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The Text of The New Testament

BY

THE REV. K. LAKE, D.D.

PROFESSOR OF EARLY CHRISTIAN HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF HARVARD

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PREFACE TO THE FOURTH EDITION

THE appearance of Professor von Soden's important book on the Text of the New Testament rendered it necessary to consider in what way it was possible, in a new edition, to give some account of his researches. The most feasible method seemed to be the addition of a short appendix devoted to a statement of his new notation and theory. This will be found on pp. 100 ff. A somewhat important addition has also been made, in the light of his work, to the statements on p. 20 f, concerning the minuscule mss. of the Gospels. After some hesitation I have decided not to alter Chapters V. or VI. Obviously I should now express many points somewhat differently in the light of the great German book, if I were writing afresh; but the balance of advantage seems to be in favour of leaving them as they are, until there has been some more complete discussion of the new facts and hypotheses. It will, I think, not be until after the publication of Professor von Soden's critical text, and the elapse of some considerable time for its study, that a secure judgment will be possible on his views, and I do not feel that I should be justified in using a 'text book' for the promulgation of criticisms which have not yet been tested by those who are competent to decide.

KIRSOPP LAKE.

LEIDEN, 1908.

CHAPTER I

THE OBJECT AND METHOD OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM

ONE of the most necessary parts of the investigations of historians is to criticise the documents on which their researches are based, in order to be certain that the text which they are using really represents the original writing of the author. This criticism is usually known as *Textual criticism*, for the obvious reason that it deals with the *text* as opposed to the subject-matter. It is less commonly termed the *Lower* as opposed to the *Higher* criticism, which deals not with the text as written by the author or editor of the document in question, but with the sources and methods used by him in making the text. Thus Higher criticism approaches the subject at a point *higher* up the stream of its existence.

The object of all textual criticism is to recover so far as possible the actual words written by the writer. But in order to do this properly the critic has to explain how each successive deviation from the original came to be currently adopted, and frequently he finds the clue enabling him to do this in the history of some later period, which gives some reason for a textual variation. In these researches it sometimes happens that the discoveries of the textualist are of great value to the historian; for the corrupt reading of some important document often explains otherwise inexplicable phenomena in the history of ideas or the conduct of a controversy.

The problem, then, which faces the textual critic is to remove from a number of manuscripts of varying date the corruptions which have crept into the text and to

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assign to each variation its appropriate cause, thus obtaining in the end the original pure text.

Let us assume, then, what as a matter of fact is never more than approximately the case, that the critic has at his disposal all the known mss. of a given work. He begins his work knowing nothing about the character of the mss., and from them he has to find out and reconstruct the original text. His work falls into four stages, which in practice necessarily pass imperceptibly into each other, but which in theory are distinguishable, and ought not to be confused :—

- I. *The study of each manuscript by itself*, correcting obvious mistakes which are due to slips of the pen and cognate reasons, and such readings as seem clearly to be corrupt forms of other recorded readings.
- II. *A comparison of the manuscripts to which this process has been applied, and their arrangement into groups*, according to similarities of reading, the rule being followed that, speaking generally, *community of error implies community of origin*. This process is carried on until all the known mss. have been put into groups, each with a presumably distinct ancestor or archetype.
- III. *These archetypes are then compared, and a provisional text is constructed out of them*, the archetype of the archetypes being arrived at as closely as possible.
- IV. This provisional text is finally subjected to the process known as *conjectural emendation*. That is, an attempt is made to explain and emend all the passages which still seem corrupt.

These four stages in the work of textual criticism call for a little fuller explanation.

I. The investigation of individual mss. and the detection of scribes' mistakes or alterations demand the knowledge and application of the laws which obtain in these matters.

The chief point to be remembered is that mistakes and corruptions are of two classes :—

1. Unintentional, due to natural error.
2. Intentional, due to a desire for improvement.

1. *Unintentional alterations*.—Many instances of this source of error are quite easy to detect and remedy; such, for example, are cases where a word or phrase is senselessly repeated twice, *e.g.* in the Latin of the Laudian ms. of Acts ii. 4 the scribe has written 'et repleti sunt et repleti sunt omnes spiritu sancto,' where the omission of the second 'et repleti sunt' is an obvious and certain correction.

This is technically called *dittography*; similar causes of error are *homoioteleuton*—the confusion of words ending in similar syllables; this cause often leads to the omission of a complete line of the archetype; and if many examples of it occur in the same ms., it is sometimes possible to deduce from them the length of the lines in the archetype; *haplography*—writing a word once when it ought to be repeated, *e.g.* κύριε for κύριε, κύριε; *itacism*—strictly a tendency to replace other vowels by iota, but loosely used of other vowel changes. In later Greek mss. almost any vowel seems changeable for any other, nor does the same ms. always observe the same spelling, *e.g.* λέγεται is often spelt λέγετε; θῆλυ is written θῆλι; αἱ γυναῖκες becomes ἐ γυναῖκαις, and so on.

There are many other technical phrases for similar kinds of mistakes, most of which explain themselves. The important thing is that they classify to some extent the slips of the pen and misspellings of scribes. A slightly different form of error is where the scribe seems to have preserved the right order of letters, but produced the wrong word from them, *e.g.* in Col. ii. 18 we read ἀ ἐώρακεν ἐμβρατεύων, where a possible explanation of an otherwise hopeless passage is that an early scribe thus divided up αἰωρακενεμβρατευων (altering ι to ε) instead of thus, αἰώρα κενεμβρατεύων, being deceived by the rarity of the word κενεμβρατεύων. It must, of course, be remembered that the earliest mss. have no accents or breathings.

A similar form of mistake is due to misunderstanding

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of contracted words. A possible example of this is the curious reading in Matt. xxvii. 16, *τίνα θέλετε ἀπὸ τῶν δύο ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν Ἰησοῦν Βαραββὰν ἢ Ἰησοῦν κ.τ.λ.* The usual way of writing Ἰησοῦν is *iw*, i.e. the first and last letters. It is suggested that the origin of the reading is that an early scribe was guilty of dittography, and wrote *ὑμιν* for *ὑμῖν*, but saw his mistake and deleted the second *ν* by dots—*iẉ*. This was taken for a contracted word by some later reader—the more easily because *Βαραββαν* seems to be a patronymic. (Such an explanation is, of course, double-edged; the omission of *ν* can be explained equally well as an example of haplography.)

It is very important to collect the examples of this kind of mistake, not simply because their detection is a first step towards the purifying of the text, but because they are an important clue to the history of the manuscript in which they occur. The more senseless the mistake, the more important it sometimes is, e.g. in Matt. xiii. 54, Cod. Sinaiticus reads *εἰς τὴν ἀντιπάρτιδα* for *εἰς τὴν παρτίδα*, where Dr. Rendel Harris has pointed out that this is a clue to the birthplace of the ms., just as we might imagine an Oxford scribe of Shakespeare writing—

“I come to ‘Banbury’ Caesar” for ‘bury’ Caesar,

and mistakes in spelling, especially if repeated, often give a hint as to the pronunciation, and so nationality, of the scribe. For example, if a scribe of early date is found to write consistently ‘michi’ for ‘mihi,’ it is probable that he is a Spaniard.

All these forms of mistake and similar ones are fairly easy to detect, and their classification is the first thing that a critic has to do. Some of them, such as dittographs, are obvious at once, others are only recognised when several other mss. have been seen, and a roughly provisional text exists at least in the mind of the critic. It must, however, be remembered that great caution is required in deciding whether a reading is certainly corrupt or only possibly so. And the critic has always to be ready to revise his judgment. He ought always

to be suspicious of readings, but far more suspicious of his own conclusions.

2. *Intentional alterations.*—As was said, these are due to a desire to improve the text, either because the archetype had an obvious mistake, which the scribe wished to emend, or because he wished to simplify a difficulty. It is clear that often a scribe made an easier text than the original, and therefore one rule of criticism is that when two variant readings are obviously connected with one another, the more difficult is to be preferred.

It would be a profitless task to attempt to classify the possible causes of intentional alteration. But some of those which especially affect the New Testament text are :—

- (a) The influence of translations known to the scribe. This is especially the case with bilingual mss.,¹ which are Greek in one column and Latin in the next. The texts of the Greek and Latin in these cases are almost always accommodated to each other, partly in order to have as little divergence of reading as possible, partly for the mechanical reason of wishing to keep one line of Greek equal to one line of Latin. As it must have often happened that unilingual mss. were made by copying the appropriate column of a bilingual ms., it will be seen that the influence of translations has always to be remembered.
- (b) A cognate cause is the influence of harmonies,² or even the study of the comparison of the four Gospels. This inevitably led to a tendency to assimilate the Gospels to one another, and to remove discrepancies and contradictions.
- (c) It is probable, though not certain, that dogmatic reasons may have caused alterations. It is known

¹ As will be seen, there are some critics who believe that the oldest form of the Latin version was bilingual, and possibly even interlinear. Bilingual mss. are not only Graeco-Latin, there are also examples of Graeco-Thebaic and Graeco-Arabic.

² i.e. texts in which one continuous narrative is made by compilation from the four Gospels.

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that Marcion about A.D. 140 'edited' a New Testament to suit his views, and on *à priori* grounds we may say that both orthodox and heretics would often have wished to make alterations. The fact that so few variants can certainly be traced to this cause is probably due to the vigilance with which the orthodox and heretics regarded each other's efforts in this direction.

The elimination from the text of all the errors which are obviously due to the above-mentioned causes forms the first stage of textual criticism; and since it implies at least in practice some degree of knowledge of other¹ recorded readings, it passes easily into the second stage with no perceptible break in actual practice.

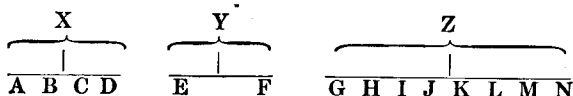
II. At this point the critic has as it were before him a number of mss., the text of which has been roughly cleansed from its more obvious impurities. A list of the various mistakes in each codex lies in front of him. Inspection will probably show that it is now possible to group the mss. according to their agreement and disagreement in possessing these mistakes. Now, it is obvious that whereas agreement in a correct reading is no criterion of similarity of origin, agreement in erroneous readings is a very good criterion. So that by arranging mss. according to their common mistakes, it is possible to form a kind of genealogy. That is to say, it is possible to argue that Codex A and Codex B are both copies of the same ms., because both have the same mistakes (although each has also mistakes peculiar to it), and it is possible to reconstruct this original ms., if it be not extant, by putting into it all the common mistakes, and leaving out those which are peculiar to one alone. By going through this process one probably finds the mass of mss. beginning to assume some order, and one is able to say as follows:—

1. Codd. A, B, C, D, represent an archetype X.
2. Codd. E, F, " " Y.

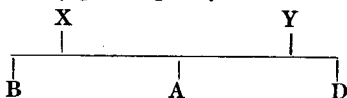
¹ That is to say, we may find a sentence in some mss. which is hopeless nonsense. Its correction is necessarily made simple and certain if we know that all other mss. have a reading which is good sense, and of which the nonsense is clearly a corruption.

3. Codd. G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, represent an archetype Z.

Or we may represent the same by genealogical trees thus:—



It must, however, be observed that it is often impossible to group mss. quite so decisively as this. For we often find *Mixed variants*, and consequently *cross grouping*. That is to say, mss. were not always copied directly from one source; but, on the contrary, scribes often produced an eclectic text, so that the same ms. may sometimes represent more than one archetype, and be found sometimes in one group, sometimes in another. Such a result may genealogically be illustrated thus:—



in which A represents a mixture of archetypes X and Y, while B and D are unmixed representatives of each respectively. In reconstructing, therefore, the archetype X the critic would argue that where A and B agree their text represents X; where they differ, if A agrees with D, probably B represents X, and the reading of A is due to the mixture with archetype Y. If A does not agree with D, there are three alternatives: (1) B represents X, D represents Y, A represents some peculiar variant due to its own scribe; (2) A represents X, and B has the peculiar error, D still representing Y; (3) B represents X, A represents Y, and D has the peculiar error. Between these three possibilities choice is guided by the consideration of the general characteristics of the mss. and their archetypes which have been acquired by the study of other variants in them.

III. At this point the third stage is reached. This is the consideration of those numerous cases where in the

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reconstructed archetypes there are two or three variants in a reading, which are all possible, and none obviously wrong. To some extent the reading in the majority of mss. has a claim to be adopted; to some extent it is equally clear that the reading in the oldest mss. has a claim.

But the genealogical process mentioned shows the limitations of these presumptions. One ms. now lost may have been copied more often than another, and so its readings may have obtained in the next generation a fallacious majority in their favour; or a very old ms. may be represented best by a recent copy, which thus represents a generation closer to the archetype than other copies made long before.

Therefore instead of considering merely numbers and age in the mss. attesting a reading, we have to consider the numbers and ages of the archetypes of groups. First we judge what was written in the archetype of a group, and then comparing it with others, decide which is the right reading. This is done by the consideration of two points with regard to each reading:—

(1) Intrinsic probability.

(2) Transcriptional probability.

That is to say, it is necessary first to consider which of the two or more variants makes the best sense; which is most in accordance with the general style of the author, and so on; which, in short, the author is most likely to have written. And secondly, to consider how the scribe is likely to have arrived, by the kind of mistakes mentioned above, at any of the various readings.

This process is not always easy, for sometimes intrinsic and transcriptional probability seem to point different ways. To some extent the harder reading has always got transcriptional probability. But there is a point at which a reading is so hard that intrinsic probability is decisively against it. In such a case it sometimes is very difficult to judge.

The result, therefore, of the earlier work at this stage is to remove variants which, though not obviously wrong, like those removed in the first stage, are nevertheless shown to be wrong by the test of the two kinds of

probability. And a further criterion can now be applied. It will be possible to say what are the characteristic mistakes of each group and its archetype. It will be recognised that while Group A frequently interpolates it rarely omits, while the contrary is true of Group B. The application of this criterion will often decide between readings, the evidence for which is otherwise equal.

And in this way the process is carried on, successive layers as it were of corruptions being scraped off and explained, and the number of archetypes gradually reduced in number and thrown back in age, until it is possible to construct a provisional text which represents the archetype of all known mss. The construction of this archetype would be the completion of the third stage. New Testament criticism has not yet reached it, and therefore the fourth stage is not yet of any great practical importance.

IV. This consists in conjectural emendation of those passages which seem to be corrupt even in the archetype of all known mss. It calls for a knowledge of palæography, in order to discover how the scribes' errors may have arisen, and for a certain ingenuity in making up a theory as to how a mistake may have crept in. For instance, Dr. Hort suggests for the impossible *θελων εν ταπεινοφροσύνη* of Col. ii. 18, *ἐθελοταπεινοφροσύνη*, which makes sense, is distinctly Pauline, and is a rare (if not unknown) word which a scribe might easily misread.

Such, roughly speaking, is the method of modern textual criticism. Three points are worth noting in it:—

(1) The difference between Biblical and classical textual criticism. In classical textual criticism, the archetype of all the extant mss. is often obtainable with comparatively little work, but often is very corrupt. There is therefore scope for much conjectural emendation. In Biblical textual criticism, on the other hand, it is still doubtful what is the archetype of the existing manuscripts. But at least we may be sure that it is an exceedingly early one, with very few corruptions, and therefore the work of the conjectural emendation is very light, and scarcely ever necessary.

(2) It is impossible to separate the history of the text

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from the general history of the Church. The local history of a district, the monasteries of the country, local heresies, and certainly local pronunciations and dialects with their variations at different times, all act on the text, and are influenced by it in turn. The perfect textual critic will have to be an expert palæographer and the possessor of a complete knowledge of all the bypaths of Church history.

(3) It also follows from this that judgments on a difficult question are really valueless unless they are made not merely with regard to the probabilities of the individual case, but with a distinct grasp of the family relations as it were of the mss. concerned, and their characteristics. The object to be aimed at is to find the right reading by way of tracing the history of the wrong reading through the various ramifications of the ms. genealogical tree, until a point is reached at which it first appears, and before which it is not found.

After thus roughly establishing the method which is, and ought to be, usually adopted, the next step naturally is to ask what is the material to which the student of New Testament Textual criticism has to apply his method. An attempt will be made in the three next chapters to answer this question, and in Chapter V. to sketch the outlines of the attempts which have been made to apply this and other methods to the material, commonly called the 'apparatus criticus.' But it has been found neither possible nor desirable to avoid referring in Chapters II. III. and IV. to ideas and terminologies which cannot be fully explained until later.

CHAPTER II

THE APPARATUS CRITICUS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT—

GREEK MSS.

THE apparatus criticus is the whole collection of documents which is at the disposal of the critic.

It consists ultimately entirely of mss., though practically a large proportion of them can be used conveniently and adequately through printed editions.

These mss. fall into four groups :—

- (1) Greek mss.
- (2) mss. of versions.
- (3) Lectionaries.
- (4) mss. of other works, practically all of them 'Fathers,' which quote the New Testament.

Of course, for practical purposes the student of any one of these groups often takes some standard edition of the others as a working text, and verifies it in detail only when necessary.

A complete knowledge of the whole apparatus is more than any one possesses, but a fair working knowledge of the chief documents is a necessity for any critic.

Greek MSS.—These are divided into two classes—Uncials and Cursives.

(1) **Uncials.**—The exact derivation of this word is unknown. But the meaning is that style of writing in which each letter is separate, and, roughly speaking, of a 'capital' shape, with some degree of curving.

(2) **Cursives.**—Those written in a 'running hand' in which letters are ligatured together.

The old theory about these two kinds of writing seems to have been that uncials were used in the earliest times, and that the cursive hand was adopted in the eighth or

ninth century. Certain discoveries, however, show that this is not the case. The earliest division of writing, which is found long before the era of Christ, is into literary and private 'hands.' The former is at first always an uncial, the latter a cursive type. These two 'hands' must have existed side by side throughout the first eight centuries. But about that time a literary cursive hand was adopted by professional scribes which gradually supplanted the old uncial writing. The word cursive is therefore a little ambiguous. It means a running private hand in the earliest times, and it is also used for the literary hand in which small connected letters are used. It would perhaps be better if the word cursive were kept for the private hand, and minuscule adopted for the literary cursive.

There are more than seventy-two uncials of the New Testament, denoted by the capital letters of the English, Greek, and Hebrew alphabets.

The number of mss. which we possess at present is, however, so large that even with the help of three alphabets it is scarcely possible to find letters for all the mss. The plan has therefore been adopted of using the same letter for different¹ mss. of different books of the Bible. This method is based on the fact that complete Bibles ('Pandects,' they are called) are very rare, and even complete New Testaments are not common, the usual plan having been to have one ms. volume of Gospels, another of Acts and Catholic Epistles, and a third of the Pauline Epistles. It is usually obvious which ms. is meant, but in doubtful cases the recognised practice is to write a numeral in the right-hand bottom corner of the letter—*e.g.* E = Cod. Basileensis of the Gospels; E₂ = Cod. Laudianus of the Acts; E₃ = Cod. Sangermanensis of the Epistles.

The most important uncials are the following:—

Ⲁ (Aleph) Codex Sinaiticus, an uncial of the fourth century, now in the Library of St. Petersburg. This ms. was found by Tischendorf in 1844,² at the monastery

¹ In a few cases also different letters for the same ms. in different books.

² The discovery was made in this year, but it was not completed until 1859.

of St. Catherine, on Mount Sinai. The story of his adventures and difficulties is most interesting, but is scarcely an essential part of textual knowledge. (It can be seen in Scrivener, ed. iv. vol. i. p. 90 ff.) The ms. is $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $14\frac{7}{8}$, and at present has $346\frac{1}{2}$ leaves of thin beautiful vellum. It is written in four columns, with forty-eight lines in each. There are practically no accents or breathings, and very few contractions or abbreviations.

The margin contains the Ammonian sections and Eusebian canons (v. p. 54), but not by the first scribe. The text itself, according to Tischendorf, was written by four scribes, of whom one, who wrote the last part of S. Mark, is identified with the scribe of Cod. Vaticanus (B). It has been corrected several times :—

(1) In a few places by the first hand, or by the διορθώτης, i.e. the corrector of the same date, who, according to custom, revised the ms.

(2) In the sixth century by an elegant writer whose notes are often important. Known as \aleph^a .

(3) In the sixth century by another scribe a little later. Known as \aleph^b .

(4) In the seventh century in many places by a scribe known as \aleph^c or as \aleph^{ca} .

(5) In the same century by \aleph^{cb} \aleph^{cc} and \aleph^{ca} which are less important.

(6) In the twelfth century in a few places by \aleph^e .

The ms. contains the Gospels, the Pauline Epistles, the Acts, the Catholic Epistles, the Apocalypse, Barnabas, Hermas, and has the Epistle to the Hebrews after 2 Thessalonians.

The origin of this great Codex is one of the nicest problems of criticism. It can, however, be discussed best after the description of Codex Vaticanus (B), with which it is inextricably involved. The text contained in \aleph is of a mixed character, as is explained in Chapter V. The basis of it is 'Neutral,' but there is a large admixture of 'Western' and 'Alexandrian,' without, however, any clear traces of 'distinctively Syrian' readings. The text of \aleph^e in the Pauline Epistles is peculiar; and, as is shown in Chapter IV., forms a group with H^{Paul} ,

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Euthalius, and, possibly, the Armenian version. The same hand has a note at the end of the Book of Esther, to the effect that the text has been compared with a ms. belonging to Pamphilus. This, it will be seen, is of great importance in attempting to fix the birthplace of \aleph .

B=Codex Vaticanus. At Rome. An uncial of the fourth century. It appears in the Vatican catalogue of 1475, but no one knows how it came there. It is written in three columns, and forty-two lines to a column. In the tenth century some one inked over the writing, sometimes altering a word, and sometimes emending by omitting to ink a word or phrase which he wished to leave out. It has also been corrected by the usual *διορθώτης*, and by one other scribe of no importance. The text itself was written by three scribes, of whom one alone wrote the New Testament. Tischendorf identified him with the scribe 'D' of \aleph , who wrote the end of Mark and part of the Old Testament in the latter ms. (v. p. 13). The text in the Gospels and Acts is the purest known specimen of 'Neutral,' but in the Pauline Epistles there is a distinctly 'Western' element.

It is now necessary to ask what is the birthplace of \aleph B? This is a question which has to be answered for both together, not because they have an extraordinary similarity of text, although that is a marked phenomenon, but because of certain facts which show that they were originally both together at the same spot. This spot is Caesarea. Almost all critics now accept this conclusion, though Drs. Westcott and Hort in their Greek text were inclined to think that some peculiarities of spelling in proper nouns point rather to the West.

The case for Caesarea is this:—

(1) The colophon of Esther in \aleph^c , which seems to show that in the seventh century at least \aleph was at Caesarea, and was compared with a ms. written in that place by Pamphilus.

