

PHOTOGRAPHING
A GREEK
MANUSCRIPT
OF THE
GOSPELS

—
CODEX
ROBERTSONIANUS
—
BOWMAN



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Southern Baptist Seminary

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THE ROBERTSON CODEX

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The Robertson Gospels

PHOTOGRAPHING A GREEK MANUSCRIPT OF THE GOSPELS*

Codex Robertsonianus—Minusc. 2358

BY J. W. BOWMAN

"Is not this a lamentable thing, that of the skin of an innocent lamb should be made a parchment? that parchment, being scribbled o'er, should undo a man?"

SHAKESPEARE

A well-known preacher, who had experienced great success in the ministry, once remarked that it was "great fun to be a minister"! There is small danger, I think, that many readers of this magazine will misunderstand his meaning and probably most of us will give hearty assent to the sentiment. The idea is less popular that any *fun* attaches to the study of the more technical subjects relating to Theological Science. Tregelles went blind from pouring over the musty contents of the libraries and monasteries of Europe; nor was his fate the worst by any means to befall members of that illustrious line of scholars who during the past hundred years have been engaged in patiently reproducing from papyrus and parchment the original texts of Biblical and secular literature.

Yet one has but to reflect upon the imperishable value of the poetry, history, prophecy, and spiritual message contained in the Word of God to convince oneself that any sacrifice involved in recovering the *ipsissima verba* of the inspired text is well worth while. Nor is this all; for behind blot and erasure, addition and omission, in the very shapeliness (or contrariwise, the uncouthness!) of the handwriting, there lies romance—it may be tragedy,—that awaits but patient research and a little imagination to discover. What dark chamber in an unknown monastery saw the soft light of the candle that dropped those spots of grease upon the sacred page?

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What dark-robed monk laboriously traced the faded page long after his less industrious fellows had retired to rest? What earnest theologian, priest, or heretic scribbled aimlessly or impatiently corrected a verse here and there upon the margin? The exact answer to these and many another question that forms itself in the mind as one turns the pages of a manuscript of the Gospels may tarry until the coming of Him Who is Lord alike of theologian and priest, of monk and nun. But none can doubt the pathos, the patient toil, the earnest search for Truth, the exuberance of spiritual zeal that underlies the text and its every blemish!

I. DISCOVERY OF A NEW MINUSCULE CODEX OF THE GOSPELS: ^E

One may safely be left to reflect upon the eagerness with which an archaeologist of Dr. Adolf Deissmann's known enthusiasm took possession of an hitherto unknown MS of the Four Gospels which fell into his hands in the autumn of 1926. ~~or the early spring of 1927.~~¹ He found it at Ephesus in the hands of a "Turkish dealer" and the curt phrase with which he describes his immediate response upon being shown such a prize is "saved immediately!"² Some of the most notable "discoveries" of modern times have been, as is proverbial with fishermen, "purchases." Dr. H. A. Sanders, the editor of the Washington Codex of the Gospels, says that it with others was "bought by Mr. Freer (Charles L.) off an Arab dealer named Ali in Gizeh, near Cairo, on December 19th, 1906."³ The purchase of the Gospel MS known as Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus (N) forms a most interesting chapter in itself, involving as it did no less personages than the Russian Consul at Konieh, in Asia Minor, the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, members of the Russian Archaeological Institute at Constantinople, both American and British missionaries, various scholars

1. The Robertson Codex (= Cod. Rbt. hereafter) is dated tentatively in the 11th century.

2. A number of the statements in this part of the present article rest for their authority on a letter written to my beloved teacher, Dr. A. T. Robertson, by Dr. Deissmann under date March 2nd, 1927. The entire letter is interesting among other things for its quaint phrases, of which I quote one or two, but I do not feel justified in giving the whole of it at present.

3. Vide Univ. of Mich., Humanistic Series, vol. ix, "The New Testament Manuscripts in the Freer Collection", 1918, p. 1.

acquisition
 in England, and last if not least, the Czar of Russia.⁴ The ~~purchase~~ of Codex Sinaiticus for the Czar through the instrumentality of Tischendorf is so popularly known as to require mere reference.

Dr. Deissmann appears to have experienced no difficulty in purchasing this MS. But it is not always easy to ascertain where or how the Oriental came upon his "find." In the present instance there may have been a real reason for keeping this point secret, if Dr. Deissmann be correct in his surmise that our MS "turned up during or after that horrible expulsion of the Greeks in 1922 (from Asia Minor. One recalls the burning of Smyrna and a certain adjective applied freely in those days to the Turk which in these more 'enlightened' times it were anathema to utter!) We are not in a position to know what the MS suffered in those dark days: I think it is at any rate unlikely that it lost at that time any of its outer leaves (front and back) as the two outermost are covered with the dirt of centuries and present an appearance such as even a Turk would scarcely produce in a matter of weeks or months. The only relic of those days that will remain with the MS. is the Turkish dealer's 'raqm' on pp. 1 and 351, the same on both pages, and possibly a chance scribble here and there. But into this latter factor I have not yet had time to enquire. These old Biblical manuscripts are ordinarily the property of monasteries or churches in the East, rather than of private individuals. So it is probably a safe guess that our MS had found for many years a safe home under the protection of some line of abbots or bishops⁵. In later generations at any rate these old MSS have received a veneration almost amounting to worship on the part of the common folk in those parishes and districts in which they have been kept. One recalls the incident associated with Cod. Pur. Petro., above referred to, when the people crowded round the carriage of the Russian Consul who was carrying off the treasure of the parish, to pay it a last act of homage.⁶

4. Vide Texts and Studies, vol. v, No. 4, "Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus", 1899, H. S. Cronin, pp. xiii ff.

5. The work of decipherment has not proceeded far enough yet to allow of a statement as to who any of these were; later the writer hopes to be able to give some names.

6. opp. cit., p. xiv, n. 1.

