l. when, in company with a host of authorities, both manuscripts and versions (*f. q.* Vulgate, Memphitic, Syriac, and others), they annex *καὶ ἀπὸ μελισσίου κηρίου* to the end of ver. 42. See also Luke x. 41, 42; xxii. 19, 20, discussed in Chap. ix.

the Latin Vulgate (*see* p. 408, 410, &c.), the geographical remoteness of their origin must go for nothing where they agree with the latter version. The relation in which Cod. L and the Memphitic version stand to Cod. B is too close to allow them their full value as independent witnesses unless when they are at variance with that great uncial, wheresoever it may have been written: the same might be said of the beautiful Latin fragment *k* from Bobbio (*see* p. 344). To whatever nations they belong, their resemblances are too strong and perpetual not to compel us to withhold from them a part of the consideration their concord would otherwise lay claim to. The same is incontestably the case with the Curetonian and margin of the Philoxenian Syriac in connexion with Cod. D. Wide as is the region which separates Syria from Gaul, there must have been in very early times some remote communication by which the stream of Eastern testimony or tradition, like another Alpheus, rose up again with fresh strength to irrigate the regions of the distant West. The Peshito Syriac leans at times in the same direction, although both in nation and character it most assimilates to the same class as Cod. A.

With these, and it may be with some further reservations which experience and study shall hereafter suggest, the principle of grouping must be acknowledged to be a sound one, and those lines of evidence to be least likely to lead us astray which converge from the most varied quarters to the same point. It is strange, but not more strange than needful, that we are compelled in the cause of truth to make one stipulation more: namely, that this rule be henceforth applied impartially in all cases, as well when it will tell in favour of the Received text, as when it shall help to set it aside. To assign a high value to cursive manuscripts of the best description (such as l. 33. 69. 157. Evst. 259, or 61 of the Acts), and to such uncials as LRA, or even as \aleph or C, whensoever they happen to agree with Cod. B, and to treat their refined silver as though it had been suddenly transmuted into dross when they come to contradict it, is a practice too plainly unreasonable to admit of serious defence, and can only lead to results which those who uphold it would be the first to deplore¹.

¹ So of certain of the chief versions we sometimes hear it said that they are

17. It is hoped that the general issue of the foregoing discussion may now be embodied in these four practical rules¹:

(1) That the true readings of the Greek New Testament cannot safely be derived from any one set of authorities, whether manuscripts, versions, or Fathers, but ought to be the result of a patient comparison and careful estimate of the evidence supplied by them all.

(2) That where there is a real agreement between all documents containing the Gospels up to the sixth century, and in other parts of the New Testament up to the ninth, the testimony of later manuscripts and versions, though not to be rejected unheard, must be regarded with great suspicion, and, **UNLESS UPHELD BY STRONG INTERNAL EVIDENCE**, can hardly be adopted.

(3) That where the more ancient documents are at variance with each other, the later uncial and cursive copies, especially those of approved merit, are of real importance, as being the surviving representatives of other codices, very probably as early, perhaps even earlier, than any now extant.

(4) That in weighing conflicting evidence we must assign the highest value not to those readings which are attested by the greatest number of witnesses, but to those which come to us from several remote and independent sources, and which bear the least likeness to each other in respect to genius and general character.

less important in the rest of the N. T. than in the Gospels; which means that in the former they side less with N B.

¹ Canon Kennedy, whose *Ely Lectures* exhibit, to say the least, no prejudice against the principles enunciated in Dr Hort's *Introduction*, is good enough to commend the four rules here set forth to the attention of his readers (p. 159, note). The first three were stated in my first edition (1861), the fourth added in the second edition (1874), and, while they will not satisfy the advocates of extreme views on either side, suffice to intimate the terms on which the respective claims of the uncial and cursive manuscripts, of the earlier and the more recent authorities, may, in my deliberate judgment, be equitably adjusted.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONSIDERATIONS DERIVED FROM THE PECULIAR CHARACTER AND GRAMMATICAL FORM OF THE DIALECT OF THE GREEK TESTAMENT.

1. IT will not be expected of us to enter in this place upon the wide subject of the origin, genius, and peculiarities, whether in respect to grammar or orthography, of that dialect of the Greek in which the N. T. was written, except so far as it bears directly upon the criticism of the sacred volume. Questions, however, are perpetually arising, when we come to examine the oldest manuscripts of Scripture, which cannot be resolved unless we bear in mind the leading particulars wherein the diction of the Evangelists and Apostles differs not only from that of pure classical models, but also of their own contemporaries who composed in the Greek language, or used it as their ordinary tongue.

2. The Greek style of the N. T., then, is the result of blending two independent elements, the debased vernacular speech of the age, and that strange modification of the Alexandrian dialect which first appeared in the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, and which, from their habitual use of that version, had become familiar to the Jews in all nations under heaven; and was the more readily adopted by those whose native language was Aramæan, from its profuse employment of Hebrew idioms and forms of expression. It is to this latter, the Greek of the Septuagint, of the Apocalypse, and of the foreign Jews, that the name of *Hellenistic* (Acts vi. 1) strictly applies. S. Paul, who was born in a pure Greek city (Juvenal, III. 114—118); perhaps even S. Luke, whose original writings¹

¹ viz. Luke i. 1—4, some portion of the Gospel and most of the Acts: excluding such cases as S. Stephen's speech, Act. vii, and the parts of his Gospel which resemble in style, and were derived from the same sources as, those of SS. Matthew and Mark.

savour strongly of Demosthenes and Polybius, cannot be said to have *affected* the Hellenic, which they must have heard and spoken from their cradles. Without denying that the Septuagint translation and (by reason of their long sojourning in Palestine) even Syriac phraseology would powerfully influence the style of these inspired penmen, it is not chiefly from these sources that their writings must be illustrated, but rather from the kind of Greek current during their lifetime in Hellenic cities and colonies.

3. Hence may be seen the exceeding practical difficulty of fixing the orthography, or even the grammatical forms, prevailing in the Greek Testament, a difficulty arising not only from the fluctuation of manuscript authorities, but even more from the varying circumstances of the respective authors. To S. John, for example, Greek must have been an alien tongue; the very construction of his sentences and the subtil current of his thoughts amidst all his simplicity of mere diction, render it evident (even could we forget the style of his Apocalypse) that he *thought* in Aramaic: divergences from the common Greek type might be looked for in him and in those Apostles whose situation resembled his, which it is very unlikely would be adopted by Paul of Tarsus. Bearing these facts always in mind (for the style of the New Testament is too apt to be treated as an uniform whole), we will proceed to discuss briefly, yet as distinctly as may be, a few out of the many perplexities of this description to which the study of the original codices at once introduces us¹.

4. One of the most striking of them regards what is called *ν ἐφελευστικόν*, the "*ν attached*", which has been held to be an

¹ Dr Hort (*Introd. Notes*, p. 141) confirms the foregoing statements, which we have repeated unchanged from our former editions. "What spellings are sufficiently probable to deserve inclusion among alternative readings, is often difficult to determine. Although many deviations from classical orthography are amply attested, many others, which appear to be equally genuine, are found in one, two, or three MSS. only, and that often with an irregularity which suggests that all our MSS. have to a greater or less extent suffered from the effacement of unclassical forms of words. It is no less true on the other hand that a tendency in the opposite direction is discernible in Western MSS.: the orthography of common life, which to a certain extent was used by all the writers of the New Testament, though in unequal degrees, would naturally be introduced more freely in texts affected by an instinct of popular adaptation."

arbitrary and secondary adjunct. This letter, however, which is "of most frequent occurrence at the end of words, is itself of such a weak and fleeting consistency, that it often becomes inaudible, and is omitted in writing" (Donaldson, *Greek Grammar*, p. 53, 2nd edit.). Hence, though, through the difficulty of pronunciation, it became usual to neglect it before a consonant, it always comprised a real portion of the word to which it was annexed, and the great Attic poets are full of verses which cannot be scanned in its absence¹: on the other hand, the cases are just as frequent where its insertion before a consonant would be fatal to the metre. In these instances the laws of prosody infallibly point out the true reading, and lead us up to a general rule, that the weak or moveable *ν* is more often dropped before a consonant than otherwise. This conclusion is confirmed by the evidence of surviving classical manuscripts, although but few of them are older than the tenth century, and would naturally be conformed, in such minute points, to the fashion of that period. Codices of the Greek Testament and of the Septuagint, however, which date from the fourth century downwards, present to us this remarkable phenomenon, that they exhibit the final *ν* before a consonant fully as often as they reject it, and, speaking generally, the most ancient (e.g. Evan. \aleph ABCD)² are the most constant in retaining it, though it is met with frequently in many cursive copies, and occasionally in almost all³. Hence arises a difficulty, on the part of modern editors, in dealing with this troublesome letter. Lachmann professes to follow the balance of evidence (such evidence as he received) in each separate case, and, while he usually inserted, sometimes omitted *nu* where he had no cause for such inconsistency except the purely accidental

¹ e.g. Æschylus, *Persæ*, 411: κόρυμβ', ἐπ' ἄλλην δ' ἄλλος ἰθὺν ἔν δόρυ, or Sophocles, *Antigone*, 219: τὸ μὴ πικωρεῖν τοῖς ἀπιστοῦσιν τάδε.

² Cod. \aleph , for instance, does not omit it above 208 times throughout the N. T., out of which 134 occur with verbs (three so as to cause a hiatus), 29 with nouns, 45 with adjectives (chiefly πᾶσι) or participles (Scrivener, *Collation*, &c. p. liv.). Its absence produces the hiatus in B^cC in 1 Pet. ii. 18 (ἐπιεικέσι), and not seldom in B, e.g. 1 Pet. iv. 6, where we find κριθῶσι and ῥῶσι, which latter is countenanced by A, and both by \aleph L.

³ Wake 12 (Evan. 492), of the eleventh century, may be taken for a fair representative of its class and date. It retains *ν* with εἶπεν 33 times in S. Matthew, 13 in S. Mark, as often as 130 in S. Luke. With other words it mostly reserves *ν* to indicate emphasis (e.g. Luke xxii. 14; xxiv. 30), or to stand before a break in the sense.

variation of his manuscripts; Tischendorf admits it almost always (N. T. *Proleg.* p. liii. 7th edition), Tregelles (I think), as also Westcott and Hort, invariably. Whether it be employed or not, the practice should at any rate be uniform, and it is hard to assign any reason for using it which would not apply to classical writers, whose manuscripts would no doubt contain it as often as those of the N. T., were they as remote in date¹. The same facts are true, and the same remarks equally apply to the representing or withdrawing of the weak *ς* in *οὕτως* before a consonant. Each of the aforementioned editors, however, for the sake of euphony, prefers *οὕτω* before *σ* at the beginning of the next word, except that Tregelles ventures on *οὕτως σε δεῖ* in Acts xxiii. 11. Cod. \aleph has *οὕτω* about 14 times in the N. T.

5. In the mode of spelling proper names of places and persons peculiar to Judæa, the general practice of some older codices is to represent harsher forms than those met with in later documents. Thus in Mark i. 21 *καθαριναοῦμ* is found in \aleph B Δ . 33. 69, Origen (*twice*), the Latin, Memphitic and Gothic (*but not the Syriac*: ܩܘܪܝܢܐܘܡ) versions, and, from the facility of its becoming softened by copyists, this may be preferred to *καπεριναοῦμ* of AC and the great numerical majority: yet we see LP with C in Matth. iv. 13, where Z sides with BD. In other instances the practice varies, even in the same manuscript, or in different parts of the N. T. Tischendorf, for example, decides that we ought always to read *ναζαρέθ* in S. Matthew, *ναζαρέτ* in S. John (N. T., *Proleg.* p. lv, note): yet the Peshito in all twelve places that the name occurs, and the Curetonian in the four wherein it is extant (Matth. ii. 23; iv. 13; xxi. 11; Luke ii. 51) have the aspirate (ܢܘܙܪܝܬ), and being written in a kindred dialect, claim all the more consideration. Everywhere the manuscripts vary considerably: thus in Mark i. 9 *ναζαρέτ* is found in \aleph BL Γ Δ . 33. 69, and most cursives (17 of Scrivener's), Origen, the Philoxenian Syriac and Old Latin *a.b.f*: *Naζapèτ* in AP: but *ναζαρέθ* in D (not its Latin version, *d*) EFHKMUVII. 1, and at least 16 other cursives (but not Cod. 69 by the first hand, as Tregelles states), the Old Latin *c*., the Vulgate, the Mem-

¹ The terminations which admit this moveable *ν* (including *-ει* of the pluperfect) are enumerated by Donaldson (*Gr. Gram.* p. 53). Tischendorf however (N. T. *Proleg.* p. liv.) demurs to *ελευσν*, even before a vowel.

phitic and Gothic as well as the elder Syriac. In Matth. iv. 13 Cod. B has *Ναζαρά* by the first hand (but -*ερ* ch. ii. 23), Cod. *Σ* by a later one, with Z 33 (so *Ξ* in Luke iv. 16); CPΔ *Ναζαράθ*, which is found in Δ nine times, in A twice: so that regarding the orthography of this word (which is inconstant also in the Received text), no reasonable certainty is to be attained. For *Μαθθαῖος*, again (the variation from the common form *Ματθαῖος* adopted by Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort), the authority is but slender, nor is the internal probability great. Codd. *Σ*BA read *Μαθθαῖος* in the title and headings to the first Gospel, while, in the five places where it occurs in the text, B (*primā manu*), the fragment T^o, and D have it always, *Σ* three times (but *μαθθεος* Matth. x. 3, *ματθαιον* Mark iii. 18 with *Σ* in the subscription to the first Gospel), the Thebaic and Gothic each twice: the Peshito and title of the Curetonian too (all that is extant) have *ⲛⲁⲗⲟ*. For *Ἰωάνης* the proof is yet weaker, for here Cod. B alone, and not quite consistently (e. g. Luke i. 13; 60; 63; Acts iii. 4, &c.), reads *Ἰωανης*, Cod. *Σ* *Ἰωαννης*¹, while Cod. D fluctuates between the two. In questions of orthography Westcott and Hort, as also the other editors in some degree, adopt a uniform mode of spelling, without reference to the state of the evidence in each particular case.

6. Far more important than these are such variations in orthography as bear upon the dialect of the N. T. Its affinity to the Septuagint is admitted on all hands, the degree of that affinity must depend on the influence we grant to certain very old manuscripts of the N. T., which abound in Alexandrian forms for the most part absent in the great mass of codices. Such are the verbal terminations *-αμεν*, *-ατε*, *-αν* in the plural of the second aorist indicative, *-οσαν* for *-ον* in the plural imperfect or second aorist, *-ουσαν* for *-ουν*, *-αν* for *-ασι* of the perfect, *-άτω* for *έτω*, *-ατο* for *-ετο*, *-άμενας* for *-όμενος*. In nouns the principal changes are *-αν* for *-α* in the accusative of the third declension, and (more rarely) the converse *α* for *-αν* in the

¹ With the remarkable exception of those six leaves of Cod. *Σ* which Tischendorf assigns to the scribe who wrote Cod. B (*see* pp. 92 and note, 113). In these leaves of Cod. *Σ* *Ἰωάνης* occurs four times: Matth. xvi. 14; xvii. 1; 13; Luke i. 18, in which last passage, however, B has the double *αα*.

first¹. We have conceded to these forms the name of Alexandrian, because it is probable that they actually derived their origin from that city², whose dialectic peculiarities the Septuagint had propagated among all Jews that spoke Greek; although some of them, if not the greater part, have been clearly traced to other regions; as for example *-av* for *-ασι* to Western Asia Minor also and to Cilicia (Scholz, *Commentatio*, p. 9, notes w, x: see above, p. 476), occurring too in the Pseudo-Homeric *Batrachomyomachia* (ἐπεὶ κακὰ πολλὰ μ' ἔοργαν, ver. 179). Now when we come to examine our manuscripts closely we find the forms we have enumerated not quite banished from the most recent, but appearing far more frequently in such copies as NABC (especially D) LZ than in those of lower date. It has been usual to ascribe such anomalous (or, at all events, unclassical) inflexions to the circumstance that the first-rate codices were written in Egypt; but an assumption which might be plausible in the case of two or three is improbable as regards them all (see pp. 90, 100, 116, 119); it will not apply at all to those Greek-Latin manuscripts which must have been made in the West, or to the cursives in which such forms are sparsely met with, but which were certainly not copied from *surviving* uncials³. Thus we are led to the conclusion that the older documents retained these irregularities, because they were found in *their* prototypes, the copies first taken from the sacred originals: that some of them were in all likelihood the production of the skilful scribes of Alexandria, though their exhibiting these forms does not prove the fact, or even render it very probable: and that the sacred

¹ These last might be supposed to have originated from the omission or insertion of the faint line for *ν* over the preceding letter, which (especially at the end of a line) we stated in p. 48 to be found even in the oldest manuscripts. Sometimes the anomalous form is much supported by junior as well as by ancient codices: e. g. *θυγατέραν*, Luke xiii. 16 by KXI* A. 209, also by 69, and ten others of Scrivener's.

² Thus Canon Selwyn cites from Lycophron *κἀρὸ γῆς ἐσχάζουσαν*, and Dr Moulton (*Winer*, p. 91, note 5), after Mullach, *ἐσχουσαν* from Seymnus Chius.

³ Tregelles presses yet another argument: "If Alexandrian forms had been introduced into the N. T. by Egyptian copyists, how comes it that the classical MSS. written in that country are free from them?" (*An Account of the Printed Text*, p. 178). But what classical MSS. does he know of, written while Egypt was yet Greek or Christian, and now extant for our inspection? I can only think of Cureton's Homer and Babington's papyri.

penmen, some perhaps more than others, but all to some extent, were influenced by their recollections and habitual use of the Septuagint version. Our practical inference from the whole discussion will be, not that Alexandrian inflexions should be invariably or even usually received into the text, as some recent editors have been inclined to do, but that they should be judged separately in every case on their merits and the support adduced in their behalf; and be held entitled to no other indulgence than that a lower degree of evidence will suffice for them than when the sense is affected, inasmuch as idiosyncrasies in spelling are of all others the most liable to be gradually and progressively modernised even by faithful and painstaking transcribers.

7. The same remarks will obviously apply to those other dialectic forms, which, having been once peculiar to some one race of the great Greek family, had in the Apostles' time spread themselves throughout the Greek colonies of Asia and Africa, and become incorporated into the common speech, if they did not enter into the cultivated literary style, of the whole nation. Such are the reputed Dorisms *ὀδυνᾶσαι* Luke xvi. 25, *καυχᾶσαι* Rom. ii. 17, 1 Cor. iv. 7 of the Received text, with no real variation in any known manuscript: all such examples must stand or fall on their own proper grounds of external evidence, the internal, so far as it ought to go, being clearly in their favour. Like to them are the Ionisms *μαχαίρης* Luke xxi. 24 (B*Δ *only*); Hebr. xi. 34 (NAD*); 37 (ND*): *μαχαίρη* Luke xxii. 42 (NB* DLT *only*); Acts xii. 2 (NAB*D**61): *συνειδυίης* Acts v. 2 (AB^sE *only*, *συνιδυίης* N, *συνιδυίης* B*): *σπέλης* Acts xxvii. 1 of the common text, where the only authorities for the more familiar *σπέρας* seem to be Chrysostom, the cursives 37. 39. 56. 66. 100. 111. 183. 186. 188. 189. To this class belong such changes of conjugation as *κατεγέλουν* Mark v. 40 in K. 228. 447. 511 or c^{scr}; or *vice versâ*, as *ἀγανακτῶντες* Cod. 69, in Mark xiv. 4. The form *ἔστηκεν* for *ἔστηκεν* John viii. 44; Apoc. xii. 4, adopted by Westcott and Hort as the imperfect of *στήκω* (Mark xi. 25, &c.), does not seem suitable to the context in either place, although *οὐκ* precedes in the former passage in NB*DLXΔΔ*. 1. 69*. 253. 507. 508. Evst. 234.

8. One caution seems called for in this matter, at least if we may judge from the practice of certain critics of high and merited fame. The sacred penmen may have adopted orthographical forms from the dialect of the Septuagint, or from the debased diction of common life, but they did not, and could not, write what was merely inaccurate or barbarous. Hence repudiate, in S. Paul especially, expressions like Tischendorf's ἐφ' ἐπιίδι Rom. viii. 20, as simply incredible on any evidence¹. He may allege for it Codd. $\aleph B^* D^* FG$, of which the last three are bilingual codices, the scribes of FG shewing marvellous ignorance of Greek (*see* pp. 168, 171 and note 2)². That Codd. $\aleph B$ should countenance such a *monstrum* only enables us to accumulate one example the more of the fallibility of the very best documents (*see* p. 542), and to put in all seriousness the inquiry of Cobet in some like instance: "Quot annorum Codex te impellet ut hoc credas?.....ecquis est, cui *fides veterum membranarum* in tali re non admodum ridicula et inepta videatur?" (*N. T. Vatic. Praef.* p. xx). In the same way we utterly disregard the manuscripts when they confound οὐχ with οὐκ (but *see* p. 564), μέλλει with μέλει, sense with nonsense.

The reader has, we trust, been furnished with the leading principles on which it is conceived that dialectic peculiarities should be treated in revising the text of the N. T. It would have been out of place to have entered into a more detailed account of variations which will readily be met with (and must be carefully studied) in any good Grammar of the Greek New Testament. Dr Moulton's translation of Winer ought to be in the hands of every student, and leaves nothing to be regretted, except that accurate scholarship and unsparing

¹ "It is hard to make S. Paul responsible for vulgarisms or provincialisms, which certainly his pen never wrote, and which there can be no proof that his lips ever uttered" (*Epistle to the Romans*, Preface to the third edition, p. xxi.) is Dean Vaughan's comment on this "barbarism." He regards the Apostle's habit of writing from dictation as a "sufficient reason for broken constructions, for participles without verbs, for suspended nominatives, for sudden digressions, for fresh starts."

² Dr Hort, however, accepts the form ἐφ' in this place, aspirating ἐπιίδι, and in the same way favours but does not print οὐχ δίγος eight times in the Acts, adding that although δίγος "has no lost digamma to justify it, like some others, it may nevertheless have been in use in the apostolic age: it occurs in good MSS. of the LXX." (*Introd. Notes*, p. 143).

diligence should have been expended on improving another man's work, by one who is well able to produce a better of his own¹.

¹ "A Treatise on the Grammar of New Testament Greek regarded as the basis of N. T. Exegesis. By Dr G. B. Winer. Translated from the German with large additions and full indices by Rev. W. F. Moulton, M.A., D.D.," third edition revised, 8vo. Edinburgh, 1882. The forthcoming *Prolegomena* to Tischendorf's N. T. eighth edition (pp. 71—126, *see above*, p. 482, note), to which the kindness of Dr Caspar René Gregory has given me access, contain a store of fresh materials on this subject; and Dr Hort's "Notes on Orthography" (*Introd. Notes*, pp. 143—173) will afford invaluable aid to the student who is ever so little able to accept some of his conclusions.

CHAPTER IX.

APPLICATION OF THE FOREGOING MATERIALS AND PRINCIPLES TO THE CRITICISM OF SELECT PASSAGES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

IN applying to the revision of the sacred text the diplomatic materials and critical principles it has been the purpose of the preceding pages to describe, we have selected the few passages we have room to examine, chiefly in consideration of their actual importance, occasionally also with the design of illustrating by pertinent examples the canons of internal evidence and the laws of Comparative Criticism. It will be convenient to discuss these passages in the order they occupy in the volume of the New Testament: that which stands first affords a conspicuous instance of undue and misplaced *subjectivity*.

(1). MATTH. i. 18. Τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ...is altered by Tregelles into Τοῦ δὲ Χριστοῦ, Ἰησοῦ being omitted: Westcott and Hort place Ἰησοῦ within brackets, and Τοῦ δὲ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ of Cod. B in the margin: Tischendorf, who had rejected Ἰησοῦ in his fifth and seventh editions, restored it in his eighth. Michaelis had objected to the term τὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, Act. viii. 37 (see that verse, to be examined below), on the ground that "In the time of the Apostles the word Christ was never used as the Proper Name of a Person, but as an epithet expressive of the ministry of Jesus;" and although Bp Middleton has abundantly proved his statement incorrect (*Doctrine of the Greek Article*, note on Mark ix. 41), and Ἰησοῦς Χριστός¹, especially in some one of the oblique cases after

¹ In Acts ix. 34 Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, the article between them being rejected, is read by Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort, on the adequate authority of \aleph B¹ C. 13. 15. 18. 68. 111. 180, and a catena (probably also Cod. 36), with one or two Fathers, although against AEP. 31. 61, &c.

prepositions, is very common, yet the precise form δ Ἰησοῦς Χριστός occurs only in these places and in 1 John iv. 3; Apoc. xii. 17, where again the reading is more than doubtful. Hence, apparently, the determination to change the common text in S. Matthew, on evidence however slight. Now Ἰησοῦ is omitted in no extant Greek manuscript whatsoever¹. The Latin version of Cod. D (*d*) indeed rejects it, the parallel Greek being lost; but since *d* sometimes agrees with other Latin copies against its own Greek, it cannot be deemed quite certain that the Greek rejected it also². Cod. B reads τοῦ δὲ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, in support of which Lachmann cites Origen, III. 965 *d* in the Latin, but on very precarious grounds, as Tregelles (*An Account of the Printed Text*, p. 189, note †) candidly admits. Tischendorf quotes Cod. 74 (after Wetstein), the Persic (of the Polyglott and in manuscript), and Maximus *Dial. de Trinitate* for τοῦ δὲ ἰησοῦ. The real testimony in favour of τοῦ δὲ Χριστοῦ consists of the Old Latin copies *a. b. c. d. f. ff*¹, the Curetonian Syriac (I know not why Cureton should add "the Peshito"), the Latin Vulgate, the Frankish and Anglo-Saxon, Wheelocke's Persic, and Irenæus in three places, "who (after having previously cited the words '*Christi autem generatio sic erat*') continues '*Ceterum potuerat dicere Matthæus, Jesu vero generatio sic erat; sed prævidens Spiritus Sanctus depravatores, et præmuniens contra fraudulentiam eorum, per Matthæum ait: Christi autem generatio sic erat*' (Contra Hæres. Lib. III. 16. 2). This is given in proof that Jesus and Christ are one and the same Person, and that Jesus cannot be said to be the receptacle that afterwards received Christ; for *the Christ was born*" (*An Account of the Printed Text*, p. 188). To this most meagre list of authorities Scholz adds, "Pseudo-Theophil. in Evang.," manuscripts of Theophylact, Augustine, and one or two of little account: but even in Irenæus (Harvey, Vol. II. p. 48) τοῦ δὲ ἰω̄ χ̄ῡ (*tacitè*), as preserved by Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople [VIII], stands over against the Latin "Christi."

We do not deny the importance of Irenæus' express testi-

¹ I know not why Tischendorf cites Cod. 71 (*g^{ms}*) for the omission of Ἰησοῦ. I have again consulted the MS. at Lambeth, and find *τῷ* in this place.

² See above, p. 126. The precise relation of the Latin Version of Cod. D to the parallel Greek text is fully examined in Scrivener's *Codex Bezae*, Introduction, Chap. III.

mony¹ (a little impaired though it be by the fanciful distinction which he had taken up with), had it been supported by something more trustworthy than the Old Latin versions and their constant associate, the Curetonian Syriac. On the other hand, all uncial and cursive codices (NCEKLMPSUVZΓΔΠ: ADFG &c. being defective here), the Syriac of the Peshito, Philoxenian, and Jerusalem (δὲ only being omitted, since the Church Lesson begins here), the Thebaic, Memphitic, Armenian, and Æthiopic versions, Tatian (*see* p. 57, note 2), Origen (in the Greek), Eusebius, Didymus, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, and the younger Cyril, comprise a body of proof, not to be shaken by subjective notions, or even by Western evidence from the second century downwards².

(2). MATTH. vi. 13: *ὄτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν* (*see* p. 9). It is right to say that I can no longer regard this doxology as *certainly* an integral part of S. Matthew's Gospel: but (notwithstanding its rejection by Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort) I am not yet absolutely convinced of its spuriousness. It is wanting in the oldest uncials extant, NBDZ, and since ACP (whose general character would lead us to look for support to the Received text in such a case) are unfortunately deficient here, the burden of the defence is thrown on Σ [vi: *see* p. 157] and the later uncials EGKLMPSUVΔΠ (*hiat* Γ), whereof L is conspicuous for usually siding with B. Of the cursives only *five* are known to omit the clause, 1. 17 (*habet ἀμήν*). 118. 130. 209, but 566 or h^{scr} (and as it would seem some others) has it obelized in the margin, while the scholia in certain other copies indicate that it is doubtful: even 33 contains it, 69 being defective, while 157. 225. 418 add to *δόξα, τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος*, but 422 *τοῦ π̄σ* only. Versions have much influence on such a question, it is therefore impor-

¹ Mr E. B. Nicholson, Bodley's Librarian, doubts the conclusiveness of Irenæus' Latin here "because his copyist was in the habit of altering him into accordance with the oldest Latin version; and because his argument is just as strong if we read *Jesu Christi autem* as if we read *Christi*. The argument requires *Christi*, but does not in the least require it as against *Jesu Christi*".

² "The clearly Western *Τοῦ δὲ χριστοῦ*" as Dr Hort admits, "is intrinsically free from objection,...yet it cannot be confidently accepted. The attestation is unsatisfactory, for no other Western omission of a solitary word in the Gospels has any high probability" (N. T. Notes, p. 7). He retains *ψευδόμενα*, Matth. v. 11.

tant to notice that it is found in all the four Syriac (Cureton's omitting *καὶ ἡ δύναμις*, and some editions of the Peshito *ἀμήν*, which is in *at least* one manuscript), the Thebaic (omitting *καὶ ἡ δόξα*), the Æthiopic, Armenian, Gothic, Slavonic, Georgian (*see* p. 411), Erpenius' Arabic, the Persic of the Polyglott from Pococke's manuscript, the margin of some Memphitic codices, the Old Latin *k* (*quoniam est tibi virtus in sæcula sæculorum*), *f. g'* (omitting *amen*). *q.* The doxology is not found in most Memphitic (but in the margin of *Hunt. 17* or Bp Lightfoot's Cod. 1: *see* p. 378) and Arabic manuscripts or editions, in Wheelocke's Persic, in the Old Latin *a. b. c. ff'. g'. h. l.*, in the Vulgate or its satellites the Anglo-Saxon and Frankish (the Clementine Vulg. and Sax. add *amen*). Its absence from the Latin avowedly caused the editors of the Complutensian N. T. to pass it over (*see* p. 425), though it was found in their Greek copies: the earliest Latin Fathers naturally did not cite what the Latin codices for the most part do not contain. Among the Greeks it is met with in Isidore of Pelusium (412), and in the Pseudo-Apostolic Constitutions, probably of the fourth century: soon afterwards Chrysostom (*Hom. in Matth. xix. Vol. I. p. 283, Field*) comments upon it without shewing the least consciousness that its authenticity was disputed. The silence of earlier writers, as Origen and Cyril of Jerusalem, especially when expounding the Lord's Prayer, may be partly accounted for on the supposition that the doxology was regarded not so much a portion of the Prayer itself, as a hymn of praise annexed to it; yet this fact is somewhat unfavourable to its genuineness, and would be fatal unless we knew the precariousness of any argument derived from such silence. The Fathers are constantly overlooking the most obvious citations from Scripture, even where we should expect them most, although, as we learn from other passages in their writings, they were perfectly familiar with them. Internal evidence is not unevenly balanced. It is probable that the doxology was interpolated from the Liturgies, and the variation of reading renders this all the more likely; it is just as probable that it was cast out of S. Matthew's Gospel to bring it into harmony with S. Luke's (xi. 4): I cannot concede to Scholz that it is "in interruption of the context," for then the whole of ver. 13 would have to be cancelled (a remedy which no one proposes), and not merely this concluding part of it.

It is vain to dissemble the pressure of the adverse case, though it ought not to be looked upon as conclusive. The Syriac and Thebaic versions bring up the existence of the doxology to the second century; Isidore, Chrysostom, and perhaps others¹, attest for it in the fourth; then come the Latin codices^a *f. g. k. q.*, the Gothic, the Armenian, the Æthiopic, and lastly Cod. Σ of the sixth century, and the whole flood-tide of Greek manuscripts from the eighth century downwards, including even L. 33. Perhaps it is not very wise "*quærere quæ habere non possumus*," yet those who are persuaded, from the well-ascertained affinities subsisting between them, that ACP, or at least two out of the three, would have preserved a reading sanctioned by the Peshito, by Codd. *f. k.*, by Chrysostom, and by nearly all the later documents, may be excused for regarding the indictment against the last clause of the Lord's Prayer as hitherto *unproven*.