(2) The curious reading in \aleph in Matt. xiii. 54, *Ἀντιόχεια*, which Dr. Rendel Harris describes as the mistake of a local writer. Cf. p. 4.

(3) The identity of hands in part of \aleph and B (if

Tischendorf be right, and his view is generally allowed to be extremely probable).

(4) A curious chapter-division in Acts, which can be traced through Euthalius to Pamphilus and Caesarea.¹

More must be said on this point in Chapter IV. in connection with systems of chapter-divisions.

Thus it will be seen that there is evidence to connect \aleph with Pamphilus and Caesarea, \aleph with B, and \aleph B and Euthalius with Pamphilus and Caesarea.

Can we say any more? Some critics think that we can, and connect both \aleph and B with a definite edition, which is mentioned in Eusebius' life of Constantine. Eusebius says that he sent to Constantine's new city fifty *σωμάτια ἐν διφθέραις, . . . ἐν πολυτελῶς ἡσκημένοις τεύχεσι τρισσὰ καὶ τετρασσά*. No one knows quite what is meant by this last phrase. Rival views are: (1) Bound up in quires of three and four sheets; (2) written in three and four columns; (3) in cases of three or four. Those who accept the second explanation point to the fact that \aleph and B are in four and three columns, and that \aleph has the Eusebian canons, by the first or a contemporary hand. They therefore regard the two great uncials, so closely connected with each other and with Eusebius' home, as part of Eusebius' present to Constantine.

On the other hand Rahlfs¹ has pointed out that the order of the books in B corresponds to the Canon of Scripture given by Athanasius in the 'Festal Letter' of 367 A.D., and thinks that this points to Alexandria rather than Caesarea (*see also p. 53*).

A = Codex Alexandrinus. Now in the British Museum. An uncial of the fifth century, which was given to Sir Thomas Roe, the British Ambassador of Charles I. to Turkey, by Cyril Lucar the Patriarch, who tried to reform the Eastern Church on the Geneva model. There is an Arabic note at the beginning which says that it was written by Thecla the Martyr. It has a mixed text, worse in the Gospels than elsewhere, with a considerable Alexandrian element.

C. An uncial of the fifth century at Paris. Known as

¹ A. Rahlfs *Alter und Heimat der Vatikanischen Bibelhandschrift*, in the *Nachrichten der Gesell. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1889, i. pp. 72-79.

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the Palimpsest of Ephraem Syrus, that is to say, it is a *ms.* which has been used twice—once for a copy of the New Testament, and later, when the original writing had been rubbed or washed off as far as possible, for the writings of Ephraem the Syrian. The lower writing has been revived to some extent by the use of chemicals, but it is always a serious task to read even a good palimpsest. It seems to have been brought from the East by Andrew John Lascar, who gave it to the Medici family, and so through Queen Catherine de Medici it came at last to the Bibliothèque Royale (now Nationale) in Paris. Its text, like that of A, is mixed; but it has, in the Gospels especially, a considerable number of Neutral and Alexandrian readings.

D=Codex Bezae. At Cambridge. A Graeco-Latin *ms.* of the sixth century, containing the Gospels and Acts. It was at Lyons¹ in the sixteenth century, whence by some not entirely understood means Theodore Beza the Reformer obtained it and presented it to the University of Cambridge. It has been published *in extenso* by the late Dr. Scrivener, and a complete photographic reproduction has now been published. It is a *ms.* of the greatest importance and interest, not because it possesses a necessarily good or sound text, but because it is the earliest Greek form that we possess of what is known as the Western Text (*see* Chapter VI.).

The questions which are raised about D independently of the general question of the Western text are these:—

- (1) Where was it written?
- (2) Has the Greek been assimilated to the Latin, or the Latin to the Greek?
- (3) Are there any traces of Syriac or Aramaic influences?

The books which deal with the questions best are Scrivener's edition of the *ms.*, Dr. Rendel Harris's *Study of Codex Bezae*, and Dr. Chase's two books on the *Syro-Latin Text*.

¹ So Beza said, but there is also reason for doubting whether Beza was in a position to know, and some evidence that it was really in Italy.

(1) The first question is hard to answer, but on the whole the Rhone valley is the most probable place. This is shown as clearly as it can be by Dr. Rendel Harris. He bases his arguments on various marginal notes in the ms., and on certain philological indications in the text itself. The first argument is doubtful, for the marginal notes show signs of Byzantine liturgical usages of the ninth century,¹ and suggest that at that time Codex Bezae was in South Italy, where the Greek rite was used. But the philological indications suggest that at the time when the Codex was written the Latin language was in a state of transition into the Romance languages, and more especially into French, so that the Rhone valley, and possibly Lyons itself, is a very probable place for the origin of D. It must, of course, be remembered that this does not at all imply that the text represented by D also came from that locality. Dr. Rendel Harris himself points out various traces of other localities, including especially Carthage, which seem possibly to have influenced some of the archetypes of D.

(2) Dr. Rendel Harris is the great advocate of assimilation of the Greek to the Latin. Before his work appeared the usual view was that accepted by Drs. Westcott and Hort, that when the two texts agreed the Latin followed the Greek, and not *vice versâ*. It is impossible to summarise Dr. Rendel Harris's case against this theory.

Many of his examples probably fall to the ground; in some cases the converse of his theory appears probable; but a residuum remains, and the most probable view is that neither text of Codex Bezae has entirely escaped from the influence of the other.

(3) It has been suggested that there are Syriac forms and idioms in D. The case in favour of this theory is elaborately worked out by Dr. Chase in the *Syriac Element in Codex Bezae*. A little more must be said on the point in Chapter VI. Scholars are not agreed on the amount of Eastern or Syriac influence which they trace in Codex Bezae, but most of them agree that there is some. For instance, the spelling of $\eta\lambda\epsilon\iota$, $\eta\lambda\epsilon\iota\ \lambda\alpha\mu\alpha\ \zeta\alpha\phi\theta\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\iota$, in Matt. xxvii. 46, seems to imply a knowledge of Hebrew and

¹ See Dr. Rendel Harris's *Annotators of Codex Bezae*.

Aramaic. A brief account of Dr. Chase's arguments will be found on p. 87 in connection with the general question of the origin of the Western text.

There are no other mss. of equal importance to these. A list of all the uncials will be found in Appendix B. But it is perhaps as well to say something about a few.

L. Codex Regius, at Paris, a ms. of the eighth century. Said to be probably written by an Egyptian scribe. Its text is allied to that of B, but it has many readings in common with Origen. It is remarkable for possessing the 'shorter conclusion' of S. Mark.

Δ. Codex Sangallensis, in the monastery of S. Gall, probably of the eighth century, a Greek uncial with an interlinear Latin version. It has an inferior text as a rule, but in Mark there are many readings of an Alexandrian, and sometimes Neutral type. It is the same ms. as G₃ of the Epistles.

T. Cod. Borgianus (v.) is a collection of Græco-Sahidic fragments, which are remarkable for a Neutral text, and according to Westcott and Hort approach more nearly to B than any other ms.

Ε. Cod. Zacynthius (viii.) is a palimpsest fragment of Luke, belonging to the British and Foreign Bible Society, with a Neutral and Alexandrian type of text.

E₂. Codex Laudianus of the Acts (vii.), a Latino-Greek ms. probably written in Sardinia, and thence taken to Britain, when it was almost certainly used by Bede in his *Retractationes*. It afterwards passed into the possession of Archbishop Laud, who gave it to the Bodleian, where it is at present. It has a remarkable Western text, allied to D, but more closely connected with the Latin ms. 'gigas,' which is at Stockholm, and so with Lucifer of Cagliari in Sardinia, whose text is almost identical with gigas. It has the same chapter-numeration system as NB am. Euthalius (v. p. 55).

D₂. Cod. Claromontanus (vi.); E₃. Cod. Sangermanensis (ix.); F₂. Cod. Augiensis (ix.); G₃. Cod. Boernerianus (ix.) of the Pauline Epistles, form a group of Græco-Latin mss. which are certainly closely connected. E₂ is almost certainly copied from D₂; and F₂, if not copied from G₃, is probably an inferior copy of the same arche-

type; while D_2 and G_3 themselves probably have a common and not very distant ancestor, D_2 being probably the better representation as a rule. The text of their group is called Western, because its characteristics are similar to that of the Western text (*cf.* Chapter VI.) of the Gospels and Acts. They are, however, so much less striking that there is room for legitimate doubt as to whether the Western text of the Gospels and Acts is not due to some special cause which did not affect the Epistles.

H_3 . Codex Coislianus of the Pauline Epistles (of which 12 leaves are at Paris, 9 in the Laura S. Athanasii on Mount Athos, 2 at Moscow, 6 at various libraries at S. Petersburg, and 2 at Turin), an uncial of the sixth century, which seems from the subscriptions and notes to have been originally in the great monastery at Caesarea. Its text is that of the group represented by $\aleph H_3$, the Armenian version¹ and Euthalius, and often termed the Euthalian text. There is an elaborate and most interesting account of it in Dr. Armitage Robinson's *Euthaliana* in *Texts and Studies*.

Turning to the cursives, or more properly minuscules, we find that their numbers are greater than their interest. The list is constantly being increased by the cataloguing of new mss., and there are now about three thousand. They are denoted by figures. There is no fixed system of cataloguing them which is universally received; Gregory's catalogue probably is used most often, but some use Scrivener's Introduction, which has not always the same numeration. As things stand at present, it is a superhuman task to remember in the case even of important mss. the differing notation of Gregory and Scrivener, and also in some cases the antiquated and provisional notations which were used by Tischendorf and by Westcott and Hort in their editions previous to the catalogues of Gregory and Scrivener. This can be seen at once by looking at Appendix A on Tischendorf's *Notation*.

There are, however, a few minuscules which are inter-

¹ The Armenian version may have to be omitted from this group.

esting and important, though it is scarcely possible in the present book to do more than indicate which they are.

33. Paris Nat. Gr. 14, probably of the tenth century or earlier, in bad condition, and most difficult to read. Its text is more like that of \aleph B than is that of any other minuscule. It may probably be described as Alexandrian and Neutral, with some Syrian elements.

13-69-124-346, at Paris, Leicester, Vienna, and Milan respectively, are all twelfth century mss., except 69, which belongs to the fifteenth at the earliest. They are known as the Ferrar group, because Dr. Ferrar of Dublin proved their origin from a common archetype. The Abbé Martin has also shown, partly on palæographical grounds, partly on the hints conveyed by the names of the saints in menologies or calendars which are found in each, that they all (except 69, which is later) originated in Calabria or Sicily.

Dr. Rendel Harris has also shown that the curious text which they preserve has many affinities with the old Syriac, and especially with Tatian's *Diatessaron*. They are therefore valuable evidence for Western readings, and in some cases preserve readings which are not found in any other Greek mss., though attested by the Syriac and Latin versions. There are several other mss. which belong to this group, notably 543 a Burdett Coutts ms. of the twelfth century; 826 and 828, also of the twelfth century, at Grotta Ferrata; and 788 at Athens,¹ and von Soden (*see* Appendix D) adds several others which he thinks represent more or less attenuated forms of the same text.

Besides the Ferrar group, there is a family of four mss., codd. 1, 118, 131, and 209, the text of which is edited in *Texts and Studies*, vii. 3. These have unquestionably a common archetype, and it is suggested in *Texts and Studies* that this archetype, the Ferrar group, and codd. 22, 28, 565 and 700 represent, at least in Mark, an ancient text which has been corrupted in different ways

¹ There are also certain other mss. (*e.g.* 211, 709) which have some points of affinity with the group, though they are not primary members of it. The Abbé Martin thought that 348 belonged to the group, but this is not the case.

by a varying admixture with the later types. Codd. 22 and 28, are mss. of the eleventh or twelfth century at Paris; 565 (Scrivener, 473) is a St. Petersburg ms. which Tischendorf called 2^{de} because it is second in a catalogue made by Muralt; and 700 (Scrivener, 604) is an eleventh century ms. in the British Museum, which has been very carefully edited by Mr. Hoskier, in his *Collation of Cod. Ev.* 604, 1890.

Recently von Soden has presented a somewhat different view. The Ferrar group, codd. 28, 565 and 700 are, he thinks, independent authorities for the earliest form of his *I* text (*see* Appendix D) which roughly corresponds to W. H's. Western text, and he has found another ms. (his ϵ -050) which largely agrees with cod. 700. The group headed by cod. 1 is one of the four sub-families which represent an early branch of *I*. The other sub-families are represented by (1) cod. 872, a twelfth century ms. in the Vatican. (2) A group headed by cod. 22, and (3) two new mss. which he calls ϵ -183 and ϵ -1131. To this early branch of *I* he gives the name of *H^r*.

Minuscules of some importance for the criticism of the Acts are 58 and 137, as they frequently preserve Western readings (*vide* Pott's *Der Abendlündische Text der Apostelgeschichte*), 61, on the other hand, has a Neutral and Alexandrian text.

In the Pauline Epistles, 17 (= 33 of the Gospels) and 67 are conspicuous for often preserving early and good readings, and there are many minuscules of the Apocalypse which are important not so much for themselves as for preserving the commentaries of Andreas and Arethas, which had a great influence on the text.

Von Soden's results on the Acts and Pauline Epistles are not yet published; no doubt they will throw new light on the text, especially with regard to the evidence of the minuscules.

CHAPTER III

THE VERSIONS

NEXT in importance to the Greek mss. come the Versions, that is to say, the translations into various languages which have been made at different times from the Greek text. But before describing any of them separately, it may be well to consider what is the value of a version and what are the necessary limitations to its use for the purposes of textual criticism. It is obvious that the exact text of any given version has to be recovered in the manner described in Chapter I. Assuming that this can be done, the value of the version is that of the Greek text underlying it. If the version is an early one, and has been made from a good Greek text, its value is great; otherwise it is small. If, therefore, we possess a version which seems to have been made at a very early time from a good text, we have next to ask the question, How far can we reconstruct the Greek text which was used by the makers of the version? In considering this point, the first problem is, How far is the translation a literal one? For, of course, if we can assure ourselves that we have a word-for-word translation, and that the same word in the version always implies the same word in the underlying Greek, we can restore the latter with ease and certainty; while, on the other hand, if we cannot so assure ourselves, any restored text will be hypothetical and tentative. In other words, before we can properly use the evidence of versions, we must try to wrest from them some information as to the method which the translator employed in making them. Few things, however, are more remarkable in the study of textual criticism

than the really solid advance which has been made in this sphere of work, especially perhaps with regard to the Latin version; and probably all who have studied the subject would agree that the general trend of recent criticism has been to show that the early versions are singularly faithful to their underlying Greek, in spite of an occasional tendency to paraphrase.

The student of versions, therefore, has four distinct tasks before he can use them for the purposes of textual criticism—(1) By the application of the methods described in Chapter I. he must reconstruct the archetype of the version with which he is dealing; and here he needs to exercise caution to avoid the mistake of supposing that all mss. of the same book in the same language represent the same version. There may be more than one version in the same language.

(2) By careful comparison of renderings in different places he must form an induction as to the methods of the original translator, and decide whether he adopted a paraphrastic or literal style.

(3) He must then proceed to reconstruct the underlying Greek text; and he will do this with confidence if he found in the previous stage of his work that the characteristic of the translator was a literal style, so that divergence of rendering may be safely taken to imply divergence of reading, while he will do it with diffidence and with alternative possibilities kept in view if he found the reverse to be the case.

(4) He must finally form a judgment as to the value of this reconstructed ms. on exactly the same grounds as he would judge a Greek ms. of the same date and character.

It must be remembered that although the text of a version has as great a chance of being corrupt as a Greek ms. has, yet it is not often likely to have been corrupted in the same way; e.g. in 1 Tim. iii. 16, the Greek mss. differ between Θεός and ὁς—i.e. between ΘΣ and ΟΣ. Here a scribe's confusion is so probable that decision is difficult; but in Latin the difference is *Deus* and *qui*, so that we can take the Latin as free, in this case, from a cause which may have contaminated the Greek.

There are three versions of the New Testament of first-class importance—Latin, Syriac, and Egyptian; and possibly similarity of language in each case conceals the fact that we have really more than one version in each. And there is an immense number of translations of smaller and varying importance, some of which have been made from one of the three great versions, some independently from later Greek mss. Such are the Armenian, Aethiopic, Gothic, Georgian, Arabic, Persian, Slavonic, and many others.

The Latin Version.—The history of the Latin version, or it may be versions, bristles with difficult and disputed points.

The best way of describing it would, of course, be to begin with the oldest form and trace its gradual growth and development. But this is impossible. Its origin is shrouded in mystery, and therefore it is necessary to begin with the earliest historical statements about the Latin version and work back from them to an earlier time. The development after that point demands separate treatment.

The first statements on which we can rely are those of Jerome and Augustine.

Jerome.—Jerome's information is given in the open letter which he wrote to Pope Damasus in 384 A.D. as a preface to his edition of a revised Latin text. This revised text is that which is known as the Vulgate, which, as will be seen, has been the text of Latin-speaking Churches of the West ever since. In this letter to Damasus, Jerome explains:—

- (1) Why he found it necessary to issue a revised text;
- (2) On what principles he conducted his revision.

His answer to the first point is that there was a great difference between different renderings. '*Si enim Latinis exemplaribus fides est adhibenda, respondeant quibus. Tot enim exemplaria pene quot codices.*' (So in Cod. Am.)

To the second, that he had revised the Latin by means of the oldest Greek mss. which he could find, removing harmonistic and clerical corruptions, but so far as possible preserving the renderings which were familiar to Latin ears.

‘Igitur hæc præsens præfatiuncula pollicetur quattuor tantum evangelia quorum ordo iste est Mattheus Marcus Lucas Iohannes codicum græcorum emendata conlatione sed et veterum. Quæ ne multum e lectionis latinæ consuetudine discrepant ita calamo temperavimus ut his tantum quæ sensum videbantur mutare correctis reliqua manere pateremur ut fuerant.’

So far, then, as Jerome’s evidence goes, we are told that at the end of the fourth century there was a great variety of Latin renderings which differed both among themselves and also from the Greek text.

Turning to Augustine, we find that he attests practically the same facts. The locus classicus is his tract *De Doctrina Christiana*. In this he speaks in the strongest terms of ‘Latinorum interpretum infinita varietas,’ which he attributes to the effects of separate translations by early Christians. ‘Ut enim cuique primis fidei temporibus in manus venit codex Græcus, et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguæ habere videbatur, ausus est interpretari.’

The result, therefore, of the evidence of Augustine, as of Jerome, is to make us look for a pre-Vulgate version or versions characterised by many variations of reading and rendering. And the proper method will obviously be to inquire whether we can group these variations geographically and chronologically by identifying them with the text used by any definite Father or group of Fathers.

First of all, then, we put on one side for the moment all the mss. of the Vulgate or Jerome’s edition, to be dealt with later on. It is the residuum which is important for the early history of the Latin version. It is usual and convenient to call this residuum the Old Latin version.

The Old Latin.—There are about twenty-seven mss. of this of the Gospels, about seven mss. of the Acts, some fragments of the Catholic Epistles, about six mss. of the Pauline Epistles, and fragments of the Apocalypse.

The first glance at these confirms the evidence of Augustine and Jerome. The variations are immense. But after a time two manuscripts of the Gospels single

themselves out as particularly differing from the rest and agreeing between themselves. These are—

k. Codex Bobiensis,¹ now at Turin, but once in the great monastery of Bobbio. It is a ms. of the sixth century, and tradition connects it with S. Columban, the founder of the monastery, who died there in 615.

e. Codex Palatinus, now at Vienna, either of the fourth or fifth century. A beautiful fragment of purple vellum, with gold and silver letters.

Their text is most peculiar both in reading and rendering; and on examining the text of the earliest Fathers, we find that we can identify a locality in which it originally prevailed, although it does not follow that it was confined to this district. It is clearly the same as the text used by Cyprian,² the African father of the third century, so that it has been called the African Latin. And using the key given by Cyprian's use, we find the same type of text in the Acts in a fragment known as h (*cf.* p. 97), or the Fleury palimpsest, now at Paris, and in m or Mai's edition of the so-called *Speculum Augustini*, a series of quotations from the whole New Testament, except Philemon, Hebrews, and 3 John. Whether this form of text was originally used solely in Africa is a question which we can hardly decide. It involves the whole question of the genesis of the Latin version. Possibly the geographical limitations suggested by the name African may prove to be baseless. But if we bear this possibility always in our minds, the name African is a useful one, for it draws attention to the connection of the text with the great African fathers, Tertullian and Cyprian.

Their date (second and third century) shows that the Latin version is at least as old as they are. Zahn doubts whether Tertullian had a written version; but few agree with him (*cf.* Salmon).

Having thus eliminated from the mass of Latin mss. the Vulgate and African Old Latin, we have to examine the few which remain, and see whether they all preserve

¹ The edition of k in 'Old Latin Biblical Texts' contains in its introductions the most valuable collection of facts that the student of the Old Latin possesses.

² One would add Tertullian but for the doubt raised below.

the same type, or whether we can still further divide them into groups. And it is generally agreed that we can find *two* groups :—

(1) That known as the European.

(2) That known as the Italic.

The European is represented chiefly by two mss., known as a, b, which are mss. of the fourth or fifth century, at Vercelli and Verona respectively, and perhaps i, of the seventh century. On the whole, too, the Latin text of Codex Bezae is European, and the text used by the Latin Irenæus seems to belong to the same group.

The Italic is represented properly only by f Codex Brixianus of the sixth century, and q Codex Monacensis of the seventh. It probably was a modified form of the European, perhaps owing to attempts, made before Jerome's time, to revise the European text with the help of the Greek. It is so called because it used to be thought that it was to it that Augustine referred when he spoke of the 'Itala.' For among the diversity of translations which he mentions, he specifies one as in his opinion the best: 'In ipsis autem interpretationibus Itala ceteris præferatur.' And it has been thought that this meant that one of the pre-Vulgate texts was called Itala. But Mr. Burkitt, in *The Old Latin and the Itala*, shows that this is improbable. Augustine would probably use himself the text which he considered preferable, and beyond all doubt the text he was using in the *Doctrina Christiana* was that of the recently published revision of Jerome. So that all that the passage means is that Augustine, who, as living in Africa, naturally termed Jerome's version the 'Itala,' considered it to be better than any of its predecessors.

At the same time, it is probably true that f, q, represent the type of Latin mss. most used by Jerome. So far, then, we can roughly divide the Old Latin in three groups, represented in the Gospels chiefly as follows :—

(1) The African in k, e.

(2) The European in a, b, i.

(3) The Italic in f, q.

A fuller list and grouping of the mss. is given on pages 32, 96 f. Many represent, as may be seen, the corrupt

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and mixed forms of the three families, the basis of most of them being European.

Problems of the Old Latin version :—

(1) Are these three groups separate in origin, or do they go back to one original version of which no other trace remains?