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II. PURCHASE OF THE MS FOR THE LIBRARY AT LOUISVILLE

Shortly after its discovery, a matter of a few months, Dr. Deissmann, having returned to Berlin to take a brief respite from his excavating at Ephesus, offered the MS to Professor A. T. Robertson, D. D., LL.D., head of the department of New Testament Interpretation in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary at Louisville, "for the library of your seminary" and for use in his Greek Seminar. Dr. Deissmann in his letter recalled the fact that "Gregory only mentions 13 codices or small fragments of the Greek Gospels existing in the States."⁷ But such reference was scarcely needed to stimulate Dr. Robertson's interest in such a prize. His students of the spring term of 1927 will recall the enthusiasm with which he referred to the discovery in class and seminar and the anxiety which he manifested lest it might not be found possible to purchase the MS for the seminary. When the money had been guaranteed his joy was such as only one could experience who had for thirty-five years and more made the English and Greek New Testaments live for some 5000 students of his own and for many thousands more who have not known him personally.⁸ He immediately sent a cable to Dr. Deissmann asking him to hold the MS lest even yet it might go to another.

7. Vide C. R. Gregory, "Die griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments," 1908. Gregory's list, since the acknowledged failure of von Soden's classification of the N. T. MSS., is recognised by all scholars as the standard. Dr. Deissmann would have liked to keep the MS for his own seminar but a generous patron had in 1910 made it possible for him to secure another, and furthermore his interest in the excavations at Ephesus was for the moment paramount. "I must take care," he wrote, "to save money for my Ephesus work." Since the purchase for an American library of the Cod. Rbt., which von Dobschutz, who has succeeded Gregory in the matter of classification, numbered 2358, a new codex of the 13th century has come to light in Paris. The latter, according to "The Christian Herald" of May 19th, 1928 (p. 541), has been purchased by an American lady, Mrs. E. R. McCormick, and loaned to Dr. Goodspeed of the University of Chicago for study. So there are now, if this latter contains the Gospels, 15 MSS or fragments of them, not including papyri, in the U. S. A. Of these the most important is easily the Washington or Freer MS, and those interested in our MS will like to know of Dr. Robertson's judgment with regard to *its* relative merits. Writing in "The Review and Expositor" for January, 1928, he says, "It may be stated positively that it is the most valuable document of the Four Greek Gospels in the United States with the exception of the Washington codex" (vol. xxv, No. 1).

8. Dr. Robertson has written briefly of the purchase of the MS in the "British Weekly," for Sept. 1, 1927 (vol. lxxxii, p. 470, No. 2, 131) and in the "Review and Expositor", (op.cit., pp. 79. 80).

III. PHOTOGRAPHING THE ROBERTSON MS

The cable was dispatched on May 3rd and several anxious weeks followed before it was known that the MS had actually been held for the American library. When it actually arrived, Dr. Robertson, with a generosity for which there is certainly little precedent, sent it to my home that I might there undertake the task of photographing it at my own leisure. It came into my hands on June 27th, and from that date until September 16th—three months almost—it remained with me! I was busy with few breaks at the task assigned me. It was at first thought that the task of photographing, developing, and printing the 350 pages would consume about a month. But so many difficulties presented themselves and the work proved so exacting that it actually took almost three times that period.⁹

In the weeks that intervened before its arrival the Rev. T. A. Johnson, Assistant Librarian at the Louisville Seminary, to whom Dr. Robertson had committed the task of helping me make the necessary arrangements for photographing the MS, and myself spent some time in scouting about for the most feasible method to pursue.

Very few complete MSS of the N. T. or portions thereof have hitherto been photographed: I am personally aware of only five such.¹⁰ Usually scholars have worked on the actual manuscript until their work was done or else, particularly in cases where the manuscript existed in fragments distributed among various libraries, as was true, for instance, of Cod. Purpur. Petro.,¹¹ they have had to depend upon collations of the manuscript, supplemented at times by partial photographs made by themselves or others. In our case, the former method was impossible as I could not spend the neces-

9. I should say perhaps at this point that toward the end of this period I wrote Mr. Johnson that, though von Dobschutz had already numbered the codex, I wished to assume an editor's prerogative of naming it, and suggested that it be given the name Codex Robertsonianus in honor of Dr. Robertson, and by this name, as well as by the number, it will in future be known.

10. Kirsopp Lake enumerates these in his "The Text of the New Testament," 1928, p. 95:

Novum Testamentum e Codice Vaticano, Milan, 1907.

Cod. Sinaiticus Petropolitanus, Lake, Oxford, 1911.

Cod. Bezae Cantabrigiensis, Cambridge, 1899.

The Washington MS of the Gospels, Sanders, Macmillan, 1912.

Cod. Alexandrinus, London, 1909.

11. opp.cit. p. x.

sary time in the library before returning to India, and the latter is, at best, most unsatisfactory for careful work. Wrong deductions have too often in the past been the result of hasty or careless collation.¹² Consequently we had from the first decided that photography would best suit our own case.

Two methods of photography are commonly employed in connection with work on manuscripts. One of these involves the use of a "photostat" and results in a paper negative from which a limited number of copies may be printed. The other is the ordinary plate-camera method. The latter is unquestionably the better, though the former being less expensive is commonly used by the larger libraries and institutions where the aim is to produce a few copies only for temporary study. The Washington MS was photographed by the plate-camera method and we decided eventually to use this ourselves.

Mr. Johnson took the matter up with Dr. Wm. Bishop, Librarian of the University of Michigan, under whose direction the magnificent photographic copy of the entire Washington MS of the Gospels had been made. Dr. Bishop very kindly offered to undertake a similar work for us by either of the above-mentioned methods, and had we accepted his offer, he would no doubt have produced much better results than I eventually secured. But I had in the meantime been in correspondence with Mr. A. J. Newton, Photo-Engraving Expert in Eastman's Kodak Factory, and had made a trip to Rochester to secure advice, a camera, and necessary supplies for the work. The result of my visit was that I was convinced that the cheapest, if not the best, way to have the work done was to undertake it myself, and I was satisfied that I could, with what small experience I had had in amateur photography, produce something sufficiently satisfactory for our purposes. Had we been able to produce plates from which cuts could have been made for publishing the photographic copy of the MS *in toto*, it would have been

12. The colossal failure of von Soden's work is the outstanding example of faulty collation (*i. e.* the the comparison of a given MS with known texts; usually Mill's Oxford edit. of the Textus Receptus is taken as the basis for this work). Hoskier (*opp. cit.*, p. 1) quotes Dean Burgon as saying, "In textual criticism, then, 'rough comparison' can seldom, if ever, be of any real use. On the other hand, the exact collation of documents whether ancient or modern with the received text, is the necessary foundation of all scientific criticism."

the first complete photographic copy of a minuscule codex to be published so far as I am aware. But it is questionable whether the value of such a publication would justify the great expense involved. In any case our aim was simply to make one or two photo copies for my own use and for Dr. Robertson's seminar.

