

THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY

THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY

PART I THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

EDITED BY

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VOL. III

THE TEXT OF ACTS

BY

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TO

MY WIFE

FIERI autem omnino non potest ut unius hominis industria editio novi testamenti historiae ut ita dicam fide adornata perficiatur. nam etiam libris edendis eam legem scriptam esse didici ut lente festinetur, ne dum omnia simul assequi velis nihil assequaris.

Id ago ut theologis apparatus non quidem locupletem sed pro humanarum virium infirmitate certissimum congeram.

PAUL DE LAGARDE (1857).

PREFACE

THE study of the textual criticism of the New Testament, like that of the kindred science of palaeontology, rests on morphology, but necessarily expands into an historical inquiry. Without an adequate history of the text the determination of that text remains insecure. But textual history has also intrinsic value, for it is a true, though minor, branch of Church history. As an account of the development of one phase of the life and activity of the Church it is significant for its own sake, and not unworthy to take a place beside the history of liturgies or creeds or vestments. Not only does it abundantly illustrate the history of biblical exegesis, but in it many characteristic traits of the thought and aspiration of successive ages may be studied from original sources.

These considerations have been in mind in preparing the present volume, and especially in the Introductory Essay; and a summary sketch of the textual history of the Book of Acts, so far as present knowledge permits, has been offered on pp. ccxc-cxcvii. Every part of the section on the Sources of Knowledge for the text will reveal how wide is the range of general history, both sacred and secular, into contact with which the student of textual history is brought. Some of the specific tasks as yet unperformed which are requisite to a completer knowledge of textual history and a securer confidence in the results of textual criticism are mentioned at the close of the Essay.

The large space occupied in this volume by the discussion of the text called 'Western' (for which it is unfortunate that no better name should be at hand) might seem excessive in view of

the conclusion here presented that that text is inferior to the text found in the Old Uncials, or even in the mass of later manuscripts. But in fact the creation of the 'Western' text was the most important event in the history of the text of Acts, and the recovery of it, so far as that is practicable, from the many corrupt documents in which its fragments now repose is an essential preliminary to a sound judgment on the textual criticism of the book. That the 'Western' text, if, as I hold, not the work of the original author of Acts, was a definite rewriting, rather than an accumulation of miscellaneous variants, ought not to have been doubted, and that for two reasons. In the first place, it has an unmistakably homogeneous internal character. Secondly, its hundreds or thousands of variants are now known to have arisen in a brief period, scarcely, if at all, longer than the fifty years after the book first passed into circulation. In that period a pedigree of successive copies was short, and to produce so many variants the mere natural licence of copyists would be insufficient. And since one rewriting would suffice, any theory that more than one took place in those years would seem to fall under the condemnation of Occam's razor. Of course the 'Western' text, once produced, was liable to modification and enlargement, and the Bezan form, in which it is most commonly read, while invaluable, is full of corruptions, but a full study of the evidence contained in this volume and elsewhere is likely to bring conviction that a definite 'Western' text, whether completely recoverable in its original form or not, once actually existed.

If the 'Western' text had never been created, the problem of the textual criticism of the New Testament would have been relatively easy, and the variants not unduly numerous. Textual history, in nearly all its more difficult phases, is the story of a long series of combinations of the 'Western' text with its rival, the text best known to us from the Old Uncials and the Bohairic version. One of these combinations, for which I have used the name 'Antiochian,' became the text most widely employed throughout the later Christian centuries. Nevertheless, if the

'Western' text had not been created, although the critic's task would be easier, we should be the poorer, for those fragments of its base, which it enshrines like fossils in an enveloping rock-mass, would probably have perished, and we should have lost these evidences of a good text of extreme antiquity, vastly nearer in date to the original autographs than any of our Greek manuscripts.

With regard to the 'Western' text itself the most interesting idea that I have been able to bring forward seems to me one worthy of further discussion, but hardly susceptible of direct proof, although it may be possible to show that as an hypothesis it fits well all the known facts, and would elucidate some otherwise perplexing problems. I refer to the suggestion that the preparation of the 'Western' text, which took place early in the second century, perhaps at Antioch, was incidental to the work of forming the collection of Christian writings for general Church use which ultimately, somewhat enlarged, became the New Testament; in a word, that the 'Western' text was the text of the primitive 'canon' (if the term may be pardoned in referring to so early a date), and was expressly created for that purpose. Such a theory is recommended by its aptness to explain both the wide spread of the 'Western' text in the second century, as if issued from some authoritative centre, and its gradual disappearance from general use thereafter, as well as its inferiority, when judged by internal evidence. That this conception would throw a direct light on certain dark places in the history of the New Testament canon is at once manifest. It is probably inconsistent with some current hypotheses and conclusions in that field, since it would require the admission that at the date of the rewriting those rewritten books already formed a collection; but it may be remarked that in any case the very act of making a rewritten text of these books must of itself have produced a kind of collection. On the side, however, of the history of the canon by virtue of which it appears as a topic in the history of Christian dogma rather than of Christian antiquities and usages, the theory

here proposed does not seem to run counter to any views commonly held by scholars.

If the 'Western' text was a revision made in the first half of the second century, it is a monument of the life and thought of that period, an historical source, although one not easily reconstructed with completeness and accuracy. It is more difficult to study than the contemporary Apostolic Fathers, but not less worthy of attention than they are.

The plan of the text and apparatus of this volume is set forth fully in the Explanatory Note following the Introductory Essay. What is offered is neither a fresh text nor a complete apparatus, but rather a selection of important material and a series of investigations in the form partly of apparatus, partly of textual notes. The time for making a satisfactory new critical text does not appear to me to have yet arrived, and although—often with reasons given—I have fully stated the readings in which, with varying degrees of confidence, I am disposed to believe Codex Vaticanus wrong, that is a very different thing from propounding a complete new text, with the necessary decision of innumerable questions of orthography, punctuation, and typography, as well as of the body of words to be included. In the nature of the case a new text could not at present lay claim to finality, and the only certainty about it would seem to be that it never existed until its author, the critic, created it.

In the several apparatus the aim has been clearness and simplicity, and with that in view much has been omitted that finds appropriate place in a complete thesaurus of readings. Even so, the apparatus are complicated enough. They are intended to afford a knowledge of the variation within limited range manifested by the chief Greek 'Old Uncial' authorities, and a definite notion of the oldest form of the 'Antiochian' text, preserved as it is with singular exactness in the manuscripts. For the 'Western' text, in consequence of the highly mixed character of nearly all the witnesses, equal completeness in the apparatus of these pages is impracticable. Whether there ever

was an 'Alexandrian' revision of the text of Acts is uncertain, but that question also can be studied in the Old Uncial apparatus and in the exhibition of the Bohairic version given in Appendix V.

To the Appendices, in which the ingredient readings of the four chief versions are set forth in full, special attention is asked. These tables give in a different arrangement, and with careful analysis of relevant attestation, most of the information about the four versions which is usually included in a textual apparatus to Acts, and they will serve some purposes of study better than the ordinary plan. It is a pity that the Armenian and Georgian and Ethiopic versions could not also have been analysed.

The concluding portion of the volume consists of a translation of the full Commentary of Ephrem Syrus on the Book of Acts, made for the present use by the late Dr. Frederick C. Conybeare, whose acuteness and learning detected the existence of this work in an Armenian ms. at Vienna. The lamented death of this eminent and beloved scholar prevented him from seeing his work in its final printed form, but the first proof had been revised by him, and I am confident that what is here offered is not unworthy of the memory of the generous friend who so often, as here, put other scholars under obligation. The translation both of the Commentary and of the accompanying Catena-extracts has been compared with the original Armenian by the self-denying labour of my colleague, Professor Robert P. Blake of Harvard University.

It remains to express gratitude to many who have helped me. The Editors of *The Beginnings of Christianity* have followed the preparation of the work with constant and sympathetic aid, and I am indebted to my colleague, Professor Lake, not only for the original proposal and for a large share in the development of the plan, but for innumerable valuable suggestions, incisive criticisms, wise counsels, and cheerful encouragement. Sir Herbert Thompson's characteristic kindness and accurate scholarship have supplied, through his collations of the Sahidic and Bohairic versions, knowledge which was not otherwise

accessible, and the Appendices drawn from his work make it possible to approach the Egyptian versions with confidence in a way which has not hitherto been open to New Testament scholars. My colleague, Professor Henry J. Cadbury, has rendered admirable service in the laborious task of collating the Vulgate and the Peshitto. From Professor F. C. Burkitt, Professor Alexander Souter, and Professor Charles C. Torrey I have received much valuable aid, and likewise from Professor Paul Diels of Breslau, Professor James A. Montgomery and Professor Max L. Margolis of Philadelphia, and Professor J. E. Frame of New York. To the great courtesy of Mgr. G. Mercati I owe information which he alone could give. For wise advice, which contributed fundamentally to better the general plan of the volume, I have to thank honoured friends—Professor von Dobschütz, Professor Jülicher, Dean H. J. White of Christ Church, Dean J. Armitage Robinson of Wells, Professor George Foot Moore; and to Professor C. H. Turner and the Oxford University Press I owe the kind permission to use the text of *Novum Testamentum Sancti Irenaei*.

To the devoted and efficient aid of Miss Edith M. Coe, who has assisted in the work through its whole progress, every reader will be indebted as long as the book is used; and it would be ungrateful indeed not to express appreciation of the remarkable skill and large knowledge which have enabled the printers to solve the complicated problem of clear arrangement of the pages of text and apparatus.

In spite of the accurate work of the printers and of much pains taken to secure correctness of statement and of citation, it is inevitable that a work like this should contain errors. I shall be much obliged to any reader who may find such and will take the trouble to send them to me.

JAMES HARDY ROPES.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY,
May 25, 1925.

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THE TEXT OF ACTS

I. THE SOURCES OF KNOWLEDGE FOR THE TEXT

1. GREEK MANUSCRIPTS ¹

§ 1. LISTS

(a) UNCIALS ²

Century III. or IV.

Pap 29. Oxyrhynch. 1597.

Acts xxvi. 7-8, 20. Text in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. XIII., 1919.

Century IV.

B (δ 1). Codex Vaticanus. Rome, Vatican Library, gr. 1209.

Pap 8 (α 8). Berlin, Altes und Neues Museum, Aegypt. Abth., P 8683.

¹ In the account of the Greek manuscripts of Acts here given it is not intended in general to repeat the information given in Gregory's 'Prolegomena' to Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece, editio octava*, Leipzig, 1894, and in the same writer's *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, Leipzig, 1900-1909. In referring to minuscule codices, and to the less familiar uncials, the later numbering of Gregory will be followed, as found in his *Griechische Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, Leipzig, 1908, and (less conveniently) in his *Textkritik*, vol. iii., 1909. The earlier numbering, from the list in the Prolegomena, will sometimes be indicated, with the word 'formerly.' The numbers of von Soden's list, when referred to, are recognizable by the prefixed Greek letter δ or α, or the symbol O or A^{7P} with a superior figure.

² The determination of the century is in some cases open to doubt. For instance, V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Paläographie*, 2nd ed., vol. ii., 1913, pp. 122-134, holds confidently, against many other scholars, that Codex Sinaiticus was written in the fifth, not in the fourth century.

Acts iv. 31-37 ; v. 2-9 ; vi. 1-6, 8-15. Text in Gregory, *Textkritik*, pp. 1087-1090.

057. Berlin, Altes und Neues Museum, Aegypt. Abth., P 9808.
Acts iii. 5, 6, 10-12.

Century IV. or V.

⌘ (δ 2). Codex Sinaiticus, Petrograd, Public Library, 259.

0165. Berlin, Altes und Neues Museum, Aegypt. Abth., P 271.
Acts iii. 24-iv. 13, 17-20. Text in Gregory, *Textkritik*, pp. 1369 f.

Century V.

048 (α ; a 1). Rome, Vatican Library, gr. 2061.

Acts xxvi. 4-xxvii. 10 ; xxviii. 2-31. Palimpsest. Written in three columns.

066 (I² ; a 1000). Petrograd, Public Library, gr. VI. II. 4.

Acts xxviii. 8 νος—ιεροσολυμων 17. Palimpsest. Text in Tischendorf, *Monumenta sacra inedita*, vol. i. pp. 43 f.

077. Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine. (Harris, No. 5.)

Acts xiii. 28-29. Text in *Studia Sinaitica*, I., 1894, p. 98, No. 5.

0166 (a 1017). Heidelberg, Papyrus-Sammlung, 1357.

Acts xxviii. 30-31. Text in A. Deissmann, *Die Septuaginta-papyri und andere altchristliche Texte der Heidelberger Papyrus-sammlung*, 1905, p. 85.

0175. Florence, Società Italiana. Oxyrhynchus fragment.

Acts vi. 7-15. Text in *Papiri greci e latini*, vol. II., 1913, No. 125.

Century V. or VI.

A (δ 4). Codex Alexandrinus, London, British Museum, Royal Library I. D. V-VIII.

C (δ 3). Codex Ephraemi, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 9.

Acts i. 2 πνευματος—εις την iv. 3 ; v. 35 ειπεν—και νεκρων x. 42 ; xiii. 1 ος μαναην—εν ειρηνη xvi. 36 ; xx. 10 λων αυτου—αι θυραι xxi. 30 ; xxii. 21 και ειπεν—προς τον

χιλιαρ; xxiv. 15 *πιδα εχων—απειθης τη* xxvi. 19; xxvii. 16 *φης ην αραυτες—ουκ εισεν* xxviii. 4. Not quite two-thirds of Acts extant. Palimpsest. Text in Tischendorf, *Codex Ephraemi Syri*, Leipzig, 1843.

- D (δ 5). Codex Bezae. Cambridge, University Library, 2. 41. Graeco-Latin. Acts i. 1-viii. 29; x. 14-xxi. 2; xxi. 10-16; xxi. 18-xxii. 10; xxii. 20-29. Reconstruction from trustworthy sources of xxi. 16-18 (and the Latin of the obverse) in J. H. Ropes, 'Three Papers on the Text of Acts,' *Harvard Theological Review*, vol. xvi., 1923, pp. 163-168, see also pp. 392-394.
076. Norfolk, England, Collection of Lord Amherst of Hackney. Acts ii. 11-12. Text in Grenfell and Hunt, *The Amherst Papyri*, i. No. VIII.

Century VI.

- 093 (*a* 1013). Cambridge, University Library, Taylor-Schechter Collection. Acts xxiv. 22-26, 27. Palimpsest. Text in C. Taylor, *Hebrew-Greek Cairo Genizah Palimpsests from the Taylor-Schechter Collection*, 1900, pp. 94 f.
- Wess^{59c}. Vienna, parchment fragment, partly Sahidic, partly Greek. Acts ii. 1-5. Text in C. Wessely, *Griechische und koptische Texte theologischen Inhalts* ii. (Studien zur Paläographie und Papyruskunde; Heft 11), 1911, No. 59 c.

Century VI. or VII.

- E (*a* 1001). Codex Laudianus. Oxford, Bodleian Library. laud. 35. Acts i. 1 *τον μεν—παυλος* xxvi. 29; xxviii. 26 *πορευθητι—ακωλυτως* xxviii. 31. Contains Acts alone (Greek and Latin). Text in Tischendorf, *Monumenta sacra inedita*, vol. ix., 1870.
- Pap 33 (Pap Wess¹⁹⁰). Vienna, leaf from papyrus codex. Acts xv. 22-24, 27-32. Text in C. Wessely, *Griechische und*

koptische Texte theologischen Inhalts iii. (Studien zur Paläographie und Papyruskunde, Heft 12), 1912, No. 190 (Literarischer theologischer Text No. 25).

Century VII.

- 095 (G ; *a* 1002). Petrograd, Public Library, gr. 17.
Acts ii. 45-iii. 8. See Tischendorf, *Notitia editionis codicis Sinaitici*, 1869, p. 50, and Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum graece*, ed. octava, apparatus, *ad loc.*
- 096 (I⁵ ; *a* 1004). Petrograd, Public Library, gr. 19.
Acts ii. 6-17 ; xxvi. 7-18. Palimpsest. Text in Tischendorf, *Monumenta sacra inedita*, vol. i. pp. 37 f., 41 f.
- 097 (I⁶ ; *a* 1003). Petrograd, Public Library, gr. 18.
Acts xiii. 39-46. Palimpsest. Text in Tischendorf, *Monumenta sacra inedita*, vol. i. pp. 39 f.

Century VIII.

- 0123 (formerly Apl 70 b ; *a* 1014). Petrograd, Public Library, gr. 49.
Acts ii. 22, 26-28, 45-47 ; iii. 1-2.

Century VIII. or IX.

- S (049 ; *a* 2). Athos, Laura, A 88.
Mutilated in Acts i. 11-14, xii. 15-19, xiii. 1-3. Photograph in the J. Pierpont Morgan Collection, Harvard College Library.
- Ψ (044 ; δ 6). Athos, Laura, B 52 (earlier, 172).¹
Photograph in the J. Pierpont Morgan Collection, Harvard College Library.

Century IX.

- H (014 ; *a* 6). Modena, Biblioteca Estense, [CXCVI] II. G. 3.
Acts v. 28 και βουλευσθε—πασαι ix. 39 ; x. 19 ανδρες—μην

¹ On Codex Ψ see K. Lake, *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. I., 1899-1900, pp. 290-292 ; *Texts from Mt. Athos* (also in *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica*, v., 1902, pp. 89-185).

γαρ xiii. 36 ; xiv. 3 γινεσθαι—τυχειν xxvii. 3. Contained Acts alone, without Catholic Epistles, which have been supplied in hand of fifteenth or sixteenth century. Readings in Tregelles' apparatus.

L (020 ; a 5). Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, A. 2. 15.

Acts viii. 10 μὴς τοῦ θεοῦ—ἀκωλυτως xxviii. 31. Readings in Tregelles' apparatus.

P (025 ; a 3). Petrograd, Public Library, 225.

Palimpsest. Acts ii. 13 εἰσι—ἀκωλυτως xxviii. 31. Text in Tischendorf, *Monumenta sacra inedita*, vol. vi. pp. 89-248.