(2) What was the character of the Greek text which underlies the Old Latin?

No final answer can be given as yet to either problem.

As to (1). Probably we have scarcely digested the material at our disposal sufficiently to form a decisive opinion.

Few, however, would refuse to admit that the Italic family is a later form of the European, and cannot be separated from it in origin.

And perhaps most critics would also agree that at least in large portions of the Gospels we can reconstruct with considerable certainty a text which was current in Africa in the third and probably the second century. We can with rather less certainty reconstruct an almost contemporary text of a European kind; and when the critical edition of the *Novum Testamentum S. Irenaei* is published, we shall do so with more confidence. But, even so, much of these reconstructions is tentative. Nor does a comparison of them lead to many definite results. Sometimes it seems as though we had traces of original differences of rendering which necessitate the theory of at least two original versions.

But against these have to be set other cases of extraordinary constancy in maintaining the same rendering, and sometimes even a wrong rendering. For instance, in any reconstructions, such as those suggested above, both African and European would read *gaudentes* in Mc. ix. 15, a rendering which is due to a mistake made by misreading *τρέχοντες* as *χαίροντες*. It is this kind of phenomenon which drives one to believe that ultimately the African and European Latin are traceable to one original version. But, as was said above, the point is still doubtful, and, of course, the presumption on *a priori* grounds is in favour of many original versions rather than one only. Perhaps it may ultimately turn out that

there were originally many local versions, but that an official version was adopted at a very early date. This version may lie behind both African and European, while the continued local use of the original attempts may explain some of the striking differences which we find. Many critics also believe that the earliest form of the Latin version was a bilingual one. That is to say, it consisted of a Greek text with a Latin translation either in parallel columns or in alternate lines. This view is supported by the existence of the early bilingual mss., such as D Δ of the Gospels, E of the Acts, and D, E, F, G of the Pauline Epistles ; and also by the exact verbal agreement of the Latin and Greek, in which the translator seems to have had some reason for wishing to make the sentences and the words in one language exactly correspond in number with those in the other.

As to (2). The question really is whether all the oldest variants found in the Latin are to be traced back to a Greek source. The point is this : If we assume that the Latin represents an accurate translation of the Greek, we have to suppose a lost Greek original of a definitely 'Western' type, such as is now found in Greek only in D (which is suspected of being influenced by the Latin), and in a few places by the Ferrar group and some others. Was there ever such a Greek text? This is really the great problem of modern textual criticism—the origin of the Western text. Here it is only necessary to say that on the whole it is inconceivable that the interpolations of the Latin versions do not go back to a Greek original for two reasons :—

(a) Many of them, though not all, are also found in the Old Syriac (v. p. 33).

Whatever view is taken of the close relationship which exists between the Latin and Syriac, no one has suggested that either has been made from the other, therefore a common Greek source is demanded for all the interpolations, etc., which are common to the Latin and Syriac.

(b) Many of the Western readings are traceable in the text used by Justin Martyr and by Marcion. In these cases it is obvious that a Greek and not a Latin text was used.

At the same time, it is quite likely that some of the Western readings may be originally purely Latin, and due to corruptions of the Latin text rather than the use of a corrupt Greek original, assuming, what is not certain, that no reading of purely 'Western' attestation is primitive and correct.

One more point calls for mention. If we believe that in any sense the Old Latin mss. are traceable to one original version, the question may be legitimately raised, Where was this original version first made? This, again, is a question which is not yet answerable. The primitive character of the Cyprianic text might suggest Africa; but, on the other hand, the *a priori* probability in favour of Rome is very strong; while, paradoxical as it may seem, the close textual connection subsisting between the Latin and the Syriac versions has led Dr. Sanday and Dr. Chase to consider seriously the possibility whether the Latin version was not made originally in the East, perhaps at Antioch (v. p. 87).

Having thus traced the history of the Latin backwards from Jerome to the earliest times of which we can say anything even with probability, it is necessary to return to the starting-point and trace the history of the revised version, which, as was seen (p. 25), he founded on the Old Latin mss. of his time.

The Vulgate.—When Jerome was alive, the characteristics of the Old Latin must have been very like those which we have seen in the mss. which are still extant. And when at the instance of Pope Damasus he undertook the task of revising the version, he must have had as a preliminary to decide what he should take as the basis of his work. To judge from the result, he adopted for his Latin authorities the Italic type now represented by *f* and *q*, and revised it by his knowledge of other types and of the original Greek. It is an interesting question what Greek mss. Jerome used, for no one ms. now known covers all the readings which seem to have come from a non-Latin source. But, on the whole, Jerome's Greek mss. were probably of a 'Neutral' rather than a 'Western' type. He published the Gospels in 384, and the rest of the New Testament probably before 386, and his version

gradually became accepted as the standard Latin Bible. But, naturally, as years went on the text of the Vulgate itself became corrupt; it was contaminated not only by the ordinary causes of corruption in the course of reproduction, but also by the influence of the Old Latin which was still extant.

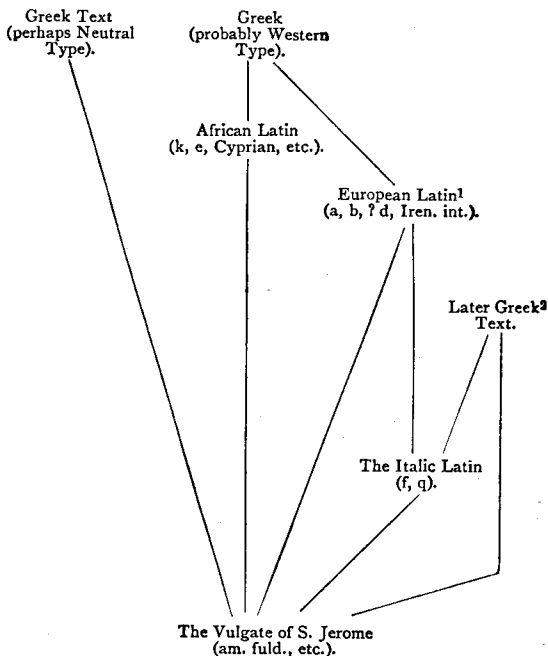
The result is that we possess mss.¹ with a Vulgate base which contain sporadic readings which have crept in from Old Latin mss. of every kind. There is scarcely any Old Latin reading which cannot be found in some Vulgate ms. Therefore revisions of the Vulgate became necessary. The earliest of these which were important were made in Gaul, by Alcuin in 801, and a few years later by Theodulf. Various other attempts at revision were made later on, but perhaps the most important are the lists of variants collected by various students and called 'correctoria.' But when printing was invented the publication and reproduction of better editions became easier. Famous among these are the Complutensian Polyglot of Cardinal Ximenes, and Erasmus' notes on the Latin translation which he appended to his famous edition of the Greek Testament; but the first really critical edition was that of Robert Stephanus in 1528. At about this period the Roman Church began to recognise the importance of producing a pure Vulgate text. Pope Sixtus v. (1585-90) accordingly undertook the publication of a pure and authentic text. The result was the publication in 1590 of an edition accompanied by a Bull declaring that this was the authentic and only trustworthy version. Sixtus, however, died soon after this, and in 1592 Clement VIII. called in all the copies of the Sixtine edition, for a reason which is somewhat obscure. Some say merely because it was inaccurate, some because the Jesuits, whom Sixtus had offended, desired it. In the same year the Clementine Vulgate was published, but, apparently to avoid the appearance of dissension, under the name of Sixtus! The Bull which accompanied it, and which has never been repealed, makes it the standard Roman text; no word of it may be altered, nor may variants be printed in the

¹ The best ms. of the Vulgate is Cod. Amiatinus, now at Florence. A list of a few of the more important is given on p. 98.

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margin, so that officially, at all events, textual criticism in the Roman Church ended in 1592. Modern editions of the Vulgate are being made in England by the Bishop of Salisbury (Dr. Wordsworth) and the Rev. H. J. White, and in Germany by Dr. P. Corssen.

The relations of the Latin versions to each might be graphically represented thus :—



¹ It is also possible that the European Latin ought to be connected directly with the African.

² The influence of this source ought perhaps to be confined to the Italic Latin.

Syriac Versions.—As is the case in the Latin version, so with the Syriac: the main body of the evidence represents a revised recension. This is admitted on all hands, though some consider that the amount of revision implied is considerable, others that it is quite insignificant.

This revised text is known as the *Peshitto* (or simple) version. It is, like the Latin Vulgate in the case of the Latin version, the starting-point for criticising the Syriac version. But there is this difference: we know all about the making of the Latin Vulgate from accurate and contemporary information. We know who made it, and to a large extent why, when, and how he made it. None of this can be said of the Syriac. Here we are obliged to fall back entirely on the mss. and the attempt to make them tell their own story.

The Old Syriac.—As far back as the beginning of the last century Griesbach and Hug perceived that the *Peshitto* was, in the form in which we possess it, a revised version, and postulated an Old Syriac which lies behind it, though they could not point to any ms. evidence for it. But since their time three important discoveries and much able work have thrown light on the matter. These discoveries are:—

(1) The discovery in 1847 and the publication in 1858, by the late Dr. Cureton, of some fragments of a fifth century Syriac ms. of the Gospels, brought in 1842 from the monastery of S. Maria Deipara, in the Nitrian desert by Archdeacon Tattam.

This ms. is now B. M. addit. 14,451, and is known as the Curetonian Syriac. It contains large fragments of all the Gospels, and at the beginning of S. Matthew has the curious and important title, 'Evangelion da-Mepharreshe Mattai.' The meaning of 'da-Mepharreshe' is not quite certain, but there seems to be an almost universal consent among Syriac scholars that in all probability it means 'separate' in the sense of not harmonised into a continuous narrative with the other Gospels on the plan of Tatian's Diatessaron (*cf.* Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*).

(2) A series of partial discoveries connected with Tatian's Diatessaron. This work, as its name implies, was a continuous harmony of the four Gospels which

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Tatian put together in the second century, as Eusebius tells us (iv. 29). It had been supposed that this work was lost, but in 1836 the Armenians of the Mechitarist monastery of San Lazzaro at Venice published a copy of a commentary on the Diatessaron by Ephraem, a Syriac Father of the fourth century, which they possessed in an Armenian translation. Some years later Moesinger translated this, and Zahn and other scholars have reconstructed the text on which the commentary is based. The interest aroused by this discovery drew attention to two other sources of information on Tatian's work: (a) an Arabic translation of the Harmony; (β) a Latin translation; both of these seem to preserve the order of the sections in Tatian though both have been corrected in text by an ordinary copy in their respective languages. The former is published with a Latin translation by Ciasca, and the latter is known as Codex Fuldensis of the Vulgate (*cf.* p. 98).

(3) In 1892 Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson found some palimpsest leaves of a Syriac ms. of the Gospels of the fifth century in the monastery of S. Catherine on Mount Sinai, where Tischendorf had found his Codex Sinaiticus (8). These contain in a legible form about three-fourths of the Gospels. The ms. itself is still at Sinai, but it has been photographed. It is usually known as the Sinaitic¹ Syriac, or the Lewis² Syriac.

These three discoveries give us all the ms. evidence which we possess for the Old Syriac.

Problems of the Old Syriac Version:—

(1) What are the mutual relations of the Curetonian, the Sinaitic, and Tatian?

(2) What are the relations between this group and the Peshitto?

(3) How do we explain the rareness of this type of Syriac version, as compared with the numbers of Peshitto mss.?

(4) What type of Greek text does the Old Syriac imply?

It seems to be certain that the Curetonian and the Sinaitic ought to be grouped together against Tatian,

¹ This is usually represented by Syr^{sin}, Syr^S.

² Sometimes represented by Syr^l.

and that they may be regarded as two mss. of an original Old Syriac version, the Sinaitic being greatly the better of the two. The question is does this version represent an attempt to keep the text of Tatian while abandoning his arrangement, or is Tatian a harmony based on a previously existing Syriac text, or, as a third alternative, do Tatian and the Old Syriac represent independent attempts to render the Greek? Various scholars have supported the two first suggestions, but Professor Burkitt's recent *Evangelion Da-Mepharreshe* (or the 'separated' gospels) makes it appear probable that the third view is preferable, for he thinks that the Diatessaron represents the type of Greek in use in Rome in the middle of the second century, and that it was made before the Old Syriac, which represents a translation based by some one who knew the Diatessaron on the Greek text in use at Antioch about the second half of the second century.

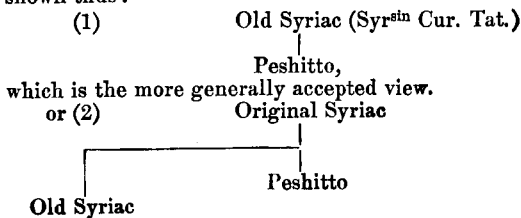
Two other points bearing on the relation of the Sinaitic to the Curetonian are worth notice.

(a) It has been suggested that the Sinaitic shows traces of a text which has been altered to support the view of the Ebionites, who held that our Lord was the human son of a human father, and that the Divine Spirit entered him at the Baptism. This is supported by the reading in Matt. i. 16, where the Sinaitic reads—*Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary the Virgin, begat Jesus, who is called Christ*. Whether this variant is really due to this cause is very doubtful, and this point is not one which commands confidence.

(β) Far more probable seems a suggestion that the Curetonian has a later form of the Old Syriac than the Sinaitic, and has been contaminated by a Latin source. The evidence for this statement is that, as compared with the text of the great Greek Uncials (known as the Neutral, cf. p. 65), both the Latin and Old Syriac have many curious interpolations (cf. pp. 79, 80), and of these some have both Latin and Syriac attestation. But there are some which are peculiar to the Syriac, some to the Latin. Now it would seem that in many places the Curetonian

agrees with the Latin against the Sinaitic; and as there is no evidence to show that the Sinaitic was connected with the **NB** type of text with which it, of course, agrees in these places, the probable suggestion is that the Curetonian is indebted for these readings to a Latin source. An important corollary follows from this point. The text of the Old Syriac, as will be seen later on, is closely connected with the Old Latin, but it would seem from the above-mentioned point that this connection is not explainable merely by a common origin in Greek for the versions, but by some kind of contact at more than one time. In other words, there are various strata in the text of the versions which are common to both, not the bed-rock alone. So that in reconstructing the textual history of the versions, we must adopt some theory which will allow for some period of time in the earliest stages of their history in which the two, as it were, lived side by side. The importance of this will be seen in Chap. VI.

(2) *What are the relations of the Old Syriac group to the Peshitto?* That is to say, does the Sinaitic-Curetonian Tatian group represent an old text which was revised into the Peshitto, or is it essentially a different text? A long controversy has been waged on this point, and cannot be said to be finished. At one time a few scholars were inclined to maintain that the Old Syriac, as we have called it, is really a corruption of the Peshitto. But probably no one would now maintain that position; certainly the great majority of Syriac scholars have decided against it. But it is a more delicate question whether the original of the Peshitto is to be sought in the Old Syriac. The choice of theories may be genealogically shown thus:—



The latter theory claims that the Peshitto of to-day is nearer the original Syriac than is the Old Syriac. But the possibility of holding this view has been greatly reduced by Mr. F. C. Burkitt's *S. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospel; Texts and Studies*, vii. 2. Mr. Burkitt shows that there is no reason for thinking that Ephraem used the Peshitto, and that it is therefore very probable that the Peshitto was made by Rabbula, who was appointed bishop of Edessa in 411. It has hitherto been believed that Ephraem's knowledge of the Peshitto proved that Rabbula's translation was some other quite unknown version. Mr. Burkitt has shown that this belief is erroneous, and, as he points out, we are now free to believe that the Peshitto was made at the beginning of the fifth century by Rabbula, bishop of Edessa,—a date and historical setting which suit it best.

(3) The question thus arises, *How is it that the MSS. of the Old Syriac are so few in number*, compared with those of the Peshitto, which, as will be seen, are very numerous? Those who deny that the Peshitto is the result of a revision of the Old Syriac, explain that this is due to the fact that the Old Syriac is a merely accidental survival of a curiously corrupt text, which never had a large circulation. This is not supported by the quotations in Aphraates and Ephraem, and therefore probably a better theory is that which postulates a revision of the Syriac text in the fifth century, which corrected the Old Syriac into the Peshitto (as S. Jerome corrected the Old Latin into the Vulgate), and insisted on the abandonment of the Old Syriac. It is said that there is no external evidence for this theory. In view of Mr. Burkitt's book this is scarcely true. But even if it were quite true it would not be necessarily fatal; early Syriac literature is extremely scarce. And also it must not be forgotten that there is another small piece of evidence which supports the idea of a revision. Theodoret, who wrote in the middle of the fifth century, mentions that he himself found over two hundred copies of Tatian in use in his district, and replaced them by the four Gospels. This vigorous line of action will easily explain the rapid extinction of Tatian's Diatessaron, and it is at least probable that the copies supplied would be made as accurate as could be, which implies something very like a revision

(4) *What type of Greek text does the Old Syriac represent?* This question is complicated both by the differences between the Curetonian and the Sinaitic, and by the difficulty of discovering their relations to the Diatessaron, the influence of which is especially important if, as Professor Burkitt suggests, it represents a Greek text from another locality and with other characteristics than that which lies behind the Old Syriac. On the whole, however, taking the Sinaitic as the best guide available the answers to the question raised would be:

(1) The text implied is a 'Western' one (*cf.* p. 65). (2) It is a short text. The first point is shown by the additions which it makes to the ordinary Greek text, as represented by W. H., some of which, *e.g.* 'quia Deus est Spiritus' in Jo. iii. 6, are common to it and the Old Latin, and belong to that stratum of the Western text which is common to Latin and Syriac, and is probably the earliest corruption of the true text. Some, not differing in internal characteristics, are peculiar to the Syriac, *e.g.* in the statement that Barabbas' name was Jesus.

The second point is shown by a series of striking omissions, some of them of considerable length, *e.g.* the story of Herod and Pilate's reconciliation in Luke xxiii. 12; some of them—notably perhaps, a series in S. Mark—omissions of redundant phrases, *e.g.* Mark i. 32, where Syr^{sin} omits *ὁψίας γενομένης*. Omissions, of a character which can scarcely be called dissimilar, are found in the Old Latin, but not often in the same passages as the Syriac omissions; and W.H., writing before the discovery of Syr^{sin}, accepted most of the Latin omissions as representing the true text. The question therefore arises, Are we to say the same of the Syriac omissions, and greatly increase the number of passages suspected of being Western non-interpolations, or, in other words, non-Western interpolations? This question is not yet settled; indeed, it has hardly been discussed. It will, however, be hard to resist the Syriac omissions, unless it be possible to show adequate reason for thinking that the Sinaitic text represents a deliberately shortened recension. In the face of the Syriac additions, this will be hard to do. It is also worth while to remember, in the case especially of the shortening of readings in S. Mark such as the omission of *ὁψίας γενομένης*, mentioned above, that the bearing on the Synoptic

question must be considered. Higher critics, assuming as they do that the second Gospel, or something very like it, was used by the compilers of the first and third, always find a difficulty in those passages which, like that quoted, seem to be conflations from S. Matthew and S. Luke.

The Peshitto.—We now return to the Peshitto. There are many extant mss. ranging in date from the fifth century onwards. A critical edition has recently been published at the Clarendon Press by Mr. Gwilliam. It is said that some of the later mss. show signs of readings not found in the earlier copies, but existing in the Old Syriac. This would be expected on the analogy of the Latin version, where it is known that the later mss. of the Vulgate show a text contaminated by the survival of Old Latin readings in the popular use. The date of the Peshitto is less doubtful now than it was formerly. It used to be alleged that the absence of the disputed Catholic epistles (the *ἀντιλεγόμενα*) points to a date not later than the third century, when these writings were received. This certainly shows that the original Syriac version was in existence at that time, and the evidence of Tatian suggests that it was in existence in the second century, but it does not show that the Peshitto in its present form was in existence at the time. Rabbula's revision of the Syriac text may have affected only the Gospels. The analogy of the Latin, where the Vulgate text of the Catholic epistles seems to have undergone but little revision, suggests this. Therefore all that can be said is that a Syriac version existed, probably in the form which we have called Old Syriac, in the second century; and that the Peshitto, as we have it, was based on a revision which was probably made by Rabbula in the fifth century. We do not know yet whether it affected all the New Testament. That it affected the Gospels is certain. That it affected the Acts is probable (*cf.* Dr. Chase, *Syro-Latin Text*). That it affected the epistles is quite doubtful.

Whatever may prove to be the case with this supposed revision, there certainly were two later revisions of the Peshitto itself. These were:—

1. **The Philoxenian.**—This was made for Philoxenus, or Xenaias, the bishop of Hierapolis, in 508, by Polycarp, Rural-Bishop. There are apparently no mss. extant of this revision except in the Apocalypse.

2. The Harklean.—This is really not so much a revision of the Peshitto, as of the Philoxenian. It was made in 616 by Thomas of Harkel, who was afterwards bishop of Hierapolis. It is literal to the point of obscurity, and its text as a whole is that of the later Greek mss., but it has many striking readings, usually in the margin, and an elaborate system of asterisks and obeli, imitated probably from Origen's use of such signs in the Hexaplar Septuagint. It is an interesting problem whence Thomas of Harkel obtained these readings. Practically all that we know is what he says himself in his subscription, which is also the chief authority for the facts given above concerning the Philoxenian. He says: 'This book of the four holy Gospels was translated . . . in the city of Malry (Hierapolis) in the year of Alexander of Macedon 819 (A.D. 508). . . . Afterwards it was collated with much diligence by me, the poor Thomas, by the help of two or three accurate Greek manuscripts in Antonia of the great city of Alexandria in the monastery of the Antonians (probably the monastery of the Enaton, *i.e.* of the ninth milestone), it was again written out and collated in the aforesaid place in the year of the same Alexander 927 (A.D. 616),' etc. The results of these labours are the marginal readings mentioned above, and it seems probable that they represent a Greek ms. of a markedly Western type and early character. So that the margin of the Harklean is more valuable than its text. What exactly is the meaning of the signs used is unknown. It is suggested that an asterisk implies that the reading is an addition to the text, and that the obelus means that the words marked ought to be taken out. It must be remembered that this version is often called 'Syr posterior,' and so Tischendorf always quotes it as Syr^p, naming the Peshitto Syr^{sch} from Schaaff, one of the earliest editors of the Peshitto.

So far, all the Syriac versions have in all probability been connected genealogically. It remains to consider two Syriac versions, which probably stand apart.