Mr. Newton spent some time in showing me their own methods in the Eastman factory, discussing the matter of a proper camera, plates, filter, developers, and apparatus for securing the MS. The result was that I was provided with an old-style (but admirably adapted to my purpose) camera (No. 10 Primo with Plantograph Lens) of the adjustable bellows type, which made it possible to secure an accurate duplicate of each page, exact in size and every detail with the one exception of colour. The choice of a plate is equally important with that of a camera in this kind of work. The ordinary plate is sensitive only to "blue, violet, and ultra-violet" light.¹³ For the reproduction of a page of an old manuscript discolored by age and use, of which it is desired to present clearly the print and to eliminate as far as possible the discoloration of the page, it is necessary to use a plate sensitive to *all* colours, called a "Process Panchromatic," and then to eliminate the undesirable elements with a colour screen placed in front of or behind the lens, known as a "filter". For my purpose I was advised to use a "K2 filter in B glass," as this type of screen, being itself a light yellow, absorbs sufficient of the blue and violet light—thus stopping them in part before they reach the plate, to permit of the green and red having their proper effect upon the plate. As the ink used in the main throughout our MS. had with age turned to brown (dark and light by turns), it was essential that these colors should be allowed to stand out by contrast with the surrounding page.¹⁴ I discovered, as Mr. Newton had informed me would be the case, that the effect of the combination suggested—Process Panchromatic plate and

13. I have drawn on a pamphlet published by the Eastman Kodak Company called, "Color Films, Plates, and Filters for Commercial Photography," 1925, for part of my description of the technique involved at this stage.

14. Brown, it will be remembered, is composed of green, yellow, and red in varying combinations. Only one letter in the whole MS. (an uncial) is in a brilliant red,

K2 filter, was that the type was "pulled right out of the page," as it were, for in some cases my photograph proved to be more readily legible than the original itself! The fact that this type of plate is sensitive to all colours, however, renders it exceedingly difficult to use, as it cannot be developed in the red light so commonly associated with the "dark room." The work requires to be done in either total darkness or else in a deep green ("Series 3") light. This latter I proposed to use. Upon first entering the dark room one finds the light itself so dark as to be almost, if not quite, invisible, but within a few minutes, so sensitive is the eye to green light, not only does the light itself become visible but objects in the room as well, and one entertains doubts of the safety of the light!

I shall not weary the reader with an account of all the numerous difficulties which were encountered in the course of the work. Experience soon revealed the expedients to be adopted in eliminating these. One of these was more amusing than otherwise: I was working on a cement floor which was always somewhat damp. As my fingers became moist from the developing fluids used, I gradually succeeded in wetting the electric light contacts to such an extent that every time I reached for the same to turn the light on or off, which was, of course, every few seconds in the case of printing, I established a circuit through my shoes touching the damp floor, and got a shock of more or less severity. The simple expedient, suggested by a member of the family, of wearing rubbers while I worked, put an end to these disturbing electric discharges!¹⁵

For reasons of my own, which I cannot at present enter into, I wished to make the photograph the same size as the MS page and I was anxious to make this exact. To accomplish this, the ground glass of the camera must be four times as far from the object to be photographed as the focal length of the lens. Theoretically this is not difficult to manage, as the series of formulae provided by Eastman takes care sufficiently of

15 The developer used for these plates is Eastman's D—11 formula. It is essential that it be used at a Temp. of from 65° to 70° Fahr., which is not easily maintained in the summer months even in America. The Hypo used in fixing is an acid solution of the ordinary type.

the theory.¹⁶ But where one is concerned about extreme accuracy and the object is a MS whose every page is thick enough to necessitate a change of focus, various practical difficulties arise. On the whole, I had to re-focus the camera for every 1 to 6 pages of the MS, the camera and rack on which the MS rested being cleated down to the stand on which the work was done: refocusing required the shifting of both rack and bellows extension of the camera in order to maintain the proper ratio between focal length and distance from object to plate. Of course, a good deal of difficulty might have been avoided in this connection had we taken the MS apart and photographed each page under a glass plate, as this would have rendered one focusing sufficient for the whole MS. But it was finally decided that this procedure was too likely to result in disaster of one kind or another to justify the experiment. Photographing under glass would have had the added advantage of presenting the pages as a flat surface. The creases and wrinkles which parchment acquires with age render it most difficult to keep in focus all parts of the page, as a bulge that appears to the eye as a mere trifle is sufficient at close range to throw that part of ~~the part of~~ the page out of focus and the result is a blurring of the writing. With my very best efforts I had at times to be content with an approximate focus for more especially the inner edge of the writing.¹⁷

16 One of these formulae will serve to illustrate the class: $v = (1 + 1/r) \times f$; where f is the focal length—in the present instance this was 8 inches; r is the desired ratio between the size of the object and the photograph—here 1; v is the distance of the lens from the ground glass. This gives for the case in hand— $v = (1 + 1) \times 8 = 16$. In this case the distance of the lens from the object ($=u$) was also 16 inches. The product of this formula was constantly checked by comparing measurements made with a millimetre rule of the image on the ground glass with those of the MS page itself.

17 The homely methods to which the student is at times reduced, while working, at any rate, under such conditions as I was forced to adopt, are well illustrated by a tabulation of a part of my apparatus. My rack for supporting the MS was an adjustable lap reading rack such as is now extensively used in college circles at home, while the stand on which both camera and rack rested was no other than a *home-made portable mantelpiece made of store boxes and covered with red paper in imitation of bricks, the whole having served for a number of years its original purpose of gracing the church platform upon which Santa Claus in season made his yearly appearance! Ichabod!* The photographs, it should be remarked, were taken in direct sunlight.

