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OF THE  
GOSPELS AND ACTS

ALBERT C. CLARK

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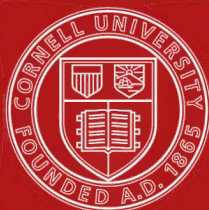
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THE PRIMITIVE TEXT  
OF THE  
GOSPELS AND ACTS

BY

ALBERT C. CLARK

CORPUS PROFESSOR OF LATIN

OXFORD  
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

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## PREFACE

THE method which I have here endeavoured to apply to the criticism of the Gospels and Acts is one which took shape in the course of a previous investigation conducted upon the text of Cicero.

The subject with which it is concerned is that of omissions in MSS. Whenever the readings of two MSS. which

### ERRATA

Page 8, line 11 from foot, *for* Leiden *read* Leiden 86  
Page 76, l. 15, *for* 963 (vv. 9-22) *read* 964 (Mark xvi. 9-20)  
Page 98, l. 5, *for* first to the fifth *read* fifth to the tenth  
Page 110 note, *for* i. 752 *read* xxii, p. 928

1655. *Clark, Primitive Text*  
*face p. ii*

*March 1914*

have two MSS., one of which is known to be a transcript of the other, and we can compare the copy with the model, we find actual instances of such omission. In the vast majority of cases, however, we have only the copy, not the model also. Since all scribes are subject to the same infirmities, it is reasonable to suppose that omissions in a particular MS. may represent a line, or lines, in an

<sup>1</sup> I borrow this expressive term from L. Havet.

ancestor, even though we have not the proof given by comparison with the ancestor itself. The problem, therefore, is to find an objective criterion which will help us to detect line-omissions.

The test which I propose is arithmetical. It is based upon an empirical observation which I made while working upon the text of Cicero, namely that short passages, the genuineness of which has been doubted on the ground of omission by a particular MS. or family of MSS., frequently contain the same, or nearly the same, number of letters. I thus found myself in presence of a unit. When I examined longer passages in the same way, I found multiples of this unit. The natural inference is that the unit corresponds to a line in an ancestor.

The fact which accounts for this phenomenon is one which may be easily verified by any one who will take the trouble to consult facsimiles of ancient MSS., written in capitals or uncials. Very few abbreviations are employed, and there is no space between the words. The number of letters in a normal line, allowing for occasional variations, is, therefore, of necessity a more or less constant quantity. If we count the letters in some twenty lines, an average will appear, which is maintained with great regularity.

So far I have only referred to line-omissions. It was also easy for a copyist to omit other divisions of his model, viz. a column, or page, or folio. Here again the same principle holds good. Since it is usual for MSS. to have throughout the same number of lines to a page, it follows that the contents of the columns, pages, and folios are very similar. In this connexion I would quote a remark of L. Havet, made upon a germane subject, that of transpositions.<sup>1</sup>

La critique de ces transpositions est essentiellement arithmétique. Elle repose sur l'hypothèse que les divers feuillets d'un même ms. sont de contenance égale et que par conséquent les tronçons de texte intervertis sont des multiples d'une même unité d'étendue.

<sup>1</sup> *Manuel de critique verbale appliquée aux textes latins*, p. 196.



The arithmetical test is of great value when we are dealing with the longer passages omitted by some MSS. If we find that one long passage is a multiple of another, or that several are multiples of one unit, the probability is that the unit corresponds to some division, i. e. to a column or page or folio, in the archetype. I have found in my work upon Cicero that the longest passages yield the most convincing results. In them we find written in large characters, which all can read, the legend which baffled our vision when written in tiny letters.

The chief result of my investigation has been to show the falsity of the principle *brevior lectio potior*. This was laid down by Griesbach as a canon of criticism in the words :

Brevior lectio, nisi testium vetustorum et gravium auctoritate penitus destituatur, praeferenda est verbosiori. Librarii enim multo proniores ad addendum fuerunt quam ad omittendum.

Unless my method is based upon a delusion, this statement has no foundation in facts. I may also observe that it is not so easy to invent as it is to omit.

It will be understood that my work has been almost exclusively confined to the text of Cicero. It was only recently, after I had gained confidence in the use of my method, that, in a spirit of curiosity, I happened to apply it to the text of the Gospels. The results were so surprising that I gave up, for the present, my work upon Cicero, which can only interest a small circle, and devoted myself to this more important inquiry.

I must here state that when I began my investigation, I had not made any study of New Testament criticism. I had been brought up to look on the Revised Text as final, to smile at persons who maintained the authenticity of St. Mark xvi. 9-20, or St. John vii. 53-viii. 11, and to suppose that the 'vagaries' of the 'Western' text were due to wholesale interpolation. The object which I had in view was merely to study the mutual relations of the oldest Greek Uncials, notably, the Vaticanus (*B*), the

Sinaiticus (S), and the Alexandrinus (A). I was, however, soon dislodged from this arrogant attitude, and irresistibly driven to very different conclusions.

These I can only briefly indicate here, and must refer the reader to my subsequent discussion for the evidence. Nowhere is the falsity of the maxim *brevior lectio potior* more evident than in the New Testament. The process has been one of contraction, not of expansion. The primitive text is the longest, not the shortest. It is to be found not in B S, or in the majority of Greek MSS., but in the 'Western' family, i. e. in the ancient versions and the Codex Bezae (D). If my analysis is sound, we are brought back to an archetype of the four Gospels in book-form, which cannot be later than the middle of the second century. This archetype appears to have contained the passages which have been most seriously suspected by recent critics, e.g. the end of St. Mark and St. John vii. 53-viii. 11.

This statement concerning St. Mark xvi. 9-20 will appear so startling that I must insert a *caveat*. I do not pretend to go one step further than I am led by the method which I have followed. The ultimate problems of New Testament autographs do not concern me. I only deal with one set of phenomena, and my starting-point is the text current in the second century. I have made no attempt to acquaint myself with the Synoptic problem, and do not venture to encroach upon the domain of the Higher Criticism. Also, I do not regard my method as a panacea. I am sensible that much must be due to accident and to mere coincidence. It is for the reader to determine, whether the cumulative evidence which I adduce is so great as, in certain cases, to transcend the limits of coincidence.

The results at which I have arrived in the case of the Acts are even more striking. It is here that the problem of the 'Western' recension has been felt most strongly. Thus a recent writer says<sup>1</sup>: 'It is the correct method to study the Western readings in Acts first of all, and to form

<sup>1</sup> Lake, *The Text of the New Testament*, p. 91.

some kind of judgement on them, and after this to turn to the Gospels and apply to them the conclusions derived from the study of the Acts.' This was not the process which I followed, but the conclusions arrived at in the case of the Acts greatly confirm the results furnished by the study of the Gospels.

It is briefly this, that all our MSS., including *D*, are descended from an ancestor written not in lines of equal length, as in the case of the Gospels, but in *cola* and *commata*, i. e. sense-lines of varying length, such as those found in *D*. The ordinary text has been developed from this by the frequent omission of lines, followed by modifications in the text. For proof of this statement I must refer the reader to the chapter upon the Acts.

I have not extended my inquiry to other parts of the New Testament, since I found that the Gospels and Acts provided more material than I could deal with in the time at my disposal. It appeared to me from some preliminary observations that the Pauline Epistles must be studied together. It is unnecessary to point out that the Apocalypse is a unique document which must be considered separately.

## SIGLA

- Σ** = Sinaiticus, saec. iv  
**A** = Alexandrinus, saec. v  
**B** = Vaticanus, saec. iv  
**C** = Codex Ephraemi, saec. v  
**D** = Codex Bezae, saec. vi (*d* = versio Latina)  
**E** = Codex Laudianus, saec. vi  
**ℒ** = Latina vetus (**ℒ<sup>a</sup>** = Vercellensis, saec. iv ; **ℒ<sup>b</sup>** = Veronensis, saec. v/vi ; **ℒ<sup>c</sup>** = Palatinus, saec. v ; **ℒ<sup>k</sup>** = Bobiensis, saec. v ; **ℒ<sup>h</sup>** = Floriacensis, saec. v/vi. For other members of **ℒ**, to which occasional reference is made, cf. Souter's list)  
**℣** = Syriaca vetus (**℣<sup>c</sup>** = Curetonensis, saec. v ; **℣<sup>s</sup>** = Sinaiticus, saec. iv/v)  
**℣ hl.** = Syriaca Heracleensis, saec. vii (**℣ hl.<sup>mg</sup>** = lectio marginalis)  
**℣** = Aegyptiaca (**℣<sup>s</sup>** = Sahidica ; **℣<sup>b</sup>** = Bohaerica)  
**Arm.** = Armeniaca  
**Eth.** = Aethiopica
- 

The text used is that of Souter, Oxford, 1910.

## CHAPTER I

IN the Preface I referred to *homoeoteleuton* as a frequent cause of omission. The word strictly means similarity of termination, but it is often used for any similarity, e. g. at the beginning of words, which would more appropriately be called *homoeoarcton*, or for the repetition of the same word (*repetitio* or *geminatio*). In all such cases the copyist was liable to pass from one similar word to the other, omitting the intervening words. The most frequent cause of omission is the repetition of the same word. This I will illustrate by a single example.

Cic. *ad Fam.* iv. 12. 2 :

rogaret uti medicos ei mitterem, itaque medicos coegi.

So the inferior family of MSS. : the best MS. (*M*) gives

rogaret uti medicos coegi.

Here it is obvious that the scribe who wrote an ancestor of *M* passed from the first *medicos* to the second.

I should prefer to denote all such similarities by the more comprehensive term *ὁμοιότης*, for which I employ the symbol *hom.*

While *ὁμοιότης* of any kind is sufficient cause for omission, it becomes still more potent if it coincides with line-division, i. e. if one of the similar words is immediately above the other. This I would illustrate by two examples out of several which occur in a Paris MS. of Asconius (*σ*), which is known to be derived from a Pistoia MS. of the same author (*S*). The references are to Stangl's edition of the Pseudo-Asconius in *Ciceronis Oratt. Scholiastae* (1912).

p. 200. 24 :

quantum

quem sit habiturus duos dixit quō quō quantum.

So *S*, while *σ* has the single word *quantum*, the scribe having passed from *quantum* in the line above to the same word below.

p. 221. 10 :

patrocinium meruerit aut assentatione aliqua  
defendendi meruerit.

So *S*: *σ* has *patrocinium meruerit*, without the intervening words (*meruerit . . . defendendi*).

I now wish to point out that a scribe was liable to omit lines of his model, even when there is no ὁμοίότης. Since in the course of this discussion great use will be made of this fact, it will be well to give examples showing that it is a *vera causa*. I will take these from two fifteenth-century MSS., viz. Paris. 14749 (Σ) and Wolfenbützel. 205 (*W*), which contain among other speeches of Cicero those for *Sex. Roscius* and for *Murena*, which were first discovered by Poggio. Here Σ is the parent of *W*.

I have remarked elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

‘That *W* is derived from Σ is beyond all possible doubt. This is shown by the surest of all tests, viz. that passages omitted by *W* repeatedly occupy exactly one line in Σ. Four cases occur in the *pro Murena*, viz. :

§ 5 mihi . . . defendendis non *om.* IV. § 6 dignitas . . . tum *om.* *W*. § 30 bonus . . . iacet *om.* *W*. § 79 magni . . . at *om.* *W*.

So also in the *pro Balbo* :

§ 29 coniuncta . . . civitatis *om.* IV. § 53 —ma virtute . . . damnato.

Also, there are eleven cases in the *pro Sex. Roscio* and *pro Murena* where an omission of *W* is due to the fact that the eye of the copyist dropped from a word which he was writing to the word immediately beneath it in the line below, e. g. :

*Rosc.* 39 : inter  
fuisse nihil autem umquam debuit cupiditates porro quae possunt  
esse in eo.

So Σ : *W* omits *fuisse . . . possunt*.

The other examples are *Rosc.* 55, 92, 100, 102, 120, 127 : *Mur.* 29, 61, 69, 86.<sup>2</sup>

I also pointed out that corruptions found in *W* are due to the same cause, e. g. :

*Rosc.* 45 :

haec tu non intelligis sed usque eo quid arguas non habes ut non  
modo tibi contra nos dicendum putes.

So Σ : *W* has quid putes arguas, the explanation being that the writer strayed from *quid* in the first line to *putes*, which is just below it in the second line.

These instances taken from a single MS., and chiefly from two speeches which it contains, are sufficient to show the prevalence of line-omission. It is obvious that such omissions might take place every time that a MS. was copied. When, therefore, there

<sup>1</sup> The *Vetus Cluniacensis* of Poggio, p. xii.

are many stages in the transmission the total number of omissions is likely to have been considerable. It is true that omitted passages were frequently inserted in the margin by a corrector. These marginalia are of great importance. I have generally found that they exhibit a unit or multiples of a unit. They thus reveal the formation of the model. Sometimes this is combined with another unit and its multiples, which testify to similar omissions made by a previous ancestor.

In the course of this discussion I shall frequently speak of a passage as 'telescoped'. I use this word to designate lacerated passages where the mutilation is undisguised. Thus in *Balb.* 53  
 Σ has sum  
 ma virtute et dignitate nepotes T. et C. coponios nostis damnato  
 C. masone.

Here *W* gives *sum C. masone* (*om. med.*), the word *summa* being cut in two.

These telescoped passages can only represent a line, or lines, of an ancestor. Here, again, I would quote M. Havet, who says:

Quand un ms. omet de suite plusieurs mots sans qu'ils forment ensemble une unité de sens et sans qu'il y ait saut du même au même, il est à présumer que la suite de mots en question formait une ligne du modèle.<sup>1</sup>

The loss is sometimes facilitated by *hom.*, e. g.:

*Vat.* 28 commodiore inimico suo contionem reiectionis.

The first hand in the best MS. (*P*) gives  
 commodiore iectionis (*om. med.*).

The archetype must have had  
commodio  
 re inimico suo contionem  
 reiectionis

Most frequently, however, there is no such explanation, e. g.:

*Verr.* i. 87 usque ab Dianio quod in Hispania est ad Sinopam.

Here one MS. (*p*) gives usque ab Dianopam (*om. med.*). There is other evidence which shows that the archetype had 10-12 letters to the line. It, therefore, had

usque ab dia  
 nio quod in his (12)  
 pania est ad si (12)  
 nopam

The writer omitted two lines.

<sup>1</sup> *Manuel*, p. 200,

The best MS. of Cicero's *Philippics* (*V*) has three telescoped passages in which 27-30 letters are omitted, viz. :

i. 7 transmitterem nec ita multum proventus reiectus Austro.

Here *V* omits nec ita multum proventus reiect— (27).

The archetype must have had

transmitterem

nec ita multum proventus reiect

us austro

vii. 14 exitium nisi paruerit huic ordini. Quid refert.

*V* omits nisi paruerit . . quid re— (28).

This points to

exitium

nisi paruerit huic ordini quid re

fert

xii. 16 admiscear in quo ne si dissensero quidem a ceteris.

*V* omits —cear in . . . quidem a (30).

The archetype must have had

admis

cear in quo ne si dissensero quidem a

ceteris

The other MSS. all belong to one family known as *D*. They also have similar omissions, viz. :

iv. 15 similem esse Catilinae gloriari licet scelere par.

*D* omit esse Catilinae . . . scele— (31).

This points to

similem

esse Catilinae gloriari licet scele

re par

v. 20 tantum quisque habebat possessor quantum reliquerat.

*D* omit habebat . . . relique— (30).

This again indicates

tantum quisque

habebat possessor quantum relique

rat

as the reading of the common ancestor.

There is no doubt that *V* and *D* come from the same archetype. These telescoped passages show us that the contents of a line in this varied from 27-31 letters.

We now have an arithmetical test which we can apply to the various omissions of *V* and *D*. The result is that most of them



appear to be multiples of 28. This, therefore, I take to have been the average length of a line in the archetype.

Both *V* and *D* exhibit other units, which refer not to the archetype, but to intermediate ancestors. Thus :

*Phil.* ix. 2 in nullo iustior quam in Ser. Sulpicio reperietur.

*V* omits quam in Ser. Sulpicio re— (19).

An intermediate MS. appears to have had  
in nullo iustior  
quam in ser. sulpicio re  
perietur

The shorter unit is due to the fact that the immediate ancestors of *V* were written, like *V* itself, in three columns, not in long lines.

So too we can trace a unit which concerns the immediate ancestor of the *D* family, also other units which belong to particular members of the group.

Before I go further it will be well to produce evidence in support of my statement that the contents of columns, pages, and folios are often very similar.

Chatelain in his collection of facsimiles gives a page from the Vatican palimpsest of the *Verrines* (cent. iv). In this col. 1 contains 378 letters and col. 2 371 letters. The Turin palimpsest of Cicero, *pro Scauro*, &c., copied by Peyron, has on p. 23 of his reproduction 398 letters in col. 1 and 400 in col. 2 : so too the Ambrosian palimpsest, also copied by him, has on p. 22 280 letters in col. 1 and 282 in col. 2. The Vatican palimpsest of Cicero, *De Re Publica* (cent. iv), reproduced by van Buren, which I have studied more fully, yields striking results. Fuller details will be found later on in this work. Here I would only mention the following figures :

p. 80, col. 1 = 152, col. 2 = 151 letters.

p. 92, col. 1 = 164, col. 2 = 163 letters.

p. 93, col. 1 = 153, col. 2 = 157 letters.

Such arguments are chiefly found in MSS. written in capitals or uncials. I have, however, noticed some singular agreements even in MSS. of later date. Thus *V*, the MS. of the *Philippics* to which I have already referred, which was written in the ninth century, has on fol. 8 recto 1746 letters and on the verso 1743. The second columns on fol. 4<sup>v</sup> and fol. 5<sup>r</sup> both have 477 letters.

It is to be observed that very old MSS. have few abbreviations. In Latin MSS. of the fourth or fifth century these are generally identical with those found in inscriptions. Most of these are

official, e. g. P.R. = *populus Romanus*, R.P. (or RES P.) = *res publica*, COS = *consul*, PR = *praetor*, TR. PL. = *tribunus plebis*. Also, from time to time, Q. is written for *que*, B. for *bus*, and a horizontal stroke is employed for *m* or *n*, especially at the end of a line. Since, however, these are sporadic, I have been content to assume the official abbreviations only when working with a printed text, since these especially in such cases as P.R. seem to have been invariable.

I have now shown that the contents of lines, columns, pages (and consequently folios) can be calculated with some approach to accuracy. I now proceed to other sources of information which throw light upon the development of a text.

### (1) DITTOGRAPHIES.

Most MSS. contain evidence which reveals the formation of the immediate ancestor. The most valuable is that afforded by passages which the first hand wrote twice. The error was then rectified by the deletion of the repeated words. This was frequently done by the first writer. I will confine myself to two examples.

In Paris. 7794 (*P*), cent. ix, the best MS. for a number of speeches, in the oration *ad Quirites*, § 21, the first hand writes twice the words :

*invidos virtuti et gloriae serviendo* (32).

So *Sest.* § 55 *dicam immo vero etiam approbantibus* (31).

The natural inference is that 31-2 represents a line of an ancestor.

Such evidence has to be combined with that furnished by omissions. I quote from the same MS. :

*Quir.* 6 *aut Metellarum liberi pro Q. Metelli* (30) *om.* *P*<sup>1</sup>.

*Sest.* 107 *sententiam eius auctoritate neque* (30) *om.* *P*<sup>1</sup>.

*Cael.* 72 *et cum vestra severitate coniunctum* (31) *om.* *P*<sup>1</sup>.

In order to avoid misunderstanding, I add that these represent lines of an immediate ancestor, not of the archetype, which can be shown by overwhelming evidence to have been written in shorter lines.

These dittographies are found in MSS. of every age. They are especially frequent in the Palimpsest of Cicero, *De Re Publica* (cent. iv). I quote one instance out of a large number.

i. 64 *mansisset eadem voluntas in eorum posteris, si regum similitudo permansisset.*

This is given thus in the palimpsest :

man  
sisset eadem  
uoluntas in  
eorum pote  
ris si regum si  
similitudo per  
mansisset eā  
dem uolum  
tas in eorum  
poteris si regū  
similitudo  
permansisset.

The model appears to have had :

mansisset  
eadem uolum  
tas in eorum  
posteris si re  
gum similitudo  
permansisset.

The scribe went back from *permansisset* to *mansisset*, and he repeated the intervening lines.

I may remark that I know of no work so valuable to the student of corruptions in very early MSS. as van Buren's transcript of this palimpsest.

## (2) TRANSPOSITIONS.

When a passage which is out of place in one MS. or family of MSS. is shown by the arithmetical test to be a multiple of the unit furnished by omissions, it is fairly obvious that it was first omitted by accident and then inserted in the wrong place : e. g. :

*Phil.* ii. 27 An C. Trebonio ego persuasi? cui ne suadere quidem ausus essem. Quo etiam maiorem eires p. gratiam debet (83).

These words are inserted in *V* before the previous sentence (*Cn. Domitium . . . excitavit*). The combined evidence shows that the average number of letters in a line of the archetype was 28. The passage, therefore, formed three lines in it ( $28 \times 3 = 84$ ).

Transpositions can best be studied in the text of the Pseudo-Asconius. Here there are a very large number which can be set right with certainty from the text of the *Verrines* upon which the

scholiast is commenting. I quote some simple cases with reference to Stangl's edition :

- p. 195, 14-17 rationem vitae . . . esset (189).  
 18-19 ut est hominum . . . dictura (66).<sup>1</sup>  
 20-1 deportare litteras . . . mutet locum (62).  
 22-3 deinde accusatorem . . . velit (63).

In the MSS. the order is ll. 22-3, 18-19, 14-17, 20-1. It is to be noticed that 189 is  $63 \times 3$ , while 62, 63, 66 are almost identical in extent.

A minor form of transposition, on which light is thrown, concerns the constant and perplexing varieties in the collocation of words which are found in different families of MSS.

Thus, *Phil.* ix. 4, we have the following variants :

- statuae steterunt usque ad meam memoriam in rostris *V*.  
 statuae in rostris steterunt usque ad meam memoriam *D*.

We may infer that the archetype had :

- statuae  
 steterunt usque ad meam memoriam (28)  
 in rostris

The scribe who wrote the common ancestor of *D* skipped a line and wrote *in rostris*, then seeing his error went back to what he had omitted.

These 'transposition-variants' register the lineation of the MSS. through which the text has been transmitted.

### (3) DISLOCATIONS.

I use this term where folios of an ancestor have been displaced. Sometimes there is a series of such dislocations in a MS., e. g. in Leiden. (*B*), which contains a number of Cicero's philosophical works. Here again the arithmetical test is of signal service. If we find that these yield multiples of a common unit, we can arrive with certainty at the contents of a folio in the ancestor. More frequently the material is less. Thus in *Cael.* there is a dislocation in *P* and most other MSS. In the *Philippics* there are two dislocated passages in *V*, viz.:

- xii. 12-23 —sumus iudicare . . . nec corpo—.  
 xiii. 1-10 a principio . . . rem acerbam.

In the first of these passages the word *possumus* at the beginning and *corpore* at the end have been cut in two.

<sup>1</sup> If *dicta* (so edd.) is supposed to have been in the archetype, this number is reduced to 64.

I have taken the trouble to count the letters in these two dislocated passages. If my reckoning is correct, the first contains 5922 and the second 5911 letters. This is a remarkable confirmation of the principle which I have laid down, viz. that the contents of folios are very fairly uniform. Here, of course, several folios of an ancestor have been displaced.

#### (4) ROVING VARIANTS.

There is abundant evidence to show that old Latin MSS. contained a number of *duplices lectiones*. Heraeus has collected a number of examples from the oldest MSS. of Livy. In the case of Cicero we have only to glance at the variants of *V* in the *Philippics* quoted in Halm's Apparatus. We find everywhere such confections as *Phil.* i. 17 *multais* (= *multis*<sup>a</sup>), ii. 43 *quods* (= *quos*<sup>t</sup>), iii. 1 *postulabituit* (= *postulauit*<sup>bit</sup>). A considerable number of variants will be found above the line, or in the margin of Greek papyri.

These variants were a constant menace to the integrity of the text. The copyists often mistook them for passages which had been omitted by accident and inserted them where they could. In my work upon Cicero I have found that insertion of these 'doublets' generally takes place at regular intervals corresponding to the line-division of the archetype.

Frequently the interval represents one line of the archetype, but often two or three lines, or more. I will give one example:

*Phil.* xiv. 21 idem P. Ventidium, cum alii tr. pl., ego semper hostem. Has in sententias meas si consules discessionem facere voluissent.

Here, after *alii tr. pl.*, the MSS. (i.e. *D*, *deficit V*) insert *volusenum* or *voluisse num*, or a similar corruption. This appears to be a variant for *voluissent*, which after a sojourn in the margin has got into the text two lines higher up.

The archetype seems to have had:

idem P. uentidium alii tr. pl.  
ego semper hostem has in sententias (30)  
meas si coss. discessionem facere (28)  
· · uolusenum      uoluissent

The most interesting cases are those where the variant effects a lodgement in the text at some distance from its doublet. In

these we have to consider the possibility that it has been entered on the wrong folio, i.e. that the scribe, intending to enter it at a particular place on one folio, accidentally put it in exactly the same place on another folio.<sup>1</sup> If we find elsewhere a similar doublet at the same distance from its counterpart, the possibility becomes very probable. Instances will be found in my subsequent treatise upon Ciceronian archetypes. These wandering variants are chiefly found in a corrupt text, and appear but rarely in New Testament criticism.

I now proceed to gather up these remarks and to outline the method which should be followed by any one who embarks upon a similar inquiry. The first task is to ascertain the content of a line in the archetype. For this purpose 'telescoped' lines are of primary importance. In all probability the common unit will be at once revealed. The next step is to tabulate the omissions of the rival families, arranging them in order of magnitude. It will then appear when multiples of the unit figure among the omissions. Thus, if the unit is e.g. 28, we shall expect to find such numbers as 56, 84, 112, 140, and so on. The separate families should then be treated in the same manner.

The information thus acquired must be combined with that furnished by transpositions, dislocations, migratory variants, and corruptions of all kinds. The most minute flaws are often the most important for the purposes of such an investigation. Above all the inquirer must not shrink from the labour of counting the letters.<sup>2</sup> No shorter method, such as that of numbering the lines of a printed text, can have the cogency which is possessed by the actual figures. I have seldom carried out a long numeration without being richly rewarded. I imagine the reason to be that in the long passages occasional irregularities correct each other, and the average becomes more clearly visible. Also, it is only in them that we can hope to find indications of the longer divisions, viz. columns, pages, and folios in the archetype.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Havet, *Manuel*, p. 375 'Un correcteur, se trompant de page, exécute sur telle page, au bout d'une ligne, ce qu'il doit exécuter à la même place, également en bout de ligne, sur la page voisine'.

<sup>2</sup> It is necessary when doing this to take account of the usual abbreviations. These in ancient MSS. are strictly limited in number. Cf. pp. 6, 13.

## CHAPTER II

THE method which I have outlined is one which took shape gradually, and it was not for some time that, after much incredulity, I began to realize its possibilities. I confined myself at first to Cicero's *Philippics*, for which we have unusually good evidence in *V*, the MS. which I have already mentioned. The value of *V* is due to the fact that, though very corrupt, its text is not sophisticated, and its past history can be ascertained with some approach to certainty. I afterwards went on to most of those speeches for which the MS. evidence is sufficiently good, and also made some study of the *De Natura Deorum*. I further examined Asconius, the commentator on Cicero, with whose work I was familiar, and extended the inquiry to the Pseudo-Asconius, the Scholiast on the *Verrines*. I found the Pseudo-Asconius of especial interest on account of the long series of transpositions in the text. I hope to publish shortly the results at which I have arrived in the case of Cicero and Asconius. I would even ask critics to suspend judgement, to some extent, upon my methods, until I have been able to submit the conclusions at which I have arrived, when dealing with works with which I am better acquainted.

I abstained from the temptation to experiment upon other Latin authors, although there are some which seem peculiarly suitable for such an inquiry. I could not, however, abstain from sinking a shaft in the New Testament.

As this was my first experiment upon a Greek text, and my palaeographical work has been confined to Latin authors, I thought it well to prepare myself by making some examination of the Oxyrhynchus papyri.

The first point upon which I had to satisfy myself was whether the lines exhibit regularity in content similar to that which I found in old Latin MSS. I found that this was so. The papyri are of all shapes and sizes, sometimes written in long lines, but more commonly in columns of various breadth. Sometimes they contain some 40 letters or more to the line, sometimes about 35,

more frequently about 28, 24, or 22, very frequently 16-19, while a fair number, including some theological fragments, are written in very narrow columns, averaging 10-12 letters, or even less. In all, however, although abnormally long or short lines occur, the general average soon asserts itself.

As this is a point which affects my argument, I give some examples :

*Ox.* 227. Xenophon, *Oeconomicus* (cent. i).

This is an example of a work in narrow columns, with an average of 13 letters to the line.

The figures for the first ten lines of col. 1 are :

13, 13, 12, 13, 14, 14, 13, 13, 11, 14 = 130.

Those for the first ten lines of col. 2 are :

13, 14, 15, 12, 13, 14, 12, 13, 14, 13 = 133.

With this I would compare as an example of a long line :

*Ox.* 697. Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* i. (cent. iii). Here the average is  $42\frac{1}{2}$ . The figures for the first ten lines are :

42, 42, 44, 41, 43, 42, 44, 45, 38, 44.

It will be noticed that one line is abnormally short, but this does not affect the average.

Sometimes the average varies in different columns, while it is constant in a particular column, e.g.

*Ox.* 843. Plato, *Symposium* (cent. iii) :

Col. ix, ll. 410-19. Here the figures are :

28, 25, 27, 28, 29, 27, 26, 26, 27, 25 = 268 ; average 27 nearly.

Col. xiii, ll. 570-8. Here the lines are a little longer, viz. :

31, 27, 28, 30, 28, 31, 27, 30, 28, 29 = 289 ; average 29.

In my work upon Latin MSS. I have found that where there are two or more columns in a *codex*, the tendency is for one column to be squeezed. If there are three columns, it is generally the one in the middle which suffers ; if there are two, the column on the left is often a little broader than the one on the right.

I add two other examples of regular writing, one of which is interesting on account of its contents, and the other on account of its great antiquity.

*Ox.* 847. St. John's Gospel (cent. iv).

The contents of ll. 26-35 are as follows :

24, 24, 24, 24, 24, 22, 25, 25, 21, 23 = 236 ; average  $23\frac{1}{2}$ .

*Hibeh* 26. Anaximenes, *Ῥητορικὴ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον* (circa 285-250 B. C.).



Here I give the figures for twenty lines, viz.:

Col. x, ll. 158-77 :

26, 26, 26, 27, 28, 29, 26, 24, 28, 24, 27, 25, 25, 26, 26,  
26, 25, 28, 27, 23 = 522 ; average 26.

The theological papyri throw much light upon points of orthography and the use of abbreviations.

The iota adscript is rarely found in the theological fragments. This is also true of the early Uncials. I have, therefore, omitted it in all my calculations.

The papyri are particularly free from abbreviations apart from a particular class, viz. *nomina sacra*. Those in Greek theological MSS. correspond to the official abbreviations used in Latin Capital and Uncial MSS. Those generally found in MSS. are  $\overline{\iota\varsigma}$  or  $\overline{\iota\eta\varsigma}$  = Ἰησοῦς,  $\overline{\chi\varsigma}$  = Χριστός,  $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$  = κύριος,  $\overline{\theta\varsigma}$  = θεός,  $\overline{\pi\nu\alpha}$  = πνεῦμα,  $\overline{\sigma\nu\nu\sigma}$  = οὐρανός,  $\overline{\sigma\tau\rho\sigma}$  = σταυρός,  $\overline{\pi\rho}$  = πατήρ,  $\overline{\mu\rho}$  = μήτηρ,  $\overline{\upsilon\varsigma}$  = υἱός,  $\overline{\alpha\nu\sigma}$  = ἄνθρωπος,  $\overline{\Delta\alpha\delta}$  = Δαβίδ,  $\overline{\iota\eta\lambda}$  = Ἰσραήλ,  $\overline{\iota\eta\lambda\mu}$  = Ἱερουσαλήμ.

These, or most of them, are found in the papyri. Thus *Ox.* 405, a fragment of Irenaeus, which is one of the oldest Christian fragments yet published, has  $\overline{\theta\varsigma}$ ,  $\overline{\chi\varsigma}$ ,  $\overline{\iota\eta\varsigma}$ , also  $\overline{\epsilon\sigma\tau\rho\nu\sigma}$  for ἐσταυρωμένος. The editors remark that the use of these abbreviations 'goes back far into the second century'

In the Logia (cent. ii/iii) we find  $\overline{\iota\varsigma}$ ,  $\overline{\theta\upsilon}$ ,  $\overline{\pi\rho\alpha}$ ,  $\overline{\alpha\nu\omega\nu}$ , in *Ox.* 2, St. Matthew (cent. iii)  $\overline{\iota\varsigma}$ ,  $\overline{\chi\varsigma}$ ,  $\overline{\upsilon\varsigma}$ ,  $\overline{\pi\nu\alpha}$ ,  $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$ . There is a certain amount of irregularity. Thus, in *Ox.* 654, New Sayings of Jesus (cent. iii), the only contraction used is  $\overline{\iota\eta\varsigma}$  for Ἰησοῦς, and in *Ox.* 656, Genesis (cent. iii), even θεός and κύριος occur. Also some of the Uncials, especially B and D, are chary in the use of abbreviations beyond  $\overline{\iota\varsigma}$ ,  $\overline{\chi\varsigma}$ ,  $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$ ,  $\overline{\theta\varsigma}$ ,  $\overline{\pi\nu\alpha}$ ,  $\overline{\sigma\nu\nu\sigma}$ ,  $\overline{\pi\rho}$ ,  $\overline{\upsilon\varsigma}$ ,  $\overline{\alpha\nu\sigma}$ . On the whole, however, the bulk of the evidence is in favour of their general employment, and, as I do not wish to avail myself of any license, I have treated this as normal.