(3). MATTH. xi. 19. The change of τέκνων of the Received text into ἔργων, as made by Tischendorf, Tregelles (who retains τέκνων in his margin), by Hort and Westcott, is quite destructive to the sense, so far as we can perceive, for Jerome's exposition ("Sapientia quippe non quærit vocis testimonium, sed operum") could hardly satisfy any one but himself. The reading ἔργων is supported by NB* (with τέκνων in the margin by the hand B^a, see p. 112), 124, the Peshito Syriac (apparently; for all the older editions we know punctuate ܐܘܬܝܢܐ "doers,"

¹ Why should Gregory Nyssen (371) be classed among the opponents of the clause, whereas Griesbach honestly states, "suum expositionem his quidem verbis concludit: [ἀπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ τῆν ἰσχὺν κεκτημένον, οὐ βυσθημένον] χάριτι [τοῦ] χριστοῦ, ὅτι αὐτοῦ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα ἅμα τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν"? Griesbach adds indeed, "sed pro parte sacri textus neutiquam hæc habuisse videtur;" and justly: they were rather a loose paraphrase of the sentence before him. Euthymius Zigabenus, who calls the doxology τὸ παρὰ τῶν θείων φωστήρων καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καθηγητῶν προστεθὲν ἀποτελεύτιον ἐπιφώνημα, lived in the twelfth century, and must be estimated accordingly.

² Canon Cook (*Revised Version*, p. 57) alleges as a probable cause of the general omission of the doxology in early Latin Versions and Fathers, that in all the Western liturgies it is separated from the petitions preceding by an intercalated *Embolismus*. More weighty is his observation that all the Greek Fathers, from Chrysostom onwards, who deal with the interpretation of the Lord's Prayer, "agree with that great expositor in maintaining the important bearings [of the doxology] upon the preceding petitions."

not حَصْرَات "works"), the Philoxenian text (but not its margin), the Memphitic, some copies known to Jerome, Armenian manuscripts, the Æthiopic (one MS. contains both forms), and (after the Peshito, *see* p. 413) the Persic of the Polyglott and its codices. We can hardly question that the origin of the variation arose from the difficulty on the part of translators and copyists to understand the Hellenistic use of τέκνων in this place, and modern editors have been tempted to accept it from a false suspicion that the present passage has been assimilated to Luke vii. 35, where indeed Cod. N and S. Ambrose have ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτῆς. As we have alleged that Jerome's explanation is unsatisfactory in S. Matthew's gospel, we subjoin that of Ambrose, which is certainly no less obscure, on the parallel place of S. Luke: "Bene ab omnibus quia circa omnes justitia servatur, ut susceptio fiat fidelium, rejectio perfidorum. Unde plerique Græci sic habent: *justificata est sapientia ab omnibus operibus suis*, quod opus justitiæ sit, circa uniuscujusque meritum servare mensuram." In the face of the language of these two great Latin Fathers it is remarkable that all other Latin authorities agree with the Curetonian Syriac and the mass of Greek manuscripts in upholding τέκνων, which is undoubtedly the only true reading.

(4). MATTH. xvi. 2, 3. The whole passage from Ὁψίας ver. 2 to the end of ver. 3 is set within brackets by Tischendorf in his eighth edition, within double brackets by Westcott and Hort, who holds (*Notes*, p. 13) that "both documentary evidence and the impossibility of accounting for omission prove these words to be no part of the text of Mt." Yet it might seem impossible for any one possessed of the slightest tincture of critical instinct to read them thoughtfully without feeling assured that they were actually spoken by the Lord on the occasion related in the Received text, and were omitted by copyists whose climate the natural phenomena described did not very well suit, the rather as they do not occur in the parallel text, ch. xii. 38, 39. Under these circumstances, the internal evidence in favour of the passage being thus clear and irresistible, the witnesses against it are more likely to damage their own authority than to impair our confidence in its genuineness. These witnesses are NBVXF. 2. 13. 34. 39.

44. 84. 124 *primâ manu*. 157. 180. 194. 258. 301. 511. 575. Cod. 482 has the words, but only in a later hand at the foot of the page (Nicholson). Of these cursive codices 157 alone is of the first class for importance, and the verses are explained in the scholia of X (for ver. 3) and of 39. E and 606 have them with an asterisk; but they are wanting in the Curetonian Syriac, the Memphitic according to Mill (but not so other Coptic manuscripts and editions), and the Armenian, as unaltered from the Latin (*see* p. 408 and note). Origen passes them over in his commentary, and Jerome, in his sweeping way, declares "hoc in plerisque codicibus non habetur." They are recognised in the Eusebian canons (Tregelles, *An Account of the Printed Text*, p. 205).

The united testimony of \aleph B and the Curetonian version suffices to shew that the omission was current as early as the second century, while the accordance of CD, of all the Latins and the Peshito, with the mass of later codices assures us that the words were extant at the same early date. If any one shall deem this a case best explained by the existence of two separate recensions of the same work (*see* p. 18), one containing the disputed sentences, the other derived from copies in which they had not yet been inserted, he may find much encouragement for his conjecture by considering certain passages in the latter part of S. Luke's Gospel (*see* Chap. VII., p. 555 and note 2), where the same sort of omissions, supported by a class of authorities quite different from those we have to deal with here, occur too often to be merely accidental.

(5). MATTH. xix. 17 (*see* p. 17). For $\tau\acute{\iota}\ \mu\epsilon\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{\omicron}\nu\ ;\ \sigma\acute{\upsilon}\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ ,\ \epsilon\iota\ \mu\acute{\eta}\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ ,\ \acute{\omicron}\ \Theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ ,$ Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Alford, Westcott and Hort read $\tau\acute{\iota}\ \mu\epsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\ ;\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu\ \acute{\omicron}\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ .$ The self-same words as in the Received text occur in the parallel places Mark x. 18, Luke xviii. 19 with no variation worth speaking of; a fact which (so far as it goes) certainly lends some support to the supposition that S. Matthew's autograph contained the other reading: *see* p. 12, § 9. Add to this that any change made from S. Matthew, *supposing the common reading to be true*, must have been wilfully introduced by one who was offended at the doctrine of the Divine Son's inferiority to the

Father which it seemed to assert or imply. Internal evidence, therefore, would be a little in favour of the alteration approved by Lachmann, Tischendorf, and the rest; and in discussing external authority, their opponents are much hampered by the accident that A is defective in this place, while N has recently been added to the list of its supporters. Under these circumstances we might have been excused from noticing this passage at all, as we are no longer able to uphold the Received text with the same confidence as before, but that it seemed dishonest to suppress a case on which Tregelles (*An Account of the Printed Text*, pp. 133—8) has laid great stress, and which, when the drift of the internal evidence is duly allowed for, tells more in his favour than any other he has alleged, or is likely to be met with elsewhere¹.

The alternative reading *τί με ἐρωτᾷς περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ κ.τ.λ.* occurs in NBD (omitting *τοῦ* and *ὁ*) L 1 (omitting *ὁ*). 22. 604. In 251 both readings are given, the Received one first, in ver. 17, the other interpolated after *ποιίας* ver. 18, prefaced by *ὁ δὲ ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ*. Excepting these seven, all other extant codices reject it, CEF²GHKMSUVΓΔ (Γ omits *τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν*; Δ omits *λέγεις*, Π is defective here), even Codd. 33. 69. The versions are more seriously divided. The Peshito Syriac, the Philoxenian text, the Thebaic (*Oxford fragments, see p. 394*), the Old Latin *f. q*, the Arabic, &c. make for the common reading; Cureton's and the Jerusalem Syriac, the Old Latin *a. b. c. e. ff^{1.2}. l*, the Vulgate (the Anglo-Saxon and Frankish, of course), Memphitic and Armenian, for that of Lachmann and his followers. Several present a mixed form: *τί με ἐρωτᾷς περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ; οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἰς*: viz. the margin of the Philoxenian, the Æthiopic, and *g¹. h. m* of the Old Latin. A few (Cureton's Syriac, *b. c. ff^{1.2}. g¹. h. l. m*, Jerome and the Vulgate) add *ὁ θεός*, as in the common text; but this is unimportant.

Tregelles presses us hard with the testimony of Origen in favour of the reading he adopts: *ὁ μὲν οὖν Ματθαῖος, ὡς περὶ ἀγαθοῦ ἔργου ἐρωτηθέντος τοῦ σωτήρος ἐν τῷ, τί ἀγαθὸν ποιήσω; ἀνέγραψεν. Ὁ δὲ Μάρκος καὶ Λουκᾶς φασὶ τὸν σωτήρα εἰρηκέναι, τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; οὐδεὶς ἀγαθός, εἰ μὴ εἰς, ὁ Θεός* (Tom. III. p. 644 d). "The reading which is opposed to the com-

¹ "Quite a test-passage" Mr Hammond calls it (*Outlines of Text. Crit.*, p. 76)..

mon text," Tregelles writes, "has the express testimony of Origen in its favour" (p. 134); "might I not well ask for some *proof* that the other reading existed, in the time of Origen, in copies of S. Matthew's Gospel?" (p. 137). I may say in answer, that the testimony of Origen applies indeed to the former part of the variation which Tregelles maintains (τί με ἐρωτᾷς περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ), but not at all to the latter (εἰς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγαθός), and that the Peshito Syriac version of the second, as also the Thebaic of the third century, uphold the common text, without any variation in the manuscripts of the former, that we know of. Or if he asks for the evidence of Fathers to counterbalance that of a Father, we have Justin Martyr: προσελθόντος αὐτῷ τινος καὶ εἰπόντος (words which shew, as Tischendorf observes, that S. Matthew's is the only Gospel that can be referred to) Διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, ἀπεκρίνατο λέγων, Οὐδεὶς ἀγαθός εἰ μὴ ὁ μόνος ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας τὰ πάντα, citing loosely, as is usual with him, but not ambiguously. Or if *half* the variation will satisfy, as it was made to do for Origen, Tregelles' own note refers us to Irenæus 92 for τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; εἰς ἐστὶν ἀγαθός, and to Eusebius for the other half in the form above quoted from the Æthiopic, &c. Moreover, since he cites the last five words of the subjoined extract as belonging to S. Matthew, Tregelles entitles us to employ for our purpose the whole passage *Marcos. apud Iren. 92*, which we might not otherwise have ventured to do: καὶ τῷ εἰπόντι αὐτῷ Διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, τὸν ἀληθῶς ἀγαθὸν θεὸν ὠμολογηκέναι, εἰπόντα Τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; εἰς ἐστὶν ἀγαθός, ὁ πατήρ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. Jerome and Augustine (for the first clause only, though very expressly: *de Consensu Evan.* II. 63) are with the Latin Vulgate, Hilary with the common Greek text, as are also Optatus (fl. 370), Ambrose, Chrysostom, and the main body of later Fathers. Thus the great mass of manuscripts, headed by C, is well supported by versions, and even better by ecclesiastical writers; yet, in virtue of the weight of internal evidence, we dare not hold out unreservedly against the reading of BDL, &c., now that Cod. \aleph is found to agree with them, even though subsequent investigations have brought to light so close a relation between \aleph and B as to render it impossible, in our opinion, to regard them as independent witnesses¹.

¹ THIRD EDITION. I would fain side in this instance with my revered friend and Revision colleague Dr David Brown of Aberdeen, and all my prepossessions

(6). MATTH. xx. 28. The extensive interpolation which follows this verse in some very ancient documents has been given above (p. 8), in the form represented in the Curetonian Syriac version. It bears the internal marks of evident spuriousness, the first sentence consisting of a rhetorical antithesis as unsuitable as can be imagined to the majestic simplicity of our Lord's usual tone, while the sentiment of the rest is manifestly borrowed from Luke xiv. 8—10, although there is little or no resemblance in the words. The only extant Greek for the passage is in Cod. D: *υμεις δε ζητετε . εκ μεικρου αυξησαι και εκ μειζονος ελαττων ειναι εισερχομενοι δε και παρακληθεντες δειπνησαι . μη ανακλειεσθαι εις τους εξεχοντας τοπους μη ποτε ενδοξοτερος σου επελθη και προσελθων ο δειπνοκλητωρ ειπη σοι επι κατω χωρει . και καταισχυνηθησαν εαν δε αναπεσης· εις τον ηττονα τοπον και επελθη σου ηττων ερει σοι ο δειπνοκλητωρ· συναγε επι ανω και εσται σοι τουτο χρησιμον.* The codices of the Old Latin version (*a. b. c. e. ff¹. 2. h. n* and *and. em.* of the Vulgate¹) mostly support the same addition, though with many variations: *d*, as usual, agrees with none (*see* p. 361); *g²* has not the first clause down to *ειναι*, while *g¹. m* have nothing else. Besides the Curetonian Syriac, the margin of the Philoxenian contains it in a shape much like *d*, noting that the paragraph is "found in Greek copies in this place, but in ancient copies only in S. Luke, κεφ. 53" [ch. xiv. 8, &c.]: Cureton has also seen it in one manuscript of the Peshito (Brit. Mus. 14,456), but there too in the margin. Marshall states that it is contained in four codices of the Anglo-Saxon version (*see* p. 412), which proves

are strongly in favour of the *textus receptus* here. He is quite right in perceiving (*Christian Opinion and Revisionist* p. 435) that the key of his position lies in the authenticity of *ἀγαθὲ* ver. 16, which is undoubtedly found in Mark x. 17; Luke xviii. 18. If that word had abided unquestioned here, the form of reply adopted in the other two Gospels would have inevitably followed. As the case stands, there is not considerably less evidence for omitting *ἀγαθὲ* (NBDL 1. 22. 479. *Evst. 5* [not "five Evangelistaria"], *a. e. ff.* *Æth.* Origen twice, Hilary) than for *τί με ἐρωτᾷς κ.τ.λ.*, although Cureton's and the Jerusalem Syriac, the Memphitic, and the Vulgate with some other Latin copies, change sides here. It is upon these recreant versions that Dr Brown must fix the charge of inconsistency. If *ἀγαθὲ* be an interpolation, surely *τί ἀγαθὸν ποιῶσω* is pertinently answered by *τί με ἐρωτᾷς περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ*.

¹ Canon Westcott (*Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, Vulgate Version) adds Bodl. 857; Brit. Mus. Reg. i. B. vii. (*see* p. 354), and Reg. i. A. xviii. (*see* p. 359) in part, also Addit. 24142 by the second hand. Tischendorf also cites *theotic.* (*see* p. 356, note 1).

its wide reception in the West. Of the Fathers, Hilary recognises it, as apparently do Juvencus and Pope Leo the Great (A. D. 440—461). It must have been rejected by Jerome, being entirely absent from the great mass of Vulgate codices, nor is it in the Old Latin *f. l. q.* No other Greek codex, or version, or ecclesiastical writer, has any knowledge of the passage: while the whole language of the Greek of Cod. D, especially in such words as *δειπνοκλήτωρ, ἐξέχοντας, ἦτων, χρίσιμος*, is so foreign to the style of S. Matthew's Gospel, that it seems rather to have been rendered from the Latin¹, although in the midst of so much variation it is hard to say from what copy. Cureton too testifies that the Syriac of the version named from him must have been made quite independently of that in the margins of the Philoxenian and Peshito.

No one has hitherto ventured to regard this paragraph as genuine, however perplexing it may be to decide at what period or even in what language it originated. The wide divergencies between the witnesses must always dismiss it from serious consideration. Its chief critical use must be to shew that the united testimony of the Old Latin, of the Curetonian Syriac, and of Cod. D, are quite insufficient in themselves to prove any more than that the reading they exhibit is ancient: certainly as ancient as the second century.

(7). MATTH. xxi. 28—31. This passage, so transparently clear in the common text, stands thus in the edition of Tregelles: (80) *Τί δὲ ὑμῖν δοκεῖ; ἄνθρωπος εἶχεν τέκνα δύο, καὶ προσελθὼν τῷ πρώτῳ εἶπεν, Τέκνον, ὑπάγε σήμερον ἐργάζου ἐν τῷ ἀμπελῶνι.* (81) *ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν, Οὐ θέλω ὕστερον δὲ μεταμεληθεὶς ἀπήλθεν.* (82) *προσελθὼν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ εἶπεν ὡσαύτως. ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ, κύριε καὶ οὐκ ἀπήλθεν.* (83) *τίς ἐκ τῶν*

¹ No passage more favours Bp Middleton's deliberate conclusion respecting the history of the Codex Bezae: "I believe that no fraud was intended: but only that the critical possessor of the basis filled its margin with glosses and readings chiefly from the Latin, being a Christian of the Western Church; and that the whole collection of Latin passages was translated into Greek, and substituted in the text by some one who had a high opinion of their value, and who was, as Wetstein describes him, 'καλλιγραφίας quàm vel Græcæ vel Latinae linguæ peritior.'" (*Doctrine of the Greek Article, Appendix I. p. 485, 3rd edition.*)

δύο ἐποίησεν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρός; λέγουσιν, Ὁ ὕστερος. The above is indeed a brilliant exemplification of Bengel's Canon (*see* p. 493) "Proclivi scriptioni præstat ardua." Lachmann in 1842 had given the same reading, with a few slight and unimportant exceptions. The question is proposed which of the two sons did their father's will; the reply is *ὁ ὕστερος*, the one that promised and then failed! Lachmann in 1850 (N. T. Vol. II. *Præf.* p. 5) remarks that had he been sure that *πρῶτος* (ver. 31) was the reading of Cod. C, he should have honoured it, *the only word that makes sense*, with a place in his margin: "Nihilominus," he naïvely adds, "id quod nunc solum edidi...*ὁ ὕστερος* veri similis est altero, quod facile aliquis correctori adscribat, illud non item;" and we must fairly confess that no copyist would have sought to introduce a plain absurdity into so beautiful and simple a parable. "Quid vero," he goes on to plead, "si id quod veri similis esse dixi ne intellegi quidem potest?" (a pertinent question certainly) "CORRIGETUR, SI MODO NECESSE ERIT:" critical conjecture, as usual, is his panacea (*see* p. 480). Conjecture, however, is justly held inadmissible by Tregelles, whose mode of interpretation is a curiosity in its way. "I believe," he says, "that *ὁ ὕστερος* refers not to the order in which the two sons have been mentioned, but to the previous expression about the elder son, *ὑστερον δὲ μεταμεληθεὶς ἀπῆλθεν*, afterwards he repented and went." "Which of the two did his father's will? *ὁ ὕστερος*. He who afterwards [repented and went]. This answers the charge that the reading of Lachmann is void of sense" (*An Account of the Printed Text*, p. 107). I entertain sincere veneration for the character and services of Dr Tregelles, but it is only right to assert at once that what stands in his text is impossible Greek. Even granting that instead of the plain answer "the first," our Lord's adversaries resorted to the harsh and equivocal reply "he who afterwards," they would not have said *ὁ ὕστερος*, but *ὁ ὑστερον*, or (the better to point out their reference to *ὑστερον* in ver. 29) *ὁ τὸ ὑστερον*.

Why then prefer nonsense, for the mere purpose of carrying out Bengel's canon to the extremity? The passage, precisely as it stands in Tregelles' N. T., is sanctioned by no critical authority whatsoever. Cod. B indeed has *ὑστερος* (which is here followed by Westcott and Hort), Cod. 4 *δεύτερος*, Codd. 13. 69.

124. 346 (Abbott's four, *see* p. 181) and 238. 262. 604, perhaps others, ἔσχατος, one or other of which is in the Jerusalem Syriac and Memphitic, the Æthiopic (two manuscripts), the Armenian and two chief Arabic versions; but all these authorities (with *tol.* of the Vulgate *secundâ manu*, as also Isidore, the Pseudo-Athanasius, and John Damascene), transpose the order of the two sons in vv. 29, 30, so that the result produces just the same sense as in the Received text. The suggestion that the clauses were transferred in order to reconcile ὕστερος or ἔσχατος with the context may be met by the counter-statement that ὕστερος was just as likely to be substituted for πρῶτος to suit the inversion of the clauses. Against such inversion (which we do not pretend to recommend, though Westcott and Hort adopt it) Origen is an early witness, so that Cod. B and its allies are no doubt wrong: yet as that Father does not notice any difficulty in ver. 31, the necessary inference ought to be that he read πρῶτος¹. Hippolytus testifies to ἔσχατος in ver. 31, but his evidence cannot be used, since he gives no indication in what order he took the clauses in vv. 29, 30. The indefensible part of Tregelles' arrangement is that, allowing the answers of the two sons to stand as in our common Bibles, he receives ὕστερος in the room of πρῶτος on evidence that really tells against him. The only true supporters of his general view are Cod. D αίσχατος (i.e. ἔσχατος), the Old Latin copies *a. b. e. ff*^{1. 2}. *g*¹. *h. l.*, the best codices of the Vulgate (*am. fuld. for. san. tol. harl.**), the Anglo-Saxon version, and Augustine, though not the Clementine edition of the Vulgate. Hilary perplexes himself by trying to explain the same reading; and Jerome, although he says "Sciendum est in veris exemplaribus non haberi *novissimum* sed *primum*," has an expedient to account for the former word², which, however (if *am. fuld. &c.*

¹ I see no reasonable ground for imagining with Lachmann that Origen who, as he truly observes, "non solet difficilia præterire," did not find in his copy anything between πατρός; and Ἀμήν in ver. 31. On the supposition that he read πρῶτος there was no difficulty to slur over. Moreover, there is not a vestige of evidence for omitting λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ ἱησοῦς, the existence of which words Lachmann clearly perceived to be fatal to his ingenious guess, although Dr Hort will only allow that it "weakens his suggestion," adding in his quiet way "This phrase might easily seem otiose if it followed immediately on words of Christ, and might thus be thought to imply the intervention of words spoken by others" (*Notes*, p. 17).

² Jerome conceives that the Jews "intellegere quidem veritatem, sed tergi-

may be trusted), he did not venture to reject when revising the Old Latin (*see* p. 348). On no true principles can Cod. D and its Latin allies avail against such a mass of opposing proof, whereof Codd. \aleph CLX lead the van. Even the Curetonian Syriac, which so often favours Cod. D and the Old Latin, is with the *textus receptus* here.

(8). MATTH. xvii. 35. After *βάλλοντες κλῆρον* the Received text, but not the Complutensian edition, has *ἵνα πληρωθῆ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτου, Διεμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτιά μου ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμὸν μου ἔβαλον κλῆρον*. Internal evidence may be about equal for the omission of the clause by homœoteleuton of *κλῆρον*, and for its interpolation from John xix. 24, "with just the phrase *τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ (or ἀπὸ) τοῦ προφήτου* assimilated to Matthew's usual form of citation" (*Alford*, ad loc.). External evidence, however, places the spuriousness of the addition beyond doubt. It is first heard of in citations of Eusebius, and is read in the Old Latin codices *a. b. c. g^s. h. q.*, the Clementine (not the Sixtine) Vulgate and even in *am. luc. Harl. 2826. lind.*, in King's Libr. I. D. 1X and the margin of I. E. VI (but not in *fuld. for. tol^s. em. ing. jac. san.*, nor in *f. ff¹⁻². g^s. D*), the Armenian (whose resemblance to the Vulgate is so suspicious), the Frankish and Anglo-Saxon, and as a matter of course in the Roman edition of the Arabic (*see* p. 414), and in the Persic of the Polyglott (*see* p. 413). The clause seems to be found in no manuscript of the Peshito Syriac, and is consequently absent from Widmanstadt's edition and the Antwerp, Paris, and London Polyglotts (*see* pp. 313, 314—6). Tremellius first turned the Greek words into Syriac and placed them in the margin of his book, whence they were most unwisely admitted into the text of several later editions (but not into Lee's), without the slightest authority. They also appear in the text of the Philoxenian, but the marginal note (*see* p. 326) states that "this passage from the prophet is not in two ["three" *Codd. Assemani*] Greek copies, nor in the ancient Syriac." All other versions and Fathers (except

versari, et nolle dicere quod sentiunt;" but of this wilful stubbornness we find no traces in our Lord's rejoinder *'Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι οἱ τελέωμαι κ.τ.λ.* Hilary's idea is even more far-fetched: viz. that though the second son disobeyed, it was because he *could not* execute the command. "Non ait noluisse sed non abisse. Res extra culpam infidelitatis est, quia in facti erat difficultate ne fieret."

Eusebius and the Pseudo-Athanasius), and all Greek manuscripts reject the clause, except Δ. 1. 17 (*see* p. 181). 58 (*marg.*). 69. 118. 124. 262. 300. 503. 550, Evst. 55 : Scholz adds "aliis multis" which (judging from my own experience) I must take leave to doubt (*see* p. 76). Besides other slight changes (*αυτοις* Δ, *κλήρους* 69 *secundā manu*) Codd. Δ. 61. 69. 503 and Eusebius read *διὰ* for *ὑπό*. The present case is one out of many that shew an intimate connexion (*see* p. 188) subsisting between Codd. 61 and 69.

(9). MARK vi. 20. *καὶ ἀκούσας αὐτοῦ πολλὰ ἐποίησεν, καὶ ἠδέως αὐτοῦ ἤκουε*. "Did many things" Engl. vers. I think it must have occurred to many readers that this is, to say the least, a very singular expression." So writes Mr Linwood, very truly (*see* p. 490, note 2), for nothing can well be more tame or unmeaning. His remedy we can say little for. "I think that for *πολλὰ ἐποίησεν* we should read *πολλοῦ ἐποίησεν*, i.e. "magni faciebat. It is true that classical usage would require the middle voice, sc. *πολλοῦ ἐποιεῖτο*. But this rule is not always observed by the N. T. writers"¹ (*Linwood*, p. 11). If, instead of resorting to conjecture, he had opened Tischendorf's eighth edition, he would have found there a reading, adopted as well by that editor as by Westcott and Hort, whose felicity, had it been nothing more than a happy conjecture, he might well have admired. Codd. NBL for *πολλὰ ἐποίησεν*² have *πολλὰ ἠπόρει* "was much perplexed," which the Memphitic confirms, only that, in translating, it joins *πολλὰ* with *ἀκούσας*. This close resemblance between the Memphitic version and Codd. NB (especially Cod. B) is very apparent throughout the N. T. (*see* p. 543); a single example being their united omission of *ἰσχυρὸν* in Matth. xiv. 30 in company with but one other authority, the great cursive Cod. 33. Hence we do not hesitate to receive a variation supported by only a few first-rate authorities, where internal evidence (Canon II. p. 494) pleads so powerfully in its favour. Although the middle voice is found elsewhere in the N. T., yet the active in this precise sense may be supported by good examples, even

¹ His sole example is *ἰδὲν ποιεῖν* Mark ii. 23, which seems not at all parallel. The phrase may as well signify to "clear away" as "make their way."

² *πολλὰ δ' ἐποίησεν* is the reading of Abbott's four (*see* p. 181) and of Codd. 28. 122. 541. 561. 572. Evst. 196.

when used absolutely, as here: e.g. ἄλλος οἱ ἀπορέοντι ὑπέθηκετο Herod. i. 191: ὁ δ' ἀπορῶν, ὥς φασι, μόλις κατενόησε τὴν πρόσχωσιν ταύτην τοῦ Ἀχελῷου Thuc. ii. 102.

Another less considerable, but interesting variation, occurring just before, in ch. v. 36, παρακούσας "overhearing" instead of ἀκούσας, may be deemed probable on the evidence of **Ν*BLΔ** and the Latin *e*, which must have had the reading, though it is mistranslated *neglexit*¹. We gladly credit the same group (**NBCLΔ**, 473. Evst. 150. 259) with another rare compound, κατευλόγει in ch. x. 16, whose intensive force is very excellent. In ch. xii. 17 a similar compound ἐξεθαύμαζον is too feebly vouched for by **NB** alone.

[THIRD EDITION. It is only fair to retain unchanged the note on Mark vi. 20, inasmuch as the *Two Members of the N. T. Company* (p. 47, note 1) have exercised their right of claiming my assent to the change of ἐποίη into ἠπόρει. I must, however, retract that opinion, for the former reading now appears to me to afford an excellent sense. Herod gladly heard the Baptist, and *did many things* at his exhortation; every thing in fact save the one great sacrifice which he could not persuade himself to make].

(10). MARK vii. 19. The substitution of καθαρίζων for καθαρίζον, so far from being the unmeaning itacism it might seem at first sight (*see* p. 11), is a happy restoration of the true sense of a passage long obscured by the false reading. For the long vowel there is the overwhelming evidence of **ΝAB** (*hiat* C) EFGHLSXΔ. 1. 13. 28. 48. 50. 53. 58. 59 (*me teste*). 61.** 64. 65. 69. 122*. 124. 229. 235. 244. 251. 282. 346. 435. 473. 492. 508. 515. 570. 622, Evst. 49. 259, and Erasmus' first edition: his second reads ἐκκαθαρίζων, his third καθαρίζον of KMUVΓII. 558 and perhaps a majority of the cursives. The reading of D καθαρίζει (καθαρίζειν 61 *primā manu*), as also καὶ καθαρίζει of Evst. 222 and the Latin *i*, seems to favour the termination -ov: *purgans* of *a. b. c.* (even *d.*). *f.* ff². *g*¹⁻². *l?* *n. q.* and the Vulgate, is of course neutral. The Peshito ܩܘܝܢܘܢܐ (qui purgat) refers in gender to the noun immediately preced-

¹ Which is certainly its meaning in Lucian, Tom. ii. p. 705 (Salmur. 1619); I know no example like that in S. Mark.

ing, and would require *καθαρίζοντα*. Will any one undertake to say what is meant by the last clause of the verse as it stands in the Authorised English version, and as it must stand, so long as *καθαρίζον* is read? If, on the other hand, we follow Lachmann, Tregelles, Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, we must take the Lord's words to end with *ἐκπορεύεται*, and regard *καθαρίζων πάντα τὰ βρώματα* as the Evangelist's comment upon them: "*This he said, to make all things clean.*" Compare Acts x. 15. This, and none other, seems to have been the meaning assigned to the passage by the Greek Fathers. It is indeed most simply expressed by Chrysostom (Hom. II. in Matth. p. 526 A): 'Ο δὲ Μάρκος φησὶν, ὅτι καθαρίζων τὰ βρώματα, ταῦτα ἔλεγεν, where Dr Field's elaborate note should be consulted. He rightly judges that Chrysostom was treading in the steps of Origen: *καὶ μάλιστα ἐπεὶ κατὰ τὸν Μάρκον ἔλεγε ταῦτα ὁ Σωτὴρ, καθαρίζων πάντα τὰ βρώματα*. Hence Gregory Thaumaturgus designates the Lord as *ὁ σωτὴρ ὁ πάντα καθαρίζων τὰ βρώματα*. I know not how Tischendorf came to overlook the passage from Chrysostom: Tregelles very seldom uses him. It is obvious how well the elliptical form of the expression suits this Evangelist's style, which is often singularly concise and abrupt, yet never obscure.

(11). MARK xvi. 9—20. In Chapter I. we engaged to defend the authenticity of this long and important passage, and that without the slightest misgiving (p. 7). Dean Burgon's brilliant monograph, "The Last Twelve verses of the Gospel according to S. Mark vindicated against recent objectors and established" (Oxford and London, 1871), has thrown a stream of light upon the controversy, nor does the joyous tone of his book misbecome one who is conscious of having triumphantly maintained a cause which is very precious to him. We may fairly say that his conclusions have in no essential point been shaken by the elaborate and very able counter-plea of Dr Hort (*Notes*, pp. 28—51). This whole paragraph is set apart by itself in the critical editions of Tischendorf and Tregelles. Besides this, it is placed within double brackets by Westcott and Hort, and followed by the wretched supplement derived from Cod. L (*vide infra*), annexed as an alternative reading (ἄλλως). Out of all the great manuscripts, the two oldest (NB) stand

alone in omitting ver. 9—20 altogether¹. Cod. B, however, betrays consciousness on the scribe's part that something is left out, inasmuch as after *ἐφοβούντο γάρ* ver. 8, a whole column is left perfectly blank (*the only blank one in the whole volume*²), as well as the rest of the column containing ver. 8, which is usual in Cod. B at the end of every book of Scripture (*see* p. 104). No such peculiarity attaches to Cod. N. The testimony of L, that close companion of B, is very suggestive. Immediately after ver. 8 the copyist breaks off; then in the same hand (for all corrections in this manuscript seem *primâ manu*: *see* p. 133), at the top of the next column we read...*φερετε που και ταυτα...παντα δε τα παρηγγελμενα τοις περι τον πετρον συντομωσ εξηγγιλαν+μετα δε ταυτα και αυτος ο ιω, απο ανατολης και αχρι δυσεως εξαπεστιλεν δι αυτων το ιερον και αφθαρτον κηρυγμα+ της αιωνιου σωτηριασ+ ...εστην δε και ταυτα φερομενα μετα το εφοβουντο γαρ+... Αναστασ δε πρωι πρωτη σαββατς+ κ.τ.λ.*, ver. 9, *ad fin. capit.* (Burgon's *facsimile*, facing his p. 113: our *facsimile* No. 21): as if vv. 9—20 were just as little to be regarded as the trifling apocryphal supplement³ which precedes them. Besides these, the twelve verses are omitted in none but some old Armenian codices⁴ and two of the Æthiopic, *k* of the Old Latin, and an Arabic Lectionary [IX] No. 13, examined by Scholz in the Vatican. The Old Latin Codex *k* puts in their room a corrupt and careless version of the subscription in L ending with *σωτηρίας* (*k* adding *amen*): the same subscription being appended to the end of the Gospel in the two Æthiopic manuscripts, and (with *ἀμήν*) in the margin

¹ I have ventured but slowly to vouch for Tischendorf's notion, that six leaves of Cod. N, *that containing* Mark xvi. 2—Luke i. 56 *being one of them*, were written by the scribe of Cod. B. On mere identity of handwriting and the peculiar shape of certain letters who shall insist? Yet there are parts of the case, apparently unnoticed by Tischendorf himself (*see* p. 92, note), which I know not how to answer, and which have persuaded even Dr Hort. Having now arrived at this conclusion our inference is simple and direct, that at least in these leaves, Codd. NB make but one witness, not two.