0120 (G^b ; a 1005). Rome, Vatican Library, gr. 2302.

Acts xvi. 30-xvii. 17 ; xvii. 27-29, 31-34 ; xviii. 8-26.

Palimpsest. Text in J. Cozza, *Sacrorum bibliorum vetustissima fragmenta Graeca et Latina e codicibus Cryptoferratensibus eruta*, iii. Rome, 1877, pp. cxxi-cxxxiv ; and Gregory, *Textkritik*, p. 1078.

1874 (formerly Apl 261 ; a 7). Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, 273.

Century X.

056 (formerly 16 ; O⁷). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, coisl. gr. 26.

0140. Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine. (Harris, No. 41.)

Fragment. See *Studia Sinaitica*, I., London, 1894, p. 116.

0142 (formerly 46 ; O⁶). Munich, Staatsbibliothek, gr. 375.

Century XI. or XII. (?)

Pap Wess²³⁷. Vienna, K 7541-7548.

Acts xvii. 28-xviii. 2 ; xviii. 24-27 ; xix. 1-8, 13-19 ; xx. 9-16, 22-28 ; xx. 35-xxi. 4 ; xxii. 11-14, 16-17. Eight leaves of Greek and Sahidic bilingual papyrus codex. Text in C. Wessely, *Griechische und koptische Texte theologischen Inhalts* iv. (Studien zur Paläographie und Papyruskunde, Heft 15), 1914, No. 237 ; also below in Appendix I., pp. 271-275.

(b) MINUSCULES

The above-named mss. of Acts are all uncials. Four are papyri. In addition, the following minuscules may be specially mentioned :

33 (formerly 13^{ac} ; δ 48). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 14 (formerly Colbert. 2844).

Ninth or tenth century. "The queen of the cursives." Readings in Tregelles' apparatus.

81 (formerly 61^{ac} ; a 162 ; p^{scr}). London, British Museum, add. 20,003.

A.D. 1044. Acts i. 1-4, 8 ; vii. 17-xvii. 28 ; xxiii. 9-28, 31. About three-quarters of Acts extant. Another portion of this codex, containing the Catholic and Pauline epistles, is 1288 (formerly 241^{ac} 285^{paul} ; a 162), Cairo, Patriarchal Library, 59 (formerly 351). Readings of Acts in Tregelles' apparatus, and in Scrivener, *Codex Augiensis*.

462 (formerly 101^{ac} ; a 359). Moscow, Synodal Library, Wladimir 24, Sabbas 348, Matthäi 333.

Thirteenth century. Readings in Matthäi, *S. Lucae Actus Apostolorum graece et latine*, Riga, 1782, with the symbol 'f.'

614 (formerly 137^{ac} ; a 364). Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, E. 97 sup.

Thirteenth century (eleventh century?). Photograph in the J. Pierpont Morgan Collection, Harvard College Library.

383 (formerly 58^{ac} ; a 353). Oxford, Bodleian Library, clark. 9. Thirteenth century. Readings of Acts in A. Pott, *Der abendländische Text der Apostelgeschichte und die Wir-Quelle*, 1900, pp. 78-88.

102 (formerly 99^{ac} ; a 499). Moscow, Synodal Library, Wladimir 412, Sabbas 5, Matthäi 5.

A.D. 1345 (1445?). Collation in Matthäi, *S. Lucae Actus Apostolorum graece et latine*, Riga, 1782, with the symbol 'c.'

69 (formerly 31^{ac}; δ 505; m^{scr}). Leicester, England, Library of Town Council.

Fifteenth century. Readings in Tregelles' apparatus.

The minuscule Greek manuscripts which contain Acts number upwards of 500 copies. The following tables (which include also most of the uncial codices and fragments) are drawn from the classification reached by Hermann von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments, I. Teil: Untersuchungen*, 1902-1910, pp. 1653 f., 1686-1688, 1760, 2162 f., 2172-2174. From this classification must proceed all future investigation of the text found in the minuscules. In the enumeration the numbers preceded by the Greek letter δ (for *διαθήκη*) refer to manuscripts containing the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles (with or without the Apocalypse). Numbers without preceding Greek letter do not contain the Gospels, and are those to which in von Soden's catalogue (pp. 215-248) the Greek letter α is prefixed. The designation A^π refers to manuscripts in which the text of Acts is accompanied by the catena of 'Andreas.' O^π designates a manuscript containing with the text the commentary ascribed to 'Oecumenius.'

In the columns headed 'Formerly' are given the numbers (in the list of MSS. of Acts and Catholic Epistles) of Gregory's 'Prolegomena' to Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum graece*, editio octava, 1890, pp. 617-652, and Gregory's *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, vol. i., 1900, pp. 263-294; in the columns headed 'Gregory' the numbers of Gregory's final list, to be found in his *Griechische Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, 1908, as well as in the 'Nachtrag' which constitutes *Textkritik*, volume iii., 1909. These last-mentioned numbers are employed consistently in the present volume to designate the minuscules and all except the better known of the uncials.

Brackets are here used to connect the numbers of manuscripts said by von Soden to be closely akin to one another, or even in some cases to constitute pairs of sister manuscripts.

It will be remembered that von Soden's system of enumeration is as follows :

δ 1-49	}	before end of ninth century
a 1-49		
a 1000-1019		before end of tenth century
δ 50-99	}	tenth century
a 50-99		
δ 100-199	}	eleventh century
a 100-199		
a 1100-1119		
δ 200-299	}	twelfth century
a 200-299		
a 1200-1219		
δ 300-399	}	thirteenth century
a 300-399		
a 1300-1319		

and similarly for later centuries.

VON SODEN'S CLASSIFICATION

H (Hesychius)

(arranged approximately in order of date)

von Soden.	Formerly.	Gregory.
δ 1	B	03
δ 2	κ	01
δ 3	C	04
δ 4	A	02
δ 6	Ψ	044
8	ν	Pap 8
δ 48	13	33
1002	G	095
1004	I ^b	096
74	389	1175
103	} 25	104
104		
162	61	81
257	33	326
δ 371	290	1241

I (Ierosolyma)

Von Soden's designation of I^a forms the largest division of the I-group; I^{b1} and I^{b2} are two sections of a distinct sub-group I^b; likewise I^{c1} and I^{c2} are sections of an equally distinct sub-group I^c. In each list the MSS. are arranged approximately in the order of their value as preserving in von Soden's opinion the original type of their section.

I ^a		
von Soden.	Formerly.	Gregory.
δ 5	D	05
7	apl 261	1874
264		233
200	83	88
382	231	915
70	505	1898
101	40	181
1001	E	08
252	391	1873
δ 251	271	927
δ 459	195	489
δ 203	265	808
δ 300	65	218
δ 157	202	547
δ 507	104	241
397	96	460
106	179	177
158	395	1245
184	..	2143
193	239	1270
261	142	618
205	51	337
δ 453	5	5
367	308	1827
173	156	623
δ 254 ¹	1	1
δ 457	95	209
δ 500	93	205

¹ Codex δ 254 is the one described by von Soden, p. 104, under the designation δ 50; see his volume i., 'Ergänzungen und Verbesserungen,' p. xi.

von Soden.	Formerly.	Gregory.
554	238	2288
1100 } 55 }	310 236	1829 920
δ 180 } δ 355 }	1319 19	1319 38
δ 505	31	69
502	116	467
552	217	642
251	326	1843
175	319	1838
192	318	1837
170	303	1311
464	218	1522
δ 454	262	794
172	73	436
δ 156	108	226
1202	249	1526
56	316	1835
64	328	1845
152	388	1162
168	226	910
202	309	1828
361	248	1525
δ 268	180	431
A ^{np} 10	502	1895
A ^{np} 11 } A ^{np} 20 }	15 36	307 36 ^a
A ^{np} 12	74	437
A ^{np} 21	130	610
A ^{np} 40	81	453
A ^{np} 41	..	1678
	I ^{b1}	
62	498	1891
δ 602	200	522
365	214	206
396 } 472 }	.. 312	1758 1831

LISTS OF GREEK MSS.

xxvii

von Soden.	Formerly.	Gregory.
398	69	429
δ 206 }	105	242
δ 264 }	201	536
δ 414	..	2200
δ 152 }	196	491
δ 368 }	266	823
270 }	54	43
306 }	119	469
253 }	2	2
δ 600 }	124	296
161	173	635
δ 360	197	496
368	344	1099
490	382	1868
461	163	630
275	..	2194
567	207	592

I^{b2}

78 }	..	1739
171 }	7	2298
157	29	323
δ 260 }	111	440
469 }	215	216
δ 356	6	6
209 }	386	1872
δ 370 }	288	1149
76	403	1880
δ 309	14	35
550	27	322

I^b (not identifiable as I^{b1} or I^{b2})

1000	I ²	066
1003	I ⁶	097

I^{c1}

208	307	1611
370	353	1108

xxviii THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY

von Soden.	Formerly.	Gregory.
116	..	2138
551	216	1518

I^{c2}

364	137	614
353	58	383
δ 299	..	2147
466	302	257
470	229	913
486	..	1765
258	56	378
487	..	1717
506	60	385
69	221	221
169	192	639
114	335	1852
174	252	255
δ 101	199	506
154	381	1867
471	313	1832
356	224	876
503	139	616
δ 298	43	76

I^c (not identifiable as I^{c1} or I^{c2})

O ^{pp} 20	232	916
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K (koinē)

Virtually all the Greek mss. of Acts not comprised in the above lists (types H and I) are known, or believed, to present in greater or less purity the K-text. Some of these contain in varying degrees a weak infusion of I-readings. Two groups, distinguished by special selections of such readings as well as in other ways, are designated K^c ('complutensis') and K^r ('revidierte'). The following lists, arranged approximately in order

of date, include the oldest codices of the K-type and the K^r-type, and all those assigned by von Soden to the K^c-type. Mention of many others will be found in von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, pp. 1760 f., 2162 f., 2172-2174.

K		
von Soden.	Formerly.	Gregory.
..	↳	093
2	S	049
3	P	025
5	L	020
6	H	014
47	323	1841
48	112	2125
50	..	1760
51	17	93
52	86	456
53	160	627
54	384	1870
61	122	602
67	87	457
72	334	1851
75	394	1244
δ 95	41	175
δ 97	285	1073

and upwards of 250 other codices of the eleventh and later centuries.

K ^c		
107	42	42
186	223	223
δ 255	35	57
271	..	2115
δ 359	193	479
δ 364	32	51
δ 365	57	234
δ 375	..	1594
δ 376	194	483

von Soden.	Formerly.	Gregory.
δ 366	164	390
366	228	912
395	..	1753
δ 410	206	582
450	..	1766
555	305	1405
557	331	1848

The above list includes all the codices assigned by von Soden to the group K^c.

K^r

δ 269	300	1251
δ 304	260	757
δ 357	92	204
δ 378	1400	1400
δ 390	..	1622
δ 393	..	1490
358	38	328
362	..	1752
371	356	1140
372	360	1855
373	361	1856
380	378	1865
385	..	1725

and many other codices of the fourteenth and later centuries.

(c) LECTIONARIES

Many lectionaries containing lessons from Acts are known, and are catalogued in Gregory's lists. Of these l^a171 is of the ninth century, l^a59 and l^a173 of the ninth or tenth; l^a156 is of the tenth century, and l^a597 and l^a1316 of the tenth or eleventh. From the eleventh century on many extant lectionaries are assigned to each century. The text of the lectionaries has never been investigated.

§ 2. CODICES BÆACDE

A discussion of the history and peculiarities of some of the chief manuscripts named above is more conveniently placed here; the character of the New Testament text in the several documents will be treated later in connexion with the history and criticism of the text of Acts.

B. CODEX VATICANUS

Codex Vaticanus is mentioned in the catalogue of the Vatican History. library of the year 1475.¹ Whence it came into the library is

¹ The catalogue of 1475 (Vat. cod. lat. 3954) made by Platina, the librarian, is printed in full by E. Müntz and P. Fabre, *La Bibliothèque du Vatican au XV^e siècle*, Paris, 1887. It is arranged in two parts (Latin and Greek) and by subjects in each part. At that date the books had no fixed places (P. Fabre, *La Vaticane de Sixte IV* [Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, xv.], 1898, p. 473). In the list of Greek MSS. is included under the heading '*Testamentum antiquum et novum*' (Müntz and Fabre, p. 244) the entry '*Biblia. Ex membr. in rubeo.*' This is the only Greek MS. mentioned which purports to contain the whole Bible. This entry can hardly refer to any other than our Codex Vaticanus 1209, for in a shelf-list, or catalogue arranged by the book-cases of the several rooms of the Library, made by Platina with the aid of his subordinate Demetrius Lucensis in 1481 (Vat. codd. lat. 3952 and 3947, the latter MS. being a copy of the former; see Müntz and Fabre, pp. 142 f., 250 f.), the statement is found, relating to the left side of the library, as you enter: '*In primo banco bibliothecae graecae. Biblia in tribus columnis ex membranis in rubeo*' (I. Carini, *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, vol. x., 1893, pp. 541 ff.). This unmistakably refers to Codex B; and that it is a fuller description of the same Bible which the catalogue of 1475 designated more summarily is not only made probable by the identity of the binding in both notices (*in rubeo*), but is clearly shown by the fact that no other book mentioned in this later inventory can be the same as the Bible of the earlier one. In the inventory of 1481 the only other Bible mentioned is described as 'bound in black' (*in nigro*); this was in fact a copy of part of the Old Testament (Vat. gr. 330), afterward lent to Cardinal Ximenes for the Complutensian Polyglot. The information with regard to the inventory of 1481 I owe to the kindness of Mgr. G. Mercati, of the Vatican Library. For the former controversy on this subject see *The Academy*, May 30 and June 13, 1891; *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, vol. x., 1893, pp. 537-547; F. G. Kenyon, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the N.T.*, 2nd ed., 1912, p. 77. The position of B as Cod. graec. 1209 in the enumeration of the Vatican MSS. throws no light on the source from which it came into the Vatican library (founded about 1450). The present numbering is due to the brothers Rainaldi about 1620, and in the list Codex B is preceded by codices known to have been acquired as late as the years 1594 and 1612; see P. Batiffol, *La Vaticane de Paul III à Paul V*, pp. 82 f.; J. B. De Rossi, '*De origine, historia, indicibus*

not known, but it has been observed that the hand which has written extended scholia on fol. 1205^v, 1206, 1239, and elsewhere in Codex B, resembles a Greek hand of the thirteenth century, "easily recognizable by its ligatures as well as by the greenish ink which it employs," which annotated two codices formerly belonging to the library of the abbey of Rossano, one containing Chrysostom on 1 Corinthians (Vaticanus, gr. 1648, tenth century) and one Gregory Nazianzen (Vaticanus, gr. 1994, eleventh century).¹ That Codex B had previously been in the possession of Cardinal Bessarion († 1472) has sometimes been suggested in view of the fact that in Codex Venetus, Marc. graec. 6, which was probably written for the Cardinal, several Old Testament books are copied from it,² and it would not be unnatural to suspect that the ms. was found by him in one of the Greek monasteries of South Italy, oversight of which was entrusted to him by the Pope in 1446, and from which many of his manuscripts are said to have come.³ But it is hard to believe that so eager

scribinae et bibliothecae sedis apostolicae,' in *Codices palatini latini bibliothecae Vaticanae*, vol. i., Rome, 1886, pp. cxiii-cxvii.

¹ This observation was made by P. Batiffol, *L'Abbaye de Rossano*, 1891, p. 49 note 1. Codex Vat. gr. 1648 was at Rossano in the fifteenth century, later at Grotta Ferrata. For the statement found, for instance, in P. Batiffol, *La Vaticane de Paul III à Paul V*, Paris, 1890, p. 82, that Codex B was in South Italy in the tenth and eleventh centuries, positive grounds are not given. The restoration of the codex by retracing the letters, etc., is commonly associated with the work of a certain corrector who occasionally lapsed into minuscules that betray his date as the tenth or eleventh century (Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Vaticanum*, p. xxvii); but as to the locality where these corrections were made there seems to be no evidence. The Roman editors, 'Prolegomena,' 1881, p. xvii, hold the re-inking and the addition of breathings and accents to be the work of the scribe (Clemens monachus) who, they think, supplied the missing portions of the codex in the early fifteenth century.

² Bessarion's manuscripts as a whole, however, were given by him in 1468 or 1469 to the Library of San Marco in Venice. The source from which a fifteenth-century hand supplied Gen. i. 1-xlvi. 28 in B is said by Nestle (*Septuagintastudien* [i.], Ulm, 1886, p. 9) to be the Roman twelfth-century Codex Chisianus R. VI. 38 (Rahlfs 19). No one seems to have discovered the source of the addition by the same hand which now fills the second lacuna, Ps. cv. 27-cxxxvii. 6. Gregory, *Prolegomena*, p. 359, states that the source from which the later part of Hebrews and Revelation were added was a manuscript belonging to Bessarion.

³ G. Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Altertums*, 3rd ed. vol. ii., 1893, pp. 123 ff., esp. pp. 130 f.; Batiffol, *La Vaticane de Paul III à Paul V*, p. 82.

a collector as the Cardinal would have given up voluntarily his greatest treasure. In any case he would not have given it to the Vatican Library at any period after the date at which he fell out of favour at Rome.

If it is proper to hazard a conjecture as to the earlier history of Codex B, it would be that the codex was brought from Alexandria to Sicily by fugitives from the conquering Arabs, in the seventh century, and thence to Calabria.¹ Nothing is known which suggests that it remained in the East until the fifteenth century and was then brought to Rome under the influence of the revival of letters.²

The date of the Codex Vaticanus is admitted to be the fourth Date. century. From the peculiar selection and order of the books included in the Old Testament and the order in the New Testament it is evident that the manuscript is to be associated with the influence of Athanasius;³ but it is not certain that it need have been written after his 39th Festal Letter of 367, for the Patriarch's views on the canon there stated, although perhaps original with him, were doubtless formulated before that date.