There is some uncertainty as to the use of letters to express numerals. Thus *Ox.* 2 has  $\overline{\iota\delta}$  for 14. The Uncials vary greatly in this respect. On the whole it seems safest to suppose that the numerals were written in full, but the other possibility has to be taken into account.

On examining the papyri I found many phenomena similar to those which I had observed in Latin MSS.

On one occasion Grenfell and Hunt make the suggestion that a line has dropped out, viz. :

*Greek Papyri*, vol. ii, no. ix. Demosthenes, *Fals. Leg.*, § 10 :

τοὺς συνάγοντας δεῦρο τοὺς βουλευσομένους περὶ τοῦ πρὸς  
φίλιππον πολέμου *codd.*

τοὺς συνάγοντας δεῦρο τοῦ πρὸς φίλιππον πολέμου *φρφ.*

The editors remark that the omission is clearly due to the fact that in the model a line beginning *-ρο τους* was followed by one beginning *ρι του* : i. e. the previous MS. had

δευ

*ρο τους βουλευσομενους πε*

*ρι του*

The omissions are often very suggestive, e. g. :

*Greek Papyri*, vol. i, no. v, a fragment of Ezekiel.

On the verso l. 15 the writer omits *καὶ προφήτευσον ἐπ' αὐτὰ καὶ ἐρεῖς τὰ ὄρη Ἰηλ* (36) *hom.* On the recto ll. 12-13 the papyrus has a passage of 36 letters omitted by *AB*, viz. *καὶ εἰς ὄνειδος τοῖς ἔθνεσιν τοῖς κύκλῳ σου* (*hom.*), and on the verso ll. 4-6 48 letters omitted by *AB*, viz. *ἂ ἀποστελῶ αὐτὰ διαφθεῖραι ὑμᾶς καὶ λειμὸν* (*sic*) *συνάξω ἐφ' ὑμᾶς* (*hom.*). It will be noticed that 36 and 48 are both multiples of 12.

*Ox.* 16. Thucydides iv. 36-41 (cent. i) :

Col. iii. 3 *ἐπολιορκήθησαν ἀπὸ τῆς ναυμαχίας μέχρι τῆς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ* (45) *om. φρφ. (hom.)*.

The average content of a line in the papyrus is 21 letters. It therefore looks as if it had dropped two lines of an ancestor very similar to itself. The omitted words are added in two lines at the top of the column with the reference mark *ἄνω*.

*Ox.* 1080. Apocalypse iii-iv (cent. iv) :

iv. 2 *ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον καθήμενος καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ὅμοιος ὁράσει*. Here *ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον* (12) has been repeated above the line by a corrector (? m. 1) before *ὁμοίως*. The model appears to have had

*ἐπι τον θρονον* (12)

*καθημενος και* (12)

*ο καθημενος* (10)

*ομοιος ορασει* (12)

with the result that l. 1 was repeated after l. 3.

This explains an omission in iii. 19-20. The papyrus has

*ω ξηλωσον ουν και μετα*

*νοησον. ιδου εστηκα επι*

*την θυραν και*

omitting the words *κρούω ἴάν τις ἀκούσῃ τῆς φωνῆς μου καὶ ἀνοίξῃ τὴν θύραν καὶ* (48) *hom.*, which are added at the foot of the column with a reference mark of omission in the text.

It is here to be noticed that the preceding clause  $\omega \zeta\eta\lambda\omega\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu$  οὖν καὶ μετανόησον. ἰδοῦ, ἔστηκα ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν καὶ also contains 48 letters.

We can, therefore, arrange the distribution of lines in the model thus :

ω ζηλωσον ουν (11)  
 και μετανοησον (13)  
 ιδου εστηκα ε (11)  
 πι την θυραν και (13)  
 5 κρουω εαν τις (11)  
 ακουση της φω (11)  
 νης μου και ανοι (13)  
 ξη την θυραν και (13)

It was easy for the writer to pass from τὴν θύραν καὶ in l. 4 to the same words in l. 8.

It would be easy to add a number of examples, but I will confine myself to one more case, viz. :

Ox. 843. Plato, *Symposium* (cent. iii), the largest literary papyrus found at Oxyrhynchus, written in 47 lines to the column, with an average of 28 letters to the line.

I have already pointed out the importance of passages written twice in a MS., as indicating line-division in the immediate ancestor. I have noticed four cases of this in no. 843, and four only. Three of them are almost identical in length, viz. :

212 *e* ἐστεφανωμένον αὐτὸν κίττου τέ τινη (30) *hom.*

212 *a* ἀλλ' ἀληθῆ ἄτε τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἐφαπτομένῳ (31) *hom.*

202 *c* οὐ τοὺς τὰγαθὰ καὶ τὰ καλὰ κεκτημένους (32).

The fourth gives information as to the length of the lines in the model. It is

213 *c* κατέκεισο ὥσπερ εἰώθεις ἐξαίφνης ἀναφαίνεσθαι (41).

As this is ten letters longer than the average of the other three, (31), we may conclude that the model had 10-11 letters in a line.

This evidence is reinforced by two telescoped passages, viz. :

206 *a* ἡ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ. ἡ σοὶ δοκοῦσιν ; Μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἔμοιγε, ἦν δ' ἐγώ. Ἄρ' οὖν, ἡ δ' ἡ, οὕτως ἀπλοῦν ἐστι λέγειν ὅτι οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὰγαθοῦ ἐρῶσι ;

Here the first hand gives ἡ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἐρῶσι *om. med.* (80). The omission is made more easy by the repetition of ἀγαθοῦ. The missing words are supplied by a second hand at the top of the page.

203 *c* διὸ δὴ καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἀκόλουθος καὶ θεραπέων γέγονεν ὁ Ἑρως, γεννηθεὶς ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνης γενεθλίοις, καὶ ἅμα φύσει ἐραστὴς ὢν περὶ τὸ καλὸν καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καλῆς οὔσης.

The writer first of all wrote διὸ δὴ καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καλῆς οὔσης *om. med.* (109). He then rectified his error. Here again the omission was assisted by the repetition of the word, Ἀφροδίτης.

It is to be noticed that 80 is nearly twice 41 (213 *c*), and the decimal arrangement is also visible in 109.

The unit is to be found in two omissions of the first hand, viz.: 205 *a* εὐδαίμονες (10), and 223 *d* ἀναστάντα (9).

Sometimes a slightly longer line is revealed, e. g.:

205 *e* φησιν εἶναι τὸν ἔρωτα.

Here the first hand repeats εἶναι after ἔρωτα. This indicates the following arrangement in the model

φησιν

εἶναι τὸν ἔρωτα (13)

The scribe began to write the line over again and then saw his error.

So in 221 *d* the model appears to have had

καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους (13)

κατὰ ταῦτ' ἂν τις (13)

The copyist at first wrote κατὰ ταῦτ' ἂν τις καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους inverting the order. He then struck out καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους and inserted the words in the margin to come in the proper place.

Further evidence is given by an interesting repetition in

212 *b* τὸν Ἑρωτα τιμᾶν, καὶ αὐτὸς τιμῶ τὰ ἐρωτικά καὶ διαφερόντως ἄσκῶ, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρακελεύομαι, καὶ νῦν τε καὶ ἀεὶ ἐγκωμιάζω τὴν δύναμιν.

Here the papyrus repeats τὸν Ἑρωτα before τὴν δύναμιν. The intervening words τιμᾶν καὶ . . . ἐγκωμιάζω consist of 93 letters. This, it will be noticed, is three times the average length of the dittographies in 212 *e*, 212 *a*, 202 *c* (31).

## CHAPTER III

I SHOULD much prefer to say nothing about the present state of New Testament criticism, and to refer those readers who have not studied the problems at issue to such works as Professor Lake's admirably compressed *Manual*, or Sir Frederick Kenyon's *Hand-book*. Since, however, such silence might cause some inconvenience, I venture to sum up the chief points with all possible brevity.

The earliest classification of our authorities was made by T. S. Semler in 1764. He forms three groups :

- (a) Alexandrian, derived from Origen ;
- (b) Eastern, in vogue at Antioch and Constantinople ;
- (c) Western, found in the Latin versions and early Fathers.

The latest writer, von Soden, also forms three groups, which he terms *H I K*, the first of which corresponds to (a), the second to (c), and the third (*K* = *κοινή*) to (b).

Dr. Hort, whose views have had great influence, not only in this country but elsewhere, constituted four groups, viz. :

- (1) Neutral ;
- (2) Alexandrian ;
- (3) Syrian ;
- (4) Western.

The Alexandrian group is somewhat nebulous, since Hort is unable to point to any extant MS. as purely Alexandrian, and only denotes certain variants by this name. The Neutral group consists in the first place of two MSS., viz. the Vaticanus (*B*) and the Sinaiticus (*Ń*), the two oldest Greek Uncials (cent. iv). These are reinforced by occasional support from other MSS. and some of the versions. Hort considers that the Alexandrinus (*A*) and the codex Ephraemi (*C*), which must nearly approach *B Ń* in antiquity, contain a number of Western and Alexandrian readings. The term Syrian includes the great majority of Greek MSS., and corresponds to von Soden's *κοινή*.

Hort deals with these by a method of elimination. He dismisses the 'Syrian' family as due to conflation, the 'Alexandrian' readings as the result of elegant correction, and the

'Western' family as licentiously interpolated. This process left him nothing but *B* and *N*, and, where they differ, he generally follows *B*. The text of the New Testament is thus made to rest on a very narrow basis.

Hort's view is held just as strongly by various foreign scholars. Thus B. Weiss asserts the supremacy of *B* in uncompromising terms. The Teubner text of the New Testament bears on its title-page the statement that it has been revised *ad fidem potissimum codicis Vaticani B*. Kenyon, who sums up the evidence in a judicial manner, declares that Hort's theory 'holds the field among the scholars of to-day, and is presupposed as the starting-point of nearly all the work that is being done in this department of New Testament criticism'. He also goes on to compare the supremacy claimed for *B* with that attributed to the 'best MS.' of various classical authors, e.g. the Laurentian MS. of Sophocles.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, Dr. Salmon has criticized Hort's views in a very damaging manner. He points out that the term 'Neutral' is question-begging, since it assumes that *B* *N* have no special habitat, while the other groups are local. He hints that Hort's Alexandrian group is a figment, invented to obscure the relation which really exists between *B* *N* and Alexandria. Further, there is no documentary evidence of any recension in Syria, such as Hort's system postulates. It may be added that the name Syrian is unfortunate, since it creates confusion with the Syriac versions, which belong to the Western family.

Salmon makes merry over the supremacy claimed for *B*. He says,<sup>2</sup> 'Hort, if consulted what authority should be followed, might answer, "Follow *B* *N*: accept their readings as true, unless there is strong internal evidence to the contrary, and never think it safe to reject them absolutely." But suppose *B* has not the support of *N*? "Still follow *B*, if it has the support of any other MS." But suppose *B* stands alone? "Unless it is clearly a clerical error, it is not safe to reject *B*." But supposing *B* is defective? "Then follow *N*." What about adopting the Western reading? "What about killing a man?"'

<sup>1</sup> When one MS. is the source of all other MSS., then clearly it is the only fount of information, e.g. the Laurentian MS. of Apuleius (lxviii. 2) and those of Tacitus (lxviii. 1 and 2). If, however, there is no proof of such descent, it is dangerous to speak of supremacy.

<sup>2</sup> *Some Criticism of the Text of the N. T.*, p. 90. Similar objections have been made by various writers.

There is, I think, obvious ground for the objection to 'question-begging' terms. Also Hort's Alexandrian group may be dismissed without loss, since it plays a very small part in his system. I propose, therefore, to retain for the purpose of this inquiry Hort's other three groups, to which I shall give non-committal names, viz. :

$X$  = the majority of Greek MSS.

$Y = B \aleph$ .

$Z$  = The 'Western' family.

I now turn to  $Z$ , the 'Western' family. The chief representative of this in Greek is the Graeco-Latin MS.  $D$ , the famous *codex Bezae*, generally assigned to the sixth century, though Professor Burkitt argues in favour of the fifth. This is reinforced by the old Latin ( $\mathfrak{L}$ ) and old Syriac versions ( $\mathfrak{S}$ ), which represent a recension current in the second century A.D. Both  $\mathfrak{L}$  and  $\mathfrak{S}$  are composite terms. We are told by St. Jerome and St. Augustine that there were a number of Latin translations. St. Augustine says :

Ut enim cuique primis fidei temporibus in manus venit codex Graecus et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguae habere videbatur, ausus est interpretari.

The chief Latin MSS. which contain versions of the Gospels are :

$a$  = Vercellensis, cent. iv (late).

$b$  = Veronensis, cent. v/vi.

$e$  = Vindobonensis, cent. v.

$k$  = Bobiensis, cent. v.

It will be seen that some of these rival the oldest Greek Uncials in point of antiquity.

These translations have been arranged in three groups, viz. African, European, and Italic. The accuracy of this classification does not concern me. A special interest attaches to  $k$ , which seems to represent the text used by Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage in the third century.

The Syriac versions are represented by

$\mathfrak{S}^s$ , Sinaiticus, cent. iv/v.

$\mathfrak{S}^c$ , Curetonensis, cent. v.

There are also later versions, e.g. the Peshitto, a recension similar to Jerome's Vulgate, said to have been made early in the fifth century, and the Harkleian, made in 616, which is of considerable importance in the Acts.

There are a number of other versions, e.g. the Egyptian (Bohaeric and Sahidic), the Armenian, Ethiopic, Gothic, &c. These, with the exception of the Bohæric, which inclines to *Y*, support *Z*.

The most striking fact is that the earliest Fathers all agree with *Z*. Thus Lake, after referring to the quotations of Irenæus (cent. ii), Tertullian (cent. ii/iii), and Cyprian (cent. iii), says, 'It is precisely these Fathers, especially Cyprian, who appear to have habitually used a Western text of the most pronounced character and to have used no other.' The quotations of Justin point to the same conclusion, and the *Diatessaron* of Tatian, a harmony of the Gospels formed in the second century, is a member of *Z*. Lake also finds support for *Z* readings in sub-apostolic literature, e.g. the *Didache*, which may belong to the first century.

Various interpretations have been put upon these facts. The usual theory, held by Burgon no less strongly than by Hort, is that the text of the Gospels became excessively corrupt at a very early period, but that a few MSS. remained unpolluted. The rival hypothesis, held only by a few, is that *Z* represents the primitive text as opposed to recensions formed in the third or fourth century.

The differences between *Z* and *XY* are most marked in the Acts. Here the *Z* readings are often so striking that many critics have found difficulty in believing them due to interpolation. F. Bornemann went so far as to maintain that in the Acts *D* preserves the original text from which the other Greek MSS. are derived. Lake says of him that 'his views have never obtained many followers and he may be safely disregarded'.

In recent years Blass has advanced an ingenious theory, viz. that in the Acts we have two recensions.<sup>1</sup> The first of these he supposed to have been written at Rome for the Romans, and the second to have been sent by him with a dedication to Theophilus, a Roman official living near Caesarea. He also believed that St. Luke issued two editions of his Gospel. He identified the first edition of the Acts with the text of *D*, and the second with that of the Greek Uncials. A serious objection to this theory is that it does not explain the origin of the *Z* family in the other Gospels.

<sup>1</sup> Bornemann says that he once thought that the original *commentarii* of St. Luke had been preserved by the Church, and additions in *D* had been taken from this source. This is very like Blass' theory.



Professor Ramsay has called attention to minute topographical details in *Z*, to personal touches such as the use of the first person plural, and to the clearness of the narrative where the story is perplexed in the accepted text. He concludes that such differences are due to an interpolator who had a particularly good knowledge of Oriental geography and customs. Lake questions 'whether such good work is really that of a *glossator*'.

I trust that this short sketch will suffice to group the points at issue. I must now refer to two circumstances which much complicate the inquiry which I have endeavoured to conduct. The first is the enormous wealth of evidence. When we are dealing with a classical author, we look on a single ninth-century MS. as a precious possession, and, if this is reinforced by a few scraps from a palimpsest, are more than content. There are, however, 168 Uncial MSS. or fragments of Uncials, which contain portions of the New Testament, and some 57 of these contain substantial parts of it.<sup>1</sup> Also, apart from Greek MSS., we have the versions and patristic quotations.

The second point is one which became obvious to me at once, viz. that the text of the Gospels has been transmitted through a series of MSS. written in extremely narrow columns.<sup>2</sup> This is shown by the large number of short omissions in various MSS. One unit which appears throughout is one of 10-11 letters. Some MSS. also contain evidence of a slightly longer unit. Nowhere, however, do we find larger units such as 22, 28, or 35. I have not infrequently had to study the working of a small unit, when engaged upon the text of Cicero, but there the problem is not so complicated, since it is not necessary to assume the existence of many intermediate ancestors. There can, however, be little doubt that the Gospels were frequently reproduced. If so, there must be a long series of intervening copies between our oldest Uncials and what I will provisionally call the Archetype.

<sup>1</sup> Kenyon, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> This fact is pointed out by Scrivener and Burgon. Scrivener, however, has loose ideas as to the content of a line. Thus he notes that a line has been lost in the case of Luke xix. 47 *ἱερὸς οἱ δέ* (8), John xii. 25 *φυλάξει αὐτήν* (12), Luke xxi. 8 *ὁ καιρὸς ἤγγικε μὴ οὖν* (18), and two lines in that of Luke xii. 52 *ἔσονται γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν πέντε ἐν ἐνὶ οἴκῳ διαμεμερισμέ—* (45). Hort (p. 234) says of the scribe who wrote *B* 'As the longer portions of text so omitted consist usually either of 12-14 letters or of multiples of the same, his exemplar was doubtless written in lines of this length'.

I do not wish to disguise in any way the difficulties caused by this succession of MSS. in narrow columns. I can only say that, while we must hesitate to refer short omissions to one particular ancestor, this doubt becomes steadily less as the figures grow larger. We must always seek light in the first place from the longest omissions, and then proceed to the shorter ones. If we can trace in them the regular operation of the same unit, we can draw conclusions with some degree of probability.

The order in which I shall attempt to set forth the results which I obtained will not be the same as that of their discovery. In this I followed a very simple process, viz. the numeration of the letters contained by the longer passages omitted by many MSS. and tabulation of the figures. When I had treated in this way the end of St. Mark, xvi. 9-20, the secret was laid bare. I fear, however, that, if I proceeded at once to produce this evidence, many readers would suspect me of some jugglery. I, therefore, propose to take a longer road, in the hope that the argument may appear more cogent, if the same method is first tested upon individual MSS. If it appears to hold good in their case, then we may expect it to be equally valid when applied to the various families of MSS.

The MSS. which I shall treat are :

Σ = Sinaiticus.

Β = Vaticanus.

Σ<sup>s</sup> = Sinaiticus (Syriac).

ℒ<sup>k</sup> = Bobiensis.

ℒ = Codex Bezae.

In my study of Σ I have derived great help from Scrivener's collation. There is no similar work dealing with Β, and I had to put some facts together, as best I could, from Tischendorf's edition of the MS. and other sources. Mrs. Lewis's list of omissions in Σ<sup>s</sup> was of great use to me. For ℒ, I used Scrivener's Introduction and reproduction of the MS. For ℒ, I found Canon Sanday's paper upon the Greek text presupposed by it of great value. I also went through the text myself, and made some additions and corrections. I have consulted the photographic facsimiles of Σ Β ℒ.<sup>1</sup>

I should have liked to examine in the same way the Alexandrinus (A) and the Codex Ephraemi (C), but found that the inquiry

<sup>1</sup> ℒ has recently been reproduced in collotype (Turin, 1913).

would be laborious, since the materials have not been collected in a suitable shape. What is required is a full collation of separate MSS., including the minute errors. The most trivial points are often the most important for the purpose which I had in view.

The first witness which I shall summon will be **N**. It will be found to tell its story with great candour.

## CHAPTER IV

### SINAITICUS (Σ)

THIS is written in four columns with 48 lines to the page and an average of 13-14 letters to the line. There are corrections by a number of hands. These do not concern me, since they are chiefly variants collected from other MSS. There are indications that the model of Σ contained some *duplices lectiones*, e.g. John xv. 20 Σ has *υμασιν*, a conflation of *ὑμᾶς* and *ὑμῖν*.

The internal evidence shows that Σ is derived from an ancestor with an average of 10-12 letters to the line.

e.g. Luke xi. 1 διδάξον ἡμᾶς προσεύχεται, καθὼς καὶ Ἰωάννης ἐδίδαξε τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ.

om. καὶ Ἰωάννης (10) Σ. The words are necessary to the sense, since John has not been mentioned previously.

John xix. 23 καὶ ἐποίησαν τέσσαρα μέρη, ἑκάστῳ στρατιώτῃ μέρος, καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα· ἦν δὲ ὁ χιτὼν ἄρραφος.

om. καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα (12) Σ.

Sometimes we have multiples of the same unit in immediate proximity, e.g. :

Mark xiii. 8 καὶ βασιλεία ἐπὶ βασιλείαν· ἔσονται σεισμοὶ κατὰ τόπους· ἔσονται λιμοί.

om. βασιλεία ἐπὶ (11) Σ.

om. κατὰ τόπους ἔσονται λιμοί (22) Σ.

The ancestor must have had

και  
 βασιλεια επι  
 βασιλειαν ε  
 σονται σεισμοι  
 5 κατα τοπους ε  
 σονται λιμοι

The scribe dropped l. 2 and ll. 5, 6 (*hom.*).

John xii. 25 καὶ ὁ μισῶν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον φυλάξει αὐτήν.

om. φυλάξει αὐτήν (12) Σ, destroying the sense.

Shortly afterwards (v. 31) we have

*νῦν κρίσις ἐστὶ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου· νῦν ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου.*

*om.* *νῦν ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου* (24) **Σ** (*hom.*).

John iii. 20-1 *μισεῖ τὸ φῶς, καὶ οὐκ ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸ φῶς, ἵνα μὴ ἐλεγχθῇ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ· ὁ δὲ ποιῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸ φῶς, ἵνα φανερωθῇ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔργα.*

*om.* *καὶ οὐκ ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸ φῶς* (22) **Σ** (*hom.*).

*om.* *ὁ δὲ ποιῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν . . . αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔργα* (57) **Σ** (*hom.*).

Here  $11 \times 2 = 22$ ,  $11 \times 5 = 55$ .

The omissions are due to the coincidence of *hom.* with line division. We may assign to this ancestor such short omissions as

(10) Matt. xxiii. 35 *ὡν Βαραχίου,*<sup>1</sup> Luke vii. 11 *καλουμένην*, 30 *εἰς ἑαυτούς*, xx. 19 *ἔγνωσαν γάρ.*

(11) Matt. xxviii. 5 *ταῖς γυναιξί*, Mark viii. 10 *εἰς τὸ πλοῖον*, xi. 10 *ἐν ὀνόματι κυ*, Luke ii. 12 *καὶ κείμενον*, iii. 1 *τῆς Ἰουδαίας*, John v. 25 *καὶ νῦν ἐστιν*, vii. 35 *πρὸς ἑαυτούς*, xvii. 12 *ὃ δέδωκάς μοι.*

(12) Matt. ix. 10 *ἐγένετο αὐτοῦ*, xxi. 17 *ἔξω τῆς πόλεως*, Mark xii. 25 *οὔτε γαμοῦσιν* (*hom.*), Luke xx. 16 *τοὺς γεωργοὺς*, John i. 20 *καὶ ὠμολόγησε*, iii. 1 *καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ*, v. 17 *ὅς ἀπεκρίνετο.*

Possibly also

(13) Luke xii. 18 *καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ μου* (*hom.*), xiii. 25 *ἔξω ἐστάναι καί.*

We may also compare some transpositions, e. g. :

Matt. xiv. 1 *ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἤκουσεν Ἡρώδης.*

**Σ** has *ἤκουσεν Ἡρώδης*  
*ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ και*  
*ρῷ*

The ancestor appears to have had

*ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ*  
*ἤκουσεν Ἡρώδης*

The scribe wrote the second line first.

Matt. xxiii. 37 *ἀποκτείνουσα τοὺς προφῆτας.*

Here **Σ** has *τοὺς προφῆτας* (12) before *ἀποκτείνουσα* (12). Also, some repetitions, e. g. :

Matt. x. 15 *γῇ Σοδόμων καὶ Γομόρρων.*

**Σ** repeats *γῇ* after *γῇ Σοδόμων καί* (12).

We may expect to find a multiple of this unit in omissions of

<sup>1</sup> This well-known variant is clearly due to accident. The omission would be very easy after *Ζαχαρίου*.

20-4 letters. There is, however, the possibility that there is a larger unit representing an intermediate ancestor. We must, therefore, take into consideration omissions of 14-19 letters. The cases which I have noticed are :

- (14) Matt. xxvii. 45 ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν.  
 xxviii. 3 ἦν δὲ ἡ ἰδέα αὐτοῦ (*hom.*).  
 Mark xiv. 71 τοῦτον ὃν λέγετε.  
 Luke iii. 13 εἶπε πρὸς αὐτοὺς.
- (15) Matt. xvi. 9 οὐδὲ μνημονεύετε (*hom.*).  
 Luke vi. 14 καὶ Βαρθολομαῖον (*hom.*).
- (16) Matt. xxvi. 37 καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι.  
 Mark xi. 2 τὴν κατέναντι ὑμῶν.  
 John i. 25 καὶ ἠρώτησαν αὐτόν.  
 viii. 20 διδάσκων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ (*hom.*).
- (17) Mark iii. 8 καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας (*hom.*).  
 Luke xvii. 12 οἱ ἔστησαν πόρρωθεν.  
 xxiv. 31 καὶ ἐπέγνωσαν αὐτόν.  
 John ii. 12 καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ.  
 xvii. 17 ὁ λόγος ὁ σὸς ἀλήθεια (*hom.*).
- (18) Matt. xiv. 23 ἀπολύσας τοὺς ὄχλους (*hom.*).  
 xxi. 30 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν.  
 xxvii. 56 Μαρία ἡ Μαгдаληνὴ καὶ (*hom.*).  
 Mark x. 33 καὶ τοῖς γραμματεῦσι (*hom.*).  
 Luke xiii. 14 ἐν αἷς δεῖ ἐργάζεσθαι.
- (19) Matt. vii. 27 καὶ ἔπνευσαν οἱ ἄνεμοι (*hom.*).  
 John viii. 35 ὁ υἱὸς μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

The cases of 19 (and even of 18) letters may be explained as representing two short lines of the unit previously indicated. Several may be explained by *hom.*, without assistance from line division. Also, something must always be left to accident. At the same time there is, I think, ground for suspecting that a longer unit than 10-12 is also at work.

I now give a list of the omissions of 20 letters and upwards. I do not include in this important variants shared by *B*, since these concern a previous stage in the development of the *Y* recension.

- (20) Mark xii. 30 καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου (*hom.*).  
 Luke viii. 47 δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἤψατο αὐτοῦ.
- (21) Matt. xix. 18 οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις (*hom.*).  
 xxiii. 8 ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴ κληθῆτε βαββί (*hom.*).  
 xxiv. 10 καὶ μισήσουσιν ἀλλήλους.

- (22) Matt. xxvii. 52 καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα ἀνεψύχθησαν (*hom.*).  
 Mark xiii. 8 κατὰ τόπους ἔσονται λιμοί.  
 Luke xvi. 16 καὶ πᾶς εἰς αὐτὴν βιάζεται (*hom.*).  
 John iii. 20 καὶ οὐκ ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸ φῶς (*hom.*).  
 (23) Luke v. 14 δείξον σεαυτὸν τῷ ἱερεῖ καί.  
 John vii. 50 ὁ ἐλθὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν πρότερον.  
 xx. 3 καὶ ἤρχοντο εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον.  
 (24) Matt. xxv. 43 γυμνὸς καὶ οὐ περιεβάλετέ με (*hom.*).  
 Mark vi. 4 τοῖς συγγενέσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν (*hom.*).  
 John xii. 31 νῦν ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου (*hom.*).  
 (27) Luke xii. 37 καὶ παρελθὼν διακονήσῃ αὐτοῖς (*hom.*).  
 (28) John vi. 55 ἀληθῶς ἐστι βρῶσις καὶ τὸ αἷμά μου (*hom.*).  
 (29) John iv. 45 ἐδέξαντο αὐτὸν οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι, πάντα.  
 John xvi. 17 μικρὸν καὶ οὐ θεωρεῖτέ με, καὶ πάλιν (*hom.*).  
 (30) Matt. v. 45 καὶ βρέχει ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους (*hom.*).  
 John iv. 4 ἔρχεται οὖν εἰς πόλιν τῆς Σαμαρείας (*hom.*).  
 (32) Matt. xiii. 39 θερισμὸς συντέλεια αἰῶνός ἐστιν· οἱ δέ (*hom.*).  
 John v. 26 οὕτως καὶ τῷ ὡ ἔδωκε ζωὴν ἔχειν ἐν αὐτῷ  
 (*hom.*).  
 (33) John vi. 39 τοῦτο δέ ἐστι τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πέμψαντός με  
 (*hom.*).  
 (35) Matt. x. 39 ὁ εὐρὼν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπολέσει αὐτὴν καί  
 (*hom.*).  
 (36) Luke viii. 47 ἰδοῦσα δὲ ἡ γυνὴ ὅτι οὐκ ἔλαθε, τρέμουσα ἦλθε.  
 (38) Luke x. 23 καὶ στραφεῖς πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς κατ' ἰδίαν  
 εἶπε.  
 (42) Luke xvii. 9 οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ὅταν ποιήσητε πάντα τὰ δια-  
 ταχθέντα (*hom.*).  
 (43) Matt. ix. 15 ἐλεύσονται δὲ ἡμέραι ὅταν ἀπαρθῇ ἀπ' αὐτῶν  
 ὁ νυμφίος (*hom.*).  
 John xv. 10 ἐὰν τὰς ἐντολάς μου τηρήσητε μενεῖτε ἐν τῇ  
 ἀγάπῃ μου (*hom.*).  
 (44) Matt. xv. 18–19 ἐξέρχεται, κἀκεῖνα κοινοὶ τὸν ἄνῳν. ἐκ γὰρ τῆς  
 καρδίας (*hom.*).

With this we may compare an addition to an earlier verse in **Ν** :

v. 11 οὐ τὸ εἰσερχόμενον εἰς τὸ στόμα κοινοὶ τὸν ἄνῳν· ἀλλὰ τὸ  
 ἐκπορευόμενον ἐκ τοῦ στόματος, τοῦτο κοινοὶ τὸν ἄνῳν.

Here **Ν** inserts τοῦτο after τὸ στόμα. This is taken from what follows, στόματος τοῦτο κοινοῖ. The intervening words κοινοῖ τὸν ἄνῳν to τοῦ στόματος = 45 letters. The ancestor seems to have had

κοινοι τον  $\overline{\alpha\nu\omicron\nu}$  (13)  
 αλλα το εκπο (10)  
 ρευομενον εκ (11)  
 του στοματος (11)  
 5 τουτο κοινοι (11)  
 τον  $\overline{\alpha\nu\omicron\nu}$

The scribe looked forward and inserted  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$  from l. 5.

(45) Luke xii. 52 ἔσονται γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν πέντε ἐν ἐνὶ οἰκῷ διαμεμερισμέ— (*hom.*).

The telescoped passage is of special interest. The ancestor must have had

διαμερισμον (11)  
 εσονται γαρ (10)  
 απο του νυν πεν (12)  
 τε εν ενι οικω (11)  
 5 διαμεμερισμε (12)  
 νοι τρεις επι (11)  
 δυσι

The scribe looked forward from l. 1 to l. 5 and wrote διαμερισμον νοι τρεις επι δυσι (*om. med.*).

John ix. 38 ὁ δὲ ἔφη, πιστεύω,  $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$ · καὶ προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ· καὶ εἶπεν ὁ  $\overline{\iota\varsigma}$ .

(47) Mark vi. 8 ἐξουσίαν τῶν  $\overline{\pi\nu\omega\nu}$  τῶν ἀκαθάρτων· καὶ παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς (*hom.*).

With this I would compare a corruption in Luke ii. 36. Here  $\aleph$  has

ἡγήρ ζησασα  
 μετα ανδρος ετη  
 ζ' απο της παρθενι  
 ας αυτης και αυτη  
 χηρα

Here  $\chi\eta\rho$  is an anticipation of  $\chi\eta\rho\alpha$ , which occurs 47 letters below.

This indicates in an ancestor :

ζησασα μετα αν (12)  
 δρος ετη ζ' απο (11)  
 της παρθενιας (12)  
 αυτης και αυτη (12)

5  $\chi\eta\rho\alpha$

The scribe looked on five lines and then corrected his error.

(50) Matt. xxiv. 35 ὁ  $\overline{\sigma\nu\nu\sigma}$  καὶ ἡ γῆ παρελεύσονται, οἱ δὲ λόγοι υου οὐ μὴ παρέλθωσι.



(54) Luke x. 32 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Λευίτης κατὰ τὸν τόπον ἐλθὼν καὶ ἰδὼν ἀντιπαρήλθεν (*hom.*).

Luke xiv. 15 μακάριος ὁστις φάγεται ἄρτον ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θν. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ (*hom.*).

(57) John iii. 21 ὁ δὲ ποιῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸ φῶς ἵνα φανερωθῇ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔργα (*hom.*).