(1) **The Jerusalem¹ or Palestinian.**—This is a Lectionary (*cf.* p. 51) made, according to a subscription of a monk

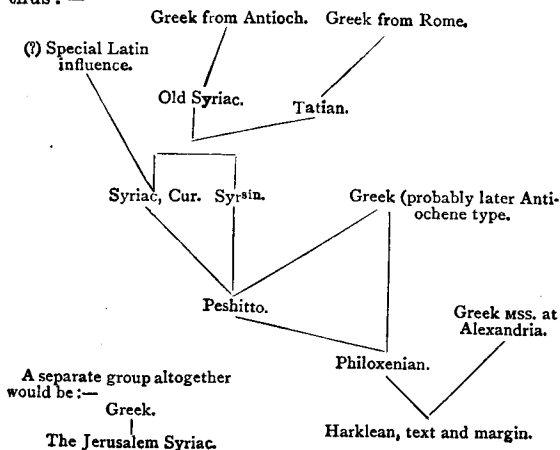
¹ It has been shown by Mr. Burkitt, in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, ii. 6. p. 174, to be connected with Antioch rather than Jerusalem.

named Elias of Abud, in the monastery of the Amba Musa at Antioch in the year A.D. 1029. It is written in a peculiar hand and a peculiar dialect, and its text is a curiously mixed type. It often agrees with B against the mass of mss.

It is remarkable as the only Syriac authority for the *pericope adulterae*, with the exception of one ms. of the Harklean version. It is not mentioned by any Syriac writer, and we do not know when it was used. There are only three mss. of it known at present.

(2) The Karkaphensian.—This used to be called a version, but it is more probably a kind of Massorah, an attempt to preserve the best traditions of the Syriac text by a catalogue of readings, etc. There are seven known mss.—six Jacobite, and one Nestorian. It is called Karkaphensian, which is an adjective of the Syriac word for skull, apparently because it tried to perpetuate the text favoured in the 'Monastery of the Skull.' It does not seem to have any great value, and is hardly ever quoted.

The relations of the Syriac versions, so far as we can tell, to each and to the Greek, may be graphically represented thus:—



The Egyptian Versions.—Very much less is known at present about the Egyptian versions than either the Latin or Syriac. They are found in various forms of that debased type of the ancient Egyptian language, written in characters borrowed from Greek, which was current in the earliest centuries of the Christian era, and is usually known as Coptic.¹ The questions which are raised are very complicated, and perhaps they may be best divided into those which are concerned with the history of the dialects, and those which are concerned with the history and character of the versions in those dialects.

The Egyptian Dialects.—Apart from the evidence of mss., the only testimony which seems important is that of Athanasius of Kos in the Thebaid (eleventh century), who published an Arabic-Coptic grammar. He says that there were three dialects: (1) Sahidic; (2) Bohairic; (3) Bashmuric, representing three districts in Egypt. Of these we can identify the Sahidic as the southern, and Bohairic as the northern dialect, and we have a fair amount of mss. in each. Bashmuric is more difficult to identify. It was at one time thought to belong to a district near the Delta, but it is now generally believed that what Athanasius was referring to is the form now known as Middle Egyptian, which is a form intermediate to the Bohairic and Sahidic, but nearer to the latter than the former. It lacks, however, the definitiveness of the two other versions, and it is still an unsettled point among Egyptologists whether it is not possible to divide Middle Egyptian into more than one dialect. Notably there are fragments which have been found at Akhmim and the Fayoum, to which some have been inclined to give the names of the Akhmimic and Fayoumic dialects; and Mr. Headlam, in the fourth edition of Scrivener, seems to think it possible that Akhmimic is the parent of the Sahidic.

The dates of these dialects are doubtful. The Arabic historian Macrizi (fifteenth century) says Sahidic is the oldest, and Bohairic and Middle Egyptian offshoots of it.

¹ 'Coptic' is a corruption of *Αἰγύπτιος*, just as in modern military slang 'Gypsy' is a corruption of 'Egyptian.'

Bohairic is a more literary language, and is said to show more signs of Greek influence in grammar and style.

Geographically it is more probable that it developed out of Middle Egyptian than out of Sahidic. It may be doubted whether it was not always far more a literary than a popular language. It died out earlier than the other dialects, except for ecclesiastical purposes.

We have fragments of all the dialects in mss. as early as the fourth or fifth centuries; but it is considered probable that as far back as the second century attempts were made to use Greek characters such as were used in the later developments of Coptic.

The Versions.—We have remains of versions in each of the three great dialects, but the Bohairic alone is complete.

The Sahidic.—The text of the version in this dialect¹ has not yet been worked out, or properly edited. A great deal was published by M. Amélineau, in 1886 and the following years, in the *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache*. It is remarkable for a number of 'Western' readings; e.g. in Luke xxiii. 53 it preserves the curiously Homeric addition that the stone laid at the mouth of the sepulchre was such that twenty men could not move it (*cf.* p. 74 f.).

The Middle Egyptian.—Even less is known of this than of the Sahidic. It is not yet accessible to any except the Egyptian specialist. It would seem that there is considerable doubt, as was suggested above, whether there is not more than one dialect preserved in the fragments which are usually classed together as Middle Egyptian. Nor is it certain whether it represents a separate version, or is merely another form of the Sahidic.

The Bohairic.—Far more is known of this version,² which is now easily accessible in Lagarde's edition and in the Clarendon Press edition of the Gospels, by Mr. Horner. Probably it is a translation separate from those preserved in the other dialects. The text is Neutral and Alexandrian rather than Western.

The broad questions which remain as to the Egyptian versions are naturally these:—

¹ Also called the Thebaic.

² It is sometimes called the Memphitic, and Tischendorf calls it the Coptic version.

- (1) What is the date of these versions?
- (2) What was the underlying Greek Text?

As to (1), the earliest evidence which we possess is contained in the life of S. Antony, attributed to S. Athanasius. S. Antony lived in the latter half of the third and first half of the fourth century, and appears to have been in the habit, when a young man (c. 270), of hearing the Gospels read in Coptic. This would be conclusive evidence if it were not for the doubt whether what he heard was a written or an oral translation. But from the emphasis which Pachomius in the fourth century lays on the study of Scripture, in his monastic rules, it seems certain that there were written translations in his days, so that on the whole the end of the third century is the most probable date for the beginning of the native versions. Which version is the earliest we cannot say, but Mr. Forbes Robinson in *Hastings' Bible Dictionary*, vol. i. p. 668, thinks that the Sahidic is the oldest, and the Bohairic the most recent. His reasons seem to be that (1) the Sahidic dialect, as a dialect, is probably the oldest; (2) on *a priori* grounds the needs of that part of the country which knew least Greek might be expected first to produce a native translation, and this would suggest a district further from rather than nearer to Alexandria. Other scholars, *e.g.* Mr. Headlam, regard the Bohairic as the earliest, but their chief reason seems rather too largely to consist in the character of the text, which is a very dangerous argument.

As to (2), the Greek Text underlying the Sahidic version is, beyond doubt, an early Western one, and the Middle Egyptian seems to be of the same character. But the Bohairic represents a Neutral and Alexandrian text. It is the only version of first-rate importance in any language of which this can be said. Therefore one of the most interesting problems of the future will be to explain this difference between the Sahidic and Bohairic. Possibilities are:—

(a) The Western element in the Sahidic is secondary and not primitive. This is most improbable.

(β) The Bohairic Neutral element is to be traced to the conviction which obtained in the neighbourhood of Alexandria that the Neutral text was the better. It is

possible that the working out of this theory may throw light on the question raised in Chapter V. as to the possibility that the Neutral text is a recension made by the school of Origen. This could only be done by a careful comparison of the Bohairic with the quotations of Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Cyril of Alexandria, etc.

The Secondary Versions.—The versions of secondary importance are those which have been made either from one of the great versions or from a late Greek text. The most important are:—

(1) *The Armenian version.*—The early history of this version is lost in obscurity. According to Mr. Conybeare's account in the fourth edition of Scrivener, there were two translations made in the fourth century: (a) By S. Mesrop, with the aid of a certain Hrofanos (? Rufinus), based on a Greek text; (β) by S. Sahak, from Syriac. After the Council of Ephesus in 430, Sahak and Mesrop compared and revised their translation with Greek manuscripts from Constantinople, and it is this recension which is represented by the Armenian mss. which we possess.

Therefore we should naturally expect to find in the Armenian text three distinct elements: (1) An Old Syriac element; (2) an earlier Greek text; (3) a later Greek text, and we should expect the last to be the most prominent. Roughly, this is what we do find. The bulk of the readings attested by the version are of the 'Syrian' type, but there are also two distinct and earlier strata:

(a) A series of readings agreeing with the Old Syriac text, e.g. in the omission or practical omission of the spurious conclusion of S. Mark.

(b) A curious group of readings in the Pauline epistles especially agreeing with $\aleph^c H_3$ and Euthalius, and therefore (cf. p. 56) probably representing a Caesarean Greek text of an early type.

The special importance of these two groups of readings is that the former sometimes gives us, in the Acts and Epistles, an opportunity of reconstructing the Old Syriac text which is extant in mss. in the Gospels only, and that the latter is possibly a guide towards the re-

construction of the 'Codex Pamphili' which is mentioned on p. 14.

There are interesting possibilities suggested by the Armenian version of Mark xvi. 9-20, where one ms. connects the verses with Ariston Eritzu,¹ or Presbyter, who may perhaps be the Aristion mentioned by Papias.

(2) *The Aethiopic Version.*—There are two recensions of this version made apparently in the fifth and twelfth centuries. The latter naturally represents a late text, but the earlier has many early readings. It frequently agrees with the Egyptian version, though it is said to have signs of being in the main an independent translation. A collection of readings found in Aethiopic mss. is given in Dr. Sanday's 'Appendices'; but very few people know anything about it, and what they do know does not seem to be very important for the purposes of textual criticism.

(3) *The Gothic Version.*—The story of the Gothic migration from Scandinavia to Italy is to be found in Gibbon (*D. and F.* ch. x.-xxvi. etc.). While they were still in Moesia (318-388), Ulfilas, or Wulfilas, a Cappadocian, who was their second bishop—an Arian—translated the whole Bible into Gothic. It is almost certain that he used the LXX. in the Old Testament, and the Greek in the New Testament; but there are considerable signs of the influence of Latin readings on the text. The Arian heresy has left few or no traces in it.

There are three mss. of the version, of which the most important is the Codex Argenteus at Upsala, of the fifth or sixth century, of purple vellum with gold and silver letters. The Gospels are in the 'Western' order (Matthew, John, Luke, Mark), which may be due to Latin influence or the use of Greek mss. of a 'Western' type.

Other versions which are sometimes quoted are the Arabic, the Persian, the Slavonic, the Georgian, the Anglo-Saxon, and a few others. None of them have any claim to importance. The Georgian is probably the most important of them, as it is possible that, like the Armenian, it may contain traces of an Old Syriac base.

¹ Cf. The Gospel according to S. Mark, ed. Swete. p. ciii.

CHAPTER IV

PATRISTIC QUOTATIONS—LITURGICAL EVIDENCE—

CHAPTER DIVISIONS AND STICHOMETRY

So far the only evidence dealt with has been that contained in MSS. of different languages, which give a continuous text of the various books of the New Testament, and claim to provide direct evidence as to the words used by the writers. The evidence which remains is indirect. It is that which is provided by:—

- (1) Quotations of varying length and importance in the early Fathers.
- (2) Ecclesiastical or liturgical usage and service-books.
- (3) Chapter divisions and stichometry.

I. *Patristic Quotations.*—This is a branch of textual criticism which is full of difficulties. There are three points which have always to be discounted in considering the bearing which a quotation in a Father may possess:—

(1) The text of the Father is itself a subject for criticism. We cannot always be sure that we have the text in a sound condition. And especially is this the case with quotations. Scribes could scarcely be expected to refrain from correcting the text into agreement with their own ideas of what the true text ought to be. Therefore as a practical rule we can attach less weight to the quotation of a Father if it agrees with the ordinary text than if it differs.

(2) Quotations from memory are obviously less to be trusted than those copied from a book. And the great majority of quotations are undoubtedly made without

consulting any authority. It is only in the case of long quotations which cannot be made from memory, or where some definite reading is emphasised, that we can feel able to claim that the quotation really represents the ms. of the Scriptures.

(3) It is always necessary to ask whether we can be quite certain that the quotation is not made from a harmony or lectionary.

But after making every allowance for these factors, the value of Patristic quotations remains almost as great as that of mss. or versions, though of a different kind, and greater than that of lectionaries or divisions of the text.

Their value consists in the opportunity which they afford us of localising and dating various kinds of texts in mss. and versions. For instance, if we find a certain well-defined type of text in the Old Latin mss., and also in the quotations of certain African Fathers of the second and third centuries, we are obviously justified in saying that this form of Latin version was used in Africa in the second and third centuries. Whereas if we had not the quotations, we should have very little certain evidence either as to date or place.

There are of course more Fathers than one can count, but fortunately the number can be considerably reduced for the purposes of criticism. With few exceptions, all the Fathers later than the fifth century who write in Greek seem to use a late or 'Syrian' text. They therefore merely confirm the well-known fact that by the fifth century this type of text was to be met with almost everywhere. Similarly the Latin Fathers almost invariably use the Vulgate, and so add nothing but confirmation to our previous knowledge of the wide use of that version. The Fathers therefore who are important are those who are earlier than the fifth century.

Taking, then, this selection of Fathers, we find that for practical purposes we can divide them into a few more or less easily recognisable groups:—

1. A group of Latin Fathers, of whom the earliest and most important are Tertullian and Cyprian representing Africa, and Cyprian's contemporary Novatian of Rome.

These three give us in their numerous quotations a fairly complete record of the third century Latin text, and Tertullian takes us to the last days of the second century. The character of their quotations is Western.

2. A small group of Western Greek writers, containing Justin Martyr and Marcion of the second century, Irenaeus of the second and early third, and Hippolytus of the third.

Of these it is also true that they present a definitely Western type of text, with many agreements though with some differences from the Greek text implied by the Latin group. It is noticeable that although their final home was the West, yet Justin Martyr (Samaria and Rome), Marcion (Pontus and Rome), and Irenaeus (Ephesus, Rome, and Lyons) can all be traced back to the East.

3. A group of Eastern Greek Fathers, who are chiefly represented by Methodius of Lycia and Tyre, and Eusebius of Caesarea. This group probably represents the tradition of Pamphilus, an earlier Father of the same locality. These, again, have a Western text, though of a somewhat later type. In this group it is to be noticed that Methodius and Eusebius, though using much the same text, did not belong to the same school of thought. Methodius was an opponent of Origen, Eusebius a disciple.

4. A group of Syrian Fathers, especially Tatian (so far as we can judge from his Diatessaron), Aphraates, and Ephraem.

These also have many Western readings; but it is still a doubtful point how far they represent a text independent of the Diatessaron.

The Diatessaron of Tatian has been discussed on p. 33. It is therefore only necessary to repeat here that the problem of its relations to the old Syriac text as represented by the Sinaitic and Curetonian mss. and the quotations of Ephraem and Aphraates is still unsolved.

5. A group of Alexandrian Fathers extending over several generations, represented primarily by Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Cyril. The text represented by these writers is a most difficult problem.

The main points are these:—Clement gives a text which, though perhaps more Neutral in character than that of the Latin or Syrian Fathers, yet has a great number of Western readings. Origen in many of his works gives us an almost purely Neutral text, with some traces of the Alexandrian; in others he has a Western element, which may perhaps be due to his connection with Caesarea, or may be due to the same source as that which affected Clement.

Cyril has an almost purely Alexandrian text.

It must be remembered that Origen is known to have been a critic and editor of the Old Testament, and may have extended his labours to the New Testament, though there is no proof of this.

These groups of Fathers, of which only a few representative names have been given, are the foundations of patristic evidence. The main facts which are clear from them are:—

- (1) The Syrian text as such was unknown in the third century.
- (2) The Western text in some form or another was predominant everywhere except in Alexandria.
- (3) Even in Alexandria the earliest known text was probably more Western than Neutral, though this point is still somewhat disputed.

The bearing of this evidence will be seen in Chapter VI.

Besides these there are many other Fathers whose readings are interesting and valuable, *e.g.* Primasius, who quotes nearly the whole Apocalypse in an 'African' text; Augustine, who uses the Vulgate in the Gospels, but an African text in the Acts; Gregory Nazianzen, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Chrysostom, and many others.

It would, however, be neither easy nor profitable to say anything of them separately, and to some extent the value of their writings for purposes of textual criticism still remains for future critics to determine.¹

II. Liturgical Evidence.—This is chiefly to be found in those service-books which contain texts of the New Testament complete, but not continuous, being really sections adapted for the use of the Church for public

¹ New critical editions are also needed.

reading. These may be conveniently termed 'Lectionaries,' though they are strictly known by various names, according to the name of the New Testament from which they have been compiled, and services at which they were intended to be used. A collection of passages to be used as the Gospels at the Eucharist was known as an *Evangeliarium*, selections from the Acts as an *Apostolos*, and so on. But the use and method of compilation in each case was the same. In the *Evangeliarium*, for example, the selection was based on one of the four Gospels, and in the main the text chosen was adhered to faithfully. But there were two exceptions to this faithfulness:—

(1) At the beginning and end of a passage a few words would often be altered in order to make a more intelligible commencement or conclusion, *e.g.* *αὐτός* might be altered into the name of the person to whom it referred, *μετὰ ταῦτα* might be replaced by some two or three words summarising the events referred, or the whole might be prefaced by the words *ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ*, or *εἶπεν ὁ κύριος*, or some such phrase.

(2) If the parallel passages in the other Gospels supplied some interesting detail which was not found in the Gospel which was being used, the requisite verse would often be inserted, *e.g.* the story of the angel in the Garden of Gethsemane was inserted in this way into the narrative of S. Matthew.

It is this general faithfulness to an originally continuous text, taken in connection with two exceptions on the one hand, and with the well-known verbal conservatism of Church services on the other, that gives to the evidence of lectionaries both its value and its limitations.

Most lectionary systems go back to a great antiquity, though very little is known at present as to their origin or history; and as they have not changed, in all probability, with any rapidity, they are therefore sometimes valuable evidence. But it will be seen at once that not only is their testimony almost valueless on small points of wording, but it also carries no weight when narratives are in question which have parallels. Indeed, many harmonistic readings in continuous texts are probably due to the influence of lections, *e.g.* there is a group of

minuscules (including the Ferrars) which does actually read the story of the angel at the Garden of Gethsemane in Matthew instead of in Luke.

The evidence to be gained from this source has not been fully worked out; it supports, on the whole, the view which is suggested by the other evidence, that behind the ecclesiastical text (Syrian) of the times subsequent to Chrysostom there is a period in which the Western text was almost, if not quite, supreme.

Traces of the Western text are found in the Luxeuil lections and in the Liber Comicus of the Acts, and it is possible that a search among the oldest liturgies of other languages would reveal the same facts.

III. Division into Chapters and Stichometry.—Most of this kind of evidence is valuable only as giving a clue to the genealogical connections of mss., for there is of course a probability that mss. with the same chapter divisions come from the same part of the world. It is sometimes possible to argue as to the original division or addition of a passage of fair length from the evidence which the numeration of lines or *στίχοι* affords.

The handling of this branch of criticism is all comparatively modern, and is at present confined to a very small body of scholars.

It will perhaps be best to divide the subject somewhat arbitrarily, and to start with the most ancient of the known chapter or capitulation systems and work downwards, afterwards returning to the stichometry proper.

Chapter Divisions.—At an early period it became necessary to divide the books of the New Testament into chapters, in order to facilitate the convenience of readers and writers. There are four ancient systems of division which have been preserved in mss.

(1) **The Vatican Sections.**—The oldest system which is known to us is that preserved in Codex Vaticanus (B).

The origin of these is unknown, but it is obvious that they are made with reference to breaks in the sense. There are 170 in Matthew, 62 in Mark, 152 in Luke, 50 in John. An interesting point in connection with them is that the Pauline Epistles are numbered continuously as if they were regarded as one book. And this fact

enables us to say something about the order of the Epistles in a ms., now lost, from which the capitulation was copied, for as at present arranged there has obviously been some dislocation. Sections 1-58 cover regularly Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Galatians; but Ephesians, instead of beginning with 59, begins with 70, and then there is no further break in order until 93, which brings us to the end of 2 Thessalonians, after which follows the Epistle to the Hebrews, beginning with 59 and going on to 64 in ix. 11, after which the ms. is defective. Obviously the archetype of the capitulation system contained the Epistle to the Hebrews between Galatians and Ephesians. It has also been pointed out that this is the order given in the Sahidic version of the 'Festal letter' of Athanasius in 367 A.D., while the order found at present in B agrees with that of the other versions of this letter, placing Hebrews immediately before the Pastoral Epistles. It has therefore been argued that we ought to place the home of the Vatican ms. in Alexandria. Against this must be set the argument on pp. 14-15, which shows good reason for connecting both it and \aleph with Caesarea. It is, however, quite possible that the archetype of both mss. came from Alexandria to Caesarea—a theory which perhaps does justice to both arguments.

One other ms., Ξ (Cod. Zacynthius of Luke), has the same divisions in the Gospels, and it is significant that both textual and palaeographical considerations suggest that this is an Alexandrian ms.

Other divisions also found in B are dealt with on p. 57.

(2) κεφαλαῖα *majora*.—Next in antiquity to the Vatican sections, if not quite as old, come the κεφαλαῖα *majora*, or breves, or τίτλοι, as they are interchangeably called, though κεφαλαῖον is strictly the chapter itself, and τίτλος the technical name for the summary heading describing its contents, e.g. κεφ. \bar{a} of Mark begins Mark i. 23, and its τίτλος is περὶ τοῦ δαιμονιζομένου.

It should be noted that in no case does κεφ. \bar{a} begin with the beginning of the book, almost certainly because the custom of early scribes was to call the first section, as we should call it, the προοίμιον or preface.

These divisions, of which there are 68 in Matthew

48 in Mark, 83 in Luke, and 18 in John, are not found in NB, but exist in A, so that their use in the fifth century is quite certain.

(3) **The Ammonian Sections and Eusebian Canons.**—The name Ammonian, usually given to these divisions, probably perpetuates a mistaken theory. Ammonius was an Alexandrian who lived at the beginning of the third century, and appears to have published a harmony of the Gospels, as Tatian had done, only instead of making a new continuous text he adopted some arrangement of parallel columns.

Eusebius of Caesarea describes this attempt of Ammonius in a letter to Carpianus; and says that, taking the hint from this attempt, he had himself worked out a new plan of divisions for making parallels and references easy to find.

The basis of this plan, which with various modifications is found in the majority of mss., and is invaluable to the collator or examiner of mss., was to divide the Gospels into sections; and it has been supposed, probably erroneously, that Eusebius adopted the divisions used by Ammonius.