¹ The ancient Hellenistic character of the civilization of Magna Graecia had substantially disappeared by the time of Procopius († ca. 562) and Gregory the Great († 604). On the movement from Alexandria to Sicily in the seventh century, and from Sicily to Calabria in the ninth and tenth centuries, and on the fresh hellenization of South Italy in the seventh and subsequent centuries, see below, pp. lxiv-lxvii.

² A partial parallel to the history here suggested may be seen in the history of the Codex Marchalianus of the prophetic books of the Old Testament (Vatican, gr. 2125), which was written in Egypt in the sixth century, shows annotations made there at some time not later than the ninth century, was then brought to South Italy, perhaps before the twelfth century, and there received further annotations. As in the case of B, but in much less degree, Codex Marchalianus has suffered re-inking. It came later to Paris, and was bought for the Vatican Library in 1785. A. Ceriani, *De codice Marchaliano*, Rome, 1890, pp. 34-47.

³ This was first fully shown by A. Rahlfs, 'Alter und Heimat der vatikanischen Bibelhandschrift,' *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1899, pp. 72-79. Hug, *Einleitung in die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, 1808, § 50, had observed that Athanasius and B agree in the position of Hebrews; and Grabe, *Epistola ad Millium*, 1705, pp. 41 f., thought himself to have proved that the translation of Judges found in B was the same as that used by Athanasius, *Ep. I. ad Serap.* p. 651, as well as by Cyril.

Egyptian
origin.

The place of origin of B has now been established as Egypt in spite of the contention of some earlier scholars (R. Simon, Wetstein, Ceriani, Corssen, Hort) that it was written in Rome or in southern Italy.¹ Even under the dubious guess which attempts to identify B with the copy (or, possibly, one of several copies) prepared for the Emperor Constans by Athanasius in the earlier years (339-342 or 340-343) of his exile at Rome,² it would have to be admitted that the scribes, the composition, and the text of B were Egyptian, so that the manuscript could in no way claim to be a product of the West or to show Western practice.³

Among the reasons which have led to the conclusion that B is Egyptian are the following. They depend in part on the assumption that a codex of that period giving the characteristic text of a locality was written in the locality.

1. Its relation to Athanasius.
2. The fact that in the exemplar from which the Pauline

¹ The chief reasons given by Hort ('Introduction,' pp. 265 f.) for suggesting such a conclusion are these: (1) The spellings *ισακ* and *ιστραηλ[ειτης]* or *ισδραηλ[ειτης]*. On the former word see Thackeray, *Grammar of O.T. in Greek*, vol. i. p. 100; on the latter J. H. Moulton and W. F. Howard, *Grammar of N.T. Greek*, vol. ii. part i., 1919, p. 103, and Lake, *Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus*, p. xi. The spelling *ισακ* is found in the early fourth-century Oxyrhynchus papyrus 675 of the Epistle to the Hebrews; see *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, iv. pp. 36 ff. (2) The wrong substitution in B, especially in the Pauline epistles, of *χριστος ιησους* for *ιησους χριστος*. (3) The chapter-enumeration of 69 chapters in Acts; on this see below pp. xli, xliv. No one of these reasons remains even partially convincing. For Ceriani's judgment see his *Monumenta sacra et profana*, iii. 1, 1864, p. xxi, and the utterance reported in *Epistularum Paulinarum codices . . . Augiensem, Boernerianum, Claromontanum examinavit . . . P. Corssen*, ii. (Jever programme), Kiel, 1889, p. 3 note, together with Ceriani's reaffirmation in *Rendiconti, Reale Istituto Lombardo*, Series II. vol. xix., 1886, pp. 212 f.; cf. vol. xxi., 1888, pp. 540-549.

² Athanasius, *Apol. ad Constantium* 4 (i. p. 297) τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου οὐκ ἔγραψα ἢ μόνον ὅτε οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον ἔγραψαν αὐτῷ κατ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ἀνάγκην ἔσχον ἐπι ὧν ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἀπολογήσασθαι, καὶ ὅτε πυκνία τῶν θείων γραφῶν κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ μοι κατασκευάσαι τὰτα ποιήσας ἀπέστειλα. As Zahn points out (*Gesch. d. Neutest. Kanons*, i., 1888, p. 73, note 1; *Athanasius und der Bibelkanon*, 1901, p. 31 note 56), the context shows that the Bible (or Bibles) must have been dispatched within the first three years of Athanasius's exile.

³ The old uncial numeration on the verso of each leaf, perhaps inserted before the issuance of the codex, was believed by Gregory to be by an oriental hand; *Prolegomena*, p. 450.

epistles were drawn Hebrews immediately followed Galatians, a singular order strikingly like that of the Sahidic version, in which Hebrews is found between 2 Corinthians and Galatians.

3. The close relation of the text to the Bohairic version, and in a less degree to the Sahidic.

4. The type of text to which B belongs was current in Egypt, being that employed by Athanasius and Cyril. The Egyptian fragments of the Gospels designated as T show a text closely related to B, though not perfectly identical with it, and the same is true of most of the papyri.¹

5. The occurrence in Heb. i. 3 of the singular reading *φανερων* for *φερων*, elsewhere found only in the Egyptian monk, Serapion ; together with the singular readings in Heb. iii. 2, 6 found only in papyri.²

6. The presence in B of a translation of the Book of Judges which is of Egyptian origin.

7. A more doubtful line of evidence is the occasional, but rare, occurrence in B of spellings which are believed to proceed from peculiar Egyptian pronunciation. Thus *κρανη* for *κρανηη*, Is. xxx. 19, Ez. xxi. 22, and a few cases of the omission of *χ*, *τ*, *λ*, and *σ* between vowels, together with the confusion of *κ* and *γ* and of the dental mutes.³ But these phenomena are notably less frequent in B than in other old uncials.

8. The close resemblance of the text of B, at least in 1-4 Kingdoms, to the non-hexaplaric text found in some of Origen's quotations, and to the text underlying the Ethiopic.⁴ The

¹ Bousset, *Textkritische Studien zum Neuen Testament* (Texte und Untersuchungen, xi.), 1894, 'Die Recension des Hesychius,' pp. 74-110 ; Burkitt, in P. M. Barnard, *The Biblical Text of Clement of Alexandria* (Texts and Studies, v.), 1899, pp. viii f., x f. The Egyptian LXX-fragment (fifth or sixth century) designated Z^{III} also shows striking agreement with B ; see Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher*, 1911, p. 193 note 2. See also below, p. xxxvi note 1.

² J. Armitage Robinson, in P. M. Barnard, *op. cit.* p. x ; G. Wobbermin, *Altchristliche liturgische Stücke aus der Kirche Ägyptens* (Texte und Untersuchungen, xvii.), 1899, p. 23.

³ Thackeray, *Grammar of the O.T. in Greek*, vol. i. pp. 101, 103 f., 111-114.

⁴ Rahlfs, 'Origenes' Zitate aus den Königsbüchern,' *Septuaginta-Studien*, i., 1904, pp. 82-87.

Ethiopian Church was dependent on Egypt, and would naturally acquire thence its text of the Bible.

These indications all point to Egypt, and the palaeographic¹ and linguistic characteristics of the manuscript include nothing which is not consistent with this conclusion.² No evidence which in the light of present knowledge continues to be valid tends to indicate an origin in the West. If the codex had its home in Egypt, it was probably written in Alexandria.

The suggestion has, however, often been made that Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus formed two of the fifty copies of the Bible³ prepared by Eusebius, doubtless in Caesarea, by order of the Emperor Constantine about the year 332 (Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, iv. 35-37), which Eusebius describes as [ἀντίγραφα] τρισσὰ καὶ τετρασσά. But this theory has no inherent strength sufficient to overthrow the positive reasons for assigning an Egyptian origin to B. On this point some further discussion is necessary.

The expression τρισσὰ καὶ τετρασσά has received many interpretations.⁴ (1) The rendering *terniones et quaterniones*, found in the Latin translation of Valesius' edition and accepted by Montfaucon (*Palaeographia Graeca*, p. 26) is probably impossible in itself, and is not well suited to the context, as, indeed, Valesius observed—to say nothing of the fact that ternions seem never to have been a usual form of gatherings. (2) The meaning

¹ On the resemblance of the uncial writing of both B and S to Papyrus Rylands 28 see Lake, *Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus*, p. xi. The Greek hand of B is extraordinarily like the Coptic hand of a papyrus ms. of the Gospel of John; see H. Thompson, *The Gospel of St. John according to the Earliest Coptic Manuscript*, London, 1924, p. xiii.

² V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Paläographie*, ii. pp. 248 ff., has, however, shown that the so-called 'Coptic' form of M cannot be used as positive evidence of Egyptian origin.

³ That the books ordered by Constantine were copies of the whole Bible is not certain, although the language of Eusebius makes it probable. E. Schwartz (art. 'Eusebios,' in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, vi., 1909, col. 1437) thinks that they were copies of the Gospels only, some containing three, others all four. The meaning of τρισσὰ καὶ τετρασσά required by this theory makes it impossible. See also John Lightfoot, *Horae hebraicae*, on John viii.

⁴ K. Lake, 'The Sinaitic and Vatican Manuscripts and the Copies sent by Eusebius to Constantine,' *Harvard Theological Review*, xi., 1918, pp. 32-35.

Constantine's fifty copies.

τρισσὰ καὶ τετρασσά.

‘three and four at a time’ would suit the verb *διαπεμφάντων*, but not the proper sense of the adjectives themselves, for these latter are virtually synonymous with *τριπλᾶ* and *τετραπλᾶ*, and mean that the copies themselves had ‘three and four’ of something. (3) ‘Having three and four *volumes*’ in each copy would make sense, but nothing in particular tends to confirm this interpretation. (4) The meaning ‘having three *columns* and four *columns*’ is said to have been a conjecture of Tischendorf,¹ and is probably to be accepted.² It suits the natural meaning of the terms, and can be accounted for in the context from the author’s manifest desire to emphasize the splendour of these copies.³ Manuscripts in three or four columns would certainly be large and costly. A similar desire to emphasize the large size and dignity of the book seems to be present in the following interesting passage (*Menaea*, October 15), where *τρισσός* is used in describing a fourth-century codex of the whole Bible, written with three columns to the page by the famous martyr, Lucian of Antioch: εἰς κάλλος δὲ γράφειν ἐπιστάμενος, βιβλίον κατέλιπε τῇ Νικομηδέων ἐκκλησίᾳ, γεγραμμένον σελίσι τρισσαῖς (εἰς τρεῖς στήλας διηρημένης τῆς σελίδος), περιέχον πᾶσαν τὴν παλαιάν τε καὶ τὴν νέαν διαθήκην.⁴

The word *τετρασσός* is used in Eusebius, *H.e.* vi. 16, 4 (Schwartz’s text; *v.l.* *τετραπλοῖς*) to refer to the Tetrapla of

¹ Gregory, *Prolegomena* [1884], p. 348; but in *Novum Testamentum Vaticanum*, 1867, p. xviii, Tischendorf still followed the explanation of Valesius. The earliest mention which I have met with of the interpretation ‘in three and four columns’ is by W. Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*, 1871, p. 114. C. Vercellone, in a paper read before the Pontifical Academy, July 14, 1859, and published in his *Dissertazioni accademiche*, Rome, 1864, pp. 115 ff., connects Codex Vaticanus with the fifty manuscripts of Eusebius, but does not seem to have thought of the aptness of the word *τρισσά* to describe the three columns of that codex. So also Scrivener, *A Full Collation of the Codex Sinaiticus*, 2nd ed., 1867, p. xxxvii, with reference to **Σ**.

² For a good, but exaggerated, statement see F. C. Cook, *The Revised Version of the First Three Gospels*, 1882, pp. 162 f. note.

³ So Wattenbach, *op. cit.* p. 114, 3rd ed., 1896, p. 181.

⁴ This is found in a somewhat different form, containing, however, the word in question, in ‘Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae,’ *Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum, Novembris* [vol. lxi. bis], 1902, p. 139.

Origen; but no other occurrence of the word, except the one under examination, has been produced. *τρισσός* is a not uncommon word.

The notion, often brought forward, that the three columns of Codex B and the four columns of Codex \aleph show that one or both of these splendid manuscripts made a part of the shipment with which Eusebius filled Constantine's order, would only be justified if confirmed by the resemblance of their text to that used by Eusebius.¹ This is not the case in the New Testament, and still less in the Old. There were rich patrons of churches in the fourth century in other places besides Constantinople, and no trait of the text of either B or \aleph , or known fact of their history, serves to connect either of these codices with that city.²

Scribes.

Codex B was written³ by either three or four scribes: B¹ (pp. 1-334, Gen. to 1 Kings. xix. 11), B² (pp. 335-674, 1 Kings. xix. 11-Ps. lxxvii. 71), B³ (pp. 675-1244 [?], Ps. lxxvii. 72-Matt. ix. 5), B⁴ (pp. 1245-fin., Matt. ix. 5-fin.). Of these B² and B⁴ may be the same. The frequently repeated opinion of Tischendorf that the scribe (now believed to be two scribes) who wrote the New Testament of B was also one of the scribes of \aleph has been shown by Lake to be an error.

Orthography.

B was very carefully written, and its orthography is more correct than that of most other uncials.⁴ The common confusion of vowels is relatively infrequent. The most noteworthy peculiarity is the strong preference for *ei* where earlier usage and the practice of the later grammarians wrote *i*. This was not by

¹ On the text probably used for Eusebius's fifty copies see Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, 1924, pp. 91 f., 102-105.

² Hort, 'Introduction,' pp. 74 f.: "The four extant copies [B \aleph AC] are doubtless casual examples of a numerous class of MSS., derived from various origins, though brought into existence in the first instance by similar circumstances." The fifth-century palimpsest 'Codex Patiriensis' (ζ ; 048) was written in three columns.

³ L. Traube, *Nomina sacra*, 1907, pp. 66 f.

⁴ Thackeray, *Grammar of the O.T. in Greek*, vol. i., 1909, p. 72: "The generalization suggested by the available evidence is that B is on the whole nearer [than A and \aleph] to the originals in orthography as in text," cf. pp. 78, 86; H. von Soden, *Schriften des N.T.* p. 909.

inadvertence, but represents a deliberate attempt to convey the sound of long \bar{i} by ei .¹ Perfect consistency, however, was not attained, and some mistakes can be pointed out.² The confusion of ai and ϵ occurs only occasionally, and testifies to the absence in the fourth century of a fixed standard of spelling.³ Letters are occasionally omitted (sometimes perhaps in consequence of dialectal pronunciation). In the present edition of B the spelling of the manuscript has been followed, except where it is manifestly a case of clerical error and in a few places where the strange spelling causes undue difficulty to the modern reader. In all cases where a change has been made, the spelling of the manuscript has been indicated in the line next below the text. The aim has been to leave in the text (with a very few exceptions) all those spellings which the scribe himself would probably have been disposed to defend as tolerable. The notion that B is full of bad spellings is unjust.

Although the general correctness of B is thus very great, yet, Errors. as will appear below in the discussion of the criticism of the text, it shows in Acts a considerable series of 'singular,' or virtually 'singular,' readings. Of these hardly any can be accepted as superior to the rival readings of the Old Uncial group, so that the great body of those others which are not susceptible of judgment on transcriptional grounds (as well as those judged to be transcriptionally inferior) are to be rejected. Striking peculiar readings (like $\kappa\eta\rho\nu\gamma\mu\alpha$ for $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$ Acts x. 37) are rare among these; there are some omissions of necessary words (such as $\kappa\lambda\alpha\upsilon\delta\iota\omicron\nu$, xviii. 2; $\zeta\eta\nu$, xxv. 24), a few repetitions (like $\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\eta$ η $\alpha\rho\tau\epsilon\mu\iota\varsigma$ $\epsilon\phi\epsilon\sigma\iota\omega\nu$, xix. 34). Stupid blunders, yielding no intelligible sense, are extremely rare, apart from a moderate number of cases where letters or syllables are omitted (as $\epsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\zeta\epsilon$ for $\epsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\zeta\epsilon\tau\omicron$, iii. 2; $\gamma\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ for $\gamma\epsilon\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$, vii. 32; $\epsilon\iota\rho\eta\nu$ for

¹ On the systematic use of ei to represent long \bar{i} in the Michigan papyrus of the Shepherd of Hermas, probably written not later than A.D. 250, see C. Bonner, in *Harvard Theological Review*, vol. xviii., 1925, p. 122.

² Thackeray, pp. 85-87.

³ F. Blass, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, 1896, pp. 6 f.

ειρηνην, x. 36; κεκρει for κεκρικει, xx. 16). An instructive classification of such individual errors of B is given by von Soden.¹

Correctors.

Codex B has been corrected at more than one date, but the discrimination of the several correctors by Fabiani (Roman edition, vol. vi. 1881) is unsatisfactory, and a critical investigation of the corrections throughout the manuscript is much to be desired.² Some revision of the Roman editors' results is to be found in Tischendorf's apparatus. The designations are to be regarded as referring to groups of correctors, rather than to individuals. The earliest corrections (B¹ and in part B²) are doubtless those of the diorthotes, added before the codex was sent out from the scriptorium.³ Others (B³) are commonly ascribed to a hand of the tenth or eleventh century,⁴ who added the breathings

¹ Pp. 907-914, 1655-1657. Von Soden's combination of this list of individual errors with groups of readings which he ascribes to the influence of the K-text, the I-text, and the Egyptian versions, tends to blur the important distinction between the 'singular' readings of B and those which B shares with other authorities. His description of the scribe of B is interesting (p. 907): "Der Schreiber von $\delta 1$ scheint ein Schönschreiber von Beruf gewesen zu sein, der mechanisch abschrieb, obgleich er gut verstand, was er schrieb." Gregory's statement (*Prolegomena*, p. 359), "erroribus scribae scateat," can only be pronounced obsolete. One interesting piece of evidence is the fact that the spelling *ουθεις*, which was already expiring in the first century after Christ, and was wholly extinct after about a.d. 200, is found seven times; cf. Thackeray, pp. 62, 104 f., Moulton and Howard, *Grammar of N.T. Greek*, vol. ii. p. 111. In Acts xv. 9, *ουθευ*, as found in B, has passed into the Antiochian text, against *ουθεν* in \aleph ACD 81.