(60) Matt. v. 19 ὃς δ' ἂν ποιήσῃ καὶ διδάξῃ, οὗτος μέγας κληθήσεται ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν σὺνῶν (*hom.*).

(61) Mark vi. 28 καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἀπεκεφάλισεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ, καὶ ἤνεγκε τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ (*hom.*).

(62) Mark x. 30 οἰκίας καὶ ἀδελφούς καὶ ἀδελφὰς καὶ μῶρας καὶ τέκνα καὶ ἀγρούς, μετὰ διωγμῶν.

(64) Luke xvii. 35 ἔσονται δύο ἀλήθουσai ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό· ἡ μία παραληφθήσεται, ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα ἀφεθήσεται (*hom.*).

(71) Matt. xxvi. 62-3 οὐδὲν ἀποκρίνη; τί οὐτοί σου καταμαρτυροῦσιν; ὁ δὲ ἰς ἐσιώπα. καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς εἶπεν αὐτῷ (*hom.*).

John xvi. 15 πάντα ὅσα ἔχει ὁ πρ ἑμά ἐστι· διὰ τοῦτο εἶπον, ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λαμβάνει, καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν (*hom.*).

With these I would compare a dittography in Luke xvii. 16 καὶ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον παρὰ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστῶν αὐτῷ· καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν Σαμαρείτης (72).

The passage is written twice.

(84) Mark x. 35-7 ὁ ἐὰν αἰτήσωμέν σε, ποιήσῃς ἡμῖν. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, τί θέλετε ποιῆσαι με ὑμῖν; οἱ δὲ εἶπον αὐτῷ, Δὸς ἡμῖν, ἵνα (*hom.*).

With this we may compare a corruption in

John iv. 16-17 λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ Ἰς, Ὑπαγε, φώνησον τὸν ἄνδρα σου, καὶ ἐλθὲ ἐνθάδε. ἀπεκρίθη ἡ γυνὴ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Οὐκ ἔχω ἄνδρα. λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ Ἰς, Καλῶς εἶπας.

Here **N** has καλ before ὑπαγε. This is an anticipation of καλῶς which comes after the second λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ Ἰς. The intervening words ὑπαγε . . . αὐτῇ ὁ Ἰς consist of 84 letters.

(92) Mark i. 32-4 καὶ τοὺς δαιμονιζομένους. καὶ ἡ πόλις ὅλη ἐπισυνηγμένη ἦν πρὸς τὴν θύραν. καὶ ἐθεράπευσεν πολλοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας (*hom.*).

**N** also omits ποικίλαις νόσοις (15), but this seems a separate omission. Tischendorf says 'transiluit a κακῶς ἔχοντας *pr.* (i.e. before καὶ τοὺς δαιμονιζ.) ad κακῶς ἔχοντας *sec.*'. The whole passage is supplied by a corrector at the foot of the page.

(101) John xx. 5 οὐ μέντοι εἰσῆλθεν. ἔρχεται οὖν καὶ Σίμων Πέτρος ἀκολουθῶν αὐτῷ, καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον· καὶ θεωρεῖ τὰ ὀθόνια κείμενα (*hom.*).

(192) John xix. 20 τοῦτον οὖν τὸν τίτλον πολλοὶ ἀνέγνωσαν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἦν ὁ τόπος τῆς πόλεως, ὅπου ἐσταυρώθη ὁ Ἰς· καὶ ἦν γεγραμμένον Ἑβραϊστί, Ῥωμαϊστί, Ἑλληνιστί. ἔλεγον οὖν τῷ Πιλάτῳ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, Μὴ γράφῃ, Ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων (*hom.*).

The first point which strikes one in this list is the extraordinary number of omissions from *hom.* There appear to be no less than 48 examples, without including corruptions due to the same cause. Scrivener (p. xv) says that there are 115 examples of such omission in the New Testament. It is obvious that the scribe either of **Σ**, or of an intermediate ancestor, was peculiarly prone to these omissions.

In the second place there are some curious coincidences, such as two omissions of 71 letters, together with the repetition of 72 letters. The omissions of 42 to 47 letters are interesting, on account of the telescoped passage Luke xii. 52 (45), and the corruption in Luke ii. 36, where *χηρ* is inserted 47 letters too soon. Also, there is an omission of 84 letters, together with a similar anticipation of *καλ* from *καλῶς*, which occurs 84 letters further on (John iv. 16-17).

The larger numbers are instructive, viz.:

60-4 (4 examples).

71 (2 examples).

84 (cf. John iv. 16-17).

92.

101.

Here the gradual increase suggests that one additional line has been lost in each case.

It is also interesting to notice that the largest number, 192, is exactly three times 64 (Luke xvii. 35) and a little more than twice 92 (Mark i. 32).

I now proceed to notice some interesting corruptions:

John vii. 27 ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς ὅταν ἔρχηται.

Here **Σ** has

ο  $\overline{\chi\varsigma}$  οταν ελθῃ μὴ πλιονα σημια ποιησει η οταν ερχηται

This comes from v. 31 ὁ  $\overline{\chi\varsigma}$  ὅταν ἔλθῃ, μὴ πλείονα σημεία ποιήσει ὧν οὗτος ἐποίησεν;

The intervening words ὁ δὲ  $\overline{\chi\varsigma}$  ὅταν ἔρχηται (v. 27) to εἰς αὐτόν. καὶ ἔλεγον (v. 31) contain 337 letters. With this we may compare 84 in Mark x. 35, John iv. 16 ( $84 \times 4 = 336$ ).

John ix. 10 ἔλεγον οὖν αὐτῷ, Πῶς οὖν ἀνέψχθησάν σου οἱ ὀφθαλμοί;

After *ἔλεγον οὖν* **N** inserts *οἱ ἰουδαῖοι*. This appears to come from v. 18 *ἐπίστευσαν οὖν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι*. The intervening words *αὐτῷ πῶς . . . ἐπίστευσαν οὖν* (v. 18) contain 683 letters. It is interesting to notice that this is a little more than twice 337 ( $337 \times 2 = 674$ ).

It is tempting to suppose that 337-41 represents a column in a previous MS.

I have noticed two other cases of repetition, which are interesting in view of the shorter omissions, viz.:

Luke i. 41 *ἐσκίρτησε τὸ βρέφος ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ αὐτῆς*.

Here **N** adds *ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει* after *ἐσκίρτησε*. The words come from v. 44 *ἐσκίρτησεν ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει τὸ βρέφος ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ μου*.

The intervening words *τὸ βρέφος* (v. 41) . . . *ἐσκίρτησεν* (v. 44) contain 238 letters. With this we may compare the three omissions of 60-2 letters ( $60 \times 4 = 240$ ).

Luke xii. 29 *μὴ ζητεῖτε τί φάγητε, καὶ τί πίητε*.

After *πίητε* **N** adds *μηδὲ τῷ σώματι*. The words come from v. 22 *μὴ μεριμνᾶτε τῇ ψυχῇ, τί φάγητε· μηδὲ τῷ σώματι ὑμῶν, τί ἐνδύσθηθε*.

The intermediate passage *μηδὲ τῷ σώματι* (v. 22) . . . *τί φάγητε* (v. 29) consists of 556 letters. With this we may compare the omissions of 71 letters in Matt. xxvi. 62, and the dittography of 71 letters in Luke xvii. 16 ( $70 \times 8 = 560$ ).

There are some significant passages in which **N** appears to emend after an omission, viz.:

Matt. xiv. 26 *καὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταί*.

Here **N** has *ιδόντες δὲ αὐτόν* without *οἱ μαθηταί*. Apparently *δέ* was inserted after the omission.

Mark xiv. 58 *ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν αὐτοῦ λέγοντος*.

For this **N** substitutes *εἶπεν*. This appears to be an insertion to give a construction.

John xx. 4 *καὶ ὁ ἄλλος μαθητὴς προσέδραμε*] *προσέδραμε δέ* **N**.

We find in **N** certain additions which do not occur in *B*. The most striking case is:

Matt. viii. 13 *καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ ἑκατοντάρχῳ, Ὑπάγε, ὡς ἐπίστευσας γεννηθήτω σοι. καὶ ἰάθη ὁ παῖς ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐκείνῃ*.

Here **N** adds *καὶ ὑποστρέψας ὁ ἑκατόνταρχος εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ εὗρεν τὸν παῖδα ὑγιαίνοντα* (so also *C*).

The words add nothing to the sense, and seem a clear case of interpolation from

Luke vii. 10 *καὶ ὑποστρέψαντες εἰς τὸν οἶκον οἱ πεμφθέντες εὗρον τὸν δοῦλον ὑγιαίνοντα*.

Minor cases, shared with a few other MSS., are :

Matt. ix. 24 οὐ γὰρ ἀπέθανε τὸ κοράσιον ἀλλὰ καθεύδει] *add.*  
εἰδότες ὅτι ἀπέθανεν **N**.

ib. 35 καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν] *add.* καὶ ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ **N**.

Mark ii. 16 ἔλεγον τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ ὅτι] *add.* ὁ διδάσκαλος  
ὑμῶν **N**.

ib. x. 28 ἠκολουθήκαμέν σοι] *add.* τί ἄρα ἔσται ἡμῖν **N**.

The following list of omissions, not shared by *B*, may be useful as a supplement to those already mentioned. Most of them are important variants shared by many authorities :

(10) Mark xiv. 72 ἐκ δευτέρου *om.* **N** **L** **C**.

John xiii. 10 ἢ τοὺς πόδας *om.* **N** Tert. Orig.

(11) John xiii. 26 λαμβάνει καὶ *om.* **N** **Z**.

(13) Matt. xv. 31 κυλλοὺς ὑγιεῖς *om.* **N** **L** **S**.

(14) Matt. xxiii. 4 καὶ δυσβάστακτα *om.* **N** **L** **S**, *alii*.

(16) Luke xii. 39 ἐργηγόρησεν ἄν καὶ *om.* **N** **Z**, *alii*.

(18) Matt. vi. 15 τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν *om.* **N** **L**, *alii*.

(23) Luke xxiv. 51 καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐνὸν *om.* **N** **Z**.

(31) Matt. xix. 9 καὶ ὁ ἀπολελυμένην γαμήσας μοιχᾶται *om.* **N** **Z**, *alii*.

(34) John iv. 9 οὐ γὰρ συγχρῶνται Ἰουδαῖοι Σαμαρεῖταις *om.* **N** **D** **L** **ale**.

NOTE.—While this work was being read for press, my attention was drawn by Professor Burkitt to the Rev. H. S. Cronin's paper in the *Journal of Theological Studies* xiii, pp. 563-71 (1911/12). Mr. Cronin has anticipated me in pointing out that **N** is derived from a MS. which contained on an average eleven letters to the line. The only difference between us is that he considers each Gospel, as found in **N**, to have been taken from a separate papyrus, and confines his conclusions to St. John. He has dealt with most of the passages from St. John which figure in my list and adds a few which I had not noticed. The fact that two inquirers working independently have arrived at similar results is, I think, good evidence for the soundness of the method which we have employed.

## CHAPTER V

### VATICANUS (*B*)

*B* is written in three columns, with 42 lines to the page and an average of 16–17 letters to the line. As compared with *ℵ*, *B* is a reticent witness. It is, however, clear that it is derived from an ancestor containing 10–12 letters to the line.

(*a*) We have two telescoped passages, where a line has fallen out, viz. :

Matt. x. 14 καὶ ὃς ἐὰν μὴ δέξηται ὑμᾶς.

Here *B*<sup>1</sup> gives καὶ ος ἀν μας *om. med.* The model must have had

καὶ ος ἀν  
μὴ δέξηται υ (10)  
μας

Luke xvi. 1 διασκορπίζων τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ καί.

*B*<sup>1</sup> has διασκορπίζων τα υπ καὶ *om. med.* The model must have had

δια  
σκορπίζων τα υπ  
αρχοντα αυτου  
καὶ

Tischendorf here says ‘*ad* υπαρχοῦ *B*<sup>2</sup> *suppl.* τα αυτου’. It will be seen, however, from the facsimile that what *B*<sup>2</sup> adds is αρχοῦ αυτου.

The following omissions of *B*, or *B*<sup>1</sup>, against *ℵ*, may represent lines of the model.

Matt. xii. 38 καὶ Φαρισαίων (12) *om. B.*

xiii. 17 καὶ δίκαιοι (10) *om. B*<sup>1</sup>.

xxv. 40 ἀδελφῶν μου τῶν (13) *om. B*<sup>1</sup>.

xxvi. 4 ἀποκτείνωσιν (13) *om. B*<sup>1</sup>.

Mark i. 35 καὶ ἀπῆλθεν (10) *om. B (hom.).*

40 καὶ γονυπετῶν <sup>1</sup> (12) *om. B.*

vi. 17 τὴν γυναικα (10) *om. B*<sup>1</sup>.

xv. 10 οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς (11) *om. B (hom.).*

<sup>1</sup> So *ℵ*, καὶ γονυπετῶν αὐτόν *alii*.

- Luke vi. 26 οἱ πῆρες αὐτῶν (11) *om.* *B*.  
 viii. 45 καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ (12) *om.* *B*.  
 ix. 2 τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς<sup>1</sup> (12) *om.* *B*.  
 x. 38 εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν<sup>2</sup> (12) *om.* *B*.  
 xvii. 23 μὴ ἀπέλθῃτε (10) *om.* *B*.  
 xxiii. 38 γεγραμμένη (10) *om.* *B*.

There are also some which *B* shares with other authorities, e.g. :

Matt. xxvii. 24 τοῦ δικαίου (10) *om.* *B D* <sup>s</sup> Arm.

Mark x. 19 μὴ ἀποστερήσῃς (13) *om.* *B*<sup>1</sup> <sup>s</sup> Diat. Arm. Clem.

Possibly, we should add :

Mark xiii. 33 καὶ προσεύχεσθε (14) *om.* *B D* <sup>ack</sup>.

Luke xvii. 24 ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτοῦ (14) *om.* *B D* <sup>ack</sup>.

(*b*) Two lines.

The most noticeable case is :

John ix. 7 ἀπῆλθεν οὖν καὶ ἐνίψατο καὶ ἦλθε βλέπων.

Here *B* gives ἀπῆλθεν βλέπων *om. med.* (20), a reading which is without sense.

Other examples are :

Mark x. 46 καὶ ἔρχονται εἰς Ἱεριχὺ (20) *om.* *B*<sup>1</sup>.

John i. 13 οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος ἀνδρός (21) *om.* *B*<sup>1</sup> Clem. Eus.

ix. 36 ἀπεκρίθη ἐκεῖνος καὶ εἶπε (22) *om.* *B*. The omission is disguised by the insertion of ἔφη after καὶ τίς ἐστιν.

(*c*) Three lines.

John xvii. 15 οὐκ ἐρωτῶ ἵνα ἄρῃς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου, ἀλλ' ἵνα τηρήσῃς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ.

*B*<sup>1</sup> has  
 ουκ ερωτω ινα αρ  
 ης αυτους εκ του πο  
 νηρου  
*om. med.* (30).

The model must have had

ινα αρης  
 αυτους εκ του  
 κοσμου αλλα  
 ινα τηρησης  
 5 αυτους εκ του  
 πονηρου

The writer glanced from ἐκ τοῦ in l. 2 to ἐκ τοῦ in l. 5, and he left out the three intervening lines.

<sup>1</sup> So *N*, τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας αἰῶ.

<sup>2</sup> So *N*, εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς αἰῶ.

Luke viii. 16 ἵνα οἱ εἰσπορευόμενοι βλέπωσι τὸ φῶς (31).

Cf. Acts xxiii. 28 βουλόμενός τε ἐπιγνῶναι τὴν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν ἐνε-  
κάλουν αὐτῷ κατήγαγον αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον αὐτῶν.

*B* omits κατήγαγον . . . αὐτῶν (33) *hom.*

(d) Four lines.

Matt. x. 37 οὐκ ἔστι μου ἄξιος· καὶ ὁ φιλῶν ὑν ἡ θυγατέρα ὑπὲρ  
ἐμὲ οὐκ ἔστι μου ἄξιος.

*B*<sup>1</sup> omits καὶ ὁ φιλῶν . . . ἄξιος (42) *hom.*

Here the Oxyrhynchus papyrus 1170, cent. v, also omits the next clause καὶ ὃς οὐ λαμβάνει τὸν σῆρν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκολουθεῖ ὀπίσω μου, οὐκ ἔστι μου ἄξιος (62), which makes a total omission of 104.

I have noticed two cases of dittography which admit of similar explanation, viz. :

Matt. xxi. 4 πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τοῦ (20) *bis scr.*

John xvii. 9 καγὼ ἀπέστειλα αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν κόσμον (31) *bis scr.*

On the other hand we have

Luke i. 37 ὅτι οὐκ ἀδυνατήσει (16) *bis scr.*

This may be due to accident or may indicate an immediate ancestor with a slightly longer line. The example from John xvii. 9 (31) might also = 2 × 16.

Some transpositions of *B* admit of an easy explanation, e. g. :

John xix. 21 εἰμὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων] τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰμὶ *B*.

Here, εἰμί, after omission, has been inserted after τῶν Ἰουδαίων (11).

So also of *NB*, e. g. :

John xviii. 22 εἰς τῶν ὑπηρετῶν παρεστηκώς] εἰς παρεστηκώς τῶν ὑπηρετῶν *NB*. Here παρεστηκώς (10) has similarly been inserted in the wrong place.

I append a list of important omissions which *B* shares with other authorities, not *N*.

(28) Luke xi. 11 ἄρτον μὴ λίθον ἐπιδώσει αὐτῷ; ἡ καὶ *om.*  
*B* *S*, *alii*.

(31) Luke viii. 43 ἰατροῖς προσαναλώσασα ὅλον τὸν βίον *om.*  
*B* *S*<sup>s</sup> *Arm.*

(36) Luke xi. 2 γεννηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν ὄνῳ καὶ ἐπὶ (so  
*NA D*, ἐπὶ τῆς *cett.*) γῆς *om.* *B* *S* *Arm.*, *alii*.

(42) Luke xxiii. 34 ὁ δὲ Ἰς ἔλεγε, πρὶν ἄφες αὐτοῖς· οὐ γὰρ οἶδασιν  
τί ποιοῦσι *om.* *B D* *L*<sup>ab</sup> *S*<sup>s</sup> *Arm.*

(43) ib. 38 γράμμασιν Ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ Ῥωμαϊκοῖς καὶ Ἑβραϊκοῖς  
*om.* *B* *L*<sup>a</sup> *S* *Arm.*

Omissions common to *NB* will be treated later on.

## CHAPTER VI

### §<sup>s</sup>

THIS is a MS. of very great interest. It belongs to *Z*, but has some *Y* readings, e. g. it omits St. Mark xvi. 9–20. The other MS. which contains the old Syriac version, the Curetonensis (§<sup>c</sup>), is purely ‘Western’. I have selected §<sup>s</sup> for examination, since Mrs. Lewis’s list of its omissions from the text of W-H. renders the task easy. The Greek text on which it is founded can be inferred with some certainty, since, like all the versions, it is a word for word translation.

§<sup>s</sup> is very valuable for the purpose of this inquiry, since no special sanctity has been attached to its text. I have, therefore, no preconceived opinions to encounter. Also, it omits with the greatest freedom.

I must first exclude from the discussion well-known passages omitted by a number of authorities, since these go back to an earlier stage in the development, e. g. Matt. xvi. 2, xxi. 44, xxvii. 49; Mark iii. 14, 15; Luke xxii. 32, xxiii. 34: also, passages omitted by *Z* or members of *Z*, e. g. Matt. ix. 34; Luke xix. 25; John xii. 8. Also all passages where Aramaic words are translated into Greek, e. g. Matt. xxvii. 33; Mark vii. 34, xv. 34; John i. 38, 41, ix. 7, xi. 16, xx. 16, 24, xxi. 2, since these are consistently omitted. I can only suppose that the readers for whom the version was made did not require a translation.

Mrs. Lewis has drawn attention to an example where §<sup>s</sup> appears to omit a line of an ancestor, viz.:

Matt. xviii. 19 *πάλιν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅτι ἐὰν δύο ὑμῶν συμφωνήσωσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς περὶ παντὸς πράγματος.*

The Syriac for this is said to be:

‘Again verily I say unto you they shall agree upon earth about everything’.

There is here no equivalent for *ὅτι ἐὰν δύο ὑμῶν* (13). The omission is assisted by *hom.*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W-H. here read *πάλιν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐὰν δύο συμφωνήσωσιν ἐξ ὑμῶν*, and Mrs. Lewis treats the omission as one of *ὅτι ἐὰν δύο*. The omission, however, is simplified if we adopt the usual reading (*ὑμῖν*) *ὅτι ἐὰν δύο ὑμῶν*.



The number and character of the shorter omissions may be seen from John xi, viz.:<sup>1</sup>

- 1 ἐκ τῆς κώμης (10)
- τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτῆς (15)
- 7 ἔπειτα μετὰ τοῦτο (15)
- 11 καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο (12)
- 12 οὖν οἱ μαθηταί (12)
- 13 τῆς κοιμήσεως (12)
- 19 περὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ (14)
- 24 ἀναστήσεται (11)
- 28 τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆς (15)
- 31 οὖν Ἰουδαῖοι οἱ ὄντες μετ' αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ (35)
- 32 ἰδοῦσα αὐτόν (11)
- 39 ἡ ἀδελφὴ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος (24)
- 42 τὸν περιεστῶτα (13)
- 45 καὶ θεασάμενοι ὃ ἐποίησεν (22)
- 51 τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκείνου (18)
- 55 τῶν Ἰουδαίων (11)
- πρὸ τοῦ πάσχα (11)
- 56 ἐστηκότες, τί (11)

Here we have one omission of 10 and 5 of 11, with which we may compare two of 22; 3 of 12, with which we may compare one of 24, and one of 35. The natural inference is that at the back of  $\Sigma^s$  there is an ancestor with an average of 11 letters to the line. It does not follow that this was the immediate ancestor, and the longer omissions (14–18) may possibly represent lines in the model before the writer.

$\Sigma^s$  has an interesting series of dislocations in John xviii. 13–24, which are written thus:

- 13 καὶ ἤγαγον . . . ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκείνου (77)
- 24 ἀπέστειλεν οὖν . . . τὸν ἀρχιερέα (55)
- 14–15 ἦν δὲ Καιάφας . . . τοῦ ἀρχιερέως (192)
- 19–23 ὁ οὖν ἀρχιερεὺς . . . τί με δέρεις; (427)
- 16–18 ὁ δὲ Πέτρος . . . θερμαινόμενος (317)

Here  $11 \times 5 = 55$ ,  $11 \times 7 = 77$ ,  $11 \times 17 = 187$ ,  $11 \times 29 = 319$ ,  $11 \times 39 = 429$ .

I have noticed 485 cases—exclusive of those especially excepted

<sup>1</sup> I have omitted three cases given by Mrs. Lewis, viz.: 3 αὐτὸν λέγουσαι, 5 καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆς καί, 31 ταχέως ἀνέστη, since these are variants rather than omissions.

—(cf. *supra*), where  $\mathfrak{L}^s$  omits 10 letters and over. The smaller omissions present a welter of confusion, viz.:

| letters | examples | letters | examples | letters | examples |
|---------|----------|---------|----------|---------|----------|
| 10      | 74       | 20      | 11       | 30      | 2        |
| 11      | 61       | 21      | 11       | 31      | 6        |
| 12      | 61       | 22      | 10       | 32      | 2        |
| 13      | 46       | 23      | 8        | 33      | 2        |
| 14      | 29       | 24      | 7        | 34      | 1        |
| 15      | 30       | 25      | 5        | 35      | 1        |
| 16      | 19       | 26      | 6        | 36      | 2        |
| 17      | 18       | 27      | 5        | 37      | 4        |
| 18      | 18       | 28      | 4        | 38      | 3        |
| 19      | 12       | 29      | 2        | 39      | 1        |

I would merely point out the great number of omissions of 10–12 letters (196), the corresponding omissions of 20–2 letters (32) and the six omissions of 31 letters. For further light we must go to the longer omissions. These are:

(41) Mark xv. 42 καὶ ἡδὴ ὀψίας γενομένης, ἐπεὶ ἦν παρασκευή, ὃ ἐστὶ προσάββατον.

‘And it was the Sabbath’  $\mathfrak{L}^s$ .

This telescoped passage is very instructive. It points to the following distribution in an ancestor:

καὶ  
 ἡδὴ ὀψίας γε (10)  
 νομένης ἐπει (11)  
 ἦν παρασκευ (10)  
 ἡ ο ἐστὶν προ (10)  
 σαββατον

The copyist has omitted four lines of his model.

(41) Other omissions of this length are: <sup>1</sup>

Mark ix. 3 οἱ α γραφεὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οὐ δύναται οὕτως λευκᾶναι.

Luke vi. 40 καθηγητισμένος δὲ πᾶς ἔσται ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος αὐτοῦ (*hom.*).

(43) John x. 35 εἰ ἐκείνους εἶπεν  $\overline{\theta\upsilon\varsigma}$  πρὸς οὓς ὁ λόγος τοῦ  $\overline{\theta\upsilon}$  ἐγένετο.

(44) Mark xvi. 8 ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου, εἶχεν γὰρ αὐτὰς τρόμος καὶ ἔκστασις.

Luke vi. 32 καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας αὐτοὺς ἀγαπῶσιν.

John xvi. 3 καὶ ταῦτα ποιήσουσιν ὅτι οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τὸν  $\overline{\pi\rho\alpha}$  οὐδὲ ἐμέ.

<sup>1</sup> The text used is that of W-H.

- (46) Luke xx. 19 ἔγνωσαν γὰρ ὅτι πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἶπεν τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην.
- (47) John i. 40 δύο τῶν ἀκουσάντων παρὰ Ἰωάννου καὶ ἀκολουθησάντων αὐτῷ.
- (48) Matt. iv. 24 δαιμονιζομένους καὶ σεληνιζομένους καὶ παραλυτικούς.
- (49) Mark vii. 8 ἀφέντες τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ θυ κρατεῖτε τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνῶν (*hom.*).<sup>1</sup>  
John xx. 7 ὁ ἦν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ, οὐ μετὰ τῶν ὀθονίων κείμενον ἀλλά.
- (50) Luke xxiii. 51 οὗτος οὐκ ἦν συνκατατεθειμένος τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ πράξει αὐτῶν.
- (51) John v. 12 ἠρώτησαν αὐτόν, Τίς ἐστίν ὁ ἀνὼς ὁ εἰπὼν σοι, Ἄρον καὶ περιπάτει; (*hom.*).
- (54) Matt. xxii. 4 τὸ ἄριστόν μου ἡτοίμακα, οἱ ταῦροί μου καὶ τὰ σιτιστὰ τεθυμένα, καί.
- (65) Luke xii. 9 ὁ δὲ ἀρνησάμενός με ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνῶν ἀπαρνηθήσεται ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θυ (*hom.*).
- (70) Luke xiv. 27 ὅστις οὐ βαστάζει τὸν σῶτῶρα ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἔρχεται ὀπίσω μου, οὐ δύναται εἶναί μου μαθητῆς (*hom.*).
- (83) Matt. v. 47 καὶ ἐὰν ἀσπάσησθε τοὺς ἀδελφούς ὑμῶν μόνον, τι περισσὸν ποιεῖτε; οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ ἔθνικοι τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν;
- (128) Matt. v. 30 καὶ εἰ ἡ δεξιὰ σου χεὶρ σκανδαλίζει σε, ἔκκοψον αὐτήν καὶ βάλε ἀπὸ σοῦ, συμφέρει γάρ σοι ἵνα ἀπόληται ἐν τῶν μελῶν σου καὶ μὴ ὅλον τὸ σῶμά σου εἰς γέενναν ἀπέλθῃ (*hom.*).
- (132) John xiv. 10–11 τὰ ῥήματα ἃ ἐγὼ λέγω ὑμῖν ἀπ’ ἐμαντοῦ οὐ λαλῶ· ὁ δὲ πρὸ ἐν ἐμοὶ μένων ποιεῖ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ. πιστεῦτέ μοι ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐν ἐμοί· εἰ δὲ μή, διὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτὰ πιστεῦτέ.
- (167) Matt. vi. 5 καὶ ὅταν προσεύχησθε, οὐκ ἔσεσθε ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταί· ὅτι φιλοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς γωνίαις τῶν πλατειῶν ἐστῶτες προσεύχεσθαι, ὅπως φανῶσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἀπέχουσι τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῶν.
- (262) Luke xxiii. 10–12 ἰστήκεισαν δὲ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς εὐτόνως κατηγοροῦντες αὐτοῦ. ἐξουθενήσας δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἡρώδης σὺν τοῖς στρατεύμασιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐμπαίξας περιβαλὼν ἐσθῆτα λαμπρὰν ἀνέπεμψεν αὐτὸν τῷ Πειλάτῳ. ἐγένοντο δὲ φίλοι ὁ τε Ἡρώδης καὶ ὁ Πειλάτος ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μετ’ ἀλλήλων· προϋπῆρχον γὰρ ἐν ἔχθρᾳ ὄντες πρὸς αὐτούς.

<sup>1</sup>  $\Sigma^a$  also omits the following words καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς (15), but this seems to be a separate omission.

The first point to notice here is that 262 is intermediate between  $128 \times 2 (= 256)$  and  $132 \times 2 (= 264)$  so 167 is very nearly twice 83. If we divide 132 by 2 we have 66, for which we may compare 65 (Luke xii. 9). So if we divide 83 by 2, we have 41-2, for which there are four examples, the most notable being the telescoped passage Mark xv. 42.

If again we divide 66, the result is 33. For this we have two examples, viz. :

Matt. xxiv. 30 καὶ τότε κόψονται πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς (*hom.*).

Mark xi. 8 ἄλλοι δὲ στιβάδας κόψαντες ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν (*hom.*).

These are reinforced by two of 32, viz. :

Luke vii. 7 διὸ οὐδὲ ἐμαντὸν ἤξιῶσα πρὸς σὲ ἐλθεῖν (*hom.*).

John xvi. 25 οὐκέτι ἐν παροιμίαις λαλήσω ὑμῖν ἀλλὰ (*hom.*).

Also by seven of 31, viz. :

Matt. viii. 5 εἰσελθόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰς Καφαρναούμ.

xiii. 15 καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσιν καὶ ἰάσονται αὐτούς.

xxii. 24 καὶ ἀναστήσει σπέρμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ (*hom.*).

Mark xiv. 65 καὶ περικαλύπτειν αὐτοῦ τὸ πρόσωπον (*hom.*).

Luke xx. 11 καὶ ἀτιμάσαντες ἐξάπέστειλαν κενόν.

John iv. 24 τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας αὐτόν· πᾶν ὁ ὅς, καὶ (*hom.*).

v. 10 τῷ τεθεραπευμένῳ, Σάββατόν ἐστιν, καί.

From 31-3 we go back to 20-2 (32 examples), and finally to 10-12 (196 examples). There thus appears to be a common unit, which runs through most of these omissions. It must not be inferred for a moment that I wish to explain *all* the shorter omissions in this way. Much must have been due to accident. As, however, the omissions become longer, the hypothesis of mere accident, apart from line-division, becomes less likely. Also, I must repeat what I have previously indicated, that in all probability most of the omissions were made in a previous copy. The omissions of 14-16 letters (78) seem too numerous for explanation by accident, and I think it more likely that the immediate model was written in this formation. If so, some of the larger numbers may be multiples of 14-16, not of 10-12. This is a point which it is impossible to settle, where we are concerned with such small units. The internal evidence is in favour of attributing most of them to the operation of the smaller unit. The point upon which I lay stress is the extraordinary way in which the omissions hang together and the connexion becomes most evident in the case of the longest, where accident is least likely to have been the cause.

There is an interesting omission coupled with transposition in Mark vi. 22-3 :

αἰτησὸν με ὃ ἐὰν θέλῃς, καὶ δώσω σοί. καὶ ὥμοσεν αὐτῇ ὅτι Ὁ ἐὰν  
με αἰτήσῃς, δώσω σοί, ἕως ἡμισυὸς τῆς βασιλείας μου.

For this  $\mathfrak{S}^s$  has

‘Ask of me and I will give thee even unto the half of my Kingdom, and he swore with an oath’. This seems to indicate the following arrangement (after ἐὰν θέλῃς) in an ancestor :

καὶ δώσω σοι  
καὶ ὥμοσεν αὐτῇ  
ὅτι ὁ εἰαν με αἰ  
τησῇς δώσω σοι  
5 ἕως ἡμισυὸς τῆς  
βασιλείας μου

The scribe passed from the first δώσω σοί to the second, and καὶ ὥμοσεν αὐτῇ was subsequently inserted after l. 6.

There is a famous variant in Matt. xxvii. 17

τίνα θέλετε ἀπολύσω ὑμῶν ; Βαραββᾶν ; ἢ Ἰν τὸν λεγόμενον Χν ;  
which now admits of easy explanation.

Here  $\mathfrak{S}^s$  has (so also in v. 16) Ἰησοῦν Βαραββᾶν, so also Arm., Origen, and some minuscules. Tregelles has already suggested that  $\overline{\text{ιν}}$  is a dittography of the last two letters in ὑμῶν. If the passage were written,

ὑ  
μῶν βαρ<sup>υ</sup>ββαν (11)  
ἢ  $\overline{\text{ιν}}$

it is obvious that the mistake might easily arise.

## CHAPTER VII

### ℒ<sup>k</sup>

THIS MS. comes from Bobbio, and is connected by tradition with St. Columban.<sup>1</sup> Its importance lies in the fact that its text agrees with the quotations of Cyprian. It, therefore, represents the 'African' branch of the Latin family.