Having thus divided up the text, Eusebius next prepared the indices or tables (*κάνονες*) of sections. The first table contained those sections which related events common to all four Gospels, and the numbers of the four sections were noted in the table or 'canon,' and the number of the canon (*i.e.* in this case \bar{a}) was written in red alongside or underneath the section number in each Gospel; so that if any one were reading, for example, the account of the superscription on the cross in Mark which is in section $\sigma\iota\delta$ (214), and wished to consult the parallels, he would look at the margin and see that the section number was accompanied by the figure \bar{a} (1) in red. He would therefore turn to the first table or canon, and run his finger down the sections of Mark, until he came to $\sigma\iota\delta$, when he would find opposite it Mt. $\tau\lambda\epsilon$ (335), Lc. $\tau\kappa\delta$ (324), Jo. $\rho\theta\zeta$ (197), and on looking up these sections he would find his parallels. In the same way the second canon contained narratives found in Mt.,

Mc., Lc., and so on, until all the combinations were exhausted.

(4) Euthalius.—Who Euthalius was, and exactly what he did, are questions which are much disputed; but connected with his name there is found in many mss. a considerable amount of work on the Acts and Epistles which is obviously intended for the help of students and others of the index-using and reference-seeking tribe. A full account of the problem can be found in Dr. Armitage Robinson's *Euthaliana*, vol. iii. 3 of the Cambridge *Texts and Studies*; and some interesting, though rather difficult contributions, are made in E. von Dobschütz's *Euthalius-Studien*, published in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* (see footnote, page 58).

The outlines of the difficulty are these.

The account given, apparently by Euthalius himself, in a short prologue to the Pauline Epistles, is that he first of all published, as we should say, an edition of the Pauline Epistles, giving (1) a list or index of the quotations from the Old Testament, (2) at the beginning of each Epistle a list of the chapters into which it is divided, (3) τὴν τῶν ἀναγνώσεων ἀκριβεστάτην τομήν, the meaning of which is doubtful. ἀναγνώσεων is, of course, our 'lessons,' but what 'the most accurate division' means is obscure.

We get further information in a similar prologue to the Acts and Catholic Epistles, which appear to have been published by Euthalius at a later date. Here Euthalius adds that he had divided the text of the Pauline Epistles into short sentences so as to assist intelligent reading. He now promises to treat the Acts and Catholic Epistles in the same way, and to add the corresponding list of chapters. So that, putting aside the question of στίχοι, we find that Euthalius

- (1) Divided the text into short sentences.
- (2) Gave tables of chapters.
- (3) Gave tables of quotations.

Turning, then, to the mss. which profess to give this Euthalian apparatus, we find that not only do they give these three lists or tables, but add a great deal more.

The list given in *Euthaliana*, p. 14, is as follows :—

- (1) Μαρτύριον Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου.
- (2) ἀνακεφαλαίωσις τῶν ἀναγνώσεων καὶ ὧν ἔχουσι κεφαλαίων καὶ μαρτυρίων καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ ἀποστόλου καὶ ὅσων ἐκάστη τούτων στίχων τυγχάνει.
- { (3) πρόγραμμα, explaining,
- { (4) ἀνακεφαλαίωσις θείων μαρτυριῶν—a shortsummary.
- { (5) πρόγραμμα, explaining,
- { (6) ἀνακεφαλαίωσις θείων μαρτυριῶν.
- (7) List of Pauline epistles.
- (8) ὑπόθεσις Πρώτης πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιστολῆς.
- (9) ἔκθεσις κεφαλαίων of the Epistle to the Romans.

As the reader of *Euthaliana* will see, much of this has no claim to be considered as genuinely the work of Euthalius. But the points of direct value for an elementary knowledge of textual criticism are connected with (1) the chapter divisions; (2) the stichometric edition of the text. It will be perhaps most convenient to deal with the second point when discussing stichometry generally. The chapter divisions remain. It is only possible to summarise the points of interest and difficulty.

1. It was apparently a double system, *i.e.* each division was subdivided into smaller sections. It is doubtful how these subdivisions were indicated, perhaps originally not by numbers but by asterisks. But it is obviously inevitable that confusion would soon spring up, and that at last the double system would become a single one in which the numeration would run straight on.

2. Without saying at present anything about the date or locality of Euthalius himself, it is safe to say that the Euthalian apparatus at an early period in its history was well known in the great library at Caesarea. This is proved by certain colophons :—

- (a) In H₃, saying that the Pauline Epistles were compared with a copy in that library.
- (b) In some other mss., saying the same of the Acts and Catholic Epistles.

These do not prove that Euthalius went to Caesarea, but show that his apparatus did.

And it is possible to point to the results of this journey.

(a) The third hand of (8^c) which is already connected with Caesarea, and the second (probably) hand of B, has adopted a variation of the Euthalian chapters in the Acts, treating the divisions and subdivisions as a continuous series. This is the other system in B referred to on p. 53.

(b) Some editions of the Euthalian apparatus have also adopted the earlier numeration of B, and connect it with the second colophon mentioned above and so with Caesarea definitely.

Stichometry proper.—It was the custom in ancient times to measure books by the line, and this line was usually sixteen syllables or the equivalent of an hexameter. This system is also found in the New Testament, not in the oldest mss., but in many of the earliest of the later ones. It used to be thought that this system both in the Gospels and in Acts and Epistles was the work of Euthalius. But there is no evidence to that effect, as Euthalius only claims to have arranged the Acts and Epistles in *στίχοι*; and as he was by no means the inventor of the system, there is no reason to assert that he also applied it elsewhere. In the case of the Acts and Epistles the measuring line as in classical books seems to be the sixteen-syllable hexameter, but in the Gospels it appears probable that the standard was a fifteen-syllable line.

The value of these reckonings is the evidence that they bring to bear on the length of the text, and therefore on the question of long interpolations like the conclusion of Mark, or the *pericope adulterae*.

The most ordinary system in the Gospels gives 2600 for Mt., 1600 for Mc., 2800 for Lc., and 2300 for Jo.; but these are probably corruptions of 2560, 1616, 2750, 2024 respectively, which are found in several mss., and imply the presence of xvi. 9-20 in Mark, and the omission of vii. 53—viii. 12 in John.

There was, however a constant tendency to substitute sense-lines for syllable-lines, consulting the convenience

of the reader rather than the scribe, and all modern verse-divisions are based primarily on that plan. There is also one survival of what seems to be at least probably an ancient sense-line division in the *ρήματα* which form a stichometric reckoning found in the Ferrar group and a few other mss. Their probable history has been traced by Dr. Rendel Harris in his book on *Stichometry*. The question of their origin is obscure, but it seems certain that they represent a retranslation of a Syriac stichometry, which is, as said above, probably founded on a sense-line system in the Gospels, but in the Epistles (where the *ρήματα* are not found, but the Syriac system is) may be connected with the Euthalian stichometry.¹

There are no other ancient systems of chapter divisions and stichometry known to us at present, and it must suffice to mention in the briefest manner later developments.

The oldest of these developments is probably the Greek *ἀναγνώσματα*, which seem to be ecclesiastical in origin, and no doubt there are local divisions both in Greek and other mss. which may be ancient.

The system of chapters now in use was invented by Cardinal Hugo de S. Caro in 1238, and soon became universally used in the West. He also divided each chapter into paragraphs by means of letters, but this part of his work has been superseded since 1551 by the modern verses which were invented by Robertus Stephanus. None of them has any critical value.

¹ Since the paragraph on Euthalius was written, von Soden has published in his *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* a long discussion on Euthalius. On the ground of a dogmatic fragment preserved in Mt. Athos, he thinks that Euthalius lived in the seventh century. If so, the 'Euthalian' apparatus, which is undoubtedly earlier, does not belong to this Euthalius, but to some one else, perhaps to Evagrius, whose name occurs in some 'Euthalian' mss. The whole question is very difficult; besides the books mentioned in the text, reference should be made to articles by Th. Zahn, *Neue Kirchh. Zeitschr.*, xv. 4. 5, F. C. Conybeare, *Zeitschr. f. d. N. T. Wissenschaft*, v, and by J. A. Robinson, *Journal of Theological Studies*, October 1904, and to the article on *Patristic Commentaries* by C. H. Turner in the supplementary volume of Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*.

CHAPTER V

HISTORY OF MODERN CRITICISM

THE history of the criticism of the text of the New Testament is the history of the attempts, successful and unsuccessful, to apply the principles and methods explained in Chapter I. to the materials discussed in the three succeeding chapters. Much indeed of what has been said in these chapters has only been found out and added to our store of material owing to these efforts, so that the collection of material and the criticism of it always react on each other.

Of course, critics have consciously and unconsciously differed in their methods. A full consciousness of the proper method was not possessed by the earliest critics; and it is not wonderful if many of their conclusions prove untenable, when we remember that they had the triple task of collecting the material, discovering the method, and applying it.

The result of the work of the successive generations of critics is found in the printed editions of the text. In considering these critics it is best for us not to go back to a date earlier than the invention of printing; for although men like Origen were no doubt in some sense critical editors, we now regard their work rather as material for criticism than as anything else.

The first printed text of the Greek Testament dates from the early part of the sixteenth century. In 1514 Cardinal Ximenes printed a Greek text of the New Testament, which was followed by an edition of the Old Testament in three columns, giving the Septuagint, Vulgate, and Hebrew; the Vulgate is put in the middle, because, says the editor, Christ hung on the cross between two thieves.

It is not known what mss. the Cardinal used for his

edition of the New Testament, but it is obvious from his text that they were not valuable mss., and his edition has no critical value. It is known as the Complutensian, from Complutum, the Latin name of Alcalá, where Cardinal Ximenes founded an university.

The next edition to be *printed* was that of Erasmus, undertaken at the request of Froben, the printer of Basel, and actually *published* earlier than the Complutensian. It is based on the cursives Evan. 2, Act Paul 2, Act 7, none of which is critically valuable, with occasional use of the valuable cursive 1 (*cf.* p. 20). He also seems to have occasionally translated back from Latin mss. of the Vulgate into Greek. This edition was published in 1516, and was re-edited four times by Erasmus.

These two editions—the Complutensian and Erasmus'—were the basis of all the early editions. A fuller account of them and their immediate successors can be found in Scrivener, ed. 4, but here it is only necessary to notice a few of the latter, and those cursorily.

1. Robert Stephanus' third edition.—Stephanus was a Paris printer; his real name was Estienne, which, according to the custom of the time, he Latinised into Stephanus. He published four editions based on the Complutensian and Erasmus' edition, and the use of fifteen mss. His third edition was published in 1550, and has been taken as the standard text in England.

2. Beza's editions (1565-82-88-98 in folio, and 1565-67-80-91-1604-11 in octavo), which differ but slightly from each other or from Stephanus' fourth edition.

3. Elzevir's editions, 1624, 1633, which differ but slightly from each other, were based on a comparison of Beza's and Stephanus' editions. The edition of 1633 is the continental standard, and from the preface to it we get the name 'Textus Receptus.' 'Textum ergo habes nunc ab omnibus receptum,' says the editor, cheerfully assuming the fulfilment of his hopes.

The publication of these editions gave a necessary starting-point to criticism, and from their time onwards there is a steady sequence of attempts to improve the text by the comparison of mss. and the other sources of information.

Much good work was done in this direction by Bishop

Walton of Chester (1657), Archbishop Ussher, who collated sixteen mss., Courcelles, and Bishop Fell (1675); but the first work of great importance was the edition of Dr. John Mill, a work which employed him for more than thirty years. It was published in 1707 in folio, and its author, *felix opportunitate mortis*, died suddenly a fortnight later, before he could be grieved by the unfair and foolish criticisms of Whitby and Collins. For the first time critics were given something like an apparatus criticus, with a fairly full list of variants, though the actual text was not a new one. Of course, the amount of information given is small compared with that in modern editions; but with the possible exception of Tischendorf, probably no one person has added so much material for the work of criticism.

Bentley, 1662-1742.—The next work of importance was that of Richard Bentley, the famous Master of Trinity (Cambridge), who projected (1716) an edition of the New Testament, a complete collation of all the known mss., and a text based on the consent of the Greek and Latin Vulgate, by which he believed it would be possible to reconstruct the fourth century text. This work was never completed, partly because Bentley was involved in college business and other dilatory work, partly because he found that the task he had set himself was more complex than he had imagined.

Bengel.—The Abbot of Alpirsbach, 1734, is the next person of importance. In some ways he is the father of modern criticism, for he was the first to suggest a simplification of the mass of mss. evidence by that classification into families which has been adopted in some form or another by all modern critics. He adopted a classification into Asiatic and African, corresponding more or less to the modern Syrian and Alexandrian (pp. 65, 66). This important factor in criticism was developed by Griesbach, between whom and Bengel there was a line of scholars who added nothing worthy of memory to the general theory of criticism, but collated and examined a great number of mss. Prominent among these are Wetstein, Alter, Birch, Matthaei.

Griesbach, 1745-1812.—He not only collated a great

number of mss., but developed the 'family' theory of Bengel, sketching out certain groups which, although enlarged and modified by later researches, have always been recognised by other critics since his time. His theory was that there are three groups:—

(1) The **Alexandrian** or **Origenian**, so called because it is found chiefly in Origen's quotations, A B C L, and the Egyptian versions. (2) The **Western**, so called because it is found in the Latin Fathers and versions, and in D. (3) The **Byzantine**, so called because it is found in the mass of Greek mss., and may be taken as representing the text of the Byzantine Empire and the Patriarchate of Constantinople. This last he considered less valuable than the other two; but his principle was that, unless internal evidence forbade it (and he allowed great weight to this exception), the reading found in two groups ought to be preferred to that found in only one.

Contemporary with Griesbach was Hug, a scholar who was more remarkable for ingenuity than sound judgment. He paid great attention to the fact that there seem to have been three recensions of the LXX.—one in Egypt by Hesychius, another in Antioch by Lucian, and a third in Caesarea by Eusebius and Pamphilus, based on the work of Origen; and he considered that there were similar recensions of the text of the New Testament in the same places and by the same people. This was an attractive theory; but it has, except perhaps in the case of Lucian, too little evidence supporting it. A pupil of Hug's is the next critic who stands out as eminent, J. M. A. Scholz, whose great claim to fame is the number of mss. which he examined and partially collated—nearly a thousand in all. But he was somewhat careless, and his results are not always verified by subsequent investigators.

Neither Hug nor Scholz is comparable to Griesbach, but in 1842-50 the published works of Lachmann gave a fresh turn to the progress of criticism. Since Griesbach's day the amount of material for criticism had increased very greatly, and Lachmann found it necessary to simplify the bulk of the apparatus. This he did by putting aside the mass of late mss. as palpably containing a late text, and in so doing he has

been followed by nearly all critics since his time. On the other hand, he probably went too far in this direction, and overlooked the certainty that there are early readings imbedded in late texts. The discarding of late evidence was a necessary step towards making a tentative text, but that text cannot be regarded as final until all the evidence has been considered. The weak point, however, of Lachmann was that he did not pay attention to the groupings of the mss. which he retained, but to a large extent adopted the reading which a majority of his mss. preserved.

Following on Lachmann came the editions of Tregelles and Tischendorf. Little need be said of their critical principles, which in the main are those of Lachmann; but their great value is that they supply us with the most convenient and accessible form of all the evidence which has been collected. Tischendorf, edition 8, is far the fuller; Tregelles is the easier to read and understand. The possession of Tischendorf is almost a necessity to any one who wishes seriously to study the text; at the same time, it is not always easy to understand his statements of the evidence, so full a use has he made of abbreviation and symbols (*vide* p. 92).

No critical edition with apparatus has been published since Tischendorf, edition 8; but there are many permanent contributions to criticism which are more recent.

There are the researches and discoveries of mss. made by Dr. Scrivener, Dean Burgon, and others, not to mention the various contributions of more recent scholars which are alluded to in various places in this book; but more important than anything else is the publication of the critical text and introduction of Drs. Westcott and Hort, usually referred to as W.H. This work is the foundation of nearly all modern criticism, and demands a somewhat close attention.

The theory of W.H. is this. Judging from the evidence of patristic quotations, all important changes in the text are earlier than the fourth century, by which time the text had become stereotyped. The question, therefore, is, Can we distinguish the history of the text at an earlier period?

W. H. propose three criteria :—

(1) Conflation, *i.e.* if one variation is shown to be due to the mixture of two others, clearly it is later than its sources.

(2) Patristic evidence : if we can show that the earliest Fathers always use one variation in preference to another, clearly the former has the superior claim.

(3) As a last resort, there is the somewhat subjective evidence of critical probabilities.

W. H. urge that these three lines of evidence all lead in the same direction, and they put aside one large body of variations as later than the rest. This body of variations they call Antiochene or Syrian. It agrees chiefly with the quotations of Chrysostom. It will be well to look at one of the examples which they give :—

(1) Mc. ix. 38. The text found in the mass of mss. is :—

ὅς οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ ἡμῖν καὶ ἐκωλύσαμεν αὐτὸν ὅτι οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ ἡμῖν.

But two other variations are found :—

(α) καὶ ἐκωλύομεν αὐτὸν ὅτι οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ ἡμῖν, which with a few small variants is found in \aleph B C L Δ Syr-pesh ar boh aeth.

(β) ὅς οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ μεθ' ἡμῖν καὶ ἐκωλύομεν αὐτόν, which again, with a few variants of no importance, is found in DX 1-209 ferr. gr. 28. al pauc, k. a. b. c. ff₂ i. vg. arm.

Now it is obvious that either (α) and (β) are rival attempts at simplifying the longer reading, or the latter is a 'conflation' made up of (α) and (β). W. H. maintain the conflation theory, on the ground that either of the two shorter readings has demonstrably earlier evidence than the longer.

They quote seven other examples of the same kind, and express the view that many more might be found.

Now, the important thing to notice is that in all the cases which they give, the division of authorities is much the same.

We get (α) a short reading found in \aleph B boh.

(β) a short reading found in D lat syr^{vet}.

(δ) a longer reading found in the mass of later mss. and versions, which seems to unite (α) and (β).

W.H. call (δ) the Syrian text, (β) the Western (using Griesbach's name), (α) the Neutral.

The keystone of their theory is in the passages where we get this triple variation, and the point of the argument lies in the assumption that the longer reading is made by uniting the two shorter ones—not the two shorter by different dealings with the longer. This point can be tested only by an appeal to Patristic evidence and general probability.

The latter argument is precarious because subjective, so that the ultimate and decisive criterion is Patristic evidence. On the whole, this is in favour of the shorter readings. For taking Origen, Clement, Irenaeus, Cyprian, and Tertullian as representing the earliest Fathers whom we can consult on textual points, we find practically no instances in which they support the Syrian form. On these grounds, therefore, W.H. convict the Syrian readings of being later than those which are Western or Neutral in places where there is a triple variation.

The next step is the application of this result to merely double variation. Here it is found that we really get the same three groups of evidence represented by NB., D., and the late mss. The apparent absence of one group (making double instead of triple variation) is only due to the agreement of the Syrian text with one of the others, sometimes with the Neutral, sometimes with the Western.

The theory which W.H. base on these facts is that at some point earlier than the fourth, and probably later than the middle of the third century, the text of the New Testament consisted in the main of two great branches, Neutral and Western, and that then a certain group of critics—probably in Syria, possibly in Antioch, conceivably connected with Lucian's recension of the LXX. text—produced an eclectic text, sometimes following one branch, sometimes the other, sometimes combining both by conflation, and very occasionally producing a new variant probably by conjectural emendation of corrupt or difficult passages. These various choices produced readings which W.H. for obvious reasons call Neutral

and Syrian, Western and Syrian, Conflate Syrian, and distinctively Syrian.

Had the Syrian revisers any other sources which we can trace? W.H. think that we can see signs of one other group of readings, which they call Alexandrian. These readings represent, in their opinion, a scholarly revision on small points which seems to have been due to the school of Alexandrian criticism working on the Neutral text. It is never very important in itself, and it is chiefly verbal and grammatical. No one ms. preserves it in a pure form, but the largest remains are found in CL boh. Origen, with occasional readings in AΔ.

W.H.'s analysis of the text may therefore be presented thus :—

- | | | | |
|------------|---|--|--|
| Pre-Syrian | { | (α) Neutral text. | NB. boh. Orig. |
| | | (β) Western text. | D., Old Lat., Old Syr., Iren., Tert., Cyp. |
| | | (γ) Alexandrian. | CL Orig., and traces in other mss. |
| | | (δ) Syrian based on selection and mixture of (α) (β) (γ), EFGHK, etc., the later versions and Fathers. | |

The grouping given here is that which is found in the Gospels. It is also roughly true of the Acts, so far as the mss. are the same, and with the important addition of E₂ (Cod. Laudianus) and Aug. to the Western text. A fuller grouping of authorities, and including the Pauline and Catholic epistles, is given on pp. 71-2.

Having thus roughly analysed the grouping of mss. and established the relative lateness of the Syrian text, W.H. went on to investigate the mutual relations of the three Pre-Syrian groups.

Of these the *Alexandrian* is easily dealt with; the readings of the Alexandrian authorities are never found in any widely spread group, they never rise above the level of scholarly emendation, and they seem almost certainly to depend on the Neutral text, though there is an important but small class which show signs of Western influence.

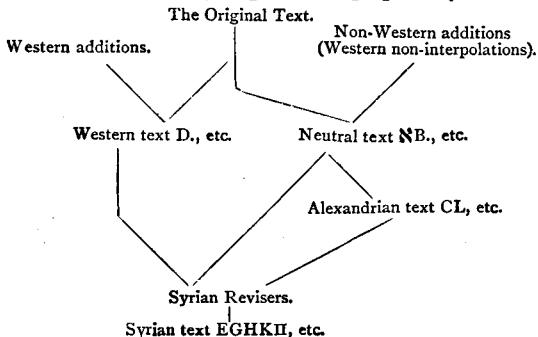
The *Western* and *Neutral* texts, on the other hand, are both traceable to the earliest periods of which we

have knowledge. For the Western text there is the second century (probably) authority of Old Latin, Old Syriac versions, Irenaeus and Tertullian, and possibly Justin Martyr and Marcion.

For the Neutral there is the evidence, almost equally ancient, of Origen, and according to the dating of some critics, of the Bohairic version. On the mere enumeration of evidence the Western text claims the majority, but W.H. decide that on internal evidence the Neutral deserves the preference. They consider that the Western text is a very early and very corrupt text due to a process of free interpolation and paraphrase in an age when the preservation of the true text had not suggested itself to most people as a desirable object.

The Neutral text therefore (which is best preserved in NB., esp. B.) is W.H.'s idea of the true authentic text. But they make one exception. If the Western omits anything, they consider that such omission deserves great consideration, because the genius of the Western text is so inclined to addition that, if it omits any reading found elsewhere, the probability is that it does so because the omission is primitive; in other words, they regard Western omissions as not omissions so much as non-interpolations, and consider that these passages are to be regarded as corruptions which have affected all texts except the Western.