² See A. Ceriani, *Rendiconti, Reale Istituto Lombardo*, Series II. vol. xxi., 1888, pp. 545 f.

³ Hort, 'Introduction,' p. 270, says of B², the corrector: "Among his corrections of clerical errors are scattered some textual changes, clearly marked as such by the existence of very early authority for both readings: the readings which he thus introduces imply the use of a second exemplar, having a text less pure than that of the primary exemplar, but free from clear traces of Syrian influence. The occurrence of these definite diversities of text renders it unsafe to assume that all singular readings which he alters were individualisms of the first hand, though doubtless many of them had no other origin." Many scholars would now hold that more of these 'singular' readings are "individualisms of the first hand" than Westcott and Hort allowed, and that too many of them were admitted into the text of those editors.

⁴ The date (tenth to eleventh century) is assigned to B³ chiefly because of the character of the minuscules into which he occasionally lapses. On the correctors see especially Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Vaticanum*, 1867, pp. xxiii-xxviii.

and accents, and re-inked the already faded letters of the text, leaving untouched letters and words which he disapproved. It is only in these latter (for instance, 2 Cor. iii. 15, where nearly the whole of four lines had inadvertently been written twice) that the fineness and beauty of the original work can now be observed. This work of B³, it should be noticed, in all its branches is held by Fabiani to have been done in the early fifteenth century, and to have included long Greek interpretative scholia, Latin notes in Greek letters, and the sixty-two supplementary pages, but this is doubtful.¹ A hand later than the tenth or eleventh century added liturgical notes, which do not seem to have been carefully studied by any scholars in recent times.

As B in the Gospels has peculiar chapter divisions (Matt., 170 chapters; Mark, 62; Luke, 152; John, 80), marked on a system elsewhere used only (and but in part) in Codex Ξ (eighth century), so in the Book of Acts two noteworthy sets of chapters are indicated. One of these divides the book into 36 chapters, the other into 69.

Chapter
divisions.

The former (36 chapters) is by a hand of early, but uncertain, date, possibly as old as the codex itself but quite as possibly later,² and is also found for substance (von Soden, p. 440) in connexion with the 'Euthalian' material in codices 1874, 1898, 1175, 1244, 181, 1162, 917 (?), 1248 (?), ranging from the ninth to the fourteenth century and representing many types of text. Von Soden has shown (pp. 442 ff.) that this system is closely related to the division into 40 chapters, which constitute the *κεφάλαια*, or main sections, of the 'Euthalian' system. Whether the 36 chapters or the 40 chapters represent the original system which was altered so as to create the other, has not been determined.

The other system (69 chapters) was inserted in B by a somewhat later hand, and also in \aleph , chapters i.-xv., it is found for substance, introduced by a hand described by both Tischendorf

¹ Note Batiffol's observation, mentioned above, p. xxxii.

² J. A. Robinson, *Euthaliana* (Texts and Studies, iii.), 1895, p. 36.

and Lake as "very early."¹ By Lake (and apparently by Tischendorf also) the 'tituli,' or chapter-headings, are attributed to the same hand. Tischendorf held that this was not the same as any of the correctors designated by him by the symbols \aleph^a and \aleph^b , but Lake is disposed to identify it with $\aleph^{a.2}$ and to think that the 'tituli' and chapter-numbers were introduced before the manuscript left the scriptorium. In \aleph the system is only incompletely entered, and in B there are some manifest errors,² but the origin of this chapter-division can be made out with reasonable certainty. It is a slightly altered, probably corrupt, form of a combination of the 40 sections (*κεφάλαια*) and 48 subsections (*ὑποδιαίρεσεις*) of the system attributed to Euthalius, belonging to the earliest stratum of the 'Euthalian' material,³ and found in many manuscripts of Acts. The 40 sections and 48 subsections (probably the latter were originally designated by asterisks, not by numbers) were counted in one series, making 88 in all, but in the corrupt (perhaps altered) form found in B omissions (chiefly of very brief subsections) have reduced the total to 69. That the division into 69 and that into 88 chapters are not independent of one another is demonstrated by the nature of their distinctive and complicated agreement, which cannot be accidental.⁴

¹ Tischendorf, *Nov. Test. graece ex Sinaitico codice*, Leipzig, 1863, p. xxiv; Lake, *Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus*, 1911, p. xxi.

² Notably the omission of a division at xv. 1, which causes a difference of one number between B and \aleph in the numbering of the subsequent chapters, as far as the end of the enumeration in \aleph . Other differences between B and \aleph are unimportant.

³ Robinson, *op. cit.* pp. 21-24, 36-43. The Euthalian problem cannot be discussed here, and, indeed, cannot be satisfactorily treated at all without a much larger collection of data than has yet been published. See von Soden, pp. 637-682; E. von Dobschütz, art. 'Euthalius' in *Protestantische Realencyklopädie*, vol. xxiii., 'Ergänzungen und Nachträge,' pp. 437 f. The 'Euthalian' sections and subsections, and the full *τίτλοι* in which the contents of Acts are summarized, will be found in von Soden, pp. 448-454.

⁴ See von Soden, pp. 444-448; Robinson, *op. cit.* p. 42. The "surmise" put forward by Hort ('Introduction,' p. 266) that the resemblance between the system of division in Codex Amiatinus of the Vulgate (and other Latin codices) and the system of 69 chapters of B and \aleph tends to indicate that the two latter codices were both written in the West, may, in the light of the knowledge now available, be left out of account.

B and (for chapters i.-xv.) \aleph agree in omitting certain of the 'Euthalian' subsections, and so betray the fact that while their independence of one another is shown by certain differences between them, they are both derived from the same corrupt, or altered, form of the system. Now some codices which have the 'Euthalian' material (notably H^{paul}, 88 [formerly 83; Neapol. II. Aa. 7], and Armenian codices) also contain colophons, both to the Pauline epistles and to the Acts and Catholic epistles, stating that the manuscript in question (that is, probably, in many or all cases one of its ancestors) has been compared with the copy at Caesarea written by Pamphilus. In consequence of this some scholars have suggested that B and \aleph each lay during some period of its history at Caesarea, and there received the numbers of the 69-fold system of chapters in Acts.¹ But it is difficult to follow this inference. If the 88-fold system of 'Euthalius' was contained in a standard manuscript at Caesarea, it would seem unlikely that the corrupt form of it with only 69 chapters, now found in these two costly manuscripts, was drawn from a codex of that library. It is much more likely that the corrupt form was that current in some other locality, for instance Alexandria, and that B and \aleph received it in such a locality. Moreover, the two colophons which mention Caesarea are probably not an integral part of the work of 'Euthalius,' and in fact nothing at present known seems to connect the author of the 'Euthalian' material with Caesarea.²

In the present edition of B the chapter divisions of the codex

¹ Robinson, *op. cit.* p. 37. J. R. Harris, *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, vol. iii., March-April 1884, pp. 40 f., and *Stichometry*, 1893, pp. 71-89 ('The Origin of Codices \aleph and B'), urged a similar conclusion as to the common relation of B and \aleph to Caesarea on the ground that the other division, that into 36 chapters, is found both in B and in the 'Euthalian' material, and further that there is a connexion between B and \aleph and between a corrector of \aleph and Caesarea. But Robinson, p. 24, pointed out that the 36 chapters in the 'Euthalian' material are a later addition in the apparatus ascribed to Euthalius. He states: "There is no ground at all for connecting it with the original edition of Euthalius"; and it may be added that in fact there seems no particular reason for associating with Caesarea in any way the 'Euthalian' testimony to the 36 chapters.

² See Robinson, *op. cit.* pp. 34 f.

have not been printed, because the division into 69 chapters represents neither the original form nor the full later development of any system ; while the division into 36 chapters is very likely not the original form of its own system, but rather a corruption, and in any case is not unique but is abundantly found elsewhere. The study of the relations, history, and origin of these divisions would be instructive, but it requires a special and comprehensive apparatus in tabular form. The facts relating to B are elsewhere easily accessible,¹ and by themselves are incapable of yielding much fruit.

Character
of text.

The pre-eminence of B among the manuscripts of Acts is due to the current acceptance by scholars of the type of text to which it belongs as generally superior both to the ' Western ' and to the Antiochian recension, and also to the absence in B, at least as compared with other codices of its type, of influence from these divergent and inferior types. Apart from this superiority B, while a good manuscript, carefully written, has its own due proportion of individual errors. This general character of B for Acts applies also to the Gospels and to the Catholic epistles, but not wholly to the epistles of Paul. In many books of the Old Testament a corresponding character has been determined for B by recent study of the text of the Septuagint.

8. CODEX SINAITICUS

History.

Codex Sinaiticus is the only one of the four great Bibles of which we know with certainty the locality in the East where it lay in the period immediately preceding its emergence into the light of Western knowledge. But whence it was brought to Mount Sinai, and how long it had been there when in 1844 Tischendorf first saw some leaves of it, we do not know. Tischendorf's own elaborate and protracted study has now been supplemented by the investigations of Lake, as reported in his Introductions to

¹ For instance, in the convenient table printed by Robinson, *Euthaliana*, pp. 39 f. Both systems are entered on the inner margin of Nestle's text, 7th edition, 1908.

the photographic facsimiles published in 1911 and 1922.¹ The most important contribution there made is the demonstration that Tischendorf was wrong in supposing that the scribe D of \aleph was the same hand that wrote the whole (or, rather, nearly the whole) New Testament of Codex Vaticanus.² This mistaken theory has had such far-reaching consequences in critical discussion that any treatment of these two codices in which it is even mentioned as probably correct needs to be carefully scrutinized to make sure that the supposed connexion in origin of the two manuscripts has not somewhere affected or warped the judgment of the critic. Even Lake's opinion (p. xii) that the two codices probably came from the same scriptorium, in support of which he adduces the similar character of the subscriptions to Acts, ought not to be used as the foundation of any inferences, for such resemblances may well be due merely to a tradition persisting for a long period among Alexandrian calligraphers of different workshops. The writing of \aleph is much less elegant than that of B.

On the history of the codex light is thrown chiefly by the corrections made at some time in the period from the fifth to the early seventh century to make the text agree with the codex at Caesarea corrected by the hand of Pamphilus the Martyr. The notes appended to Nehemiah (2 Esdras) and Esther³ seem to indicate (although not quite indubitably) that the codex was actually taken to Caesarea and the corrections made on the spot from the original Codex Pamphili, not merely introduced in some other locality from a copy of that codex. The hand by which these notes are written is, according to Lake, probably not the corrector known as $\aleph^{c.a}$ but another of the group that Tischendorf designated as \aleph^c . In the Old Testament prophets the corrector $\aleph^{c.b}$ seems actually to have followed a standard which

¹ K. Lake, *Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus*, Oxford, 1911; *Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus et Frederico-Augustanus Lipsiensis*, Oxford, 1922.

² Lake, *Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus*, 1911, pp. xii-xiii, xix, Illustrative Plate III.

³ For the text of these notes see below, p. c note 6.

corresponded to what we should expect Pamphilus's copy of the fifth column of the Hexapla to contain. The significance of the corrections of \aleph is a complicated question which has not been fully elucidated for either Testament. In the New Testament we do not know what was the text of Pamphilus.

Scribes. Codex Sinaiticus was written by several hands,¹ but the New Testament is all by the same scribe except for seven leaves (three and one half sheets, not including any portion of Acts) written by a different scribe, who was also employed in the correction of the New Testament. These seven leaves were probably substituted for the corresponding cancelled pages of the work of the original writer. A good deal of work was evidently done on the manuscript before it was regarded as complete, and several persons employed in perfecting it for issuance from the scriptorium.

Date. The date of \aleph is ordinarily given as the fourth century,² but palaeographical reasons make it wholly probable that it represents a later style than that of B. In the Gospels the Eusebian sections and canons have been entered, not by the original hand but apparently by one of the same date, so that Lake believes this to have taken place before the codex was issued. But the earliest date at which this could have taken place is uncertain; Eusebius died in 339-340. A later date for \aleph has been urged by Viktor Gardthausen, who in an elaborate discussion confidently assigns it to the early part of the fifth century.³

Egyptian origin. For determining the place of origin of \aleph less evidence is available than in the case of B. Hort, relying on a part of the same grounds as in the case of B (see above, p. xxxiv note 1), argued for the West, probably Rome. Ceriani, who had previously thought of Palestine or Syria,⁴ later decided for South Italy on the ground both of the palaeographical and the textual character

¹ See Traube, *Nomina sacra*, pp. 66-71; Lake, *op. cit.* pp. xviii f.

² F. G. Kenyon, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the N.T.*, 2nd ed., 1912, p. 67; Lake, *op. cit.* pp. ix f.

³ *Griechische Paläographie*, 2nd ed. vol. ii., 1913, pp. 122-134.

⁴ *Monumenta sacra et profana*, iii. 1, 1864, p. xxi.

of \aleph .¹ For the suggestion of Caesarea, urged by J. R. Harris, no convincing arguments have been presented.² For an origin in Egypt (doubtless Alexandria) speaks the fact that in spite of noteworthy differences \aleph exhibits beyond question, in a large part of those books of the Old Testament which it contains (see below, pp. xcviif.), and in the New Testament, the same type of text as B, and one closely related to the Egyptian and Ethiopic versions, which were derived from Egyptian sources.³ To this is to be added the evidence that the writing of \aleph is "closely akin to that of the older Coptic hands," and that certain peculiarities of spelling are regarded as characteristic of Egypt.⁴ The force of these technical arguments is less than that drawn from a consideration of the text itself, since we have little parallel knowledge of what scribes in other centres of book-manufacturing were capable of producing, but, as in the case of B, the palaeographical and linguistic phenomena present, at any rate, no

¹ *Rendiconti, Reale Istituto Lombardo*, Series II. vol. xxi., 1888, p. 547.

² J. R. Harris, *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, vol. iii., March-April 1884, pp. 40 f., and *Stichometry*, 1893, pp. 74 f. Harris's often-quoted geographical argument from the reading *ἀντιπατριδα* for *πατριδα*, in Matt. xiii. 54, which he thinks shows that the scribe lived somewhere in the region of Antipatris, has enlivened criticism but cannot be accepted. The motive for the reading, as Hilgenfeld suggested (*Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* vol. vii., 1864, p. 80), is plain. The scribe, in order to avoid calling Nazareth the 'native place' of Jesus, coined a word (or else used a very rare one) to mean 'foster-native-place.' Cf. *ἀντιπολις*, 'rival city'; *ἀντιμάντις*, 'rival prophet'; *ἀνθύπατος*, 'pro-consul,' etc. etc. *ἀντιπατρις* itself seems to mean 'foster-father,' or 'one like a father.' As Kenyon points out (*Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the N.T.*, 2nd ed. p. 83), "The fact that \aleph was collated with the ms. of Pamphilus so late as the sixth century seems to show that it was not originally written at Caesarea; otherwise it would surely have been collated earlier with so excellent an authority." Indeed, if written at Caesarea, \aleph ought to show the text of Pamphilus. To the reasons for Caesarea given by Lake, *The Text of the New Testament*, Oxford, 1900, pp. 14 f., was later added the point that the Eusebian canons might have been inserted in Caesarea, but no one of the arguments holds, nor do all of them together constitute a cumulative body of even slight probabilities. For Lake's statement of his change of view in favour of Egypt see his Introduction to the facsimile of Codex Sinaiticus, pp. x-xv.

³ The resemblance of the text of the Psalms in \aleph to that which underlies the Coptic *Pistis Sophia* is one piece of evidence; cf. Harnack, *Ein jüdisch-christliches Psalmbuch* (T.U. xxxv.), p. 13.

⁴ Thackeray, *Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek*, vol. i. pp. 72, 112-115, 147. See also above, p. xxxv note 3.

obstacle to the conclusion to which the textual relations clearly point, namely, that \aleph was written in Egypt.¹ Nevertheless the inclusion of Barnabas with Hermas as the books to be added to the New Testament seems to show that \aleph was not written, as B has been thought to have been, under substantial control of the views of Athanasius, expressed in his Festal Letter of 367.²

Errors.

Codex Sinaiticus is carelessly written, with many lapses of spelling due to the influence of dialectal and vulgar speech,³ and many plain errors and crude vagaries.⁴ Omissions by homoeoteleuton abound,⁵ and there are many other careless omissions. All these gave a large field for the work of correctors, and the manuscript does not stand by any means on the same high level of workmanship as B. 'Singular' readings of \aleph hardly ever commend themselves. On the other hand, readings of \aleph which

¹ V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Paläographie*, 2nd ed., 1913, vol. ii. pp. 122-134, holds strongly to the Egyptian origin of \aleph .

² Zahn, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 1924, pp. 129 f. Athanasius expressly names the Didache and the Shepherd, with certain of the Old Testament apocrypha, as books not included in the canon but ancient and suitable to be read by catechumens.

³ Thackeray, *passim* (cf. above, p. xxxv note 3).