ℒ<sup>k</sup> is written in long lines with an average of about 26 letters to the line, and has 14 lines to the page. It contains Matt. i. 1—iii. 10, iv. 2—xiv. 17, xv. 20—36; Mark viii. 8—11, 14—16, viii. 19—xvi. 9.

There is clear evidence that it was immediately copied from a Latin ancestor<sup>2</sup> with an average of 14–15 letters to the line. This is shown by some passages which the first writer has omitted, and a corrector has added. They are marked by symbols for omission, viz. *ha* (? *hic adde*) in the text and *hs* (= *hic supple*) or *hv* (? *hic vide*) in the margin or at the foot of the page. I have noticed the following:

(14) Matt. ii. 2 eius in orientem.

15 ut adimpleretur.

Mark xvi. 8 praedicationis.

(27) Matt. ii. 2 et uenimus adorare eum cum audis—.

This is interesting, since the passage has been 'telescoped'.

(31) Matt. xii. 27 neque patrem agnoscit nisi filius et.

(45) „ xiii. 7 in spinas et ascenderunt spineae et suffocauerunt ea.

(63) Matt. x. 4 et in ciuitatem samaritanorum ne introieritis.

Ite magis per oues perditas.

The only supplements which I have not included in this list

<sup>1</sup> R. Beer has recently given reasons for thinking that *k*, together with other old MSS., came to Bobbio from the collection of Cassiodorus (*Akad. Wissenschaft*, Wien, 1911, pp. 78–104).

<sup>2</sup> The presence of a Latin ancestor is also shown by *duplices lectiones*, e. g. *f.* 18 *recto*, *l.* 14 cogitaruntbant. A previous MS. must have had cogitarunt.

are, Matt. vi. 3, *quid faciat dextra tua* (19), which may possibly represent an unusually long line, and xiii. 32, the single word *holeribus*. The others manifestly go together. Thus 27 is nearly twice 14 (3 examples) : 63 is nearly twice 31 ( $15 \times 2 = 30$ ) : so  $45 = 15 \times 3$ .

Beyond the immediate ancestor there is a Greek original. Canon Sanday in an admirable Appendix<sup>1</sup> deals with the Greek text presupposed by *k*. The list of omissions which he gives is particularly useful. It is obvious that *k* omits very freely. Sanday notices a number of cases which he thinks due to an attempt to abridge the text.

I exclude from the discussion omissions of *k* which are shared by *Y* and other MSS., since these concern an earlier stage in the history of the text, e. g. :

Matt. v. 44 εὐλογεῖτε . . . μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς, ib. ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς  
καί, xv. 31 κυλλοὺς ὑγιεῖς, Mark ix. 29 καὶ νηστεία, ib. 44  
and 46 ὅπου ὁ σκώληξ . . . σβέννυται, xi. 26 εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς . . .  
ὑμῶν.

The omissions show that the Greek original had an average of 10–12 letters to the line. I quote the following examples :

(10) Matt. vii. 11 πόσω μᾶλλον.

xii. 1 καὶ ἤρξαντο.

Mark xi. 8 εἰς τὴν ὁδόν.

31 εἰ ἂν εἰπώμεν.

xiii. 37 γρηγορεῖτε.

I have not included in this list Matt. iv. 17 μετανοεῖτε, since the omission is shared by *Σ*, Clem. Orig. Eus.

(11) Mark ix. 10 συζητοῦντες.

xi. 6 καὶ φέρουσιν.

xii. 4 καὶ ἠτίμασαν.

(12) Matt. v. 33 τοὺς ἀρχαίους.

Mark xii. 2 τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος.

Possibly we should include omissions of 9 letters, viz. :

Matt. xi. 1 διατάσσω, xii. 2 ἐν σαββάτῳ, 30 σκορπίζει, Mark xii.

9 τί ποιήσει, 19 διδάσκαλε, xiii. 9 δαρήσῃς, xiv. 51 ἐπὶ  
γυμνοῦ.

Also, of 13 letters, viz. :

Matt. vi. 20 καὶ κλέπτουσιν, Mark ix. 5 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς, x. 17  
προσδραμὼν καί.

<sup>1</sup> *Old Latin Biblical Texts*, ii, pp. 119–21.

I now add the multiples :

TWO LINES.

(20) Matt. iv. 24 καὶ ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτούς.

Mark x. 37 καθίσωμεν ἐν τῇ δόξῃ σου.

46 ὁ υἱ Τιμαίου Βαρτίμαιος.

xvi. 2 ἀνατείλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου.

(21) Mark xv. 34 ὁ ἐστι μεθερμηνεόμενον.

The instance given from Mark x. 37 is very instructive, since the reading of *k* does not give any sense. The Greek original, which I will term *K*, appears to have had

ἵνα εἰς ἐκ δεξι (12)

ων σου καὶ εἰς (11)

ἐξ ευωνυμων (10)

καθισωμεν ἐν (11)

5 τῇ δόξῃ σου (9)

ο δε υἱς εἶπεν (10)

For this *k* gives

da nobis ut unus a dextram

et unus a sinistra. hī<sup>s</sup> autem

respondens dixit

The writer omitted ll. 4-5.

THREE LINES.

Mark xi. 10. Here *K* seems to have had

ευλογημενος ο

ερχομενος ἐν

ονοματι κυ

ευλογημενη

5 η ερχομενη

βασιλεια του

πρς ημων Δαδ

We find in *k*

bene

dictus qui uenit in regnum pa

tri nostri dauid

Lines 3-5 have been omitted.

(31) Matt. viii. 5 εἰσελθόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰς Καπερναούμ.

FOUR LINES.

(39) Matt. x. 19 δοθήσεται γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ τί λαλήσετε  
(*hom.*).



Mark x. 34 καὶ ἐμπτύσουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ μαστιγώσουσιν αὐτόν  
(*hom.*).

(42) Matt. iv. 4 ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παντὶ ῥήματι ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στό-  
ματος θν.

(43) Mark ix. 37 ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου, ἐμὲ δέχεται· καὶ ὃς ἐὰν ἐμὲ  
δέχεται (*hom.*).

Mark xi. 28 ἢ τίς σοι τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην ἔδωκεν ἵνα ταῦτα  
ποιῇς ; (*hom.*)

Mark xii. 30 καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου, καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς  
διανοίας σου (*hom.*).

## FIVE LINES.

(50) Mark xiv. 35. Here *K* seems to have had

προσηυχετο  
ινα ει δυνατον  
εστι παρελθῃ  
απ αυτου η ω  
5 ρα και ελεγεν  
αββα ο παρ παν  
τα δυνατα σοι  
παρενεγκε  
το ποτηριον  
10 απ εμου τουτο

Here *k* has

adorabat dicens, si fieri potest  
ut transeat calix iste

The writer appears to have omitted ll. 4–8. The omission was assisted by *hom.* (viz. παρέλθῃ, παρένεγκε).

Another example of five-line omission will be found later on (Matt. xiii. 14–15).

## SIX LINES.

(60) Matt. ix. 34 οἱ δὲ Φαρισαῖοι ἔλεγον, Ἐν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν  
δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια.

## SEVEN LINES.

(70) Mark ix. 35 καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, Εἴ τις θέλει πρῶτος εἶναι,  
ἔσται πάντων ἔσχατος, καὶ πάντων διάκονος.

## EIGHT LINES.

(83) Matt. v. 47 καὶ ἐὰν ἀσπάσησθε τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ὑμῶν μόνον,  
τί περισσὸν ποιεῖτε ; οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ ἐθνικοὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν ;  
(*hom.*)

## NINE LINES.

(91) Mark xii. 32-3. Here *K* seems to have had

ειπας οτι εις  
 εστι και ουκ  
 εστιν αλλος  
 πλην αυτου  
 5 και το αγαπαν  
 αυτον εξ ολης  
 της καρδιας  
 και εξ ολης  
 της συνεσεως  
 10 και εξ ολης  
 της ισχυος  
 και το αγαπαν  
 τον πλησιον  
 ως εαυτον

We find in *k* (corruptly)

dixisti quia unus est dñs et nō  
 est praescriptum tamquam te

Here the writer seems to have passed from καὶ τὸ ἀγαπᾶν in l. 5 to the same words in l. 12.

## TWELVE LINES.

(125) Mark xi. 4-6 καὶ εὑρον πῶλον δεδεμένον πρὸς τὴν θύραν ἔξω  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀμφοδου, καὶ λύουσιν αὐτόν. καὶ τινες τῶν ἐκεῖ ἐστηκότων  
 ἔλεγον αὐτοῖς, Τί ποιεῖτε λύοντες τὸν πῶλον ;

I have reserved some special cases, viz. :

Mark x. 46 καὶ ἔρχονται εἰς Ἱεριχὺ καὶ ἐκπορευομένου αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ  
 Ἱεριχὺ, καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὄχλου ἱκανοῦ, ὁ υἱὸς Τιμαίου  
 Βαρτίμαιος, τυφλὸς προσαίτης, ἐκάθητο παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν.

For this *k* has

et ueniunt  
 ierocho cum turba magna cae  
 cus mendicus sedebat ad uiam

Here we have two omissions, viz. that of καὶ ἐκπορευομένου . . .  
 μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ (48, or 49, if Ἱεριχὺ is written) and that of ὁ υἱὸς  
 . . . Βαρτίμαιος (20), mentioned above.

Mark xii. 4 καὶ πάλιν ἀπέστειλε πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἄλλον δοῦλον· κακείνον  
 ἐκεφαλίσαν, καὶ ἡτίμασαν. καὶ ἄλλον ἀπέστειλε· κακείνον  
 ἀπέκτειναν· καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους, τοὺς μὲν δέροντες, τοὺς δὲ

ἀποκτείνοντες. ἔτι ἓνα εἶχεν, ὃν ἀγαπητόν· ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν ἔσχατον.

For this *h* gives

misit ad illos alium ser-  
uum et illum decollauerunt et  
alium misit et occiderunt et ali-  
um et alius multos nouissimum  
misit filium

Here, as previously noticed, καὶ ἡτίμασαν (11) is omitted. Also, there is no equivalent for τοὺς μὲν δέροντες . . . ἓνα εἶχεν (45). I suspect, however, that ὃν ἀγαπητόν (10) was also omitted, and αὐτόν changed to *filium* in consequence. If so, the omission consists of 55 letters. The interesting point is that the text was modified in consequence of the omission.

Matt. xiii. 14-15 καὶ ἀναπληροῦνται αὐτοῖς ἡ προφητεία Ἡσαΐου ἡ λέγουσα, Ἀκοῇ ἀκούσετε, καὶ οὐ μὴ συνῆτε· καὶ βλέποντες βλέψετε καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδητε· ἐπαχύνθη γὰρ ἡ καρδία τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου, καὶ τοῖς ὥσι βάρεως ἤκουσαν, καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκάμμυσαν· μήποτε ἴδωσι τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, καὶ τοῖς ὣσιν ἀκούσωσι, καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ συνῶσι, καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσι, καὶ ἰάσωμαι αὐτούς. ὧμων δὲ μακάριοι.

For this *h* gives (corruptly)

et tunc implebitur super  
eos profetatio esieae dicens  
incrassa corpori huius et au-  
ricula peius obtura et oculis  
eorum grauia ne forte conuer-  
tantur. uestri autem felices

Here there is no equivalent for ἀκοῇ ἀκούσετε . . . οὐ μὴ ἴδητε (56), and ἴδωσι τοῖς . . . συνῶσι καὶ (57). This seems to show that *h* has on two occasions dropped five lines of *K*. The intervening passage, ἐπαχύνθη . . . μήποτε contains 90 letters, i. e. 9 lines of *K*. We have parallels for 56 in Mark xii. 4 (55) and for 90 in Mark xii. 32-3. There is a further omission in *h* of καὶ ἰάσωμαι αὐτούς (16), which does not admit of a similar explanation.

The reader may now inquire what other omissions of *h* there are which I have not considered. There is one omission of 23 letters, viz. Mark viii. 33 καὶ ἰδὼν τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ, and one of 24, Matt. x. 24 οὐδὲ δοῦλος ὑπὲρ τὸν κν αὐτοῦ. These may represent two lines of *K*. Some doubt attaches to Mark viii. 26 μὴδὲ εἰς τὴν κώμην εἰσέλθης (23), since there are important variants. There is

also one omission of 19 letters, Mark xvi. 18 καὶ οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν εἶπον, which, doubtless, represents two lines of the original.

There is also one omission of 35 letters, viz.:

Mark x. 36 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Τί θέλετε ποιῆσαί με ὑμῖν; (*hom.*)

The previous sentence ends with ποιήσης ἡμῖν, and the repetition is quite enough to account for the omission. I might, however, claim it as another example of three lines omitted.

The only other omissions which I have noted are:

(14) Mark x. 39 ὁ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι.

(15) Mark xi. 17 πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

xii. 22 οὐκ ἀφήκαν σπέρμα.

xiii. 22 ψευδόχριστοι καί.

(17) Mark xii. 42 μὴ καταλιπὼν σπέρμα.

Two other cases which occur in Sanday's list (Mark xv. 34, 42) will be mentioned presently.

In view of the agreements which exist between the Old Latin versions and the Old Syriac, and suggestions which have been made in consequence, it is necessary to point out some singular evidence furnished by omissions in *k* and *S*<sup>a</sup>.

Some have other support besides *S*<sup>a</sup> *L*<sup>k</sup>, viz.:

(10) Matt. iv. 17 μετανοεῖτε *om.* Clem. Orig. Eus.

(21) Mark x. 2 προσελθόντες Φαρισαῖοι *om.* *D* *L*<sup>ab</sup>.

(23) Matt. xi. 5 καὶ πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται *om.* Diat. Clem. Ambst.

(60) Matt. ix. 34 οἱ δὲ . . . δαιμόνια *om.* *D* *L* Diat., *alii*.

(70) Mark ix. 35 καὶ λέγει . . . διάκονος *om.* *D*.

The presence of 10 as the common unit seems clear.

The following seem peculiar to *S*<sup>a</sup> *L*<sup>k</sup>:

(9) Matt. xii. 2 ἐν σαββάτῳ, Mark ix. 8 μεθ' ἐαυτῶν, 27 καὶ ἀνέστη, x. 25 εἰσελθεῖν, xiv. 51 ἐπὶ γυμνοῦ.

(11) Matt. ix. 27 καὶ λέγοντες, Mark xi. 15 κατέστρεψεν, xii. 4 καὶ ἡτίμασαν.

(12) Matt. v. 33 τοῖς ἀρχαίοις, xiii. 1 ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας.

(13) Mark xiv. 3 τὴν ἀλάβαστρον, xv. 26 ἐπιγεγραμμένη.

(14) Mark xii. 2 παρὰ τῶν γεωργῶν.

(22) Matt. i. 25 οὐκ ἐγινώσκειν αὐτὴν ἕως οὗ.

(24) Matt. x. 24 οὐδὲ δοῦλος ὑπὲρ τὸν κν αὐτοῦ.

(31) Matt. viii. 5 εἰσελθόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰς Καπερναοῦμ.

(83) Matt. v. 47 καὶ ἐὰν ἀσπάσῃσθε . . . ποιοῦσιν;

This long omission is of considerable interest, if compared with that of 167, peculiar to *S*<sup>a</sup>, in Matt. vi. 5 καὶ ὅταν . . . μισθὸν

αὐτῶν. We may also compare the omission by *k* of 125 letters, in Mark xi. 4–6 (καὶ εὗρον . . . τὸν πῶλον) with that of 128 letters omitted by *S*<sup>s</sup>, in Matt. v. 30 (καὶ εἰ ἡ . . . γέενναν ἀπέλθῃ).

There are also passages where there seems to be some relation between *S*<sup>s</sup> and *k*, though the omissions are different, e. g. :

Matt. xiii. 12 δοθήσεται αὐτῷ, καὶ περισσευθήσεται] καὶ περισσευθήσεται (18) *om.* *S*<sup>s</sup> : δοθήσεται (9) *om.* *k*.

xiii. 15 καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσιν καὶ ἰάσονται αὐτοὺς (31) *om.* *S*<sup>s</sup> : καὶ ἰάσονται αὐτοὺς (16) *om.* *k*.

Mark xi. 28 ἡ τίς σοι τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην ἔδωκεν ἵνα ταῦτα ποιῇς; (43) *om.* *k* : ἵνα ταῦτα ποιῇς (13) *om.* *S*<sup>s</sup>.

Mark xv. 34 ὁ ἐστὶ μεθερμηνεούμενον, ὁ θς μου, ὁ θς μου, εἰς τί με ἐγκατέλιπες; (51) *om.* *S*<sup>s</sup>.

Here *k* has

dī me

us dī meus, ad quid me maledixisti

omitting ὁ ἐστὶ μεθερμηνεούμενον (21).

This is interesting since *S*<sup>s</sup> generally omits these explanations.

In the same chapter, however, *k* has (v. 22)

ferunt illam in

culgotham locum qui est inter

praetatus galuariae locus

I have previously mentioned (p. 38) the curious passage :

Mark xv. 42 καὶ ἡδη ὀψίας γενομένης, ἐπεὶ ἦν παρασκευή, ὁ ἐστὶν προσάββατον, which *S*<sup>s</sup> translates καὶ σάββατον *om. med.* (41).

Here *k* has

serum autem cum factum esset

cene pure sabbati

*Cena pura* = παρασκευή. Sanday says that *k* has omitted ὁ ἐστὶν προσάββατον. I am not sure that the scribe was not rendering ἐπεὶ ἦν παρασκευὴ σαββάτου (for -ον) omitting ὁ ἐστὶν προ- (9). If so, the agreement with the truncated reading of *S*<sup>s</sup> becomes very remarkable.

## CHAPTER VIII

### *D* (COD. BEZAE)

*D* is the great enigma of New Testament criticism. It is a Graeco-Latin MS. written in the sixth (or fifth<sup>1</sup>) century. The prevalent opinion is that it was written in the Rhone Valley, but Dr. Loew has recently impugned this view. He points out cases where the scribe began to write Greek instead of Latin, and draws the inference that Greek was his mother-tongue. He also shows that the symbols used for omissions and transpositions are Greek, and that all the early annotations are in Greek. The provenance of the MS. must, therefore, be regarded as doubtful.

*D*, unlike the other MSS. with which I have dealt, is written in irregular *στίχοι* or sense-lines. Blass says that in this method of writing the line is broken off at every, even the smallest, section in the train of ideas, which requires a pause in reading. The subject of ancient stichometry bristles with difficulties which I do not intend to discuss here. This particular method of using sense-lines is employed in the poetical parts of the Old Testament. I would only point out here that it is especially adapted for a bilingual MS., in which a word for word translation is desired.

The *στίχοι* in *D* vary in character. The order of the Gospels is Matthew, John, Luke, Mark. In Matthew the sense divisions are generally maintained, though there are occasional irregularities, e. g. xix. 1 :

και εγενετο οτε ελαλησεν ο ιησ  
τους λογους τουτους μετηρην απο της  
γαλιλαιας

In John and Luke the stichometric arrangement, as Scrivener points out, appears to be breaking up. We find for instance such lines as :

Luke vii. 38 κλαιουσα τοις δακρυσι εβρεξε τους  
ποδας αυτου και ταις θριξι της  
κεφαλης

Not only are prepositions separated from their cases but sometimes words are divided, e. g. :

<sup>1</sup> So Prof. Burkitt and Dr. Loew.

Luke i. 1 *ἡ ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχειρήσαν ἀνα-  
ταξασθαι*

Luke xxiii. 18 *αὐτὸν ἀπολυσὼ ἀνεκραζάν δὲ παν-  
πληθεὶ λεγόντες αἶρε τούτον αἶραι τούτον*

Sometimes the Latin reproduces the irregularity, e.g. Luke v. 19 :

*ἀνεβησαν ἐπὶ τὸ δῶμα καὶ ἀποσ- ascenderunt super tectum et de  
τεγασάντες τοὺς κεράμους οὗπου ἦν tegentes imbrices ubi erat*

Scrivener goes so far as to say that in Luke the dissolution of the sense divisions 'becomes the rule rather than the exception', and draws the conclusion, which seems inevitable, that several stages must have intervened between *D* and its first ancestor arranged in *στίχοι*. This is a fact of some importance, since a considerable amount of time must be postulated to account for the process of disintegration. He notices that 'as the work proceeds from the middle of St. Luke onwards the arrangement of the *στίχοι* becomes less broken and careless'. This statement is not strong enough. In St. Mark and still more so in the Acts the irregularities are few, and the appearance of the *στίχοι* is far more primitive.

*D* contains a good deal of evidence concerning its immediate ancestor or ancestors. There are several cases in which omitted words are added by the first hand both in the Greek and the Latin, e.g. Matt. xv. 23, the words

*μη ποτε ἐκλυθωσιν ἐν τῇ ὁδῳ* ne dissolbantur in itinere

are added above the line.

Other examples are to be found in v. 37 of the same chapter and in Luke xix. 30, Mark viii. 35.

The Latin and Greek correspond with great exactitude, thus in Mark xiv. 16 both have a dittography, viz.:

*καὶ ἐξηλθον οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ* et abierunt discipuli eius  
*καὶ ἐξηλθον οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ* et uenerunt discipuli eius

Not infrequently the Latin (*d*) omits one or more lines of the Greek and resorts to a device for correction, e.g.:

Luke vi. 37-8 :

*μη κρινετε ἵνα μη κριθητε* (a) nolite iudicare ut non iudice-  
*μη καταδικαζετε ἵνα μη καταδι-* mini  
*κασθητε* (δ) date et dabitur uobis  
*ἀπολυετε καὶ ἀπολυθησεσθαι* mensuram uonam conquassatam

|                              |                                |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| διδότε και δοθησεται υμιν    | impletam supereffundentem      |
| μετρον καλον σεσαλευμενον    | dabunt in sinus uestros        |
| πεπιεσμενον υπερεκχυννομενον | in qua enim mensura metieritis |
| δωσουσιν εις τον κολμων υμων | (β) nolite condemnare ut non   |
| ω γαρ μετρω μετρειτε αντι    | condemnemini                   |
| μετρηθησεται υμειν           | (γ) dimitte et dimittemini re- |
|                              | mitietur uobis                 |

Other examples are :

Luke viii. 44, 47, xi. 26, 27, xix. 47, 48.

We may compare Matt. xvii. 25 :

και εισελθοντι εις την οικιαν  
προεφθασεν αυτον ο ιης λεγων  
et ingresso in domum praeuenit eum ihs̄ dicens

Here two lines are compressed into one in *d*. This is rectified in *v*. 27, where two lines are rendered by three.

Occasionally *d* preserves something lost in the Greek. The most striking case is

Luke xvi. 7 :

|                                    |  |
|------------------------------------|--|
| επειτα τω ετερω ειπεν εκατον       | deinde alio dixit tu autem quan-       |
| κορους                             | tum                                    |
| σειτου ο δε λεγει αυτω δεξε σου τα | debes ad ille dixit centum men-        |
|                                    | suras                                  |
| γραμματα και γραψον ογδοηκοντα     | tritici ad ille dixit illi accipe tuas |
|                                    | litteras et scribe octoginta           |

Here the immediate ancestor must have had

επειτα τω ετερω ειπεν συ δε ποσον  
οφειλεις ο δε ειπεν εκατον κορους

The writer of *D* passed from the first to the second *ειπεν*, omitting two half-lines.

We may compare Mark x. 19 :

|                              |                            |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| μη μοιχευσης μη πορνευσης μη | ne adulteres ne occidas ne |
| κλειψης                      | furis                      |

Here *μη φονεύσης* has been replaced in the Greek by a variant for *μη μοιχεύσης*, but is preserved in the Latin.

There are indications which show that in the Gospels *D* is derived from an ultimate ancestor with an average of 10-12 letters in the line.

The most significant case is :

Luke xvii. 36 δύο ἔσονται ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ· ὁ εἰς παραληφθήσεται.



*D* has *δυο εγω εις παραληφθησεται*. This points to an original reading :

δυο ε  
 σονται εν τω α (11)  
 γρω εις

A line was omitted and *δυο εγω* was written.

A similar inference may be drawn from John xx. 13. Here *D* after *τί κλαίεις*; adds *τίνα ζητεῖς*; (10). The addition comes from v. 15 *τί κλαίεις*; *τίνα ζητεῖς*;

The intervening words, *λέγει αὐτοῖς . . . τί κλαίεις*; consist of 145 letters, i.e. 14 lines of the original. The same repetition is found in *S*<sup>a</sup>.

The omissions of *D* must be treated with caution when they occur at the end of a *στίχος*, since here a line may have been lost both in the Greek and the Latin, though the double omission is not very likely. I quote first some omissions which occur in the middle of a *στίχος* :

(10) Mark vii. 24 καὶ Σιδῶνος (*hom.*).

(11) Luke x. 42 μεριμνᾷς καί.

xxi. 24 καιροὶ ἐθνῶν.

(21) Mark x. 2 προσελθόντες Φαρισαῖοι.

(23) Luke xii. 26 οὖν οὐδὲ ἐλάχιστον δύνασθε.

xxiv. 51 καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐνόν.

(26) Luke xix. 25 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, κέ, ἔχει δέκα μνᾶς (if *ι' μνᾶς* = 23).

(30) Luke ix. 23 καὶ ἀράτω τὸν ὄτρυν αὐτοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν (*hom.*).

(33) Luke xii. 19 κείμενα εἰς ἔτη πολλά· ἀναπαύου, φάγε, πίε.

(39) Matt. x. 19 δοθήσεται γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ᾧρα τί λαλήσετε (*hom.*).

A number of passages omitted at the end of a *στίχος* may be explained in the same way, e.g.:

(10) Matt. v. 11 ψευδόμενοι.

(11) John viii. 34 τῆς ἁμαρτίας.

(20) Matt. xi. 5 καὶ χωλοὶ περιπατοῦσιν.

Luke xxiv. 6 οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε, ἀλλ' ἠγέρθη.

(21) Matt. xii. 20 κάλαμον συντετριμμένον.

(22) Mark ii. 26 ἐπὶ Ἀβιάθαρ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως.

(31) Matt. xix. 9 καὶ ὁ ἀπολελυμένην γαμήσας μοιχᾶται.

(42) Matt. x. 37 καὶ ὁ φιλῶν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα ὑπὲρ ἐμὲ οὐκ ἔστι μου ἄξιος (*hom.*).

(51) Mark ii. 27 τὸ σάββατον διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐγένετο καὶ οὐχ ὁ ἄνθρωπος διὰ τὸ σάββατον.

(54) John xii. 8 τοὺς πτωχοὺς γὰρ πάντοτε ἔχετε μεθ' ἐαυτῶν, ἐμὲ δὲ οὐ πάντοτε ἔχετε.

(55) Matt. x. 41 καὶ ὁ δεχόμενος δίκαιον εἰς ὄνομα δικαίου μισθὸν δικαίου λήψεται (*hom.*).

(60) Matt. ix. 34 οἱ δὲ Φαρισαῖοι ἔλεγον, Ἐν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια.

(70) Mark ix. 35 καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, Εἴ τις θέλει πρῶτος εἶναι, ἔσται πάντων ἕσχατος, καὶ πάντων διάκονος.

One of the most interesting passages is :

Luke xii. 39 εἰ ᾗδει . . . ποία ὥρα ὁ κλέπτης ἔρχεται, ἐγρηγόρησεν ἄν, καὶ οὐκ ἀφῆκε διορυγῆναι τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ. καὶ ὑμεῖς γίνεσθε ἔτοιμοι.

Here *D* gives *sine sensu*

|                                   |                               |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| ποια ωρα ο κλεπτης ερχεται ουκ αν | qua hora fur uenit utique non |
| και υμεις δε γεινεσθαι ετοιμοι    | et uos ergo estote parati     |

omitting ἐγρηγόρησεν . . . οἶκον αὐτοῦ (47).

This passage does not fit in easily with those just given, being rather long for four and short for five lines of the archetype. It is, however, to be taken in connexion with another omission of 47 letters, viz. :

Luke xxiv. 40 καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν ἔδειξεν αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας.

In the present passage it is to be noticed that the words ἐγρηγόρησεν ἄν καί (16) are also omitted by *ℵ*, *℥*, *ℒ<sup>e</sup>*, *℣<sup>s</sup>*, *Arm.*, *Marcion*.<sup>1</sup> This suggests the following arrangement in a predecessor :

ἐγρηγόρησεν αν και (16)  
 ουκ αφηκε διορυγη (15)  
 ναι τον οικον αυτου (16)

This is one of many indications which show traces of an intermediate ancestor written in slightly longer lines.

There are some interesting transpositions in *D*, e. g. :

Matt. v. 4-5 μακάριοι οἱ πρᾶεῖς· ὅτι αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν (44) *ante* μακάριοι οἱ πενθοῦντες· ὅτι αὐτοὶ παρακληθήσονται (43) *hab. D ℒ ℤ<sup>c</sup>*.

Here either order is equally good. The words seem to represent four lines of 11 letters.

Mark ii. 26 καὶ τοὺς ἄρτους τῆς προθέσεως ἔφαγεν, οὓς οὐκ ἔξεστι

<sup>1</sup> It is clear that this omission existed in the ancestor of *D* ; for οὐκ ἄν is the beginning of οὐκ ἄν ἀφῆκε διορυγῆναι, and implies the absence of ἐγρηγόρησεν ἄν καί.

φαγεῖν εἰ μὴ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι, καὶ ἔδωκε καὶ (om. *D*) τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ οὖσι.

Here *D* puts καὶ ἔδωκε τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ οὖσι (23) before οὖς . . . ἱερεῦσι (33), a collocation which is clearly wrong. Apparently two and three lines of 11 letters have changed places.

Matt. xvii. 12-13 οὕτω καὶ ὁ υἱ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου μέλλει πάσχειν ὑπ' αὐτῶν. τότε συνήκαν οἱ μαθηταί, ὅτι περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς.

*D* puts τότε συνήκαν . . . εἶπεν αὐτοῖς (57) before οὕτω καὶ . . . αὐτῶν (37), destroying the sense. Here a line of 11-12 letters seems to be the unit.

There is an interesting transposition in Mark x. 25, but, as there are several variants, I will not use the passage here. As given by *D* a verse of 74 letters comes before one of 154.

It will be apparent from these examples that *D* omits just as freely as any other MS.

Before I quit *D*, I think it worth while to put together some remarks of Hort on the subject of this MS. He says (p. 148), that 'though the MS. was written in cent. vi, the text gives no clear signs of having undergone recent degeneracy: it is, to the best of our belief, substantially a Western text of cent. ii, with occasional readings probably due to cent. iv'. He also allows that 'in spite of the prodigious amount of error which *D* contains . . . yet its text presents a truer image of the form in which the Gospels and Acts were most widely read in the third and probably a great part of the second century than any other extant Greek MS.' (p. 149).

This sounds generous praise, but the result is small. Hort is willing to allow (p. 113) that the text of all the earliest Fathers not connected with Alexandria is substantially Western, and that 'even in Clement of Alexandria and in Origen, especially in some of his writings, Western quotations hold a prominent place'. In practice, however, he is remorseless, holding that 'whatever may be the merits of individual Western readings, the Western texts generally are due to a corruption of the Apostolic texts' (p. 127).

This is an intelligible position, and I should not pause to mention it here but for a singular exception which he makes in favour of the *Z* family. This is that, though their evidence on behalf of an addition is dismissed as a 'Western' interpolation, their testimony is treated with great respect when they omit a passage (p. 175). For such cases he coins the curious phrase

‘Western non-interpolations’ and on such occasions deserts his favourite MSS. with great levity.<sup>1</sup> I will give one instance only :

Matt. xxvii. 49 ἄλλος δὲ λαβὼν λόγχην ἔνυξεν αὐτοῦ τὴν πλευράν, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὕδωρ καὶ αἷμα (60).

So *B* *N*, om. *D*, with *A* *S* and other authorities. Hort considers the words to be a very early interpolation. It is not my duty to defend *B* *N* on this charge, but I would merely point out that the passage may well represent six lines of the archetype. We may refer to Matt. ix. 34 for an omission of 60 letters by *D*.

At the end of St. Luke Hort uses his theory of local Western non-interpolations as a double-axe with which to lop the text.

I cannot refrain from here quoting Dr. Salmon, who says (p. 25), ‘Nay, it would seem as if in the judgement of the new editors, *any* evidence was good enough to justify an omission. There is no authority which, when it stands alone, finds less favour in the eyes of these editors than that of *D* and of Western MSS. generally. Indeed, with them to describe a reading as Western is a note of contumely. Yet when *D* omits what is attested by a consensus of other authorities, including those which W-H. count the highest, they are persuaded that this time *D* is in the right, and pronounce the reading to be a case of Western non-interpolation.’

<sup>1</sup> Omissions in *D* occur throughout the Gospels. Hort restricts his ‘Western non-interpolations’ to a particular locality, viz., the end of St. Luke. This is quite arbitrary.

## CHAPTER IX

AFTER this survey of the chief documents, I proceed to put together some results.

It is clear, in the first place, that all the MSS. are descended from ancestors written in narrow columns. Indeed, they all appear to exhibit the working of what I venture to call a 'decimal system'. I do not suggest that all the omissions in any of the important MSS. are due to the negligence of a single scribe. It is more probable that they represent the sum-total of omissions made by a series of ancestors written in columns of similar breadth.