² The cases of Nehemiah, Tobit, and Daniel, in the Old Testament portion of Cod. B, are obviously in no wise parallel in regard to their blank columns.

³ Of which supplement Dr Hort says unexpectedly enough "In style it is unlike the ordinary narratives of the Evangelists, but comparable to the four introductory verses of S. Luke's Gospel" (*Introduction*, p. 298).

⁴ We ought to add that some Armenian codices which contain the paragraph have the subscription "Gospel after Mark" at the end of ver. 8 as well as of ver. 20, as though their scribes, like Cod. L's, knew of a double ending to the Gospel.

of 274 and the Philoxenian. Not unlike is the marginal note in *Hunt.* 17 or Cod. 1 of the Memphitic, translated by Bp Light-foot above, p. 379. Of cursive Greek manuscripts 137. 138, which Birch had hastily reported as marking the passage with an asterisk, each contains the marginal annotation given below, which claims the passage as genuine, 138 with no asterisk at all, 137 (like 36 and others) with an ordinary mark of reference from the text to the note, where (of course) it is repeated¹. Other manuscripts contain marginal scholia respecting it, of which the following is the substance. Cod. 199 has τέλος² after ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ and before Ἀναστὰς δέ, and in the same hand as τέλος we read, ἐν τισι τῶν ἀντιγράφων οὐ κείται ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα καταπαύει. The kindred Codd. 20. 215. 300 (but after ver. 15, not ver. 8) mark the omission in some (τισι) copies, adding ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πάντα ἀπαράλειπτα κείται, and these had been corrected from Jerusalem copies (*see* pp. 154 and note, 182). Cod. 573 (*see* p. 239) has for a subscription ἐγράφη καὶ ἀντεβλήθη ὁμοίως ἐκ τῶν ἐσπουδασμένων κεφαλαίοις σλζ: where Burgon, going back to S. Matthew's Gospel (*see* p. 154, note) infers that the old Jerusalem copies must have contained our twelve verses. Codd. 15. 22 conclude at ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ, then add in red ink that in some copies the Evangelist ends here, ἐν πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα φέρεται, affixing vv. 9—20. In Codd. 1. 205 (in its duplicate 206 also), 209 is the same notice, ἄλλοις standing for πολλοῖς in 206, with the additional assertion that Eusebius "canonised" no further than ver. 8, a statement which is confirmed by the absence of the Ammonian and Eusebian numerals beyond that verse in *ΝΑΛSU* and at least eleven cursives, with *am. fuld. ing.* of the Vulgate. It would be no marvel if Eusebius, the author of this harmonising system (*see* pp. 56, &c.), had consistently acted upon his own rash opinion respecting the paragraph, an opinion which we shall

¹ Burgon (*Guardian*, July 12, 1882) speaks of seven manuscripts (Codd. 538, 539 being among them) wherein these last twelve verses begin on the right hand of the page. This would be more significant if a space were left, as is not stated, at the foot of the preceding page. In Cod. 550 the first letter *a* is small, but covers an abnormally large space.

² Of course no notice is to be taken of τέλος after ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ, as the end of the ecclesiastical lesson is all that is intimated (*see* p. 72 note, and p. 73). The grievous misstatements of preceding critics from Wetstein and Scholz down to Tischendorf, have been corrected throughout by means of Burgon's laborious researches (*Burgon*, pp. 114—123).

have to notice presently, and such action on his part would have added nothing to the strength of the adverse case. But it does not seem that he really did so. These numerals appear in most manuscripts, and in all parts of them, with a good deal of variation which we can easily account for. In the present instance they are annexed to ver. 9 and the rest of the passage in Codd. CEKVII, and (with some changes) in GHMΓΔΛ and many others: in Cod. 566 the concluding sections are there (*σλδ* ver. 11, *σλε* ver. 12, *σλς* ver. 14) without the canons. In their respective margins the annotated codices 12 (of Scholz), 24. 36. 37. 40. 41. 108. 129. 137. 138. 143. 181. 186. 195. 210. 221. 222. 237. 238. 255. 259. 299. 329. 374 (twenty-four in all), present in substance¹ the same weighty testimony in favour of the passage: *παρὰ πλείστοις ἀντιγράφοις οὐ κείται* (thus far also Cod. 119, adding only *ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα καταπαύει*) *ἐν τῷ παρόντι εὐαγγελίῳ, ὡς νόθα νομίσαντες αὐτὰ εἶναι· ἀλλὰ ἡμεῖς ἐξ ἀκριβῶν ἀντιγράφων ἐν πλείστοις εὐρόντες αὐτὰ καὶ κατὰ τὸ Παλαιστιναῖον εὐαγγέλιον Μάρκου, ὡς ἔχει ἡ ἀλήθεια, συντεθείκαμεν καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπιφερομένην δεσποτικὴν ἀνάστασιν.* Now this is none other than an extract from Victor of Antioch's [v] commentary on S. Mark, which they all annex in full to the sacred text, and which is expressly assigned to that Father in Codd. 12. 37. 41. Yet these very twenty-four manuscripts have been cited by critical editors as adverse to the authenticity of a paragraph which their scribes never dreamt of calling into question, but had simply copied Victor's decided judgment in its favour. His appeal to the famous Palestine codices which had belonged to Origen and Pamphilus (*see* pp. 53 and note, 512) is found in twenty-one of them: possibly these documents are akin to the Jerusalem copies mentioned in Codd. Evan. A. 20. 164. 262. 300, &c. (*see* p. 585).

All other codices, e.g. ACD (which is defective from ver. 15, *primâ manu*) EF^wGH (begins ver. 14) KMSUVXΓΔΠ. 33. 69, the Peshito, Jerusalem and Curetonian Syriac (which last, by a singular happiness, contains vv. 17—20, though no other part of

¹ The minute variations between these several codices are given by Burgon (Appendix E, pp. 288—90). Cod. 255 contains a scholion imputed to Eusebius, from which Griesbach had drawn inferences which Burgon (*Last Twelve Verses*, &c. Postscript pp. 819—23) has shown to be unwarranted by the circumstances of the case.

S. Mark), the Philoxenian *text*, the Thebaic (only ver. 20 is preserved), the Memphitic and Æthiopic (with the exceptions before named, pp. 584—5), the Gothic (to ver. 12), the Vulgate, all extant Old Latins except *k* (though *a. primâ manu* and *b.* are defective), the Georgian (*see* p. 411), the printed Armenian, its later manuscripts, and all the lesser versions (Arabic, &c.) agree in maintaining the paragraph. It is cited, possibly by Papias, unquestionably by Irenæus (both in Greek and Latin) and by Justin Martyr as early as the second century; by Hippolytus (*see* Tregelles, *An Account of the Printed Text*, p. 252) and apparently by Celsus in the third; by Aphraates (in a Syriac Homily dated A.D. 337), Cyril of Jerusalem¹, Epiphanius, Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostom, &c. in the fourth. Add to this, what has been so forcibly stated by Burgon (*ubi supra*, p. 205), that in the Calendar of Greek Church lessons, which existed certainly in the fourth century, very probably much earlier, the disputed verses were honoured by being read as a special matins service for Ascension Day (*see* p. 79), and as the Gospel for S. Mary Magdalene's Day, July 22 (p. 86); as well as by forming the third of the eleven *εὐαγγέλια ἀναστάσιμα ἑωθινά*, the preceding part of the chapter forming the second (p. 83): so little were they suspected as of even doubtful authenticity².

The earliest objector to ver. 9—20 we know of was Eusebius (*Quæst. ad Marin.*), who tells that they were not *ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις*, but after *ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ* that *τὰ ἐξῆς* are found *σπανίως ἐν τισιν*, yet not in *τὰ ἀκριβῆ*: language which Jerome (*see* p. 516) *twice* echoes and almost exaggerates by saying "in

¹ It is surprising that Dr Hort, who lays very undue stress upon the silence of certain early Christian writers that had no occasion for quoting the twelve verses in their extant works, should say of Cyril of Jerusalem, who lived about A.D. 349, that his "negative evidence is peculiarly cogent" (*Notes*, p. 37). To our mind it is not at all negative. Preaching on a Sunday, he reminds his hearers of a sermon he had delivered the day before, and which he would have them keep in their thoughts. One of the topics he briefly recalls is the article of the Creed *τὸν καθίσαντα ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρὸς*. He must inevitably have used Mark xvi. 19 in his Saturday's discourse.

² Nor were these verses used in the Greek Church only. Ver. 9—20 comprised the Gospel for Easter Monday in the old Spanish or Mozarabic Liturgy, for Easter Tuesday among the Syrian Jacobites, for Ascension Day among the Armenians. Ver. 12—20 was the Gospel for Ascension Day in the Coptic Liturgy (Malan, *Original Documents*, iv. p. 63): ver. 16—20 in the old Latin *Comes*.

raris fertur Evangeliiis, omnibus Græciæ libris pæne hoc capitulum sine non habentibus." A second cause with Eusebius for rejecting them is *μάλιστα εἶπερ ἔχοιεν ἀντιλογίαν τῇ τῶν λοιπῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν μαρτυρίᾳ*¹. The language of Eusebius has been minutely examined by Dean Burgon, who proves to demonstration that all the subsequent evidence which has been alleged against the passage, whether of Severus, or Hesychius, or any other writer down to Euthymius Zigabenus in the twelfth century, is a mere echo of the doubts and difficulties of Eusebius, if indeed he is not retailing to us at second-hand one of the fanciful Biblical speculations of Origen (*see* pp. 509, 512—3).

With regard to the argument against these twelve verses arising from their alleged difference in style from the rest of the Gospel, I must say that the same process might be applied—and has been applied—to prove that S. Paul was not the writer of the Pastoral Epistles (to say nothing of that to the Hebrews), S. John of the Apocalypse, Isaiah and Zechariah of portions of those prophecies that bear their names. Every one used to literary composition may detect, if he will, such minute variations as have been made so much of in this case², either in his own writings, or in those of the authors he is most familiar with.

Persons who, like Eusebius, devoted themselves to the pious

¹ To get rid of one apparent *ἀντιφώνια*, that arising from the expression *πρὸς τῇ μὲν τοῦ σαββάτου (sic)*, ver. 9, compared with *ὅψε σαββάτων* Matth. xxviii. 1, Eusebius proposes the plan of setting a stop between *Ἀναστάς δέ* and *πρὸς*, so little was he satisfied with rudely expunging the whole clause. Hence Cod. E puts a red cross after *δέ*: Codd. 20. 22. 34. 72. 193. 196. 199. 271. 345. 405. 411. 456, have a colon: Codd. 332. 339. 340. 439, a comma (Burgon, *Guardian*, Aug. 20, 1873).

² The following peculiarities have been noticed in these verses: *ἐκεῖνος* used absolutely, ver. 10, 11, 13; *πορεύομαι* ver. 10, 12, 15; *τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ γενομένοις* ver. 10; *θεόμαι* ver. 11, 14; *ἀπιστέω* ver. 11, 16; *μετὰ ταῦτα* ver. 12; *ἕτερος* ver. 12; *παρακολουθέω* ver. 17; *ἐν τῷ ὄνματι* ver. 17; *κύριος* for the Saviour, ver. 19, 20; *πανταχοῦ, συνεργούντος, βεβαίως, ἐπακολουθέω* ver. 20, all of them as not found elsewhere in S. Mark. A very able and really conclusive plea for the genuineness of the paragraph, as coming from that Evangelist's pen, appeared in the *Baptist Quarterly*, Philadelphia, July 1869, bearing the signature of Professor J. A. Broadus, of South Carolina. Unfortunately, from the nature of the case, it does not admit of abridgement. Burgon's ninth chapter (pp. 136—190) enters into full details, and amply justifies his conclusion that the supposed adverse argument from phraseology "breaks down hopelessly under severe analysis."

task of constructing harmonies of the Gospels, would soon perceive the difficulty of adjusting the events recorded in ver. 9—20 to the narratives of the other Evangelists. Alford regards this inconsistency (more apparent than real, we believe) as "a valuable testimony to the antiquity of the fragment" (N. T. *ad loc.*): we would go further, and claim for the harder reading the benefit of any critical doubt as to its genuineness (Canon I. p. 493). The difficulty was both felt and avowed by Eusebius, and was recited after him by Severus of Antioch or whoever wrote the scholion attributed to him. Whatever Jerome and the rest may have done, these assigned the *ἀντιλογία*, the *ἐναντίωσις* they thought they perceived, as a reason (not the first, nor perhaps the chief, but still as a reason) for supposing that the Gospel ended with *ἐφοβούντο γάρ*. Yet in the balance of probabilities, can anything be more unlikely than that S. Mark broke off so abruptly as this hypothesis would imply, while no ancient writer has noticed or seemed conscious of any such abruptness¹? This fact has driven those who reject the concluding verses to the strangest fancies;—namely, that, like Thucydides, the Evangelist was cut off before his work was completed, or even that the last leaf of the original Gospel was torn away.

We emphatically deny that such wild surmises² are called

¹ "Can any one, who knows the character of the Lord and of His ministry, conceive for an instant that we should be left with nothing but a message baulked through the alarm of women" (Kelly, *Lectures Introductory to the Gospels*, p. 258). Even Dr Hort can say "It is incredible that the Evangelist deliberately concluded either a paragraph with *ἐφοβούντο γάρ*, or the Gospel with a petty detail of a secondary event, leaving his narrative hanging in the air" (*Notes*, p. 46).

² When Burgon ventures upon a surmise, one which is probability itself by the side of those we have been speaking of, Professor Abbot (*ubi supra*, p. 197) remarks upon it that "With Mr Burgon a conjecture seems to be a demonstration." We will not be deterred by dread of any such reproach from mentioning his method of accounting for the absence of these verses from some very early copies, commending it to the reader for what it may seem worth. After a learned and exhaustive proof that the Church lessons, as we now have them, existed from very early times (*Twelve verses*, pp. 191—211), and noting that an important lesson ended with Mark xvi. 8 (*see* p. 88); he supposes that *τέλος*, which would stand at the end of such a lesson (*see* p. 72, and note), misled some scribe who had before him an *exemplar* of the Gospels whose last leaf (containing Mark xvi. 9—20, or according to Codd. 20. 215. 800 only ver. 16—20, *see* p. 585) was lost, as it might easily be in those older manuscripts wherein S. Mark stood last (*see* p. 70).

for by the state of the evidence in this case. All opposition to the authenticity of the paragraph resolves itself into the allegations of Eusebius and the testimony of NB. Let us accord to these the weight which is their due: but against their verdict we can appeal to the reading of Irenæus and of both the elder Syriac translations in the second century; of nearly all other versions; and of all extant manuscripts excepting two. So powerfully is it vouched for, that many of those who are reluctant to recognise S. Mark as its author, are content to regard it notwithstanding as an integral portion of the inspired record originally delivered to the Church¹.

(12). LUKE ii. 14. If there be one case more prominent than another in the criticism of the New Testament, wherein solid reason and pure taste revolt against the iron yoke of ancient authorities, it is that of the Angelic Hymn sung at the Nativity. In the common text all is transparently clear:

ΔΟΞΑ ΕΝ ΥΨΙΣΤΟΙΣ ΘΕΩ,	Glory to God in the highest,
ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΓΗΣ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ*	And on earth peace:
ΕΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙΣ ΕΥΔΟΚΙΑ.	Good will amongst men.

The blessed words are distributed, after the Hebrew fashion, into a stanza consisting of three members. In the first and second lines heaven and earth are contrasted; the third refers to both those preceding, and alleges the efficient cause which has brought God glory and earth peace. By the addition of a single letter to the end of the last line, by merely reading *εὐδοκίας* for *εὐδοκία*, the rhythmical arrangement is utterly marred², and the simple shepherds are sent away with a message, the diction of which no scholar has yet construed to his own mind³.

¹ Dr Hort, however, while he admits the possibility of the leaf containing ver. 9—20 having been lost in some very early copy, which thus would become the parent of transcripts having a mutilated text (*Notes*, p. 49), rather inconsistently arrives at the conclusion that the passage in question “manifestly cannot claim any apostolic authority; but it is doubtless founded on some tradition of the apostolic age” (*ibid.* p. 51).

² Dr Hort will hardly find many friends for his division (*Notes*, p. 56)

*Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς,
Εἰρήνη ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας.*

³ I am loth to sully with a semblance of unseasonable levity a page which is devoted to the vindication of the true form of the Angelic Hymn, and must ask the student to refer for himself to the 470th number of the *Spectator*, where what we will venture to call a precisely parallel case exercises the delicate humour

Yet such is the conclusion of Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort, although Tregelles and the Cambridge fellow-workers allow *εὐδοκία* a place in their margins. Of the five great uncials C is unfortunately defective, but \aleph^*AB^*D , and no other Greek manuscript whatever, read *εὐδοκίας*: yet A is so inconstant in this matter that in the primitive 14th or Morning Hymn, a cento of Scripture texts, annexed to the book of Psalms, its reading is *εὐδοκεία* (Baber, *Cod. Alex.* p. 569), and such was no doubt the form used in Divine service, as appears from the great Zurich Psalter O^a (*see* p. 138). The rest of the uncials extant ($\aleph^*B^*EGHKLMP\SUV\Gamma\Delta\Lambda\Xi$, &c.), and all the cursives follow the common text, which is upheld by the Memphitic, by the three extant Syriac (the Peshito most emphatically, the Jerusalem, and the Philoxenian both in the text and Greek margin), by the Armenian and Æthiopic versions. The Vulgate, as is well known, renders "in hominibus bonæ voluntatis," and thus did all the forms of the Old Latin, and after it the Gothic (*see* p. 405). Hence it follows, as a matter of course, that the Latin Fathers, such as Hilary and Augustine, and the Latin interpreters of Irenæus (who seems really to have omitted *ἐν*, as do D and a few cursives) and of the false Athanasius, adopted the reading of their own Bibles. Origen also, in a passage not now extant in the Greek, is made in Jerome's translation of it manifestly to choose the same form. We can only say that in so doing he is the only Greek who favours *εὐδοκίας*, and his own text has *εὐδοκία* in three several places, though no special stress is laid by him upon it. But here comes in the evidence of the Greek Fathers—their virtually unanimous evidence—with an authority from which there is, or ought to be, no appeal. Dean Burgon ("The Last Twelve verses of S. Mark," p. 258) affords us a list of sixteen, all speaking in a manner too plain for doubt, most of them several times over, thirteen of them having flourished before the middle of the fifth century, and who must have used codices at least as old and pure as \aleph or B. They are the Apostolical Constitutions and Methodius in the third century; Eusebius, Aphraates

of Addison. "So many ancient manuscripts," he tells us, concur in this last reading, "that I am very much in doubt whether it ought not to take place. There are but two reasons which incline me to the reading as I have published it: first, because the rhyme, and secondly, because the sense, is preserved by it."

the Persian, Titus of Bostra, Gregory Nazianzen, Cyril of Jerusalem (who has been quoted in error on the wrong side), Epiphanius and Chrysostom (nine times over, interpreting also *εὐδοκία* by *καταλλαγή*) in the fourth; Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret, Theodotus of Ancyra, the Patriarch Proclus in the fifth; Cosmas Indicopleustes and Eulogius of Alexandria in the sixth; Andreas of Crete a little later¹. Such testimony, supported by all later manuscripts, together with the Memphitic and Syriac versions, cannot but overpower the transcriptural blunder of some early scribe, who cannot however have lived later than the second century.

To those with whom the evidence of **NBD** and of the Latins united appears too mighty to resist, we would fain prefer one request, that in their efforts to extract some tolerable sense out of *εὐδοκίας*, they will not allow themselves to be driven to renderings which the Greek language will not endure. To spoil the metrical arrangement by forcing the second and third members of the stanza into one, is in itself a sore injury to the poetical symmetry of the passage, but from their point of view it cannot be helped. When they shall come to translate, it will be their endeavour to be faithful, if grammatical faithfulness be possible in a case so desperate. "Peace on earth for those that will have it," as Dean Alford truly says, is untenable in Greek, as well as in theology: "among men of good pleasure" is unintelligible to most minds. Professor Milligan ("Words of the New Testament," p. 194) praises as an interesting form "among men of his good pleasure," which, not at all unnecessarily, he expounds to signify "among men whom He hath loved." Again, "among men in whom He is well pleased" (compare ch. iii. 22) can be arrived at only through some process which would make any phrase bear almost any meaning the translator might like to put upon it. The construction adopted by Origen as rendered by Jerome, *pax enim quam non dat Dominus non est pax bonæ voluntatis*, *εὐδοκίας* being joined with *εἰρήνη*, is regarded by Dr Hort "to deserve serious attention, if no better interpretation were available" and for the

¹ This flood of Patristic testimony swells into a torrent in the pages of the *Quarterly Review*, October 1881, pp. 829—31, where ninety-two places are cited from no less than twenty-eight authors, including the most illustrious names, of which texts "Tischendorf adduces only eleven, Tregelles only six."

trajection he compares ch. xix. 38; Hebr. xii. 11 (*Notes*, p. 56). Dr Westcott holds that since "*ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας* is undoubtedly a difficult phrase, and the antithesis of *γῆς* and *ἀνθρώποις* agrees with Rom. viii. 22, *εὐδοκία* claims a place in the margin" (*ibid.*): no very great concession, when the general state of the evidence is borne in mind¹.

(13). LUKE vi. 1. Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ. Here again Codd. NB coincide in a reading which cannot be approved, omitting *δευτεροπρώτῳ* by way of getting rid of a difficulty, as do both of them in Mark xvi. 9—20, and N in Matt. xxiii. 35. The very obscurity of the expression, which does not occur in the parallel Gospels or elsewhere, attests strongly to its genuineness, if there be any truth at all in canons of internal evidence (*see above*, p. 493)²: not to mention that the expression *ἐν ἑτέρῳ σαββάτῳ* ver. 6 favours the notion that the previous sabbath had been definitely indicated. Besides NB, *δευτεροπρώτῳ* is absent from L. 1. 22. 33. 69 (where it is inserted in the margin by W. Chark, and should not be noticed, *see* p. 188), 118. 157. 209. A few (RΓ. 13. 117. 124 *prima manu*, 235) prefer *δευτέρῳ πρώτῳ*, which, as the student will perceive,

¹ Every word uttered by such a scholar as Dr Field is so valuable that no apology can be needed for citing the following critique from his charming *Otium Norvicense*, Part III. p. 86, on the reading *εὐδοκίας* and the rendering "among men in whom he is well pleased." "To which it may be briefly objected (1) that it ruins the stichometry; (2) that it separates *ἐν* from *εὐδοκία*, the word with which it is normally construed; (3) that "men of good pleasure" (יְצַדִּיקִים) would be, according to Græco-biblical usage, not *ἀνθρωποι εὐδοκίας*, but *ἀνδρες εὐδοκίας*; (4) that the turn of the sentence, *ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία*, very much resembles the second clause of Prov. xiv. 9: יְצַדִּיקִים יִשְׂרָאֵל, rendered by Symmachus *καὶ ἀγαμέσων εὐθῶν εὐδοκία*." But this is almost slaying the slain.

² *Κυριακὴ δευτεροπρώτη* is cited by Sophocles in his Lexicon from "Eustr. 2381 B" in the sense of *low Sunday* (McClellan, *N. T.* p. 690). Canon Cook conjectures (he can do no more) that it may mean the first sabbath in the second month (*Iyar*), precisely the time when wheat would be fully ripe (*Revised Version*, p. 69). On the other hand, "If the word be a reality and originally in the text, its meaning, since in that case it must have been borrowed from something in the Jewish calendar, would have been traditionally known from the first." (Green, *Course of Developed Criticism*, p. 56). But why would it? The fancy that *δευτεροπρώτῳ* had its origin in numerals of reference (B A) set in the margin will most commend itself to such scholars as are under the self-imposed necessity of upholding Codd. NB united against all other evidence, of whatever kind.

differs from the common reading only by a familiar itacism (p. 10). As this verse commences a Church lesson (that for the 7th day or Sabbath of the 3rd week of the new year, *see* p. 81), *Evangelistaria leave out*, as usual, *the notes of time*; in *Evst.* 150. 222. 234. 257. 259 (and no doubt in other such books, certainly in the Jerusalem Syriac), the section thus begins, Ἐπορεύετο ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοῖς σάββασι: this however is not, properly speaking, a various reading at all (*see* p. 279). Nor ought we to wonder if versions pass over altogether what their translators could not understand¹; so that we may easily account for the silence of the Peshito Syriac, Memphitic, and Æthiopic, of the Old Latin *b. c. l. q. f. secundæ manu. q.* and (if they were worth notice) of the Persic and the Polyglott Arabic, though both the Roman and Erpenius' Arabic have *δευτέρα*, and so too the Æthiopic according to Scholz; *e* "sabbato mane," *f* "sabbato a primo:" the Philoxenian Syriac, which renders the word, notes in the margin its absence from some copies (*see* p. 326). Against this list of authorities, few in number, and doubtful as many of them are, we have to place the Old Latin *a. f. ff. g. g.*, all copies of the Vulgate, its ally the Armenian, the Gothic and Philoxenian Syriac translations, the uncial codices ACDEHKMRSUVXΓΔΑΠ, all cursives except the seven cited above, and the Fathers or scholiasts who have tried, with whatever success, to explain the term: viz. Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Isidore of Pelusium, Jerome², Ambrose (all very expressly, as may be seen in Tischendorf's note), Clement of Alexandria probably, and later writers. Lachmann and Alford place *δευτεροπρωτη* within brackets, Tregelles rejects it, as does Tischendorf in his earlier editions, but restores it in his seventh and eighth, in the latter contrary to Cod. N (*see* p. 528—9). Westcott and Hort banish it to the margin, intimating (if I understand their notation aright) that

¹ Just as Jerome, speaking of the latter part of 1 Cor. vii. 35, says, "In Lat. Codd. OB TRANSLATIONIS DIFFICULTATEM hoc penitus non invenitur." (Vallara. ii. 261, as Burgon points out).

² Dr Hort and the *Quarterly Review* (October 1881, p. 348) almost simultaneously called attention to the question put by Jerome to his teacher Gregory of Nazianzus as to the meaning of this word. "Docebo te super hac re in ecclesia" was the only reply he obtained; on which Jerome's comment is, *Eleganter lusit* (Hier. *ad Nepotianum*, Ep. 52). Neither of these great Fathers could explain a term which neither doubted to be written by the Evangelist.

it seems to contain distinctive and fresh matter, without deserving a place in the text even as well as Ἰησοῦ in Matth. i. 18 (*see* p. 567). On reviewing the whole mass of evidence, internal and external, we submit the present as a clear instance in which the two oldest copies conspire in a false or highly improbable reading.

(14). LUKE x. 41, 42. Ἐνὸς δὲ ἐστὶ χρεία. This solemn speech of our Divine Master has shaken many a pulpit, and sanctified many a life. We might be almost content to estimate Cod. B's claim to paramount consideration as a primary authority by the treatment this passage receives from the hand of its scribe, at least if the judgment were to rest with those who are willing to admit that a small minority, whereof B happens to form one of the members, is not necessarily in the right. Westcott and Hort in the margin of their published edition (1881) reduce the whole sentence between *Μάρθα* ver. 41 and *Μαρία* ver. 42 to the single word *θορυβάζη*, the truer reading in the place of *τυρβάζη*: in their privately circulated issue dated ten years earlier they had gone further, placing within double brackets *μεριμνᾶς καὶ* and from *περὶ πολλὰ* downwards. They could hardly do less on the principles they have adopted, while yet they feel constrained to concede that, though not belonging to the original Gospel, the excluded words do not, on the other hand, read like the invention of a paraphrast. They do not indeed: and it is when abstract theories such as modern critics have devised are subjected to so violent a strain, that we can best discern their intrinsic weakness, of which indeed these editors have here shewn their consciousness by a change of mind not at all usual with them. For the grave omission indicated above we have but one class of authorities, that of the *D. a. b. e. ff². i. l.* and Ambrose, the Latins omitting *θορυβάζη* too: while *ἐνὸς δὲ ἐστὶ χρεία* is not found in *c.* also, and does not appear in Clement. The succeeding *γὰρ* or *δὲ* is of course left out by all these, and by 262, the Vulgate, Curetonian Syriac, Armenian, and Jerome. This testimony, almost purely Western, is confirmed or weakened as the case may be, by the systematic omissions of clause: towards the end of the Gospel in the same books, of which we spoke in chap. VII. (*see* p. 555, note 2).

We confess that we had rather see this grand passage expunged altogether from the pages of the Gospel than diluted after the wretched fashion adopted by \aleph and B: *ὀλίγων δὲ χρεῖα ἐστὶν ἢ ἑνός* the first hand of \aleph omitting *χρεῖα* in its usual blundering way (*see* p. 90). This travestie of a speech which seems to have shocked the timorous by its uncompromising exclusiveness, much as we saw in the case of Matth. v. 22 (*see* p. 501), is further supported (with some variation in the order) by L, by the very ancient second hand of C (*see* p. 120), by 1. 33, the Memphitic, Æthiopic, the margin of the Philoxenian, by Basil, Jerome, Cyril of Alexandria in the Syriac translation of his commentary¹, and by Origen as cited in a catena: *ὀλίγων δὲ ἐστὶ χρεῖα* is found in 38, the Jerusalem Syriac, and in the Armenian (*ὡδε* being inserted before *ἐστὶν*). This latter reading is less incredible than that of \aleph B^L, notwithstanding the ingenuity of Basil's comment, *ὀλίγων μὲν δηλονότι τῶν πρὸς παρασκευήν, ἑνός δὲ τοῦ σκοποῦ*. In this instance, as in some others, the force of internal evidence suffices to convince the unprejudiced reader (it has almost convinced Drs Westcott and Hort, who have no note on the passage), that the Received text should here remain unchanged, vouched for as it is by AC*EFGHKM PSUVΓΔΛΠ (X and Ξ being defective), by every cursive except three, by the Peshito and Cureton's Syriac (the latter so often met with in the company of D), by the Philoxenian text, by *f. g¹. g². ? q.* of the Old Latin, and by the Vulgate. Chrysostom, Augustine (twice), John Damascene and one or two others complete the list: even Basil so cites the passage once, so that his comment may not be intended for any thing more than a gloss. No nobler sermon was ever preached on this fertile text than that of Augustine *De verbis Domini*, in Evan. Luc. xxvii. His Old Latin copies, at any rate, contained the words "Circa multa es occupata: porro unum est necessarium. Jam hoc sibi Maria legit." "Transit labor multitudinis, et remanet caritas unitatis" is his emphatic comment.

¹ Cyril applies the whole passage to enforce the duty of exercising with frugality the Christian duty of entertaining strangers: "And this He did for our benefit, that He might fix a limit to hospitality" (Dean Payne Smith's Translation, pp. 817—20).

(15). LUKE xxii. 17—20. This passage has been made the subject of a most instructive discussion by the Dean of Lincoln¹, whose notion respecting it deserves more consideration than it would seem to have received, though it must no doubt be ultimately set aside through the overpowering weight of hostile authority. He is perplexed by two difficulties lying on the surface, the fact that the Lord twice took a cup, before and after the breaking of the bread; and the close resemblance borne by vv. 19 and 20 to the parallel passage of S. Paul, 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25. The common mode of accounting for the latter phenomenon seems very reasonable, namely, that the Evangelist, Paul's almost constant companion in travel, copied into his Gospel the very language of the Apostle, so far as it suited his design. In speaking of the two cups S. Luke stands alone, and much trouble has been taken to illustrate the use of the Paschal cup from Maimonides [d. 1206] and other Jewish doctors, all too modern to be implicitly depended on. Dean Alford indeed (N. T. *ad loc.*) hails "this most important addition to our narrative," which "amounts, I believe, to a solemn declaration of the fulfilment of the Passover rite, in both its usual divisions—the eating of the lamb, and drinking the cup of thanksgiving." Thus regarded, the old rite would be concluded and abrogated in vv. 17, 18; the new rite instituted in vv. 19, 20. To Dean Blakesley all this appears wholly unsatisfactory, and he resorts for help to our critical authorities. He first gets rid of the words of ver. 19 after *σῶμά μου*, and of all ver. 20, and so far his course is sanctioned by Westcott and Hort, who place the whole passage within their double brackets, and pronounce it a perverse interpolation from 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25. This much accomplished, the cup is now mentioned but once, but with this awkward peculiarity, that it precedes the bread in the order of taking and blessing, which is a downright contradiction of S. Matthew (xxvi. 26—29) and of S. Mark (xiv. 22—25), as well as of S. Paul. Here Westcott and Hort refuse to be carried further, and thus leave the remedy worse

¹ Prælectio in Scholis Cantabrigiensibus habita Februarii die decimo quarto, mcccc, quã...Lucæ pericopam (xxii. 17—20) multis ante sæculis conturbatam vetustissimorum ope codicum in pristinam formam restituebat, Cathedram Theologicam ambiens, J. W. Blakesley, S. T. B., Coll. SS. Trinitatis nuper Socius (Cambridge, 1850).

than the disease¹, if indeed there be any disease to remedy. Dean Blakesley boldly places Luke xxii. 19 (ending at *σῶμά μου*) before ver. 17; and his work is done: the paragraph thus remodelled is self-consistent, but it is robbed of everything which has hitherto made it a distinctive narrative, supplementing as well as confirming those of the other two Evangelists.