⁴ For instance, i. 9 *ειποντων* for *ειπων*; iii. 13 *πρα* for *παιδα*, *απολλυειν* for *απολυειν*; v. 1 *παμφιρη* for *σαπφειρη*; vii. 35 *δικαστην* for *λυτρωτην*; viii. 5 *καισαριας* for *σαμαριας*; viii. 26 *την καλουμενην καταβαινουσαν*; xi. 20 *ευαγγελιστας* for *ελληριστας*; xiv. 9 *ουκ ηκουσεν* for *ηκουσεν*; xv. 1 *εθνει* for *εθει*; xv. 33 *εαυτους* for *αυτους*; xvi. 23 *παραγγειλας τε* for *παραγγειλαντες*; xviii. 24 *απελλης* for *απολλως*; xxi. 16 *ιασονι* for *μνασονι*; xxvii. 43 *βηματος* for *βουληματος*; xxviii. 25 *περι* for *δια*; xxviii. 27 *εβαρυνθη* for *επαχυνθη*, etc. etc. Whether the preference shown by \aleph for *εις* as against *εν* is to be reckoned here or shows fidelity to the archetype, is a question; cf. ii. 5, iv. 5, ix. 21, xvi. 36. For a summary of the tendencies to error in \aleph and lists of errors see H. von Soden, *Schriften des N.T.* pp. 917-921, 1657-1659; also P. Buttmann, 'Bemerkungen über einige Eigenthümlichkeiten des Cod. Sinaiticus im N.T.', *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, vol. vii., 1864, pp. 367-395; vol. ix., 1866, pp. 219-238; Hort, 'Introduction,' pp. 246 f. That the vagaries are not the mere ineptitudes of an ignorant monk may be seen, for instance, from James v. 10, *καλοκαγαθιας* for *κακοπαθειας*. In the Epistle of Barnabas, Gebhardt concluded that \aleph unsupported by other witnesses is nearly always wrong; Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn, *Patrum apostolicorum opera*, i. 2, 1878, p. xxxvii.

⁵ Especially in John, but not there alone. There are said to be sixty such omissions in the Gospels. See H. S. Cronin, 'An Examination of some Omissions of the Codex Sinaiticus in St. John's Gospel,' *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. xiii., 1912, pp. 563-571; von Soden, p. 920.

at first sight look like errors are sometimes confirmed by other and better witnesses, and prove to be right. But \aleph does not seem to preserve earlier and perhaps original spelling so faithfully as B.¹

In the text of Revelation it is recognized that \aleph is perhaps the least trustworthy of all the chief manuscripts.² In the Gospels the text has suffered much from harmonization, both in passages where other manuscripts share the defect and in other cases where the harmonization is peculiar to \aleph .

The correctors of \aleph are numerous, and deserve more complete study than they have received hitherto. They are classified by Lake (on the basis of Tischendorf³) as follows: Correctors.

Fourth century. \aleph^a . Various hands employed in the scriptorium, together with others of about the same time, all of whom probably worked in the locality where the codex was written. $\aleph^{a.1}$ and $\aleph^{a.2}$ are probably the same hand, and denote the diorthotes (Tischendorf's scribe D), who was likewise the writer of the substituted leaves, or cancel-leaves, referred to above (p. xlvi).

Fourth and fifth centuries. \aleph^b , $\aleph^{b.a}$, and possibly others. Locality unknown.

Fifth to seventh century. \aleph^c , together with $\aleph^{c.a}$, $\aleph^{c.b}$, and a number of others. The view that one set of these corrections was made in Caesarea has led Lake to connect the whole group with that place, but in the LXX prophets the standards followed by $\aleph^{c.a}$ and $\aleph^{c.b}$ are said to be opposed to each other. On the work of this group in the Old Testament see below, pp. xcix-c. From one or more of this group (designated merely as \aleph^c by Tischendorf) proceed many corrections in the New Testament, often such as to bring the manuscript into harmony with the Antiochian revised text. In Hermas, $\aleph^{c.a}$ introduced

¹ Thackeray, *Grammar*, vol. i. pp. 72, 86.

² See R. H. Charles, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John*, vol. i. pp. clx-clxxxiii, especially the tables on pp. clxiv and clxxxi.

³ Tischendorf's mature views on the several hands and correctors are most conveniently learned from his *Novum Testamentum graece ex Sinaitico codice*, Leipzig, 1865, pp. xxvi, xxx-xl, lxxxiii.

corrections from another copy of the book.¹ So also $\aleph^{c,c}$ in Barnabas.²

Eighth to twelfth century. \aleph^d \aleph^e . At least two unimportant correctors, who were perhaps monks on Mount Sinai. \aleph^d did not touch the New Testament.

In Acts corrections are found from \aleph^a and $\aleph^{c,a}$.

\aleph and B.

The text of \aleph , as has already been said, is much like that of B, and the two manuscripts in both Old and New Testaments largely represent in different examples the same general type, a type current in the fourth century in Egypt. Not only do they often agree (a circumstance which might merely indicate that both are often true representatives of the remote original), but they seem to rest on a common base, containing a definite selection of readings. This base was subjected to different treatment in the ancestors of the two manuscripts respectively, and has suffered deterioration in both. But it was in most books a good text; in the New Testament (apart from Revelation) it was an excellent one and \aleph and B rarely agree in detectable error. The one striking instance which Westcott and Hort thought to be a manifest blunder found in \aleph and B, and not due to coincidence (James i. 17), has in recent years received confirmation from a papyrus, and can be confidently accepted as giving the true reading of the author.³ But \aleph and B also show great differences in every part, and Hort's elaborate argument⁴ to prove that they are not descended from a common proximate ancestor is substantiated by later criticism. Apart from their text itself, the difference of origin of the two codices may be inferred from their difference in the contents and arrangement of the Old Testament, and in the order of books in the New Testament (in \aleph the Pauline

¹ O. von Gebhardt, in Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn, *Patrum apostolicorum opera*, iii., 1877, pp. vi f.

² *Ibid.* i. 2, 1875, p. xxxiii.

³ The difficulty disappears with the correct interpretation of the unaccented text; not *παραλλαγή ἢ τροπῆς ἀποσκιάσματος*, but *παραλλαγή ἢ τροπῆς ἀποσκιάσματος* (B \aleph Pap. Oxyrh. 1229). See J. H. Ropes, *Commentary on the Epistle of St. James*, 1916, pp. 162-164; Hort, 'Introduction,' pp. 217 f.

⁴ Hort, 'Introduction,' pp. 212-224.

epistles immediately follow the Gospels; in B they follow the Catholic epistles).

A. CODEX ALEXANDRINUS

Codex Alexandrinus seems to have borne that name from History. about the time of its arrival in England (1628);¹ it gained it, however, not from any certainty as to its place of origin, but only because it had lain in Alexandria while in the possession of the Patriarch Cyril Lucar, who presided over that see from 1602 to 1621, and by whom, while Patriarch of Constantinople, it was offered to King James I. in 1624–1625, and actually given to King Charles I. in 1627. A series of notes in the codex, two in Arabic, two in Latin, make the following statements: (1) An Arabic note of wholly uncertain date affirms that the manuscript was written by Thecla the martyr.² (2) A Latin note in the hand of Cyril Lucar himself says that current tradition declares the codex to have been written by Thecla, a noble lady of Egypt in the fourth century, whose name the tradition also declares to have stood formerly at the end of the book on a page torn away by the Mohammedans.³ (3) An Arabic note says that it belonged to the Patriarchal cell (*i.e.* residence) in Alexandria.⁴ This is signed by ‘Athanasius,’ who has commonly been identified with the Patriarch of Alexandria, Athanasius III. († *ca.* 1308),

¹ The name ‘Alexandrinus’ and the designation ‘A’ are used in Walton’s Polyglot, 1657.

² This Arabic note reads: “They relate that this book is in the handwriting of Thecla the martyr.”

³ “Liber iste script^{us} sacrae N. et V. Testam^{ti}, prout ex traditione habemus, est scriptus manu Theclae, nobilis feminae Aegyptiae, ante mille et trecentos annos circiter, paulo post concilium Nicenum. Nomen Theclae in fine libri erat exaratum, sed extincto Christianismo in Agypto a Mahometanis et libri una Christianorum in similem sunt reducti conditionem. Extinctum ergo et Theclae nomen et laceratum sed memoria et traditio recens observat. † Cyrillus Patriarcha Constantin.”

⁴ The note reads: “Bound to the patriarchal cell in the fortress of Alexandria. He that lets it go out shall be cursed and ruined. The humble Athanasius wrote (this).” A cross (of a shape found elsewhere as late as about 1600) is added at the right of this note. Both Arabic notes may well be by the same hand, according to Burkitt.

but may at least equally well have been some otherwise unknown librarian of Cyril Lucar, bearing the same distinguished name. (4) A Latin note on a fly-leaf, in a hand of the late seventeenth century, states that the codex was given to the Patriarchal cell in the year of the Martyrs 814 (A.D. 1098).¹ The source of this information (or conjecture) is not known.

It thus appears that the evidence from tradition for any Alexandrian connexion for Codex Alexandrinus cannot be traced with certainty farther back than Cyril Lucar.²

On the other hand, Wetstein (*Novum Testamentum Graecum*, vol. i., 1751, p. 10) quotes two letters of his great-uncle, J. R. Wetstein, dated January 14 and March 11, 1664, both stating on the authority of his Greek teacher, one Matthew Muttis of Cyprus, a deacon attached to Cyril Lucar, that Cyril procured the codex from Mount Athos, where he was in 1612-13. In that case it would be not unnatural to suppose it to have come from Constantinople.

Palaeographical and orthographical evidence has generally assigned A to Egypt,³ but it is doubtful whether our knowledge of the difference between the uncial hands of Alexandria and of Constantinople in the fifth or sixth century is sufficient to justify confident assertion here.⁴

The very mixed character of the text of A in both Old and New Testaments (see below, pages ci-ciii); its use in many

¹ "Donum datum cubiculo Patriarchali anno 814 Martyrum."

² F. C. Burkitt, 'Codex "Alexandrinus,"' *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. xi., 1909-10, pp. 603-606.

³ Thackeray, *Grammar*, vol. i. p. 72 (kinship to older Coptic hands), pp. 100-105 (interchange of consonants), p. 110; Kenyon, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the N.T.*, 2nd ed. p. 76, on the forms of Δ and Μ in a few instances in titles and colophons (but not in the text itself), but see Gardthausen, *Griechische Paläographie*, 2nd ed. pp. 248 ff., on the widespread use of the 'Coptic' Μ, also H. Curtius, in *Monatsbericht* of Berlin Academy, 1880, p. 646.

⁴ For palaeographical and historical discussion see the introductions to the facsimile editions, by E. Maunde Thompson (1881) and F. G. Kenyon (1909). G. Mercati, 'Un' oscura nota del codice Alessandro,' in *Mélanges offerts à M. Émile Châtelain*, Paris, 1910, shows that a note on fol. 142b (417b) together with the form of the table of contents make it plain that the codex originally consisted of two volumes, the second of which began with the Psalms.

parts of the Septuagint of a text distinctly different from, and sometimes, though not always, superior to, the special type of B and \aleph ; the presence in the Apocalypse of a text different from, and far superior to, that of \aleph ; the large amount of hexaplaric influence in the Old Testament, and of influence in both Testaments from the Antiochian recension (to which in the Psalter and the Gospels, though somewhat mixed, it is the oldest, or one of the two oldest, of extant Greek witnesses)—all these facts would probably be more easily accounted for if A could be referred to Constantinople rather than to Alexandria.

The date assigned to A is the first half, the middle, or the close of the fifth century; but no strong reason seems to be given why it could not have been written as late as the first half of the sixth century. Date.

Two hands are distinguished in A in the Old Testament, and three in the New, writing as follows: (1) Matthew, Mark, and the Pauline epistles from 1 Cor. x. 8 on; (2) Luke, John, Acts, the Catholic epistles, and Rom. i. 1-1 Cor. x. 8; (3) Apocalypse. The Clementine epistles were written by the same scribe who wrote the earlier historical and some other books of the Old Testament.¹ The codex has received various corrections; A¹ was probably the original scribe, A² perhaps a diorthotes of the scriptorium. In the New Testament "other corrections are very much fewer and less important."² Scribes.

Codex Alexandrinus is written with a fair standard of accuracy, as may be seen in Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah and 1 Esdras, where the proper names are usually given without monstrous distortion, and where ancient errors, which might easily have been corrected, have generally been allowed to stand.³ It contains in the New Testament relatively few readings peculiar Orthography.

¹ Kenyon, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the N.T.*, 2nd ed., 1912, p. 74; but cf. Traube, *Nomina sacra*, pp. 72 f.

² Kenyon, *op. cit.* p. 74; cf. Kenyon, Introduction to facsimile (1909), Swete, *Introduction to the O.T. in Greek*, p. 126, and especially Rahlfs, *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psaltern*, pp. 58 f.

³ Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, 1910, pp. 91-96.

to itself, and those which it does have are mostly unimportant.¹ Its orthography in the LXX is probably largely that of later copyists and not of the date of the autographs; even where ancient forms are found they are in many cases to be referred to literary correction; skilful conjectural emendations of the Greek are sometimes detected.²

The most striking characteristic of A among the chief uncials is its plainly heterogeneous composition, which has been referred to above (p. lii), and which marks both Testaments in ways partly different, partly parallel (see below, pp. ci-ciii). In the New Testament the Gospels show a mixture of the Antiochian revision with an earlier (chiefly 'Western'³) text, in which the former strongly predominates. Its ancestor here was probably a text of ancient type which was systematically, but not quite completely, corrected in conformity with the Antiochian type which later became current.⁴ In Acts and the Pauline epistles the 'Western' element is smaller; and in Acts, at least, correction from the Antiochian cannot be affirmed. For the

¹ Von Soden, *Schriften des N.T.*, vol. i. pp. 877, 1662-1664, 1928.

² Thackeray, *Grammar*, vol. i. pp. 65, 72, 98, note 3.

³ Hort, 'Introduction,' p. 152.

⁴ Von Soden, p. 877. Von Soden, pp. 878 f., 1662, gives some interesting instances where the reading of A seems to be due to the misunderstanding of corrections in the archetype, in which an Antiochian reading (as he thinks, of the type K^a) was intended to be substituted for an earlier one. For instance, Luke xi. 42 (I follow von Soden's notation) *Η παρειναι, Κ αφιναι, δ4* (i.e. Codex A) *παραφιναι*; xix. 23 *Η αν αυτο επραξα, ΚΚ^a αν επραξα αυτο, δ4 αν αυτο ανεπραξα*; xxiv. 53 *ΚΚ^a add αιουντες και after εν τω ιερω, δ4 αιουντες και instead of εν τω ιερω*; Acts iii. 18 *παθειν τον χριστον αυτου, Κ αυτου παθειν τον χριστον, δ4 omits παθειν τον χριστον*; and many others. The view of von Soden that an older text has been corrected by the Antiochian rather than *vice versa* receives strong support from some of the cases noted in the pages referred to, and is inherently more probable than Hort's idea (if he meant it in an historical and not merely a logical sense) of "a fundamentally Syrian text, mixed occasionally with pre-Syrian readings, chiefly Western" ('Introduction,' p. 152). Hort called attention to the striking agreement of A and the Latin Vulgate in some books. Von Soden, in his 'Erster Theil: Untersuchungen,' §§ 172-182, designated the Gospel text of A (together with about one hundred other codices) as K^a. Later in the same volume, §§ 235-237, in consequence, it would appear, of some alteration of judgment as to the significance of the older element in the text, he includes it under the 'I-form,' and in the text-volume the group appears as I^k.

Apocalypse, as in some parts of the Old Testament, it is the best of all extant manuscripts. The usefulness of A for the reconstruction of the text of the New Testament is considerably limited by the circumstances here mentioned.

C. CODEX EPHRAEMI

Of the earlier history of this codex before it came into the History. possession of Cardinal Ridolfi of Florence († 1550) nothing is known. It was broken up and the parchment rewritten with Greek tracts of Ephraem Syrus in the twelfth century, perhaps at Constantinople.¹ The manuscript is written carefully and accurately, by a different hand in the New Testament from that which appears in the Septuagint fragments; and possibly a third hand appears in Acts.² There seems to be no sufficient reason for any confident assertion that it is of Egyptian origin.

The chief ground adduced for ascribing C to the fifth century Date. is its resemblance in writing (and to some degree in text) to Codex Alexandrinus (see above, p. lii). It has been corrected by a hand C², assigned to a date perhaps one century later than the original, and again by a later hand, C³ or C^c, deemed to be not later than the ninth century.

The text of the Gospels in C is fundamentally of the type of Character of text. B and \aleph , but has probably been affected by the influence of the Antiochian revision, and contains some 'Western' readings. There are but few individual peculiarities. In the Pauline epistles the character of the text is the same, but with less influence from the Antiochian; and the same may be said of the text of Acts, as more fully discussed below, although in Acts von Soden estimates the Antiochian and 'Western' influences as about equal. In some cases in Acts the same Antiochian reading

¹ Tischendorf, *Codex Ephraemi Syri rescriptus sive fragmenta Novi Testamenti*, 1843, p. 16. Ceriani, *Rendiconti, Reale Istituto Lombardo*, Series II. vol. xxi., 1888, p. 547, expresses doubts as to the accuracy of Tischendorf's edition of C.

² Traube, *Nomina sacra*, pp. 70-73.

has been adopted by A and C, but the two manuscripts do not seem to be derived from any common mixed original.¹

D. CODEX BEZAE

History. Codex Bezae (graeco-latin²) was obtained by Théodore de Bèze, the French reformer of Geneva, from the monastery of St. Irenaeus at Lyons, where it was found during the civil commotions of 1562, doubtless at the sack of the city by Huguenot troops in that year.³ A few years earlier it had been taken to the Council of Trent by William à Prato (Guillaume du Prat), Bishop of Clermont in Auvergne, and used there in 1546 as evidence for several unique or unusual Greek readings relating to matters under debate by the members of the council.⁴ While it was in Italy a friend communicated many

¹ Von Soden, pp. 935-943, 1659-1662, 1928.

² Codex Bezae appears to be the oldest known graeco-latin ms. of any part of the New Testament. Other early graeco-latin codices are the Verona Psalter (R, sixth cent.), Codex Claromontanus (D^{Paul}, fifth or sixth cent.), Codex Laudianus (E^{ac}, sixth cent.); many graeco-latin Psalters and New Testament mss. were written in the ninth and following centuries until the invention of printing. See E. von Dobschütz, *Eberhard Nestle's Einführung in das griechische Neue Testament*, 4th ed., 1923, pp. 58 f.