Secondly, we have found everywhere the same readiness to omit. This is most evident in  $\aleph$  and  $\mathcal{S}^a$ . The writer of  $\aleph$  was a helpless victim to  $\delta\mu\omicron\iota\acute{o}\tau\eta\varsigma$ , while  $\mathcal{S}^a$  omits continually, with freedom for which I know few parallels. Salmon has already remarked about  $\mathcal{S}^a$ . 'I do not know whether Hort's rule of always preferring omissions would have led him to prefer to the Greek text of the Gospels Mrs. Lewis's Syriac, which is shorter than any other known text.'  $B$  has been said by various critics to give an 'abbreviated text' of the Gospels. I am inclined to think, however, that the omissions, if such they are, were made by the writer not of  $B$ , but of its model. We find the same licence of omission in  $k$ . I would draw special attention to Matt. xiii. 14-15 where there appear to be two separate omissions of five lines in the Greek original. Lastly, I claim no exemption for  $D$ , which omits just as freely as any other MS. In view of these facts the maxim *brevior lectio potior* seems to be a very dangerous guide.

Thirdly, the omissions appear to hang together. They exhibit a well-marked gradation, rising from multiple to multiple of the unit. This is most evident in the case of the MS. which omits most freely, viz.  $\mathcal{S}^a$ . Here the largest omissions are the most significant. Thus, we have one of 262 (Luke xxiii. 10-13), one of 132 (John xiv. 10-11), and one of 128 (Matt. v. 30), also one of 65 (Luke xii. 9): so again one of 167 (Matt. vi. 5), and one of 83 (Matt. v. 47). I cannot insist too strongly upon these figures. To say that they are due to accident would be to strain the limits of coincidence. I, therefore, look upon them as the justification of my method.

I must further call attention to the tendency of various MSS. to modify the construction after an omission, e.g. Matt. xiv. 26; Mark xiv. 58; John xx. 4 (N); John ix. 36 (B); Mark xii. 4 (k). This fact will be found to be of importance when we come to the Acts.

I should like to supplement this examination of the principal MSS. by a list of omissions made by the early Fathers, but the materials are not collected and it is impossible for me to attempt the task.

The following cases may be found interesting:

(10) Luke viii. 51 καὶ Ἰωάννην *om.* Irenaeus.

(11) Matt. v. 18 ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου *om.* Irenaeus.

(12) Matt. xvi. 13 τὸν ὑν τοῦ ἀνοῦ *om.* Origen.

(13) Luke vi. 22 καὶ ὀνειδίσωσι *om.* Clement.

(39) Matt. xiii. 50 ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων *om.* Origen.

(80) Matt. xx. 31 ὁ δὲ ὄχλος ἐπετίμησεν αὐτοῖς ἵνα σιωπήσωσιν οἱ δὲ μείζον ἔκραζον λέγοντες, κέ, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, ὡς Δαδ *om.* Origen (*hom.*).

The correspondence between 39 and 80 in the two longer omissions of Origen should be noted.

I have noticed significant omissions in patristic quotations elsewhere, but pass them over, as I am not now dealing with other parts of the New Testament. I must, however, make one exception, viz.:

Hebrews vi. 5 δυνάμεις τε μέλλοντος. For this Tertullian reads δύνοντος.

Souter remarks '*qui codicem epistulae Tertullianum exaravit versum totum angustum, qualis in chartaceis voluminibus esse solebat, praetermiserat*'.

This means that the model had

δυν  
νάμεις τε μελ (11)  
λοντος

The scribe, after writing ν, omitted a line.<sup>1</sup>

I now come to the most delicate and critical point in this

<sup>1</sup> It is tempting to arrange thus:

δυν  
νάμεις τε μελλ  
οντος

but this is not the usual method of division.

inquiry, viz. the consideration of the chief variants in the way of omission or insertion which distinguish the three families *XYZ*.

I might at once proceed to the longest passages and produce some interesting figures. I do not, however, think that short cuts are desirable in demonstrations. I might again select passages which favour the conclusion at which I have arrived and marshal the evidence most germane to the discussion. I feel, however, that the reader has a right to have all the evidence before him even if the result is, at first sight, chaos. I, therefore, propose to give a list of the chief passages omitted by *X* or *Y* or *Z*, or by two of them as against the third.

I must point out very carefully that these readings are a *farrago* taken from all sources, that some of them may be due to interpolation, that coincidences undoubtedly do occur, also that many omissions may be due to mere chance. On the other hand, when we get to the large numbers, the hypothesis of coincidence becomes less and less likely in the case of startling agreements. I must further premise that most of the readings, the genuineness of which is disputed, come from *Z*. The usual theory is that these are a congeries of interpolations taken from diverse sources. If they appear to fit together, and to support each other, this theory must receive a deadly blow.

In order to encourage the reader to persevere through the wilderness of variants, I will put into his hands one or two clues.

Luke xxi. 24-5 ἄχρι πληρωθῶσι καιροὶ ἐθνῶν. καὶ ἔσονται σημεῖα. Here *B* inverts καιροὶ ἐθνῶν and καὶ ἔσονται: *D* omits καιροὶ ἐθνῶν and *S*<sup>s</sup> omits καὶ ἔσονται. The archetype must have had

καιροι εθνων (11)

και εσονται (10)

The variants are due to *καὶ* after *καὶ*—.

Finger-posts are furnished by such numbers as 20-2, 30-3, 40-4 &c., which suggest the omission of 2, 3, and 4 lines. I would draw special attention to

Luke xxiii. 34 ὁ δὲ ἰς ἔλεγε, πρ, ἄφες αὐτοῖς· οὐ γὰρ οἶδασι τί ποιοῦσι (42).

ib. 38 γράμμασιν Ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ Ῥωμαikoῖς καὶ Ἑβραikoῖς (43).

The words of forgiveness from the Cross, one of the most moving passages in all literature, are bracketed by Hort, while he does not consider v. 38 worthy of mention in his note. I look on both passages as representing four lines of the archetype.

In connexion with these two verses I would also mention Luke xxiii. 17 ἀνάγκην δὲ εἶχεν ἀπολύειν αὐτοῖς κατὰ ἑορτὴν ἓνα (41). It will be seen that some MSS. omit these words, while others transpose them after ἀνέκραξαν δὲ παμπληθεὶ λέγοντες, Αἶρε τοῦτον, ἀπόλυσον δὲ ἡμῖν τὸν Βαραββᾶν· ὅστις ἦν διὰ στάσιν τινὰ γενομένην ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ φόνον βληθεὶς ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ (126).

The relation between 41 and 126 must be observed.

There are various similar correspondences between the smaller figures, e. g. :

Matt. v. 44. Here *Y* and others omit εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν, καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς (57) : also, in the same verse, ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς καί (19).

Here 57 is a multiple of 19.

I would finally point out that, as the numbers grow larger, the 'decimal system' becomes more clearly visible. Thus we have :

(60) Matt. ix. 34, xxvii. 49.

(70) Mark ix. 35.

(80) Luke ix. 55.

(102) Luke xxiv. 12. Cf. John vi. 56 (105).

(130) Matt. xxiii. 14, Luke vi. 4.

(139) Luke xxii. 43-4.

(152) Luke xxii. 19-20.

I leave the largest numbers to speak for themselves.

I append a table of the chief passages in the Gospels, the authenticity of which is disputed. Where they are treated by W-H., I add the particular label which has been affixed to them : viz. 'Western' if found in *Z* only, 'Western and Syrian' if in *Z* and *X*, 'Syrian' if omitted by *Z* as well as by *Y*, except for a few passages styled 'pre-Syrian or Alexandrian'. Nearly all of the passages in question are omitted by *Y*, while some which are found in *Y*, or in *X Y*, but omitted by *Z*, are styled Western non-interpolations.

The list does not include those peculiar to sub-groups, many of which have already been discussed.

(9) Mark vii. 4 καὶ κλινῶν 'Western and Syrian'.

(10) Matt. xxvii. 24 τοῦ δικαίου *om.* *B D L*<sup>ab</sup> *S*<sup>s</sup> *Orig.*

Mark vii. 24 καὶ Σιδῶνος *om.* *D L S*<sup>s</sup>.

ix. 29 καὶ νηστεία 'Western and Syrian'.

xii. 40 καὶ ὄρφανῶν 'Western'.

xiii. 8 καὶ παραχαΐ 'Pre-Syrian (? Alexandrian) and Syrian'.



- Luke vi. 10 ὡς καὶ ἡ ἄλλη *D*, ὡς ἡ ἄλλη *A*, *alii*, *om.* *Y*.
- (11) Matt. vi. 25 ἡ καὶ τί πῖντε *om.* **N** **L** **S**<sup>c</sup> **E**<sup>b</sup>.
- Mark vii. 4 ὅταν ἔλθωσιν *Z*, *om.* *X Y*.
- ix. 24 μετὰ δακρύων 'Western and Syrian'.
- Luke xxi. 11 καὶ χειμῶνες 'Western (not *D*), probably from extraneous source'.
- John iii. 13 ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ συνῶ 'Western and Syrian'.
- v. 2 παραλυτικῶν 'Western'.
- (12) Matt. xv. 6 ἡ τὴν *μῤα* αὐτοῦ *X*, *om.* *Y Z*.
- xxv. 1 καὶ τῆς νύμφης 'Western'.
- Mark i. 2 ἔμπροσθέν σου *X*, *om.* *Y Z* (*hom.*).
- Luke vi. 1 δευτεροπρώτῳ 'Western and Syrian'.
- xxiv. 46 καὶ οὕτως ἔδει 'Syrian'.
- (13) Matt. xv. 31 κυλλοὺς ὑγιεῖς *om.* **N** **L** **S** **E**.
- Mark xi. 8 καὶ ἐστρώννον *om.* *Y E* Orig.
- xii. 23 ὅταν ἀναστῶσιν *X*, *om.* *Y Z*.
- Luke ii. 48 καὶ λυπούμενοι *Z*, *om.* *X Y*.
- xxii. 4 καὶ στρατηγοῖς *om.* *Z*.
- John iii. 15 μὴ ἀπόληται ἀλλ' *om.* *Y S*<sup>c</sup>, *alii*.
- (14) Matt. xxiii. 4 καὶ δυσβάστακτα, *om.* **N** **L** **S** **E**<sup>b</sup> Iren.<sup>lat</sup> Orig.<sup>lat</sup>.
- Luke xvii. 24 ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτοῦ *om.* *B D L E*.
- xxiv. 9 ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου *om.* *Z* 'a Western non-interpolation'.
- (15) Mark iii. 32 καὶ αἱ ἀδελφαί σου 'Western and Syrian'.
- (16) Luke xii. 39 ἐγγρηγόρησεν ἂν καί *om.* **N** *D S L*<sup>e</sup> Arm. Marcion.
- John iii. 31 ἐπάνω πάντων ἐστιν *om.* **N** *Z* Arm., *alii*.
- (17) Matt. xv. 8 τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν καὶ *X*, *om.* *Y Z*.
- xxvii. 32 εἰς ἀπάντησιν αὐτοῦ 'Western'.
- Mark iv. 9 καὶ ὁ συνίων συνιέτω 'Western'.
- Luke xi. 2 ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς συνοῖς *XZ*, *om.* *Y* Orig. Tert. Cyr.
- (18) Matt. vi. 15 τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν *om.* **N** *D L E*<sup>b</sup>.
- Mark ix. 38 ὃς οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ ἡμῖν 'Western'.
- xiv. 39 τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον εἰπὼν *om.* *D L*.
- 68 καὶ ἀλέκτωρ ἐφώνησεν *om.* *Y S*<sup>s</sup> **E**.
- Luke ix. 54 ὡς καὶ Ἡλίας ἐποίησεν *om.* *Y S E* Arm.
- (19) Matt. v. 44 ἐπηρεάζόντων ὑμᾶς καί *om.* *Y S E*.
- Luke xxiv. 52 προσκυνήσαντες αὐτόν *om.* *Z* 'Western non-interpolation'.

- John xiii. 31 εἰ ὁ  $\overline{\theta\varsigma}$  ἐδοξάσθη ἐν αὐτῷ 'Pre-Syrian (? Alexandrian) and Syrian'.
- (20) Mark vi. 33 καὶ συνῆλθον πρὸς αὐτόν 'Western'.
- Luke xx. 34 γεννῶσιν καὶ γεννῶνται 'Western'.
- xxiv. 6 οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε, ἀλλ' ἡγέρθη *om. Z* 'a Western non-interpolation'.
- (21) Mark viii. 26 μηδὲ εἴπῃς τινὶ ἐν τῇ κώμῃ 'Western'.
- x. 2 προσελθόντες Φαρισαῖοι *om. Z*.
- Luke v. 39 καὶ ἀμφότεροι τηροῦνται *om. Y*.
- xi. 54 ἵνα κατηγορήσωσιν αὐτοῦ 'Western'.
- xxiv. 42 καὶ ἀπὸ μελισσίου κηρίου 'A singular interpolation, evidently from an extraneous source, whether written or oral'.
- (22) Mark ii. 26 ἐπὶ Ἀβιάθαρ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως *om. Z*.
- Luke i. 28 εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξίν 'Western and Syrian'.
- (23) Luke xxiv. 53 καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν  $\overline{\sigma\upsilon\nu\omicron\nu}$  'Western non-interpolation'.
- (24) Mark iii. 14 οὓς καὶ ἀποστόλους ὠνόμασεν *Y, om. XZ*.
- Luke xxiv. 36 καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, εἰρήνῃ ὑμῖν *om. Z* 'a Western non-interpolation'.
- (25) Mark x. 24 τοὺς πεποιθότας ἐπὶ (+ τοῖς *D*) χρήμασιν 'Western and Syrian'.
- (26) Mark vii. 16 εἴ τις ἔχει ὦτα ἀκούειν, ἀκούτω *om. Y*.
- ix. 49 καὶ πᾶσα θυσία ἀλλ' ἀλισθησεται 'Western'.
- Luke xi. 4 ἀλλὰ ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ *om. Y S<sup>s</sup> E<sup>s</sup>*
- Arm. Orig. Cyr. Tert. Aug.
- xix. 25 καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ,  $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$ , ἔχει δέκα μνᾶς *om. Z*. (If  $\iota' = 23$ .)
- (27) Luke xv. 21 ποίησόν με ὡς ἕνα τῶν μισθίων σου *Y D, om. cett.*
- (28) Luke xi. 11 ἄρτον, μὴ λίθον ἐπιδώσει αὐτῷ; ἢ καὶ *om. B L S<sup>s</sup> E<sup>s</sup>* Arm. Orig.
- (29) Mark ii. 22 ἀλλὰ οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκούς καινούς *om. D L*.
- Luke xi. 43 καὶ πρωτοκλισίας ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις *CD L<sup>h</sup>, om cett.*
- (30) Luke ix. 23 καὶ ἀράτω τὸν σῆρον αὐτοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν *om. D L*.
- xxiv. 43 καὶ λαβὼν τὰ ἐπίλοιπα ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς 'Pre-Syrian (? late Western)'.
- John xvii. 11  $\overline{\phi}$  δέδωκάς μοι, ἵνα ὦσιν ἐν, καθὼς ἡμεῖς *om. L S<sup>s</sup> Chrys., alii.*

- (31) Matt. xix. 9 καὶ ὁ ἀπολελυμένην γαμήσας μοιχᾷται *om.*  
*NDLSE Orig. Chrys.*  
 Luke viii. 43 ἰατροῖς προσαναλώσασα ὅλον τὸν βίον *om.*  
*BDSE Arm.*
- (32) Matt. xviii. 11 ἦλθε γὰρ ὁ υἱ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου σῶσαι τὸ ἀπολωλός  
 'Western and Syrian'.
- (33) Luke xii. 19 κείμενα εἰς ἔτη πολλά· ἀναπαύου, φάγε, πίε  
*om. DL.*
- (34) John iv. 9 οὐ γὰρ συγχρῶνται Ἰουδαῖοι Σαμαρείταις *om.*  
*NDL.*
- (35) Matt. xx. 16 πολλοὶ γάρ εἰσι κλητοί, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοί  
 'Western and Syrian'.  
 John xvii. 11 οὐκέτι εἰμι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, καὶ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ εἰμί  
 'Western'.
- (36) Luke xxiii. 37 περιτιθέντες αὐτῷ καὶ ἀκάνθινον στέφανον *Z,*  
*om. cett.*
- (37) Luke iv. 18 ἰάσασθαι τοὺς συντετριμμένους τὴν καρδίαν *X,*  
*om. YZ Orig.*  
 x. 16 ὁ δὲ ἐμοῦ ἀκούων ἀκούει τοῦ ἀποστείλαντός με  
*Z, om. cett.*
- (38) Mark x. 7 καὶ προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ  
*om. YSE.*  
 Luke xii. 21 οὕτως ὁ θησαυρίζων ἐαυτῷ, καὶ μὴ εἰς θὺν πλου-  
 τῶν *om. DL.*
- (39) Matt. xx. 22 καὶ ἡ τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι βαпти-  
 σθῆναι; *X, om. YZ.*  
 Luke xi. 2 γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς  
 γῆς *om. BSE Arm. Orig. Tert., alii.*
- (40) Matt. vii. 21 οὗτος εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν  
 'Western'.  
 xx. 23 καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι βαпти-  
 σθήσεσθε; *X, om. YZ.*  
 John xiv. 14 ἐάν τι αἰτήσητέ με ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου, τοῦτο  
 ποιήσω *om. A<sup>1</sup> L<sup>b</sup> SE Arm.*
- (41) Luke xxiii. 17 ἀνάγκην δὲ εἶχεν ἀπολύειν αὐτοῖς κατὰ ἑορτὴν  
 ἓνα *om. AB L<sup>a</sup> SE, post v. 19 hab. DS.*
- (42) Matt. x. 23 κἂν ἐν τῇ ἐτέρᾳ διώκωσιν ὑμᾶς, φεύγετε εἰς τὴν  
 ἄλλην 'Western'.  
 Luke xxiii. 34 ὁ δὲ ἰς ἔλεγε, πῶ ἄφες αὐτοῖς· οὐ γὰρ οἶδαςι  
 τί ποιοῦσι 'From an extraneous source'.

- (43) Mark xiii. 2 καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἄλλος ἀναστήσεται ἄνευ χειρῶν 'Western'.
- Luke xxiii. 38 γράμμασιν Ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ Ῥωμαϊκοῖς καὶ Ἑβραϊκοῖς *om. B C<sup>1</sup> 1<sup>a</sup> 5<sup>a</sup> 8<sup>a</sup>*.
- (44) Matt. vii. 22 οὐ τῷ ὀνόματί σου ἐφάγομεν καὶ τῷ ὀνόματί σου ἐπίομεν *5<sup>c</sup> Justin Orig., alii, om. cett.* 'Perhaps from an extraneous source'.
- (46) Mark xv. 28 καὶ ἐπληρώθη ἡ γραφὴ ἣ λέγουσα, Καὶ μετὰ ἀνόμων ἐλογίσθη *X 1<sup>a</sup> Arm., alii, om. Y D A 1<sup>k</sup> 5<sup>s</sup> 8<sup>a</sup> 8<sup>e</sup>*.
- John viii. 59 καὶ διελθὼν διὰ μέσου αὐτῶν ἐπορεύετο, καὶ παρήγεν οὕτω *X, om. Y Z*.
- (47) Luke xxiv. 40 καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν ἔδειξεν αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας 'A Western non-interpolation'.
- (49) Mark ix. 44 and 46 ὅπου ὁ σκώληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτᾷ καὶ τὸ πῦρ αὐτῶν (*om. A D*) οὐ σβέννυται *om. Y 5<sup>s</sup> 1<sup>k</sup> Arm.*
- (52) Matt. xvii. 21 τοῦτο δὲ τὸ γένος οὐκ ἐκπορεύεται εἰ μὴ ἐν προσευχῇ καὶ νηστείᾳ 'Western and Syrian'.
- (54) John xii. 8 τοὺς πτωχοὺς γὰρ πάντοτε ἔχετε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν, ἐμὲ δὲ οὐ πάντοτε ἔχετε *om. D 5<sup>s</sup> Arm.*
- (56) Matt. vi. 14 ὅτι σοὺ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν 'Syrian'.
- Luke xvii. 36 δύο ἔσονται ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ· ὁ εἰς παραληφθήσεται, καὶ ὁ ἕτερος ἀφεθήσεται *Z, om. X Y (hom.).*
- Luke xxiii. 53 καὶ θεντὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπέθηκεν τῷ μνημείῳ λίθον ὃν μόγις εἴκοσι ἐκύλιον *D 1<sup>c</sup> 8<sup>s</sup>, om. cett.* (If κ' for εἴκοσι = 51.)
- (60) Matt. ix. 34 οἱ δὲ Φαρισαῖοι ἔλεγον, Ἐν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια *om. Z Diat.*
- Matt. xxvii. 49 ἄλλος δὲ λαβὼν λόγχην ἔνυξεν αὐτοῦ τὴν πλευράν, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὕδωρ καὶ αἷμα 'A very early interpolation absent in the first place from the Western text only'.
- (64) Matt. xxi. 44 καὶ ὁ πεσὼν ἐπὶ τὸν λίθον τοῦτον συνθλασθήσεται· ἐφ' ὃν δ' ἂν πέσῃ, λικμήσει αὐτόν *om. Z Orig.*
- (65) Mark xi. 26 εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἀφίετε, οὐδὲ ὁ πρὸ ὑμῶν (*om. D*) ὁ ἐν τοῖς (*om. D*) ὀννοῖς ἀφήσει (+ ὑμῖν *D*) τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν *om. Y 1<sup>k</sup> 5<sup>s</sup> 8<sup>a</sup> 8<sup>e</sup> Arm.*
- (68) Matt. xii. 47 εἴπε δέ τις αὐτῷ, Ἰδοὺ ἡ μῆρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου ἔξω ἐστήκασιν ζητοῦντές σοι λαλῆσαι *om. Y 1<sup>k</sup> 5<sup>s</sup> 8<sup>a</sup>*.
- (70) Mark ix. 35 καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, Εἴ τις θέλει πρῶτος εἶναι, ἔσται πάντων ἑσχατος, καὶ πάντων διάκονος *om. D 1<sup>k</sup>*.
- (78) Matt. i. 8 τὸν Ὁχοζίαν, Ὁχοζίας δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωᾶς, Ἰωᾶς δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἀμασίαν, Ἀμασίας δὲ ἐγέννησεν *5<sup>c</sup> Diat.,*

*alii.* So also *D* in Luke iii. 30, where it gives the pedigree according to Matthew.

- (80) Luke ix. 55 *καὶ εἶπεν, Οὐκ οἴδατε οἶον πνὸς ἔστε ὑμεῖς· ὁ γὰρ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἦλθε ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων ἀπολέσαι, ἀλλὰ σῶσαι* *D*  $\mathfrak{L} \mathfrak{S}^c$ , *alii*, *om.* *Y*  $\mathfrak{S}^s$   $\mathfrak{E}$ .
- (94) Matt. xxvii. 35 *ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτου, Διεμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτιά μου ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμόν μου ἔβαλον κλῆρον*  $\mathfrak{L}$  *Arm.*, *alii*, *om.* *X Y D*  $\mathfrak{S}^s$  (*hom.*). The evidence here is weak, but, as the previous sentence ends with *βάλλοντες κλῆρον*, omission would be easy.
- Luke xi. 2 *μὴ βαπτολογεῖτε ὡς οἱ λοιποί. δοκοῦσιν γάρ τινες ὅτι ἐν τῇ πολυλογία αὐτῶν εἰσακουσθήσονται, ἀλλὰ προσευχόμενοι* *D*, *om.* *cett.*
- (102) Luke xxiv. 12 *ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἀναστὰς ἔδραμεν ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον, καὶ παρακύψας βλέπει τὰ ὀθόνια μόνα· καὶ ἀπήλθε πρὸς ἑαυτὸν θαυμάζων τὸ γεγονός* 'A Western non-interpolation'.
- (105) John vi. 56 *καθὼς ἐν ἐμοὶ ὁ πῶρ κἀγὼ ἐν τῷ πῶρι. Ἄμην ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ἐὰν μὴ λάβητε τὸ σῶμα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὡς τὸν ἄρτον τῆς ζωῆς, οὐκ ἔχετε ζωὴν ἐν αὐτῷ* (*hom.*) 'Western'.
- (130) Matt. xxiii. 14 *οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι, ὑποκριταί, ὅτι κατεσθίετε τὰς οἰκίας τῶν χηρῶν, καὶ προφάσει μακρὰ προσευχόμενοι διὰ τοῦτο λήψεσθε περισσότερον κρίμα* (*hom.*) 'Western' (not *D*).
- Luke vi. 4 *τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ θεασάμενός τινα ἐργαζομένον τῷ σαββάτῳ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, ἀνέ, εἰ μὲν οἶδας τί ποιεῖς, μακάριος εἶ· εἰ δὲ μὴ οἶδας, ἐπικατάρατος καὶ παραβάτης εἶ τοῦ νόμου* *D*, *om.* *cett.* 'Possibly from the same source as John vii. 53–viii. 11.'
- (139) Luke xxii. 43–4 *ᾧφθῃ δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἐνισχύων αὐτόν. καὶ γενόμενος ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ ἐκτενέστερον προσηύχετο· ἐγένετο δὲ ὁ ἰδρὼς αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ θρόμβοι αἵματος καταβαίνοντες ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν* *om.* *Y*  $\mathfrak{S}^s$  *Arm.* The patristic evidence in favour of the passage includes that of Justin and Irenaeus. 'A fragment from traditions, local or oral.' This is a very ambiguous remark.
- (152) Luke xxii. 19–20 *τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὡσαύτως μετὰ τὸ δειπνήσαι λέγων, Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυνόμενον* *om.* *D*  $\mathfrak{L}^a$ . W-H. have 'no moral doubt that the words in question were absent from the

original text of Luke, notwithstanding the purely Western ancestry of the documents which omit them.'

- (156) Matt. xvi. 2-3 ὁψίας γενομένης λέγετε, Εὐδία· πυρράζει γὰρ ὁ οὐρανός· καὶ πρῶί, Σήμερον χειμῶν· πυρράζει γὰρ στυγνάζων ὁ οὐρανός. τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον τοῦ οὐανοῦ γινώσκετε διακρίνειν, τὰ δὲ σημεῖα τῶν καιρῶν οὐ δύνασθε *om.* *Y S E* Arm. Orig. 'Western and Syrian'.
- (166) Luke v. 14 ὁ δὲ ἐξεληθὼν ἤρξατο κηρύσσειν καὶ διαφημίζειν τὸν λόγον· ὥστε μηκέτι δύνασθαι αὐτὸν φανερώς εἰς πόλιν εἰσελθεῖν· ἀλλὰ ἕξω ἦν ἐν ἐρήμοις τόποις· καὶ συνήρχοντο πρὸς αὐτόν· καὶ ἦλθεν πάλιν εἰς Καφαρναούμ *D, om. cett.*
- (167) John v. 4 ἐκδεχομένων τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος κίνησιν· ἄγγελος γὰρ  $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\nu}$  κατὰ καιρὸν κατέβαινεν ἐν τῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ, καὶ ἐτάρασσε τὸ ὕδωρ· ὁ οὖν πρῶτος ἐμβὰς μετὰ τὴναραχὴν τοῦ ὕδατος ὑγιῆς ἐγένετο, ᾧ δὴποτε κατείχετο νόσηματι *om. Y S, alii.* *A* has ἄγγελος . . . νοσήματι (137), but the previous clause ἐκδεχ. . . κίνησιν (30) is written in *ras.* by *A*<sup>2</sup>. *D* has ἐκδεχ. . . κίνησιν, but omits ἄγγελος . . . νόσηματι.
- (320) Matt. xx. 28 ὑμεῖς δὲ ζητεῖτε ἐκ μικροῦ αὐξήσαι καὶ ἐκ μείζονος ἔλαττον εἶναι· εἰσερχόμενοι δὲ καὶ παρακληθέντες δειπνήσαι μὴ ἀνακλίνεσθε εἰς τοὺς ἐξέχοντας τόπους, μή ποτε ἐνδοξυτέρός σου ἐπέλθῃ καὶ προσελθὼν ὁ δειπνοκλήτωρ εἴπῃ σοι, Ἔτι κάτω χώρει, καὶ κατασυχνηθήσῃ. ἐὰν δὲ ἀναπέσης εἰς τὸν ἥττονα τόπον καὶ ἐπέλθῃ σου ἥττων, καὶ ἐρεῖ σοι ὁ δειπνοκλήτωρ, Σύναγε ἔτι ἄνω, καὶ ἔσται σοι τοῦτο χρήσιμον *Z, om. X Y.*
- (829<sup>1</sup>) John vii. 53-viii. 11 καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν . . . μηκέτι ἀμάρτανε *D Lb Eth., om. Y L<sup>a</sup> S E* Arm. We have not the testimony of *A* and *C*, but they do not seem to have had room for the passage. On the other hand, it appears in most minuscules, either here, or at the end of the Gospel, or after Luke xxi. Augustine says that 'some of little faith . . . removed from their MSS. the Lord's act of indulgence to the adulteress'. W-H. call the passage 'Western and later Constantinopolitan'.
- (964) Mark xvi. 9-20 ἀναστὰς δὲ . . . ἀμὴν *om. Y S<sup>s</sup> and codd. Eusebii.* *B* leaves blank 12 lines of col. 2, and the whole of col. 3. In *N* the Gospel ends in the middle of l. 4, col. 2, and the rest of the column is unoccupied. For the shorter ending given in *L<sup>k</sup>* cf. pp. 74, 82-4.

Here, as elsewhere, I follow Souter's text. As written in *D* it consists of 801 letters, but *D* omits in viii. 2 καὶ καθίσας ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς (25), and there are minor variations.

## CHAPTER X

THERE are 14 passages in the preceding list which contain over 90 letters. There are some singular features in these which demand attention.

Two passages consist of 94 letters, two of 130, while 166 and 167 are practically identical. Also 102 is very close to 105 and 152 to 156.

The three largest numbers are 320, 829, 963.

Here it will be noticed that  $320 \times 3 = 960$ . This is very astonishing.

Further, if we divide 829 by 5, we obtain as the result 166 ( $166 \times 5 = 830$ ), for which we have 166 and 167.

It is further to be noticed that if we divide 320 by 2, we have as result 160. This number is very near to 166 and 167.

I cannot doubt that these numbers 160-7 correspond to some division in the archetype of the Gospels. There is also further evidence.

The first point is one on which I do not wish to lay too much stress, viz. that the longest omissions of  $\mathfrak{S}^s$  present some curious points of resemblance. Thus Matt. vi. 5 καὶ ὅταν . . . μισθὸν αὐτῶν contains 167 letters. So also  $\mathfrak{S}^s$  has an omission of 132 letters (John xiv. 10-11) and 128 (Matt. v. 30), which was very like the two omissions of 130. We cannot tell how far back these omissions go.

The second point is one which has caused me considerable perplexity. It is concerned with what is generally called the Shorter Conclusion of St. Mark. This is found in two Uncials  $\mathcal{L}$   $\Psi$ , also in  $\mathfrak{h}$ ,  $\mathfrak{S}$  hl.<sup>ms</sup>,  $\mathfrak{E}$ , Eth., and in some minuscules. In  $\mathcal{L}$  it appears in the following form :

παντα δε τα παρηγγελμενα τοις περι τον Πετρον συντομως εξηγγιλαν.  
μετα δε ταυτα και αυτος ο ις απο ανατολης και αχρι δυσεως  
εξαπεστιλε δι' αυτων το ιερον και αφθαρτον κηρυγμα της  
αιωνιου σωτηριας (161).

The singular feature here is that 161 is roughly half of 320, which is  $\frac{1}{3}$  of 963. There thus appears to be a numerical relation between the Shorter and the Longer Conclusions.

In order not to obscure the argument, I will postpone further discussion of this point.

In the third place, there is some very singular evidence yet to be considered.

Luke xv. 16 καὶ ἐπεθύμει χορτασθῆναι ἐκ τῶν κερατίων ὧν ἤσθιον οἱ χοῖροι· καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐδίδου αὐτῷ.

ib. xvi. 21 ἐπιθυμῶν χορτασθῆναι ἀπὸ τῶν πιπτόντων ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης τοῦ πλουσίου.

Here the Diatessaron supported by some Latin evidence (*lm*) and *℔* hl.<sup>ms</sup>, after τοῦ πλουσίου, adds καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐδίδου αὐτῷ. As the Diatessaron was composed in the second century, the variant must be an ancient one.

My experience, gained by work upon Cicero, suggested to me the hypothesis, that the repetition was due to the occurrence of καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐδίδου αὐτῷ in the same place (as well as in a similar context) on a previous folio.<sup>1</sup> If so, the intervening passage, viz. xv. 17 εἰς αὐτὸν δὲ . . . xvi. 21 τοῦ πλουσίου might be expected to yield some multiple of the figures which I have previously collected.

On counting the letters, I found the total number to be 3,212. This is a multiple of 320 (Matt. xx. 28). We now have the astonishing sequence

161, 320, 964, 3,212.

I now proceed to consider what appears to be an early dislocation in the text of St. John. My attention was called to this by my colleague, the Rev. B. H. Streeter, who showed me a work by Mr. F. Warburton Lewis on Disarrangements in the Fourth Gospel, in which there are references to Spitta's discussion of the subject. A proposal to transpose chapters v and vi was made as long ago as the fourteenth century. The difficulties are as follows :

In iv. 54 we have τοῦτο πάλιν δεύτερον σημεῖον ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ἐλθὼν ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν.

The next verse (v. 1) is

μετὰ ταῦτα ἦν ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, καὶ ἀνέβη ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.

Chapter v deals with events in Jerusalem.

Chapter vi begins with

μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπῆλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς Γαλιλαίας.

Nothing whatever has been said of a return to Galilee.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. pp. 10, 103.