WHAT THE CAMERA REVEALED¹

Codex Robertsonianus—Minusc. 2358

BY JOHN W. BOWMAN

The Robertson Codex is one of that large group of manuscripts, to which most New Testament manuscripts belong, which contain in each case one only of the four sections into which, for convenience in handling, the New Testament writings were divided, *viz.*—the Gospels, Acts and Catholic Epistles, Pauline Epistles, and Apocalypse.² It originally consisted of the first of these, probably entire, as all four Gospels yet remain in a more or less complete state of preservation: there is no evidence to show that it contained more. The order of the Gospels is that of our English Bible (the Neutral-Byzantine order)—Mtt., Mrk., Lk., Jn. It is on the whole just such a MS as one would expect to find in one of the smaller and poorer churches or monasteries of the East during the early Middle Ages.³ For beauty of finish it is not to be compared with the great Uncials—Vaticanus, Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, and the purple manuscripts with their gold and silver letterings, nor with the illuminated texts of the later Middle Ages. That the MS was intended, however, from the very first for use at public worship is apparent from its containing in the hand of the original scribe the "lections," or Scripture Readings appointed for the services of the Church and various other liturgical material.

1. This is the second of two articles on the Robertson Codex to appear in THE INDIAN STANDARD (cf. issue of August, 1928). The popular nature of the article renders it impossible to give in full the proofs for statements made therein, though these are in hand and will later be published. It is to be noted as well, that much that is stated here is of a tentative nature and subject to revision.

2. vide "Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the N T," 2nd edit., A. T. Robertson, D. D., LL. D., 1928, page 72. The new edition ~~to~~ this work contains a reference to Cod. Rbt., page. 101.

3. Dr. Adolf Deissmann in a letter to Dr. Robertson under date of March 2nd, 1927, refers the codex to the Trapezunt area in Asia Minor, which is on the south-eastern shore of the Black Sea at the point where Xenophon and the valiant Greeks emerged after their long march and where they caught their first glimpse of the sea, a sight that meant "home" to them.

I. APPEARANCE OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Cod. Rbt. consists of 175 leaves (350 pages), written on both sides in a beautiful cursive (Greek) hand, sloping slightly to the right. When the MS first fell into Dr. Deissmann's hands, the sheets were more or less separated and there was no binding. As, however, the MS is in codex (*i.e.* book) form, this defect was soon remedied: the sheets were sewed together in the proper order and the whole bound in white parchment. Due to the long lack of a cover the outer leaves have become much soiled, the writing being in patches almost illegible: these leaves are torn. Moreover, the rough handling to which at one time or another the MS has been subjected is shown by the fact that a number of the leaves are gone. These include the following portions:—

Mtt.— 1 : 1 to 9 : 33a	..	probably 34 pages.	
11 : 14b to 15 : 7b	..	"	18 "
26 : 71b to 27 : 31b	..	"	4 " = 56 pages
<hr/>			
Mrk.— 1 : 1 to 32a	..	"	4 "
4 : 3a to 36b	..	"	4 "
5 : 13a to 29a	..	"	2 "
6 : 16b to 30b	..	"	2 " = 12 pages
<hr/>			
Lk.— 3 : 8b to 24b	..	"	2 " = 2 pages
<hr/>			
Jn.— 7 : 23b to 41a	..	"	2 " =
12 : 30b to 21 : 25	..	"	40 " = 42 pages
<hr/>			

In this connection Dr. Robertson remarks that "it will be seen at once that Mark and Luke are best preserved. The leaves that are lost are mainly at the beginning of the parchment and at the end. Perhaps a little light is thus thrown on the possible loss of verses 9 to 20 in Mark 16 or whatever was the ending of that Gospel in Aleph and B ; as we know today that the easiest place to lose leaves in a book is at the beginning and at the end."⁴

4. vide art. in "The Review and Expositor", Jan. 1928, pp. 79—80 on "A Newly Discovered Tetra-Euangelion." Dr. Robertson's list of missing passages lacks Mk. 5 : 13a to 29a.

The MS is made up throughout of parchment of varying thickness and colour, sheets of nearly white, light and dark yellow being interspersed in no apparent order. The majority of the sheets by far, however, are thick and dark, the edges being stained a deep brown. The thicker sheets have a somewhat greasy appearance, while the thinner ones are brittle and dry. The lighter sheets are usually the thinner.⁵ The pages vary in size but average about 7 by 5 inches.⁶

The flesh and hairy sides of the parchment are readily distinguishable; in some cases small particles of the hair still adhere. The Figure which accompanied the article—"Photographing a Greek Manuscript of the Gospels" (INDIAN STANDARD, August, 1928), shows pages 175 and 176: in the lower left hand corner of p. 175 are to be seen clusters of what are probably pores of the skin; these are apparent on many of the pages, being usually filled with dirt which yielded readily to the prick of a sharp instrument. It was the custom in making up a MS of this kind so to arrange the sheets that flesh side should face flesh side and the hairy sides similarly.⁷ I have not noted a single exception to this rule in our MS where the text is entire; in some few cases where sheets are missing it has been necessary to bind flesh side to hairy, but the MS was not so bound originally. Pages 66 to 79 show a deep tear at the top of the page (cf. figures 1 and 3); several

5. Of the 1st 60 pages I have noted 3 as white, 39 as light yellow, 12 as dark yellow, and 6 as undecided. Of these, 4 leaves (8 pages) are very thin, 5 moderately so, and the rest thick. Beyond page 50 there is a decided tendency for the leaves to be dark and thick; I note only 6 leaves beyond that point as being white, thin, and pliable. The thinnest and whitest leaves are: 4 (5), 6 (7), 26 (27), 32 (33), 36 (37), 42 (43), 46 (47), 48 (49), 53 (54), 112 (113), 118 (119), 128 (129), 262 (263), 278 (279).

6. The slight lack of uniformity in the size of the pages of a parchment MS is illustrated by the following measurements of the pages of Cod. Rbt. I have added 1 mm. in each case to the width of the page to allow for the binding. Measurements in all cases were made across the middle of the page for both length and width.