³ For Beza's letter of gift to the University of Cambridge, containing his statements as to the source from which he acquired it, see Scrivener, *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis*, 1864, p. vi. In the annotations to Beza's edition of the New Testament, 1598 (notes on Luke xix. 26; Acts xx. 3), the editor refers to the codex as 'Claromontanus.' This may be due to some knowledge on his part, not now to be recovered, or perhaps to a mere confusion between the Lyons ms. and the similar, but Pauline, Codex Claromontanus (D^{Paul}), then at Beauvais, the readings of which he had been able to adduce as early as his second (third) edition, 1582. Beza was not aware that the ms. from which the readings designated β¹ in Stephen's apparatus were drawn was the same as his codex; J. R. Harris, *Codex Bezae: A Study of the So-called Western Text of the New Testament* (Texts and Studies, ii.), 1891, pp. 3-6.

⁴ Our knowledge here comes from the statements of Marianus Victorius, Bishop of Amelia and later of Rieti († 1572), in the notes to his edition of the works of St. Jerome, first published at Rome, 1566. They are as follows:

(1) Note on *Adv. Jovinianum*, i. 14, with reference to John xxi. 22 (*οὐτως*), Antwerp ed., 1578, p. 570, col. 1; Paris ed., 1609, p. 509 F; Cologne ed., 1616, vol. iii., Scholia, p. 33, note 32: *sicut habet antiquissimus quidam Graecus codex, quem Tridentum attulit Claramontanensis episcopus anno domini 1549* [so Cologne ed.; apparently mistake for 1546].

(2) Note on *Adv. Jov.* i. 18, with reference to Matt. i. 23 (*καλεσεις*); Cologne

readings of D to Robert Stephen, the Paris printer and editor, and they were included (to the number of over 350, with some inaccuracies) in the apparatus to his first folio edition of 1550.¹ The Bishop of Clermont evidently returned the manuscript to its owners at Lyons. In 1581 Beza presented it to the University of Cambridge, as he says, ‘*asservandum potius quam publicandum.*’²

Codex Bezae has commonly been assigned to the sixth century, Data. but there seems no good reason for refusing it a place in the preceding one,³ and a date even at the beginning of the fifth

ed., 1616, vol. iii., Scholia p. 34, note 40: *et ita etiam scriptus est in antiquissimo codice Lugdunensi.*

(3) Note on *Epist.* 146, *ad Damasum*, with reference to Matt. ix. 13 (*εις μετρωσιαν*); Cologne ed., 1616, vol. iii., Scholia, p. 89, note 4: *desunt [haec verba] etiam apud Graecum codicem Vaticanum qui scriptus est iam sunt anni mille et ultra, et apud alterum antiquissimum librum Graecum Claremontensem.*

The first of these notes has been well known since the seventeenth century; the other two were noticed by H. Quentin, ‘Note additionnelle’ to ‘Le Codex Bezae à Lyon au IX^e siècle?’ (*Revue Bénédictine*, vol. xxiii., 1906, pp. 24 f.). As Quentin observes, all doubt as to the accuracy of Beza’s statement about Lyons is removed by the second of these notes. See also J. R. Harris, *Codex Bezae*, pp. 36-39. It was natural that Marianus Victorius, who was present at the council, should have described a codex brought from Lyons by the Bishop of Clermont, now as ‘Lugdunensis’ now as ‘Claremontensis’; his variation throws no light on Beza’s above-mentioned references to its readings as from a ‘Claromontanus.’

¹ For the evidence that the authority designated β¹ in Stephen’s ‘editio regia,’ 1550, was actually our Codex Bezae see Scrivener, *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis*, pp. ix-x. Stephen’s statement in his ‘Epistle to the Reader’ is τὸ δὲ β¹ ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀντιβληθὲν φίλων. The identification with D was made as early as Wetstein.

² Since the arrival of the codex at Cambridge, it has suffered at least twice by mutilations of the bottom of folio 504, succeeding an earlier cut or tear which may have taken place before 1581. The missing text, however, both Greek and Latin, can be securely reconstructed, mainly from early collations; see below, pp. 202-5, and J. H. Ropes, ‘The Reconstruction of the Torn Leaf of Codex Bezae,’ *Harvard Theological Review*, vol. xvi., 1923, pp. 162-168. It may be fitting here to call attention to F. Blass, ‘Zu Codex D in der Apostelgeschichte,’ *Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, vol. lxxi., 1898, pp. 539-542, where will be found some corrections of Scrivener’s edition of the manuscript in *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis*, 1864, in difficult places which Blass personally examined.

³ F. C. Burkitt, ‘The Date of Codex Bezae,’ *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. iii., 1901-2, pp. 501-513, partly in reply to Scrivener, who had presented as the chief argument against the fifth century “the debased dialect of the Latin version”—surely an unconvincing reason.

century has been urged.¹ Palaeography, whether Latin or Greek, has so far given little aid toward a definite solution of the problem of its date and origin.² Various characteristics, such as the ornamentation, subscriptions, titles, the numbering of the quires, and the form of the letters betray the training of the scribe in Latin methods,³ and the presence, by inadvertence, of occasional Greek words and letters on the Latin side is no proof to the contrary.⁴ It cannot be maintained that the codex originated in a centre of strictly Greek writing, where Latin was a wholly foreign language. On the other hand, it certainly did not

¹ J. Chapman, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, vol. vi., 1905, pp. 345 f.

² The writing of Codex Bezae shows marked resemblances to that of Codex Claromontanus of Paul, but the hand of Codex Bezae is less skilful and regular. The many points of contact of the two mss. make it hard to believe that they are not to be associated in origin. The peculiar Latin text of the Pauline epistles in Codex Claromontanus is practically the same as that of Lucifer of Cagliari, a fact which has led Souter to suggest that Codex Claromontanus (and consequently also Codex Bezae) was written in Sardinia; see A. Souter, 'The Original Home of Codex Claromontanus (D^{paul}),' *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. vi., 1904-5, pp. 240-243. The remarkable list (Canon Claromontanus) of the books of the Old and New Testaments which in D^{paul} follows the thirteen Pauline epistles, as if the exemplar had lacked Hebrews, must be taken into account in any theory of the origin of both Codex Bezae and Codex Claromontanus.

³ G. Mercati, 'On the Non-Greek Origin of the Codex Bezae,' *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. xv., 1913-14, pp. 448-451. This article was in reply to E. A. Lowe, *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. xiv., 1912-13, pp. 385-388, who had urged that the Latin uncials employed in D are of a grecizing type, used in Egypt, Asia Minor, Greece, and North Africa, and such as would probably have been used in Latin law-books written in Byzantium, and further that sundry Greek practices are exhibited by the manuscript, so that all these facts together would suggest an origin in a non-italian centre. But in a later article, 'The Codex Bezae and Lyons,' *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. xxv., 1924, pp. 270-274, Lowe admits the conclusive force of Mercati's rejoinder, and withdraws his theory.

⁴ Against the suggestion of South Italy, Kenyon, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the N.T.*, 2nd ed. p. 92, remarks, "The chief objection to this theory is that Greek was so well known in that region that we should have expected the Greek part of the ms. to be better written than it is. In point of fact, the Greek has the appearance of having been written by a scribe whose native language was Latin; and some of the mistakes which he makes (e.g. writing *l* for λ or *c* for κ) point in the same direction. We want a locality where Latin was the prevalent tongue, but Greek was still in use for ecclesiastical purposes, for the liturgical notes are all on the Greek side."

proceed from any centre of the trained Latin calligraphy of the period.

Of the earlier history of the codex the work of the successive correctors and annotators has left a partial record—if we could only interpret correctly the lessons to be drawn! Some twenty successive hands can be distinguished, but their approximate dates are disputed, with a tendency on the part of palaeographical experts to assign them to more and more early periods.¹ No one of the correctors was probably the regular diorthotes of the manuscript. Nearly all were much more interested in the Greek text, and touched the Latin pages but little; but one corrector (G, assigned to the seventh century, or even to about the same time as the original scribe²) concerned himself mainly with the Latin. The annotators include more than half of the improving hands; in two cases the same hand undertook both kinds of addition. The Greek annotators were formerly thought to have begun with the ninth century, but recently have all been assigned to the period before 800.³ Their work includes the marginal indication of lessons both in the Gospels and in Acts, drawn from the usual Byzantine system,⁴ with modifications by other correctors; titloi in Matthew, Luke, and John, in a form somewhat divergent from that commonly found;⁵ the numbers of the

Correctors
and anno-
tators.

¹ On the correctors and annotators see Scrivener, *op. cit.*, 1864, pp. xx, xxiv-xxix; F. E. Brightman, 'On the Italian Origin of Codex Bezae. The Marginal Notes of Lections,' in *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. I., 1899-1900, pp. 446-454; F. G. Kenyon, *ibid.* pp. 293-299; J. R. Harris, *The Annotators of the Codex Bezae (with some Notes on Sortes Sanctorum)*, 1901; F. C. Burkitt, 'The Date of Codex Bezae,' *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. III., 1901-2, pp. 501-513; E. A. Lowe, 'The Codex Bezae,' *ibid.* vol. XIV., 1912-13, pp. 385-388. It is surprising that the perfect accessibility of the codex, now available also in facsimile, the valuable foundation laid by Scrivener sixty years since, and the highly stimulating inquiries of Harris more than twenty years ago should not yet have led to the production of an adequate account of the facts as to these matters.

² E. A. Lowe, *l.c.* p. 387. So also F. C. Burkitt, *l.c.* pp. 511 f., who suggests that "G is the handwriting of the Bishop of the church for which Codex Bezae was originally prepared," and that the corrections were made before the manuscript was considered to be issued for use.

³ So A. S. Hunt, as quoted by Lowe, *l.c.* p. 388.

⁴ Brightman, *l.c.*

⁵ Harris, *Annotators of the Codex Bezae*, p. 41.

Ammonian sections ; and in the margin of the Gospel of Mark, by a hand formerly assigned to the tenth century, but perhaps earlier, a set of seventy-one 'sortes sanctorum,' or soothsaying sentences in Greek. These last are closely like the more complete Latin series in the (Vulgate and Old Latin) Codex Sangermanensis (G) of the eighth or ninth century, probably written in the neighbourhood of Lyons.

No one of the annotators appears to have been a scholar.¹ The holy days for which lessons are marked include the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, and the feasts of St. George and St. Dionysius the Areopagite, all of these by relatively late annotators.²

In the eighth or early ninth century³ a single Latin scribe supplied the missing portions of both the Greek and Latin text of the Gospels, adding to the codex leaves of which nine are still extant. His Latin text was derived from the Vulgate.⁴

Use by
Ado.

One other highly instructive piece of possible evidence as to the history of the codex before the sixteenth century remains to be mentioned, and is due to the critical acumen and the learning of H. Quentin.⁵ It is drawn from the Martyrology of Ado of Lyons (later Bishop of Vienne), written in 850-860. In his summary accounts of the several martyrs Ado both makes allusions to the New Testament and draws quotations from it in abundance. These are ordinarily taken from the Old Latin

¹ Harris, *Annotators*, p. 75.

² *Ibid.* p. 105.

³ Lowe, *l.c.* p. 388. Lowe describes the Greek of this hand as Western 'imitation uncials.' Scrivener, p. xxi, had assigned the supplementary leaves to the hand "of a Latin of about the tenth century." Harris, *Annotators*, pp. 106-109, observes that the hand is not Calabrian, and argues that it is that of a scribe unacquainted with spoken Greek.

⁴ A parallel to the succession first of Greek and then of Latin annotators and correctors of Codex Bezae may be seen in Codex Marchalianus (Q) of the LXX, where the Greek correctors end in the ninth century, and later corrections are Latin (see above, p. xxxiii note 2).

⁵ 'Le Codex Bezae à Lyon au IX^e siècle ?' in *Revue Bénédictine*, vol. xxxiii., 1906, pp. 1-23. On Lyons in the ninth century, see S. Tafel, 'The Lyons Scriptorium,' in *Palaeographia Latina*, edited by W. M. Lindsay, Part II., London, 1923, p. 68.

fourth-century recension known to us from Codex Gigas and other sources, which was evidently the most widely used form of the Latin translation in the period just before the introduction of the Vulgate, and continued to be employed in various parts of the West for centuries after that date. But in seven instances he departs from the recension of gigas. Three of these ¹ are cases where the gigas-recension lacked the reading, and in all of these unique or extremely rare readings Codex Bezae is a source from which the reading of Ado could be drawn. In one of the three the Greek of D is the only possible source known to us; in the second the only other Latin witness is the African text of h, which Ado is hardly likely to have known; in the third the only other Latin is the mysterious margin of the Bible de Rosas. In three other cases ² Ado has twice combined renderings from the gigas-recension and the Vulgate with a third rendering found only in d, while for the third, and similar, case of this group he has taken one rendering from the gigas-recension and combined with it another found in both the Vulgate and d. In the seventh passage ³

¹ (1) Acts xi. 28 *conversantibus autem nobis* (no Latin evidence) for *συνεστραμμενων δε ημων* D, apparently a direct translation, skilful, very apt, and not naturally suggested by the parallel Latin rendering (*congregatis*) otherwise known to us; d has the erroneous rendering *revertentibus autem nobis*.

(2) Acts xviii. 2 *in Achaiam*, d h only among Latin mss.; so D hcl.mg.

(3) Acts xix. 1 *cum vellet ire Hierosolimam, dixit ei spiritus sanctus ut reverteretur in Asiam*, only d and second hand in margin of Bible de Rosas (eastern Spain, tenth cent.), with slight variations in both; so D hcl.mg. It will be observed that in Acts xviii. 2 the addition, omitted in the gigas-recension, is African (codex h), and the same origin may be assumed for a reading of the Bible de Rosas.

² (1) Acts vi. 9, for *συνζητούντες*, *disputantibus* (vg e t p^{ms}) *et conquirentibus* (gig g₂ p) *atque altercantibus* (d only).

(2) Acts xviii. 3, for *δια το ομοτεχνον ειναι* (D *δια το ομοτεχνον* without *ειναι*), *propter artificium* (d only, incomplete to correspond with the number of words in D) *erant enim ejusdem artis* (gig vg *quia ejusdem erat artis*), *id est scenophegiae* (vg *erat autem scenofactoriae artis*; so e, with variations). The strange error *scenophegiae* is an obvious reminiscence of John vii. 2.

(3) Acts vi. 12, for *συνεκηνησαν*, *concitato* (cf. gig g₂ h) *populo ac senioribus scribisque adversus eum commotis* (cf. vg e p t; d).

³ Acts vi. 9 *qui erant* (d only) *de synagoga quae dicitur Libertinorum. Qui erant*, to which nothing corresponds in any known Latin text, is the characteristically exact rendering in d of *των (εκ της συναγωγης)* found in D and nearly all Greek mss. (except N). For *quae dicitur* (d h p; *της λεγομενης* D B C

Ado's text gives the exact reading of d. He seems to have brought it in in part (*quae dicitur*) in order to make the language conform to the usual Greek text, but in effecting this has not followed the Vulgate rendering, though equally available for the purpose. Another phrase (*qui erant*) common to d and Ado is unique in d among Latin texts, and may well be one of the cases where the Latin of Codex Bezae (possibly without any predecessor) has been brought into agreement with the Greek opposite page.

The inference drawn from these intricate facts is that the text of Codex Bezae has influenced the language of Ado's Martyrology. Quentin finds reason to think that an intermediate stage was a copy of the gigas-recension, which Ado used, equipped with marginal notes drawn from Codex Bezae. And he attributes the learning and critical interest here displayed not primarily to Ado, but to Florus, Bishop of Lyons († ca. 860), of whom it is known that he cherished these interests and that he had correspondents, also interested in the text of the Bible, in Italy. A further, and natural, step is the suggestion that to the instigation of Florus may be due the coming of Codex Bezae to Lyons. That event naturally brought to an end the long line of Greek correctors and annotators of the codex, of which it is now held (see above, p. lix, note 3) that all were, or may have been, earlier than Florus, although formerly scholars ascribed some of them to later centuries.

The subtle and carefully considered theory thus put forward by Quentin may well be correct, provided the dates of the Greek correctors do not stand in the way.¹

Antiochian, the Vulgate (with e t) has *quae appellatur* (*appellabatur*); while the gigas-recension (gig g₂), alone among Latin texts, has *qui dicuntur* (for *ῥωμ λεγομενων* NA minn). Ado has here deserted the gigas-recension, not for the Vulgate, but to adopt a reading conforming to the Greek text with the singular, and he has used for this purpose the Latin form found in d (and in h p, to neither of which does Ado's text show specific kinship).

¹ E. A. Lowe, 'The Codex Bezae and Lyons,' *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. xxv., 1924, pp. 270-274, accepts as convincing Quentin's arguments, and adds striking confirmation from two observations: (1) Blue ink occurs in the colophon to the added pages of Mark in Codex Bezae (ninth century). The use of this ink in Latin mss. has been observed elsewhere only in a ninth-

From the whole body of facts here summarized it is a fair inference that at an early time, certainly as early as the seventh century, and for a long period, the codex lay in a place or places where Greek was both the ecclesiastical language and was also (for long, at least) understood and used by the people, but where Latin was also familiarly known to a greater or less extent, a place that is, which was distinctly "not a Latin centre where Greek was merely read and written."¹ Where such a place is to be sought will be considered presently. Soon after the beginning of the ninth century the ms. lay in a strictly Latin environment.

On the question of where Codex Bezae was written the character of its Latin pages, and of their dialectal and vulgar peculiarities, whether as respects pervading linguistic traits or isolated phenomena, has hitherto thrown no light. Since it was found at Lyons in the sixteenth century, the suggestion has often been made that it was written and had always remained in the south of France, where in the second century the Christians of Lyons and certain other towns of the Rhone valley were Greeks. But this Greek life continued for only a limited period, and it is wholly improbable that Greek was the common language of this population or of these churches in the fifth, still less in the sixth, century. In Gaul of that period Greek was the cultivated art of the few.² Moreover, the place of origin of the codex would naturally bear a close relation to the scene of work of the early correctors and annotators of the seventh and eighth centuries, who clearly belong in Greek surroundings, to be found nowhere

Theory of
origin in
France.

century Lyons ms. (Lugd. 484), which is perhaps in Florus's own hand, and in one other ms., probably written at Luxeuil. (2) A peculiar interrogation mark, found in these added pages, is found also (and hitherto only) in five mss., all of the ninth century, and all perhaps written or annotated by Florus himself. See also E. A. Lowe, *Codices lugdunenses antiquissimi*, Lyons, 1924.