Chapter vii begins with

καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα περιεπάτει ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ· οὐ γὰρ ᾗθελεν  
ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ περιπατεῖν, ὅτι ἐζήτουν αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἀπο-  
κτεῖναι.

The proper sequence of events requires that ch. vi should come before ch. v. In that case Jesus works miracles in Galilee (iv. 54), crosses the sea of Galilee (vi. 1), goes to Jerusalem (v. 1), returns to Galilee for fear of the Jews (vii. 1).

Let us then suppose that ch. vi is out of place. The usual explanation of a dislocation is that leaves have been misplaced. If so, the contents of ch. vi should correspond to a certain number of folios in the archetype.

On counting the letters in ch. vi, I found the total to be 5,540. There is some uncertainty, since it contains the feeding of the 5,000, in which there are a quantity of numerals. If in all cases letters were substituted, the total would be 5,472. I have, however, elsewhere found it best not to make deductions of this kind.

This number 5,540 is almost exactly a multiple of 168 ( $168 \times 33 = 5,544$ ).

It thus appears probable that ch. vi should come before ch. v.<sup>1</sup> Spitta has pointed out a further dislocation in ch. vii.

In v. 14 we are told that Jesus, who had previously hidden himself, went to the temple and taught. In v. 25 we have

ἔλεγον οὖν τινες ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν, Οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὃν ζητοῦσιν  
ἀποκτεῖναι;

This would follow naturally after v. 14.

The connexion, however, is broken by vv. 15-24, in which the Jews wonder at the learning of Jesus, and he discourses on the Law of Moses. These verses would come in admirably at the end of ch. v where Jesus appeals to Moses:

ἐστιν ὁ κατηγορῶν ὑμῶν, Μωσῆς, εἰς ὃν ὑμεῖς ἠλπίκατε.

Spitta, therefore, adds vii. 15-24 to ch. v. The order, then, is

ch. iv

ch. vi

ch. v + vii. 15-24

ch. vii. 1-14, 25-52.

With ch. vi I have already dealt. I now take ch. v + vii. 15-24.

Chapter v is especially interesting, since it contains the passage

<sup>1</sup> It is to be noticed that chapters v and vi both begin with the same words, μετὰ ταῦτα. This fact will help to explain the transposition.

ἐκδεχομένων τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος . . . νοσήματι (167). If the method which I have followed is sound, here, if anywhere, the unit 167 or 168 should appear.

According to Spitta, v. and vii. 15-24 go together, and vii. 1-14 is out of place. The first point to notice is the length of vii. 1-14 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα . . . ἐδίδασκε. This, according to my reckoning, contains 997 letters. This is almost exactly a multiple of 166 ( $166 \times 6 = 996$ ). It is, therefore, easy to account for this dislocation.

The contents of v and vii. 15-24 are as follows :

$$\begin{array}{rcl} \text{vii. 15-24} & = & 734 \\ \text{v} & = & 3,638 \end{array} \Bigg\} = 4,372.$$

The total, 4,372, appears to be a multiple of 168 ( $168 \times 26 = 4,368$ ).

The theory that there have been considerable dislocations in the text of St. John derives much support from these figures, but I do not profess to have sounded the question to its depths. It is especially interesting since the MSS. which contain the *pericope de adultera* do not agree as to its place. Some put it after St. Luke xxi. 38, while others place it at the end of St. John.

If the figures which I have produced mean anything, they appear to show that the Gospels were united in one volume at an early date. This must have been at some period previous to the making of the Old Latin and Old Syriac translations and the composition of the Diatessaron. The middle of the second century seems to be a *terminus ad quem*.

This volume cannot have been a papyrus roll. Kenyon, after saying that 'no complete copy of the New Testament in a single volume could exist during the papyrus period', goes on to state that 'it would not even be possible to include all the Gospels in a single roll'. It must, therefore, have been a paged book, written either on papyrus or more probably on vellum. We have, therefore, to consider what evidence there is for the use of vellum codices in the second century A. D.

The victory of the codex over the roll was gradual, and in the case of classical authors was not completed until the fourth century, although we hear of vellum codices at a much earlier date. Thus Martial (i. 2) recommends the traveller, who wishes to carry his poems about with him, to get an edition on vellum.

*hos eme quos artat brevibus membrana tabellis :  
scrinia da magnis, me manus una capit.*

He also refers to vellum MSS. of Homer, Virgil, Cicero, Livy, and Ovid in his *Apophoreta* (xiv. 184, 186, 188, 190, 192). There is, therefore, no doubt that the vellum codex was used in Rome for popular books in the reign of Domitian (A.D. 81-96). We can even go further back than this, since a passage in Cicero's Letters shows that the material was occasionally employed under the Republic.<sup>1</sup>

It is to be noticed that most of the theological fragments found at Oxyrhynchus are in book-form, whether written on vellum or on papyrus. Also, several of them go back to the third century, e.g. 2 (St. Matthew), 208 (St. John), 1171 (Ep. St. James), 656 (Genesis), 1007 (Genesis), 1074 (Exodus). There are, however, no earlier examples. On the other hand, Sir E. Maunde Thompson says 'A few stray leaves of vellum codices of the first centuries of our era have been found in Egypt. A leaf from a MS. of Demosthenes, *De falsa legatione*, written in a rough hand of the second century, is in the British Museum, Add. MS. 34473' He also refers to a Berlin leaf from a MS. of the 'Cretans', a play of Euripides, which was once assigned to the first century, but is now placed in the second. There may be some question as to these dates, but the testimony of Martial proves beyond doubt that vellum codices were known at Rome.

Now if the codex was employed at this time for any work, it is *a priori* probable that it would be used for a collection of the Gospels. We have, also, the explicit mention of vellum by St. Paul in the well-known passage :

2 Tim. iv. 13 τὸν φαῖλόνην ὃν ἀπέλιπον ἐν Τρωάδι παρὰ Κάρπῳ ἐρχόμενος φέρε, καὶ τὰ βιβλία, μάλιστα τὰς μεμβράνας.<sup>2</sup>

In any case there is no doubt that the codex was employed for the Gospels at an early date. Maunde Thompson remarks, 'Moreover, the Bible, the book which before all others became the great work of reference in the hands of the early Christians, could only be consulted with convenience and dispatch in the new form'. He points out that the form adopted for the Bible would become the model for all theological books, and says, 'Thus the vellum codex was destined to be the recipient of

<sup>1</sup> *Quid tibi ego de Varrone rescribam? Quattuor διφθέραι sunt in tua potestate, Att. xiii. 24.*

<sup>2</sup> Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*, p. 65, suggests that φαῖνός, which in the *Etymologicum Magnum* is glossed by εἰλητάριον μεμβράϊνον, here means 'book-cover', not 'cloak', as it is usually rendered.

Christian literature, as the papyrus roll had been that of the pagan world'.

In view of these facts, I venture to think that the Gospels may have been put together in book-form by the middle of the second century, although we have no extant specimen of theological writings in this form earlier than the third century.

If, then, we assume that 160-8 represents a column or page in the archetype of the Gospels, when they were first united in the shape of a book, we have to inquire whether any extant MSS. exhibit such a formation.

Among existing MSS. of the Gospels the most exact parallel is afforded by *N*, cent. vi, fragments of which are preserved at St. Petersburg, London, and elsewhere. A reproduction of two pages in *Facsimiles of Biblical MSS. in the British Museum*, no. 4, shows that *N* is written in 16 lines to the page, with an average of 10-11 letters to the line. Each of the pages in the facsimile contains 168 letters. This, therefore, would seem to reproduce with exactitude the formation revealed by the internal evidence. There is, however, a difficulty, since this is an *édition de luxe*, and we should not expect to find the Gospels written in this style at so early a date. Also, there is the possibility that the archetype in question was written in columns. I therefore mention another extant MS. which realizes the conditions. This is the celebrated palimpsest of Cicero, *De Re Publica* (cent. iv), written in two columns with 15 lines to the page and an average of 10-11 letters to the line. As I happen to have counted the letters in several pages of this, I give the results. The references are to the reproduction of this printed by van Buren. In order to compare this fairly with the Greek archetype of the Gospels, which presumably possessed abbreviations, I give two sets of figures, first the number of letters as written in the MS., and in brackets those which would be found in a printed text:

|       |           |              |
|-------|-----------|--------------|
| p. 50 | 159 (164) | : 153 (156). |
| 51    | 167 (169) | : 169 (173). |
| 78    | 170 (175) | : 156 (157). |
| 79    | 151 (150) | : 165 (164). |
| 80    | 152 (152) | : 151 (157). |
| 81    | 147 (149) | : 156 (161). |
| 92    | 164 (172) | : 163 (167). |
| 93    | 153 (154) | : 157 (157). |
| 142   | 153 (153) | : 147 (149). |

p. 143 150 (156) : 146 (147).  
 152 167 (170) : 174 (178).  
 153 154 (157) : 160 (163).  
 204 167 (170) : 175 (176).  
 205 156 (159) : 164 (168).

It will be seen that the numbers vary from 147 (149) to 174 (178), but that the same number is frequently repeated. It is obvious that on the analogy of this MS. I might recognize Matt. xvi. 2-3 (156) and Luke xxii. 19-20 (152) as further examples of the unit which I have indicated.

I would further point out that a line of about 10 letters (sometimes less) is found in several of the old Latin versions, e.g. the Vercellensis (*a*), the Veronensis (*b*), and the Palatinus (*e*). All of these are in two columns: *a* has 24 lines to the page, *b* 18, and *e* 20. On the other hand *k*, which is not in columns, is written in long lines (14 to the page) with an average of about 23 letters to the line.

I now revert to the end of St. Mark.

The hypothesis of a lost folio has already been suggested by various writers, and Hort admits that it affords 'a tenable mode of explaining omission'. There is, however, at first sight no obvious reason why St. Mark's Gospel should have been mutilated rather than any other. I would suggest a simple explanation. The order of the Gospels in *D* and several allied MSS. is Matthew, John, Luke, Mark. If this was the primitive order, it is easy to see how the last leaves of the archetype became damaged.<sup>1</sup> Thus Mr. Buchanan says of the Veronensis (*b*): 'The text of the first three Gospels is, generally speaking, well-preserved, that of St. John, being in the centre of the MS., best of all, but in St. Mark the last extant leaves, especially those of great tenuity, have suffered greatly from exposure to damp.'<sup>2</sup>

The Palatinus (*e*), in which this same order is found, actually ends at Mark xiii. 36, the other leaves having perished.

It is, therefore, possible that the loss took place at some early date, but after a copy, or copies, had been taken. In view of the fact that Irenaeus (cent. ii) quotes verse 9, while *k*, which is said to

<sup>1</sup> It is, I admit, remarkable that the last words of the Gospel should come exactly at the end of a page or folio. It is possible that some further words may have been lost, and that *ἀμήν* is a later addition.

<sup>2</sup> *Old Latin Biblical Texts*, p. x.

represent the text used by Cyprian (cent. iii), has the Shorter Ending, the loss may have occurred during this interval.

Mr. Conybeare has drawn attention to an Armenian MS. in which verses 9-20 are attributed to Ariston Eritzou (= Presbyter), and thinks that Aristion, who is mentioned by Papias as one of the disciples from whom he obtained information, was the author of them.

I do not presume to discuss the identity of Ariston or Aristion, but would point out that there is another possible explanation, viz. that a person of that name possessed a copy of vv. 9-20, which were therefore associated with his name.

To illustrate from an author with whom I am more familiar, a passage of Cicero, *pro Flacco*, 75-83 :

*primum ut in oppidum . . . esse cetera*

is not found in any extant MS.

It came to light in a mysterious way, having been communicated to a well-known scholar, Conrad Peutinger (1465-1547), by a person called Rorarius. Peutinger says :

Cum superioribus diebus Hieronymus Rorarius Foroiuliensis, non vulgaris eruditionis, apud nos in prandio fuisset et nomismata sua vetusta nobis ostendisset, dedit etiam versus octo vel paulo plus supra quinquaginta, quibus oratio haec Ciceroniana pro Flacco hactenus formis excusa deficiebat.

Nothing is known as to the source from which Rorarius obtained the lost passage, but its genuineness has never been questioned, and is quite indubitable.

I now approach the thorny question of the Shorter Ending. I have already given the form in which this is found in *L*. In *k* this is slightly different, viz. :

omnia autem quaecumque prae  
cepta erant et qui cum puero erant  
breuiter exposuerunt posthaec  
et ipse h̄i<sup>s</sup> adparuit et ab orientē  
5 usque usque in orientem misit  
per illos sanctam et incorruptam <sup>ha</sup>  
salutis aeternae. amen.  
ⲙⲓⲣⲁⲉⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲛⲓⲥ

Here there are various errors.

In l. 2 *puero* = *Petro* : in l. 5 *usque* is written twice, and *orientem* is a slip for *occidentem*, in l. 6 *ha* is an omission mark,

indicating that *praedicationis* (for which we must read *praedicationem*) has been omitted.

This seems to indicate a Greek original :

πάντα δὲ τὰ παρηγγελμένα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πέτρον συντόμως ἐξήγγειλαν·  
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰς ἐφάνη καὶ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς ἄχρι  
δύσεως ἐξαπέστειλε δι' αὐτῶν τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον κήρυγμα  
τῆς αἰωνίου σωτηρίας. ἀμήν (172).

As given by *L* there are two orthographical slips, viz. ἐξήγγειλαν and ἐξαπέστειλεν. If we attribute these also to the Greek original, the total would be reduced to 170.

The noticeable points are, that *L* has no equivalent for ἐφάνη, which seems necessary, and that καί before ἄχρι seems out of place. Probably the ancestor of *L* had :

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰς ἐφάνη καὶ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς ἄχρι δύσεως  
ἐξαπέστειλε κτλ.

*L* also has not got ἀμήν. This, it is obvious, may well be a later addition. If ἀμήν were added to *L*, the total would be 165.

It is generally assumed that the 'Shorter' and the 'Longer Conclusion' are incompatible. If this is so, then the numerical relation which I have noted between the two, can only be a curious coincidence. I am not, however, satisfied that they are incompatible.

It is with very great diffidence that I venture to state my own opinion. The points which appeal to me are as follows. While I do not rate highly the evidence of those MSS. which omit vv. 9-20, I cannot conceal from myself that the connexion between vv. 1-8 and 9-20 is odd. In vv. 1-8 we have the appearance of the Angel to Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Salome, and the flight of the women from the tomb, then in v. 9 Mary Magdalene is mentioned as if for the first time. Then follows a recital of the other appearances, the charge to go and preach the Gospel, and the Ascension. There seems to be a lacuna between v. 8 and v. 9.

It seems to me that vv. 9-20 contain an *amplificatio* of the 'Shorter Conclusion'. First comes a summary and then the events are narrated in detail, viz. :

'They told shortly all the tidings to those that were with Peter. Afterwards Jesus himself appeared and sent through them from the East unto the West the holy and incorruptible message of eternal salvation.'

The mention of Jesus removes the harshness caused by the want of a subject to *ἀναστᾶς* in v. 9. We should expect *ἀναστᾶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς*.

Then, after this preliminary precis, the appearances are described in vv. 9-14, and the message in vv. 15-18.

This view seems to account for the fresh introduction of Mary Magdalene and the details given about her.<sup>1</sup>

It may be noted that in v. 10 we are informed that 'She went and told them that had been with him'. If we admit the 'Shorter Conclusion', then the words in v. 8 *καὶ οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν εἶπον* obviously refer to persons whom they met on the way: without it, they are very ambiguous.

Lastly, I must again call attention to the singular relation which appears to exist between the content of the passage, 161, or a number very near to this, and 320 (Matt. xx. 28), and 963 (vv. 9-22). This may be due to a fortuitous coincidence, but to me it seems more likely that in the second-century archetype, which I believe to be at the back of our MSS., the 'Shorter Conclusion' preceded vv. 9-22. Further questions I leave to more competent critics.

I must now refer to the verses which in the recently-discovered Freer MS., cent. v, follow v. 14. They are written thus:

κακεῖνοι ἀπελογουντε λεγοντες οτι ο  
 αιων ουτος της ανομιας και της απιστίας  
 υπο τον σαταναν εστιν ο μη εων τα υπο  
 των πνατων ακαθαρτα την αληθειαν  
 5 του θυ καταλαβεσθαι δυναμιν δια  
 τουτο αποκαλυψον σου την δικαιοσυ  
 νην ηδη εκεινοι ελεγον τω χω και ο  
χς εκεινοις προσελεγεν οτι πεπληρω  
 ται ο ορος των ετων της εξουσιας του  
 10 σατανα αλλα εγγιζει αλλα δινα και ν  
 περ ων εγω αμαρτησαντων παρεδοθῇ  
 εις θανατον ινα υποστρεψωσιν εις τῇ  
 αληθειαν και μηκετι αμαρτησωσιν  
 ινα την εν τω ουρανω πνικην και α  
 15 φθαρτον της δικαιοσυνης δοξαν  
 κληρονομησωσιν

The passage as written consists of 451 letters.

<sup>1</sup> v. 9 *Μαρία τῇ Μαγδαληνῇ, παρ' ἧς ἐκβεβλήκει ἐπὶ δαιμόνια.*



Part of it, viz. *κακείνοι ἀπελογοῦντο* . . . σοῦ τὴν δικαιοσύνην was already known, being quoted by Jerome as occurring in some MSS.

I do not presume to discuss the theme or the language employed, but restrict myself to such considerations as are within the scope of this inquiry. The number 451 may =  $150 \times 3$ , and we have two passages 152 (Luke xxii. 19-20) and 156 (Matt. xvi. 2-3) which serve to mediate between these numbers and 161, 166, 167. The analogy of the *De Re Publica* palimpsest shows that the contents of a column, or page, of the same MS. might vary between these limits. There is, however, a serious objection. If we insert the Freer ending after v. 14, we get the following figures :

$$9-14 = 411$$

$$\text{Freer ending} = 451$$

$$15-22 = 552$$

There is no relation between these numbers.

On the other hand it must be acknowledged that the omission of the Freer ending might be easily explained on the ground of *ὁμοιότης*, since *κακείνοι ἀκούσαντες* (v. 11), *κακείνοι ἀπελθόντες* (v. 13), *ἐκείνοι δὲ ἐξελθόντες* (v. 20) are very like *κακείνοι ἀπελογοῦντο*.

I now come to a passage of the greatest interest :

Luke xxii. 17-22 *καὶ δεξάμενος ποτήριον εὐχαριστήσας εἶπε, Λάβετε τοῦτο, καὶ διαμερίσατε εἰς ἑαυτοὺς· λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, ὅτι οὐ μὴ πῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ γεννήματος<sup>1</sup> τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως ὅτου ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θ' ἔλθῃ. καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασε, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων, Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὡσαύτως μετὰ τὸ δειπνήσαι λέγων, Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυνόμενον.*

Here there is great diversity in *D* and the versions, viz. :

*καὶ δεξάμενος. . . τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔλθῃ* (152) *om.*  $\mathfrak{S}^{vg}$  (the Peshitta) with some support from  $\mathfrak{E}^b$ .

*καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον. . . τὸ σῶμά μου* (69) comes before *καὶ δεξάμενος* in  $\mathfrak{L}^b$ .

The same passage + *τὸ ὑπὲρ. . . διδόμενον* (69 + 50 = 119) comes before *δεξάμενος* in  $\mathfrak{S}$  and Diat.

*D* and  $\mathfrak{L}^a$  omit *τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν. . . ἐκχυνόμενον* (152).

The clue appears to be furnished by the fact that  $\mathfrak{S}^{vg}$  and *D*  $\mathfrak{L}^a$  have separate omissions, each of which consists of 152 letters. This agreement is so extraordinary that it can hardly be due to accident. The natural explanation is that 152 letters represent

<sup>1</sup> So Souter : the best MSS. have *γενήματος*.

a column in the MS. from which *D*  $\mathfrak{L}$   $\mathfrak{S}$  were copied.<sup>1</sup> Here, however, there is a difficulty, viz. that the words *καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον* . . . τὸ σῶμά μου (69) intervene between the two blocks of 152. This difficulty indicates the solution, viz. that the passage *καὶ λαβὼν* . . . σῶμά μου was accidentally omitted. To illustrate the point, I write out the passage, as I conceive it to have stood in the ancestor of *D*  $\mathfrak{L}$   $\mathfrak{S}$ . The most natural arrangement is that of two columns with 15 lines:

|        |   |        |  |
|--------|---|--------|--|
| Col. 1 | καὶ δεξαμε<br>νος ποτηριον<br>ευχαριστη<br>σας εἶπε λαβε<br>5 τε τουτο και<br>διαμερισατε<br>εις εαυτους<br>λεγω γαρ υμιν<br>οτι ου μη πιω<br>10 απο του νυν<br>απο του γεν<br>νηματος της<br>αμπελου εως ο<br>του η βασιλει<br>15 α του $\overline{\theta\upsilon}$ ελθη | Col. 2 | το υπερ υμων<br>διδομενον<br>τουτο ποιειτε<br>εις την εμην<br>5 αναμνησιν<br>και το ποτηρι<br>ον ωσαντως<br>μετα το δειπ<br>νησαι λεγων<br>10 τουτο το ποτη<br>ριον η καινη<br>διαθηκη εν<br>τω αιματι μου<br>το υπερ υμων<br>15 εκχυνομενον |
|--------|---|--------|--|

The missing words, viz. :

καὶ λαβὼν ἄρ  
τον ευχαρισ  
τησας εκλασε  
καὶ ἔδωκεν  
αὐτοῖς λεγων  
τουτο εστι  
το σῶμα μου

appear to have been inserted at the top of the column in the usual way. The result was that  $\mathfrak{L}^b$  inserts them before *καὶ δεξάμενος*. The writer of  $\mathfrak{S}$  saw that the first five lines of col. 2 ought to follow τὸ σῶμά μου and transposed them also. The writer of *D* omitted col. 2 as meaningless without the missing words, while  $\mathfrak{S}^{vg}$ , whether by accident or not, omitted the whole of col. 1.

It is thus possible to explain these perplexing variants without

<sup>1</sup> This supposition would postulate an intermediate MS. subsequent to the common archetype.

recourse to the theory of wilful interpolation. As there is no passage in the Gospels in which interpolation would seem more likely, this conclusion is reassuring.

It is to be noticed that the varieties in this passage are peculiar to *Z*. There is another passage in which *D* seems to exhibit a similar unit:

Luke vi. 5 καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι  $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$  ἐστὶν ὁ  $\overline{\upsilon\varsigma}$  τοῦ  $\overline{\alpha\nu\omicron\upsilon}$  (καὶ *D*) τοῦ σαββάτου = 46 (49).

These words are out of place in *D*, viz. after v. 10. The intervening words ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν . . . ἡ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ, if we include the passage about the man working on the Sabbath, found in *D* only, = 608 letters, which =  $152 \times 4$ . It must be remarked that *D* adds ὥς καὶ ἡ ἄλλη after ἡ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ. If we accept these words, the total is 618 (=  $154\frac{1}{2} \times 4$ ).

Here also *D* is concerned.

I now return to the Freer ending of St. Mark (451). It is possible that there were two stages in the process of omission, that of the Freer fragment, going back to an ancestor with 15 lines to the page, and subsequent omissions of 162 and 960 letters, representing pages (or columns) of an ancestor with 16 lines to a page. There is one obvious difficulty, viz. that the ancestor in 15 lines, which seems to emerge in Luke xxii. 16-22 and vi. 5-10, has only left traces on the *Z* family, while the ancestor in 16 lines is discernible in all the MSS. It, therefore, would seem to be posterior to the common ancestor.

On the whole, I am disposed to look on this ending with considerable scepticism.

## CHAPTER XI

IN the Acts we have no Old Syriac version, similar to that found in  $\mathfrak{S}^s$  and  $\mathfrak{S}^c$ . There are, however, later versions, of which  $\mathfrak{S}^{hl}$  is especially interesting on account of marginal readings which agree closely with  $D$ . This recension, which was made by Thomas of Harkel, afterwards Bishop of Hierapolis, in 616, is a revision of the Philoxenian version made in 508. He claims to have taken various readings from three Greek MSS. found in a monastery near Alexandria. The chief representative of the Latin family is the Fleury palimpsest, known as  $h$  (saec. v), which contains iii. 2–iv. 18; v. 23–vii. 2; vii. 42–viii. 2; ix. 4–23; xiv. 5–23; xvii. 34–xviii. 19; xxiii. 8–24; xxvi. 20–xxvii. 13. This MS. is written in long lines, with above 40 letters to the line. It will be convenient to postpone for the moment discussion of its relation to  $D$ .

There are considerable differences between the tradition of the Acts and the Gospels. In the first place the divergences between  $D$  (and its allies, chiefly  $\mathfrak{S}^{hl.mg}$  and  $\mathfrak{L}^h$ ), and the majority of the Greek MSS. are more constant and striking than in the Gospels. Also, while in the Gospels the readings of  $D$  have not met with favour, in the Acts they have been viewed with great and increasing respect. I have already referred to the theories of Bornemann, Blass and Ramsay. Lake advises any one who 'proposes to study the Western problems' to begin with the Acts, 'since here there are questions of archaeological and geographical detail which can be readily tested'. He goes on 'It is therefore the correct method to study the Western readings in Acts first of all, and to form some kind of judgement on them, and after this to turn to the Gospels and apply to them the conclusions derived from the study of the Acts'.

A second point of difference is that in the Acts there is little trace of that transmission through narrow lines which is everywhere apparent in the Gospels. Apart from the striking variants furnished by  $D \mathfrak{L}^h \mathfrak{S}^{hl.mg}$  there is little to note. Most of the disputed passages are of considerable length, rarely less than 20–5

letters. If we take **N** itself, which is peculiarly prone to omission, we find very few which fall below this number. I have noted the following :

- ii. 9 καὶ Ἐλαμῖται (11)
- iv. 27 ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ (14)
- v. 25 ἑστῶτες καί (10)
- vi. 12 ἐπιστάντες (10)
- vii. 60 φωνῇ μεγάλῃ (10)
- xxi. 13 κλαίοντες καί (12)
- 15 ἀνεβαίνομεν (11)

The contrast between this short list and the enormous number of small omissions made by **N** and **S**<sup>8</sup> in the Gospels is striking.

The first solution which occurred to me was that the Acts were derived from an archetype with longer lines than the Gospels, averaging 22-4 letters to the line. Subsequently, when I was turning over Scrivener's reproduction of *D*, I noticed a very curious fact, viz. that passages found in *D*, but omitted by most or all other Greek MSS., occupy a *στίχος*, or several *στίχοι* in *D*. At first I thought that this was due to accident, and the fact that the *στίχοι* generally coincide with the sense. When, however, my attention had once been called to the point, I observed that the phenomenon was very frequent, that some of the passages did not correspond to any marked division of sense, that they were of very different length, that in some cases the passage occupied half of one *στίχος* and half of the following, also, and this was the most striking point, that in many instances the other MSS. appeared to have modified the construction by some device such as the insertion of *δέ* or *ὅς* after an omission. I passed through every stage of incredulity, but finally could not resist the conclusion that a large number of important variants are at once explicable on the hypothesis that the Greek MSS. in general were drawn from a single ancestor written in *στίχοι*, such as those found in *D*, and had in a number of cases omitted lines of their original.

I must here recall the reader's attention to the statement which I made previously, when discussing the formation of *D*, viz. that in the Acts the *στίχοι* were generally free from the irregularities noticeable in St. John and St. Luke, and presented a more primitive appearance. Without more ado, I now present the evidence. The quotations are written in *στίχοι*, as in *D*. I have thought it best to retain orthographical peculiarities.

i. 5 και ο μελλεται λαμβανειν

So  $\mathfrak{L}^{\text{codd}}$  (patres aliquot).

ib. εως της πεντηκοστης

So  $\mathfrak{P}^s$  Aug. Rendel Harris<sup>1</sup> remarks that these 'two famous Western glosses' are supported by Ephrem, who (on Eph. iv. 10) gives

quam recipitis vos non post multos dies sed usque ad Pentecosten.

iv. 31 παντι τω θελοντι πιστεувειν

So  $\mathfrak{L}^{\text{codd}}$  Iren. Aug. The support of Irenaeus is especially important.

32 και ουκ ην διακρισις εν αυτοις ουδεμια

So Cyprian and others.

v. 18 και επορευθη εκαστος εις τα ιδια

This is only quoted from *D*. The two previous *στίχοι* begin with *καί*.

22 και ανυξαντες την φυλακην

So  $\mathfrak{L}^p$  § hl.

38 μη μιαναντες τας χειρας

So  $\mathfrak{L}^h$ . Rendel Harris (p. 79) calls this a 'curious gloss'.

39 ουτε υμεις ουτε βασιλεις ουτε τυραννοι

απεχεσθαι ουν απο των ανθρωπων τούτων

So  $\mathfrak{L}^h$  § hl.

vi. 8 δια του ονοματος  $\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$   $\overline{\iota\eta\upsilon}$   $\overline{\chi\rho\upsilon}$

So  $\mathfrak{L}^{\text{ht}}$  § hl. Aug.

10 δια το ελεγχεσθαι αυτους επ αυτου

μετα πασης παρρησιας

μη δυναμενοι ουν αντοφθαλμειν τη αληθεια

So  $\mathfrak{L}^h$  § hl, mg.

15 εστωτος εν μεσω αυτων

So  $\mathfrak{L}^{\text{ht}}$ . Here *d* renders *stans in medio eorum*. This is clearly an error for *stantis*. Such errors are frequent, e.g. *semini* for *sequimini* (Luke xxii. 10). Rendel Harris (p. 73), who supposes *d* to be prior to *D*, thinks that the 'gloss' is out of place and should come after *ἀρχιερέυς*: i. e. 'the high priest stood in the midst'.

vii. 4 και οι πατερες ημων οι προ ημων

So § hl. Augustine has *καὶ οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν* (*hom.*).

viii. 1 οι εμειναν εν ιερουσαλημ

So  $\mathfrak{L}^{\mathfrak{P}^s}$  Aug.

<sup>1</sup> *Four lectures on the Western Text*, p. 24.

24 ος πολλὰ κλαίων οὐ διελυμπανεν

So  $\mathfrak{S}$  hl.mg.

x. 32 ος παραγενομενος λαλησει σοι

om. *ABN*. The words are supported by most Greek MSS.,  $\mathfrak{L}$   $\mathfrak{S}$   $\mathfrak{E}^s$  Arm. Chrys.

xi. 17 του μη δουναι αυτοις  $\overline{\pi\eta\alpha}$  αγιον

πιστευσασιν επ αυτω

This is an interesting case. The second *στίχος* is omitted by  $\mathfrak{L}^p$  and Augustine, both *στίχοι* are omitted by all authorities except  $\mathfrak{L}^w$  and  $\mathfrak{S}$  hl.

xii. 3 η επιχειρησεις αυτου επι τους πιστους

So  $\mathfrak{L}^p$   $\mathfrak{S}$  hl.mg.

xiii. 8 επιδη ηδιστα ηκουεν αυτων

So  $\mathfrak{S}$  hl.

29 ητουντο τον πειλατον τουτον μεν σταυρωσαι

και επιτυχοντες παλιν

So  $\mathfrak{S}$  hl.mg. Bornemann here suggests with great probability that τὸν δὲ Βαραββᾶν ἀπολύσαι has dropped out after σταυρῶσαι.

43 εγενετο δε καθ ολης της πολεως

διελθειν τον λογον του  $\overline{\theta\upsilon}$

So  $\mathfrak{L}^w$   $\mathfrak{S}$  hl.mg.

xiv. 2 ο δε  $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$  εδωκεν ταχυ ειρηνην

So  $\mathfrak{L}$   $\mathfrak{S}$  hl.mg.

7 και εκεινηθη ολον το πληθος επι τη διδαχη

ο δε παυλος και βαρναβας

διετριβον εν λυστροις

So  $\mathfrak{L}^h$ . Ramsay says of the ordinary reading, 'I must confess that the language here is vague, and I do not comprehend it clearly.' He considers the reading of *D* due to a reviser who felt that something was wanting to make the narrative more clear.<sup>1</sup>

9 υπαρχων εν φοβῳ

So  $\mathfrak{L}^h$  (et habens timorem).

10 σοι λεγω εν τῳ ονοματι του  $\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$   $\overline{\iota\eta\upsilon}$   $\overline{\chi\rho\upsilon}$

So  $\mathfrak{L}^h$   $\mathfrak{S}$  hl.mg  $\mathfrak{E}^s$  Arm. Iren.<sup>lat</sup>.

26 ευαγγελιζομενοι αυτους

So  $\mathfrak{S}$  hl.

xv. 20 και οσα μη θελουσιν εαντοις γεινεσθαι

ετεροις μη ποιειτε

So  $\mathfrak{E}^s$  Eth. Iren. Porph. Eus.

<sup>1</sup> *The Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 53, 68.

xv. 26 εἰς παντα πειρασμον

So  $\mathfrak{S}$  hl.mg. Rendel Harris (p. 85) thinks that this 'gloss' is due to Sirach ii. 1 and should come a line further up, after αἰτῶν.

29 και οσα μη θελετε εαυτοις γεινεσθαι

ετερω μη ποιειν

So the same authorities as above, reinforced by  $\mathfrak{S}$  hl. and Cyprian.

ib. ευ πραξατε φερομενοι

εν τω αγιω π̄νι ερρωσθε

So Irenaeus and Tertullian: εὖ πράξετε ἔρρωσθε *cett.* This is a very instructive case. The scribe has passed after πράξετε to ἔρρωσθε in the next στίχος, omitting what came between.<sup>1</sup> Rendel Harris has a long discussion of this passage, pp. 75-9.