Now for the last step in Dean Blakesley's process of emendation, the transposition of ver. 19 before ver. 17, there is no other authority save *b. e.* of the Old Latin and Cureton's Syriac, the last with this grave objection in his eyes, that it exhibits the whole of ver. 19, including that *τοῦτο ποιείτε εἰς τὴν ἑμὴν ἀνάμνησιν* which he would regard as specially belonging of right, and as most suitable for, S. Paul's narrative (*Prælectio*, p. 16), although Justin Martyr cites the expression with the prelude *οἱ γὰρ ἀπόστολοι, ἐν τοῖς γενομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπομνημονεύμασιν, ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια*. The later portion of ver. 19 and the whole of ver. 20, as included in the double brackets of Westcott and Hort, are absent from Cod. D, and of the Latins from *a. b. e. ff. i. l.*, as is ver. 20 from the Curetonian Syriac also: authorities for the most part the same as we had to deal with in our Chap. VII. p. 555, note 2. Another, and yet more violent remedy, to provide against the double mention of the cup, is found in the utter omission of ver. 17, 18 in Evst. 32 and the *editio princeps* of the Peshito Syriac (*see* p. 313), countenanced by many manuscripts of the same². Thus both the chief Syriac translations found a difficulty here, though they remedied it in different ways³.

¹ "Intrinsically both readings are difficult, but in unequal degrees. The difficulty of the shorter reading [that of pure omission in ver. 19, 20] consists exclusively in the change of order, as to the Bread and the Cup, which is illustrated by many phenomena of the relation between the narratives of the third and of the first two Gospels, and which finds an exact parallel in the change of order in S. Luke's account of the Temptation" (iv. 5—8; 9—12). Hort, *Notes*, p. 64.

² Adler says "in omnibus codicibus," and *guelph.*, *heidlb.*, *Dawkins iii.* and *xvii.* in Jones, and *cod. Rich* (*see* pp. 317—8) are specified. Lee (*see* p. 317) sets the verses in a parenthesis. But the Curetonian has them after ver. 19 in words but little differing from his or Schaaß's.

³ "Si fides habenda A. F. Gorio 'in Conspectu Quattuor Codicum Evangeliorum Syriacorum miræ ætatis' apud Blanchinii Evangelium Quadruplex p. dxl., et hi quattuor Codices cum Veronensi [b] faciunt." Blakesley, *Schema facing Prælectio*, p. 20.

The scheme of Dean Blakesley is put forth with rare ingenuity¹, and maintained with a boldness which is best engendered and nourished by closing the eyes to the strength of the adverse case. We have carefully enumerated the authorities of every kind which make for him, a slender roll indeed. When it is stated that the Received text (with only slight and ordinary variations) is upheld by Codd. \aleph ABCEFGHKLM (*hiant* PR) SUXVΓΔΑΠ, by all cursives and versions, except those already accounted for, it will be seen that his view of the passage can never pass beyond the region of speculation, until the whole system of Biblical Criticism is revolutionised by means of new discoveries which it seems at present vain to look for.

(16). LUKE xxii. 43, 44. ὄφθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἐνισχύων αὐτόν. καὶ γενόμενος ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ, ἐκτενέστερον προσηύχετο· ἐγένετο δὲ ὁ ἰδρῶς αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ θρόμβοι αἵματος καταβαίνοντες ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. It is a positive relief to know that any lingering doubt which may have hung over the authenticity of these verses, whose sacred words the devout reader of Scripture could so ill spare, is completely dissipated by their being contained in Cod. \aleph^2 . The two verses are omitted in ABRT. 124 (in 13 only ὄφθη δὲ is *primâ manu*), in *f* of the Old Latin, in Wilkins' Memphitic and at least ten manuscripts³,

¹ Especially mark his mode of dealing with ἐκχυνόμενον ver. 20, which by a little violence (not quite unprecedented) is made to refer to ποτήριον instead of to αἷματι: "Ex Matthæo vel Marco accessit clausula ista τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυνόμενον, fraude tamen ita piâ accessit, ut potius grammaticis legibus vim facere, quam vel literulam demutare maluerit interpolator. Ita fit ut vel hodie male assutus pannus centonem prodat. Postulat enim sermonis ratio, ut cuius patet, τῷ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυνόμενῳ, non τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυνόμενον, quod tamen in Matthæo Marcoque optime Græce dicebatur, cum subjectum de quo prædicabatur non ἢ διαθήκη verum τὸ αἷμα esset" (*Praelectio*, p. 22).

² Very undue stress has been laid on Tischendorf's statement "Hos versus A corrector uncis inclusit, partim etiam punctis notavit; C vero puncta et uncas deleuit," and \aleph^2 has sometimes been spoken of as only a little less weighty than \aleph itself (*see* p. 90). I had the satisfaction, through Dean Burgon's kindness, of shewing some of our critics, Dr Hort included, a fine photograph of the whole page. The points are nearly, if not quite, invisible, the unci are rude slight curves at the beginning and end of the passage only, looking as likely to have been scrawled fifty years since as fourteen hundred. Yet even now Dr Hort maintains that Tischendorf's decision is probably right, strangely adding "but the point is of little consequence" (*Notes*, p. 65).

³ Bp. Lightfoot's Codd. 2. 4. 8. 9. 16. 17. 19. 22. 26 omit them altogether:

with some Thebaic and Armenian codices. A, however, whose inconstancy we had to note when considering ch. ii. 14 (p. 591), affixes to the latter part of ver. 42 (πλήν), "to which they cannot belong," (*Tregelles*), the proper Ammonian and Eusebian numerals for vv. 43—4^{σπγ} (i: see p. 60), and thus shews that its scribe was acquainted with the passage¹: some Armenian codices leave out only ver. 44, as apparently does Evan. 559. In Codd. Γ. 123. 344. 408. 512. 569. (440 *secundâ manu* in ver. 43) the verses are obelized, and are marked by asterisks in ESVΔII, 24. 36. 161. 166. 274: these, however, may very well be, and in some copies doubtless are, lesson-marks for the guidance of such as read the divine service (*cf. sequent.*). A scholion in Cod. 34 [XI] speaks of its absence from some copies². In all known Evangelistaria and in their cognate Cod. 69* (*see* p. 190) and its three fellows (*see* p. 181), the two verses, omitted in this place, follow Matth. xxvi. 39, as a regular part of the lesson for the Thursday in Holy Week (*see* p. 82): in the same place the margin of C (*tertiâ manu*) contains the passage, C being defective in Luke xxii. from ver. 19. In Cod. 547 the two verses stand (in redder ink, with a scholion) not only after Matth. xxvi. 39, but also in their proper place in S. Luke³. Thus too Cod. 346, and the margin of Cod. 13. Codd. LQ place the Ammonian sections and the number of the Eusebian canons differently from the rest (but this kind of irregularity

they are in the margin of 1. 20. They stand in the text of 3. 14. 21, and so in 18 *primâ manu*, but in smaller characters (*above*, pp. 378—85).

¹ Yet Dr Hort contends that "The testimony of A is not affected by the presence of Eusebian numerals, of necessity misplaced, which manifestly presuppose the inclusion of vv. 43, 44: the discrepancy merely shews that the Biblical text and the Eusebian notation were taken by the scribe from different sources, as they doubtless were throughout" (*Notes*, p. 65). It is just this readiness to devise expedients to meet emergencies as they arise which is at once the strength and the weakness of Dr Hort's position as a textual critic. These sections and canons illustrate the criticism of the text in some other places: e.g. Matth. xvi. 2, 3 (*see* p. 578); xvii. 21 (*see* p. 498, note 4); ch. xxiii. 34 (*see* p. 608); hardly in Luke xxiv. 12 (*see* p. 555, note 2).

² Ἰστέον ὅτι τὰ περὶ τῶν θρόμβων τῶν ἀντιγράφων οὐκ ἔχουσιν: adding that the clause is cited by Dionysius the Areopagite [v], Gennadius [v], Epiphanius, and other holy Fathers.

³ Thus in Evst. 253 we find John xiii. 3—17 inserted *uno tenore* between Matth. xxvi. 20 and 21, as also Luke xxii. 43, 44 between ver. 39 and 40, with no break whatever. So again in the same manuscript with the mixed lessons for Good Friday.

very often occurs in manuscripts), and the Philoxenian margin in one of Adler's manuscripts (Assem. 2) states that it is not found "*in Evangeliiis apud Alexandrinos, propterea que [non?] posuit eam S. Cyrillus in homilia...:*" the fact being that the verses are not found in Cyril's *Homilies on Luke* published in Syriac at Oxford by Dean Payne Smith (*see* p. 596, note), nor does Athanasius ever allude to them. They are read, however, in Codd. \aleph DFGHKLMQUXA.1. and all other known cursives, without any marks of suspicion, in the Peshito, Curetonian (omitting *ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ*), Philoxenian and Jerusalem Syriac (this last obelized in the margin), the Æthiopic, in some Thebaic, Memphitic, and all Armenian manuscripts and editions, in the Old Latin *a. b. c. e. ff^a. g¹⁻². i. l. q.*, and the Vulgate. The effect of this great preponderance is enhanced by the early and express testimony of Fathers. Justin Martyr (*Τρυφῶ*, 103) cites *ἰδρῶς ὡσεὶ θρόμβοι* as contained *ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν ἃ φημι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνοις παρακολουθησάντων* (*see* Luke i. 3, Alford) *συντετάχθαι*. Irenæus (III. 222) declares that the Lord *ἴδρωσε θρόμβους αἵματος*. Hippolytus twice, Dionysius of Alexandria, &c. are cited to the same purport by Tregelles, *N. T. ad loc.* Hilary, on the other hand, declares that the passage is not found "*in Græcis et in Latinis codicibus compluribus*" (p. 1062 a, Benedictine edition, 1693), a statement which Jerome, who leans much on others in such matters, repeats to the echo. Epiphanius, however, in a passage we have before alluded to (p. 517, note 1), charges "the orthodox" with removing *ἐκλαυσε* in ch. xix. 41, though Irenæus had used it against the Docetæ, *φοβηθέντες καὶ μὴ νοήσαντες αὐτοῦ τὸ τέλος καὶ τὸ ἰσχυρότατον, καὶ γενόμενος ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ ἴδρωσε, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἰδρῶς αὐτοῦ ὡς θρόμβοι αἵματος, καὶ ὄφθη ἄγγελος ἐνισχύων αὐτὸν*: Epiphanius, *Anchor. xxxi*¹. Thus too Arius *apud Epiphanium*, Didymus, Athanasius, Ephraem Syrus, Gregory Nazianzen, Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret, and a host of

¹ The reader will see that I have understood this passage, with Grotius, as applying to an orthodox tampering with Luke xix. 41, not with xxii. 43, 44. As the text of Epiphanius stands I cannot well do otherwise, since Mill's mode of punctuation (*N. T. Proleg. § 797*), which wholly separates *καὶ γενόμενος* from the words immediately preceding, cannot be endured, and leaves *καὶ τὸ ἰσχυρότατον* unaccounted for. Yet I confess that there is no trace of any meddling with *ἐκλαυσε* by any one, and I know not where Irenæus cites it.

later writers¹ acknowledge these two important verses. Davidson adds that "the Syrians are censured by Photius, the Armenians by Nicon [x], Isaac the Catholic, and others, for expunging the passage" (*Bibl. Critic.* II. p. 438).

Of all recent editors, before Westcott and Hort set them within their double brackets, Lachmann alone had doubted the authenticity of the verses, and enclosed them within brackets: but for the accidental presence of the fragment Cod. Q his hard rule—" *mathematica recensendi ratio*," as Tischendorf terms it—would have forced him to expunge them (*see pp. 478—9*), unless indeed he judged (which is probably true) that Cod. A makes as much in their favour as against them. So far as the language of Epiphanius is concerned, it does not appear that this passage was rejected by the orthodox as repugnant to their notions of the Lord's Divine character, and such may not have been at all the origin of the variation. We have far more just cause for tracing the removal of the paragraph from its proper place in S. Luke to the practice of the Lectionaries, whose principal lessons (such as those of the Holy Week would be) were certainly settled in the Greek Church as early as the fourth century (*see above, pp. 72—3 and notes*). I remark with lively thankfulness that my friend Professor Milligan does not disturb these precious verses in his "Words of the New Testament:" and Mr Hammond concludes that "on the whole there is no reasonable doubt upon the passage." Thus Canon Cook is surely justified in his strong asseveration that "supporting the whole passage we have an array of authorities which, whether we regard their antiquity or their character for sound judgment, veracity, and accuracy, are scarcely paralleled on any occasion" (*Revised Version, p. 103*).

(17). LUKE xxiii. 34. We soon light upon another passage wherein the Procrustean laws of certain eminent editors are irreconcilably at variance with their own Christian feeling and critical instinct. No holy passage has been brought into disrepute on much slighter grounds than this speech of the

¹ "Upwards of thirty famous personages from every part of ancient Christendom recognize these verses as part of the Gospel; thirteen of them being as old, some of them being a great deal older, than our oldest manuscripts" (*Quarterly Review, October 1881, p. 358*).

Lord upon the cross: the words from 'Ο δὲ Ἰησοῦς down to *ποιούσιν* are set within brackets by Lachmann, within double brackets by Westcott and Hort. They are omitted by BD*. 38. 435, only among the manuscripts: by E they are marked with an asterisk (comp. Matth. xvi. 2, 3; ch. xxii. 43, 44); of \aleph Tischendorf speaks more cautiously than in the case of ch. xxii. 43, 44, "A [a reviser] (ut videtur) uncos apposuit, sed rursus deleti sunt," and we saw there (*above*, p. 599, note 2) how little cause there was for assigning the previous omission to \aleph . In D the clause is inserted, with the proper (Ammonian) section ($\tau\kappa$ or 320), in a hand which cannot be earlier than the ninth century (*see* Scrivener's *Codex Bezae, facsimile* 11, and *Intro.* p. xxvii). To this scanty list of authorities for the omission we can only add *a. b.* of the Old Latin, the Latin of Cod. D, the Thebaic version, and two copies of the Memphitic¹. Eusebius assigned the section to his tenth table, as it has no parallel in the other Gospels (*see* pp. 60, 600, note 1). The passage is contained without a vestige of suspicion in \aleph ACFGHK (even L) M (*hiat* P) QSUVTΔΠI, all other cursives (including l. 33. 69), *c. e. f. ff.* l, the Vulgate, all four Syriac versions, all Memphitic codices except the afore-named two, the Armenian and Æthiopic. The Patristic authorities for it are (as might be anticipated) express, varied, and numerous:—such are Irenæus and Origen in their Latin versions, the dying words of S. James the Just as cited in Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist. Lib. II. cap. 23*, after Hegesippus, ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης τῶν ἀποστόλων γενόμενος διαδοχῆς (Eus.), the Apostolic Constitutions twice, the Clementine Homilies, Chrysostom often (sometimes loosely enough, *more suo*), Hilary, Ambrose 11 times, Jerome 12 times, Augustine more than 60 times, Theodoret, and John Damascene. Tischendorf adds—*valeant quantum*—(but only a fraction of this evidence was known to Tischendorf), the apocryphal Acta Pilati². It is almost incre-

¹ Lightfoot's Codd. 22. 26. The clause stands in the margin of l. 20, in the text of 2. 3. 8. 9. 14. 16. 17. 19. 21. 23 (*see above*, pp. 378—85).

² The *Quarterly Review* (October 1881, p. 354) burns with indignation as he sums up his results: "And *what* (we ask the question with sincere simplicity), *what* amount of evidence is calculated to inspire undoubted confidence in any given reading, if not such a concurrence of authorities as this? We forbear to insist upon the probabilities of the case. The Divine power and sweetness of the incident shall not be enlarged upon. We introduce no considerations resulting from external evidence. Let this verse of Scripture stand

dible that acute and learned men should be able to set aside such a *silva* of witness of every kind, chiefly because D is considered especially weighty in its omissions, and B has to be held up, in practice if not in profession, as virtually almost impeccable. Vain indeed is the apology "Few verses of the Gospels bear in themselves a surer witness to the truth of what they record than this first of the Words from the Cross; but it need not therefore have belonged originally to the book in which it is now included. We cannot doubt that it comes from an extraneous source" (Hort, *Notes*, p. 68). Nor can we on our part doubt that the system which entails such consequences is hopelessly self-condemned.

(18). JOHN i. 18. ὁ μονογενῆς υἱός, ὁ ὦν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς... This passage exhibits in a few ancient documents of high consideration the remarkable variation θεός for υἱός, which however, according to the form of writing universal in the oldest codices (*see* pp. 15, 48), would require but the change of a single letter, Ὺ̄C̄ or Θ̄C̄. In behalf of Θ̄C̄ stand Codd. **NBC** *primā manu*, and L (all wanting the article before *μονογενῆς*, and **N** omitting the ὁ ὦν that follows), 33 alone among cursive manuscripts (but prefixing ὁ to *μονογενῆς*, as does a later hand of **N**), of the versions the Peshito (not often found in such company), and the margin of the Philoxenian (whose affinity with Cod. L is very decided, *see* p. 134), the Æthiopic (Roman edition, *see* p. 410), and a host of Fathers, some expressly (e.g. Clement of Alexandria, Didymus *de Trinitate*, Epiphanius, Cyril of Alexandria, &c.), others by apparent reference (e.g. Gregory of Nyssa). The Egyptian versions may have read either θεός or θεοῦ, more probably the latter, as Prebendary Malan translates for the Memphitic¹, the Thebaic being here lost. Their testimonies are elaborately set forth by Tregelles, who

or fall as it meets with sufficient external testimony, or is clearly forsaken thereby."

¹ "Gospel according to S. John from eleven versions," 1872, p. 8. Mr Malan also translates in the same way the Peshito "the only Son of God" and its satellite the Persic of the Polyglott as "the only one of God." With much deference to a profound scholar, I do not see how such a rendering is possible in the Peshito: it is precisely that which he gives in ch. iii. 18, where the Syriac inserts ܕܫܘܢܐ. Bp Lightfoot judges θεός the more likely rendering of the Memphitic, though θεοῦ is possible.

strenuously maintains *θεός* as the true reading, and thinks it much that Arius, though "opposed to the dogma taught," upholds *μονογενῆς θεός*. It may be that the term suits that heretic's system better than it does the Catholic doctrine: it certainly does not confute it. For the received reading *υἱός* we can allege AC (*tertium manu*) EFGHKMSUVXΔΑΠΙ (D and the other uncials being defective), every cursive manuscript except 33 (including Tregelles' allies 1. 69), all the Latin versions, the Curetonian, Philoxenian, and Jerusalem Syriac, the Georgian and Slavonic, the Armenian and Platt's Æthiopic, the Anglo-Saxon and Arabic. The array of Fathers is less imposing, but includes Athanasius (often), Chrysostom, and the Latin writers, down from Tertullian. Origen, Eusebius and some others, have both readings.

Tregelles, who seldom notices internal probabilities in his critical notes, here pleads that an *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον* like *μονογενῆς θεός*¹ might easily be changed by copyists into the more familiar *ὁ μονογενῆς υἱός* from John iii. 16; 18; 1 John iv. 9, and he would therefore apply Bengel's Canon (I. *see* p. 493). Alford's remark, however, is very sound: "We should be introducing great harshness into the sentence, and a new and [to us moderns] strange term into Scripture, by adopting *θεός*: a consequence which ought to have no weight whatever where authority is overpowering, but may fairly be weighed where this is not so. The 'præstat procliviori ardua' finds in this case a legitimate limit" (*N. T.*, note on John i. 18). Every one indeed must feel *θεός* to be untrue, even though for the sake of consistency he may be forced to uphold it. Westcott and Hort set *μονογενῆς θεός* in the text, but concede to *ὁ μονογενῆς υἱός* a place in their margin.

Those who will resort to "ancient evidence exclusively" for the recension of the text may well be perplexed in dealing with this passage. The oldest manuscripts, versions, and writers are hopelessly divided, so that we can well understand how some critics (not very unreasonably, perhaps, yet without a shadow of authority worth notice) have come to suspect both *θεός* and *υἱός* to be *accretions* or spurious additions to *μονογενῆς*. If the principles advocated in Chap. VII. be true, the present

¹ We are not likely to adopt Tischendorf's latest reading and punctuation in Col. ii. 2, τοῦ Θεοῦ, Χριστοῦ.

is just such a case as calls for the interposition of the more recent uncial and cursive codices; and when we find that they all, with the single exception of Cod. 33, defend the reading $\acute{\omicron}$ *μονογενῆς υἱός*, we feel safe in concluding that for once Codd. \aleph BC' and the Peshito do not approach the autograph of S. John so nearly as Cod. A, the Curetonian Syriac, and Old Latin versions¹.

(19). JOHN iii. 13. Westcott and Hort remove from the text to the margin the weighty and doubtless difficult, but on that account only the more certainly genuine, words $\acute{\omicron}$ *ὃν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*. Tischendorf rejected them (as indeed does Professor Milligan) in his *Synopsis Evangelica* 1864, but afterwards repented of his decision. The authorities for omission are \aleph BL (which read *μονογενῆς θεός* in ch. i. 18) T^b [VI]. 33 alone among manuscripts. CDE are defective here: but the clause is contained in AEGHKMSUVΓΔΛΠ, and in all cursives save one, A* and one Evangelistarium (44) omitting *ὃν*. No versions are cited against it except the Æthiopic and one manuscript of the Memphitic: it appears in every one else, including the Latin, the four Syriac, and the Armenian. There is really no Patristic evidence to set up against it, for it amounts to nothing that the words are not found in the Armenian versions of Ephraem's Exposition of Tatian's Harmony (*see* p. 57, note 2); that Eusebius might have cited them twice and did not; that Cyril of Alexandria, who alleges them once, passed over them once; that Origen also (in the Latin translation) neglected them once, inasmuch as he quotes them twice, once very expressly. Hippolytus [220] is the prime witness in their behalf, for he draws the theological inference from the passage (*ἀποσταλεῖς ἵνα δείξῃ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ γῆς ὄντα εἶναι καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ*), wherein he is followed in two places by Hilary and by Epiphanius. To these add Dionysius of Alexandria [III], Novatian [III], Aphrates the Persian [330], Didymus, Lucifer,

¹ Hence we cannot think with Prebendary Sadler (*Lost Gospel*, p. 48) that *μονογενῆς θεός* is very probably the original reading, and must even take leave to doubt its orthodoxy. The received reading $\acute{\omicron}$ *μονογενῆς υἱός* is upheld by Dr Ezra Abbot in papers contributed to the *American Bibliotheca Sacra* Oct. 1861, and to the *Unitarian Review*, June 1875; it is attacked with characteristic vigour and fulness of research by Dr Hort in the first of his *Two Dissertations* (pp. 1—72) written in 1876 as exercises for Theological degrees at Cambridge.

Chrysostom [IV], and Theodoret [V]; and we then have a *consensus* of versions and ecclesiastical writers from every part of the Christian world, joining Cod. A and the later manuscripts in convicting \aleph BL, &c., or the common sources from which they were derived, of the deliberate suppression of one of the most mysterious, yet one of the most glorious, glimpses afforded to us in Scripture of the nature of the Saviour, on the side of His Proper Divinity.

(20). JOHN v. 3, 4. *ἐκδεχομένων τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος κίνησιν. ἄγγελος γὰρ κατὰ καιρὸν κατέβαινε ἐν τῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ, καὶ ἐτάρασσε τὸ ὕδωρ· ὁ οὖν πρῶτος ἐμβὰς μετὰ τὴν ταραχὴν τοῦ ὕδατος, ὑγιῆς ἐγένετο, ᾧ δὴποτε κατείχετο νοσήματι.* This passage is expunged by Tischendorf, Tregelles, Alford, Westcott and Hort, obelized (=) by Griesbach, but retained by Scholz and Lachmann. The evidence against it is certainly very considerable: Codd. \aleph BC*D. 33. 157. 314, but D. 33 contain *ἐκδεχομένων...κίνησιν*, which alone A*L. 18. omit. It may be observed that in this part of S. John A and L are much together against \aleph , and against B yet more. The words from *ἄγγελος γὰρ* to *νοσήματι* are noted with asterisks or obeli (employed without much discrimination) in SA. 8. 11[?]. 14 (*ἄγγελος...ὕδωρ* being left out). 21. 24. 32. 36. 145. 161. 166. 230. 262. 269. 299. 348. 408. 507. 512. 575. 606, and Armenian manuscripts. The Philoxenian margin marks from *ἄγγελος* to *ὕδωρ* with an asterisk, the remainder of the verse with obeli (*see* p. 329). The whole passage is given, although with that extreme variation in the reading which so often indicates grounds for suspicion¹, in EFGHIKMUVΓΔΠ (with an asterisk throughout), and all known cursives not enumerated above²: of these Cod. I [VI] is of the greatest weight. Cod. A contains the whole passage, but down to *κίνησιν secundâ manu*; Cod. C also the whole,

¹ To give but a very small part of the variations in ver. 4: *δὲ* (*pro γὰρ*) L. a. b. c. ff. Vulg. —*γὰρ* Evst. 51. Memph. + *κυρίου* (*post γὰρ*) AKLΔ. 12. 13. 69. 507. 509. 511. 512. 570 and fifteen others: *at τοῦ θεοῦ* 152. Evst. 53. 54.—*κατὰ καιρὸν* a. b. ff. *ἐλοίετο* (*pro κατέβαινε*) A (K) 42. 507. Æthiop.—*ἐν τῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ* a. b. ff. *ἐταράσσετο τὸ ὕδωρ* C²GHIMUVA*. 440. 509. 510. 512. 513. 515. 543. 570. 575. Evst. 150. 257, many others. + in piscinam (*post ἐμβὰς*) c. Clementine Vulg. *ἐγένετο* FL. 69, at least 15 others.

² Either Dean Burgon or I have recently found the passage in Codd. 518, 524. 541. 560. 561. 573. 582. 594. 598. 599. 600. 602. 604. 622.

tertium manu. Of the versions, Cureton's Syriac, the Thebaic, Schwartz's Memphitic¹, some Armenian manuscripts, *f. l. q.* of the Old Latin, *san.*, *harl.** and two others of the Vulgate (*vid. Griesbach.*) are for omission; the Roman edition of the Æthiopic leaves out what the Philoxenian margin obelizes, but the Peshito and Jerusalem Syriac, all Latin copies not aforementioned, Wilkins' Memphitic, and Armenian editions are for retaining the disputed words. Tertullian clearly recognises them ("piscinam Bethsaidam angelus interveniens commovebat," *de Baptismo*, 5), as do Didymus, Chrysostom, Cyril, Ambrose (*twice*), Theophylact and Euthymius. No other ecclesiastical writers allude to the narrative, unique and perplexing as it is, nor does Nonnus [v] touch it in his metrical paraphrase.

The first clause (*ἐκδεχ.....κίνησιw*) can hardly stand, in spite of the versions which support it, as DI are the oldest manuscript witnesses in its favour, and it bears much of the appearance of a gloss brought in from the margin (*see p. 495 and note*). The succeeding verse is harder to deal with²; but for the countenance of the versions and the testimony of Tertullian, Cod. A could never resist the joint authority of NBCD, illustrated as they are by the marks of suspicion set in so many later copies. Yet if ver. 4 be indeed but an "*insertion to complete that implied in the narrative with reference to the popular belief*" (Alford, *ad loc.*), it is much more in the manner of Cod. D and the Curetonian Syriac, than of Cod. A and the Latin versions; and since these last two are not very often found in unison, and together with the Peshito, opposed to the other primary documents, it is not very rash to say that when such a conjunction does occur, it proves that the reading was early, widely diffused, and extensively received. Yet, after all, if the passage as it stands in our common text can be maintained as genuine at all, it must be, we apprehend, on the principle suggested above, Chap. I. § 11. p. 18. The chief difficulty, of course, consists

¹ Of Lightfoot's list (*above pp. 878—85*), the passage is omitted in Codd. 2. 4. 5. 7. 8. 16. 17. 18. 19. 21. 23. 25. 26. It stands in the text of 3. 9. 14, in the margin only of 1. 20.

² "Both elements, the clause *ἐκδεχόμενον τῆν τῶν ἰδίων (sic) κίνησιw*, and the scholium or explanatory note respecting the angel, are unquestionably very ancient: but no good Greek document contains both, while each of them separately is condemned by decisive evidence" (Hort, *Introd.*, p. 801).

in the fact that so many copies are still without the addition, if assumed to be made by the Evangelist himself: nor will this supposition very well account for the wide variations subsisting between the manuscripts which do contain the supplement, both here and in ch. vii. 53—viii. 11.

(21). JOHN vii. 8: This passage has provoked the "bark" of Porphyry the philosopher, by common consent the most acute and formidable adversary our faith encountered in ancient times [d. 304]. "Iturum se negavit," as Jerome represents Porphyry's objection, "et fecit quod prius negaverat: latrat Porphyrius, inconstantiae et mutationis accusat." Yet in the common text, which Lachmann, Westcott and Hort, apparently with Professor Milligan, join in approving, ἐγὼ οὐπω ἀναβαίνω εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν ταύτην, there is no vestige of levity of purpose on the Lord's part, but rather a gentle intimation that what he would not do then, he would do hereafter. It is plain therefore that Porphyry the foe, and Jerome the defender of the faith, both found in their copies οὐκ, not οὐπω, and this is the reading of Tischendorf and Tregelles: Hort and Westcott set it in their margin. Thus too Epiphanius and Chrysostom in the fourth century, Cyril in the fifth, each of them feeling the difficulty of the passage, and meeting it in his own way. For οὐκ we have the support of \aleph (AC *hiant*) DKMII. 17 *secundâ manu*, 389: add 507. 570, being Scrivener's pw (two excellent cursives, often found together in vouching for good readings), 558. Evst. 234, the Latin *a. b. c. e. ff*². *l secundâ manu*, Cureton's Syriac, the Memphitic, Armenian, and Æthiopic versions¹, a minority of the whole doubtless, yet a goodly band, gathered from east and west alike. In this case no hesitation would have been felt in adopting a reading, not only the harder in itself, but the only one that will explain the history of the passage, had not the palpable and wilful emendation οὐπω been upheld by B: *ignoscitur isti*, even when it resorts to a subterfuge which in any other manuscript would be put aside with scorn. The change, however, from the end of

¹ Add from Mr Malan (*ubi supra*, p. 97), the Georgian, Slavonic (text, not margin), Anglo-Saxon, and Persic. His Arabic (that of Erpenius) agrees with the Peshito Syriac. The Armenian version of Ephraem's Tatian also reads *non* (see p. 606).

the third century downwards, was very generally and widely diffused. Besides B and its faithful allies LT, *οὔπω* is read in EFGHSUVXΓΔΛ, in all cursives not cited above, in *f. g. q.* in some Vulgate codices (but in none of the best), the Thebaic, Gothic, and three other Syriac versions, the Philoxenian also in its Greek margin. Basil is alleged for the same reading, doubtless not expressly, like the Fathers named above. It is seldom that we can trace so clearly the date and origin of an important corruption which could not be accidental, and it is well to know that no extant authorities, however venerable, are quite exempt from the influence of dishonest zeal.

(22). JOHN vii. 53—viii. 11. On no other grounds than those just intimated when discussing ch. v. 3, 4 can this celebrated and important paragraph, the *pericope adulteræ* as it is called, be regarded as a portion of S. John's Gospel. It is absent from too many excellent copies not to have been wanting in some of the very earliest; while the arguments in its favour, internal even more than external, are so powerful, that we can scarcely be brought to think it an unauthorised appendage to the writings of one, who in another of his inspired books deprecated so solemnly the adding to or taking away from the blessed testimony he was commissioned to bear (Apoc. xxii. 18, 19). If ch. xx. 30, 31 shew signs of having been the original end of this Gospel, and ch. xxi. be a later supplement by the Apostle's own hand, which I think with Dean Alford is evidently the case, why should not S. John have inserted in this second edition both the amplification in ch. v. 3, 4 and this most edifying and eminently Christian narrative? The appended chapter (xxi.) would thus be added at once to all copies of the Gospels then in circulation, though a portion of them might well overlook the minuter change in ch. v. 3, 4, or, from obvious though mistaken motives, might hesitate to receive for general use or public reading the history of the woman taken in adultery.