¹ Harris, *Annotators*, p. 75.

² On the very limited amount of Greek ecclesiastical life in Gaul see Brightman, *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. I., 1899-1900, pp. 451-454; C. P. Caspari, *Ungedruckte, unbeachtete und wenig beachtete Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel*, iii., Christiania, 1875, pp. 228-231.

in Gaul. The ninth-century revival of letters in Lyons, under Bishop Agobard (814–840) and his successors of the days of Florus and Ado, would explain the addition by an undoubtedly Latin hand of the supplementary pages already referred to, but the predecessors of these men in the two preceding centuries were far removed from the attainments, capacity, and interests of the earlier annotators of the codex. And fatal to the whole theory of Southern France is the insertion of the Byzantine lesson-system, which was not used in Gaul.¹

South
Italy.

The other suggestion most often made is that Codex Bezae was written in South Italy, which in ancient times, as Magna Graecia, had been a recognized part of the Greek world. Here, it is true, in Reggio and the district nearest to Sicily, Greek seems to have been dominant at the beginning of the eighth century; and in that and the following centuries Greek customs and the use of the Greek language made steady progress in all Calabria, in consequence of the incoming of immigrants—religious and secular—from Sicily and from the East. But in fact the origin of the codex in the fifth or sixth century, and its earliest use, fall in the intervening time between the ancient and the mediaeval Greek periods of Southern Italy.

Hellenism
in South
Italy.

At the end of the fifth century what Greek civilization and ecclesiastical life had survived there from a happier period disappeared, largely in consequence of the barbarian invasions. Even the remotest part of Bruttium, close to Sicily, seems to have become Latin in institutions and language, save for the cosmopolitan meeting-place of Reggio. In the middle of the sixth century the implications and explicit statements of Procopius, and at the end of that century the letters of Gregory the Great, make clear the same state of things in spite of the reconquest of Italy under Justinian, and it is likewise revealed by the evidence of the South Italian inscriptions of the fifth and sixth centuries. Cassiodorus himself († 562), with his native Calabrian aristocratic origin, and as well the Latin monastery

¹ F. E. Brightman, *op. cit.* pp. 446-454.

which he founded, are characteristic for his time. The Roman ecclesiastical system and Latin monasteries seem to have supplied substantially all there was of higher intellectual and moral forces.

The second hellenization of Southern Italy, which issued in the flourishing Greek civilization of the eleventh century, was due to a variety of causes. In the seventh century the advancing victories in Syria and Egypt, first of the Persians, then of the Mohammedans, led to the migration of oriental Christians to Italy and still more to Sicily. Toward the end of that century, and increasingly thereafter, measures were taken by Byzantium to consolidate its power in Southern Italy and to defend Sicily against Mohammedan invaders from Africa, and these steps must have caused a growth of the Greek population of Southern Italy, as they certainly enlarged the channels of Greek influence, both ecclesiastical and secular. In the eighth century Greek clergy and monks fleeing from the persecuting rigor of the imperial iconoclastic policy may have come in considerable numbers to Italy, where they were able to find a friendly theological environment; while at the same time the administrative connexion of these South Italian dioceses with Constantinople was knit closer. In the early ninth century, when the Saracens conquered most of Sicily (taking Palermo in 831), many Sicilians fled to Italy, and Greek Sicilian monks began to wander through the wilderness and to be seen in the towns of Calabria. Before the middle of the tenth century St. Nilus appears, Greek monasteries are numerous, and the copying of Greek manuscripts is common. With the Norman rule great monastic centres of Greek intellectual life were constructed, and prospered, until, two centuries later, they shared in the general decay of civilization consequent upon the overthrow of the Normans, and at last fell into the wretched state in which the humanistic ecclesiastics of the fifteenth century found them. Fortunately these houses still had Greek books, many of which were brought at different periods to securer centres and incorporated in the great collections to which modern scholars resort.

In considering the origin of Codex Bezae this sketch of the progressive re-hellenization of Southern Italy from the seventh century on is necessary, because the abundant Greek life of Calabria in later ages is often assumed to have been present in the earlier period in which the codex was written and in which it had its home in a community using Greek as well as Latin. While, under the limitations of our knowledge, there is a bare possibility that in the fifth or sixth century some place existed in Southern Italy where it could have been written, nevertheless, no such place is known, and the general conditions which we do know make such an origin unlikely. This unlikelihood is raised to a very strong improbability by the difficulty of supposing that, even if the codex was written in South Italy, any locality there in the sixth or seventh century (and with some restrictions conditions were similar for a great part of the eighth) would have provided the background of church life implied by the extraordinarily numerous correctors and annotators.¹ South Italy certainly does not seem to offer a probable birthplace and still less a probable early home for this codex.²

¹ The suggestion that the writing of the annotator M resembles a Ravenna hand of the year 756 (Burkitt, *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. III., 1901-2, p. 505 note) rests on a confusion. The hand in question (shown in E. M. Thompson, *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography*, p. 144; *Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography*, pp. 26, 184) is, in fact, from the imperial chancery in Constantinople. The document is part of the original of a letter from the emperor to a French king, probably from Michael II. or Theophilus to Louis the Débonnaire, and brought by one of the embassies known to have been sent in the period 824-839; see H. Omont, *Revue Archéologique*, vol. XIX., 1892, pp. 384-393, with facsimile.

² The disappearance of the ancient hellenism of Magna Graecia and the fact that the mediaeval Greek civilization of Calabria was due to a fresh rehellenization several centuries later was brought out in the 'Ἰταλοελληνικά of Spyridion Zampelios (Athens, 1864), and emphatically presented by F. Lenormant in *La Grande-Grèce*, 1881, vol. i. p. vii; vol. ii. pp. 371-382, 395. An illuminating sketch of the history is given by P. Batifol, *L'Abbaye de Rossano*, 1891, pp. i-xxxix. See also Jules Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantin*, 1904, pp. 5-24, 184-200, 254-286, 350-365, 376-386; Charles Diehl, *Études sur l'administration byzantine dans l'exarchat de Ravenne (563-751)*, 1888, pp. 241-288; K. Lake, 'The Greek Monasteries in Southern Italy,' in *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. IV., 1902-3, pp. 345 ff., 517 ff.; v., 1903-4, pp. 22 ff., 189 ff.

On the other hand, what is known of Sicily corresponds very well with the requirements for Codex Bezae. Greek was the language of Sicily under the Roman emperors, and never succumbed to the Latin influences which Roman rule brought in. In Sicily, unlike Magna Graecia, the landowners were a Roman aristocracy residing in a country with which they did not fully identify themselves. Latin was the official language, but the mass of the people, although affected by Latin culture, continued to speak Greek. At the end of the sixth century, under Gregory the Great, the clergy were largely Latin, but included Greeks, and from the beginning of the seventh century Greek language and culture made rapid progress among the Sicilian clergy, and there were strong personal relations with the churches of the Orient. By the middle of the century Greek was preponderant, and in the eighth century the clergy were firmly attached to the Eastern Church. By this time the same had become true of Calabria. During these centuries there seems to have been a steady influx of Greeks, especially in consequence of Persian and Saracen attacks on various centres of Christian life in the Greek world. In the early years of the ninth century came acute and persistent disturbance from Arab invasion.¹

Probable
origin in
Sicily.

All this would well account for the origin of Codex Bezae and for its use for centuries in a locality or localities where the Greek language and Greek customs were continuously in vogue, but where Latin was also known. The disturbed condition of the country early in the ninth century would likewise explain the acquisition of the manuscript by scholars of Lyons at about that date.

Nothing, indeed, forbids the suggestion that emigrants or refugees from Sicily carried Codex Bezae with them to Calabria

¹ On the history of conditions in Sicily and the relation of Sicily to Calabria, see, besides the works of Batiffol, Gay, and Lake, mentioned in the preceding note, Adolf Holm, *Geschichte Siciliens im Altertum*, vol. iii., 1898, Buch ix. pp. 220-337; Josef Führer, *Forschungen zur Sicilia sotteranea* (Abhandlungen, Munich Academy, vol. xx.), 1897. On early monastic life in Sicily see D. G. Lancia di Brolo, *Storia della Chiesa in Sicilia nei dieci primi secoli del cristianesimo*, vol. i., Palermo, 1880, chapter xx.

in the eighth century, but no fact as yet known requires this assumption.

It thus seems likely that Sicily was the place of origin of Codex Bezae and of its mate Codex Claromontanus (D^{paul}), and that the correctors and annotators of the earlier period, who were chiefly concerned with the Greek pages, were Sicilians. Yet some of these latter may, for aught we know to the contrary, have been Calabrians. Somewhere about the year 800 the codex was probably sent to Lyons. Its history, partly conjectural, partly known, presents a remarkable parallel to that of the Codex Laudianus, written in Sardinia in the sixth or seventh century, brought (by way doubtless of Italy) to England in the seventh, to be used in the eighth by the Venerable Bede, and finally destined, like Codex Bezae, to pass into the hands of modern scholars in consequence of the looting of a monastery by Protestant soldiers in a war of religion.

Contents.

But we must turn from the history of Codex Bezae to its internal character. The four Gospels stand in the order, Matthew, John, Luke, Mark. This is the order of many Old Latin mss., and is often called 'Western,' but it is also followed in W (Egyptian), X, the Apostolic Constitutions, and other Greek witnesses, and does not imply anything as to the place of origin of D.¹ Between the Gospels and Acts three leaves and eight quires are missing, to judge by the numbering of the quires. Since all quires contain eight leaves (except one which has six), the lost leaves must have numbered sixty-seven, of which perhaps the whole of one was filled by the close of the Gospel of Mark. The remaining sixty-six included at least some of the Catholic Epistles, for one page containing the closing verses of 3 John still immediately precedes the first page of Acts. Even all the seven Catholic Epistles, however, would not suffice to fill sixty-six

¹ J. Chapman, *Zeitschrift für die neuest. Wissenschaft*, vol. vi., 1905, pp. 339-346, argues from various indications that the order of the Gospels in the parent ms. of D was Matthew, Mark, John, Luke, as in Mommsen's Canon and the Curetonian Syriac. This he holds to have been the original 'Western' order, for which is substituted in Codex Bezae the characteristic Latin order.

leaves, and what these pages contained has been the subject of much conjecture. The space would about suffice for the Apocalypse and the three Epistles of John.¹ Such a *corpus johanneum* would account for the unusual position of the Epistles of John, at the end of the collection of Catholic Epistles, which is, however, found in Codex 326, in the Muratorian fragment, and in Rufinus, and perhaps was the order of the Old Latin translation of Cassiodorus. The arrangement by which the Catholic Epistles preceded Acts is that of the Egyptian translations, and seems to have been not uncommon in the Latin world.

The codex seems to be the work of one scribe, and the Greek and Latin pages have a general aspect of deceptive similarity to one another.² It is badly written. On the Greek side the scribe is guilty of many obvious blunders and misspellings on nearly every page. Such are, for instance, Matt. vi. 7 *βλαττολογησεται*, Mark xii. 17 *εθαυμαζοντο*, Luke xii. 35 *λυχλοι* for *λυχνοι*, xxiii. 26 *οπεισοθεν*, John i. 3 *ενεγετο*, xvii. 25 *ο κοσμος τουτος* (for *ουτος*, itself probably due to imitation of the Latin rendering of *ο κοσμος* by *mundus hic*), Acts i. 4 *συναλισκομενος*, iii. 10 *εκτασεως* for *εκστασεως*, viii. 5 *καλεθων* for *κατελθων*, and many others. Many of these can be seen in the plain and troublesome errors which have been excluded from the text as printed in the present volume, but are given in the lines immediately below the text. In innumerable instances the endings are wrong, so that nonsense results, or, for instance, a pronoun does not agree in gender with the noun to which it refers. This is sometimes due to thoughtless assimilation to the ending of a neighbouring word (for instance, Matt. iv. 18 *βαλλοντας αμφιβληστρος*, Acts i. 3 *οπτανομενοις αυτοις*), sometimes it may be attributed

¹ F. C. Burkitt, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, 1903, col. 4997; J. Chapman, 'The Original Contents of Codex Bezae,' *Expositor*, 6th series, vol. xii., 1905, pp. 46-53.

² The Latin page has at first glance a likeness to Greek writing somewhat like that which is found in a page of ancient Coptic, and rather greater than that of modern Russian. But see the articles of Lowe and Mercati referred to above. Such resemblance of the two sides in a graeco-latin ms. is not without parallels; the Coislin Psalter of the seventh century (Paris, Bibl. nat., coisl. 186) is an example.

to the influence of the corresponding Latin word (thus, Acts xviii. 2 κλαυδιος for κλαυδιον, cf. d *Claudius*). It has been suggested that many of these errors may be due to some stage in the ancestry of the codex in which a copy was made from a papyrus text with easily misunderstood abbreviations for terminations (τ' for την, etc.).¹ Nothing forbids this suggestion, but it likewise implies an ignorant, if not a careless, scribe, and many mistakes thus made ought subsequently to have been corrected by any competent later copyist. Mistakes in gender, as Matt. iv. 16 φως μεγαν, Luke ix. 1 πασαν δαιμονιον, are not infrequent, especially in pronouns. Semitic proper names receive strange forms. Good examples of some of these classes of error occur in Acts iii. 26, where D reads ευλογουντας for ευλογουντα, τ αποστρεφειν for τω αποστρεφειν, εκαστος for εκαστον; xiv. 20, κυκλωσαντες for κυκλωσαντων, αυτου for αυτον, την επαυριον for τη επαυριον. Blunders such as these sometimes give the impression of a writer who understood Greek imperfectly, and some of them suggest that the *look* of a Greek word did not infallibly present to him a combination of sounds with which he was familiar.² Nevertheless his ignorance of Latin is also extraordinary.

In view of this character of the codex the frequent departure which it shows from other manuscripts in the omission, or (what is more common) the addition, of the Greek article will in many cases have to be attributed to eccentricity, not to a sound or ancient tradition.

¹ Kenyon, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the N.T.*, 2nd ed., pp. 96 f.

² The most complete account of these blunders (and the other peculiarities) of D will be found in von Soden, *Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, pp. 1305-1340, 1720-1727, 1814-1836. But even in the paragraphs devoted to 'unintentional errors' von Soden has too little distinguished between actual errors and what may be called antiquated irregularities, such as would have been deemed tolerable, or even respectable, in a manuscript of the third or fourth century, before the reforming efforts of the grammarians had come to dominate the copying of books. Singularities of this latter type should be treated separately; they may well have been derived from an exemplar of a remote antiquity, several stages back, and so testify only to the fidelity, not to the debased condition, of the copy which we have.

Besides these disfiguring blunders, the usual confusions of vowels and consonants, due to itacism and the like, occur in abundance, as well as the miscellaneous omissions and errors to which scribal frailty is prone; and the well-known grammatical peculiarities of the older codices, especially in the forms of verbs, are constantly encountered. Peculiar, or antiquated, spellings, such as Matt. ii. 11 $\xi\mu\rho\rho\nu\nu\nu$ for $\sigma\mu\rho\rho\nu\nu\nu$; xii. 20, xxv. 8 $\zeta\beta\epsilon\nu\nu\mu\iota$ for $\sigma\beta\epsilon\nu\nu\mu\iota$; Luke xiii. 34 $\sigma\rho\nu\iota\xi$ for $\sigma\rho\nu\iota\varsigma$, frequently attract the attention of the reader. All these singularities are found in greater abundance than in perhaps any other New Testament manuscript.¹

Harmonization of parallel passages as between the several Gospels, and in the parts of Acts which strongly resemble one another, are numerous, and often do not agree with the similar harmonizations of the Antiochian text.² Omissions, by homoeoteleuton and otherwise, are relatively abundant, much more so in the Gospels than in the Acts. A considerable group of these omissions consists of the evident omission of whole lines, for instance Acts ii. 31, where $\pi\rho\iota\delta\omega\nu \epsilon\lambda\alpha\lambda\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu \pi\epsilon\rho\iota \tau\eta\varsigma$ has fallen out in both D and d; more complicated cases are Luke viii. 41, Acts v. 29. In some instances the misplacement or omission of

¹ For classified lists of these see Scrivener, *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis*, pp. xlvi-xlviii. An adequate linguistic investigation of Codex Bezae (or indeed of the other oldest New Testament manuscripts) seems never to have been attempted. G. Rudberg, *Neutestamentlicher Text und Nomina Sacra*, Upsala, 1915, has a valuable discussion of the errors and confusions of spelling in D, and is led to emphasize the conservative character of the copying. On the peculiar variation in spelling, $\omega\alpha\nu\eta\varsigma$ almost always in Matt., Mark, John i.-v. 33, but $\omega\alpha\nu\eta\varsigma$ (with negligible exceptions) in Luke, Acts, see von Soden, pp. 2100 f.; J. Chapman, *Zeitschrift für die neutest. Wissenschaft*, vi., 1905, pp. 342-345; Rudberg, pp. 13 f. The phenomenon can be accounted for in more than one way, and does not necessarily indicate (as sometimes supposed, see Nestle, *Einführung in das griech. N.T.*, 3rd ed., pp. 175 f.) that we have here a survival from the period when Luke and Acts circulated together as two 'books' of a single history. The regular use of nomina sacra in D ($\Theta\Sigma$, $\bar{K}\Sigma$, $\bar{\text{I}}\text{H}\Sigma$, $\bar{\text{X}}\text{P}\Sigma$, $\bar{\text{I}}\text{I}\text{N}\text{A}$) is about as in B, while \aleph , A, and C show a much more fully developed system; see Rudberg, pp. 49-52.

² For some examples of such assimilation see E. von Dobschütz, *E. Nestle's Einführung in das Neue Testament*, 4. Aufl. p. 29; see also H. J. Vogels, *Die Harmonistik im Evangelientext des Codex Cantabrigiensis* (T.U. xxxvi.), 1910.

lines on one side or the other was either corrected by the original scribe or noted by him in the margin by numeral letters. Scrivener has been able to show from such cases that the exemplar had lines like those of Codex Bezae, but was not identical with it in the contents of the pages.¹

Influence of
Latin on
Greek.