Their theory then may be presented graphically thus:—



No one would claim that this theory is final; but certainly, whenever the history of the century is written, it will be found that in the field of textual criticism the work of Drs. Westcott and Hort is a landmark which, whether for agreement or disagreement, forms the necessary point of departure for the next generation, and in parts at least will be the foundation of all successful work.

It only remains to say something of two lines of investigation which have been followed up since the publication of W.H.

I. That of the school which refuses to agree with the general outlines of the theory.

These critics are the successors, though not by any means merely the followers, of the late Dean Burgon. Their views can be seen at length in the various publications of the late Mr. E. Miller, Prebendary of Chichester. The points which are attacked are two:—

(1) The preference shown to the text of **NB.**, and the little attention given to the later mss.

(2) The theory of a 'Syrian revision.'

As to (1) it is said that W.H. ignore the probability that the late mss. represent lost originals, more in number and equal in age to the archetypes of **NB.**, and an attempt is made to support this theory by an appeal to Patristic evidence as supporting 'Syrian' readings. The reply which advocates of W.H. make (and to the present writer it appears valid) is that the only Syrian readings which are supported by early Patristic evidence are Neutral and Syrian, or Western and Syrian, not distinctively Syrian, so that the argument in itself only proves, what all admit, that Western readings are very early, and that many of them were adopted by the Syrian text.

As to (2), it is said that we have no right to imagine a Syrian revision in the third century in the complete absence of any reference to it in the writers of the time. This is the most important argument which there is against the theory of W.H., and it is widely used in Germany. But it derives its strength largely from a mistaken point of view. W.H.'s theory does not

depend on the fact of a Syrian revision, but on those textual phenomena which have been described, and which show that the later text is an eclectic one, made up of readings sometimes Neutral, sometimes Western. These phenomena are *facts*, which any one who wishes can verify by working through Tischendorf's editio major VIII.^{va} and noting how the Patristic evidence dates the variants. Taking Origen as the earliest full authority for the Neutral text, and Irenaeus for the Western, with Chrysostom for the late text, it is at once obvious that though Chrysostom and Origen often unite in differing from Irenaeus, and Chrys. and Iren. in differing from Orig., yet Chrys. does not differ from them both at once. And this is almost demonstrative proof that his text, characteristically representative of the later Fathers' versions and mss., is an eclectic one.

How can you explain an eclectic text, except by a revision? No one has answered this question as yet. But if there be any answer, it might be adopted without upsetting W.H.'s views in the least. The fact of the 'Syrian revision' is merely the deduction which W.H. drew from the facts. If any one can draw any other deduction, well and good. But the facts will not be altered, and they prove that the later text is definitely an eclectic one, posterior in date, as shown by Patristic evidence, both to the Neutral and Western texts. Yet, recognising this, it is noticeable that this attack on the Syrian revision theory has had three great effects:—

(1) It has brought home to us the scantiness of the evidence which we possess for the earliest periods, especially in the East. For when one is asked why there is no historical evidence of the revision, it is natural to ask where we are likely to find such evidence, and the answer seems to be that there is practically no Syriac literature of an historical character dating from the third century.

(2) Changes of text can be shown to have occurred at other times with so little notice, that it is the merest accident that we have any record of them. For instance, Theodoret, in the fifth century, replaced the Diatessaron by some other text, probably the Peshitto, without

apparently attracting any very great attention (*cf.* p. 37).

(3) Most important of all, the suspicion has gained ground that the B. or Neutral text is itself not improbably due to a revision, or, at all events, is not so pure as W.H. thought. While the local connection of **SB.** with Caesarea has been strongly brought out, its textual connection with Alexandria and Origen has grown more evident, and at least two elements in modern research suggest that the **SB.** text is merely an early form of the Alexandrian text. These are:—

(a) The growing conviction of Egyptologists that the most primitive Egyptian version is not the Bohairic, but rather the Sahidic, which is probably more Western than Neutral.

(β) The equally growing conviction that the Western text has an even greater antiquity and more extended prevalence than W.H. imagined.

The suspicion raised in this way is unfavourable to the idea that the Neutral is always right, and will, almost certainly, gain further weight when it is more generally recognised that (as is pointed out on p. 81) the Sinaitic Syriac, the oldest representation of the Oriental branch of the Western text, suggests that there is a considerable class of Neutral interpolations (or Western non-interpolations as W.H. call them) which have affected every text except the Old Syriac, just as there is a similar class which have affected every text except the Old Latin and its ally Codex Bezae.

Such are the chief attacks and modifications which W.H.'s theory has suffered.

II. Besides them there is also an important development of criticism which has not attacked W.H.'s general view, but has occupied itself with the problem, which W.H. left untouched, of the origin of the Western text.

This is, however, so important and complex a problem that it demands a separate chapter for its discussion.

Note A.

The Gospels and Acts.

The full grouping of authorities, according to W.H.'s scheme, for the Gospels would be approximately this; the authorities in brackets have a mixed text.¹

Neutral text.—NB[LTΞCA in S. Mark NPQRZ]
[1-209, 33] Boh [Sah Syr^{hier.}
[Origen Clem^{Alex.}].

It may be noted that even N boh are not free from mixture, though there is so much less that it would give a wrong impression to include them in brackets. The element of mixture in Sah. Orig. Clem^{Alex.} Meth. is probably entirely Pre-Syrian.

Western text.—D. [ferr. grp.] Lat.^{vet} [vg].

Syr^{pesh.} Syr^{our.} Syr^{sin.} [Syr^{hl.} txt et mg arm. sah]

Iren.^{gr.} Iren.^{lat.} Tert. Cyprian [Clem^{Alex.}]
[and almost all Latin literature].

There are, of course, other Greek mss. which have traces, but they are scarcely sufficiently marked to be included here.

Alexandrian text.—[NCLΔΞX 33, boh sah Clem^{Alex.} Orig.]

There is no pure Alexandrian text; it is mostly mixed with a Neutral base. L is perhaps the best ms. of it.

Syrian text.—EGHKMS and in almost all mss. versions not mentioned above, also mixed with the other elements in [CAX 33, 1-209, ferr. grp. Lat.-ital. vg. Syr^{pesh.} Syr^{hier.} arm.]

In the Acts—

Neutral text.—NB. [61] boh [sah].

Western text.—DE 137. Lat.^{vet} esp. d. h. gig. p. e.
[Syr^{hl.} esp. mg Syr^{pesh.}] Cyp. Aug. Vigil.

Alexandrian text.—[NC 61, boh sah Orig.].

Syrian text.—Everything else.

¹ The abbreviations used are explained in the note on 'Tischendorf's System of Notation,' p. 92.

The Pauline Epistles.

In the Pauline Epistles a grouping can be traced somewhat similar to that which exists in the Gospels and Acts, but the characteristics of the texts in each case are less marked. The Western text especially has far less addition and omission. We get:

Neutral.—NB[AC] boh [Orig.].

Western.—DEFG[B] Old Lat., early Lat. Fathers.

Alexandrian.—If anywhere in [AC. Orig.].

And also a *Caesarean* group, N^cH Euthal.¹

It is noticeable that in the Pauline Epistles B has a distinctly Western element in places, so that if it be found in combination with DEFG against NAC, the text of the latter is sometimes to be regarded as the Neutral.

The Catholic Epistles.

The evidence for the text of these epistles is not sufficient to allow any definite grouping. It is only possible to say that here also NB seem to have the best text, and the Latin to represent a rather different type. One ms., ff=the Corbey S. James, is noticeable as perhaps representing a local version used in the neighbourhood of Aquileia, while m. has an 'African' text.

¹ *Vide* Sanday and Headlam's 'Epistle to the Romans.'

CHAPTER VI

THE WESTERN TEXT

ALTHOUGH not perhaps universally received, the theory of Westcott and Hort is certainly the basis of most modern textual criticism. But the problem which especially exercises the minds of critics is the origin of the Western text. It is widely felt that until some probable theory can be reached, which will explain the curious phenomena found in that group of mss., our views on the text of the New Testament as a whole, however probable, can only be tentative.

First of all, then, what is the attestation of the Western text? It is found in a widely spread family of mss., almost all of them demonstrably containing an early text. The chief members of this family are:—

D. Iren. The African Latin (k. e. Cyprian).

The European Latin (a. b. d. i., etc., Iren^{int.}).

The Old Syriac (Syr^{cur.}, Syr^{sin.}, Aphraates, Ephraem) with its derivatives, the Arabic Tatian and the Armenian version.

These are the primary authorities, but they often receive support from authorities which contain as it were a residuum of Western readings, such especially as the marginal additions of the Harklean Syriac, the Ferrar group, and the Sahidic version. There are also cases where the Western reading was adopted by the makers of the Syrian revision, and is found in the mass of manuscripts. In this way there is scarcely any ms. extant, with the possible exception of B in the Gospels, which does not afford some support to some Western reading. But of course their support is merely interesting

as throwing a light on the later history of the Western text, not on its origin.

Taking then the combination D Old Lat. Old Syr. as the typical attestation for Western readings, there are three preliminary questions which must be discussed before it is possible to say anything satisfactory about the ultimate origin of the text:—

- (1) What are the characteristic features of the text?
- (2) What is the probable date at which we first find traces of it?
- (3) Is it a distinct whole, or can we divide it into strata?

(1) What are the characteristic features of the text? Using the Neutral text as represented by W.H. for a standard of comparison, the main characteristics are addition, omission, and paraphrastic rendering.

A few examples will illustrate this:—

Addition.—In Luke ix. 55. The Western text, as represented by (D) e. Cypr. a. b. Syr.-cur. and the late mss. which adopted it, reads—*οὐκ οἴδατε ποίου πνεύματος ἔστε ὁ γὰρ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἦλθεν ἀπολέσαι ἀλλὰ σῶσαι.*

In Matt. xx. 28. The Western text (D^Φ. e. a. b. al. Syr.-cur. h^{ms}) adds—*ὁμεῖς δὲ ζητεῖτε ἐκ μικροῦ αὐξήσαι καὶ ἐκ μέγιστος ἐλαττον εἶναι εἰσερχόμενοι δὲ καὶ παρακληθέντες δειπνῆσαι μὴ ἀνακλίνεσθε εἰς τοὺς ἐξέχοντας τόπους μήποτε ἐνδοξότερός σου ἐπέλθῃ καὶ προσελθὼν ὁ δειπνοκλήτωρ εἴπῃ σοι Ἔτι κάτω χώρει καὶ κατασχυνηθήσῃ ἐὰν δὲ ἀναπέσης εἰς τὸν ἥττονα τόπον καὶ εἰσέλθῃ σου ἥττων ἐρεῖ σοι ὁ δειπνοκλήτωρ Σύναγε ἔτι ἄνω, καὶ ἔσται σοι τοῦτο χρήσιμον.* with some variants of an unimportant character among the authorities.

Omission.—In Luke xxii. 19f. The Western text, as directly represented by D. a. and implied by the reading of b. e. Syr.-cur., omits *τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον . . . ἐκχυνόμενον*, thus making it appear that at the institution of the Eucharist the *ποτήριον* preceded the *ἄρτος*.

In Matt. xxvii. 49. The Western texts, D. Lat. are the real authorities which add weight to omission of *ἄλλος δὲ λαβὼν λόγχην ἐνυξεν αὐτοῦ τὴν πλευράν, καὶ ἔξηλθεν ὕδωρ καὶ αἷμα*, which is found in what are usually the best mss.

Paraphrase.—In Acts xvi. 12. The Western reading (D) for *πρώτη* is *κεφαλὴ*.

In Luke xxiii. 53. D al. pauc. read *ἐπέθηκεν τῷ μνημείῳ*

λίθον ὃν μόγις εἴκοσι ἐκύλιον, which seems to be merely a wild paraphrase, in a Homeric spirit.¹

Such then are, roughly speaking, the chief characteristics of the text. Some would perhaps add that there is a tendency to make one Gospel harmonise with another. This is perhaps true, but it is inadvisable to lay much stress on this point for the following reasons:—

(a) This tendency is not peculiar to Western texts. All types of mss. seem to be affected by it more or less, especially the later mss.

(β) There is little room for doubt that the labours of the higher critics of the Gospels have shown that there is a common document lying behind at least much of the common tradition of the three Gospels. Therefore this is a *vera causa* which explains verbal agreements in the Synoptic Gospels, and renders the question of harmonisation of readings an excessively delicate one.

It is often probable, then, that the Western text harmonises, but it is scarcely fair to assume this as a general characteristic.

(2) What is the probable date at which we first find traces of the text?

The answer to this question is a good example of the use of Patristic quotations and the date of versions. So far as Greek mss. go, we have only D of the sixth century with any pretensions to an early date, although it is true that sporadic readings of a Western type are found in N, and among later mss. there is the Ferrar group. But we have in Greek the quotations of Irenaeus² in the second century, and in Latin the Old Latin version, which we know to be older than S. Jerome, and which the quotations of Cyprian and Tertullian take back to the second century. And in taking back the Old Latin, these quotations also take back the Western text. For it is precisely these Fathers, especially Cyprian, who appear to have habitually used a Western text of the most pronounced character, and to have used no other. Therefore we can

¹ Dr. Rendel Harris, in *Codex Bezae*, tried to show that it is actually due to a Latin version written in verse of the style of the Homeric centonists; cf., too, his *Homeric Centones*.

² Even when only extant in the Latin translation, Irenaeus is primarily Greek evidence.

say with absolute certainty that the Latin version used in Africa in the second century was a purely Western text. And we have in Irenaeus evidence for the use in the Rhone valley, in the second century, of a Greek text with much the same markedly Western character as that which was perhaps copied in the same district in the sixth century and now survives as Codex Bezae at Cambridge.

Turning to the East, we find much the same thing, although the evidence is not so full. For there is an unbroken chain consisting of the Old Syriac mss., the quotations of Aphraates and Ephraem, with the connecting link of the Armenian version of Ephraem's commentary, and Tatian's Diatessaron, which in the same way takes the Western text back to the second century.

Can we do more? There is one generation left in which we can be fairly certain that our Gospels were used; and one still earlier of which we cannot speak certainly. What is the evidence of these two generations? The former is represented chiefly by Justin Martyr and Marcion.

The evidence of Marcion is only derived from the quotations of Tertullian and Epiphanius, while it is further discounted by the fact that it is known to have been a deliberately 'edited' text. At the same time, especially when Tertullian agrees with him, and there is no question of his own doctrine affecting the reading, there is much weight in Marcion's evidence, which on the whole seems to point to the use of the Western text.

The same is true of Justin. There is certainly a considerable number of Western readings proved to have been read by him. But in his case matters are complicated by the question as to his quotations as a whole, namely, whether he may not have used another document as well as our Gospels, or else used a harmony, the existence of which is perhaps made probable on independent grounds by Tatian's text so far as we know it. It is a fact of some significance that thus the earliest Syriac shows us the Western text in the form of a harmony made by Tatian, and that the earliest Greek evidence is that of Tatian's old master, who is also under suspicion

of having used a harmony. But exactly what conclusions ought to be made from this as to its bearing on the Western text is not clear.

Having thus found traces of the Western text in the age of Justin Martyr and Marcion, it only remains to examine the remnants of the subapostolic literature which we have. It is questionable whether this will ever be a very profitable task. For (i.) there is a doubt in almost all places as to the source from which the quotation may be derived. We can never be quite sure that the quotations are from the Gospels which we now use.

(ii.) The text of the writers themselves is often corrupt, and fails just at the critical point. So that it is almost impossible to say that the subapostolic text is Western, while, at the same time, it is certainly more daring to say that it is not.

One instance must suffice:—

The quotations, apparent or real, in the *Didache*.—There are three places in this very early book (perhaps even belonging to the first century), which may possibly be connected with a use of the Western text. (a) In 1, 2, the *Didache* reads—*πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἐὰν θελήσῃς μὴ γίνεσθαι σοι, καὶ σὺ ἄλλω μὴ ποιεῖς*. This may be a perversion of Matt. vii. 12, due to the influence of the Jewish saying attributed to Hillel and found in Tobit iv. 15 (*ὃ σὺ μισεῖς, ἄλλω μὴ ποιεῖς*), and with variants in other Jewish books, or it may be due to the Western text of Acts xv. 20, 29, where *D* Iren. Cyprian read *καὶ ὅσα μὴ θέλετε ἑαυτοῖς γίνεσθαι, ἐτέρῳ μὴ ποιεῖν*, or again it is possible that the Western reading is due to the use of the *Didache*. Different minds may consider these possibilities as possessing different values, but no one can say that any one of them is impossible.

(b) In *Didache* 1, 3, the text *εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν, καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν, νηστεύετε δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς*, seems to be nearer S. Matthew in the Western form than to anything else, but it is not a clear instance, and how are we to explain the unique *νηστεύετε*?

The idea of a kind of positive efficacy in fasting is found in the Western text of Mark ix. 29, but no ms. has anything of the kind in the Sermon on the Mount.

(c) It is at least more probable than not that Didache 9 refers to the Service of Holy Communion, and that the writer places the *ἄρτος* after the *ποτήριον*. This at once reminds us of the Western text of Luke, which, as mentioned on p. 74, similarly transposes the usual order.

But the actual details of the passage have nothing to point to one Gospel rather than another, and the wording of the prayers is more Johannine than Lucan.

Similar results seem to follow from an examination of all the rest of the literature of that date. It is at present impossible to affirm or deny the use of the Western text. Therefore the result of this glance at the evidence for the existence of the Western text in various ages and places is this: that it is shown to have existed in the earliest times of which we have any certain knowledge—both in Syriac, Latin, and Greek speaking circles; in the East, in Africa, in Italy, and in Gaul. Can we go further, and say that it was also found in the Nile valley? Perhaps we can. For the quotations of Clement of Alexandria, as recently published in the *Cambridge Texts and Studies* by Mr. Barnard, seem to show that he also used a form of the Western text in Alexandria in the second century. This would suggest that the use of the Neutral text in Alexandria began at some date between Clement and Origen,—a theory which finds support in the view of the more modern Egyptologists, who date the Sahidic version, with its Western readings, earlier than the Bohairic, which is Neutral.

If this theory be true, we can say that the Western text is everywhere found wherever we have any evidence for the text of the second century in Patristic quotations.

But in thus generalising we run the risk of begging the question when we talk of the Western text having so extended a prevalence. Strictly speaking, all that we can say is that Western readings are found. The Western readings in Latin sources are not the same in all cases as those in Syriac ones, and we have no right to construct an hypothetical original text, containing readings for which there is only the authority of one of these versions, unless we are prepared to show that the other has been corrected by a Neutral source.

This naturally leads us to the consideration of the last preliminary question :—

- (3) Is the Western text a clearly defined whole, or can we divide it up into groups or strata ?

The importance of this question is, that if the latter alternative be shown to be probable there is a presumption of considerable strength that we have to deal, at least in part, with successive layers of corruptions. And on the whole the existence of groups and strata is fairly clear.

It is not a point which has been fully worked out at present, but, as Mr. Burkitt has shown, the interpolations of the Western text do seem to fall into three main divisions :—

- (a) Latin interpolations, greater.
- (β) Latin interpolations, lesser.
- (γ) Syriac interpolations.

Of these, (a) comprises such passages as the ‘pericope adulterae,’ John vii. 53-viii. 12, or the appearance of a light at the resurrection, Mark xvi. 3.

These are especially characteristic of the African Latin; many of them are also found in the European Latin; comparatively few would probably find a place in a critical reconstruction of the Old Syriac.

(β) The second class contains small additions, as that of *καὶ ὁ συνίων συνιέρω* in Mark iv. 9. In character they are easily distinguishable from the greater interpolations. They are shorter, and almost always suggested by the context; they very rarely add a new fact, or tell a new story. The greater interpolations, on the other hand, are usually bold additions, some of them strikingly original and apparently primitive, which often seem to be due to some tradition external to the general current of the evangelical narrative.

As their character differs, so also does their attestation for while the African Latin was seen to be the stronghold of the greater interpolations, the European Latin is the text which is especially characterised by the smaller ones. Moreover, in this case also the oldest Syriac text would seem to have omitted most of them.

- (γ) The Syriac interpolations are not in character

unlike the 'greater' interpolations of the African Latin. For their attestation we have to rely chiefly on the Sinaitic Syriac. A characteristic pair are the preservation of the tradition that Barabbas' name was Jesus, and the addition in Luke xxiii. : Woe to us, woe, etc.

The most useful list and statement of these three classes of interpolations will be found in Mr. Burkitt's *Old Latin and the Itala* (Texts and Studies, iv. 3).

We may perhaps put aside the smaller interpolations of the European Latin, a manifestly later form of the Latin text than that represented by the African version, though it is an interesting question whether the omission of the longer ones by the European is due to excision or to the prevalence at the beginning of a different type of text, which afterwards was contaminated by a set of small corruptions which did not affect the African.

But however that may be, we certainly have the two classes of greater Latin and Syriac interpolations.

At the same time it must be remembered that, as was shown in Chapter III., there is evidence for the theory that the Latin and Syriac versions once lived side by side, and the common text which they exhibit certainly does contain some of the most remarkable of Western readings, such, for instance, as the addition to John iii. 6 : 'For God is a Spirit.'

And if we turn to the question of omissions we find the same phenomenon. There are two distinct groups :—

(a) Latin omissions.

(b) Syriac omissions.

(a) The Latin omissions are curiously distributed : there are no less than eight important omissions in Luke xxiv. (all of which omissions W.H. recognise as correct, and call non-interpolations). But these do not stand absolutely alone, e.g. the omission in Matt. xxvii. 49 stands on precisely the same evidence ; for the testimony of the late mss., and therefore of the *textus receptus*, does not affect the point materially.

Just as was the case with the interpolations, the evidence of the Syriac version is usually against the Latin omissions, though there is a residuum which is

attested by both, which may be called Latin or Syriac indifferently.

(b) The Syriac omissions as represented by the Sinaitic Syriac are more numerous than the Latin, and more evenly distributed; but, of course, owing to the lamentable loss of almost all early Syriac evidence, there is not the wealth of attestation which is available for Latin readings. A full list is found in the introduction to Mrs. Lewis's *The Sinaitic Palimpsest retranscribed*. Typical and interesting examples are the omission of Matt. xii. 9; Luke xxiii. 11, 12; John xiv. 10, 11.

Thus we get both in omission and interpolation the same phenomena of a double line, Latin and Syriac, each having its own characteristic readings, with a residuum of important passages common to both.

On the whole, therefore, the answers to the three questions raised, as preliminary to the discussion of the problem of the origin of the Western text, are these:—

(1) *The characteristic features of the text are addition, omission, paraphrase.*

(2) *The text can be traced back to the earliest times of which we have knowledge, and in every part of Christendom, with the possible, but not probable, exception of Alexandria and the Nile Valley.*

(3) *We can trace at least two strata in the Western text, separated not by characteristics, but by attestation, one represented by the Latin texts, the other by the Syriac. There is a common residuum of readings which do not differ in internal characteristics from those which are peculiar to either branch.*

The main question is, then, open for discussion. It is, What is the origin of the text which presents these remarkable phenomena?