Page	Length (in cm.)	Width (in cm.)
8	14.8	11.3
21	15.05	11.3
41	14.95	11.45
102	15.1	12.0
244	15.2	12.1
338	15.1	11.8

7. vide "An Introduction to Greek and Latin Paleography", Sir E. Maunde Thompson, Oxford, 1911, page 54.

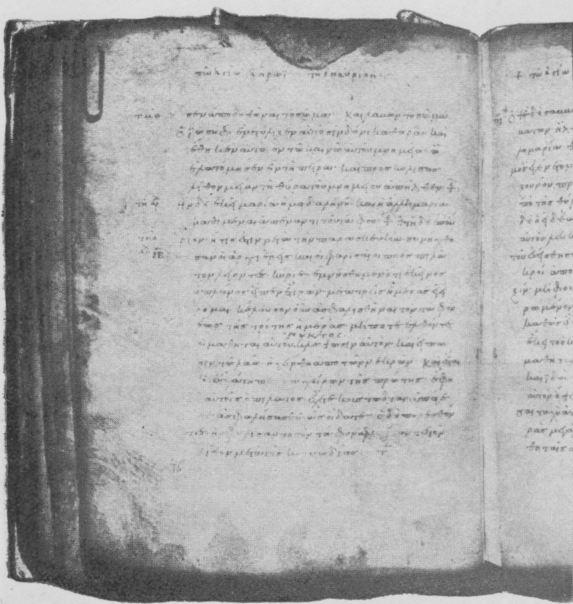


Fig. 1—Showing Matt. 27 : 58-66, Page 75 —
Codex Robertsonianum, No. 2358.

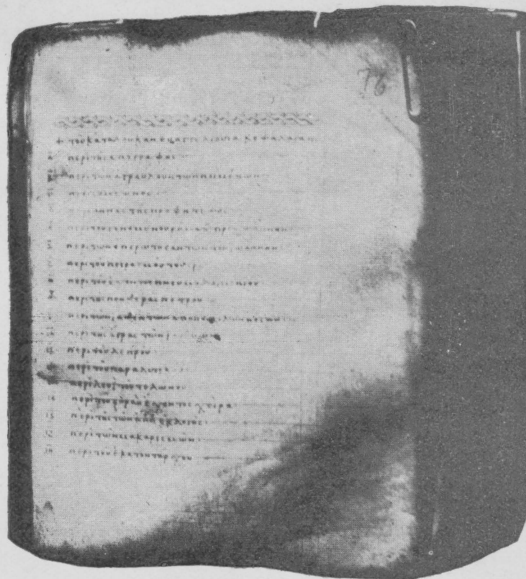


Fig. 2—"Kephalaia" or Chapter Titles to the
Gospel of Luke page 152.



Fig. 3 - 1 left—additions of a later scribe ; right - Mark 1 :
32-41, pages 79, 80.

pages have had something spilled on them, not, I think, anything so opaque as ink—perhaps wine or milk, very likely the former at the Communion Service. Fig. 3 shows one of these pages (on the right) where a hole has resulted in the page. On pages 22, 23 and 344, 345 the stain carries through the leaf but no hole has resulted.

Some 57 pages yielded sufficient foreign material which had dropped upon them to allow of its being scraped off for analysis, and 45 other pages contained spots of the round, globular, or oblong type characteristically left by this material when scraped off; so that these pages had apparently contained it, too, originally. It has not been analysed as yet but it presents a glistening appearance like candle grease; so that it is probably a mute witness to the ritualistic usage of the Church or monastery in which this codex found for centuries a home and in which candles played a prominent part. This material is rather generally distributed throughout the MS, though of the leaves that have survived it occurs most frequently at Mtt. 16 to 18, Lk. 1 to 4 and 19 to 24, and Jn. 6 to 12, that is, to the end of the surviving portion of John's Gospel; possibly it occurred as frequently ^{in this Gospel.} at later chapters which have not survived. Perhaps Mtt. 24 to 26 and Mrk. 4 to 8 should be added to this list. An actual count of the number of times these passages occur as "lections" for the Sabbaths and Feast Days of the Greek Orthodox Church, as compared with other passages in the Gospels, appears to indicate that they were more frequently read in the services of the Church than the rest. This would, of course, account for the presence of more candle grease at these points. It gradually accumulated through long years of usage and the priest got tired scraping it off! To begin with he must have been very careless to allow the tallow to drip on to the Sacred Page; one does not much admire his technique at the lectern! He must have been the sort of person from whom we should expect such scribbling as occurs on several otherwise blank pages of our MS (cf. Fig. 3).

II. RULINGS ON THE PAGE

All of the figures accompanying this article exhibit vertical and horizontal lines. These were meant to in-

clude the writing space and to serve as guide lines to the scribe. Fig. 1 exhibits minute punctures at the left side of the page; these were made with a circular pricker known as a diabates, circinus, or punctorium, and served to space accurately the horizontal lines used as guides for the writing.⁸ The lines themselves appear as colorless indentations on the hairy side of the parchment; on the flesh side they simply show through as slight ridges: there were no exceptions in Cod. Rbt. to the rule that the hairy side was chosen for the ruling. This is just the opposite procedure to that adopted in the case of the Washington Codex where the ruling was done on the flesh side.⁹ The lines were made with the pointed lead known as molubdos, plumbum, stilus plumbeus, etc. Writing was done beneath the line as is the case in Hindi (cf. Fig. 2).¹⁰

The horizontal lines, as in the Washington Codex, are projected to the margin on the inside of the page and on this side there are no holes of the punctorium; these two facts suggest that the scribe ruled the two pages that face each other (that is, in the case of single sheets, not of quires) right across before folding. Sir E. M. Thompson suggests that "not infrequently" the scribe in this way ruled more than one sheet at a time by laying several over each other and making one impression serve for the lot.¹¹ I cannot think that this method was used in the present instance as the ruling appears equally heavy on all ruled pages and the impressions are equally narrow, not clear-cut on some sheets and broad and indistinct on others, as would certainly have been true had several sheets been laid over each other and ruled at once. Further, there is an inequality in the length of the horizontal lines which does not appear to match up as between pages. In general, it appears that the original scribe of this MS was not so careful to create a tidy appearance with his alignment

Sir E. Maunde Thompson, Oxford, 1911, opp.