It must be in this way, if at all, that we can assign to the Evangelist ch. vii. 53—viii. 11; on all intelligent principles of mere criticism the passage must needs be abandoned: and such is the conclusion arrived at by all the critical editors. It is entirely omitted (ch. viii. 12 following continuously to

ch. vii. 52) in the uncial Codd. \aleph A'BC'T (all first class authorities) LX²Δ, but LΔ leave a void space (like B's in Mark xvi. 9—20) too small to contain the verses (though any space would suffice to intimate the consciousness of some omission), before which Δ* began to write ch. viii. 12 after ch. vii. 52.

Add to these, as omitting the paragraph, the cursives 3. 12. 21. 22. 33. 36. 44. 49. 63 (*teste Abbott*). 72. 87. 95. 96. 97. 106. 108. 123. 131. 134. 139. 143. 149. 157. 168. 169. 181. 186. 194. 195. 210. 213. 228. 249. 250. 253. 255. 261. 269. 314. 331. 388. 392. 401. 416. 453. 473 (with an explanatory note). 486. 510. 550. 559. 561. 582 (in ver. 12, *πάλαι* for *πάλιν*): it is absent in the first, added by a second hand in 9. 15. 105. 179. 232. 284. 353. 509: while ch. viii. 3—11 is wanting in 77. 242. 324 (62 cursive copies). The passage is noted by an asterisk or obelus or other mark in Codd. MS. 4. 8. 14. 18. 24. 34 (with an explanatory note). 35. 83. 109. 125. 141. 148 (*secundā manu*). 156. 161. 166. 167. 178. 179. 189. 196. 198. 201. 202. 226. 230. 231 (*secundā manu*). 241. 246. 271. 274. 277. 284? 285. 338. 360. 361. 363. 376. 391 (*secundā manu*). 394. 407. 408. 413. 422. 436. 518 (*secundā manu*). 534. 542. 549. 568. 575. 600. There are thus noted ver. 2—11 in E. 606: vv. 3—11 in Π (*hiat* ver. 6). 128. 137. 147: vv. 4—11 in 212 (with unique rubrical directions) and 355: with explanatory scholia appended in 164. 215. 262³ (61 cursives). Speaking generally, copies which contain a commentary omit the paragraph, but Codd. 526. 536 are exceptions to this practice. Scholz, who has taken unusual

¹ Codd. AC are defective in this place, but by measuring the space we have shewn (p. 95, note) that A does not contain the twelve verses, and the same method applies to C. This reckoning, as McClellan remarks (*N. T.* p. 723), "does not preclude the possibility of small gaps having existed in A and C to mark the *place* of the Section, as in L and Δ."

² Yet Burgon's caution should be attended to. "It is to mislead—rather it is to misrepresent the facts of the case—to say (with the critics) that Codex X leaves out the 'pericope de adulterā.' This Codex is nothing else but a *commentary on the Gospel, as the Gospel used to be read in public*. Of necessity, therefore, it leaves out those parts of the Gospel which are observed *not* to have been publicly read" (*Guardian*, Sept. 10, 1873).

³ The kindred copies (*see* p. 154) Codd. A. 215 (20 has an asterisk only against the place), 262, &c. have the following scholium at ch. vii. 53: τὰ ἀβελισμένα ἐν τισιν ἀντιγράφοις οὐ κείται, οὐδὲ Ἀπολ[λ]ωαριῶ· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ὅλα κεί[ν]ται· μνημονεύουσιν τῆς περικοπῆς ταύτης καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι, ἐν αἷς ἐξέθεντο διατάξεσιν εἰς οἰκοδομὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας. The reference is to the Apostolic Constitutions (ii. 24. 4), as Tischendorf perceives.

pains in the examination of this question, enumerates 290 cursives, others since his time 41 more, which contain the paragraph with no trace of suspicion, as do the uncials DF (*partly defective*) GHKUIΓ (with a hiatus after *στήσαντες αὐτήν* ver. 3): to which add Cod. 736 (*see addenda*) and the recovered Cod. 64, for which Mill on ver. 2 cited Cod. 63 in error. Cod. 145 has it only *secundâ manu*, with a note that from ch. viii. 3 *τοῦτο τὸ κεφάλαιον ἐν πολλοῖς ἀντιγράφοις οὐ κεῖται*. The obelized Cod. 422 at the same place has in the margin by a more recent hand *ἐν τήσιν ἀντιγράφῃς οὕτως*. Codd. 1. 19. 20. 129. 135. 207¹. 215. 301. 347. 478. Evst. 86 (*see p. 285*) contain the whole *pericope* at the end of the Gospel. Of these, Cod. 1 in a scholium pleads its absence *ὡς ἐν τοῖς πλείοσιν ἀντιγράφοις*, and from the commentaries of Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, and Theodore of Mopsuestia; while 135. 301 confess they found it *ἐν ἀρχαίοις ἀντιγράφοις*: Codd. 20. 215 are obelized at the end of the section, and have a scholium which runs in the text *τὰ ἀβελισμένα, κείμενα δὲ εἰς τὸ τέλος, ἐκ τῶνδε ἄδε τὴν ἀκολουθίαν ἔχει*, and on the back of the last leaf of both copies *τὸ ὑπέρβατον τὸ ὀπισθεν ζητούμενον*. In Codd. 37. 102. 105, ch. viii. 3—11 alone are put at the end of the Gospel, which is all that 259 supplies, though its omission in the text begins at ch. vii. 53. Cod. 237, on the contrary, omits only from ch. viii. 3, but at the end inserts the whole passage from ch. vii. 53: in Cod. 478, ch. vii. 53—viii. 2 stands *primâ manu* with an asterisk, the rest later. Cod. 225 sets ch. vii. 53—viii. 11 after ch. vii. 36; in Cod. 115, ch. viii. 12 is inserted between ch. vii. 52 and 53, and repeated again in its proper place. Finally, Codd. 13. 69. 124. 346 (being Abbott's group, *see p. 181*) and 556 give the whole passage at the end of Luke xxi., that order being apparently suggested from comparing Luke xxi. 37 with John viii. 1; and *ἀρθριζε* Luke xxi. 38 with *ἄρθρου* John viii. 2². In the Lectionaries, as we have had occasion to state before (p. 79, note), this section was never read

¹ Yet so that the first hand of Cod. 207 recognises it in the text, setting in the margin *τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν γήρει εἰς τὸ τέλος τοῦ βιβλίου* (Burgon, *Guardian*, Oct. 1, 1873).

² A learned friend suggests that, supposing the true place for this supplemental history to be yet in doubt, there would be this reason for the narrative to be set after Luke xxi., that a reader of the Synoptic Gospels would be aware of no other occasion when the Lord had to lodge outside the city: whereas with

as a part of the lesson for Pentecost (John vii. 37—viii. 12), but was reserved for the festivals of such saints as Theodora Sept. 18, or Pelagia Oct. 8 (*see* p. 85, notes 2 and 3), and in many Service-books, whose Menology was not very full (e.g. 150., 189. 257. 259), it would thus be omitted altogether. Accordingly, in that remarkable Lectionary, the Jerusalem Syriac (*see* p. 331), the lesson for Pentecost ends at ch. viii. 2, the other verses (3—11) being assigned to S. Euphemia's day (Sept. 16).

Of the other versions, the paragraph is entirely omitted in the true Peshito (being inserted in printed books under the circumstances before stated, pp. 314, 315—6), in Cureton's Syriac (*see* p. 320, note 1), and in the Philoxenian; though it appears in the *Codex Barsalibæi* (*see* p. 327 and note), from which White appended it to the end of S. John: a Syriac note in this copy states that it does not belong to the Philoxenian, but was translated in A.D. 622 by Maras, Bishop of Amida. Maras, however, lived about A.D. 520, and a fragment of a very different version of the section, bearing his name, is cited by Assemani (*Biblioth. Orient.* II. 53) from the *writings* of Barsalibi himself (*Cod. Clem.-Vat. Syr.* 16). Ridley's text bears much resemblance to that of de Dieu (p. 316), as does a fourth version of ch. vii. 53—viii. 11 found by Adler (*N. T. Version. Syr.* p. 57) in a Paris codex, with the marginal annotation that this "σύνταξις" is not in all the copies, but was interpreted into Syriac by the Abbot Mar Paulus. Of the other versions it is not found in the Thebaic, or in some of Wilkins' and all Schwartze's Memphitic copies¹, in the Gothic, Zohrab's Armenian from six ancient codices (but five very recent ones and Uscan's edition contain it), or in *a. f. l* (text). *q* of the Old Latin. In *b* the whole text from ch. vii. 44 to viii. 12 has been wilfully erased, but the passage is found in *c. e* (we have given them at large, pp. 362—3). *ff*². *g. j. l* (margin), the Vulgate (even *am., fuld., for., san*), Æthiopic, Slavonic, Anglo-Saxon, Persic (but in a Vatican codex placed in ch. x.), and Arabic.

S. John's narrative before him, he would see that this was probably the usual lot of a *late* comer at the Feast of Tabernacles (ch. vii. 14).

¹ Yet on the whole this paragraph is found in more of Bp Lightfoot's copies than would have been anticipated: viz. in the text of 3. 8. 14. 16. 17. 18. 23. 24, in the margin of 1, and on a later leaf of 20. It is wanting in 2. 4. 5. 7. 9. 19. 21. 25. 26 (*see* pp. 378—85).

Of the Fathers, Euthymius [XII], the first among the Greeks to mention the paragraph in its proper place, declares that *παρὰ τοῖς ἀκριβέσιν ἀντιγράφοις ἢ οὐχ εὔρηται ἢ ἀβέλισται διὸ φαίνονται παρέγγραπτα καὶ προσθήκη*. The Apostolic Constitutions [III or IV] had plainly alluded to it, and Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* III. 39, *fn.*) had described from Papias, and as contained in the Gospel of the Hebrews, the story of a woman *ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἀμαρτίαις διαβληθείσης ἐπὶ τοῦ κυρίου*, but did not at all regard it as Scripture. Codd. KM too are the earliest which raise the number of *τίτλοι* or larger *κεφάλαια* in S. John from 18 to 19, by interpolating *κεφ. ι' περὶ τῆς μοιχαλίδος*, which soon found admittance into the mass of copies: e.g. Evan. 482.

Among the Latins, as being in their old version, the narrative was more generally received for S. John's. Jerome testifies that it was found in his time "in multis et Græcis et Latinis codicibus;" Ambrose cites it, and Augustine (*de adult. conjuguis*, Lib. II. c. 7) complains that "nonnulli modicæ fidei, vel potius inimici veræ fidei," removed it from their codices, "*credo metuentes peccandi impunitatem dari mulieribus suis*."

When to all these sources of doubt, and to so many hostile authorities, is added the fact that in no portion of the N. T. do the variations of manuscripts (of D beyond all the rest) and of other documents bear any sort of proportion, whether in number or extent, to those in these twelve verses (of which statement full evidence may be seen in any collection of various readings)², we cannot help admitting that if this section be indeed the composition of S. John, it has been transmitted to us under circumstances widely different from those connected with any other genuine passage of Scripture whatever³.

(23). ACTS viii. 37. *Εἶπε δὲ ὁ Φίλιππος, Εἰ πιστεύεις ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας, ἔξεστιν. Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ εἶπε, Πιστεύω τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ*

¹ "Similiter Nicen ejectam esse vult narrationem ab Armenis, *βλαβερὰν εἶναι τοῖς πολλοῖς τὴν τοιαύτην ἀκράσιν* dicentibus." Tischendorf *ad loc.* Nicen lived in or about the tenth century, but Theophylact in the eleventh does not use the paragraph.

² Notice especially the reading of 48. 64. 604. 736 (*primâ manu*) in ver. 8 *εγραφεν εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐνὸς ἐκάστου αὐτῶν τὰς ἀμαρτίας*.

³ We are not surprised in this instance at Dr Hort's verdict (*Introd.* p. 299): "No interpolation is more clearly Western, though it is not Western of the earliest type."

Θεοῦ εἶναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν¹. We cannot safely question the spuriousness of this verse, which all the critical editors condemn, and which seems to have been received from the margin, where the formula Πιστεύω κ. τ. λ. had been placed, extracted from some Church Ordinal: yet this is just the portion cited by Irenæus, both in Greek² and Latin; so early had the words found a place in the sacred text. It is contained in no manuscripts except E (D, which might perhaps be expected to favour it, being here defective). 4 (*secundâ manu*). 13. 15. 18? 27. 29. 36. 60. 69. 97. 100. 105. 106. 107. 163. 227. Apost. 5. 13 once; and in the margin, 14. 25 &c., in Cod. 186 alone out of Scrivener's thirteen: manuscripts of good character, but quite inadequate to prove the authenticity of the verse, even though they did not differ considerably in the actual readings they exhibit, which is always in itself a ground of reasonable suspicion (*see above*, pp. 607, 614, 620).³ Here again, as in Matth. xxvii. 35, Gutbier and Schaaf (*see p. 316*) interpolated in their Peshito texts the passage as translated into Syriac and placed within brackets by Elias Hutter (p. 315): the Philoxenian also exhibits it, but marked with an asterisk (p. 329). It is found in the Old Latin *g* (*see p. 346*) and *m* although in an abridged form, in the Vulgate (both printed and *demid., tol.*, but not in *am. primâ manu, fuld. &c.*), and in the satellites of the Vulgate, the Armenian, Polyglott Arabic, and Slavonic. Bede, however, who used Cod. E (*see p. 160*), knew *Latin* copies in which the verse was wanting: yet it was known to Cyprian, Jerome, Augustine, Pacian [IV], &c. among the Latins, to Œcumenius and Theophylact (twice quoted) among the Greeks. Erasmus seems to have inserted the verse by a comparison of the later hand of Cod. 4 with the Vulgate⁴; it is not in the Complutensian edition. This passage affords us a curious instance of an *addition*

¹ The form τὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, objected to by Michaelis, is vindicated by Matth. i. 18, the reading of which cannot rightly be impugned. *See above*, pp. 567—9. Compare also ver. 12.

² ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ εὐνούχος πεισθεὶς καὶ παραντίκα δέξιν βαπτισθῆναι, ἔλεγε, Πιστεύω τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ εἶναι Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν. Harvey, Vol. II. p. 62.

³ Such are αὐτῷ with or without ο φίλιππος in E. 100. 105. 163. 186. 221, the Philoxenian with an asterisk: σου added after καρδίας in E. 100. 105. 163. 186, *tol.*, the Philoxenian with an asterisk, the Armenian, Cyprian; but *ex toto corde* the margin of *am.* and the Clementine Vulgate: τὸν omitted before Ἰησοῦν in 186. 221 and others.

⁴ "Non reperi in græco codice, quanquam arbitrator omissum librariorum in.

well received in the Western Church from the second century downwards (*see* p. 511), and afterwards making some way among the later Greek codices and writers.

(24). ACTS xi. 20. We are here in a manner forced by the sense to adopt, with Griesbach, Bp Chr. Wordsworth, Lachmann, Tischendorf and Tregelles, the reading "Ἕλληνας in the room of 'Ἑλληνιστάς of the Received text, retained by Westcott and Hort¹. Immediately after the call of the Gentiles to the privileges of the Gospel was acknowledged and acquiesced in at Jerusalem (ver. 18), we read that some of those who had been scattered abroad years ago went about preaching the word to Jews only (ver. 19). In this there was nothing new: there had been 'Ἑλληνισταί "Greek-speaking Jews" among the brethren long since (ch. vi. 1), and to say that they were again preached to was not at all strange: the marvel is contained in ver. 20. "But there were some of them, men of Cyprus and Cyrene, which, when they came to Antioch, spake unto the Greeks also" (καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας: καὶ intimating the additional information), and that with such success in converting these heathen Greeks, that Gentile Christians first obtained at Antioch the name, no longer of Nazarenes (ch. xxiv. 5), but of Christians (*below*, ver. 26). The meaning being thus evident, we look to the authorities which uphold it, and these are few, confessedly insufficient if the sense left us any choice, but recommended to us, as the matter stands, by their intrinsic excellence: they are AD* (the latter without καὶ, which is, however, otherwise abundantly attested to) Cod. 184, one of the best of the cursives (*see* pp. 260, 552, note 1), but not its kindred 221, the Peshito Syriac, the Armenian, perhaps the Æthiopic. The Vulgate, Memphitic, Thebaic, and Philoxenian Syriac draw no distinction between Ἕλληνες and Ἑλληνισταί: the Peshito unquestionably does, since it renders "Greek disciples" in ch. vi.

curia. Nam et hæc in quodam codice græco asscripta reperi, sed in margine." Erasmus, *N. T.* 1516.

¹ They plead, besides the confessed preponderance of manuscript evidence for Ἑλληνιστάς, that "A familiar word standing in an obvious antithesis was not likely to be exchanged for a word so rare that it is no longer extant, except in a totally different sense, anywhere but in the Acts and two or three late Greek interpretations of the Acts; more especially when the change introduced an apparent difficulty" (Hort, *Notes*, p. 98). *Judicet lector.*

1, "those Jews who knew Greek" (an excellent definition) in ch. ix. 29, but "Greeks" here. Eusebius clearly reads "Ἕλληνας, as does Chrysostom in his exposition (not in his text), all the more surely because he is perplexed how to expound it: his words are echoed by Œcumenius and in both commentaries of Theophylact, only that they substitute 'Ἑλληνιστὰς for "Ἕλληνας in repeating his words *διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι ἑβραϊστί, Ἕλληνας ἐκάλουν*: they both have 'Ἑλληνιστὰς in the text. Thus for once B is associated with E, with a later hand of D (of the 7th or 8th century), with the later uncials HLP and all cursives except one, in maintaining a variation demonstrably false. C is defective here, and the first hand of **ℵ**, which presents us with the wonderful *εὐαγγελιστὰς*, makes so far in favour of B; but **ℵ**^c corrects that error into "Ἕλληνας.

(25). ACTS xiii. 18. We have here as nice a balance between conflicting readings (differing only by a single letter) as we find anywhere in the N. T. The case is stated in the margin to our Authorised version of the Bible, more minutely than is its wont, though modern printers have unwarrantably left out the reference to 2 Macc. vii. 27 in copies not containing the Apocrypha¹. For *ἐτροποφόρησεν* "suffered he their manners" of Tregelles, of Westcott and Hort, are cited **ℵB**, the very ancient second hand of C, D (in the Greek), HLP. 61 with almost all other cursives and the catenas: for the alternative *ἐτροφοφόρησεν* "fed them like a nurse" of Lachmann and Tischendorf (Tregelles placing it in his margin) we find ACE. 13. 24* (not 24** with Tischendorf). 68. 78* (margin). 93. 100. 105. 142. *d* against its own Greek and the Vulgate jointly. Versions are in such a case of special weight, but unfortunately they too are somewhat divided. For *π* we find the Vulgate and a Greek note set in the Philoxenian margin, for *φ* the Peshito and Philoxenian Syriac, both Egyptian, the Armenian, and both Æthiopic, with Erpenius' Arabic: the Arabic of the Polyglott gives both renderings. Thus the majority of the versions incline one way, the oldest and most numerous manuscripts the other. It is useless to cite Greek writers, except they shew from the context which word they favour. The form with *φ* was doubtless read in the Apostolic Constitutions, and twice in Cyril of

¹ Cambridge Paragraph Bible, Introduction, pp. lvi. and lxxxii.

Alexandria, and that word is supported as well by 2 Macc. vii. 27, as by the other text cited in the margin of the Authorised English Bible, Deut. i. 31, to which the Apostle's reference is so manifest, that we cannot but regard it as nearly decisive which expression he used. Although in Deuteronomy also Greek copies vary a little between π and ϕ , yet both A and B' read the latter, indeed the Hebrew (נָּשָׂא), *pace Hortii*, would admit of nothing else. For π Origen is express, both in his Greek commentary (not his text) and Latin version, but then he seems to employ it even in Deut. i. 31, where it cannot be correct. Chrysostom and Theophylact give no certain sound. Wetstein seasonably illustrates *ἐτροπ.* from Rom. ix. 22. Internal evidence certainly points to *ἐτροφοφόρησεν*, which on the whole may be deemed preferable. The Apostle is anxious to please his Jewish hearers by enumerating the mercies their nation had received from the Divine favour. God had chosen them, exalted them in Egypt, brought them out with a high hand, fed them in the wilderness, and given them the land of Promise. It would hardly have suited his purpose to have interposed, by way of parenthesis, in the midst of his detail of benefits received, the unwelcome suggestion of their obstinate ingratitude and of God's long forbearance.

(26). ACTS xiii. 32. Here for *τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν ἡμῖν* Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort read *τοῖς τέκνοις ἡμῶν*. As well from the fact that it is much the harder form (*see* p. 493, Canon 1), as from the state of the external evidence, they could not act otherwise. In defence of *ἡμῶν* we have NABC^*D but apparently no cursives, the Vulgate version, Hilary, Ambrose, Bede (with the variant *ύμῶν* in *tol.* and elsewhere), and both *Æthiopic*. We cannot resist the five great uncials when for once they are in harmony. The Received text is supported by the third hand of C, by EHL^P, by all the cursives, by the two Syriac and Armenian versions, the *catenæ*, Chrysostom and Theophylact. The Thebaic omits *ἡμῖν*, the Memphitic both pronouns. To take up *ἡμῖν* without *αὐτῶν*, the reading of a solitary cursive of the eleventh century. Cod. 76, would approach the limits of mere conjecture (*see* p. 490 and

¹ But with the same lack of accuracy which so often deforms this great copy: *ως ετροφοφορησεν σε κς ο θε σου ως ει τις τροποφορησει primâ manu* (Vercoellone).

note 2), yet every one can see how well it would account for all other variations (*see* p. 494, Canon II.). "The text, which alone has any adequate authority, and of which all or nearly all the readings are manifest corrections, gives only an improbable sense. It can hardly be doubted that ἡμῶν is a primitive corruption of ἡμῖν, τοὺς πατέρας and τοῖς τέκνοις being alike absolute. The suggestion is due to Bornemann, who cites x. 41 in illustration" (Hort, *Notes*, p. 95). *Optimè*.

(27). ACTS xiii. 33. The variation πρώτῳ for δευτέρῳ of the Received text commended itself to Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles, merely from its apparent difficulty (*see* p. 493, Canon I); yet there is no manuscript authority for it except D, g, and "quidam codices" known to Bede. Origen and Hilary indeed mention the variation, but they explain at the same time the cause, as do Eusebius and others. Tertullian and Cyprian also quote the words as from the first Psalm, and the arrangement of the two Psalms sometimes together, sometimes separate, is as old as Justin Martyr's time. Under these circumstances Westcott and Hort are surely fully justified in abiding by the common reading, against which there is no other evidence than what has been named above.

(28). ACTS xv. 34. ἔδοξε δὲ τῷ Σίλα ἐπιμεῖναι αὐτοῦ. This verse is omitted by **NABEGHP**, and of the cursives by 31. 61 of the first rank, by 24. 91. 184. 185. 188. 189. 221, and full fifty others. Erasmus inserted it in his editions from the margin of Cod. 4. It is wanting in the Peshito (only that Tremellius and Gutbier between them thrust their own version into the text: *see* p. 316), in the Memphitic, Polyglott Arabic, Slavonic, the best manuscripts of the Latin Vulgate (*am.*, *fuld.*, *demid.*, &c.), Chrysostom, and Theophylact in at least one copy. In C it runs ἐδοξεν δε τῷ σίλα ἐπιμεῖναι αὐτους, which is followed by many cursives: some of which, however, have αὐτοῦ, two αὐτοῖς, 42. 57. 69. 182. 186. 187. 219 αὐτόθι, with the Complutensian Polyglott. The common text is found in the Thebaic, Tremellius' Syriac, the Philoxenian with an asterisk (*see* p. 329), Erpenius' Arabic, Theophylact and Œcumenius. In D we read ἐδοξε δε τῷ σειλα ἐπιμεῖναι [πρὸς secundā manu] αὐτους (sustinere eos d) μονος δε ιουδας ἐπορευθη, which Lach-

mann cites in Latin as extant *in this form* only in one Vienna Codex (for which see his N. T., *Proleg.* Vol. I. p. xxix.); thus too *tol.*, the Armenian (not that of Venice), and the printed Slavonic. The common Vulgate, Cassiodorus (*see* p. 350), and Hutter's Syriac add "Jerusalem," so that the Clementine Latin stands thus: "Visum est autem Silæ ibi remanere; Judas autem solus abiit Jerusalem." The Æthiopic is rendered "Et perseveravit Paulus manens," to which Platt's copies add "ibi."

No doubt this verse is an unauthorised addition, self-condemned indeed by its numerous variations (*see* p. 615). One can almost trace its growth, and in the shape presented by the Received text it must have been (as Mill conjectures) a marginal gloss, designed to explain how (notwithstanding the terms of ver. 33) Silas was at hand in v. 40, conveniently for S. Paul to choose him as a companion in travel.

(29). ACTS xvi. 7. After *πνεῦμα* at the end of this verse Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort most rightly add Ἰησοῦ. The evidence in its favour is overwhelming, and it is not easy to conjecture how it ever fell out of the text: compare Rom. viii. 9. It is wanting only in HLP and the mass of the cursives, even in Codd. 184. 221: Codd. 182. 219 omit the whole clause from *καὶ οὐκ εἶασεν*, nor does Ἰησοῦ appear in the Thebaic version, or in three Armenian manuscripts, nor is it recognised by Chrysostom or Theophylact. Ἰησοῦ is read by NABC**DE. 13. 15. 31. 33. 36. 61 (*primæ manu*). 73. Apost. 40: but Cod. 105 and a few others have τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. The versions are all but unanimous for the addition, being all the known Latin except *demid.*, the Memphitic, both Syriac, both Æthiopic, and three manuscripts of the Armenian: two more of its codices with one edition read *χριστοῦ*, six (with Epiphanius) τὸ ἄγιον in its room, while *demid.* has *κυρίου* with the first hand of C. The catenæ exhibit Ἰησοῦ in spite of Chrysostom, as do Didymus, Cyril of Alexandria, and the false Athanasius both in Greek and Latin.

(30). ACTS xx. 28. τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἣν περιεποιήσατο διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος. This reading of the Received text, though different from that of the majority of copies, is pretty sure to be correct: it has been adopted by Alford (who once

rejected *θεοῦ* for *κυρίου*), and by Westcott and Hort: Tregelles places it in his margin, though, with Lachmann and Tischendorf, he has *κύριον* in the text. ΘΥ is upheld by NB (the latter now for certain), 4. 22. 23. 25. 37. 46. 65. 66* (?). 68. 84. 89. 154. 162, Apost. 12, and *ex silentio*, on which one can lay but little stress, by Codd. 7. 12. 16. 39. 56. 64. together with 184. and 186, codices not now in England. "Dei" is read by all known manuscripts and editions of the Vulgate except the Complutensian, which was probably altered to suit the parallel Greek. From the Vulgate this form was taken by Erasmus, and after him by Tyndale's and later English versions. Lee's edition of the Peshito (*see* p. 317) has *θεοῦ*, from three codices (the Travancore, a Vatican Lectionary of Adler [xi], and one at the Bodleian), and so has the Philoxenian text. Τοῦ κυρίου (differing but by one letter, *see* our Plates v. No. 13; x. No. 25) is in AC*DE (and therefore in *d. e.*), 13. 15. 18. 36 (*text*). 40. 69. 73. 81. 95*. 130. 156. 163. 180. 182. 219, Apost. 58, some catenæ, the Philoxenian *margin*, the Thebaic, Memphitic, Armenian, and possibly the Roman Æthiopic (*see* p. 410), though there the same word is said to represent both *θῦ* and *κῦ*. Platt's Æthiopic, all editions of the Peshito except Lee's, and Erpenius' Arabic, have τοῦ χριστοῦ, with Origen once, Theodoret twice, and four copies of Athanasius: the Old Latin *m* reads "Jesu Christi." Other variations, too weakly supported to be worth further notice, are τοῦ κυρίου θεοῦ 3. 95**, the Polyglott Arabic; τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ κυρίου 47; and the Georgian τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ. The great mass of later manuscripts give τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ, viz. C (*tertium manu*), HLP, 24. 31. 111. 183. 185. 187. 188. 189. 221. 224, and more than one hundred other cursives, including probably every one not particularized above. This is the reading of the Complutensian, both in the Greek and Latin, and of some modern critics who would fain take a safe and middle course; but is countenanced by no version except the Slavonic (*see* p. 411), and by no ecclesiastical writer before Theophylact [xi]. It is plainly but a device for reconciling the two principal readings; yet from the non-repetition of the article and from the general turn of the sentence it asserts the Divinity of the Saviour almost as unequivocally as *θεοῦ* could do alone. Our choice evidently lies between *κυρίου* and *θεοῦ*, which are pretty equally supported by manuscripts and ver-

sions: Patristic testimony, however, may slightly incline to the latter. Foremost comes that bold expression of Ignatius [A. D. 107] *ἀναζωπυρήσαντες ἐν αἵματι θεοῦ* (*ad Ephes.* i.), which the old Latin version renders "Christi Dei," and the later interpolator softens into *χριστοῦ*: so again (*ad Roman.* vi.) *τοῦ πάθους τοῦ θεοῦ μου*. It may be true that Ignatius "does not adopt it [the first passage] as a quotation" (Davidson *ad loc.*), yet nothing short of Scriptural authority could have given such early vogue to a term so startling as *αἷμα θεοῦ*, which is also employed by Tertullian (*ad uxorem*, II. 3) and Clement of Alexandria (*Quis dives*, 34). The elder Basil, Epiphanius (*twice*), Cyril of Alexandria (*twice*), Ibas (in the Greek only), Ambrose, Cælestine, Fulgentius, Primasius, Cassiodorus, &c., not to mention writers so recent as Œcumenius and Theophylact, expressly support the same word. Manuscripts of Athanasius vary between *θεοῦ*, *κυρίου*, and *χριστοῦ*, but his evidence would be regarded as hostile to the Received text, inasmuch as he states (as alleged by Wetstein) that *οὐδαμοῦ δὲ αἷμα θεοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς παραδεδώκασιν αἱ γραφαί*: Ἀρειανῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα τολμήματα (*contra Apollinar.*): only that for *καθ' ἡμᾶς* (which even Tischendorf cites in his seventh edition), the correct reading is *δίχα σαρκὸς* or *διὰ σαρκός*, a citation fatal to any such inference. In Chrysostom too the readings fluctuate, and some (e.g. Tregelles) have questioned whether the Homilies on the Acts, wherein he has *θεοῦ*, are of his composition. In behalf of *κυρίου* are cited the Latin version of Irenæus, Lucifer of Cagliari, Augustine, Jerome, Ammonius, Eusebius, Didymus, Chrysostom (whence Theophylact), possibly Theodoret, and the Apostolic Constitutions, while the exact expression *sanguis Dei* was censured by Origen and others. It has been urged, however, and not without some show of reason (Nolan, *Integrity of Greek Vulgate*, p. 517, note 135), that the course of Irenæus' argument proves that *θεοῦ* was used in his lost Greek text. After all, internal evidence—subjective feeling if it must be so called—will decide the critic's choice where authorities are so much divided as here. It seems reasonable to say that the whole mass of witnesses for *τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ* vouches for the existence of *θεοῦ* in the earliest codices, the commonplace *κυρίου* being the rather received from other quarters, as it tends to point more distinctly to the Divine Person indicated in the passage. If this view be

accepted, the preponderance in favour of *θεοῦ*, *undoubtedly the harder form* (see p. 493), is very marked, and when the consideration suggested above (p. 497) from Dean Alford is added, there will remain little room for hesitation. It has been pleaded on both sides of the question, and appears little relevant to the case of either, that S. Paul employs in ten places the expression *ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ*, but never once *ἐκκλησία τοῦ κυρίου* or *τοῦ χριστοῦ*.

It is right to mention that, in the place of *τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος*, the more emphatic form *τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου* ought to be adopted from *NA* (see Plate v. No. 13) BCDE. 31. 182. 184 (Sanderson), with some twenty other cursives, Didymus, &c.; while *τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος* is only in HLP, the majority of cursives, Athanasius, Chrysostom, &c. We must, however, protest strongly against the interpretation put upon *τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου* by Mr Darby in his *New Translation*, "the blood of his own," "le sang de son propre [fils]," as being no less unwarrantable, though more reverential, than that of Wakefield, which Bp Middleton (*Doctrine of the Greek Article*, pp. 293—5) condemns so justly. Nor can we do less than repudiate unreservedly Dr Hort's expedient (*Notes*, p. 99), who would render "through the blood that was His own," i.e. as being His Son's. Indeed he has so little faith in it that he is constrained to say "It is however true that this general sense, if indicated, is not sufficiently expressed in the text as it stands."