The theories which have been suggested may be divided into two groups:—

(1) Those which assert the primitiveness of the Western text.

(2) Those which regard it as a series of corrupt accretions.

As to the first group. Before looking at that form of the theory which is most before the public at present,

it will be well to notice the features of the Western text which have impressed critics with its primitiveness. These are, first, some of the interpolations in the Gospels, such as the story¹ of the man working on the Sabbath, and a somewhat greater number of the interpolations in the Acts, which seem to be of so striking a character that they can scarcely be false. And secondly, the omissions, more particularly the Latin omissions (the Syriac omissions have not been long enough known), which it is said are incredible if the original text had not made the same omission.

So far as the omissions go, many scholars have agreed that intrinsic probability declares strongly in favour of the Western text, and W.H.'s view, with later developments, will be found summarised on p. 85. But in its entirety the view that the Western is the most primitive form of the text has found few supporters. Bornemann, it is true, did make an effort to explain all other variants as corruptions of the Western text, but his views have never obtained many followers, and he may be safely disregarded. Of recent years, however, Professor Blass has made an attempt to rehabilitate the Western text without giving up the Neutral. The Gospel of S. Luke and the Acts are the starting-point of his investigation. Indeed, his theory as a whole applies to those documents exclusively.

It is this. There are many places in the Lucan narratives where the intrinsic probability of either the Western or Neutral reading is convincing; where, in fact, it is inconceivable that any one having either reading before him would deliberately alter it to the other. Each reading has all the marks of originality.

The only possible theory, says Professor Blass, is that the author himself actually wrote both, or, in other words, that we possess a first and second edition of the writings of S. Luke.

The details of this theory are interesting. The history

¹ Luke vi. 4, D. d. add: τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ θεασάμενός τινα ἐργαζόμενον τῷ σαββάτῳ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, "Ἀνθρώπε εἰ μὲν οἶδας τί ποιεῖς μακάριος εἶ· εἰ δὲ μὴ οἶδας ἐπικατάρατος καὶ παραβάτης εἶ τοῦ νόμου.

of the Lucan writings, according to the learned critic, is as follows:—

Luke wrote the first edition of his Gospel from Caesarea to Theophilus, who may have been a Roman official somewhere in the neighbourhood. After writing this he went to Rome, and then wrote a second edition of the Gospel for the use of the local Church. This was the Western text of the Gospel, which Blass calls the Roman text. He also wrote at the same time for the Romans his first edition of the Acts, and afterwards made another copy and sent it to Theophilus, which was the archetype of the Neutral text of Acts.

He suggests, then, the following arrangement for the Lucan books:—

Gospel	{ (1) To Theophilus from Caesarea, . . . }	Neutral text.
	{ (2) For Roman Church, . . . }	Western „
Acts	{ (3) For Roman Church, . . . }	Western „
	{ (4) To Theophilus from Rome, . . . }	Neutral „

This is an ingenious theory; it is not *a priori* impossible; it has the weight of anything coming from so great a scholar as Blass. It is not possible in the limits of a small book either to do it justice, or to explain fully the case against it.

It must suffice to point out that the main reason why almost all scholars are inclined to reject it is that it does not recognise the fact that there are strata in the Western text.

This cannot be shown so clearly in the Acts as in the Gospel. But in the latter the case in favour of strata is overwhelming (*vide* p. 79 f.). Now, granted that there are strata, the deduction is this:—

The two great authorities for the earliest text of a Western type are the African Latin and the Old Syriac.

The ordinary conclusion from this is that the Western text represents a series of accretions from some source which we cannot yet identify, and which is not a homogeneous whole. It would be argued that so far as the places where the Latin and Syriac disagree are concerned, we have in addition to the evidence for the Neutral text, as a homogeneous whole, the evidence

that the earliest Western text (*i.e.* the common archetype of Latin and Syriac) agreed with the reading of the Neutrals. The only way in which this argument could be invalidated would be by showing that the Western authority which agreed with the Neutral text had been corrected to a Neutral standard. But in the case of the Sinaitic Syriac and the African Latin all the evidence is against such a theory.

Failing this, it would be necessary to put into the 'second edition' only those places where the Western evidence is complete. But this is just what Blass has not done. He has put down as belonging to the primitive Western text all the passages for which there is a shred of Western evidence.

Therefore it is felt that Blass's edition cannot be taken to represent the earliest form of the Western text even on his own theory.

The earliest form would be based on the concurrence of the Latin and Syriac. Undoubtedly it would contain many interesting variants, but it is doubtful whether these would be so many, or so different in character from those which would have to be acknowledged to be later accretions, as to justify his view, though it might justify the adoption of many Western readings in preference to Neutral ones.

Therefore, although Professor Blass's work is stimulating and useful in drawing attention to the early date and valuable character of Western readings, perhaps even their primitive originality, his theory of double editions does not commend itself for acceptance.

Leaving, then, that class of theory which considers the Western text as primitive, we find several views set forward which seek to explain the phenomena on the assumption of a later date. The theories of this kind which hold the field at present are :—

- (1) Dr. Rendel Harris—Latinisation.
- (2) Dr. Chase—Syriacisation.
- (3) Dr. Ramsay—Revision by an Asiatic scribe.
- (4) Dr. Resch—Effect of other translations of the supposed Hebrew original.

But before looking at these theories, it is necessary to

examine W.H.'s treatment of the Western text; for, except in the case of Resch, their view is the starting-point of all the other suggestions. Stated roughly, their view is that the Western text can be explained, so far as interpolations go, as a series of corruptions of the Neutral text, none of them authentic in the sense of belonging to the true text of the canonical writings, but some of them possibly preserving early and original traditions taken from some other source either written or oral. They do, however, accept the Latin omissions (the only ones known at the time) as authentic, on the ground of transcriptional probability. The words omitted they consider to be due to some element of corruption which attacked the Neutral text after the Western had split off; and, as in the case of the Western interpolations, they reserve the possibility that the additions represent a true though not an evangelical tradition.

This position is the starting-point of the four theories which have to be discussed. They are, all of them, attempts to work out on these lines, but more definitely, the causes which have produced the Western variants.

(1) Dr. Rendel Harris.—In his study of Codex Bezae the Cambridge critic endeavours to show that many of the readings of this Western manuscript are due to easily recognisable causes. He tabulates them accordingly very completely, but it is impossible to do more than give a short summary of the chief results of these ingenious researches. He endeavours to show that most of the Western interpolations in the Acts are due to an early Montanist scribe. For instance, he points to the numerous instances in which the Western reading refers to the indwelling of the Holy Spirit—a doctrine on which the Montanists laid great stress,—such, for example, as the addition in Acts xv. 29 to the injunctions to Gentile converts, *ἐν πράξει φερόμενοι ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι*,¹ or Acts xix. 1, where the Western text adds *θέλοντος δὲ τοῦ Παύλου κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν βουλὴν πορεύεσθαι εἰς ἱεροσόλυμα εἶπεν αὐτῷ τὸ πνεῦμα ἅγιον ὑποστρέφειν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν*.

¹ Even if this be a misplaced gloss, the explanation of the glossator's point of view would be the same.

Here, of course, the *purpose* of the glossator is to explain S. Paul's change of plan, but Dr. Rendel Harris's point is that the *method* of the explanation is Montanistic.

Similarly, in Luke he traces many readings to the influence of Marcion. For instance, he points out that the Western text of Luke ix. 54, 55, which adds the words *ὡς καὶ Ἠλίας ἐποίησεν καὶ εἶπον οὐκ οἶδατε ποῖον πνεύματος ἔστε*, may be well compared with the fact that Marcion in his *ἀντιθέσεις* uses this incident of Elijah to support his theory that the God of the Old Testament is different from the God who sent His Son into the world.

He tries to show that these interpolations, or at least some of them, were made primarily in the Latin side of a supposed bilingual original.

For instance, the Bezan text of Acts i. 2 adds the gloss *καὶ ἐκέλευσεν κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον* = *et praecepit praedicare evangelium*. Probably this is an explanation of the word *ἐντειλάμενος*, which comes just before, and is translated by 'praecepit'; in which case it is obvious that the glossator is working on a Latin text, taking his cue, as it were, from the 'praecepit,' repeating and explaining it. Had the gloss originated in the Greek, we should expect *ἐνετείλατο*; and had the Latin been a translation of *ἐκέλευσεν*, we should have expected its almost invariable equivalent 'jussit.'

In this way Dr. Rendel Harris suggested that almost all the Western additions might be explained. And he has also endeavoured in a pamphlet on the Diatessaron of Tatian to throw a little further light on the Latin omissions or 'non-interpolations.' He draws attention to the presence both in Tatian and in the Curetonian of the passages omitted by the Latin authorities, and suggests that the explanation of the presence of the so-called non-interpolations is that there was a Pre-Tatianic harmony which included the words omitted, and that this affected all texts except the non-interpolating Latins. Of course, Dr. Rendel Harris was writing before the discovery of the Sinaitic Syriac Codex; and the light which that ms. has thrown on the Syriac side of the Western text, and number of omissions to which it testifies, would probably make him reconsider this point. It would be necessary

to judge whether the Syriac omissions are similar in character to the Latin or not, and to consider whether it would be conceivable that there was yet another harmony to account for the Syriac omissions. The answer would scarcely be affirmative.

On the whole, probably Dr. Rendel Harris himself would not claim that his theory is a complete solution of the problem. But the value of a book to students is more often to be found in its suggestiveness than its completeness, and from this point of view few books are more valuable than Dr. Rendel Harris's. Apart from this, the permanent element in it is perhaps its demonstration of the multiplicity of strata in the Western text, and the emphasis laid on the influence of versions and harmonies.

(2) Dr. Chase.—Dr. Chase's theory is similar to that of Dr. Rendel Harris, in that he seeks a cause for the Western text in the influence of versions. But he considers the Syriac version rather than the Latin to be the originating cause. That is to say, that just as Dr. Rendel Harris traces the Western text to an original Graeco-Latin bilingual, so Dr. Chase traces it to an original Graeco-Syriac. And just as Dr. Rendel Harris traces his text to some centre of Latin Christianity, so Dr. Chase traces his to Antioch.

The arguments by which Dr. Chase supports his view are roughly these:—

(1) In certain readings Syriac idioms seem to be reproduced, *e.g.* in Luke ix. 16 the Bezan text is *εὐλόγησεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς*, which is said to be a literal translation of the ordinary Syriac construction.

(2) In other cases there are examples of forms of expression characteristic of Syriac, *e.g.* in John xxi. 7 the Bezan text is *λέγει . . . ὁ κύριός ἐστιν ἡμῶν*; where the addition of *ἡμῶν* is accounted for by Dr. Chase, by the fact that such is the usual Syriac form of *κύριος* when used of Christ. [This might well be true of other languages; it is of English.]

(3) Sometimes two glosses in different mss. are apparently traceable to one original Syriac gloss, *e.g.* in Matt. xxvi. 59 ff. D reads *καὶ οὐχ εὖρον τὸ ξένης καὶ πολλοὶ*

προσῆλθον ψευδομάρτυρες καὶ οὐχ εὗρον τὸ ἐξῆς, where in several Latin texts the second ἐξῆς is represented by *culpam* or some cognate expression. Dr. Chase explains this as due to the influence of a Syriac word, which means both 'against' and also 'after.'

Probably what is generally felt about most of this kind of criticism is that it is a little too ingenious. It is easy to believe that the Syriac text has left many marks on the Greek, but not that this is a satisfactory explanation of all the Western readings. The impartial observer is inclined to set Dr. Rendel Harris against Dr. Chase, and to consider that the theory of each is partially true and explains some readings, while neither entirely solves the whole problem.

Mention, however, should perhaps be made of that part of Dr. Chase's theory which, building on a review by Dr. Sanday, connects the Western text with Antioch. If the bond between the Old Latin and Old Syriac texts is close, we must look for the birthplace of the text in some district which was acquainted with both languages. But Latin was spoken in official circles all over the world, while Syriac can scarcely have been well known in the West. Therefore we seem forced to suppose an Eastern origin for the Latin version; and if so, Antioch is, on the whole, more probable than anywhere else, for the following reasons:—

- (1) It is known to have been the home of an early and vigorous Christianity.
- (2) It was undoubtedly bilingual or multilingual.
- (3) It was in close communication with the rest of the world.
- (4) It was of considerable importance in the Roman world as a centre of government.

This is important, for there are some indications of superior knowledge of Roman administration and official language in the Western text, *e.g.* the knowledge shown in Luke that the proper title of Pontius Pilate was ἐπίτροπος, not ἡγεμών. If however it be conceded that readings found in the Old Latin and Old Syriac have a greater claim to be considered the right readings than those which are only found in *Neutral* authorities, most of the arguments for an original connection between the

Old Latin and Old Syriac are removed, though it remains probable that they influenced one another directly or indirectly at a later period.

(3) Professor Ramsay.—In his two important books on the Life and Work of S. Paul, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, and *S. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen*, Professor Ramsay has made many suggestive remarks on the Western text in the Acts. He inclines to the view that the Western readings are due to a very early glossator who had a particularly good knowledge of Oriental geography and customs.

Many of the examples adduced by Professor Ramsay are strikingly convincing when taken in connection with the archæological information which he is able to supply. For instance, no commentator had ever seen anything peculiar in the fact that the ordinary text¹ makes S. Paul go from Caesarea to Jerusalem in one stage. But Professor Ramsay is able to show that this is an impossibility, and at the same time to point to the Western text, which explains that S. Paul was accompanied by Mnason, with whom he stayed the night at a village on the road. Thus he shows that the Western glossator had a knowledge of the conditions of travel in those regions so intimate as to notice a point which has escaped the notice of all other commentators. Such examples—and Professor Ramsay gives a great number of them—are very hard to resist. We feel that we must admit the accuracy and primitiveness of the Western text. What we doubt is (1) whether Professor Ramsay is equally safe in confining the knowledge of the glossator to Oriental subjects. Does not, for instance, the reference in Acts xxviii. 16 to the *στρατοπεδάρχης*, whom Mommsen has identified with the ‘*Princeps peregrinorum*,’ fall into the same category? (2) Whether such good work is really that of a glossator.

Of course, Professor Blass hails these results as confirming his theory of two editions both equally primitive and original, and both written by the same author. It must be admitted that Professor Ramsay’s arguments do seem to point to the Western text as at least as primitive

¹ Acts xxi. 16.

as the ordinary type. But the arguments adduced when discussing Professor Blass's theory hold good. Therefore what is needed is some theory which will uphold the primitiveness to which Professor Ramsay's theory points, and yet will avoid the difficulties to which Professor Blass's idea, that both types of text are due to the same author, has been seen to be liable.

Professor Resch.—This German critic has published in two large books in the *Texte und Untersuchungen* series a theory of his own about the Synoptic problem. So far as this theory concerns textual criticism it may be put shortly thus:—There was, according to Professor Resch, an original Hebrew document which was the source of a great part of our present Gospels. This was extant in its primitive form after it had been used by the compilers of our Gospels; and we can reconstruct it by a comparison of the ordinary texts of the present Gospels with each other, and also by the variant forms found in the early Fathers, and those in the Western texts, which he regards as often due to various translations of the Hebrew original which they knew. There is no need to discuss this theory, which finds but few adherents in its entirety, but it is interesting from the point of view of the textual critic as a curious attempt to reconcile those phenomena which have made Blass regard the Western text as equally primitive with the ordinary type, and Drs. Chase and Rendel Harris attribute it largely to the influence of versions reacting on the Greek. It is also, perhaps, more important for drawing attention to the fact that the textual critic of the Gospels at all events, and probably also of the Acts, has to consider the questions raised by the higher criticism, and ask whether some of the phenomena which puzzle him may not be due to the disturbing influence of the sources used by the compiler of the documents.

Such are the chief theories which have recently been put before the public. None of them even claims to be final, but all must be studied by any one who wishes really to master the problems of textual criticism. Perhaps the general result is to make it probable that W.H. (largely from lack of evidence) underestimated the

possibility that a consensus of the Old Latin and Old Syriac may give us a really primitive text even when opposed to the great uncials; but even if that were to be proved, and the text reconstructed on these lines, the problem is not fully solved. We often have readings in which either variant is possible, and neither is decisively the better. What is to be said as to the origin of the readings which are rejected? That is the problem which has to be faced. At present it has scarcely been touched, and it would be out of place to say anything at length on the point, but the present writer cannot help thinking that the solution of the origin of the Western interpolations, or Neutral interpolations, is connected somehow with the sources of the New Testament rather than with its text. It is a remarkable fact that the prominent features of the Western text exist in the Gospels and Acts, which are based on documents of an earlier date, but are to a large extent wanting in the Epistles, which are free compositions unconnected with other writings. It is therefore well to keep in mind the possibility that we have cases in the text of the Gospels and Acts of readings which are authentic in so far as they are part of the 'source-document,' but unauthentic in the sense that the compiler did not use them, and which owe their presence in any text of the New Testament to the reaction of the sources on the text of the compilation.

It may also be well to say one more word to any one who proposes to study the Western problems. Begin with the Acts:—not because the material for criticism is greater, but in spite of the fact that it is less. For the Western readings in the Acts are easier to judge, because they are bound from the nature of the book to deal more frequently with questions of geographical and archaeological detail which can be readily tested. The Gospels, on the other hand, more usually supply Western readings which deal with sayings and facts which can only be judged by the criterion of *a priori* probability. It is therefore the correct method to study the Western readings in Acts first of all, and to form some kind of judgment on them, and after this to turn to the Gospels and apply to them the conclusions derived from the study of the Acts.

APPENDIX A

TISCHENDORF'S SYSTEM OF NOTATION

A KNOWLEDGE of the symbols and abbreviations commonly employed in textual criticism is essential to every student of the New Testament.

Some of these have been explained in the preceding chapters, but for general convenience these have been repeated here, together with all the others which are in general use. The multiplication of these symbols is an ever-growing evil; and as no two writers seem to employ quite the same method, it is impossible to escape occasional misunderstandings. But since the basis of all other systems at the present day is that of Tischendorf, ed. viii., the necessary foundation of study is an acquaintance with his notation. The best way will be to take an example and go through its details.

In *M*^t 5,44. ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν. Tischendorf's note is:—

T. ἐχθρ ὑμῶν c. *Σ* B 1 22 209 al^a a b ff¹. g^{1.2}. k l vg sax fr cop syr^{cur} Thphil³. 14. Or 4,324.329.351. item 1,768. 4,353. Dial 20 Eus^p 689 Ir^{int} 210 Cyp^{ter} al. *ς* (Gb⁰⁰) add εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους υμᾶς (D υμῶν, Athen om) c. DEKLMSUΔH al pler c f h go syr^{ach} et^p arm aeth Athen^{legat} 11 Clem⁶⁰⁵ (omnino propter sqq e *M*^t vdtr) Eus^{praep} 13,7 (omnino e *M*^t vdtr) Const¹. 2. Chr :: cf L^c |.

The first thing to notice in this mass of symbols is the and the | at the end. These are the sign posts. implies that the list of authorities for the variant quoted has been exhausted, and that the alternatives will now be given. The | signifies the close of the whole passage under discussion. Had there been a third variant, there would have been some more after 'cf L^c' instead of the |.

It appears, therefore, that in this passage there are two readings:—

- (α) ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν,
- (β) ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν, εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς.

Of these (α) is Tischendorf's reading, and therefore he first gives it and the authorities for it, introducing the latter with a c=*cum*. (β) is the reading of *ς* (Gb⁰⁰). This is a highly complex abbreviation. The first part (*ς*) is itself a compound symbol. It represents the text of Stephanus, followed by Elzevir, Schulz, and

Griesbach. Now, although the agreement of these three editions with Stephanus is fairly consistent, there are many places where one or the other differs. In these cases Tischendorf's practice is to indicate the reading of the editor or editors who differ from Stephanus by inserting a 'bracket' after ϵ , and using the following symbols: ϵ^o =Elzevir, Sz=Schulz, Gb=Griesbach, '=' 'thinks it probable,' "='thinks it very probable, '°='prefers the other variant,' °°='strongly prefers the other variant.' So that ϵ (Gb^{°°}) in this passage means, 'The reading of Stephanus, Elzevir, Schulz, and Griesbach; but Griesbach strongly prefers the other reading.'

There then follows the list of authorities in their proper places for each reading. These authorities are always quoted in the same order.

1. Greek uncials, quoted by capital letters.
2. Greek cursives, quoted by numbers as a rule.
3. The Latin authorities, with notice of the more important mss. individually.
4. Other versions.
5. Patristic quotations with references.

To continue, therefore, the explanation of the note in question: Tischendorf means that the shorter reading is supported by the Greek uncial mss. \aleph B (for the names, etc., of the uncial mss., see Appendix B); by the minuscule or cursive mss. 1. 22. 209. and al⁴, i.e. four others; by the Old Latin mss. a. b. ff¹. g¹. g². k. l. (names, etc., of these also are in Appendix B); and the Vulgate (vg); also by the two secondary versions, sax.=the Anglo-Saxon, and fr.=the Frankish, both of which are derivatives of the Latin; by the Coptic version, now called the Bohairic; and by the Curetonian Syriac.

It is also supported by Theophylact, Origen, and an anonymous tract known as the 'Dialogus de recta fide' (Dial.), by Eusebius in his commentary on the Psalms (Eus^{ps}.), by the Latin translation of Irenaeus (Iren^{int}=Irenaei interpres), by three quotations of the passage in Cyprian, and by others (al.). In the case of each Father quoted the reference to the standard edition (usually the Benedictine) is given in small figures, e.g. Orig^{4,324}=Origen, vol. iv. p. 324.

In the same way, the longer reading adopted by Stephanus, etc., is supported by the uncials DEKLMSUAH and most other Greek mss. (al. pler.), by c. f. h. of the Old Latin, by the Gothic version (go), the Peshitto (syr^{sch}, i.e. Schaaff's Syriac v. p. 40), and the Harklean Syriac (Syr^p=Syra posterior), the Armenian, and the Aethiopic. It is also supported by Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius in his *Praeparatio Evangelica*, the 'Apostolic constitutions' (const.), and Chrysostom. In the case of Clement and Eusebius, Tischendorf indicates in brackets that there are reasons for believing that the quotation is from M^t not L^c, and the sign :: cf. L^c at the end means that he thinks that the reading is due to assimilation to the text of Luke.

APPENDIX B

SUMMARY OF GREEK AND LATIN MSS.