"An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography".

8. [^] ~~idem~~, page 43.

9. vide "The NT MSS in the Freer Collection", Univ. of Mich. Humanistic Studies, vol. ix, H. S. Sanders, 1918, page 7.

10. The space included between the lines to serve for writing averaged about 12.2 cm. by 6.65 cm. The lines used as guide lines for the writing are about .5 cm. apart and the outside vertical and horizontal lines about .35 cm. apart.

11. opp. cit., page 55.

as he was to make his letters accurate and graceful.

III. THE SCRIBES AND THEIR HANDWRITING

The text in Cod. Rbt. is arranged in one column to the page as was customary with cursive manuscripts. There are invariably 20 lines to the page and from 30 to 40 letters to a line. The letters in the body (text) of the MS are uniform in size, except that when letters are projected into the left-hand margin to denote the beginning of a new paragraph, they are usually very slightly enlarged.¹² This enlargement in some cases is so slight as to be scarcely perceptible; it shows up in measuring.

In addition to the original scribe I identify some four or five others who have from time to time worked over, made marginal corrections, added liturgical and other references, or inserted non-Biblical material into the MS *The same scribe wrote the text to all Four Gospels, however.* His work was beautifully done, as may be seen in Fig 1. The handwriting is medium in size, and the letters, which are united by graceful ligatures, are formed with the utmost accuracy. This is most readily apparent perhaps in the case of certain combinations of letters which occur with great frequency and in which there is very little, if any, deviation from the standard. The writing is comparatively conservative and shows few flourishes of the type that later became popular. There are occasional rifts in the smooth flow of the cursive letters occasioned by the introduction of an uncial or capital, as was the custom of the period. This scribe added the accents and breathings but made many curious mistakes in the latter, as well as others in spelling, chiefly of the kind known as itacisms, and in word division at the ends of the lines. The ink of this hand, as of most of the others, is now brown, varying from light to dark.¹³ This scribe, in addition to the text, put in the chapter headings, canons, and most of the liturgical formulæ. He indicated some of the Old Testament quotations by means of the usual arrowhead-shaped

12. Representative letters in the text measure as follows : alpha, sigma, iota, etc =·1 cm ; gamma, kappa =·2 cm ; delta, rho, zeta, mu, chi, psi =·3 cm ; lambda =·4 cm ; ksi = 5 cm.

13. There is one scarlet letter in the MS It is written by one of the later hands=a capital Lambda on p. 156.

sign. His abbreviations of the Sacred Names and other theological and common terms are the usual ones so far as I have noted, but I shall not enter into that subject here. This scribe was evidently a professional—what we should style in India a “katib” and he wrote in a “babu” hand, as truly stereotyped as that of the Indian Government Office to-day. Just to-day I had occasion to visit the Registrar of Deeds Office, and I was re-impressed as I looked over some old deeds with the fixed character of the “Government clerk hand” in Hindustani over a period of seven decades.

A second scribe, interested in liturgical matters only, added many “lections” throughout Mtt., Lk., and Jn. (not Mrk). His hand is larger, not so even as that of the original scribe: his letters are uneven in size and shape and his lines are crooked. One wonders why he found it necessary to add so much to the liturgical material (I find his work on at least 65 pages of the MS) he already found in the Tetra-Evangelion when it came into his hands? Had there been a revision of the Prayer Book in the meantime furnishing what our Anglo-Catholic friends wished for in the “Composite Book” of the Church of England—“greater richness and freedom” in the service? Possibly further research will throw light on this point. He adds, among others, a whole series of “lections” of which I can find no trace as yet in the Prayer Book used by the modern Greek Orthodox Church.¹⁴ From the lack of regularity in this scribe’s handwriting, as well as from his interest in Liturgies exclusively, I conclude that he was a deacon, priest, or possibly simply a lector of his church.

The work of one further scribe is of interest. Some of his handwriting appears on the left-hand page in Fig. 3. The writing is most irregular and scribbly in appearance, in green and black; the letters are ill-formed and unequal in size. Words are badly spelled. On the whole this is the work of a poorly-educated person, though doubtless of the clergy of the church in which the MS rested.

14. Compare this statement with that made below relative to the striking accord between this Prayer Book and the “lections” of the *first hand*. The work of this second scribe may be seen in the figure accompanying the first article (INDIAN STANDARD, August, 1928.) It appears at the top of the right hand page there.

IV. CHAPTER DIVISIONS, CANONS, ETC.

It is a matter of common knowledge that our present system of chapter divisions was invented late,—by Stephen Langton in 1228 to be exact.¹⁵ Similarly our verse divisions “were made by Robert Stephanus in 1551 on a journey from Paris to Lyons as he went *inter equitandum*.” Dr. Robertson adds, “I have often felt that the horse sometimes bumped his pen into the wrong place.”¹⁶ In ancient times, however, earlier systems had been worked out and of these several are to be found in Cod. Rbt.

1. THE ‘KEPHALAIA MAJORA’

The earliest system of divisions of the text occurring in Cod. Rbt. is that known as the “Kephalaia Majora.” Examples of this system make up the page shown in Fig. 2. This system is the second oldest known to us; the oldest occurs in the Vaticanus and Zacynthus codices. That found in Cod. Rbt. is found also in Codex Alexandrinus, of the 5th century, so that it dates back at least that far, and is probably even older. These chapter headings, which give a name to the contents of each chapter as divided according to the system in question, are arranged in lists before the Gospel to which they refer and are then repeated usually within the text itself at the proper place, being placed at the bottom or top of the page (cf. right hand page at top in Fig. 3). In Cod. Rbt. the lists are complete for the Gospels of Luke (83) and John (18); in the case of Matthew and Mark the pages are lacking which contain the lists, but fortunately the closing chapters of these Gospels are present in each case and we note that Matthew had 68 and Mark 48 of these headings, which agrees with the figures given by Lake.¹⁷ Comparison of these chapter headings as they appear in Cod. Rbt. with those in another codex, Theta, for instance, reveals a general identity. At the same time there are a sufficient number of differences, both in wording and in actual number of the

15. So Robertson, *opp. cit.*, page 100, and Nestle in his “Introduction to the Text. Crit. of the Greek NT,” 1901, page 8; Lake, in his “The Text of the NT,” 2nd edit., page 61, credits the chapter divisions to Cardinal Hugo S. Caro, 1238.