Reference has already been made to the influence of the Latin page in causing errors, for instance in endings, in the Greek text. This latinizing influence has produced a far-reaching effect on the Greek text, the precise range of which is difficult to determine. The Latin rendering (due to the poverty of Latin in participial forms) of a Greek participle and finite verb by two finite verbs connected by 'and' is probably the cause of the unusual number of corresponding variants in the Greek D. In some cases *και* alone has been introduced from the Latin, without change in the Greek participle. Thus Mark vii. 25 *ελθουσα και προσεπεσεν* (*intravit et proccidit*), xi. 2 *λυσαντες αυτον και αγαγετε* (*solvite illum et adducite*), xiv. 63 *διαρρηξας τους χειτωναs αυτου και λεγει* (*scidit vestimenta sua et ait*), Acts xiv. 6 *συνιδοντες και κατεφυγον* (*intelleverunt et fugerunt*). The necessary addition of a copula in rendering into Latin by a relative sentence has produced an inept imitation in the Greek, e.g. Matt. xi. 28 *παντες οι κοπιωντες και πεφορτισμενοι εσται* [for *εστε*] (*omnes qui laboratis [. . . .] estis*); Acts xiii. 29 *παντα τα περι αυτου γεγραμμενα εισιν* (*omnia quae de illo scripta sunt*); xvii. 27 *ζητειν το θειον εστιν* (*quaerere quod divinum est*); **xxi.** 21 *τους κατα εθνη εισιν ιουδαιους* (*qui in gentibus sunt judaeos*); so also xi. 1 *οι* (*qui*) added before *εν τη ιουδαια*. Not so grotesque, but probably due to adjustment to the Latin, are cases where an otiose but not incorrect participle is added; so in Mark v. 40 *τους μετ αυτου* is expanded by the addition of *ονταs* to correspond with *qui cum illo erant*, and similarly Mark ii. 25; and with these may be mentioned the frequent supplying of the copula, as in Mark x. 27 *τουτο αδυνατον εστιν* (*hoc impossibile est*). In a smaller number of cases the attempt to equalize the Greek and

¹ *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis*, p. **xxiii**.

Latin lines has caused not the addition but the omission of a word. These attempts at assimilation have sometimes led to secondary complicated, but plainly detectable, corruptions of the Greek. A few other instances out of many that have been collected¹ will serve to suggest the great variety of ways in which latinizing assimilation may reasonably be accepted as the corrupting force at work: Matt. xi. 22, 24 *ανεκτοτερον εστε* (for *εσται*) *εν ημερα κρισεως ην υμειν*, for *η υμιν* (*quam vobis*, misunderstood as if a relative); Matt. v. 24 *προσφερεις*, for *προσφερε* (*offeres*, itself probably corrupted from *offers*); Acts xiii. 10 *υιοι* (*filii*) for *υιος*; Matt. xv. 11, 18, 20, Acts xxi. 28 *κοινωνειν* for *κοινουν* (*communicare*, which means not only 'share,' but also, in Tertullian, 'pollute').² Examples, taken from countless others, of words which owe to the Latin either their presence in the text or their form are Matt. xxvi. 6 *λεπωσου* for *λεπρου*, Acts ii. 11 *αραβοι* for *αραβες*, v. 32 *ον* (referring to *πνευμα*) for *ο*, vii. 43 *ρεμφαμ* for *ρεμφαν*, xvi. 12 *κεφαλη* (*caput*) for *πρωτη*, xvi. 13 *εδοκει* (*bidebatur*, i.e. *videbatur*) for *ενομιζετο*, xix. 14 *ιερευς* (*sacerdos*, a common Latin rendering of *αρχιερευς*) for *αρχιερευς*. In many cases there will obviously be great difficulty in deciding whether the corrupting force lay in the Latin or in a similar motive, independent and earlier, within the Greek text itself, but the presence of some degree of latinizing must be admitted in many expressions, and of the great range in which this can be surely assumed the above examples can give but an imperfect notion.

The types of latinizing described above have almost all been such as can be detected from traits present in Codex Bezae. But it is also probable that sometimes the striking omission from D of words and clauses found in other well-known, but less

Omissions
due to
Latin.

¹ See J. R. Harris, *Codex Bezae*, 1891, esp. chaps. viii., ix., and x.; von Soden, *Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, pp. 1323-1337 and pp. 1815-1821, cf. also pp. 1802-1810. For Harris's later view see his *Four Lectures on the Western Text*, 1894, p. viii.

² In Codex D *κοινωνειν* for *κοινουν* is found uniformly in Matthew, never in Mark, and in one case out of three in Acts.

continuous, witnesses to the 'Western' text is to be associated with the fact that these 'glosses' are not found in all or most of the Old Latin witnesses known to us. Thus in the complicated passage Acts xviii. 21, 22, the important sentences τὸν δὲ Ἀκύλαν εἶασεν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναχθεὶς ἦλθεν are found in 614, hcl.mg, and in part in other Greek minuscules and in the Peshitto, but not in D d, nor in any Latin text whatever. It is natural to suppose that the words belonged to the fundamental Greek text from which D is drawn, but were omitted because nothing in the Latin version corresponded to them. The alternative supposition of an excision in order to conform to the Antiochian text is rendered unlikely by the number of 'Western' readings remaining in the immediate context of D d. Similarly, at the close of Acts xiv. 18 the words ἀλλὰ πορεύεσθαι ἕκαστον εἰς τὰ ἴδια are found translated in hcl.mg, and have survived in Greek in C 81 614 and many minuscules; but they are lacking in D d and all Latin texts (except that h contains a clause vaguely resembling the Greek, perhaps a loose paraphrase of it). Other examples of the same phenomenon could be collected (cf. some of the omissions mentioned below, pp. ccxxxvi-viii).

That the Greek text of Codex Bezae has been influenced from the Syriac has also been strongly urged,¹ and some of the facts can be explained thereby, just as they can from the Latin, and in some instances ingenuity can point out with considerable plausibility that a possible confusion in the Syriac text would account for the variant in the Greek. But whereas influence from Latin is naturally indicated as likely to take place in a graeco-latin codex, the theory of Syriac influence has no such

¹ F. H. Chase, *The Old Syriac Element in the Text of Codex Bezae*, 1893; *The Syro-Latin Text of the Gospels*, 1895; cf. J. R. Harris, *Codex Bezae*, pp. 178-188. A similar view was favoured many years earlier by J. D. Michaelis, *Einleitung in die göttlichen Schriften des Neuen Bundes*, 3rd ed., 1777, pp. 503 f. (but cf. pp. 336-340), and David Schulz, *Disputatio de Cod. D Cantabrigiensi*, Breslau, 1827, p. 16; but Chase was the first to undertake to explain completely and in detail the 'Western' text as the product of influence from the Syriac version. For criticism of Chase's theory see J. R. Harris, *Four Lectures on the Western Text of the New Testament*, 1894, pp. 14-34, 68-81.

prima facie probability, and in order to be accepted requires telling instances of demonstrative force, such as are actually found in some of the instances of latinizing cited above. This proof, however, is not forthcoming, and the point is well taken that for some of the frequently occurring characteristics of D the Syriac offers no explanation whatever. Thus the addition of the copula is against Syriac idiom, and such a variant as the addition in Acts xiv. 2 ο δε κυριος εδωκεν ταχυ ειρηνην cannot have been drawn from a Syriac expansion, for the corresponding Syriac would mean, not 'give peace,' but 'say farewell.'¹ There are in D some Semitic traits, such as the use of Hebrew, instead of Aramaic, in the words from the Cross in Matt. xxvii. 46, Mark xv. 34; the readings απο καρνωτου John xii. 4, xiii. 2, 26, xiv. 22 (also in \aleph John vi. 71), σαμφουρειν for εφραιμ, John xi. 54, and perhaps ουλαμμαους for εμματος, Luke xxiv. 13.² Also the otiose αυτοις Acts xiv. 2 might be Semitic; μετα των ψυχων αυτων Acts xiv. 27 sounds more Semitic than Greek. But these are isolated phenomena, and a better explanation of some of them will be found below (pp. ccxlii-iv). The theory of systematic or continuous Syriac influence does not furnish a satisfactory solution of the problem of Codex Bezae.

It is not to be supposed that all the peculiarities and errors of Codex Bezae were introduced at the latest, or at any single earlier stage. Much of the orthography is doubtless very ancient, or possibly original. Scribal errors of the various usual types may have been introduced at each copying, including that which produced the codex itself. The adjustment of the Greek to the Latin and the converse (of which something will be said later) may well have taken place, in part at least, in different periods. An interesting illustration of a succession of corruptions which must have preceded the present text is the unique reading

Successive
corrup-
tions.

¹ Harris, *Four Lectures*, pp. 69 f. It is to be observed that Chase's theory was quite as much intended to explain the variants of the 'Western' text as the eccentricities of Codex Bezae.

² Cf. E. von Dobschütz, *E. Nestle's Einführung in das griechische N.T.*, 1923, p. 5.

Luke xxii. 52 *στρατηγους του λαου* (for *ιερου*, d *praepositos populi*). Here *λαου* seems clearly a corruption for *ναου*, and that again a substitute (intelligible, but incorrect in point of technical usage) for *ιερου* of all other witnesses. In general, if at first the Latin was made approximately to correspond with the Greek, the widespread assimilation of the Greek to the Latin may have been due to the pains of a later scribe ; or both assimilations may have been made concurrently—now from one side, now from the other—when this bilingual edition was first constructed. One stage in the ancestry of our codex may have been an interlinear graeco-latin text, like the Codex Boernerianus (G^{paul}).

The general relation of the Greek text of Codex Bezae and the Latin version associated with it has long been the subject of discussion.¹ The two texts, as they stand, bear intricate relations of likeness ; yet they are by no means identical,² and the difference between them cannot as a whole be accounted for by later correction of one side or the other from the Antiochian text.³ The older debate revolved about too simple a formulation of the question, and was too much interested in proving or disproving the worthlessness of the codex for the practical uses of textual critics. The seventeenth-century scholars, from Erasmus to Grotius (except Morinus⁴), seem to have held that the Greek text of D had been so adapted to the Latin version as to be practically worthless. A more moderate view was that of Mill (1707), who deemed the Greek text to have been copied from a

¹ See Harris, *Codex Bezae*, pp. 41-46.

² Scrivener, *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis*, pp. xxxi f., states that nearly 2000 divergencies are found between the Greek and the Latin. Of these Acts contains 631, of which 285 are "real various readings" of some consequence, on the Latin side not infrequently showing agreement with the Vulgate.

³ See, for instance, how the Antiochian (or Old Uncial) correction in chap. xviii. has affected both Greek and Latin equally. But some cases of one-sided correction can be pointed out ; thus Acts xix. 39 *περι ετερων* seems to be a correction in accord with $\aleph A$ Antiochian, while the corresponding Latin *ulterius* has retained the 'Western' reading, as found also in gig .

⁴ J. Morinus, *Exercitationes biblicae de hebraei graecique textus sinceritate*, Paris, 1660, lib. i., exerc. ii., c. iii., pp. 47-54. Morinus, convinced of the superiority of the Latin Vulgate, rejoiced to find Vulgate readings confirmed by Codex Bezae and Codex Claromontanus.

Greek original, similar to that from which the Latin version was made, but later to have been altered in conformity to the Latin at a few points here and there (“*paucula hinc inde*”), and who gives well-chosen examples of such readings.¹ Wetstein (*Prolegomena*, 1751) agreed with Mill; and Middleton (1808)² urged with much vigour the latinizing tendency of D as evidence (and as one cause) of its worthlessness. Meanwhile, however, J. D. Michaelis³ had pointed out that this tendency, if it existed, explained but a small part of the peculiarities of D, and Griesbach⁴ protested that the conformation to the Latin was negligible, and that the Greek text itself was of Greek origin and a witness to a very ancient stage of the text of the Gospels and Acts. With Griesbach agreed Marsh in his notes to the translation of Michaelis’s Introduction (1793), and this general view appears to have held the ground through the greater part of the nineteenth century. Hort (‘Introduction,’ 1881, pp. 82 f.) regarded d as of little practical value for Old Latin evidence, because it had been “altered throughout into verbal conformity with the Greek text by the side of which it had been intended to stand”; again (p. 120), he refers with contempt to the “whimsical theory” that “the Western Greek text owed its peculiarities to translation from the Latin”; in his account of Codex Bezae (pp. 148 f.) he makes no reference whatever to any latinizing tendency in the ms. Similarly Burkitt regards Codex Bezae as a Greek book with a Latin version.⁵ But in the meantime J. R. Harris, in his *Codex Bezae*, 1891, presented at length the opposing theory that “the major part,” or (p. 203) nine-tenths, of the variants in the Acts of D are due to the attempt to make the Greek text conform to the Latin, and drew attention to a great body of

¹ *Prolegomena*, par. 1282.

² T. F. Middleton, *The Doctrine of the Greek Article*, 1808, Appendix, pp. 677-698.

³ *Einleitung*, 4th ed., 1788, pp. 582 f.

⁴ *Symbolae criticae*, vol. i., 1785, pp. cx-cxvii.

⁵ *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. III., 1901-2, p. 505. Scrivener, *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis*, p. xxxii: “The Latin version is little better than a close and often servile rendering of the actually existing Greek.”

evidence in support of this claim.¹ Von Soden assigns a large place to latinization.

Relation of
Greek and
Latin sides.

The result of this debate has been to establish that D can neither be rejected as worthless, on the ground that it is secondary and dependent throughout on the Latin, nor yet used, in a fashion which has been all too common, as in every respect a trustworthy witness, as it stands, to the 'Western' text. The Latin d, while it has no doubt been affected in countless readings by its Greek partner, is yet by no means a mere literal translation of the Greek D, but neither is D a mere late construction designed to give Greek support to d. Both sides are mixed texts, and this is exactly what our knowledge of other manuscripts written with parallel columns would lead us to expect. Indeed, the interaction is probably less marked in Codex Bezae than in cases where the single lines are shorter. In the very short lines (one to three words each, on the average) of Origen's Hexapla the order of words in the LXX column is believed to have been altered to match the others.² In many graeco-latin Psalters from the sixth to the tenth century the Greek text has been altered to conform to the Latin.³ Codex Boernerianus (G^{paul}) is said to show conformation in both directions.⁴ Codex Claromontanus (D^{paul}) probably shows correction of the Latin to agree with the Greek.⁵ The case of Codex Laudianus (E^{ac}) is discussed below.⁶ From a much later date (fourteenth or fifteenth century)

¹ Searching criticism of Harris's views were contained in two excellent articles by A. S. Wilkins, 'The Western Text of the Greek Testament,' *Expositor*, 4th series, vol. x., 1894, pp. 386-400, 409-428. Wilkins admits the existence of latinizing influence, but points out that many of Harris's examples are not convincing, and that in many cases variation common to D and d "may have originated in either."

² A. Rahlfs, *Studie über den griechischen Text des Buches Ruth*, 1922, pp. 69 f., n. 3.

³ Rahlfs, *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters*, 1907, pp. 94-101.

⁴ E. Diehl, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, vol. xx., 1921, p. 107; Hort, 'Introduction,' p. 82. ⁵ Hort, 'Introduction,' p. 82.

⁶ Jülicher, *Zeitschrift für die neutest. Wissenschaft*, vol. xv., 1914, p. 182, speaks of the "Unmöglichkeit," that D and E should have been conformed to d and e, but the author informs me that the word is a mistake of the press, or the pen, for 'Möglichkeit.'

Codex 629 (Vat. ottobon. 298, see Gregory, *Prolegomena*, p. 635) has a Greek text extensively accommodated to its parallel Vulgate columns. The Latin codex f of the Gospels is thought to be drawn from a bilingual Gothic-Latin codex in which the Latin had been altered to correspond with the Gothic.¹ Even the editors of the Complutensian Polyglot transposed the Greek to make it agree in order of words with their Hebrew column.² Apart from the other kinds of corruption, the latinized element in D must always be kept in mind in using Codex Bezae. In such cases the only safe or possible method is by comparison with other witnesses to the same type of text. It cannot be admitted that a Latin influence is accountable for the 'Western' variants found equally in other Greek, Syriac, and Sahidic sources.³ Where such evidence is at hand, we may accept the text of D as free from influence from d. Contrariwise, the renderings of d can be supposed to be directly translated from D only where no other Old Latin witness attests them. Within the field thus narrowed, where either D or d can be a direct translation from the other, many cases will be so related to Latin or to Greek idiom, or to the recognizable characteristics of the Greek 'Western' reviser, as to point convincingly to a conclusion; many others will not. Often doubt will remain. In considering this question it must never be forgotten that the process of mind of a scribe improving the text is in many respects essentially the same as

¹ Burkitt, *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. i., 1899-1900, p. 131; vol. xi., 1909-10, p. 613; Wordsworth and White, *Novum Testamentum Latine*, Evangelia, 1889, pp. 653 f., held f to represent substantially the Old Latin text on which the Vulgate revision was founded.

² Flaminius Nobilius, in *Vetus Testamentum secundum LXX latine redditum*, 1588 (fourth page of 'Praefatio ad lectorem'), cited by G. F. Moore, 'The Antiochian Recension of the Septuagint,' *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, vol. xxix., 1912, pp. 57 f.

³ It is for this reason that the striking contentions of Harris with regard to the reading, Luke xxiii. 53, *καὶ θέντος αὐτοῦ ἐπέθηκεν τῷ μνημείῳ λίθον ὀμοῦς εἰκοσὶ ἐκυλίον*, remain unconvincing. Since the Sahidic, and not merely some Old Latin texts, bears witness to it, it must be supposed to have arisen in Greek, and the imperfect Latin hexameter, *imposuit lapidem quem vix viginti movebant*, must be accounted for, as it can be, by assuming it to be the work of an ingenious Latin translator from the Greek.