34 εδοξε δε τω σειλεα επιμειναι αυτους

μονος δε ιουδας επορευθη

The second στίχος is supported by  $\mathfrak{L}^w$   $\mathfrak{S}^{ig}$  and some MSS. of the Vulgate, the first is supported by  $\mathfrak{L}$   $\mathfrak{S}$  hl.  $\mathfrak{C}^s$  Arm. Eth. and some Greek MSS. This is a very instructive case, since it affects all the versions.

xvi. 30 τους λοιπους ασφαλισαμενος

So  $\mathfrak{S}$  hl.

35 ους εχθες παρελαβες

So  $\mathfrak{S}$  hl.mg.

xvii. 12 τινες δε ηπιστησαν

Only two minuscules support this reading.

xviii. 2 οι και κατωκησαν εις την αχαιαν

So  $\mathfrak{L}^h$   $\mathfrak{S}$  hl.mg.

4 και εντιθεις το ονομα του κυ ιην

So  $\mathfrak{L}$   $\mathfrak{S}$  hl.mg.

6 πολλου δε λογου γεινομενου

και γραφων διερμηνευομενων

So  $\mathfrak{L}^h$   $\mathfrak{S}$  hl.mg.

8 δια του ονοματος του κυ ημων ιην χρυ

So  $\mathfrak{L}^h$ , *om. cett.*

xx. 18 ως τριετιαν η και πλειον

*D* appears to be alone in this reading.

<sup>1</sup> This is probably the explanation of xviii. 28 :

δημοσια διαλεγομενος

και επιδεικνυς δια των γραφων τον ιην ειναι χρυ

So two minuscules: δημοσία, ἐπιδεικνὺς κτλ. *cett.*



xxii. 9 και ενφοβοι εγενοντο

So  $\mathfrak{L}$   $\mathfrak{S}$  hl.  $\mathfrak{E}^s$  Eth. and most Greek MSS., *om.*  $A B \mathfrak{N} \mathfrak{E}^b$  Arm.

26 οτι ρωμαιον εαυτον λεγει

So  $\mathfrak{L}^{\text{sig}}$ .

To these should probably be added xix. 5. Here  $D$  has

εις το ονομα κυ ιην χρν

εις αφεσιν αμαρτιων

So  $\mathfrak{S}$  hl. : the other authorities appear to omit  $\overline{\chi\rho\nu}$ , as well as the *στίχος* which follows.

This makes a total of 41 cases in which one or more *στίχοι* of  $D$  do not appear in  $B \mathfrak{N}$  and most, or all, of the Greek MSS.<sup>1</sup> How is this to be explained? The answer will be given that it is due to the fact that the *στίχοι* coincide with the sense, so that an interpolation would naturally form a *στίχος* or several. To this I would answer that some of the examples, e. g. xiv. 9 *ὑπάρχων ἐν φόβῳ*, xv. 26 *εἰς πάντα πειρασμόν* are not self-contained clauses and might just as well have been joined to the context. Also, this explanation will not suit xv. 29 *εὖ πράξετε . . . ἔρρωσθε*. There is, moreover, a simple way of testing this suggestion, viz. by comparison with the Gospels, and especially with St. Matthew and St. Mark, where also the *στίχοι* have a primitive appearance. It is hardly fair to include in the list the long passage Matt. xx. 28 *ὑμεῖς δὲ . . . τοῦτο χρήσιμον*, which occupies 12 *στίχοι* in  $D$ , since this could hardly be written otherwise, and to this might be added a passage of 4 *στίχοι* in Mark xi. 26 *εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς . . . ὑμῶν* and of 5 *στίχοι* in John vi. 56 *καθὼς ἐν ἐμοὶ . . . ἐν αὐτῷ*. Apart from these the only examples which I have noted in these two Gospels are :

Matt. v. 44 *εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν*

*καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισουσιν ὑμᾶς*

xii. 47 *εἶπεν δὲ τις αὐτῷ ἰδοὺ ἡ μήτηρ σου*

*καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ σου εἰσθηκείσαν ἐξω*

*ζητούντες λαλῆσαι σοι*

<sup>1</sup> I have not included in this list a passage where the ordinary reading seems due to omission *ex homoeoteleuto* without assistance from line-division, viz.

v. 15 *ἵνα ἐρχομένου πετροῦ καὶ ἡ σκία ἐπισκίασιν*

*τινὶ αὐτῶν ἀπηλλάσσοντο γὰρ*

*ἀπο πάσης ἀσθενίας*

*ὥς εἶχεν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν*

So  $\mathfrak{L}^{\text{sig}}$   $\mathfrak{P}$  Lucif. : *ἀπηλλάσσοντο . . . αὐτῶν om. cett.* The omission is due to the repetition of *αὐτῶν*.

xvii. 21 *τοῦτο δὲ τὸ γένος οὐκ ἐκπορεύεται  
εἰ μὴ ἐν προσευχῇ καὶ νηστείᾳ*

xxv. 1 *καὶ τῆς νυμφῆς*

Mark vii. 16 *εἰ τις ἐχει ὠτα ἀκοῦειν ἀκουέτω*

xiii. 2 *καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν  
ἄλλος ἀναστήσεται ἀνεὺ χειρῶν*

Of these only Matt. xxv. 1 is at all striking.

The figures for St. Luke, where the *στίχοι* are much disturbed, are :

Luke i. 28 *εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξίν*

iv. 4 *ἀλλ' ἐν παντὶ ῥηματι ἔν*

xi. 4 *ἀλλὰ ρῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ*

11 *ἄρτον μὴ λίθον αὐτῷ ἐπιδώσει ἡ καὶ*

43 *καὶ πρωτοκλισίας ἐν τοῖς δειπνοῖς*

Of these only xi. 11 is striking.

There is no example in St. John except vi. 56 (quoted above).

The portion of the Acts preserved in *D* consists of 88 pages : the Gospels cover 324 pages. In the Acts we have noticed 41 cases where a passage found only in *D* occupies a *στίχος* or *στίχοι*. We might, therefore, expect to find about 150 cases in the Gospels. If, however, we reckon all the passages mentioned above, including the long ones, the total is 14. It is, therefore, apparent that the phenomena cannot be thus explained.

It is, indeed, noticeable how frequently in the Gospels doubtful passages found in *D* do not coincide with the *στίχοι*, e.g. Matt. xvi. 2 *ὁψίας . . . δύνασθε*, xx. 16 *πολλοὶ . . . ἐκλεκτοί*, Mark ix. 44 *ὅπου . . . σβέννυνται*, Luke xxii. 43 *ᾤφθη δὲ . . . τὴν γῆν*, xxiii. 17 *ἀνάγκην δὲ . . . ἔνα*.

More important evidence is furnished by a number of passages, in which other MSS. appear to have modified the construction, after omitting a passage contained in a *στίχος* or *στίχοι* of *D*. In order to make clear the significance of this fact, I would refer back to a reading of *Σ* previously quoted.

John xx. 4 *καὶ ὁ ἄλλος μαθητὴς προέδραμε] προέδραμε δέ Σ*. Here, obviously, *δέ* has been inserted to give a construction after the omission of *καὶ ὁ ἄλλος μαθητὴς*.

In the Acts we find the following examples :

ii. 30 *κατὰ σάρκα ἀναστήσai τὸν χ̃ρν̃  
καὶ καθίσαι ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ*

So *Σ* hl. and many Greek MSS. with Origen and others.  
*καθίσαι ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ A B Σ*.

καί was omitted to give a construction after the loss of the previous line.

37 τότε παντες οι συνελθοντες

και ακουσαντες κατενυγησαν τη καρδια

So  $\mathfrak{S}$  hl.<sup>mg</sup> : ἀκούσαντες δὲ κατενύγησαν τὴν καρδίαν *cett.*

iii. 1 ἐν δε ταις ημεραις ταυταις

πετρος και ιωανης ανεβαινον εις το ιερον

So  $\mathfrak{L}^p$  : Πέτρος δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης ἀνέβαινον εἰς τὸ ἱερόν *cett.*

3 ουτος ατενισας τοις οφθαλμοις αυτου

και ιδων πετρον και ιωανην

So  $\mathfrak{L}^h$  : ὁς ἰδὼν Πέτρον καὶ Ἰωάννην *cett.*

iv. 18 συνκατατιθεμενων δε αυτων τη γνωμη

φωνησαντες αυτους παρηγγειλαντο

So  $\mathfrak{L}^h$  sig  $\mathfrak{S}$  hl.<sup>mg</sup> Lucif. : καὶ καλέσαντες αὐτοὺς παρήγγειλαν τὸ *cett.*

viii. 6 ὡς δε ηκουον παν οι οχλοι

προσειχον τοις λεγομενοις υπο φιλιππου

προσείχόν τε οἱ ὄχλοι τοῖς λεγομένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου *cett.*

Apparently τε and οἱ ὄχλοι were inserted after the loss of the previous line.

xiii. 44 σχεδον ολη η πολις συνηχθη ακουσαι παυλου

πολυν τε λογον ποιησαμενου περι του κυ

Here *D* appears to be alone : σχεδὸν πᾶσα ἡ πόλις συνήχθη ἀκοῦσαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυ (θῦ) *cett.* Here the writer appears to have glanced from Παύλου to τοῦ κυ, omitting a line : τὸν λόγον was inserted to give sense.

xiv. 19 διατριβοντων αυτων και διδασκοντων

επηλθον τινες ιουδαιοι

απο ικονιου και αντιοχιας

So  $\mathfrak{L}^b$   $\mathfrak{S}$  hl.<sup>mg</sup>, some Greek MSS., Arm. &c. : ἐπὶ ἤλθον δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀντιοχείας καὶ Ἰκονίου Ἰουδαῖοι *cett.*

xv. 5 οι δε παραγγειλαντες αυτοις

αναβαινειν προς τους πρεσβυτερους

εξανεστησαν λεγοντες τινες

So *D*, apparently *solus* : ἐξανέστησαν δέ τινες . . . λέγοντες *cett.*

12 συνκατατεθεμενων δε των πρεσβυτερῶ

τοις υπο του πετρου ειρημενοις

εσειγησεν παν το πληθος

So  $\mathfrak{S}$  hl. : ἐσίγησε δὲ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος *cett.*

xv. 41-xvi. 1 **ἐπιστηρίζων τὰς ἐκκλησίας**  
 παραδίδους τὰς ἐντολὰς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων  
 διελθὼν δὲ τὰ ἔθνη ταῦτα  
 κατήντησεν εἰς δερβὴν καὶ λυστραν

So **Æ** hl.<sup>ms</sup>: **ἐπιστηρίζων τὰς ἐκκλησίας. κατήντησε**  
 δὲ καὶ εἰς Δέρβην καὶ εἰς Λύστραν *cett.*

xvi. 35 **ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης συνήλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ**  
**ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν**  
**καὶ ἀναμνησθέντες**  
**τὸν σεισμόν τὸν γεγενημένον ἐφοβήθησαν**

5 **καὶ ἀπέστειλαν τοὺς ραβδούχους λέγοντας,**  
**ἀπόλυσον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκείνους**  
**οὓς ἐχθὲς παρέλαβες**

So **Σ** hl.<sup>ms</sup>: **ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης ἀπέστειλαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ**  
**τοὺς ραβδούχους λέγοντες, Ἀπόλυσον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκείνους *cett.***

The omission of l. 7 has already been mentioned. The compressed reading seems due to the accidental omission of ll. 2-4, the result being that οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἀπέστειλαν was emended to ἀπέστειλαν οἱ στρατηγοί.

xvii. 15 **οἱ δὲ καταστανοντες τὸν παῦλον**  
**ἤγαγον εἰς ἀθηνῶν**  
**παρηλθεν δὲ τὴν θεσσαλίαν**  
**ἐκωλυθὴ γὰρ εἰς αὐτοὺς**  
 5 **κηρυῖν τὸν λόγον**  
**λαβόντες δὲ ἐντολὴν παρὰ παύλου**  
**πρὸς τὸν σείλαν καὶ τιμόθεον**

Here Ephrem has 'But the Holy Spirit prevented him from preaching lest they should slay him. And those who conducted Paul led him as far as Athens and having received from Paul a command to Silas and Timothy'.

The other MSS. have οἱ δὲ καθιστῶντες τὸν Παῦλον ἤγαγον ἕως Ἀθηνῶν καὶ λαβόντες ἐντολὴν πρὸς τὸν Σίλαν καὶ Τιμόθεον. This reading seems based on the omission of ll. 3-5, and the subsequent alteration of λαβόντες δὲ τὸ καὶ λαβόντες.

Ephrem continues (after Timothy) 'that they should at once come to him in Athens. And they went to him when they received the command'. *D* has

οὕτως ἐν ταχείᾳ ἐλθῶσιν  
 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξήσαν

Rendel Harris (p. 47) points out that the rendering of Ephrem is due to the arrangement by *στίχοι* in *D*. He says 'the last line has

been detached from the previous ones by the reader or translator and made into a separate sentence', and finds in this 'an instance of the early currency of the Bezan line division'.

This remark is very interesting, since he has detected in the case of Ephrem, on very scanty evidence, what appears to me to have been true in that of the common ancestor of all our MSS., viz. that an arrangement in *στίχοι*, such as is found in *D*, must be presupposed.

xviii. 4 εισπορευομενος δε εις την συναγωγην

κατα παν σαββατον διελεγετο

και εντιθεις το ονομα του κυ ιηυ

και επιθεν δε ου μονον ιουδαιους

5 αλλα και ελληνας

So *ℒ* *ℑ* hl.<sup>ms</sup>: διελέγετο δὲ ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ κατὰ πᾶν σάββατον, ἔπειθέ τε Ἰουδαίους καὶ Ἑλλήνας *cett.*

Here omission of l. 3 and probably of l. 1 has resulted in somewhat free handling of the text.

12 κατεπεστησαν ομοθυμαδον

οι ιουδαιοι συνλαλησαντες

μεθ εαυτων επι τον παυλον

και επιθεντες τας χειρας

5 ηγαγον αυτον επι το βημα

So *ℒ*<sup>h</sup> *ℑ* hl. *℄*<sup>s</sup>: κατεπέστησαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ Παύλῳ, καὶ ἤγαγον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα *cett.*

Here the omission appears to be twofold. In the first place the writer passed from Ἰουδαῖοι to ἐπὶ τὸν Παῦλον in the line below, and secondly he omitted l. 4.

xx. 12 ασπαζομενων δε αυτων

ηγαγεν τον νεανισκον ζωντα

So *D*, apparently *solus*: ἤγαγον δὲ τὸν παῖδα ζῶντα *cett.*

15 τη δε ετερα παρελαβομεν εις σαμον

και μειναντες εν τρωγυλια

τη ερχομενη ηλθομεν εις μειλητον

So *ℒ*<sup>ms</sup> *ℑ* hl. *℄*<sup>s</sup>, most Greek MSS., and Chrys.: τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ παρεβάλομεν εἰς Σάμον, τῇ δὲ ἐχομένῃ ἤλθομεν εἰς Μίλητον *ABN*.

This is one of the passages upon which Ramsay founds his theory that the 'glossator' of *D* possessed exceptional knowledge of geography. He says 'highly probable, for the promontory of Trogyllium projects far out between Samos and Miletus and the little coasting vessel would naturally touch there' (p. 155).

15-16 ανεβαινομεν εις ιερουσαλημ  
 απο κεσαραιας συν ημειν  
 ουτοι δε ηγαγον ημας  
 παρ ω ξενισθωμεν  
 και παραγενομενοι εις τινα κωμην  
 εγενομεθα παρα νασωνι τινι κυπριω

So  $\mathfrak{S}$  hl.<sup>mg.</sup> ανεβαίνομεν εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ. συνήλθον δὲ καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν ἀπὸ Καισαρείας σὺν ἡμῖν, ἄγοντες παρ' ᾧ ξενισθῶμεν Μνά-σωνί τινι Κυπρίῳ *cett.*

The first remark which I would make is, that the text of *D* is clearly defective here. The words συνήλθον δὲ καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν are necessary, and must have formed a στίχος which has dropped out after Ἱερουσαλήμ.

The ordinary text makes St. Paul go from Caesarea to Jerusalem, a distance of 68 miles, in one day, that of *D* makes him stay for a night in a village. Ramsay, who pointed this out, thinks that the 'interpolator' was well acquainted with the route. It is difficult to think that St. Luke could make such a blunder.

22 τι ουν εστιν παντως  
 δει πληθος συνελθειν  
 ακουσονται γαρ οτι εληλυθας

So  $\mathfrak{N}$  and most MSS. : *B C*<sup>1</sup>  $\mathfrak{E}$  Eth. Orig. have τί οὖν ἐστι; πάντως ἀκούσονται ὅτι ἐλήλυθας.

25 περι δε των πεπιστευκοτων εθνων  
 ουδεν εχουσι λεγειν προς σε  
 ημεις γαρ απεστείλαμεν κρεινοντες  
 μηδεν τοιουτον τηρειν αυτους

5 ει μη φυλασσεσθαι αυτους το ειδωλοθυτον

Here l. 2 is also given by  $\mathfrak{L}$ <sup>sig</sup>  $\mathfrak{E}$ <sup>s</sup>. The other MSS. omit it and γάρ in the next line, but otherwise agree with *D*, except *A B N E*, which omit μηδὲν . . . εἰ μή. Apparently l. 4 was lost, and the εἰ μή was struck out to make sense.

The cumulative evidence yielded by these two classes of omissions seems to me decisive, and the only conclusion to which I can come is that behind all our MSS. we have an archetype arranged in στίχοι similar to those which are found in *D*. This, it will be remembered, is what Rendel Harris has divined in the case of Ephrem's MS., although on very scanty evidence.

This conclusion entirely upsets all previous theories, and at first sight appears bewildering. There is, however, a simple explanation. The Acts come to an abrupt end, and leave St. Paul in

Rome teaching with freedom in his hired house. As we are told nothing about the trial, and its result, the most natural supposition is that the Acts were written before this by the faithful eyewitness who shared his travels. Now, if the Acts were written in Rome, it would be only natural that a Latin translation should be issued for the use of those converts whose knowledge of Greek was defective. If so, the arrangement of the Greek in *στίχοι*, with a line for line translation in Latin, would provide the best means of providing for their needs. I do not suggest that the Acts were originally published in this form. An original in Greek only would obviously come first.

## CHAPTER XII

I NOW proceed to deal with some more complicated differences between *D* and the received text. In the light of the passages previously considered the situation is changed, and now I venture to treat the ordinary readings as abbreviations of the primitive text.

- iii. **I I** εκπορευομενου δε του πετρου και ιωανου  
 συνεξεπορευετο κρατων αυτους  
 οι δε θαμβηθεντες εστησαν  
 εν τη στοα η καλουμενη σολομωνος εκθαμβοι

**ℒ<sup>h</sup>** has exeun  
 tibis autem petro et iohanne simul et ipse prodiebat  
 tenens eos et concurrit omnis populus ad eos in porti  
 cu quae uocatur solomonis stupentes

The other MSS. give

- κρατούντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν Πέτρον καὶ Ἰωάννην συνέδραμε πρὸς αὐτοὺς  
 πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐπὶ τῇ στοᾷ τῇ καλουμένῃ Σολομῶντος ἑκθαμβοι.

Here the omission of **l. 1** seems to have resulted in recasting of the text.

- x. 25** προσεγγιζοντος δε του πετρου  
 εις την καισαριαν  
 προδραμων εις των δουλων  
 διεσαφησεν παραγεγονεναι αυτον  
**5** ο δε κορνηλιος εκπηδησας  
 και συναντησας αυτω

So **ℒ<sup>g</sup>** **ℒ<sup>h</sup>** **ℒ<sup>m</sup>**.

- ὡς δὲ ἐγένετο τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν τὸν Πέτρον, συναντήσας αὐτῷ ὁ Κορνήλιος  
*cett.*

Here **ll. 2-4** are omitted, probably also **l. 1** dropped out, and a substitute inserted from the context.

Rendel Harris (p. 63) remarks that 'the account is as life-like as anything we could wish, and agrees with the statement that Cornelius had sent *two* slaves'. The ordinary reading seems very bald.

- xi. 2** ο μιν ουν πετρος δια ικανου χρονου  
 ηθελησαι πορευθηναι εις ιεροσολυμα  
 και προσφωνησας τους αδελφους  
 και επιστηριξας αυτους πολυν λογον



5 ποιουμενος δια των χωρων  
 διδασκων αυτους ος και κατηγησεν αυτοις  
 και απηγγιλεν αυτοις την χαριν του θυ  
 οι δε εκ περιτομης αδελφοι διεκρινοντο  
 προς αυτον λεγοντες

So  $\mathfrak{L}^p w$   $\mathfrak{S}$  hl.

The ordinary reading is :

ὅτε δὲ ἀνέβη Πέτρος εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, διεκρίνοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ ἐκ  
 περιτομῆς, λέγοντες.

Here there seems to have been a double omission. In the first place the writer has passed from l. 1.  $\tau$  Πέτρος to εἰς, which is just underneath, and subsequently to have omitted ll. 3-7.

25 ακουσας δε οτι σαυλος εστιν εις θαρσον  
 εξηλθεν αναζητων αυτον  
 και ως συντυχων παρεκαλεσεν  
 ελθειν εις αντιοχειαν

So  $\mathfrak{L}^{gip}$   $\mathfrak{S}$  hl. mg.

The ordinary reading is :

ἐξήλθε δὲ εἰς Ταρσὸν ἀναζητῆσαι Σαῦλον, καὶ εὗρὼν ἤγαγεν εἰς  
 Ἀντιόχειαν.

This looks like a deliberate attempt at compression.

27 κατηλθον απο ιεροσολυμων  
 προφηται εις αντιοχειαν  
 ην δε πολλη αγαλλιασις  
 συνεστραμμενων δε ημων  
 5 εφη εις εξ αυτων ονοματι αγαβος

So  $\mathfrak{L}^p w$  August.

The ordinary reading is :

κατήλθον ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων προφήται εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν. ἀναστὰς δὲ  
 εἰς ἐξ αὐτῶν, ὀνόματι Ἀγαβος.

Here the omission of ll. 3-4 seems to have led to the insertion of ἀναστὰς δέ in l. 5.

xiv. 2 οι δε αρχισυναγωγοι των ιουδαιων  
 και οι αρχοντες της συναγωγης  
 επηγαγον αυτοις διωγμον κατα των δικαιων  
 και εκακωσαν τας ψυχας των εθνων  
 κατα των αδελφων

So  $\mathfrak{S}$  hl. mg.

The ordinary reading is :

οἱ δὲ ἀπειθήσαντες Ἰουδαῖοι ἐπήγειραν (+ διωγμὸν  $E \mathfrak{L}^{gip} w$ ) καὶ  
 ἐκάκωσαν τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν.

Here there is nothing to correspond to l. 2, probably l. 1. ι was also omitted and replaced by οἱ δὲ ἀπειθήσαντες Ἰουδαῖοι (cf. xvii. 5).

xv. 2 γενομένης δὲ ἐκτασεως  
 και ζητησεως ουκ ολιγης  
 τω παυλω και βαρναβα συν αυτοις  
 ελεγεν γαρ ο παυλος μενειν ουτως  
 5 καθως επιστευσαν δισχυριζομενος  
 οι δε ελληλυθοτες απο ιερουσαλημ  
 παρηγγειλαν αυτοις τω παυλω και βαρναβα  
 και τισιν αλλοις αναβαινειν

So  $\mathfrak{L}^{hl,mg}$ . The words ἔλεγεν γὰρ . . . ἐπίστευσαν also have the support of  $\mathfrak{L}^{eis w}$ .

The ordinary reading is :

γενομένης δὲ στάσεως καὶ ζητήσεως οὐκ ὀλίγῃ τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ τῷ  
 Βαρνάβᾳ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔταξαν ἀναβαίνειν Παῦλον καὶ Βαρνάβαν  
 καὶ τινὰς ἄλλους.

Here the source of the omission is clear, viz. that the copyist passed from τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ Βαρνάβᾳ in l. 3 to the same words in l. 7, omitting the intervening words. In order to give a sense ἔταξαν was introduced. This is a very instructive case.

5 οι δε παραγγειλαντες αυτοις  
 αναβαινειν προς τους πρεσβυτερους  
 εξανεστησαν λεγοντες τινες  
 απο της ερεσεως των φαρισαιων  
 πεπιστευκοτες οτι δει περιτεμνειν αυτους

Here *D* seems to be unsupported.

The ordinary reading is :

ἐξανέστησαν δὲ τινες ἀπὸ τῆς αἵρέσεως τῶν Φαρισαίων πεπιστευκότες,  
 λέγοντες ὅτι Δεῖ περιτέμνειν αὐτούς.

The reading of *D* presents some difficulty, since λέγοντες goes better before ὅτι Δεῖ. Also, something seems lost, e. g. καὶ ἄλλοι before τινες. The arrangement of the στίχοι is not perfect, since πεπιστευκότες should go with the preceding line. The first two στίχοι have been omitted in the other copies.

xvi. 10 διεγερθεις ουν διηγησατο το οραμα ημιν  
 και ενοησαμεν οτι προσκεκληται ημας ο κς  
 ευαγγελισασθαι τους εν τη μακεδονια  
 τη δε επαυριον αχθεντες απο τρωαδος

Here διεγερθεῖς . . . ἐνόησαμεν is supported by  $\mathfrak{E}^s$ , and τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον ἀναχθέντες by  $\mathfrak{S}^{hl,mg}$ .

The ordinary reading is :

ὥς δὲ τὸ ὄραμα εἶδεν, εὐθέως ἐζητήσαμεν ἐξελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν,  
 συμβιβάζοντες ὅτι προσκέκληται ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς εὐαγγελίσασθαι  
 αὐτούς. ἀναχθέντες οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς Τρωάδος.

This is a very puzzling case.

38-40 ἀπηγγειλαν δὲ αὐτοῖς οἱ στρατηγοὶς  
 οἱ ραβδουχοὶ τὰ ρήματα ταῦτα  
 τὰ ρηθέντα πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς  
 οἱ δὲ ἀκουσάντες ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι εἰσιν  
 5 ἐφοβήθησαν καὶ παραγενομένοι  
 μετὰ φίλων πολλῶν εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν  
 παρεκάλεσαν αὐτοὺς ἐξελθεῖν εἰπόντες  
 ἡγνοήσαμεν τὰ καθ' ὑμᾶς  
 ὅτι ἐστὶ ἀνδρες δίκαιοι  
 10 καὶ ἐξαγαγόντες  
 παρεκάλεσαν αὐτοὺς λέγοντες  
 ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ἐξέλθατε  
 μὴ ποτε παλιν συνστραφῶσιν ἡμῖν  
 επικραζόντες καθ' ὑμῶν  
 15 ἐξελθόντες δὲ ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς  
 ἦλθον πρὸς τὴν λυδίαν  
 καὶ ἰδόντες τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς  
 διηγήσαντο ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ αὐτοῖς  
 παρακάλεσαν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐξήλθαν

Rendel Harris (p. 27) quotes from Ephrem :

‘So then that this favour might be unto them, they came and besought of them, saying, we knew not that ye were just men, even as the earthquake indeed presaged of you. So then we ask of you this favour, depart from this city, lest the same men gather together after the earthquake against you who before the earthquake were gathered together.’

Lines 8-14 are supported by S hl. There is also some Latin authority for them and for ll. 17-19 τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς . . . αὐτούς.

The ordinary reading is :

ἀπήγγειλαν δὲ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς οἱ ῥαβδούχοι τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα·  
 ἐφοβήθησαν δὲ ἀκούσαντες ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοί εἰσι· καὶ ἐλθόντες  
 παρεκάλεσαν αὐτούς, καὶ ἐξαγαγόντες ἡρώτων ἀπελθεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς  
 πόλεως. ἐξελθόντες δὲ ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς εἰσῆλθον πρὸς τὴν  
 Λυδίαν· καὶ ἰδόντες παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ ἐξήλθον.

Here we have to notice a series of omissions. Lines 3 and 6 have disappeared. The writer then appears to have passed from

*παρεκάλεσαν αὐτούς* in l. 7 to the same words in l. 11, but to have partially rectified his error by inserting l. 10. Lines 13 and 14 are omitted: also l. 18, the last omission causing some slight alteration in the wording. There seems to be a combination of accidental omission and condensation.

- xviii. 27 *εν δε τη εφεσω επιδημουντες*  
*τινες κορινθιοι και ακουσαντες αυτου*  
*παρεκαλουν διελθειν συν αυτοις*  
*εις την πατριδα αυτων*  
 5 *συνκατανευσαντος δε αυτου*  
*οι εφεσιοι εγραψαν τοις εν κορινθω μαθηταις*  
*οπως αποδεξωνται τον ανδρα*  
*ος επιδημησας εις την αχαιαν*  
*πολυν συνεβαλλετο εν ταις εκκλησιαις*

So  $\S$  hl.<sup>mg</sup>, with some Latin support.

The ordinary reading is:

*βουλομένων δὲ αὐτοῦ διελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀχαΐαν προτρεψάμενοι οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἔγραψαν τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἀποδέξασθαι αὐτόν ὃς παραγενόμενος συνεβάλετο πολὺ τοῖς πεπιστευκόσι διὰ τῆς χάριτος.*

This is a difficult case. It looks as if ll. 1-4 had been omitted and replaced by a summary drawn from the context. On the other hand I should be disposed to look on *τοῖς πεπιστευκόσι διὰ τῆς χάριτος* as a *στίχος* which has been omitted by D.

- xix. 1 *θελοντος δε του παυλου*  
*κατα την ιδιαν βουλην*  
*πορευεσθαι εις ιεροσολυμα*  
*ειπεν αυτω το π̄να υποστρεφειν εις την ασιαν*  
 5 *διελθων δε τα ανωτερα κ̄α μ̄ερη*  
*ερχεται εις εφεσον*

So  $\S$  hl.<sup>mg</sup>, with some Latin support.

The ordinary reading is:

*ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ τὸν Ἀπολλῶ εἶναι ἐν Κορίνθῳ Παῦλον διελθόντα τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἐφεσον.*

Probably ll. 1-4 were omitted and replaced by a supplement drawn from the context.

Rendel Harris (p. 48) quotes from Ephrem 'Paul wished of his own will to go to Jerusalem, but the Spirit sent him back to Asia . . . he went round the upper region and came down to Ephesus'.

- 14 *εν οις και υιοι σκευα τινος ιερως*  
*ηθελησαν το αυτο ποιησαι*  
*εθος ειχαν τους τοιουτους εξορκιζειν*

και εισελθοντες προς τον δαιμονιζομενον  
 5 ηρξαντο επικαλειςθαι το ονομα λεγοντες  
 παραγγελλομεν σοι εν ιη̄υ  
 ον παυλος εξελθειν κηρυσσει

The words ἐξελθεῖν κηρύσσει in l. 7 are in the wrong order. The Latin is *quem paulus praedicat exire*. The error is rectified by a corrector.

*D* is here supported by  $\mathfrak{S}$  hl.<sup>ms</sup>.

The ordinary reading is :

ἦσαν δέ τινος Σκευᾶ Ἰουδαίου ἀρχιερέως ἑπτὰ υἱοὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦντες.

Ramsay says '*D* here gives a text which is intelligent, consistent, and possible : the accepted text is badly expressed, and even self-contradictory' (p. 153). He refers to the fact that in v. 16 the sons of Sceva are said to be two in number (κατακυριεύσας ἀμφοτέρων), not seven. Also, it is difficult to see the meaning of ἀρχιερέως here. The context rather implies that Sceva was a heathen who copied the Jewish exorcists mentioned in v. 13.

Apparently ll. 3-7 have been omitted, and ll. 1-2 remodelled.

The corruption ἑπτὰ υἱοί is very odd. I can only suggest that ζ' (= ἑπτά) is due to misunderstanding of ζ (= ζῆται), a well-known critical mark.<sup>1</sup>

The whole passage is a striking example of *D*'s superiority to the other MSS.

I have hitherto abstained from mentioning two famous readings of *D*, viz. xii. 10

και εξελθοντες κατεβησαν τους .ζ. βαθμους  
 και προσηλθαν ρυμην μιαν  
 και ευθεις απεστη ο αγγελος απ αυτου  
 και ο πετρος εν εαντω γενομενος ειπεν

Here  $\mathfrak{L}^p$  has the equivalent for κατέβησαν τοὺς βαθμοὺς καί: other MSS. omit the passage. It is impossible to suppose that an interpolator invented such a striking detail as the descent of the seven steps. One can imagine St. Peter counting them as he walked.

The omission here is not quite similar to those which I have previously considered, since it is not an entire line which has been dropped, as would have been the case if προσῆλθον had also been omitted. Probably the writer was puzzled by the occurrence of καί at the beginning of four στίχοι.

<sup>1</sup> This is found in the forms ζη and ζη in the papyrus of Sophocles, *Ichneutae*, Ox. 1174 (cent. ii), and ζη is used for ζητητέον five times in *Tebtunis*, ii. 343 (cent. ii). I owe these references to Dr. Hunt.

xix. 9 το καθημεραν διαλεγομενος εν τη σχολη  
τυραννιου τινος απο ωρας .ε. εως δεκατης

The words τινός . . . δεκάτης are supported by  $\mathfrak{L}^{sg}$   $\mathfrak{S}$  hl.<sup>ms</sup>, and some minuscules: the other MSS. omit them. The statement that St. Paul taught from the first to the fifth hour is so vivid and minute that in Ramsay's opinion 'it can only be deliberate impertinence (which is improbable) or founded upon actual tradition' (p. 152).

I have no explanation to offer for the omission.