(31). ACTS xxvii. 16. *Καῦδα*, the form which Erasmus noted as that of Cod. B (see p. 105), is adopted by Lachmann, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort, in preference to *Κλαῦδα* of Tischendorf and the Received text. Putting *Kura* of the Peshito, *Keda* of Pell Platt's Æthiopic, out of the question, we note that *N^c*, the Vulgate and Latins (Jerome has *Cauden*, Cassiodorus *Gaudem*), followed by the Roman edition of the Æthiopic, alone omit the λ. In the first century Pomponius Mela wrote *Cauda*, the elder Pliny *Gaudos*, and Suidas speaks of *Caudo* as an island near Crete: it is now called Gozo, and is not to be confounded with the island of Gaulus near Malta, now bearing the same name. The λ is inserted by Ptolemy, the celebrated geographer of the second century, and by later writers: it is found in *N^{*}AHLP*, in all known cursives (with

a like variation in the termination as in the other form), the Memphitic, the later Syriac both in its text and in Greek letters in its margin, the Armenian, and Erpenius', or the only trustworthy form of the Arabic (*see* p. 414). Chrysostom and Bede have the same reading, which must surely be retained unless the union of Cod. B with the Latins is to prevail against all other evidence put together.

(32). ACTS xxvii. 37. In the place of *διακόσμαι ἑβδομήκοντα ἕξ* Westcott and Hort have received into their text *ὡς ἑβδομήκοντα ἕξ*, placing the common reading in the margin. Their form is supported by Cod. B and the Thebaic version only, and was plainly resorted to by those who were slow to believe that a corn ship, presumably heavily laden (vv. 6, 18), would contain so many souls. There is a slight variation in the other authorities, as is usual where numbers are concerned, from the ancient practice of representing them by letters, whereof many traces are yet remaining throughout Codex Sarravianus of the Septuagint, dating from the end of the fourth century, and in our present copies (*see* pp. 90, 100, 508, and Cod. D in Acts xiii. 18; 20; xix. 9) of the New Testament: even in this place Cod. 61 has *κοç*. Hence A reads *πέντε* for *ἕξ*, 31 omits *ἕξ* entirely, one Memphitic copy has the incredible number of 876 (*ωος*), another 176 (*ρος*). The Æthiopic is reported by Tregelles to read *ὡς διακόσμαι ἕξ*, but that in the Polyglott favours the common text: Epiphanius comes nearest to B (*ὡς ἑβδομήκοντα*), "libere" adds Tischendorf. For the more specific number assigned by B *ὡς* is not so well suited.

In ordinary cases the common reading would be abided by without hesitation, upheld as it is by NCHLP, by all cursives, virtually by A. 31, completely by the Latin, both Syriac, the Armenian, and most copies of the Memphitic. It is obvious also that the writer wishes to impress upon us the fact that out of so large a party all were saved, and 76 would be a small number indeed. Josephus was wrecked in the Adriatic with 600 on board (Josephus' *Life*, c. 3: *see* Whiston's note)¹. It

¹ Witness too Lucian's *ὑπερμεγέθη ναῦν καὶ πέρα τοῦ μέτρου, μίαν τῶν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου εἰς Ἰταλίαν σιταγωγῶν* (*Navig. seu Vota* c. 1) which was driven out of its course to the Piræus. Mr Smith, of Jordan Hill, cannot bring its dimensions under 1300 tons.

is right however to point out that, on the possible supposition that numeral letters not words were employed in S. Luke's autograph, the difference between B and the Received text would consist of the insertion or the contrary of the letter ω : whether in fact it be assumed that the Evangelist wrote $\omega\sigma\varsigma$ or $\sigma\varsigma$, "about 76" or "276." Surely it is more likely that ω was inserted than omitted.

In ver. 39 the first hand of B, this time favoured by C, and supported by the Memphitic, Armenian, and (in Tregelles) the Æthiopic versions, has another curious variation, also promoted into the text by Westcott and Hort, $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\acute{\omega}\sigma\alpha\iota$ for the common $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\acute{\omega}\sigma\alpha\iota$, which they banish into the margin (*see* p. 553). This change also is very minute, being simply the resolution of $\acute{\chi}\iota$ into the two consonants for which it stands, and the reading very ingenious, unless indeed it be regarded as a mistake made *ex ore dictantis* (*see* p. 10), which with Madvig as cited by Mr Hammond ("Outlines of Textual Criticism," 1st edition, p. 13 note) we regard as a slovenly plan, such as one would be loth to impute hastily to the scribes of so noble a copy as Cod. B. Here, however, as ever, internal evidence being equiponderant, we must decide by the weight of documentary proof, and adopt $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\acute{\omega}\sigma\alpha\iota$ with \aleph AHLP, all cursives (including 61), the Latin and Syriac versions. †

(33). ROM. v. 1. $\Delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omega\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma\ \epsilon\iota\rho\acute{\eta}\nu\eta\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\ \pi\rho\acute{\sigma}\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \Theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\nu$. Here, as in 2 Cor. iii. 3 (*see* p. 500), we find the chief uncials supporting a reading which is manifestly unsuitable to the context, although, since it does not absolutely destroy the sense, it does not (nor indeed does that other passage) lack strenuous defenders. Codd. \aleph B for $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu$ have *prima manu* $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$, and though some doubt has been thrown on the primitive reading of B, yet Mai and Tregelles (*An Account of the Printed Text*, p. 156) are eyewitnesses to the fact, which is now settled: Tischendorf in 1866 referred $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu$ to the third hand of B. Codd. ACDEKL, not less than thirty cursives, including 104. 244? 257 and the remarkable copies 17. 37, also read $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$, as do *d. e. f. g.*, the Vulgate ("habeamus"), the Peshito Syriac (ܥܚܘܡܝܢ ܥܚܘܡܝܢ), Memphitic, Æthiopic (in both forms), and Arabic. Chrysostom too supports this view, and so apparently

Tertullian ("monet justificatos ex fide Christi...pacem ad Deum habere"). The case for ἔχομεν is much weaker in itself: Codd. \aleph^a B¹F¹G (in spite of the contrary testimony of *f. g.*, their respective Latin Versions) P, perhaps the majority of the cursive manuscripts (29. 30. 47. 221. 260. 265, &c.), Didymus, Epiphanius, Cyril (once), and the Slavonic. The later Syriac might seem to combine both readings (ܘܠܗܘܡܝܢ ܘܠܗܘܡܝܢ ܘܠܗܘܡܝܢ ܘܠܗܘܡܝܢ): White translates "habemus," but has no note on the passage¹. Had the scales been equally poised, no one would hesitate to prefer ἔχομεν, for the closer the context is examined the clearer it will appear that *inference* not *exhortation* is the Apostle's purpose: hence those who most regard "ancient evidence" (Tischendorf and Tregelles, Westcott and Hort; Lachmann could not make up his mind) have struggled long before they would admit ἔχομεν into the text. The "Five Clergymen" who in or about 1858 benefited the English Church by revising its Authorised version of this Epistle, even though they render "*let us have peace with God,*" are constrained to say, "An overwhelming weight of authority has necessitated a change, which at the first sight seems to impair the logical force of the Apostle's argument. No consideration, however, of this kind can be allowed to interfere with the faithful exhibition of the true text, as far as it can be ascertained; and no doubt the real Word of God, thus faithfully exhibited, will vindicate its own meaning, and need no help from man's shortsighted preference" (Preface, p. vii). Every one must honour the reverential temper in which these eminent men approached their delicate task; yet, if their sentiments be true, where is the place for internal evidence at all? A more "overwhelming weight" of manuscript authority upholds καρδίας in 2 Cor. iii. 3: shall we place it in the text "leaving the real Word of God to vindicate its own meaning"? Ought we to assume that the reading found in the few most ancient codices—not, in the case of Rom. v. 1, in the majority

¹ Dr Field, however, says that "this is a mistake." The Syriac is ἔχομεν and nothing else. For ἔχομεν this version (and all others) would put ܘܠܗܘܡܝܢ: but when the word is in the subjunctive mood, since ܘܠܗܘܡܝܢ is indeclinable, it is a peculiarity of the Philoxenian to prefix the corresponding mood of ܘܠܗܘܡܝܢ, here ܘܠܗܘܡܝܢ" (*Otium Norvicense*, III. p. 93). For this strange phrase he cites Rom. i. 13; 2 Cor. v. 12, and to such an authority I have but *dare manus*.

of the whole collection—must *of necessity* be the “real Word of God, faithfully exhibited”? I see no cause to reply in the affirmative, nor do Meyer and Dr Field¹.

We conclude, therefore, that this is a case for the application of the *paradiplomatical* canon (p. 499): that the itacism *ω* for *ο* (*see* pp. 10, 17), so familiar to all collators of Greek manuscripts², crept into some very early copy, from which it was propagated among our most venerable codices, even those from which the earliest versions were made:—that this is one out of a small number of well-ascertained cases in which the united testimonies of the best authorities conspire in giving a worse reading than that preserved by later and, on the whole, quite inferior copies.

(34). 1 COR. xi. 24. I am as unwilling as Mr C. Forster could have been to strike out from the Received text “a word which (if genuine) THE LORD GOD HAD SPOKEN!” (“A new Plea for the Three Heavenly Witnesses,” Preface, p. xvii), but I cannot censure Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort, and Dean Blakesley (*see* p. 597) for deciding on the state of the evidence that it is not genuine. Yet it is with great satisfaction that I find Bp Chr. Wordsworth able to retain *κλώμενον*, and to save the solemn clause *τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν* from being “bald and inexpressive without the participle.” Mr

¹ It is simply impossible to translate with Jos. Agar Beet, in the [Wesleyan] *London Quarterly*, April 1878, either “Let us then, justified by faith, have peace with God,” or “Let us then be justified by faith and have peace with God.” Acts xv. 36 will help him little: the other places he cites (Matth. ii. 13, &c.) not at all.

² Dr Vaughan (*Epistle to the Romans*) has *ἐχῶμεν* in his text, and compares Heb. xii. 28, *ἐχῶμεν χάριν*, “where there is the same variety of reading.” B is lost in this last place, but *ἐχομεν*, which is quite inadmissible, is found in Codd. NKP, the Latin of D, 31 and many other cursives, the printed Vulgate, and its best manuscripts. In Rom. xiv. 19 even Dr Hort is driven by the versions and the sense to adopt in his text *διώκωμεν* of CD and the mass of cursives, rather than *διόκομεν* with *κABFGLP*, &c. The like confusion between *ο* and *ω* appears in the text we shall examine next but one (1 Cor. xiii. 3) and in the subjoined note (pp. 630—1). See also *φορέσομεν* and *φορέσωμεν*, 1 Cor. xv. 49. We must confess, however, that in some of our oldest extant MSS. the interchange of *ο* and *ω* is but rare. In Cod. Sarravianus (*see* p. 90, n. 1) it is found in but 23 places out of 1224 in which itacisms occur, 830 of them being the mutation of *ε* and *ι*. On the other hand, *ο* stands for *ω* and *vice versa* very frequently in that papyrus fragment of the Psalms in the British Museum which Tischendorf, perhaps a little hastily, judged to be older than any existing writing on vellum.

Forster's argument in behalf of *κλώμενον*, that it refers to ch. x. 16, *τὸν ἄρτον ὃν κλώμεν*, has a double edge, and might be employed to indicate the source from which the word crept in here. It is more to the purpose to urge with Bp Wordsworth that early scribes were offended by the apparent inconsistency of the term with John xix. 36, and because there is nothing like it in the narratives of the three earlier Evangelists. If we decide to retain *κλώμενον*, it must be in opposition to the four chief manuscripts **NABC**, though **NC** insert it by the third hand of each. Cod. D, like its namesake of the Gospels and Acts, is somewhat inclined to paraphrases, and has *θρυπτόμενον*¹ by the first hand, *κλώμενον* by the second. Only two cursives here side with the great uncials (17, and the valuable second hand of 67), as do Zohrab's Armenian, Cyril of Alexandria and Fulgentius in the fifth century, and Theodoret's report of Athanasius. The word *κλώμενον* is found in E (*see* p. 166) FGKLP, all other cursives, the Latin versions of DE (*quod frangitur*), with Ambrosiaster: G and the interlinear Latin of F, which is taken from G (*see* p. 169), prefer *quod frangetur*, with both Syriac, the Gothic, and the Armenian of Usan. The Latin Vulgate has *tradetur* (but *traditur* in *harl.*²; *see* p. 355), even in the parallel column of F and against its Greek, and so Cyprian: the Memphitic renders *traditur*; but the Thebaic and Æthiopic *datur*, after the *διδόμενον* of Zacagni's Euthalius, derived from Luke xxii. 19. Theodoret himself knew of both forms. The main strength of *κλώμενον* rests on Patristic evidence. Mr Forster has added to our previous store the "conclusive testimony" of Basil (Forster, p. xxvi) and of Athanasius himself (*ibid.* p. xvii), which is better than Theodoret's report at second hand; and thus too Chrysostom in three places, one manuscript of Euthalius, John Damascene, the Patriarch Germanus (A.D. 715, *ibid.* p. xix), Ecumenius and Theophylact. Mr Forster is perfectly justified also in pressing the evidence of the Primitive Liturgies, in all of which *κλώμενον* occurs in the most sacred words of Institution (*ibid.* pp. xx, xxi). Whatsoever change these services have received in the course of ages, they have probably been little altered since the fourth century, and very well established must the word have then been to have found a place in them all. On the whole, there-

¹ Dr Hort (*Notes*, p. 116) observes that *διαθρίπτω* is specially used in the Septuagint (Lev. ii. 6; Isai. lviii. 7) for the breaking of bread.

fore, we submit this important text as a proof that the united readings of \aleph ABC are sometimes at variance, not only with the more modern codices united, but with the text of the oldest versions and most illustrious Fathers. We confess, however, that in ver. 29 *ἀναξίως* (compare ver. 27) and *τοῦ κῦ'* look too much like glosses to be maintained confidently against the evidence of \aleph^*ABC^* . 17. (67**) and some manuscripts of the Æthiopic.

(35). 1 COR. xiii. 3. *ἐὰν παραδῶ τὸ σῶμά μου ἵνα καθήσωμαι*, "though I give my body to be burned." Here we find the undoubtedly false reading *καυχῆσωμαι* in the three chief codices \aleph AB and in 17, adopted by Drs Westcott and Hort¹, and it is said to have been favoured by Lachmann in 1831, by Tregelles in 1873 (A. W. Tyler, *Bibl. Sacra*, 1873, p. 502). Jerome testifies that in his time "apud Græcos ipsos ipsa exemplaria esse diversa," and preferred *καυχῆσωμαι* (though all copies of the Latin have *ut ardeam* or *ut ardeat*), which is said to be countenanced by the Roman Æthiopic: the case of the Memphitic is stated by Bp. Lightfoot (*above* p. 375)*. Tischendorf cites Ephraem (II. 112) for *καυχῆσωμαι*. This variation, which involves the change of but one letter, "is worth notice, as showing that the best uncial MSS. are not always to be depended upon, and sometimes are blemished with errors" (Wordsworth, *N. T. ad loc.*). As a parallel use, Theodotion's version of Dan. iii. 8 (*παρέδωκαν τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν εἰς πῦρ*) is very pertinent: and for the punishment of burning alive, as practised in those times, consult (if it be thought needful) Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 6, 4 (Hort). *Καυχῆσωμαι* may have obtained the more credit, inasmuch as each of the other principal readings, namely Tischendorf's *καθήσωμαι* (DEFG^L. 44. 47. 71. 80. 104. 113**. 253**. 254. 255. 257. 260. 265, with nine of Matthaëi's, and some others: *καθήσωμαι* 244) and *καθή-*

¹ Few things are too hard for Dr Hort, yet one is almost surprised to be told that "The text gives an excellent sense, for, as ver. 2 refers to a faith towards God which is unaccompanied by love, so ver. 3 refers to acts which seem by their very nature to be acts of love to men, but are really done in ostentation. First the dissolving of the goods in almsgiving is mentioned, then, as a climax, the yielding up of the very body; both alike being done for the sake of glorying, and unaccompanied by love" (*Notes*, p. 117).

² Tyler compares *shoushou* also in 2 Cor. xii. 5, 9; Ps. v. 11 (12).

σμαι (CK. 29. 37, and many others, Chrysostom, Theodoret, &c.) of Lachmann and Tregelles, are anomalous, the former in respect to mood, the latter to tense. The important cursive 73 has *καυθήσεται* with some Latin copies: Codd. 1. 108*, Basil (perhaps Cyprian) adopt *καυθῆ*: the Syriac (ܩܘܒܗܝܢ), and I suppose the Arabic, will suit either of these last. Evidence seems to preponderate on the side of *καυθήσομαι*, but in the case of these itacisms manuscripts are very fallacious (*see* p. 627). Such a subjunctive future as *καυθήσωμαι*, however, I should have been disposed to question, had it not passed muster with much better scholars than I am: but to illustrate it, as Tregelles does (*An Account of the Printed Text*, p. 117, note), from *ἵνα δώσῃ* Apoc. viii. 3, is to accomplish little, since *δώσει* is the reading of \aleph AC. 1. (although Erasmus has *δώσῃ* with BP. 6. 7. 91. 98, and the Complutensian) 13. 28. 29. 30. 37. 40. 48. 68. 87. 94. 95. 96 (*δωσι* 8. 26. 27: *δω* 14), together with the best copies of Andreas, and is justly approved by Lachmann and Tischendorf, nay even by Tregelles himself in his second revision (1872). It seems most likely that in both places *ἵνα*, the particle of design, is followed by the *indicative* future, as (with Meyer and Bp. Ellicott) I think to be clearly the case in Eph. vi. 3. In John xvii. 3 even Tregelles adopts *ἵνα γινώσκουσιν*¹.

¹ Neither Winer nor his careful translator, Professor Moulton, seems disposed to yield to Lachmann's authority in this matter. "In the better class of writers," says Winer, "such forms are probably due to the transcribers (*Lobeck on Phrynichus*, p. 721), but in later authors, especially the Scholiasts (as on Thucydides iii. 11 and 54), they cannot be set aside. In the N. T., however, there is very little in favour of these conjunctives" (Moulton's *Winer*, p. 89 and note 4, p. 361 and note 1). Yet Tregelles thinks "there would be no difficulty about the case, had not one been made by grammatical critics" (*An Account of the Printed Text*, p. 211, note †). But in his own example, John xvii. 2, *ἵνα... δώσῃ* is read by \aleph ACGKMSX. 33. 511. 546, and (so far as I can find) by no other manuscript whatever. On the other hand *δώσει* (read by Westcott and Hort; *see* *Introduct., Notes*, p. 172) is supported by BEHUYΓAΔII (\aleph has *δωσω*, D *εχη*, L *δωσ*), and (as it would seem) by every other codex extant: *δώσῃ* came into the common text from the second edition of Erasmus. Out of the 25 collated by myself for this chapter, *δώσει* is found in 24 (now including Wake 12 or Cod. 492 and Cod. 622), and the following others have been expressly cited for it: 1. 10. 11. 15. 22. 42. 45. 48. 53. 54. 55. 60. 61 (*Dobbin*). 63. 65. 66. 106. 118. 124. 127. 131. 142. 145. 157. 250. 262. *Evst.* 3. 22. 24. 36, and at least 50 others, indeed one might say all that have been collated with any degree of minuteness: so too the Complutensian and first edition of Erasmus. The constant confusion of *ει* and *η* at the period when the uncials were written abundantly

(36). 1 COR. xv. 51. We have now come to a passage which has perplexed Biblical students from S. Jerome's time, and has exercised the keen judgment of Bp. Pearson in his Exposition of the seventh article of the Apostles' Creed. There is but little doubt that the Received text, as rendered in our English Versions, is the true reading: (a) Πάντες μὲν οὐ κοιμηθσόμεθα, πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα. Some of the leading authorities omit μὲν, a few put δὲ or γὰρ in its place, but, with this trifling exception, the clause stands thus in B, the third hand of D and consequently in E (*see* p. 166), KLP. 37. 47. 265, and indeed nearly all the cursives, as in some manuscripts known to Jerome, and has the support of Theodore of Heraclea and Apollinarius: and so the two Syriac, the Memphitic (the Thebaic not being extant), the Gothic, and one edition of the Æthiopic version. For the same form may be cited Ephraem the Syrian, Cæsarius, Gregory of Nyssa, and Chrysostom (often) in the fourth century; Theodoret and Euthalius in the fifth century; Andreas of Cæsarea in the sixth; John Damascene in the eighth. A modification of this main and true reading (b) Οὐ πάντες κοιμησόμεθα, πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα is supported only by Origen and some copies known to Jerome: it is only a clearer way of bringing out the foregoing sense. The next form also hardly enters into competition, (c) Πάντες [μὲν] ἀναστησόμεθα, οὐ πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγῆσομεθα: it is supported by the first hand of D, by the Vulgate (whose manuscripts vary between *resurgimus* and *resurgemus*, while *m* omits the negative), by Tertullian and Hilary. Even the Latin versions of EF maintain it against their own Greek, while Jerome and Augustine note it as a point wherein the Latin copies diverge from the Greek. A fourth variation is due to Cod. A alone, (d) Οἱ πάντες μὲν κοιμησόμεθα, οἱ πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα, the second οἱ being altered by the first hand, and οὐ by the same or a very early hand superadded after οἱ πάντες δέ: but this is only a correc-

accounts for the reading of the few, though AC are among them. In later times such itacisms were far more rare in careful transcription, and the mediæval copyists knew their native language too well to fall into the habit in this passage. In Pet. iii. 1 *ἵνα κερδηθῶσονται* is read by all the uncials (NABCKLP), nearly all cursives, and the Complutensian edition, in the place of *-σωται* of Erasmus and the Received text; just as we have *ἵνα γινώσκωμεν* in NAB*LP. 98. 99. 101. 180. 184. 188. 190. in 1 John v. 20. The case for *ἀρκεσθσόμεθα* 1 Tim. vi. 8 is but a shade less feeble.

tion of transcriptional error. The real variation consists in the transfer of the negative from the first clause to the second, (e) Πάντες [μὲν] κοιμηθησόμεθα, οὐ πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα of NC(F)G. 17, and apparently of A also by intention. This last is discussed by Jerome, who alleges in its favour Didymus and Acacius of Cæsarea; it appears also in Origen, Cyril of Alexandria, and in copies known to Pelagius and Maximus, but their testimony fluctuates. In its favour are quoted the Armenian and one form of the Æthiopic, but all the Latin prefer (c) except the interlinear version of G, and the rendering set above the Vulgate text of F, which is assimilated to the latter (*see* p. 169). The Complutensian margin (*see* p. 425) notices one other change, Πάντες μὲν οὐ κοιμηθησόμεθα, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντες ἀλλαγησόμεθα, but this is bye-work. "The objection made in ancient times to the Received reading was, that the *wicked* would not be changed, namely, glorified; but S. Paul is here speaking only of the resurrection of the Just" (Bp. Chr. Wordsworth): compare 1 Thess. iv. 14—17. Thus Cod. B and the cursives for once unite to convict of falsehood a change which men were pleased to devise in order to evade a difficulty of their own making.

(37). EPHES. v. 14. It is instructive to observe how a reading, pretty widely diffused in the fourth century, though not obtaining much acceptance even at that period, has almost entirely disappeared from extant codices. In the place of ἐπιφάνσεις σοι ὁ χριστός the first hand of D, followed of course by E (*see* p. 166) and the Latin versions of both, exhibits an interesting variant ἐπιφάνσεις τοῦ χριστοῦ, *continges Christum*. Jerome had heard of it in the form ἐπιφάνσει, *id est continget te Christus*, but refused to vouch for it, as do Chrysostom and Theodoret, though they treat it with somewhat more consideration. The Latin interpreter of Origen (against his own Greek twice, and the Latin once), with Victorinus and the writer cited as Ambrosiaster, adopt it as genuine. Augustine (on Psalm III) has *et continget te* once, but once elsewhere the common reading. Theodore of Mopsuestia, in the Latin version of his Commentary on S. Paul's Epistles, recently edited by Dr Swete from two manuscripts, one at Amiens (Cod. 68) brought from Corbey [x], a second from Cuza (*see* p. 193), now Harleian.

3063 [IX], after translating *inluminabit tibi Christus* goes on to say "alii continget te Christus legerunt; habet autem nullam sequentiam" (Swete, Vol. I. p. 180). The variation of D* is surely too curious to be lost sight of altogether. "The two imperatives [ἔγειρε and ἀνάστα] doubtless suggested that the following future would be in the second person, the required σ stood next after ἐπιφαύσει, easily read as ἐπιψαύσει, and then the rest would follow accordingly." Hort, *Notes*, p. 125. Such are the harmless recreations of a critical genius.

(38). PHILIPP. ii. 1. εἴ τις κοινωνία πνεύματος, εἴ τινα σπλάγγνα. For *τινα*, to the critic's great perplexity, *τις* is found in \aleph ABCDEF GKLP, that is, in *all* the uncials extant at this place. As regards the cursives nearly the same must be said. Of the seventeen collated by Scrivener, eleven read *τις* (29. 30. 252. 254. 255. 257. 258. 260. 265. 266. 277), and six *τι* (31. 104. 221. 244. 253. 256). Mill enumerates 16 others that give *τις*, one (40) that has *τι*: Griesbach reckons 45 in favour of *τις*, eight (including Cod. 4) for *τι*, to which Scholz adds a few more (18. 46. 72. 74). Thus *am.*, *fuld.*, *tol.* of the Vulgate render *si quid viscera*, for the more usual *si qua viscera*. One cursive (109) and a manuscript of Theodoret have *τε*. Basil, Chrysostom (in manuscript) and others read *τις*, as do the Complutensian, the Aldine (1518), Erasmus' first four, and R. Stephen's first two editions (*see* p. 436). In fact it may be stated that no manuscript whatever has been cited for *τινα*, which is not therefore likely to be found in many. Theodore of Mopsuestia alone, in his Latin version published by Dr Swete (Vol. I. p. 214), has *si qua et viscera* against the Vulgate. In spite of what was said above (pp. 500, 565) with regard to far weaker cases, it is impossible to blame editors for putting *τις* into the text here before *σπλάγγνα*: to have acted otherwise (as Tischendorf fairly observes) would have been "*grammatici quam editoris partes agere*." Yet we may believe the reading to be as false as it is intolerable, and to afford us another proof of the early and (as the cursives shew) the well-nigh universal corruption of our copies in some minute particulars. Of course Clement and later Fathers give *τινα*, indeed it is surprising that any cite otherwise; but, *in the absence of definite documentary proof*, this can hardly be re-

garded as genuine. Probably S. Paul wrote $\tau\iota$ (the reading of about 19 cursives), which would readily be corrupted into $\tau\iota\varsigma$, by reason of the σ following (ΤΙΧΠΛΑΓΧΝΑ, *see* p. 10), and the $\tau\iota\varsigma$ which had just preceded. See also Moulton's *Winer*, p. 661, and note 3.

(39). COLOSS. ii. 2. *τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ χριστοῦ*, "of the mystery of God the Father, and of Christ." The reading of B (approved by Lachmann, by Tischendorf in his eighth edition, by Tregelles, Westcott and Hort, Bp Chr. Wordsworth, and Bp Ellicott), *τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ θεοῦ χριστοῦ* ("ita cod. nihil interponens inter θεοῦ et χριστοῦ," *Mai*, 2nd ed.¹), has "every appearance of being the original reading, and that from which the many perplexing variations have arisen" (*see* p. 494, Canon II). At present it stands in great need of confirmation, since Hilary (*de Trin.* ix.) alone supports it (but *καὶ χριστοῦ* Cyril), though the Scriptural character of the expression is upheld by the language of ch. i. 27 just preceding, and by the received text in 1 Tim. iii. 16. Some, who feel a difficulty in understanding how *χριστοῦ* was removed from the text, if it ever had a place there, conceive that the verse should end with *θεοῦ*, all additions, including *χριστοῦ* the simplest, being *accretions* to the genuine passage. These alleged accretions are *τοῦ θεοῦ ὅ ἐστι χριστός*, manifestly an expansion of *χριστοῦ* and derived from ch. i. 27; *τοῦ θεοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ χριστοῦ*; *τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ χριστοῦ*, the final form of the Received text. Now, of these four readings, *τοῦ θεοῦ* the shortest, and, according to Griesbach, Scholz, Tischendorf in his seventh edition, Alford, and Dr Green, the true one, is found only in the late uncial P, and in a few, though confessedly good, cursives: 37. 71. 80*. 116 (*καὶ θεοῦ* 23), and the important second hand of 67; witnesses too few and feeble, unless we put our third Canon of internal evidence (p. 495) to

¹ Tischendorf, however, boldly interposes a comma between the words (*see* p. 605, note), and is followed by Westcott and Hort and by Bp Lightfoot, whose note on the passage (Coloss. p. 318) is very elaborate. This mode of punctuation would set *χριστοῦ* in apposition to *μυστηρίου*, in support of which construction ch. i. 27 (δ); 1 Tim. iii. 16 ($\delta\varsigma$) are alleged. This, however, is not the sense favoured by Hilary (in *agnitionem sacramenti dei Christi*, and again *Deus Christus sacramentum est*), and would almost call for the article before *χριστοῦ*. In meaning it would be equivalent to D*, &c., $\delta\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\ \chi\acute{\rho}\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$.

a rather violent use. Of the longer readings, *ὁ ἐστὶν χριστός* is favoured by D (though obelized by the second hand, which thus would read only *τοῦ θεοῦ*), *d. e* (whose parallel Greek speaks differently), by Augustine and Vigilius of Thapsus, but apparently by no cursives. The form best vouched for appears to be that of *Ν*AC. 4*, of the Thebaic according to Griesbach (*see* p. 396, note), and of an Arabic codex of Tischendorf, *τοῦ θεοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ* (*Ν** omits *τοῦ*) *χριστοῦ*. To these words "*ih̄u*" is simply added by *f* (*FGg* are unfortunately lost here) and by other manuscripts of the Vulgate (*am. fuld., &c.*), though the Clementine edition has "Dei patris et Christi Jesu," the Complutensian (*see* pp. 351, 427) "*dei et patris et C. J.*" With the Clementine Vulgate agree the Memphitic, and (omitting *ἰησοῦ*) the Peshito Syriac, Arabic, 47. 73, Chrysostom; while 41. 115. 213. 221. 253* (*τοῦ θ. καὶ π. τοῦ χ.*) so far strengthen the case of *ΝAC*. The Received text is found in (apparently) the great mass of cursives, in D (*tertium manu*), EKL, the Philoxenian Syriac (but the *καὶ* after *πατρὸς* marked with the asterisk, *see* p. 329), Theodoret, John Damascene and others. The minor variations, *τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν χριστῷ* of Clement and Ambrosiaster, *τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἐν χριστῷ* of 17, uphold *D**, as may the Æthiopic ("domini quod de Christo"): to the reading of Cod. 17 Zohrab's or the Venice Armenian (*see* p. 408) simply adds "Jesu." We also find "*dei Christi Jesu patris et domini*" in *tol.*, "*dei patris et domini nostri Christi*" in *demid.*, "*dei patris in Christo Jesu*" in Usan's Armenian; but these deserve not attention. Theodore of Mopsuestia (Swete, Vol. I. p. 283), has *mysterii Dei Patris et Christi*, which need not imply the omission of *καὶ* before *πατρὸς*.

On reviewing the whole mass of conflicting evidence, we may unhesitatingly reject the shortest form *τοῦ θεοῦ*, some of whose maintainers do not usually found their text on cursive manuscripts almost exclusively. We would gladly adopt *τοῦ θεοῦ χριστοῦ*, so powerfully do internal considerations plead in its favour, were it but a little better supported: the important doctrine which it declares, Scriptural and Catholic as that is, will naturally make us only the more cautious in receiving it unreservedly. Yet the more we think over this reading, the more it grows upon us, as the source from which all the rest are derived (*see* p. 494). At present, perhaps, *τοῦ θεοῦ*

πατρός τοῦ χριστοῦ may be looked upon as the most strongly attested, but in the presence of so many opposing probabilities, a very small weight might suffice to turn the critical scale.