16. *vide opp. cit.*, page 100.

17. *vide opp. cit.*, page 57.

headings, to suggest that the scribes have not slavishly followed one another nor a common original. In one or more instances the scribe of our codex miscounts or skips a heading, while he of Codex Theta adds several headings in one place and omits in another : Theta has for Mtt., Mrk., and Jn. the same number as Cod. Rbt., but for Lk. it has 89.

2. EUSEBIAN (AMMONIAN) SECTIONS

The second system of divisions to be noted goes by this name. They may be seen most clearly in Figure 1: The reader will note on the left-hand margin in this figure small capitals (uncials) over which a line is drawn. This sort of division is found only in the Gospels and is one of the earliest attempts to draw up a Harmony of the Gospels relative to those passages which agree in word or substance. Eusebius (c. 325), taking his cue from Ammonius of Alexandria (date unknown) drew up a list of these passages and then grouped them under certain heads (canons) according as to whether the passage in question appears in all four Gospels, in any group of three of them, in any group of two, in any one only. He placed the corresponding numbers in the margin opposite the passage and in the canons: then beneath the number in the margin he placed the canon number in which it occurred for ready reference. Strange to say, Cod. Rbt. has only the passage numbers, but not those of the canons in which they occur. There appear to be no exceptions to this statement throughout the whole MS. In this respect it resembles the Koredethi MS (Theta), which like the former issues from the Black Sea region, though in the latter the canons are given here and there. My colleague, Professor J. Drake, suggests that this may be due to the scribe's familiarity with the text, or that of those who were to use it, being sufficient to render the use of the Canons unnecessary. One useful purpose, at any rate, was served by the sections in the MS itself, *viz.* — that of referring quickly to a passage to be introduced into the middle of a lection from some other portion of the Gospels. References back and forth in this way, though not frequent in the codex, are occasionally resorted to. The totals of these sections in Cod. Rbt. are for Mtt. 359; for Mrk. 238; for Lk. 342; for Jn.

108. The last is incomplete as Jn. breaks off at 12:30a.¹⁸

3. PARAGRAPHS

A third method of division, namely, that into paragraphs, also occurs in Cod. Rbt.; these correspond roughly with our verse divisions. They are indicated by projecting between the vertical lines to the left of the page, one, two, or even three letters of the word denoting the new paragraph,—the last in cases of letter combinations which permit of three letters occupying this narrow space. I note actually the following numbers of these paragraphs in our MS:—Mtt.—462 Mrk.—456 Lk.—747 Jn.—369. These figures are, however, inaccurate in each case due to the fact that numerous sheets are lacking in each of the Gospels. As we noted above, there are probably lacking for Mtt. 56 pages, for Mrk. 12, for Lk. 2, and for Jn. 42. The average number of paragraphs to the page for the Gospels so far as they have been preserved is—Mtt. 6; Mrk. $6\frac{1}{2}$; Lk. $5\frac{1}{2}$; Jn. $6\frac{1}{4}$. If we may rely upon the paragraphs being fairly uniformly distributed throughout the Gospels, this would mean that for the missing pages we should expect to find the following numbers: Mtt. 336; Mrk. 78; Lk. 11; Jn. 262, making the totals for each Gospel: Mtt.—798; Mrk.—514; Lk.—758; Jn.—631.¹⁹

Hoskier calls attention to the fact that these paragraphs coincide at times with the Eusebian sections, at times with the beginning of the lections, and at times with the Kephalaia.²⁰ This is true; but, I think, incidental to the fact that all four methods of division were made on *the same principle—namely, that of the sense of the passage*, other factors in each case determining, of course, the number of sense passages enumerated. But since all are arranged on this single major principle there was bound to be considerable coincidence in the results.

18. The number of the Eusebian sections as given by various authors do not agree, as the following table shows: Hoskier (Col. of 694, p. iii) = Mtt-355; Mrk-236; Lk-342; Jn-232. Vulgate of Wordsworth-White = Mtt-355; Mrk-233; Lk-342; Jn-232. Beermann—Gregory for Theta = Mtt-356; Mrk-234; Lk-343; Jn-234

19. Hoskier's figures are surprisingly diverse from these for Cod. 604. They are Mtt—397; Mrk.—209; Lk—368; Jn—349 vid. "Collation of Cod. Ev. 604", London, 1890, page iii.

20. vide opp.cit, page iii.

Still he may be right in supposing (as I understand him to mean) that the Eusebian sections are responsible in large measure for the paragraphing as found in his and related MSS. The numerical correspondence noted between the two methods of division strongly favors that view. But in that case both Theta and Cod. Rbt. shew a marked development in the system away from its point of departure, for the number of paragraphs in these MSS greatly exceeds that of the Eusebian sections.