To these I may add xix. 28:

ταυτα δε ακουσαντες  
και γενομενοι πληρεις θυμου  
δραμοντες εις το αμφοδον εκραζον λεγοντες  
μεγαλη αρτεμις εφεσιων

So  $\mathfrak{S}$  hl.<sup>ms</sup>: *om.* δραμόντες εις τὸ ἄμφοδον *cett.* Ramsay remarks: 'The addition increases the individuality and the local colour, and possibly an actual tradition surviving in Ephesus fixed the house or the public *stoa* where the preliminary meeting was held, and the street along which the artisans ran invoking the goddess' (p. 153).

Ramsay, who has done so much to point out the value of *D* in the Acts, holds that these striking readings came from a very well informed glossator. Rendel Harris (p. 65) remarks that 'if the glossator be a separate person from the author, he must have had the soul of a harmonist, but he must also have been gifted with some of the trained instincts of a modern critic'. Lake very properly expresses doubt 'whether such good work is really that of a glossator'. The supposed glossator appears to me no other than St. Luke himself, whose words have been preserved by *D*.

I have not included in this discussion some important passages for which we have not now the evidence of *D*. These are:

viii. 37 εἰπέ δὲ ὁ Φίλιππος, Εἰ πιστεύεις ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας,  
ἔξεστιν. ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ εἶπε, Πιστεύω τὸν ὕψι τοῦ θύ εἶναι τὸν Ἰν  
᾽Χν (94).

So  $\mathfrak{L}$   $\mathfrak{S}$  hl. Arm. Iren. and some Greek MSS. including *E*.

ix. 5 σκληρόν σοι πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν. τρέμων τε καὶ θαμβῶν  
εἶπεν, κἔ, τί με θέλεις ποιῆσαι; καὶ ὁ κς πρὸς αὐτόν (85).

So  $\mathfrak{L}$   $\mathfrak{S}$  hl.<sup>ms</sup> Lucif. Amb.

The words σκληρόν . . . λακτίζειν are inserted after τί με διώκεις; instead of after ὃν σὺ διώκεις, by *E*.

xxiii. 24 ἐφοβήθη γὰρ μήποτε ἀρπάσαντες αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἀποκτενῶ-  
σιν καὶ αὐτὸς μεταξὺ ἐγκλημα ἔχῃ ὡς ἀργύριον εἰληφώς (93).

So  $\mathfrak{L}$   $\mathfrak{S}$  hl.

xxiv. 6 καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἡμέτερον νόμον ἠθελήσαμεν κρῖναι. παρελθὼν δὲ Λυσίας ὁ χιλιάρχος μετὰ πολλῆς βίας ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν ἀπήγαγε, κελεύσας τοὺς κατηγοροὺς αὐτοῦ ἔρχεσθαι ἐπὶ σε (141).

So  $\mathfrak{L}^s$   $\mathfrak{S}$  hl. Eth. and *E*.

xxviii. 16 ὁ ἐκατόνταρχος παρέδωκε τοὺς δεσμίους τῷ στρατοπεδάρχῳ (49).

So  $\mathfrak{L}$   $\mathfrak{S}$  hl. Eth.

29 καὶ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος ἀπῆλθον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, πολλὴν ἔχοντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς συζήτησιν (69).

So  $\mathfrak{L}$   $\mathfrak{S}$  hl. and most Greek MSS. : *om.*  $\mathfrak{N} B A$ , *alii*.

It is highly probable that *D* here agreed with its allies.

The last of these passages differs from the others, since it has the support of most Greek authorities. The omission may be characteristic of a particular group.<sup>1</sup>

I have numbered the letters, in order to bring out the fact that viii. 37 and xxiii. 24 are of equal length. This may be due to chance, or may show that the omission represents lines of an intermediate MS., not written in *στίχοι*. The coincidence is certainly striking.

I now proceed to consider the relation of *D* to the archetype. If we assume, as seems to me probable, that this was written about A. D. 62, it follows that some 440 years, or more, must have elapsed before *D* was written. There is room for a number of intermediate MSS. during this period. It is, therefore, likely that a certain amount of change has taken place in the arrangement of the *στίχοι*, and that several more omissions in the ordinary text would be explicable, if we had these in their primitive form. Thus xviii. 19 *D* gives :

καταντήσας δὲ εἰς ἐφεσον  
καὶ τῷ ἐπιόντι σαββάτῳ ἐκεῖνους κατέλιπεν ἐκεῖ  
αὐτὸς δὲ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν  
διελεγέτο τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις.

The words τῷ ἐπιόντι σαββάτῳ (without καί) are supported by  $\mathfrak{L}^h$   $\mathfrak{S}$  hl.  $\mathfrak{E}^s$  : *om.* *cett.*

There is no reason for saying that St. Paul left Aquila and Priscilla on the Sabbath, but every reason for saying that he went into the synagogue on that day. I suspect, therefore, that the words (*sine καί*) should come after συναγωγὴν.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xv. 24 λέγοντες περιτέμνεσθαι καὶ τηρεῖν τὸν νόμον (38). These words, omitted by *D* as well as by  $\mathfrak{N} B A$ , are found in *C E* and most Greek MSS. Possibly this passage should be added to the list.

On one occasion *D* has an obvious transposition, viz. :

v. 29 *πειθαρχειν δε θω μαλλον η ανθρωποις*

*ο δε πετρος ειπεν προς αυτους*

This is not shared by *ℒ<sup>h</sup>*.

On some occasions the reading of *d* shows that something has been lost by *D*, e. g. :

xi. 26 *ἐγένετο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ὅλον συναχθῆναι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ διδάξαι ὄχλον ἱκανόν.*

Here *D d* read as follows :

|  |                                      |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| <i>οιτινες παραγενομενοι ενιαυτον ολον</i> | <i>contigit uero eis annum totum</i> |
| <i>συνεχυθησαν οχλον ικανον</i>            | <i>commiscere ecclesiam</i>          |

Here *D* has omitted *ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ διδάξαι* (the words are supplied by a later hand), while *d* omits *καὶ διδάξαι ὄχλον ἱκανόν*. It is to be noticed that *d* appears to render *ἐγένετο δὲ αὐτοῖς*, the ordinary reading.

xxi. 39 *εν ταρσω δε της κιλικιας γεγεννημενος*

<sup>n</sup>  
*tarsesis ex ciliciae non ignotae ciuitatis*

Here *D* has omitted *οὐκ ἀσήμεον πόλεως πολίτης* after *Κιλικίας*, while *d* has no equivalent for *γεγεννημένος*. Neither renders *πολίτης*.

xvii. 5. Here the ordinary reading is

*ζηλώσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ προσλαβόμενοι τῶν ἀγοραίων τινὰς ἄνδρας πονηροῦς.*

*D d* give

|                                   |                                   |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>οι δε απειθουντες ιουδαιοι</i> | <i>adsuptis uero iudaeis</i>      |
| <i>συνστρεψαντες τινας ανδρας</i> | <i>conuertentes quosdam uiros</i> |
| <i>των αγοραιων πονηρους</i>      | <i>forenses subdoles</i>          |

Here *d* has no equivalent for *ἀπειθοῦντες*, while *adsumptis* looks like a mistranslation of *προσλαβόμενοι*.

There are some minor discrepancies. Thus *d* has no equivalent for *ποιῆσαι ἡ* (iv. 14),<sup>1</sup> *πυλῶνος* (xii. 13), or *δυσχυριζόμενος* (xv. 2). Also *d* sometimes mistranslates, e. g. :

xviii. 5 *παρεγενοντο δε απο της μακεδονιας*

*ut uero aduenerunt in macedonia*

Both *D* and *d* have numerous slips, e. g. iv. 29 *αγιας* (= *ἀπειλᾶς*) *D*, minacias *d*, i. 15 non omnium *d* : *ὀνομάτων* *D*, iv. 33 *testim d* : *μαρτύριον* *D*, vi. 15 *stans d* : *εστωτος* *D* (*stantis k*).

It is obvious that *D* (and *d*) sometimes omit. I arrange these

<sup>1</sup> So *D* : *om. plerique*.



omissions in order of magnitude, and asterisk those where  $\mathfrak{L}^h$  supports the usual reading.

(10) iv. 13 καὶ ἰδιῶται *om.* *D.*

(14) i. 9 βλέπόντων αὐτῶν *om.* *D* August.

(21) xvii. 34 \*καὶ γυνὴ ὀνόματι Δάμαρις *om.* *D.*

At the beginning of the next στίχος *D* has εὐσχήμων. As this epithet is especially used of women, it seems to be a relic of the missing Damaris. Ramsay (p. 161) thinks that there was an intentional excision due to the 'Asiatic distaste for prominence of women'.

iv. 1 \*καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ *om.* *D.*

(22) ii. 31 προῖδὼν ἐλάλησεν περὶ τῆς *om.* *D.* The words are inserted by a later hand.

xi. 26 ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ διδάξαι *om.* *D,* cf. supra.

xxi. 6 καὶ ἀνέβημεν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον *om.* *D.*

39 οὐκ ἀσήμερον πόλεως πολίτης *om.* *D.*

(23) xxi. 16 συνῆλθον δὲ καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν *om.* *D.*

(24) xviii. 3 \*ἦσαν γὰρ σκηνοποιοὶ τῇ τέχνῃ *om.* *D*  $\mathfrak{L}^{\text{sig}}$ .

This personal detail must be genuine.

(25) ii. 19 αἷμα καὶ πῦρ καὶ ἀτμίδα καπνοῦ *om.* *D*  $\mathfrak{L}^{\text{sig}}$  p Priscill.

(35) xvii. 18 ὅτι τὸν ὠ καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν εὐηγγελίζετο *om.* *D*  $\mathfrak{L}^{\text{sig}}$ .

To these I should be inclined to add :

xviii. 27 τοῖς πεπιστευκόσι διὰ τῆς χάριτος *om.* *D* (29).

It will be observed that out of these 13 cases 9 are omissions of 21-5 letters. This is a singular coincidence. It may be accounted for by the fact that this is a very frequent length for a στίχος in *D*.

I proceed to say a few words concerning  $\mathfrak{L}^h$ . This is stated to have been written in the fifth century. If so, it may be older than *D*. It is written in long lines of about 38-40 letters to the line. There are, I think, indications that it is derived from an ancestor written in στίχοι similar to those of *D*. I quote the following passages as given in *D* :

iii. 13 κατα προσωπον πειλατου  
του κρειναντος εκεινου  
απολυειν αυτον θελοντος

Here  $\mathfrak{L}^h$  has

ante faciem pilati illo uolente eum dimittere, *om.* τοῦ κρίναντος  
ἐκείνου.

iv. 10-11 εν τουτω ουτος παρεστηκεν  
ενωπιον υμων υγιης

οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ λίθος ὁ ἐξουθενήθεις ὑφ' ἡμῶν  
τῶν οἰκοδομῶν

5 ὁ γενομένος εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας  
καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐν ἄλλῳ οὐδενί

*D* here appears to have omitted ἡ σωτηρία after οὐδενί. The reading of *h* is :

in illo iste conspectu uestro sanus ad  
stat in alio autem nullo. hic est lapis qui contem-  
tus est a uobis quia aedificatis qui factus est in caput  
anguli

transposing καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐν ἄλλῳ οὐδενί from γωνίας (at the end of l. 5) to ὑγίης (at the end of l. 2). The transposition is shared by *E* § hl.<sup>ms</sup> and Cyprian

ib. 13-14 ἐπεγίνωσκον δὲ αὐτοὺς ὅτι σὺν τῷ ἱησοῦ ἦσαν  
τὸν ἀνθρώπον βλέποντες  
σὺν αὐτῶν ἐστώτα τὸν τεθεραπευμένον  
οὐδὲν εἶχον ποιῆσαι ἢ ἀντιπεῖν

Here *h* omits l. 1 *suo loco* and after *contradicere* (= ἀντιπεῖν) has  
quidam autem ex ipsis agnosce

bant eis quoniam cum ihu conuersabantur

I have already noted important agreements of *h* with *D*, viz. :

v. 38 et non maculetis manus uestras

39 neque uos neque  
principes ac tyranni abstinete itaque uos ab is-  
-tis hominibus

vi. 8 in nomine ihu xpi (so xviii. 8)

10 et quod reuinentur  
ab eo cum omni fiducia tunc itaque non ualen-  
tes resistere aduersus ueritatem

15 stantis inter illos

viii. 1 qui remanserant hierosylimis

xiv. 7 ut motum est omne genus in doctrina eorum  
paulus autem et barnabas commorabantur in lystris  
9 et habens timorem

10 tibi dico in nomine ihu nostri dñi fili dñi

xviii. 2 qui uenerunt in achaiam

4 interponens nomen domini

6 cum multis fieret uerbum et scripturae interpretarentur

So also

iii. 3 hic contemplatus oculis su-  
is cum uidisset petrum et iohannem

iv. 18 consentientibus autem ad sententiam denuntiauerunt

xiv. 19 et cum ibi commorarentur et doce-  
rent superuenerunt quidam iudaei ab iconia et antio-  
chia

xviii. 12 exurreserunt con-  
sentientes iubaei et conlocuti secum de paulo inie-  
cerunt ei manus

On the other hand, *h* has passages omitted by *D*, viz. :

iv. 2 et praetor templi

13 et idiotae

xvii. 34 et mulier nomine damalis

xviii. 3 erant enim arteificio lectari

On one occasion, where *D* is deficient, *h* has a reading which seems to be genuine, viz. :

ix. 20 cum omni fiducia, so Irenaeus : *om. cett.*

More doubtful cases are

xiv. 18 ἀλλὰ πορεύεσθαι ἕκαστον εἰς τὰ ἴδια, *C* and some minuscules, *Σ* hl.<sup>ms</sup> Arm.

Here *h* has et dimiserunt eos ab (i. e. ad) se.

ib. 19 καὶ πείσαντες τοὺς ὄχλους.

We find in *h* a fuller version, viz. :

qui palam disputabant uerbum dñi persuadebant  
illis hominibus ne crederent eis docentibus dicentes  
quia nihil ueri dicunt sed in omnibus mentiuntur  
et concitaberunt turbam

20 κυκλωσάντων δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν μαθητῶν] tunc circumdederunt  
eum dicentes (= discentes) et | cum discessisset populus  
vespere.

In xiv. 6 after κατέφυγον εἰς τὰς πόλεις τῆς Λυκαονίας *h* adds sicut  
ihs dixerat eis LX [XII?]. The reference is to the directions given  
to the 72 in Luke x. 11. This appears to be a gloss which would be  
more appropriate, if it came at xiii. 51 ἐκτιναξάμενοι τὸν κονιορτὸν  
τῶν ποδῶν ἐπ' αὐτούς. It may have been entered on the wrong  
folio of an ancestor.<sup>1</sup>

I have noticed the following omissions, where *D* is extant :

vi. 5 καὶ τῇ διακονίᾳ (13)

xviii. 5 συνέχετο τῷ λόγῳ Παῦλος, διαμαρτυρούμενος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις  
εἶναι τὸν χρὶς κν ιν (64)

Also, where we have not the evidence of *D* :

xxvi. 26 οὐ πείθομαι (10)

xxvii. 7 κατὰ Σαλμώνην (12)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. pp. 10, 68.

- xxvi. 26 καὶ παρρησιαζόμενος (18)  
 22 ἄχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης (19)  
 26 οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐν γωνίᾳ πεπραγμένον τοῦτο (33)  
 xxvii. 1 ὡς δὲ ἐκρίθη τοῦ ἀποπλεῖν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν (38)  
 2 μέλλοντι πλεῖν εἰς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τόπους (38)  
 ix. 12 καὶ εἶδεν ἄνδρα Ἀνανίαν ὀνόματι εἰσελθόντα, καὶ ἐπιθέντα  
 αὐτῷ τὰς χεῖρας, ὅπως ἀναβλέψῃ (73)

The only point which I would notice is that the number 38 occurs twice, and that 19 (18) also occurs.

There is a curious passage where the text of *h* has been abbreviated, whether by accident or otherwise, viz. :

- xxvii. 11-13 ὁ δὲ ἐκατόνταρχος τῷ κυβερνήτῃ καὶ τῷ ναυκλήρῳ μᾶλλον ἐπέειπετο ἢ τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Παύλου λεγομένοις. ἀνευθέτου δὲ τοῦ λιμένος ὑπάρχοντος πρὸς παραχειμασίαν οἱ πλείους ἔθεντο βουλὴν ἀναχθῆναι ἐκεῖθεν, εἴπως δύναιτο καταντήσαντες εἰς Φοίνικα παραχειμάσαι, λιμένα τῆς Κρήτης βλέποντα κατὰ λίβα καὶ κατὰ χώρον. ὑποπνεύσαντος δὲ νότου, δόξαντες τῆς προθέσεως κεκρατηκέναι, ἄραντες ἄσσον παρελέγοντο.

For this *h* gives

gubernator autem  
 et magister navis cogitabant navigare si forte possent  
 uenire phoenicem in portum qui est cretae consen-  
 tiebant illis magis centurio quam pauli uerbis et  
 dum flat auster tulimus celerius et sublegebamus

The equivalent in Greek would be :

- ὁ δὲ κυβερνήτης καὶ ὁ ναύκληρος ἔθεντο βουλὴν ἀναχθῆναι ἐκεῖθεν εἴ-  
 πως δύναιτο ἐλθεῖν εἰς Φοίνικα, λιμένα τῆς Κρήτης. ὁ δὲ ἐκατόν-  
 ταρχος μᾶλλον ἐπέειπετο αὐτοῖς ἢ τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Παύλου λεγομέ-  
 νοις. ὑποπνεύσαντος δὲ νότου ἄραντες ἄσσον παρελεγόμεθα.

Here there is no equivalent for ἀνευθέτου δὲ . . . οἱ πλείους (57), βλέποντα . . . χώρον (28), δόξαντες τῆς . . . κεκρατηκέναι (32). There is also a dislocation of the words μᾶλλον ἐπέειπετο . . . λεγομένοις (41) with some consequential changes. The process is curiously like that which has already been observed in the development of the ordinary Greek recension.

As I have mentioned that some omissions of *h* coincide with *στίχοι* in *D*, I add the following examples of a similar phenomenon in the case of *N* :

- ii. 21 καὶ ἐστὶ πᾶς ὅς ἀν ἐπικαλεσθῇ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυ-  
 σωθῆσεται

om. *N*.

xiv. 20 και την επανριον ἐξήλθεν  
 συν τω βαρναβα εις δερβην  
 ευαγγελιζόμενοι δε τους εν τη πολει

om. N.

I add the following corruption.

xix. 22 ειπων οτι μετα το γενεσθαι με εκει  
 δει μαι και ρωμην ειδειν  
 και αποστειλας εις την μακεδονιαν  
 δυο των διακονουντων αυτω  
 τιμοθεον και εραστον

N has *εἰπὶ τιμοθεον*. The writer appears to have looked back four *στίχοι*.

## CHAPTER XIII

IN the preceding discussion I have confined myself strictly to the special investigation which I have had in view. Thus I have said nothing about the Vulgate. It must not, therefore, be thought that I undervalue the great work of Jerome. On the contrary, one of the chief results of my inquiry has been to show me the immense importance of the Latin evidence. Since, however, the Vulgate represents the recension of a critic, founded upon the Old Latin versions, but corrected from Greek MSS., it does not help us to unravel the tangled skein. For this purpose the primitive and illiterate versions of the earlier translators are more valuable.

I have made no attempt to acquaint myself with the Higher Criticism of the Gospels. Such studies belong to other inquiries, and are, in a sense, posterior to the facts which I have endeavoured to collect.

I have said little about interpolation, since this is not the subject with which I am concerned. I do not doubt that there are some interpolations where doctrinal points are concerned. Such variants as those in Matt. i. 16 :

ὃ μνηστευθεῖσα παρθένος Μαριάμ ἐγέννησεν Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγόμενον  
Χριστόν *ℒ* *§* *Arm.*

τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός *cett.* must be due to set purpose. So also the different versions of the genealogy in Luke iii admit of no other explanation.

In the great majority of cases, however, there is no possible reason for interpolation, and the hypothesis of omission is very much more simple. If this is so, the shorter reading can no longer claim preference on account of its brevity. I would illustrate by a very few examples :

John vii. 46 οὐδέποτε οὕτως ἄνθρωπος ἐλάλησεν, ὥς οὗτος λαλεῖ ὁ  
ἄνθρωπος.

Here *B* has the abbreviated reading οὐδέποτε ἐλάλησεν οὕτως ἄνθρωπος, so recent editors.<sup>1</sup> To my ears the fuller reading seems much more emphatic. The omission is easily explained by the repetition.

<sup>1</sup> If *B*'s ancestor had inverted the first words, giving οὐδέποτε ἐλάλησεν οὕτως ἄνθρωπος, the rest would be easily omitted (*hom.*).

John iii. 15 ἵνα πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων ἐν αὐτῷ μὴ ἀπόληται, ἀλλ' ἔχῃ ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

Here **B** omit μὴ ἀπόληται ἀλλ' (13), which may well have formed a line in an ancestor. Without the antithesis the sense is very tame.

Mark ix. 38 εἶδομέν τινα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου ἐκβάλλοντα δαιμόνια, ὃς οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ ἡμῖν, καὶ ἐκωλύομεν αὐτόν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ ἡμῖν.

Here **B** omit ὃς οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ ἡμῖν after δαιμόνια. Nothing could be simpler than the hypothesis of omission from homoeoteleuton, and to me the fuller form seems thoroughly in keeping with the style of the New Testament.

It has already been pointed out by others<sup>1</sup> how much more preferable on literary grounds the two synonyms αἰνοῦντες καὶ εὐλογοῦντες are to the simple εὐλογοῦντες (**B**) in Luke xxiv. 43. It is a mistake to make the Evangelist, to quote the French phrase, *très avare de ses paroles*.

For such reason I am very sceptical as to many of Hort's 'conflate readings'. I venture upon one suggestion which may be considered bold.

Luke vi. 48 καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσε σαλεῦσαι αὐτήν.

Here most MSS., including *ACD*, add :

τεθεμελίωτο γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν (26)

For this **B**, and some others, give :

διὰ τὸ καλῶς οἰκοδομηθῆσαι αὐτήν (27)

The second reading is so weak, as compared with the first, that it is unfair to St. Luke to suppose that it can have been the original, if it stands by itself. If, however, it is combined with the variant, as apparently in the Ethiopian, the sense is admirable, viz. :

'because it was well built. For it was founded upon a rock'

In support of this it may be noticed that one variant contains 26 letters and the other 27. Neither appears in *S*<sup>8</sup>, a fact which may show that there was some confusion.

I am aware that I am laying myself open to the imputation of foisting all manner of interpolations upon Holy Writ. I would reply by saying that those critics who are most sceptical in the case of additions not found in **B** are most credulous when dealing with additions of **B**. I quote the following example :

Mark iii. 14 καὶ ἐποίησε δώδεκα, ἵνα ᾧσι μετ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἵνα ἀποστέλλῃ αὐτοὺς κηρύσσειν, καὶ ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν ἐκβάλλειν τὰ δαιμόνια.

<sup>1</sup> Salmon, p. 68.

Here after *δαίμονια* *B* *Σ* add *καὶ ἐποίησε τοὺς δώδεκα*, so recent editors. This appears to me a dittography of the most puerile description. If I were dealing with a classical author, I should say that it was a variant for *καὶ ἐποίησε δώδεκα* (without the article), which had got into the text some lines further down.

There are some uncertainties here, viz. whether *δώδεκα* or *ιβ'* was written, also whether the words *οὓς καὶ ἀποστόλους ὠνόμασεν*, added by *B* *Σ* after the first *δώδεκα*, are genuine or not, so I do not attempt to write the lines as they appeared in the ancestor of *B* *Σ*.

In another case a similar variant appears to have infected most MSS., including *D*.

John xiv. 13 *καὶ ὁ τι ἂν αἰτήσητε ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου, τοῦτο ποιήσω· ἵνα δοξασθῇ ὁ πατήρ ἐν τῷ υἱῷ. εἰάν τι αἰτήσητέ με ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου, τοῦτο ποιήσω.*

Here *A* *℣*<sup>b</sup> *Σ*<sup>s</sup> *Arm.* omit *εἰάν τι αἰτήσητέ με . . . ποιήσω*. It seems to be a *duplex lectio* for *καὶ ὁ τι ἂν αἰτήσητε . . . ποιήσω*.

To this should probably be added :

John iii. 31 *ὁ ἄνωθεν ἐρχόμενος ἐπάνω πάντων ἐστίν· ὁ ὢν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐστι, καὶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς λαλεῖ· ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐρχόμενος ὁ ἑώρακε καὶ ἤκουσε, τοῦτο μαρτυρεῖ.*

After the second *ἐρχόμενος* *A* *B* and other authorities add *ἐπάνω πάντων ἐστίν*, while *D* *Σ* *℣* *Σ* *Arm.* omit these words. Their insertion is easily explained by the repetition of *ἐρχόμενος*.

I abstain from giving further instances, since textual criticism in the usual sense lies outside the limits of this inquiry, and merely give one example where *B* *Σ* with some other MSS. appear to be free from a singular corruption. This is in Luke vi. 1 :

*ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν σαββάτῳ διαπορεύεσθαι αὐτὸν διὰ τῶν σπορίμων.*

Here *A* *C* *D* and most MSS. add *δευτεροπρώτῳ*. No one has succeeded in explaining what is meant by the 'second sabbath after the first'. I would here refer to a passage in the Acts xiii. 33 *ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ τῷ δευτέρῳ γέγραπται.*

Here *D* *℣*<sup>15</sup>, with a large number of the Fathers, give *πρώτῳ* for *δευτέρῳ*.

It appears to me that *δευτεροπρώτῳ* is due to conflation of similar variants.

It now remains to consider the genesis of *B* *Σ*.

With regard to *Σ* we have one certain fact to go upon. This is a note at the end of Esther, written by a later hand, saying that the MS. had been collated with a very early copy corrected by the



hand of Pamphilus. Kenyon says, 'Pamphilus was the disciple of Origen, co-editor with Eusebius of a text of the Septuagint embodying the results of Origen's labours, and founder of a library at Caesarea which was the centre of textual study of the Scriptures, initiated and inspired by Origen. Copies of Origen's works were the special objects of Pamphilus's zeal as a librarian (cf. Jerome, *Ep.* cxli)'. This proves nothing as to the place where  $\aleph$  was written, and both Lake and Kenyon think that it originally came from Egypt. Origen was connected both with Egypt and with Caesarea, the former having been the scene of his earlier labours and the latter the place where he passed his later life.

The evidence about  $B$  is less conclusive. Rendel Harris thinks that it was written at Caesarea, and finds internal evidence of this in the fact that the scribe on one occasion substitutes 'Αντιπατρίς, a town near Caesarea, for πατρίς.<sup>1</sup> A connexion with Caesarea at a later date is inferred from the fact that a slightly later hand has inserted in  $B$  (so also in  $\aleph$ ) a chapter division of the Acts made by Euthalius in the fourth century. 'There is evidence,' Kenyon says, referring to a colophon in another MS., 'that a very early copy (if not the archetype) of the Euthalian Acts was at Caesarea, whence its system of chapter-division may have been inserted into  $B$  and  $\aleph$ '. Also the text of  $B$  in the Old Testament is said to be in the main identical with that of Origen's *Hexapla*, which was completed at Caesarea and issued by Eusebius and Pamphilus. On the other hand there are features in  $B$ , e.g. the use of letters Coptic in character in the titles of some books, which suggest connexion with Egypt. Kenyon sums up the facts by saying, 'There is fair evidence of a connexion with the textual school of Caesarea, which does not exclude an actual origin in Egypt from which the school of Caesarea took its rise.'

It is here important to remember that Origen of Alexandria and Eusebius of Caesarea are the first Fathers whose quotations support the  $B \aleph$  text. Lake suggests that 'the use of the Neutral text in Alexandria began at some time between Clement and Origen'.

It will be seen that there is very fair evidence for ascribing the same provenance, whether this be Caesarea or Egypt, to both the MSS.<sup>2</sup> Also, both of them were written after a date when textual

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xiii. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Tischendorf thought that the scribe of  $B$  also wrote some seven leaves or the N. T. in  $\aleph$ , besides portions of the O. T. Lake, however, after a minute examination of the writing emphatically denies this.

criticism was applied to the New Testament. In view of their general similarity it is quite likely that they represent a recension, possibly that of Origen or one of his friends.

The methods of Origen in his edition of the Old Testament were sharply criticized by Jerome, who accuses him of corrupting the text by his asterisks and obeli.<sup>1</sup> The former sign was affixed by him to passages which were in the Hebrew but omitted by the Septuagint, and the latter to passages in the Septuagint which were not found in the Hebrew. This use of asterisks and obeli was invented at Alexandria by Homeric critics, who had to deal with the authenticity of suspected passages. The early papyri (iii/ii cent. B.C.) contain a number of these which have not found a place in later MSS. Origen, therefore, borrowed his diacritical marks from the old grammarians. They are to be found in a papyrus of Ezekiel, to which I have already referred (*Greek Papyri*, vol. i, no. 5), as also in later MSS.

We find asterisks and obeli used in MSS. on several occasions where the reading is doubtful, e.g. Luke xxii. 43-4, John v. 4, vii. 53-viii. 11. The reason why early critics felt doubtful was the very natural one, that the words were omitted by some of their MSS. This is stated on various occasions. The references to the end of St. Mark have been collected by Burgon.

Eusebius remarks on v. 8 ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ

ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ σχεδὸν ἐν ᾗπασι τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις τοῦ κατὰ Μάρκον  
εὐαγγελίου περιγράφεται τὸ τέλος· τὰ δ' ἐξῆς σπανίως ἔν τισιν  
ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν πᾷσι φερόμενα.

Victor says :

παρὰ πλείστοις ἀντιγράφοις οὐ κεῖνται, ὡς νόθα γὰρ ἐνόμισαν αὐτά  
τινες εἶναι· ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἐξ ἀκριβῶν ἀντιγράφων ὡς ἐν πλείστοις  
εὐρόντες αὐτὰ . . . συντεθείκαμεν.

In cod. 1 we find :

ἐν τισι μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἕως ὧδε πληροῦται ὁ εὐαγγελιστῆς  
ἕως οὗ Εὐσέβιος ὁ Παμφίλου ἐκανόνισεν· ἐν πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ  
ταῦτα φέρεται, Ἀναστὰς . . . σημείων.

So also on John vii. 53 :

τὸ περὶ τῆς μοιχαλίδος κεφάλαιον ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίῳ  
ὡς ἐν πλείοσιν ἀντιγράφοις μὴ κείμενον μηδὲ παρὰ τῶν θείων  
πατέρων τῶν ἐρμηνευσάντων μνημονευθέν, φημὶ δὴ Ἰωάννου

<sup>1</sup> Migne, i. 752 'Et miror quomodo septuaginta interpretum libros legas non puros, ut ab eis editi sunt, sed ab Origene emendatos, sive corruptos per obelos et asteriscos'.

τοῦ ᾧ καὶ Κυρίλλου Ἀλεξανδρέας οὐδὲ μὴν ὑπὸ Θεοδώρου  
Μωψουεστίας καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, παρέλειψα κατὰ τὸν τόπον· κείται  
δὲ οὕτως μετ' ὀλίγα τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ πζ κεφαλαίου ἐξῆς τοῦ  
Ἑρείνησον καὶ ἶδε ὅτι προφήτης ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας οὐκ  
ἐγείρεται.

The Fathers of the third century were obsessed by the fear of interpolation. They knew little about omission from *δμοιότης*, and still less about the omission of lines, columns, or folios. Any passage omitted by a number of MSS. necessarily fell under suspicion. It would not occur to them that the witnesses might be connected by a family tie, and that the omission might be originally due to accident. We have only to put ourselves in the position of a fourth century critic, convinced like Griesbach and Hort that the shorter reading is preferable to the more verbose, and we can easily realize that to him the *ἀκριβέστατον ἀντίγραφον* would appear to be one which omitted suspected passages. If so, the ancestor of the 'Neutral' text would appear to be the work of a third (or fourth) century Hort.

The gravest objection to Hort's view proceeds from the testimony of the Fathers. He admits with all candour the absence of early patristic evidence for the 'Primary Greek MSS.'. The hypothesis that gross licence began to reign in sub-Apostolic times, but that the 'Neutral' text was preserved in some unknown place, is most violent and in itself very unlikely.

If we adopt the opposite hypothesis, all these improbabilities vanish. The oldest text is that quoted by the earliest Fathers and rendered in the most ancient versions. Hort has pointed out the chronological objection to his 'Syrian' family, that it has no patristic evidence beyond Chrysostom, but does not feel the similar objection to his 'Neutral' group, that it can claim no earlier testimony on its behalf than the partial support of Origen. On the other hand, the *Z* family presents the text which was used by the predecessors of Origen, and can boast of a series of witnesses going back to the generation which succeeded the Apostles.

In *Z*, therefore, I recognize the primitive text, and conclude by quoting two utterances of recent critics, who have expressed this view in striking words. The first is P. Corssen, who speaks of the 'distilled text which recent scholars have extracted from a few Greek Uncials as merely the reflection of a recension capriciously formed in the fourth century, which like every modern version

must have been subjective in character.’<sup>1</sup> In like manner Professor Burkitt, in a preface to Mr. Barnard’s paper on the quotations of Clement, after pointing out that the earliest texts of the Gospels are fundamentally Western in every country of which we have knowledge, even Egypt, says, ‘Let us come out of the land of Egypt, and let us see whether the agreement of East and West, of Edessa and Carthage, will not give us a surer basis on which to establish our text of the Gospels.’

<sup>1</sup> *Der cyprianische Text der Acta Apostolorum* (1892), p. 24.