(40). 1 THESS. ii. 7. We have here a various reading, consisting of the prefix of a single letter, which seems to introduce into a simple verse what is little short of an absurdity. Instead of *ἡπιοι* of the Received text, of Tischendorf and Tregelles, we find *νήπιοι* adopted by Lachmann as a consequence of his stringent rules (*see* p. 479), by Westcott and Hort of their own free will, unless indeed it be said that they also are working in chains of their own forging. How S. Paul can compare himself to a babe in one clause of the verse and to its nurse in the other would be quite unintelligible if Origen, who read *νήπιοι*, had not instructed us that the nurse is playing at baby for the babe's amusement (*ἐγένετο νήπιος καὶ παραπλήσιος τροφῶ θαλαπούση τὸ ἑαυτῆς παιδίον καὶ λαλούση λόγους ὡς παιδίον διὰ τὸ παιδίον* III. 662). It needs but the exercise of common sense to brush away such a fancy as this, and the state of the evidence will shew us how the best authorities are sometimes hopelessly in the wrong; for *νήπιοι* is the form favoured by $\aleph^*BC^*D^*FG. 5. 23. 26. 31^*. 37. 39^{**}. 74. 87. 109^{**}. 114. 115. 137. 219^*. 252$, and is easily accounted for by the accidental reduplication of the letter after N in HMCNHIIIOI (*see* p. 10). The Vulgate and the Latin versions accompanying DEFG (*e* against its own Greek, *see* p. 167) have *parvuli*, and so the Memphitic, Æthiopic, Clement of Alexandria (*ἡπιος οὖν ὁ νήπιος*), Ambrosiaster, Jerome, and Augustine very expressly. On the other hand *ἡπιος* is vouched for by $\aleph^{**}AC^{**}D^{**}EKL P, 17. 47. 61. 260$, and all cursives not named above, by both Syriac versions, by the Thebaic and its follower the Bashmuric (*see* p. 404), the Armenian, Clement and Origen elsewhere (but their inconsistency means nothing but carelessness), Basil, Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia¹, Theodoret, Euthalius (*see* p. 163), Æcumenius, John Damascene and the catenæ. Theophylact knew of and expounds both readings. It is almost

¹ In Dr Swete's edition (*see* p. 632), Vol. II. p. 11, Theodore expounds thus in the old Latin version: *sed facti sumus quieti in medio vestro, hoc est, 'omni mediocritate et humilitate sumus abusi, nolentes graves aliquibus videri.'*

pathetic to mark Dr Hort's brave struggle to maintain a cause which in this instance is simply hopeless. "The second ν might be inserted or omitted with equal facility; but the change from the bold image to the tame and facile adjective is characteristic of the difference between S. Paul and the Syrian revisers (cf. 1 Cor. iii. 1, 2; ix. 20, &c). It is not of harshness that S. Paul here declares himself innocent, but of flattery and the rhetorical arts by which gain or repute is procured, his adversaries having doubtless put this malicious interpretation upon his language among the Thessalonians" (*Notes*, p. 128). For his alleged Syrian revision, *see above*, p. 533.

(41). 1 TIM. iii. 16. Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί. This text has proved the *crux criticorum*. Cod. B has now failed us (*see* p. 102), but all manuscripts (D *tertium manu*, KLP, some 200 cursives) read Θεὸς with the common text, except \aleph^* A*? C*? FG. 17. 73. 181, which have $\theta\varsigma$, D* which (after the Latin versions) has θ : the Leicester codex, 37, gives $\acute{\theta}\theta\varsigma$ (*see facsimile* No. 40, l. 1), as if to combine two of the variations¹. In the abridged form of writing usual in all manuscripts, even the oldest (*see* pp. 15, 48), the difference between OC and $\overline{\Theta}\overline{C}$ consists only in the presence or absence of two horizontal strokes; hence it is rather to be regretted than wondered at that the true reading of each of the uncial authorities for the former is more or less open to question. Respecting Cod. \aleph we have the statement of Tischendorf, a most consummate judge in such matters: "*corrector aliquis, qui omnium ultimus textum attigit, sæculi ferè duodecimi, [pro os primæ manûs] reposuit θεος, sed hoc tam cautè ut antiquissimam scripturam intactam relinqueret*" (Notitia Cod. Sinait. p. 20), which is unequivocal enough: *see facsimile* No. 13 in Scrivener's *Collation of Cod. Sin.*, and *Introduct.* p. xxv: also *Plate IV. facsimile* No. 11c of this volume, wherein the twelfth century $\theta\epsilon$ above the line, the new accent over OC, and the triple points to denote insertion, are very conspicuous. Nor is there any real doubt respecting the kindred codices FG. From the photographed title-page of the published *Cod. Augiensis* (F) l. 9, and Matthæi's *facsimile* of G (*N. T.* Vol. I. p. 4)²,

¹ A like combination is seen in Cod. 87 in 1 Tim. vi. 19 τῆς αλωσιου θρωος ζωῆς.

² Dean Burgon has just presented me with the photographed page in Cod. G, respecting whose evidence there can be no remaining doubt.

it will be seen that while there is not the least trace of the horizontal line within the circle of omicron, the line above the circle in *both* (\overline{OC}) is not horizontal, but rises a little towards the right: such a line not unfrequently in F, oftener in G, is used (as here) to indicate the rough breathing: it sometimes stands even for the *lenis* (e.g. $\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ 1 Cor. vi. 18; vii. 4; 37; $\acute{\iota}\sigma\sigma\alpha$ Phil. ii. 6). Those who never saw Cod. C must depend on Tischendorf's Excursus (*Cod. Ephraemi*, pp. 39—42) and his *facsimile*, imitated in our Plate x. No. 24. His decision is that the primitive reading was OC, but he was *the first to discern a cross line within O* (*facsimile* l. 3, 8th letter); which, however, from the colour ("*subnigra*") he judges to belong to the second or third hand, rising upwards (a tendency rather exaggerated than otherwise in our Plate); while the coarse line above, and the musical notes (denoting a word of two syllables) below, are plainly of the third hand. This verdict, especially delivered by such a man, we know not how to gainsay, and merely point to the fact that the cross line in Θ , the ninth letter further on, which is certainly *primâ manu*, also ascends towards the right. Cod. A, however, I have examined at least twenty times within as many years, and yet am not quite able to assent to the conclusion of Mr Cowper (*see* p. 100) when he says "we hope that no one will think it possible, either with or without a lens, to ascertain the truth of the matter by any inspection of the Codex" (*Cod. Alex.* Introd. p. xviii). On the contrary, seeing (as every one must see for himself) with my own eyes, I have always felt convinced with Berriman and the earlier collators that Cod. A read $\overline{\Theta C}$, and, so far as I am shaken in my conviction at all, it is less by the adverse opinion even of Bp. Ellicott¹, than by the more recently

¹ The true reading of the Codex Alexandrinus in 1 Tim. iii. 16 has long been an interesting puzzle with Biblical students. The manuscript, and especially the leaf containing this verse (fol. 145), now very thin and falling into holes, must have been in a widely different condition from the present when it first came to England. At that period Young, Huish (*see* p. 99), and the rest who collated or referred to it, believed that $\overline{\Theta C}$ was written by the first hand. Mill (*N. T. ad loc.*) declares that he had first supposed the primitive reading to be \overline{OC} , seeing clearly that the line over the letters had not been entirely made, but only thickened, by a later hand, probably the same that traced the coarse, rude, recent, horizontal diameter now running through the circle. On looking more closely, however, he detected "ductus quosdam et vestigia satis certa...præsertim ad partem sinis-

discovered fact that OC (which is adopted by Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Davidson, Tregelles, Alford, Ellicott, Wordsworth, Hort and Westcott), was read in \aleph as early as the fourth century.

tram, qua peripheriam literæ pertingit," evidently belonging to an earlier diameter, which the thicker and later one had almost defaced. This old line was afterwards seen by John Berriman and four other persons with him (Gloucester Ridley [see p. 327], Gibson, Hewett, and Pilkington) by means of a glass in the bright sunshine, when he was preparing his Lady Moyer's Lecture for 1737—8 (*Critical Dissertation on 1 Tim. iii. 16*, p. 156). Wetstein admitted the existence of such a transverse line, but referred it to the tongue or *sagitta* of ϵ on the reverse of the leaf, an explanation rejected by Woide, but admitted by Tregelles, who states in opposition to Woide that "Part of the ϵ on the other side of the leaf *does* intersect the O, as we have seen again and again, and which others with us have seen also" (*Horne*, iv. p. 156). This last assertion may be received as quite true, and yet not relevant to the point at issue. In an Excursus appended to 1 Timothy in his edition of *The Pastoral Epistles* (p. 100, 1856), Bp Ellicott declares, as the result of "minute personal inspection," that the original reading was "indisputably" OC. The leaf being held up to the light, the point of an instrument was brought by one of the Librarians of the British Museum "so near to the extremity of the sagitta of the ϵ as to make a point of shade visible to the observer on the other side:" so that "when the point of the instrument was drawn over the sagitta of the ϵ , the point of shade was seen to *exactly trace out the suspected diameter of the O.*" This might seem indeed a very satisfactory experiment, and would no doubt have been the more so, but for one not trifling drawback. So very delicate is the operation, that out of *two* such experiments which were tried on that occasion, the result of the one was what the Bishop describes, that of the other being to make the sagitta of ϵ cut the O indeed, as Tregelles mentions, but cut it too high to have been reasonably mistaken by a careful observer for the diameter of Θ . This last state of things corresponds precisely with my own experience. On holding the leaf up to the light one singularly bright hour, February 7, 1861, and gazing at it, with and without a lens, with eyes which have something of the power and too many of the *defects* of a microscope, I saw clearly the tongue of the ϵ through the attenuated vellum, crossing the circle about two-thirds up (much above the thick modern line), the knob at its extremity falling without the circle. On laying down the leaf, I saw immediately after (but not at the same moment) the slight shadow of the real ancient diameter, only just above the recent one. Even had this last faint line not been seen, Mr Cowper would be right in saying that "The mere absence or invisibility of the cross line of the theta would not of itself be demonstrative, because it has disappeared in a number of cases about which no question ever has been or ever will be raised" (*Cod. Alexand.* Introd. p. xviii). "It may well be questioned" writes Canon Liddon to the same purport "whether enough stress has been laid on the probability that a faint line like the bar of the Θ would, in time, be rubbed out [not from Cod. A only but] from the oldest manuscripts" (*Bampton Lectures for 1866*, p. 467, note n).

But one word more. A well-known Biblical scholar once suggested to me that the *upper* horizontal line, made by a recent hand, was too thin to cover as

The secondary witnesses, versions and certain of the Fathers, also powerfully incline this way, and they deserve peculiar attention in a case like the present. The Peshito (2) and Philoxenian (text and $\Theta\sigma\iota$ in margin) Syriac have a relative (whether $\delta\varsigma$ or δ); so have the Armenian, the Roman Æthiopic, and Erpenius' Arabic. The Gothic, Thebaic, Memphitic, and Platt's Æthiopic favour $\zeta\varsigma$: all Latin versions (even *f. g.* whose Greek is $\overline{\Theta\zeta}$) read "quod," while $\theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ appears only in the Slavonic (which usually resembles KL and the later copies) and the Polyglott Arabic. Of ecclesiastical writers the best witness for the Received text is Ignatius, $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\varsigma$ $\phi\alpha\nu\epsilon\rho\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon$ (*Ephes.* 19), both in the Greek and old Latin, although the Syriac abbreviator seems to have $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\nu\iota\omicron\upsilon$: the later interpolator expanded the clause thus: $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\upsilon$ $\phi\alpha\iota\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon$, $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\upsilon$ $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}\tau\omicron\varsigma$. Hippolytus (*Adv. Not.* 17: fl. 220) makes a "free reference" to it in the words $\text{Οὗτος προελθὼν εἰς κόσμον, θεὸς ἐν σώματι ἐφανερώθη}$, and elsewhere with δ before προελθὼν . The testimony of Dionysius of Alexandria (265) can no longer be upheld (Tregelles, *Horne*, iv. p. 339), that of Chrysostom to the same effect is deemed precarious, since his manuscripts fluctuate, and Cramer's catena on 1 Tim. p. 31 is adverse¹. The evidence borne for $\theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ by Didymus (*de*

it now seems to do all vestiges of such older lines of abridgement as that over $\Theta\zeta$ on the same page (ch. iv. 8); furnished, as these lines are, with thick knobs at both ends. Our reply would be (1) that in Mill's time (*vid. supra*) the whole or part of the original upper line (now quite obliterated) was visible to that critic, and (2) that though in the particular instance of ch. iv. 3, and many others, the horizontal line has a bold knob at both ends, in a yet greater number of places the knob is but at one end, or very small, sometimes indeed evanescent, so as to be quite undistinguishable from a portion of a simple straight line, or even to degenerate into two or more points (e.g. $\Theta\ddot{\iota}$, ch. iv. 4), which might easily be covered by the recent line now set above $\Theta\zeta$ or $\Theta\zeta$.

POSTSCRIPT. *Third Edition.* Mr Hammond (*Outlines of Textual Criticism*, p. 104, note) suggests that the slight shadow of the real ancient diameter which I saw in 1861, just above the recent one in Θ , might really be the impression of the recent diameter retained for an instant upon the retina of the eye. It might have been so: *non sum qualis eram*; I shall never be able to verify what I observed that one morning. But the evidence of Young, of Huish, of Mill, of Berriman and his friends, when the page was comparatively unworn, cannot thus be disposed of.

¹ Yet how can it be precarious in the face of such testimony as the following (*Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1881, p. 863)? $\text{Τὸ δὲ θεὸν ὄντα ἄνθρωπον θελήσαι γενέσθαι καὶ ἀνασχέσθαι καταβῆναι τοσούτων... τοῦτό ἐστὶ τὸ ἐκπλήξουσ γέμον. Ὁ δὲ καὶ Παῦλος θαυμάζων ἔλεγε· καὶ ομολογουμένως μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας}$

Trin.) and Gregory Nyssen¹ is beyond all doubt; that of later writers, Theodoret, John Damascene, Theophylact, Œcumenius (as might be looked for) is clear and express. The chief Latins, Hilary, Jerome, Augustine, &c. exhibit either *qui* or *quod*: Cyril of Alexandria (for so we must conclude both from manuscripts and his context)², Epiphanius (*twice*), Theodore of Mopsuestia (in Latin)³, and others of less weight, or whose language is less direct, are cited in critical editions of the N. T. in support of a relative; add to which that *θεός* is not quoted by Fathers (e.g. "Cyprian, p. 35," *Bentleii Critica Sacra*, p. 67) in many places where it might fairly be looked for; though this argument must not be pushed too far. The idle tale, propagated by Liberatus the Deacon of Carthage, and from him repeated by Hincmar and Victor, that Macedonius Patriarch of Constantinople (A.D. 506) was expelled by the Emperor Anastasius for corrupting O or OC into ΘC, although lightly credited by Dr Tregelles (*An Account of the Printed Text*, p. 229) and even by Dr Hort (*Notes*, p. 133), is sufficiently refuted by Bp Pearson (*On the Creed*, Art. II. p. 128, 3rd edition).

On a review of the whole mass of external proof, bearing in mind too that OC (from which *ὁ* of D* is an evident corruption) is grammatically much the *harder* reading after *μυστήριον* (p. 493⁴),

μυστήριον· ποῖον μέγα· θεός ἐφανερῶθη ἐν σαρκί· καὶ πάλιν ἀλλαχοῦ· οὐ γὰρ ἀγγέλων ἐπιλαμβάνεται ὁ θεός (Chrysostom, i. 497). It is necessary to study the context well before we can understand the strength or weakness of Patristic evidence.

¹ Twenty-three times in all, as Ward (*see* p. 642, note) observes, adding that "nothing can be more express and unquestionable than his reading." The *Quarterly Reviewer* speaks very well (*ubi supra*), "A single quotation is better than many references. Among a multitude of proofs that Christ is God, Gregory says: Τιμωτέψ δὲ διαφῆρῆθη βοῶ ὅτι ὁ θεός ἐφανερῶθη ἐν σαρκί, ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι." (ii. 693).

² *Bentleii Critica Sacra*, p. 67, "Σχόλια Photii MSS. (*Bib. Pub. Cant.*) ad loc. ὁ ἐν ἀγίοις Κύριλλος ἐν τῷ ἰβ̄ κεφαλαιῷ τῶν σχολίων φησιν, ὅς ἐφανερῶθη ἐν σαρκί." Photius also quoted Gregory Thaumaturgus (or Apollinarius) for *θεός*.

³ Dr Swete, in his masterly edition of the Latin translation of Theodore's commentary on S. Paul's Epistles (*see* p. 682), after citing the Latin text as *qui manifestatus est in carne*, adds "Both our MSS. read *qui*, here and [15 lines] below and use the masculine consistently throughout the context... Thus the present translation goes to confirm the inference already drawn from the Greek fragment of Theodore *de incarn.* xiii. (Migne, P. G. 66, 987) that he read *ὁς ἐφανερῶθη*" (Vol. II. p. 135 n.): pertinently observing that if Theodore used *ὁς*, he was in harmony with the Syriac versions.

⁴ The *Quarterly Reviewer* (Oct. 1881, p. 365), in his trenchant style, goes a

and that it might easily pass into ΘC, we must consider it probable (indeed, if we were sure of the testimony of the first-rate uncials, we might regard it as certain) that the second of our rules of Comparative Criticism must here be applied (*see* p. 557), and *θεδς* of the more recent many yield place to *δς* of the ancient few¹. Yet even then the force of the Patristic testimony remains untouched. Were we to concede to Dr Hort's unproved hypothesis that Didymus *de Trinitate* abounds in what he calls Syrian readings (*see* p. 533), and that they are not rare with Gregory Nyssen (*Notes*, p. 133), the clear references of Ignatius and Hippolytus are not thus to be disposed of. I dare not pronounce *θεδς* a corruption.

(42). 1 TIM. vi. 7. By omitting *δηλον* of the Received text Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort, produce a Greek sentence as inconsequential as the most thorough votaries of the "harder reading" (p. 493) can wish for: "For we brought nothing into the world, because neither can we carry anything out." Dr Hort sees, of course, that S. Paul could not reason in this fashion, and says that "The text [i.e. *his* text, without *δηλον*] is manifestly the parent of all the other readings, which are futile attempts to smooth away its difficulty. A primitive corruption must lurk somewhere," and then ventures on the awkward suggestion that OTI arose from the transcriptural repetition of the last syllable of *κοσμον* (ON being read as OTI), a guess which we observe that Dr Westcott does not care to vouch for (*Notes*, p. 134). But why create a difficulty

good way beyond this: "Oς is in truth so grossly improbable—rather, so *impossible*—a reading, that under any circumstances we must have anxiously inquired whether no escape from it was discoverable: whether there exists no other way of explaining *how* so patent an absurdity as this may have arisen?... We shall be landed in a bathos indeed if we allow *gross improbability* to become a constraining motive with us in revising the sacred Text."

¹ "Conspicuum lectionis hujus loci optime dedit in sermone vernaculo William H. Ward, V. D. M. in Bibliotheca Sacra Americana, anni 1865," Tregelles N. T. *ad loc.* For a copy of this work I am indebted to the kindness of A. W. Tyler of New York. Mr Ward wonders that neither Tregelles nor I have noticed a certain pinhole in Cod. A, pointed out to Sir F. Madden by J. Scott Porter (*see* p. 474), made by some person at the extremity of the sagitta of the Ε on the opposite page, and falling exactly on the supposed transverse line of the Θ. I cannot perceive the pinhole, but the vellum is fast crumbling away from the effects of time, certainly through no lack of care on the part of those who keep the manuscript.

at all? Cod. B is now lost to us (*see* p. 102), and of the rest *δηλον* is omitted in \aleph^*AFG and its Latin version *g* with copies of the Vulgate referred to by Lachmann, the Memphitic (*καλ* for *στι*), Thebaic; the Armenian and both Æthiopic varying with the Memphitic. Instead of *δηλον* $D^*. m., fuld.$, Cyprian and the Gothic have *ἀληθές*, and the printed Vulgate with its codices (even *f*) and Ambrosiaster *haud dubium*, which will suit *δηλον* well enough, as will ܕܢܘܡܘܨܐ (*et notum est*) of the Syriac versions. For *δηλον* itself stand $\aleph^{**}D^{**}$ (*hiat* E) KLP, all the cursives save one, and of the Fathers Basil, Macarius, Chrysostom, Euthalius, Theodoret, and John Damascene, evidence which we should have liked to see a little stronger.

(43). PHILEM. 12. For *ὃν ἀπέπεμψα· σὺ δὲ αὐτόν, τουτέστι τὰ ἐμὰ σπλάγχνα, προσλαβοῦ* of the Received text, the critics, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles (but not his margin), Bp Lightfoot, Westcott and Hort read *ὃν ἀπέπεμψά σοι, αὐτόν, τουτέστι τὰ ἐμὰ σπλάγχνα*, omitting *προσλαβοῦ*, which they judge to have been interpolated from ver. 17. Tregelles and Bp Lightfoot, moreover, put a full stop after *σοι*, so that *αὐτόν* is regarded as an "accusative suspended; the sentence changes its form and loses itself in a number of dependent clauses; and the main point is not resumed till ver. 17 *προσλαβοῦ αὐτόν ὡς ἐμέ*, the grammar having been meanwhile dislocated." So Lightfoot, who vindicates the emphatic place he has assigned to *αὐτόν* by the not very close parallels John ix. 21, 23; Eph. i. 22. Manuscripts, of course, will not help us much in punctuation, but Codd. $\aleph^*A. 17$ are very good witnesses for *σοι* in the room of *σὺ δὲ* and for the omission of *προσλαβοῦ*, a simple, although somewhat rude, construction well worthy of attention. For *σοι*, with or without *σὺ δὲ* following, we have the additional support of C^*DE , *d. e.* and *g* against its own Greek, the Clementine Vulgate and such Vulgate codices as *demid. harl.***, the Peshito Syriac, Memphitic, Armenian, Æthiopic, &c. For the omission of *προσλαβοῦ*, which is of course the chief variation, besides $\aleph^*A. 17$ are cited F and G in the Greek but not in their Latin versions, 37 and others setting it before *αὐτόν*. It is found in all the rest, $D^{**}E^{**}KLP$, all other cursives, and (as might have been anticipated) the versions, as well Latin as

Syriac, Memphitic (which reads as Cod. 37), Gothic, and Æthiopic: *g*. the Armenian and Theodoret put it after *αὐτόν*.

(44). JAMES iv. 4. *Μοιχοὶ καὶ* should be omitted before *μοιχαλίδες* on the testimony of $\aleph^* \text{AB}$. 13. The Peshito, Memphitic, Latin, Armenian, and both Æthiopic versions have “adulterers” (*fornicatores ff*) only, but since no Greek copy thus reads, we must suppose that their translators were startled by the bold imagery so familiar to the Hebrew prophets (Isai. liv. 5; Jer. ii. 2; Ezek. xvi. 32 are cited from a host of similar passages by Wordsworth), and endeavoured to dilute it in this way. Tischendorf would join *μοιχαλίδες* with *δαπανήσητε* ver. 3, alleging the point or stop placed after it in Cod. B: but this point is not found in Vercellone’s edition, although he leaves a small space before *οὐκ*. The full form *Μοιχοὶ καὶ μοιχαλίδες* of $\aleph^* \text{KLP}$, the later Syriac, and all other known copies, is evidently a correction of early scribes.

(45). JAMES iv. 5. The variation between *κατόκισεν* and *κατόκησεν* is plainly to be attributed to a mere itacism, whichever is to be regarded as the true form. We find *ι* in $\aleph \text{AB}$. 101. 104 only, nor is it quite accurate to say with Tischendorf that collators are apt to overlook such points. In KLP, and apparently in all other manuscripts of every class, *η* is read, and so the catenas, with Theophylact and Cæcumenius, understand this difficult passage. That all the versions (Latin, Syriac, Egyptian, &c.) thus render seems decisive in favour of *η*. The combination of $\aleph \text{AB}$, however strong, has repeatedly been seen not to be irresistible; and while it must be confessed that in our existing Greek copies the interchange of *ι* and *η* (though found in Cod. A) is not an itacism of the very oldest type (p. 10), yet here the testimony of the versions refers it back to the second century. Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort, combine in reading *κατόκισεν*.

(46). 1 PET. i. 23. Here we have a remarkable example to illustrate what we saw in the cases of Rom. viii. 20 (p. 565); 2 Cor. iii. 3 (p. 500); Phil. ii. 1 (p. 633), that the chief uncials sometimes conspire in readings which are unquestionably false, and can hardly have arisen independently of each other. For *σπορᾶς φθαρτῆς* Codd. $\aleph \text{AC}$ have *φθορᾶς φθαρτῆς*, the scribe’s

eye wandering in writing *σπορᾶς* to the beginning of the next word: Cod. B is free from this vile corruption. When Mill records the variation for Cod. A, he adds (as well he might), "dormitante scribâ:" but that the same gross error should be found in three out of the four oldest codices, *and in no other*, is very suggestive and not a little perplexing.

(47). 1 PET. iii. 15. *Κύριον δὲ τὸν θεὸν ἀγιάσατε ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν*. For *θεὸν* we find *χριστὸν* (a change of considerable doctrinal importance)¹ in \aleph ABC. 7. 8 (Stephen's *ια*). 13. 33 (*margin*). 69. 137. 182. 184 (but not 221: see p. 552, note 1), Apost. 1 (*ἰν̄ χ̄ν ἡμῶν*) with its Arabic translation. Thus too read both Syriac versions, the Thebaic, Memphitic, Armenian (*τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ χριστὸν*), Erpenius' Arabic, the Vulgate, Clement of Alexandria, Fulgentius and Bede. Jerome has "Jesum Christum:" the Æthiopic and one other (Auctor de promiss., 4th century) omit both words. Against this very strong case we can set up for the common text only the more recent uncials KLP (not more than seven uncials contain this Epistle), the mass of later cursives (ten out of Scrivener's twelve, also Wake 12, or Cod. 193), the Polyglott Arabic, Slavonic, Theophylact, and Œcumenius, authorities of the ninth century and downwards. It is a real pleasure to me in this instance to express my cordial agreement with Tregelles (and so read Lachmann, Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort), when he says, "Thus the reading *χριστὸν* may be relied on *confidently*" (*An Account of the Printed Text*, p. 285). I would further allege this text as one out of many proofs that the great uncials seldom or never conspire in exhibiting a really valuable departure from the later codices, unless supported by some of the best of the cursives themselves. See, however, p. 618, Acts xiii. 32.

¹ "As the Apostle here applies to *Christ* language which in the Old Testament is made use of with reference to Jehovah (see Isai. viii. 13), he clearly suggests the supreme godhead of our Redeemer," as Dr Roberts puts the matter (*Words of the New Testament*, p. 170). Not, of course, that our critical judgment should be swayed one way or the other by individual prepossessions; but that those who in the course of these researches have sacrificed to truth much that they have hitherto held dear, need not suppress their satisfaction when truth is gain.

(48). 2 PET. ii. 13. The resemblance between the second epistle of S. Peter and that of S. Jude is too close to be unobserved by the most careless reader, and the supposition that the elder Apostle's letter was in Jude's hands when he wrote his own is that which best meets the circumstances of the case. The *σπίλοι* of the present verse, for example, looks like the origin of *σπιλάδες* in Jude 12, where the latter word is employed in a signification almost unprecedented in Classical Greek, though the Orphic poems have been cited for its bearing the sense of "spots," which all the ancient versions rightly agree with our Authorised Bible in attributing to. Bearing in mind the same verse of S. Jude, it seems plain that *ἀπάταις* of the Received text cannot be accepted as true, as well because it affords so poor a meaning in connection with *ἐντροφῶντες* and *συνευωχούμενοι*, as because the later writer must have seen *ἀγάταις* in his model, when he paraphrased it by *οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἀγάταις ὑμῶν σπιλάδες συνευωχούμενοι*. For this change of two letters we have the support of Cod. A (as corrected by the first hand) and B alone of the manuscripts, but of the versions, the Latin Speculum *m* (*see* p. 344) which in these later epistles is strangely loose, yet cannot be misunderstood in the present place, the Vulgate, the Thebaic, Æthiopic, the Syriac printed with the Peshito (*see* p. 315¹), and the margin of the Philoxenian version. Add to these Ephraem and the Latin author of the tract "de singularitate clericorum," both of the fourth century. The little group of cursives 27. 29. and the second hand of 66 (*see* p. 552, n. 1) read *ἀγνοίαις*; but *ἀπάταις*, *nescio quo sensu*², still cleaves

¹ This translation of 2 Peter, 2, 3 John and Jude, printed by Pococke from Bodl. Orient. 119, well deserves careful study, being totally different in style and character both from the Peshito and the Philoxenian, somewhat free and periphrastic, yet, in our paucity of good authorities just here, of great interest and full of valuable readings. Thus, in this very verse it reads *ἀδικούμενοι* ("being wronged as the hire of their wrong-doing") with N^oBP and the Armenian, difficult as it may seem to receive that word as genuine: in ver. 17 it omits *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα* with NB and some other versions: in ch. iii. 10 it sides with the Thebaic alone in receiving *οὐχ εὐπεθήσεται* (apparently correctly) instead of *εὐπεθήσεται* of NBKP, of the excellent cursives 27. 29. 66 *secundâ manu*, of the Armenian and Philoxenian margin, where the Received text follows the obvious *κατακήσεται* of AL and the rest, and C hits upon *ἀφανθήσεται* in pure despair.

² Bp Chr. Wordsworth speaks as though there were a *paronomasia*, a play on the words *ἀγάπη* and *ἀπάτη*, comparing (after Windischmann) 2 Thess. ii. 10. "The false teachers called their meetings *ἀγάται*, *love feasts*, but they

to the text of Tischendorf and of Westcott and Hort, and to the margin of Tregelles, who in the text prefers *ἀγάπαις* with Lachmann and Westcott and Hort's margin. Codd. \aleph A (in its original form) CKLP, all other cursives, the catenas (Cod. 36, &c.), the Memphitic, Armenian, and Philoxenian versions also have *ἀπάταις*, and so Theophylact and Œcumenius, but hardly Jerome as cited by Tischendorf.

(49). 1 JOHN ii. 23. The English reader will have observed that the latter clause of this verse, "*but he that acknowledgeth the Son hath the Father also,*" is printed in italics in our Authorised version, this being the only instance in the New Testament wherein variety of reading is thus denoted by the translators, who derived both the words and this method of indicating their doubtful authenticity from the "Great Bible" of 1539¹. The corresponding Greek *ὁ ὁμολογῶν τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἔχει* (which seems to have been lost from some copies by Homœoteleuton, see p. 9), was first inserted in Beza's Greek Testament of 1582², it is approved by all modern editors (Griesbach, Scholz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort), and, though still absent from the *textus receptus*, is unquestionably genuine. This is just such a point as versions are best capable of attesting. The "Great Bible" had no doubt taken the clause from the Latin Vulgate, in whose printed editions and chief manuscripts it is found (e.g. in *am. fuld. demid. tol. harl.*), as also in both Syriac, both Egyptian (the Thebaic not for certain), the Armenian, Æthiopic, and Erpenius' (not the Polyglott) Arabic version. Of manuscripts the great uncials \aleph ABC (with P) contain the clause, the later KL omit it. Of the cursives only two of Scrivener's (182. 225) have it, and another (183) *secundâ manu*: from twelve or more of them it is absent, as also from seven of Matthæi's:

were mere *ἀράται, deceits*. Their *table was a snare*" (Ps. lxi. 22). This view might be tenable if S. Peter, with whom the *paronomasia* must have taken its rise, were not the earlier writer of the two, as the Bishop of Lincoln believes he was, as firmly as we do. Perhaps Dr Westcott's notion that 2 Pet. is a translation, not an original, at least in Ch. ii., will best account for the textual variations between it and S. Jude.

¹ See the "Cambridge Paragraph Bible," *Introduction*, pp. xxxv. xxxvii.

² "Restitui in Græcis hoc membrum ex quatuor manuscr. codicum, veteris Latini et Syri interpretis auctoritate. sic etiam assueto Johanne istis oppositionibus contrariorum uti quam sæpissimè." Beza, *N. T.* 1582.

but of the other cursives it is present in at least thirty, whereof 3. 5. 13. 66** (*marg.*) 68. 69. 98 are valuable. It is also acknowledged by Clement, Origen (*thrice*), Eusebius, both Cyrils, Theophylact, and the Western Fathers. The younger Cyril, possibly Euthalius, and one or two others have *ὁμολογεῖ* for the final *ἔχει*: the Old Latin *m*, Cyprian and Hilary, repeat *τὸν υἱὸν καὶ* before *τὸν πατέρα ἔχει*. The critical skill of Beza must not be estimated very highly (*see* p. 440), yet in this instance he might well have been imitated by the Elzevir editors.

(50). 1 JOHN v. 7, 8. "Ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες [ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὁ Πατήρ, ὁ Λόγος, καὶ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἐν εἰσι. καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῆ], τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα· καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἐν εἰσιν.

The authenticity of the words within brackets will, perhaps, no longer be maintained by any one whose judgment ought to have weight; but this result has been arrived at after a long and memorable controversy, which helped to keep alive, especially in England, some interest in Biblical studies, and led to investigations into collateral points of the highest importance, such as the sources of the Received text, the manuscripts employed by R. Stephen (*see* p. 438), the origin and value of the Valesian readings (*see* p. 196), &c. A critical *résumé* of the whole discussion might be profitably undertaken by some competent scholar; we can at present touch only upon the chief heads of this great debate¹.