MSS. of the Gospels

- *^N(iv.)¹ cod. Sinaiticus, at S. Petersburg.
- *^A(v.) cod. Alexandrinus, in the British Museum.
- *^B(iv.) cod. Vaticanus, at Rome, in the Vatican.
- *^C(v.) cod. Ephraemi, a palimpsest at Paris.
- *^D(vi.) cod. Bezae, Graeco-Latin, at Cambridge.
- E(viii.) cod. Basileensis, at Basel, in Switzerland.
- F(ix.) cod. Boreeli at Utrecht, formerly belonging to John Boreel (1629).
- G(ix.-x.) cod. Seidelii, in the British Museum, brought from the East by Andrew Seidel early in the eighteenth century.
- H(ix.-x.) cod. Seidelii, at Hamburg; its history is the same as G's.
- I(v.-vi.) some palimpsest fragments at S. Petersburg.
- K(ix.) cod. Cyprius, at Paris, brought from Cyprus in 1673.
- *^L(viii.) cod. Regius, at Paris.
- M(ix.) cod. Campianus, at Paris, given to Louis xiv. by the Abbé François de Camps.
- N(vi.) cod. Purpureus, at Patmos, S. Petersburg, Rome, Vienna, and the British Museum.
- P(vi.) fragm. Guelpherbytana i., palimpsest fragments at Wolfenbüttel.
- Q(v.) fragm. Guelpherbytana ii., palimpsest fragments at Wolfenbüttel.
- R(vi.) cod. Nitriensis, a palimpsest fragment in the British Museum, brought in 1847 from the monastery of S. Mary Deipara in the Nitrian desert.
- S(dated 949) cod. Vaticanus ii., at Rome.
- T(v.) cod. Borgianus, in the Propaganda at Rome, a Graeco-Sahidic ms.
- T^b and T^c(vi.) Graeco-Sahidic fragments at S. Petersburg.
- T^{wol}(vi.) a Graeco-Sahidic fragment in the Bodleian at Oxford.
- U(ix.-x.) cod. Nanius, at Venice.
- V(ix.) cod. Mosquensis, belonging to the Holy Synod at Moscow.
- W^{abedef} fragments at Paris, Naples, S. Gall, Trinity College Cambridge, Christ Church Library Oxford, and the Wake Library Oxford.

¹ These figures indicate the century to which the ms. is assigned.

* See also Chapter II.

X (ix.-x.) cod. Monacensis, in the University Library, Munich.

Y (viii.) *Fragmenta Barberina*, in the Barberini Library at Rome.

Z (vi.) cod. Dublinensis, a palimpsest at Trinity College, Dublin.

Γ (dated 979), at Oxford and S. Petersburg, brought by Tischendorf from 'the East,' probably Sinai.

Δ (x.) cod. Sangallensis, a Graeco-Latin ms. at S. Gall in Switzerland.

Θ (vii.?) fragments at Leipzig.

Λ (ix.) cod. Tischendorfianus, in the Bodleian, brought from 'the East' by Tischendorf.

* Ξ (viii.) cod. Zacynthius, a palimpsest in the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society, London.

Π (ix.) cod. Petropolitanus, at S. Petersburg.

Besides these mss. known to Tischendorf, a few others have since been lettered as follows:—

Σ (vi.) cod. Rossanensis, a 'purple' ms. like N, at Rossano in S. Italy.

Σ^b cod. Sinopensis (vi.), a purple and gold ms. at Paris.

Φ (v.) cod. Beratinus, another 'purple' ms. at Berat in Macedonia.

Ψ (viii.) cod. Laurensis, at the Laura on Mount Athos.

Ω (x.) cod. Dionysiacus, at the monastery of S. Dionysius on Mount Athos.

Ⲛ (x.) cod. Andreensis, at the 'scete' of S. Andrew on Mount Athos.

(ix.) cod. Macedoniensis, to which no letter has yet been assigned, belonging to Mr. J. Bevan Braithwaite of London.

And a few other small fragments.

MSS. of the Acts and Catholic Epistles.

ⲚABCD. The same as in the Gospels.

*E (vii.) cod. Laudianus, a Latino-Greek ms., probably written in Sardinia, used by Bede, and given by Laud to the Bodleian.

H (ix.) cod. Mutinensis, at Modena.

K (ix.) cod. Mosquensis, at Moscow. Acts is missing.

L (ix.) cod. Angelicus, in the library of the Augustinians in Rome.

P (ix.) cod. Porphyrianus, a palimpsest at S. Petersburg, formerly belonging to Bishop Porphyry.

S (ix.-x.) cod. Laurensis II., at the Laura, Mount Athos.

Ⲛ (v.) fragm. Patiriensia, palimpsest fragments formerly at Rossano, now in the Vatican.

MSS. of the Pauline Epistles.

ⲛABC. As for the Gospels.

*D (vi.) cod. Claromontanus, a Graeco-Latin ms. at Paris, formerly at Clermont, near Beauvais.

*E (ix.) cod. Sangermanensis, a Graeco-Latin ms. at S. Petersburg, formerly at S. Germain des Prez, a copy of D.

*F (ix.) cod. Augiensis, a Graeco-Latin ms. at Trinity College, Cambridge, formerly in the monastery of Augia Dives at Reichenau, on Lake Constance.

*G (x.) = Δ of the Gospels. cod. Boernerianus, at Dresden, formerly belonged to C. F. Boerner of Leipsic. Perhaps the Greek was copied from F.

*H (vi.) cod. Coislinianus, fragments at Paris, S. Petersburg, and at the Laura, Mount Athos.

K.L.P. As of the Acts and Catholic Epistles.

MSS. of the Apocalypse.

ⲛAC. As of the Gospels.

B (viii.) cod. Vaticanus III., at Rome.

P. As of the Acts.

The Old Latin MSS. The Gospels.

a. (iv.) cod. Vercellensis, a 'purple' ms. at Vercelli, said to have been written by Bishop Eusebius (370).

b. (iv.-v.) cod. Veronensis, at Verona.

c. (xii.) cod. Colbertinus, at Paris.

d. (vi.) The Latin of D, at Cambridge.

e. (iv.-v.) cod. Palatinus, at Vienna, formerly at Trent, 'purple' ms.

f. (vi.) cod. Brixianus, at Brescia.

ff₁ (viii.-ix.) cod. Corbeiensis I., at S. Petersburg, formerly at Corbey, near Amiens. Sometimes quoted as f. for the Catholic Epistles.

ff₂ (vi.) Corbeiensis II., at Paris, formerly at Corbey.

g₁ (ix.) cod. Sangermanensis I., at Paris, formerly at S. Germain.

g₂ (x.) cod. Sangermanensis II., at Paris, originally at Angers.

h. (iv.-v.) cod. Claromontanus, now in the Vatican.

i. (vii.) cod. Vindobonensis, at Vienna, formerly at Naples.

j. (v.) cod. Sarzannensis, a 'purple' ms. at Sarezzano, near Tortona.

- k. (vi.) cod. Bobiensis, at Turin, formerly at Bobbio, and said to have belonged to Columban.
- l. (vii.) cod. Rhedigeranus, at Breslau.
- m. 'Liber de divinis Scripturis sive speculum.' Attributed to Augustine, it is really a group of mss., and was edited by Mai from one at Rome, and more recently from six mss. in the Vienna Corpus script. eccl. latt.
- n. (v.-vi.), o. (vii.), p. (vii.-viii.) fragmenta Sangallensia, at S. Gall.
- q. (vii.) cod. Monacensis, at Munich, formerly at Freising.
- r. (vii.) cod. Ussherianus, at Trinity College, Dublin.
- s. (vi.) fragmenta Bobiensia, at Milan, formerly at Bobbio.
- t. (v.) fragmenta Bernensia, at Berne.
- v. (vii.) fragm. Vindobonensia, at Vienna.
- a₂ (v.-vi.) At Coire, in the Realisches Museum, part of the same ms. as n.
- δ. (x.) The Latin of Δ of the Gospels.

In the Acts and Catholic Epistles.

- d. m. As in the Gospels.
- e. The Latin of cod. E.
- g. (xiii.) cod. Gigas, a Bohemian ms. at Stockholm. W.H. call it holm, and it is often quoted as gig.
- h. (vi.) cod. Floriacensis, also known as f. (Blass), a palimpsest fragment at Paris, formerly at Fleury.
- s. (v.-vi.) fragmenta Bobiensia, at Vienna, formerly at Bobbio.
- And in the Catholic Epistles alone—
- f. or ff. —ff₁ of the Gospels.

In the Pauline Epistles.

- m. As in the Gospels, etc. d.e.f.g. the Latin of D.E.F.G. respectively.
- gue. (vi.) cod. Guelpherbytanus, at Wolfenbüttel.
- r. (v.-vi.) cod. Frisingensis, at Munich.

In the Apocalypse.

- m. Of the Gospels.
- g. h. Of the Acts.

Vulgate MSS.

As there are some hundreds of these, it is impossible to give a full list. The best appear to be:—

- am. (viii.) cod. Amiatinus, at Florence. Written in the North of England, and sent by Abbot Ceolfrid to the Pope in 715, and afterwards remained at Monte Amiata (v. *Codex Amiatinus*, by H. J. White, in *Studia Biblica*, vol. ii.). Wordsworth and White's A.
- cav. (ix.) cod. Cavensis, at La Cava, near Salerno, in Italy, written in Spain. Wordsworth's C.
- for. (vi.-vii.) cod. Forojuliensis, at Cividale, in Friuli, but part at Prague, and quoted by Tischendorf as prag. Wordsworth's J.
- fuld. (vi.) cod. Fuldensis, written for Bishop Victor of Capua, and corrected by him. The Gospels are arranged continuously in the same order as was employed in *Tatian's Diatessaron* (v. p. 34). Now at Fulda in Prussia. Wordsworth's F.
- tol. (?viii.) cod. Toletanus, formerly at Seville, then at Toledo, now at Madrid in the National Library. Wordsworth's T.

APPENDIX C

BOOKS VALUABLE FOR A STUDY OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM

- Novum Testamentum Graece*, ed. viii. maj. Tischendorf.
- Prolegomena to Tischendorf*. Gregory.
- ✓ *Canon and Text of the New Testament*. Gregory.
- The New Testament in the Original Greek*. Westcott and Hort.
- Die Schriften des neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt*. H. von Soden.
- ✓ *Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, ed. iv. Scrivener.
- ✓ *Codex Bezae*. Scrivener.
- Old Latin Biblical Texts*. Wordsworth and others.
- The Sinaitic Palimpsest retranscribed*. A. S. Lewis.
- The Old Syriac Gospels*. A. S. Lewis.

- | | | |
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| <i>Evangelion Da-Mepharreshe.</i> | F. C. Burkitt. | } In Texts
and
Studies. |
| <i>Codex Bezae.</i> | Rendel Harris. | |
| <i>Euthaliana.</i> | Armitage Robinson. | |
| <i>The Old Latin and the Itala.</i> | F. C. Burkitt. | |
| <i>Clement of Alexandria's Biblical Text.</i> | P. Barnard. | |
| <i>S. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospel.</i> | F. Crawford Burkitt. | |
| <i>Codex I and its allies.</i> | K. Lake. | |
| <i>Acta Apostolorum.</i> | Blass. | |
| <i>Evangelium secundum Lucam.</i> | Blass. | |
| <i>Four Lectures on the Western Text.</i> | Rendel Harris. | |
| <i>Stichometry.</i> | Rendel Harris. | |
| <i>The Annotators of Codex Bezae.</i> | Rendel Harris. | |
| <i>The Syro-Latin Text.</i> | Chase. | |
| <i>The Syriac Element in Codex Bezae.</i> | Chase. | |
| <i>Agrapha.</i> | Resch. | |
| <i>Parallel Texte.</i> | Resch. | } In Texte und
Untersu-
chungen. |
| <i>Textkritische Studien.</i> | Bousset. | |
| <i>Der Codex D in der Apostelgeschichte.</i> | Weiss. | |
| <i>Das lat. N. T. in Afrika.</i> | H. von Soden. | |
| <i>Church in the Roman Empire.</i> | Ramsay. | |
| <i>S. Paul the Traveller.</i> | Ramsay. | |
| <i>The Traditional Text.</i> | Burton and Miller. | |
| <i>Histoire de la Vulgate.</i> | Berger. | |
| <i>The Vulgate.</i> | Wordsworth and White. | |
| <i>Diatessaron of Tatian.</i> | Zahn. | |
| <i>Some Criticism of the Text of the New Testament.</i> | Salmon. | |
| <i>Textual Criticism of the Greek Testament.</i> | Nestle. | |
| <i>Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament.</i> | F. G. Kenyon. | |

APPENDIX D

THE NEW RESEARCHES AND THEORY
OF PROFESSOR VON SODEN

A SUFFICIENT amount of a new and probably epoch-making book is now published, to render it desirable to give some account of its main features, though the time is not yet come for any attempt finally to estimate its value. This is H. von Soden's *Die Schriften des neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren*

Textgestalt. The first instalment of the first part appeared in 1902, the second part in 1906, the third in 1907, and the fourth in 1910. These parts contain a new notation of mss., a partly new and much more elaborate grouping of mss. into textual families, and a new theory of textual history.

1. *Von Soden's Notation of MSS.*—The older system distinguishing between uncials and minuscules is abandoned, and an attempt made to give information, by the symbol employed, as to the date and the contents of each ms. All known mss. are first divided into three classes:—(1) δ -mss., containing the whole New Testament (*διαθήκη*), with or without the exception of the Apocalypse; (2) ϵ -mss., containing the Gospels (*εὐαγγέλιον*); (3) α -mss., containing Acts and Epistles, with or without the Apocalypse (*ἀπόστολος*).

The mss. within each of these classes are assigned numbers, in accordance with their date and contents, on the following system:— δ - and α -mss., up to the end of the ninth century, are numbered 1 to 49; those of the tenth century 50 to 99; for the following centuries numbers of three ciphers are taken, and the cipher in the hundreds' place indicates the century: thus, 121 means a ms. of the eleventh century, 221 of the twelfth, 321 of thirteenth, and so on. In δ -mss. an indication is given as to the presence or absence of the Apocalypse by using 1 to 49 in each hundred for mss. with the Apocalypse, 50 to 99 for those without it: thus, δ -421 would be a fourteenth-century ms. containing the whole of the New Testament; δ -271 would be a twelfth-century ms. containing all the New Testament except the Apocalypse. Similarly, the contents of the α -mss. are indicated by the figures. Numbers of three ciphers are reserved for mss. containing Acts, Catholic Epistles, and Pauline Epistles, with or without the Apocalypse—the absence or presence of which is shown in the same way as in the δ -mss. For mss. containing less than this, numbers of four ciphers are used, the left-hand cipher always being one, the next cipher showing the date, and the two right-hand ciphers indicating the precise contents: 00 to 19 mean Acts and Catholic Epistles, 20 to 69 mean Pauline Epistles alone, and 70 to 99 mean the Apocalypse alone. Thus, α -321 means a thirteenth century ms., containing Acts, Catholic and Pauline Epistles, and Apocalypse; α -489 means a fourteenth century ms., containing Acts, Catholic and Pauline Epistles, but not the Apocalypse; α -1109 means an eleventh century ms., containing Acts and Catholic Epistles; α -1221 a twelfth century ms., containing the Pauline Epistles; and α -1372 means a thirteenth century ms., containing the Apocalypse. The ϵ -mss. are so numerous that a further development of the system is necessary. 1 to 99 is used for mss. up to the ninth century, and as this does not supply sufficient numbers, more are gained by prefixing a 0, and so gaining another hundred figures. 1000 to 1099 are mss. of the tenth century, 1100 to 1199 of the eleventh, and so on.

When this proves insufficient, a 1 is prefixed, and since in the twelfth and later centuries even this is not enough, use is made of the thousands, and 2000 to 2999 is rendered available for the mss. of the twelfth century, 3000 to 3999 for those of the thirteenth century, and so on: in each case the left-hand figure indicates the century. Normally an ϵ is to be fixed to these numbers, but it is obvious that this is only necessary when the class of the mss. would otherwise be ambiguous, and, in dealing with the Gospels, von Soden adopts the practice of never inserting the ϵ when speaking of ϵ -mss., and never omitting the δ when referring to the δ -mss. This seems to be the most convenient method, and can obviously be applied equally well to α -mss.

2. *Grouping of MSS.*—Von Soden divides the mss. of the Gospels into three groups, which he calls '*K, H, I.*'

The K Group.—This is, roughly speaking, W. H.'s Syrian (or Antiochene) text. Von Soden subdivides it into K^1 , which is the purest existing form of *K*, and is best represented by $\text{SV}\Omega$ 461, 661, 655, and a new ms. (ϵ -94), K^1 , which is *K* influenced by readings of the Ferrar group, K^{1k} , K^x , K^r , and some other variations, which represent more or less unimportant sub-families of *K*. It is suggested that *K* can be traced back to the fourth century, and that it is the recension made by Lucian.

The H Group.—This represents W. H.'s Neutral and Alexandrian, between which von Soden does not seem to distinguish. It is represented best by \aleph BCLZ $\Delta\Psi$ 33, 892, 1241, 579, and a few other fragments. Von Soden thinks that there is a close relationship between \aleph and B, to which he ascribes an Egyptian origin, but that the other mss. are all independent authorities, though all corrupted by varying degrees of admixture with *K*. In reconstructing the text of *H* he does not seem to attach nearly as much importance to B as has been usual. It is suggested that *H* is the recension of Hesychius; it was used by the makers of the Egyptian Versions, and in the main by Athanasius, Didymus, and Cyril of Alexandria, but not by Origen or Clement.

The I Group.—This corresponds, more or less, to the Western Text. The oldest extant form of it is best represented, according to von Soden, by D 28, 372, 565, 700, and a new ms. (ϵ -050), which seems to be closely connected with 700, and a new ms. related to 28 and 565. Important sub-families of *I* are *J*, which is the Ferrar Group, and H^r , which is made up of Fam.¹ 22, and some new mss. (see p. 21). Another sub-family of less importance is Π , composed of the 'Purple mss.' ($\text{N}\Sigma\Phi$, etc.), which von Soden thinks can be identified with the text of the great Cappadocian Fathers, Basil and Gregory. Still less important are $\text{OB}\Sigma\Phi$ (all various combinations of *I* and *K*, or sub-families of *K*), and K^a , but the last has a certain historical interest if von Soden is right in thinking that it represents the recension (*I* corrected to a *K* standard) used, and perhaps made by Chrysostom. In recon-

structing the original *I* text, von Soden pays more attention to 28, 565, 700, and less to D than former critics. D he thinks has been largely corrupted by the influence of the Latin, Syriac, and, perhaps, Sahidic Versions. He does not recognise these two versions as authorities for *I*—they belong to an earlier stage of the history of the text, and he thinks that *I* itself represents a Caesarean recension, with which the names of Pamphilus and Eusebius may be connected, especially as the quotations of Eusebius seem to belong to the *I* type.

The grouping of the mss. in the Acts and Epistles is less complicated, but not essentially different. In the Acts, von Soden distinguishes the same three recensions,—*K*, *H*, and *I*. *K*, which contains the sub-families *K*^r, and *K*^c, is represented by the mass of late mss.; *H* by \aleph BAC and a few other mss. which all have a more or less contaminated form of the Neutral and Alexandrian Text; *I* falls into three sub-families, *I*^a, *I*^b, *I*^c, of which *I*^a is the most important, and is represented by DE and a few minuscules. The same grouping is in essentials found in the Catholic Epistles, though the evidence is much smaller.

In the Apocalypse there are also three main types: *K*, found in most mss., *H* found in the early uncials \aleph AC etc., and a third type, of which the commentary of Andreas is the best representative; to this von Soden gives the symbol 'Av.

In the Pauline Epistles the three main families are the same:—*H*, *I*, and *K*. *K* is the text of the mass of mss., *H* that of \aleph BAC and their allies, *I* of DEFG and a few others.

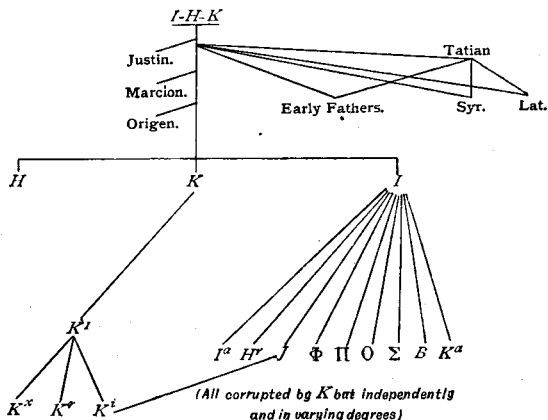
3. *Textual Theory*.—All known mss. belong either to *I*, *H*, or *K*; and it can, so von Soden thinks, be shown that they together represent an original text, called *I-H-K*, which was used by Origen, and probably by Marcion, Justin, and Tatian, who used it as the basis of the Diatessaron. Of these recensions *K* is the worst, and *I* the best, and *I-H-K* can be recovered in the main (1) by eliminating readings due to the influence of parallel passages in the Gospels; (2) where this rule is insufficient, by rejecting the reading which seems to be an accommodation to Matthew,—the popular Gospel in earlier times; (3) in other places by adopting the reading found in two out of the three recensions. Thus, *I-H-K* is reconstructed, and the question is then faced whether it is really the earliest which we can reach. The difficulty is that the Old Latin and Old Syriac versions, and the quotations of Tertullian, Irenaeus, and Clement of Alexandria do not seem to support the readings of *I-H-K*. Yet von Soden is apparently prepared to argue that in the end they do really support it, for their readings can all be explained as the corruption of *I-H-K* by the Diatessaron, which was written in Greek, probably early in Tatian's career, and became widely known.

In the Acts and Epistles von Soden's theory is in essentials the same as in the Gospels. He thinks that in the former, at all

events, the influence of Tatian is probable, though his work is no longer extant. In the Epistles it is, he suggests, probable that Marcion's text has had a great influence; nevertheless in all parts of the N. T. an original *I-H-K* text can be recovered, which approves itself on intrinsic grounds as better than the rival texts of Tatian or Marcion.

It is obvious that such important contributions to the history of the text, and such great innovations in theory, are certain to give rise to a long discussion among textual critics, which it would be improper to anticipate, but there can be no harm in pointing out that the *foet* of this discussion are almost sure to be the following questions:—(1) Is *K* really independent of *I* and *H*, or were W. H. right in thinking that it is the result of a recension based on Western and Neutral texts (*I* and *H*)? (2) Is von Soden right in regarding *D* as the result of Latin and Syriac influence working on *I*, and not as evidence for a Greek text which agreed with the Old Syriac and Old Latin more than with any Greek mss.? (3) Is he right in making no distinction between Neutral and Alexandrian mss.? (4) Is he right in thinking that the Diatessaron of Tatian exercised such a wide influence, and that this influence is sufficient to account for the variations from *I-H-K*, shown by the oldest versions and Fathers?

The following scheme, which of course omits many of the less important sub-families, will serve to illustrate von Soden's general theory of the relations between the different textual families.



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