The fact of real significance in connection with the phenomenon these paragraphs present in Cod. Rbt. is, it seems to me, that Robert Stephens obviously followed the Byzantine paragraphing in making up our verses for the Textus Receptus. Proof of this cannot here be given in great detail. But the following table for several chapters selected at random throughout the four gospels will serve to illustrate it :—

	Mtt. 23	Mrk. 3	Lk. 9	Jn. 11
No. verses in Text. Rec.—	39	35	62	57
No. paragraphs in Cod. Rbt.	26	27	51	39

The suggestion is obvious that Stephens followed and extended the Byzantine paragraphing. It is even possible that, if search were made among the 15 MSS (mostly very late) used by him in the preparation of his third edition, it might be found that the one upon which he worked in preparing his verse divisions supplied even more of the paragraphs ready to hand than Cod. Rbt. would have done.²¹

V. LITURGICAL MATERIAL

In this article reference has a number of times been made to the Gospel "Lections" or Readings used by the Greek Orthodox Church in its services on Sabbaths and Feast Days. These lections are set off in our MS by both the original scribe and at least one of his successors, at their beginning with the Greek letters "alpha, rho chi," an abbreviation of "arche" = beginning, and at their end with "tau, epsilon, lambda", that is "telos" = end. The former word occurs exclusively in the right or left margins of the page (cf. Fig. 1), while the latter is regularly found within the body of the text itself at the proper place (cf. last line in Fig. 1). A small cross in the text opposite the word "arche" usually further

21. This suggestion holds, I think, in spite of Scrivener's statement that Stephens took "for his model the short verses into which the Hebrew Bible had already been divided, as it would seem, by Rabbi Nathan in the preceding century"—vide "A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament", 1894, Vol. I, p. 70. The Hebrew Bible furnished the model: but my suggestion is that the Byzantine paragraphing furnished the material in large part.

denotes the opening of the passage. The words—"Jesus said," "at that time," etc. are ordinarily written on the margin= top, bottom, or side, near the beginning of the lection to start it off. Occasionally in the same way the simple expression "ho Iesous", that is, "Jesus", is inserted in the text itself at the same point, and I have noted one place where the words "and Jesus said," which were doubtless once on the margin, have crept into the text at the beginning of a lection. A phrase at the top of the page or in one of the side margins frequently designates the day for which the reading is appointed and as to whether it be for morning or evening service, (cf. Fig. 1.) Many of these phrases are of real interest, as for instance,—"1st Lord's Day—of All Saints," "of the Holy Apostles," "for Saint Thekla," "1st Sabbath of Fasts," "for the 2nd Resurrection Day" (*i.e.* Sabbath "for the Feast Day preceding the Birth of Christ," "for the Birthday Festival of the Holy God-Begetter" (*i.e.* the Virgin Mary!), "for Remembrance of Constantine and Helen," etc. etc. From the reference to the festival for the Virgin Mary it is apparent that the Greek Church has no doubts on the subject of the Deity of Christ. As evidenced both by this list from the codex itself and by the present-day Prayer Book of the Greek Orthodox Church, "Sunday" is called either "the Lord's Day" (*kuriake*=*constr. hemera*), "the Resurrection Day" (*anastasimon*), or "Sabbath" (*sabbaton*).

I have made extensive comparison of the lections as they occur in Cod. Rbt. with those in use at present in the Greek Orthodox Church.²² Apart from lacunae there occur some 105 Gospel lections in the modern Prayer Book of that Church which one might look for in Cod. Rbt. Of these, I have been able to identify 70 lections as identical in detail with those in Cod. Rbt. There are in addition some 24 others which are repeated in the Prayer Book and which should perhaps be included in this list to the credit of our MS, leaving but 11 for which no corresponding lection occurs in Cod. Rbt. In addition,

22. For this purpose I have used "Sunekdemos Orthodoxou Christianou etoi Biblion Proseuchon," Th. K. Kountoura, D Th., and Michael Saliberos, Athens, 1927. Of course, this identification does not extend to the *nature of the text* employed in this edition of the Prayer Book; I do not enter into that problem here.

the latter contains many lections which I have not as yet been able to identify as at present in use in the Greek Church. But this large similarity, extending over a period of some 9 or 10 centuries is witness to the conservatism of that great Church.

VI. THE TYPE OF TEXT

The study of the text of Cod. R~~h~~bt. has not yet proceeded sufficiently to allow of generalization upon its type. One does not expect ordinarily in a cursive to find a text relatively original, even though, as is true of Cod. Rbt., it be among the earlier ones. This statement holds, although it is not quite true, as is popularly supposed, that early date means a good text, late date a poor one.²³ A late MS may have been copied directly, for instance, from a very early one of good text. Ordinarily, however, the later MSS (whether uncials or cursives) do as a matter of fact conform to the Byzantine (Syrian) standard text. They are, on the whole, of more interest from the standpoint of the history of the transmission of the sacred text than as guides to what is original and pure. We shall content ourselves here with noticing a single reading which happens to occur in Fig. 1.

The passage in question is Mtt. 27: 62-66. The reader will note between the 7th and 8th lines from the bottom of the page that a word (nuktos) has been inserted, and it is at once apparent that the insertion was made by a different hand from that of the original scribe who wrote the body of the text. This second scribe added the IB in the margin, as well, and is the one who added much liturgical material throughout Mtt., Lk., and Jn.; I have called him a priest, deacon, or lector (cf. above). His ink is darker and redder than that of the first scribe and his alignment of letters, which are not well shaped, is poor. This is the passage in which the "chief priests and Pharisees" are said to have come to Pilate to request that he place a guard at Jesus' tomb "lest haply," according to the American Revised Version, "his disciples come and steal him away" (v. 64). The King James Version inserted the words "by night" (=nuktos) after

²³ vide Nestle, *op.cit.*, page 83.

the first of the verbs here. The original scribe of our MS, like the Revisers, omitted the phrase "by night"; the second scribe, noting the omission of the word with which from other MSS he was familiar, inserted it between the lines here. The original scribe was right in omitting, and the second, wrong, in inserting the phrase (or rather, word, in the Greek). None of the earlier and better MSS support it, nor any of the primary versions. The earliest witnesses for it appear to be the Armenian Version, which does not go beyond the middle or early part of the 5th Century, the Peshitto (Syriac) of the same Century, and the Aethiopic, which in its present form is probably much later than either of the others. There is nothing intrinsically against the reading, of course; to add the words "by night" does not conflict with anything the author has said elsewhere. But it is so readily apparent, on the other hand, why a scribe would be likely to add the expression; theft is usually committed "by night,"—anyone could have thought of that without half trying! And yet, if it were in the original, why should anyone wish to omit it? Its presence or absence is quite inconsequential to the sense of the passage; and so beyond a doubt it was absent from the original that came from the author's hand.

N. B.—I should have mentioned perhaps in the first of these articles that I have a duplicate set of the photographs of the Gospel of Luke, which are to be bound for the Library of the Theological College at Saharanpur.