¹ Horne (*Introduction*, Vol. II. Pt. II. ch. III. Sect. 4), and after his example Tregelles (*Horne*, IV. pp. 384—8) give a curious list of more than fifty volumes, pamphlets, or critical notices on this question. The following are the most worthy of perusal: *Letters to Edward Gibbon, Esq.*, by G. Travis, Archdeacon of Chester, 1785, 2nd edit.: *Letters to Mr Archdeacon Travis*, &c. by Richard Porson, 1790; *Letters to Mr Archdeacon Travis*, &c. by Herbert Marsh [afterwards Bp of Peterborough], 1795: *A Vindication of the Literary Character of Professor Porson*, by Crito Cantabrigiensis [Thomas Turton, afterwards Bp of Ely], 1827: *Two Letters on some parts of the Controversy concerning 1 John v. 7*, by Nicolas Wiseman, 1835; for which *see above* p. 341. For Dr Adam Clarke's "Observations," &c., 1805, *see* p. 187, note 2. Professor Ezra Abbot's edition of *Orme's Memoir of the Controversy on 1 John v. 7*, New York, 1866, has not fallen in my way. The last elaborate work that has been, or perhaps is likely to be written, on the verses is *A new plea for the authenticity of the Text of the Three Heavenly Witnesses*, or *Porson's Letters to Travis eclectically examined*, Cambridge, 1867, being the per-

The two verses appear in the early editions, with the following notable variations from the common text, C standing for the Complutensian, Er. for one or more of Erasmus' five editions. Ver. 7 — *ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ usque ad τῆ γῆ* ver. 8, Er. 1, 2. — *ὁ prim. et secund.* Er. 3 [*non* C. Er. 4, 5]. + *καὶ (post πατῆρ)* C. — τὸ Er. 3. *πνεῦμα ἁγίου* Er. 3, 4, 5. — *οὗτοι* C. + *εἰς το (ante εν)* C. ver. 8. *ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς* C. — τὸ *ter* Er. 3, 4, 5 [*habent* C. Er. 1, 2]. — *καὶ οἱ τρεῖς ad fin. vers.* C. They are found, including the clause from *ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ* to *ἐν τῆ γῆ*, in no more than three Greek manuscripts, and those of very late date, one of them (Cod. Ravianus, Evan. 110) being a mere worthless copy from printed books; and in the margin of a fourth, in a hand as late as the sixteenth century. The real witnesses are the Codex Montfortianus, Evan. 61, Act. 34, whose history was described above, p. 187¹; Cod. Vat.-Ottob. 298 (Act. 162, *see* p. 258 and note 1), and, for the margin, a Naples manuscript (Act. 83 or 173, p. 258). On comparing these slight and scanty authorities with the Received text we find that they present the following variations: ver. 7. *ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (pro ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ)* 162. — *ὁ prim. et secund.* 34. 162. — τὸ 34. 162. *πᾶ ἁγίου* 34. 162. — *οὗτοι* 162. + *εἰς τὸ (ante ἐν)* 162. ver. 8. *εἰς* 173 *margin.* *ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς* 162. — τὸ *ter* 34. — *καὶ (post πᾶ)* 34. 162. — *καὶ οἱ τρεῖς ad fin. vers.* 34. 162. *fin.* *εἰς* 173. No printed edition, therefore, is found to agree with either 34 or 162 (173, whose margin is so very recent, only differs from the common text by dropping *ν ἐφέλικυστικόν*), though on the whole 162 best suits the Complutensian: but the omission of the article in ver. 7, while it stands in ver. 8 in 162, proves that the disputed clause was interpolated (probably from its parallel Latin) by one who was very ill acquainted with Greek.

formance of a literary veteran, the late Rev. Charles Forster, whose arguments in vindication of the Pauline origin of the Epistle to the Hebrews, published in 1898, modern Biblical writers have found it easier to pass by than to refute. In regard to what he was well aware would prove his final effort, I would fain call it a success if I could with truth. To rebut much of Porson's insolent sophistry was easy, to maintain the genuineness of this passage is simply impossible.

¹ That the Codex Montfortianus was influenced by the Vulgate is probably true, though it is a little hasty to infer the fact at once from a single instance, namely, the substitution of *χριστός*: after that version and Uscan's Armenian for the second *πνεῦμα* in verse 6: "quæ lectio Latina Græce in codicem 84 Dublinensem illum Montfortianum recepta luculenter testatur versionem vulgatam ad eum conficiendum valuisse" (Tischendorf *ad loc.*).

The controverted words are not met with in any of the extant uncials (ⲚABKLP) or in any cursives besides those named above¹: the cursives that omit them were found by the careful calculation of the Rev. A. W. Grafton, Dean Alford's Secretary (*N. T. ad loc.*), to amount to 188 in all (to which we may now add Codd. 190. 193. 219—221), besides some sixty Lectionaries. The aspect of things is not materially altered when we consult the versions. The disputed clause is not in any manuscript of the Peshito, nor in the best editions (e.g. Lee's: but see pp. 314—17): the Philoxenian, Thebaic, Memphitic, Æthiopic, Arabic do not contain it in any shape: scarcely any Armenian codex has it (*see* p. 408), and only a few recent Slavonic copies, the margin of a Moscow edition of 1663 being the first to represent it. The Latin versions, therefore, alone lend it any support, and even these are much divided. The chief and oldest authority in its favour is Wiseman's *Speculum m* (*see* p. 344) and *r* of the earlier translation; it is found in the printed Latin Vulgate, and in perhaps 49 out of every 50 of its manuscripts, but not in the best, such as *am.*, *fuld.*, *harl*².; nor in Alcuin's reputed copies at Rome (*primâ manu*) and London (*see* p. 350—1), nor in the book of Armagh (p. 357) and full fifty others. In one of the most ancient which contain it, *cav.* (*see* p. 355), ver. 8 precedes ver. 7 (as appears also in *m.*, *tol.*, *demid.*, and a codex at Wolfenbüttel, *Wizanburg.* 99 [VIII] cited by Lachmann), while in the margin is written "*audiat hoc Arius et ceteri*," as if its authenticity was unquestioned². In general

¹ It is really surprising how loosely persons who cannot help being scholars, at least in some degree, will talk about codices containing this clause. Dr Edward Tatham, Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford (1792—1834), writing in 1837, speaks of a manuscript in his College Library which exhibited it, but is now missing, as having been once seen by him and Dr Parsons, Bishop of Peterborough (*Crito Cantabrigiensis*, p. 384, note). Yet there can be no question that he meant Act. 33, which does not give the verse, but has long been known to have some connection with the Codex Montfortianus, which does (*see* p. 249).

² Of the Spanish MSS. (*see* p. 360) *leon.*² contains the passage only in the margin, *leon.*¹ adds at the end of ver. 8, *in xpo ihu*. Canon Westcott cites a manuscript in the British Museum (Addit. 11852), of the ninth century, to the same effect, observing that, like *m* and *cav.*, it contains the Epistle to the Laodiceans. This MS. runs "*quia tres sunt qui testimonium dant sps et aqua et sanguis, et tres unum sunt. Sicut in caelo tres sunt pater verbum et sps, et tres unum sunt.*" Westcott's manuscript is, in fact, *ulm.* (*see* p. 359), and had already been used by Porson (*Letters, &c.* p. 148).

there is very considerable variety of reading (always a suspicious circumstance, *see* pp. 607, 614, 615, and notes), and often the doubtful words stand only in the margin: the last clause of ver. 8 (*et hi tres unum sunt*), especially, is frequently left out when the "Heavenly Witnesses" are retained. It is to defend *this* omission by the opinion of Thomas Aquinas, not to account for the reception of the doubtful words, that the Complutensian editors wrote a note, the longest and indeed almost the only one in their New Testament (*see* p. 425). We conclude, therefore, that the passage from *ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ* to *ἐν τῇ γῇ* had no place in ancient Greek manuscripts, but came into some of the Latin at least as early as the sixth century.

The Patristic testimony in its favour, though quite insufficient to establish the genuineness of the clause, is entitled to more consideration. Of the Greek Fathers no one has cited it, even when it might be supposed to be most required by his argument, or though he quotes consecutively the verses going immediately before and after it¹. The same must be said of the great Latins, Hilary, Lucifer, Ambrose, Jerome² and Augustine, with others of less note. On the other hand the *African* writers, Vigilius of Thapsus, at the end of the fifth century, and Fulgentius of Ruspæ (? fl. 520) in two places, expressly appeal to the "three Heavenly Witnesses" as a genuine portion of S. John's Epistle; nor is there much reason to doubt the testimony of Victor Vitensis, who records that the passage was insisted on in a confession of faith drawn up by Eugenius Bishop of Carthage at the end of the fifth century, and presented to the Arian Hunneric, king of the Vandals. From that period the clause became well known in other regions of the West, and was in time generally accepted throughout the Latin Church.

¹ Mr Forster (*ubi supra* pp. 200—209) believed that he had discovered *Greek* authority of the fourth century for this passage, in an isolated Homily by an unknown author, in the Benedictine edition of Chrysostom (Tom. xii. pp. 416—21), whose date Montfaucou easily fixes by internal evidence at A.D. 381. As this discovery, if real, is of the utmost importance in the controversy, it seems only right to subjoin the words alleged by this learned divine, leaving them to make their own way with the reader: (1) *εἰς κέκληται ὁ Πατήρ καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον*: (2) *δεῖ γὰρ τῇ ἀποστολικῇ χορείᾳ παραχωρήσει τὴν Ἁγίαν Τριάδα, ἣν ὁ Πατήρ καταγγέλλει. Τριὰς Ἀποστόλων, μάρτυς τῆς οὐρανοῦ Τριάδος.*

² The "Prologus Galeatus in vii Epistolas Canonicas" in which the author complains of the omission of ver. 7, "ab infidelibus translatoribus," is certainly not Jerome's, and begins to appear in codices of about the ninth century.

But a stand has been made by the maintainers of this passage on the evidence of two African Fathers of a very different stamp from those hitherto named, Tertullian and Cyprian. If it could be proved that these writers cited or alluded to the passage, it would result—not by any means that it is authentic—but that like Act. viii. 37 (*see* p. 614) and a few other like interpolations, it was known and received in some places, as early as the second or third century. Now as regards the language of Tertullian (which will be found in Tischendorf's and the other critical editions of the N. T.: *advers. Prax.* 25: *de Pudic.* 21), it must be admitted that Bp Kaye's view is the most reasonable, that "far from containing an allusion to 1 Jo. v. 7, it furnishes most decisive proof that he knew nothing of the verse" (*Writings of Tertullian*, p. 550, 2nd edition); but I cannot thus dispose of his junior Cyprian (d. 258). One must say with Tischendorf (who, however, manages to explain away his testimony) "*gravissimus est Cyprianus de eccles. unitate* 5." His words run, "Dicit dominus, *Ego et pater unum sumus* (Joh. x. 30), et iterum de Patre, et Filio, et Spiritu Sancto scriptum est, *Et tres unum sunt.*" And yet further, in his Epistle to Jubaianus (73) on heretical baptism: "Si baptizari quis apud hæreticos potuit, utique et remissam peccatorum consequi potuit,—si peccatorum remissam consecutus est, et sanctificatus est, et templum Dei factus est, quæro cujus Dei? Si Creatoris, non potuit, qui in eum non credidit; si Christi, nec hujus fieri potuit templum, qui negat Deum Christum; si Spiritus Sancti, cum tres unum sunt, quomodo Spiritus Sanctus placatus esse ei potest, qui aut Patris aut Filii inimicus est?" If these two passages be taken together (the first is manifestly much the stronger¹), it is surely safer and more candid to admit that Cyprian read ver. 7 in his copies, than to resort to the explanation of Facundus [VI], that the holy Bishop was merely putting on ver. 8 a spiritual meaning; although we must acknowledge that it was in this way ver. 7 obtained a place, first in the margin, then in the text of the Latin copies, and though we have clear examples of the like mystical inter-

¹ The writer of a manuscript note in the British Museum copy of Travis' *Letters to Gibbon*, 1785, p. 49, very well observes on the second citation from Cyprian: "That three are one might be taken from the eighth verse, as that was certainly understood of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, especially when Baptism was the subject in hand" [Matth. xxviii. 19].

pretation in Eucherius (fl. 440) and Augustine (*contra Maximin.* 22), who only knew of ver. 8.

Stunica, the chief Complutensian editor (*see* p. 423), by declaring, in controversy with Erasmus, with reference to this very passage, "Sciendum est, Græcorum codices esse corruptos, nostros [i.e. Latinos] verò ipsam veritatem continere," virtually admits that ver. 7 was translated in that edition from the Latin, not derived from Greek sources. The versions (for such we must call them) in Cod. 34. 162 had no doubt the same origin, but were somewhat worse rendered: the margin of 173 seems to be taken from a printed book. Erasmus, after excluding the passage from his first two editions, inserted it in his third under circumstances we have before mentioned (pp. 187, 433); and notwithstanding the discrepancy of reading in ver. 8, there can be little or no doubt of the identity of his "Codex Britannicus" with Montfort's¹. We have detailed (pp. 648—9) the steps by which the text was brought into its present shape, wherein it long remained, unchallenged by all save a few such bold spirits as Bentley, defended even by Mill, implicitly trusted in by those who had no knowledge of Biblical criticism. It was questioned in fair argument by Wetstein, assailed by Gibbon in 1781 with

¹ It will be seen upon examination of our collations on pp. 649 that the points of difference between Codex Montfortianus (34) and Erasmus' printed text are two, viz. that 34 omits *καὶ* after *πρὸς* in ver. 8, and with the Complutensian leaves out its last clause altogether; while, on the other hand, Erasmus and Cod. 34 agree against the Complutensian in their barbarous neglect of the Greek article in both verses. As regards the omission in Cod. 34 of the last clause of ver. 8 (*καὶ ὁ ἄρτις εἰς τὸ ἐν εἰρω*), it is obvious to conjecture that the person, whosoever he was, that sent the transcript of the passage to Erasmus, who never saw the MS. for himself, might have broken off after copying the disputed words, and neglected to note down the further variation that immediately followed them. After the foregoing explanation we must leave the matter as it stands, for there is no known mode of accounting for the discrepancy, whereof Mr Forster makes the very utmost in the following note, which, as a specimen of his book, is annexed entire: "Bishop Marsh labours hard to identify the Codex Britannicus used by Erasmus, with the Codex Montfortianus. Erasmus's own description of the Codex Britannicus completely nullifies the attempt: 'Postremo: Quod Britannicum etiam in terræ testimonio addebat, *καὶ ὁ ἄρτις εἰς τὸ ἐν εἰρω*, quod non addebatur hic duntaxat in editione Hispaniensi.' Now as this clause is also omitted in the Montfort Codex, it cannot possibly be the same with the Codex Britannicus. In this as yet undiscovered MS., therefore, we have a second and independent Gr. MS. witness to the seventh verse. The zeal of the adversaries to evade this fact only betrays their sense of its importance" (p. 126). Alas! *Hic motus animorum.*

his usual weapons, sarcasm and insinuation (*Decline and Fall*, Chap. XXXVII.). Archdeacon Travis, who came to the rescue, a person "of some talent and attainments" (*Crito Cantab.* p. 335, note), burdened as he was with a weak cause and undue confidence in its goodness, would have been at any rate—*impar congressus Achilli*—no match at all for the exact learning, the acumen, the wit, the overbearing scorn of Porson¹. The *Letters* of that prince of scholars, and the contemporaneous researches of Herbert Marsh, have completely decided the contest. Bp Burgess alone, while yet among us [d. 1837], and after him Mr Charles Forster [d. 1871], clung obstinately to a few scattered outposts after the main field of battle had been lost beyond recovery².

On the whole, therefore, we need not hesitate to declare our conviction that the disputed words were not written by S. John: that they were originally brought into Latin copies in Africa from the margin, where they had been placed as a pious and orthodox gloss on ver. 8: that from the Latin they crept into two or three late Greek codices, and thence into the printed Greek text, a place to which they had no rightful claim. We will close this slight review with the terse and measured judgment of Griesbach on the subject: "Si tam pauci, dubii, suspecti, recentes testes, et argumenta tam levia, sufficerent ad

¹ I side with Porson against Travis on every important point at issue between them, and yet I must say that if the former lost a legacy (as has been reported) by publishing his "*Letters*," he was entitled to but slender sympathy. The prejudices of good men (especially when a passage is concerned which they have long held to be a genuine portion of Scripture, clearly teaching pure and right doctrine) should be dealt with gently: not that the truth should be dissembled or withheld, but when told it ought to be in a spirit of tenderness and love. Now take one example out of fifty of the tone and temper of Porson. The immediate question was a very subordinate one in the controversy, namely, the evidence borne by the Acts of the Lateran Council, A. D. 1215. "Though this," rejoins Porson, "proves nothing in favour of the verse, it proves two other points. That the clergy then exercised dominion over the rights of mankind, and that able tithe-lawyers often make sorry critics. *Which I desire some certain gentlemen of my acquaintance to lay up in their hearts as a very seasonable innuendo*" (*Letters*, p. 361). As if it were a disgrace for an Archdeacon to know a little about the laws which affect the clergy.

² Gausson (*Theopneustia*, pp. 115—7) has still spirit remaining to press the masculine forms *οι μαρτυροῦντες* ver. 7 and *οι τρεῖς* ver. 8 as making in favour of the intervening clause: "Remove it, and the grammar becomes incoherent:" a reason truly, but one not strong enough to carry his point.

demonstrandum lectionis cujusdam *γνησιότητα*, licet obstent tam multa tamque gravia, et testimonia et argumenta: nullum prorsus superesset in re criticâ veri falsique criterium, et *textus Novi Testamenti univêrsus planè incertus esset atque dubius*" (N. T., *ad locum*, Vol. II. p. 709).

(51). 1 JOHN v. 18. In this verse, according to the Received text, we have the perfect *γεγεννημένος* of continued action and the aorist *γεννηθείς* of past, or rather of completed, action used for the same person, although elsewhere in the same Epistle the man begotten of God is invariably *γεγεννημένος* (ch. ii. 29; iii. 9 *bis*; iv. 7; v. 1, 4). Hence the special importance of the various reading *αὐτόν* for *ἐαυτόν* after *τηρεῖ*, since, if this were to be accepted, *ὁ γεννηθείς* could be none other than the Only-begotten Son who keepeth the human sons of God, agreeably to His own declaration in John xvii. 12¹. In behalf of *αὐτόν* we can allege only AB. 105 (a cursive collated by Matthæi) and the Vulgate (*conservat eum*), the testimony of A, always so powerful when sanctioned by B (*see* p. 553), being nothing weakened by the fact that it is corrected into *ἐαυτόν* by the original scribe², who in copying had faithfully followed his *exemplar*, and on second thoughts supposed he had gone wrong. All other authorities, N and the rest (C being lost here), have *ἐαυτόν*, the Peshito very expressly. We venture to commend this variation as one of a class Dean Vaughan speaks of (*see* p. 543, note 1), which, seeming violently improbable at first sight, grows upon the student as he becomes familiar with it. It must be confessed, however, that S. Paul makes but slight distinction between the two tenses in Gal. iv. 23, 29, and that we have no

¹ We are compelled to draw a sharp distinction between *γεγεννημένος* and *γεννηθείς* in the same context, and, with all deference to the *Quarterly Reviewer* (April 1882, p. 366), we do not think his view of the matter more natural than that given in the text: "S. John," he suggests, "is distinguishing between the mere recipient of the new birth (*ὁ γεννηθείς ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ*),—and the man who retains the sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit which he received when he became regenerate (*ὁ γεγεννημένος ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ*)."

² So it certainly seems to me after careful inspection of Cod. A, although it may be too bold to say, as some have, that there are in it no corrections by later hands. Above in ver. 10 *ἐν αὐτῷ* is supported by ABKLP and a shower of cursives in the room of *ἐν ἐαυτῷ* of N and the Received text, but here there is no difference of sense between the two forms. Dr Hort (*Introd. Notes*, p. 144) has an exhaustive and cautious note on the breathing of *αυτου*, *αυτῷ* &c. and ultimately declines to exclude the aspirate from the N. T.

other example in Scripture or ecclesiastical writers of *ὁ γεννηθεὶς* being used absolutely for the Divine Son, though the contrast here suggested is somewhat countenanced by that between *ὁ ἀγιαζών* and *οἱ ἀγιαζόμενοι* in Hebr. ii. 11.

(52). JUDE 5. Here we have a variation, vouched for by AB united, which it is hard to think true, however interesting the doctrinal inference would be. Instead of *ὁ κύριος λαὸν ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου σώσας*, the article is omitted by \aleph AB, and perhaps by C*, so that it must at any rate resign its place; while for $\overline{K}\overline{C}$ of \aleph (apparently of C*) and the mass of copies, with the Philoxenian, we find $\overline{I}\overline{C}$ in AB. 6. 7. 13. 29. 66 (*secundā manu*), the Vulgate, Thebaic, Memphitic and both Æthiopic versions. The Bodleian Syriac (*see* p. 646, note 1) has yet another variation, *ὁ Θεός*, in support of which we have the important second hand of C (*see* p. 120), 5. 8. 68, *tol.* of the Vulgate, the Armenian (with $\overline{\omega}$ in the margin), the Arabic of Erpenius, Clement of Alexandria, and Lucifer. The Greek of Didymus has $\overline{\kappa\sigma}$ $\overline{\iota\sigma}$, but his Latin translation $\overline{\iota\sigma}$, which Jerome also recognised, although he wrongly supposed that Joshua was meant. While we acknowledge that the Person who saved Israel out of Egypt was indeed the Saviour of the world, we should rather expect that He would be called the Christ (1 Cor. x. 4) than Jesus. There is a similar variation between $\overline{\chi\nu}$, $\overline{\kappa\nu}$ and $\overline{\theta\nu}$ in the parallel passage 1 Cor. x. 9.

Lachmann alone reads *Ἰησοῦς* here, though Tregelles gives it a place in his margin. Westcott and Hort would be acting on their general principle if they received it, but, while setting *Κύριος* in the text and *Ἰησοῦς* in the margin, they brand the passage as corrupt (*see above*, p. 490, note 2), and would be inclined to believe that the original words were *ὁ...σώσας*, without either of the nouns. Dr Hort (*Notes*, p. 106) points out how slight the change would be from OTIO to OTIC (one I being dropped) in the simple uncials of early times (*see* p. 10).

(53). APOC. xiii. 10. *Εἴ τις αἰχμαλωσίαν συνάγει, εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν ὑπάγει.* This reading of the Received text is perfectly clear; indeed, when compared with what is found in the best manuscripts, it is too simple to be true (Canon i. p. 493). We read in Codd. \aleph BC: *εἰ (ἢ C) τις εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν ὑπάγει*

by eminent critics in their unreasonable and almost unreasoning admiration for Bengel's canon (*see* pp. 493—4).

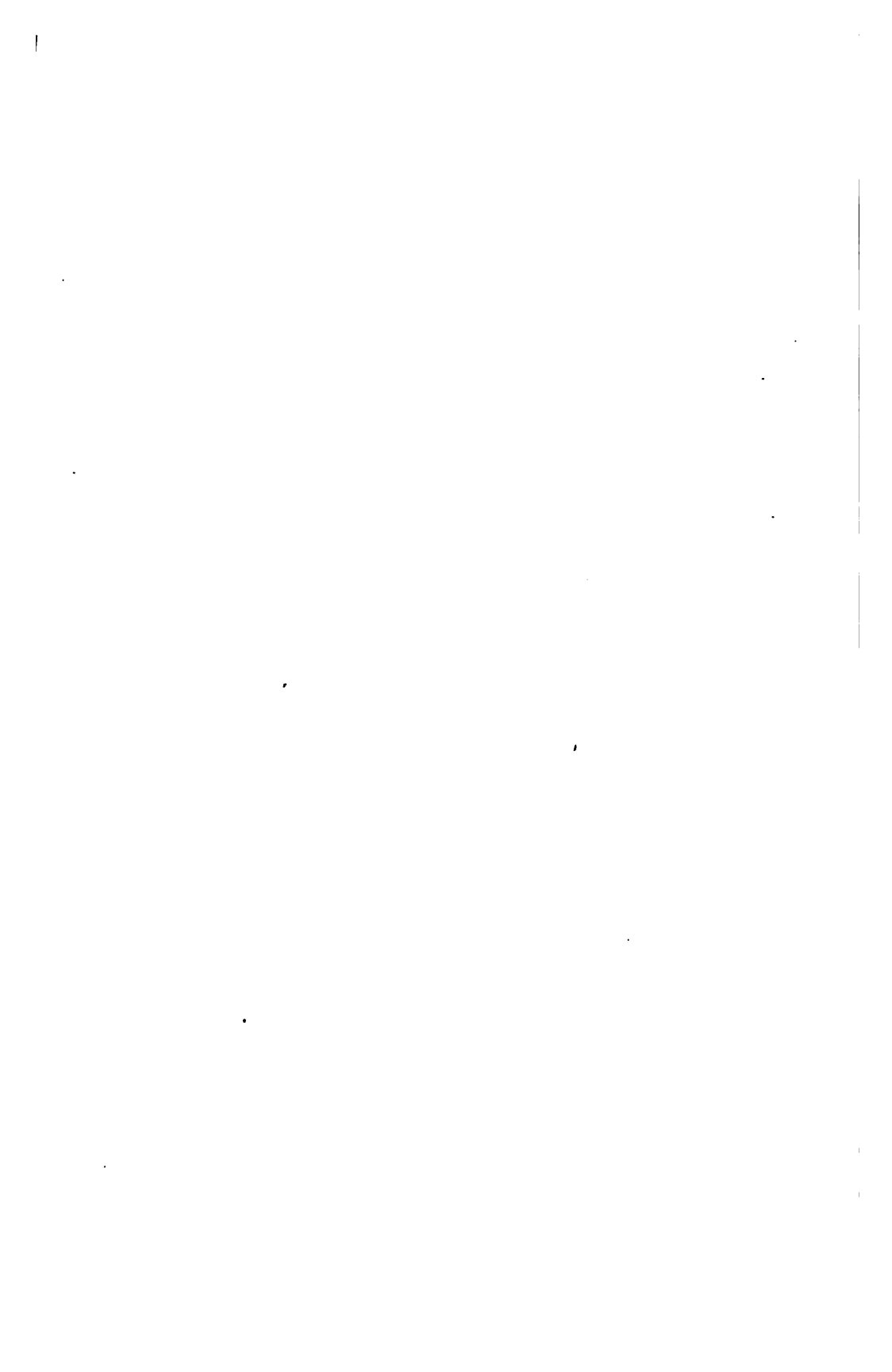
(54). APOC. xv. 6. In the transparently clear clause *ἐνδεδυμένοι λίθον καθαρὸν* Lachmann, Tregelles in his text, Westcott and Hort, present the variation *λίθον* for *λίνον* "arrayed with stone," i. e. precious stone, for which *καθαρόν* "clean" would be no appropriate epithet. Dr Hort (*Notes*, p. 139) justifies what he rightly calls "the bold image expressed by this well-attested reading" by Ezek. xxviii. 13 *πάντα λίθον χρῆστον ἐνδέδουσαι* (or *ἐνδέδουσαι*), *σάρδιον καὶ τοπάζιον κ.τ.λ.*, but that was said of a king of Tyre, not of the angelic host. The manifestly false *λίθον* is only too "well-attested" for the reputation of its advocate, AC. 38 in the margin, 48. 90, the best manuscripts of the Vulgate (*am., fuld., demid., tol., lips.*^{4.5.6}, &c.), though not the printed editions. Andreas knew of the variation without adopting it: Haymo and Bede also mention both readings. Cod. \aleph reads *καθαροῦς λίνους* with the Memphitic, and so helped to keep Tischendorf right: Tregelles sets this form in his margin. For *λίνον* or *λινοῦν* or *λην-* we have all the other manuscripts and other authorities, including BP, that excellent cursive Cod. 95, Primasius. Between the two forms with *ν* we should probably choose *λινοῦν* of B [7]. 14. 18. 92. 97, as *λίνον* seems to belong to the raw material in a rough state. The later Syriac has ܠܝܢܘܢ (*χινῶνα*), which admits of no ambiguity.

(55). APOC. xviii. 3. For *πέτωκε* of the Received text, or *πέτωκαν* of Lachmann and Tischendorf, Tregelles (whose margin has *πεπτώκασιν*), Westcott and Hort in their text (not margin) have *πέπτωκαν*. Dr Hort has no note on this place, but treats it in his index of "Quotations from the Old Testament" as a reference to Isai. li. 17, 22 (*ἢ πιούσα τὸ ποτήριον τῆς πτώσεως*) and to Jer. xxv. 27 (*πίετε καὶ μεθύσθητε...καὶ πεσεῖσθε*), with the notion of stumbling through drink. What is required to complete the parallel is some passage in the Septuagint wherein *πέπτωκαν* stands alone, whether *τοῦ οἴνου* be in the text or not, and, in the absence of such parallel, *πέπτωκαν* must be regarded as incredible on any evidence. Yet *πέπτωκαν* or the virtually identical *πεπτώκασιν* is found in \aleph AC, in B. 7. 8. 14. 25. 27. 29. 91. 92. 94. 95 (*πέπτωσι πρὶνὰ μαυῖ*), the Memphitic and Æthiopic. The alternative reading *πέτωκαν* or *πετώκασιν* (*πέτωκε* 96) occurs in P. 1. 18. 31. 32. 36. 37. 38. 39. 47. 48. 49.

50. 79. 87. 90. 93. 97. 98, the Latin and later Syriac. Thus the very versions are divided in a case where the omission of a single letter produces so great a change in the sense.

(56). ΑΠΟΚ. xxi. 6. Καὶ ἐλπὲ μοι, Γέγονε. ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ Α καὶ τὸ Ω. Here the true reading Γέγοναν "They are done" (adopted, with or without εἰμι after ἐγὼ, by Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Kelly, Archdeacon Lee in the *Speaker's Commentary*, Westcott and Hort) is preserved by Cod. A, whose excellency is very conspicuous in the Apocalypse: its compeer C is defective here. The very valuable Cod. 38 confirms it (γεγόνασω), as did ℵ^c, but the whole word was afterwards erased: the interpreter of Irenæus renders *facta sunt*, and this is all the support A has. The first hand of ℵ with BP 1. 7. 8. 11. 12. 13. 26. 27. 31. 32. 33. 35. 47. 48. 79. 87. 89. 91. 92 (*hiat* 14). 93. 96. 97. 98, the Armenian, Origen (*quod mireris*), Andreas, Arethas, with the Complutensian, read γέγονα, most of them omitting either the ἐγὼ or the ἐγὼ εἰμι which follows. Erasmus was too good a scholar to adopt from Cod. 1 a meaning for γέγονομαι which it cannot possibly bear, and seems to have got his own reading Γέγονε (though he recognises that of Cod. 1 in his Annotations) from the Vulgate *factum est*, which is confirmed by Primasius: it probably has no Greek authority whatsoever. The Syriac printed with the Peshito (commonly assigned to the sixth century: see p. 315) appears, like the hand which followed ℵ^c, to omit γέγονα, as do the Memphitic and Æthiopic versions, with *lux.* of the Vulgate (see p. 356). Those which read γέγονα yet retain the following ἐγὼ (ℵBP. 7 and some others) obviously differ from the true reading γέγοναν by the single stroke which in uncial manuscripts was set over a letter to represent *nu*, especially at the end of a line (see p. 16), and so avoid the monstrous rendering necessarily implied in Codd. 1. 8. 93. 96. 97. 98, "I have *become* alpha and omega, the first and the last." Cod. P accordingly puts the proper stop after γέγονα.

God grant that if these studies shall have made any of us better instructed in the letter of His Holy Word, we may find grace to grow, in like measure, in that knowledge which tendeth to salvation, through faith in His mercy by Christ Jesus.



INDICES.

INDEX I.

Index of about 1429 separate Greek Manuscripts of the New Testament described in Chapter II, Sections II, III, IV, arranged according to the countries wherein they are now deposited.

Denmark 3 MSS.; England 373; France 238; Germany 96; Greece 1+; Holland 6; Ireland 3; Italy 417; Russia 79; Scotland 8; Spain 23; Sweden 7; Switzerland 15; Turkey 120; United States 3; Unknown 37.

N.B. *Evan.* means a manuscript of the Gospels; *Act.* of the Acts and Catholic Epistles; *Paul.* of S. Paul's Epistles; *Apoc.* of the Apocalypse; *Evst.* a Lectionary of the Gospels; *Apost.* a Lectionary of the Epistles. When a manuscript contains more than one portion of the N.T., the fact is always stated at the place in the present volume to which the reader is referred in this Index. Unioial manuscripts (not being Evangelistaria) in this list are printed in spaced type.

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¹ Yet if it be true that Montana knows of but nineteen copies "neither more nor less" (see p. 207) the total ought to be only 21.

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