THE CODEX SINAITICUS AND THE CODEX ALEXANDRINUS

WITH SEVEN ILLUSTRATIONS

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THE CODEX SINAITICUS
AND
THE CODEX ALEXANDRINUS

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PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION

THE pamphlet on the Codex Sinaiticus, first published in 1934 under the title *The Mount Sinai Manuscript of the Bible*, has for some time been out of print, but the demand for a cheap and not too technical account of this famous manuscript and of its textual importance is by no means exhausted. It was, however, felt that a mere reissue of the old pamphlet, compiled in some haste to satisfy an immediate need and before any systematic examination of the codex had been made, would be inappropriate. It was therefore decided to produce a new work, incorporating indeed, in a modified form, much of the material contained in its predecessor, but also taking advantage of the researches made since 1934, and adding an account of the other great Biblical treasure of the Museum collection, the Codex Alexandrinus.

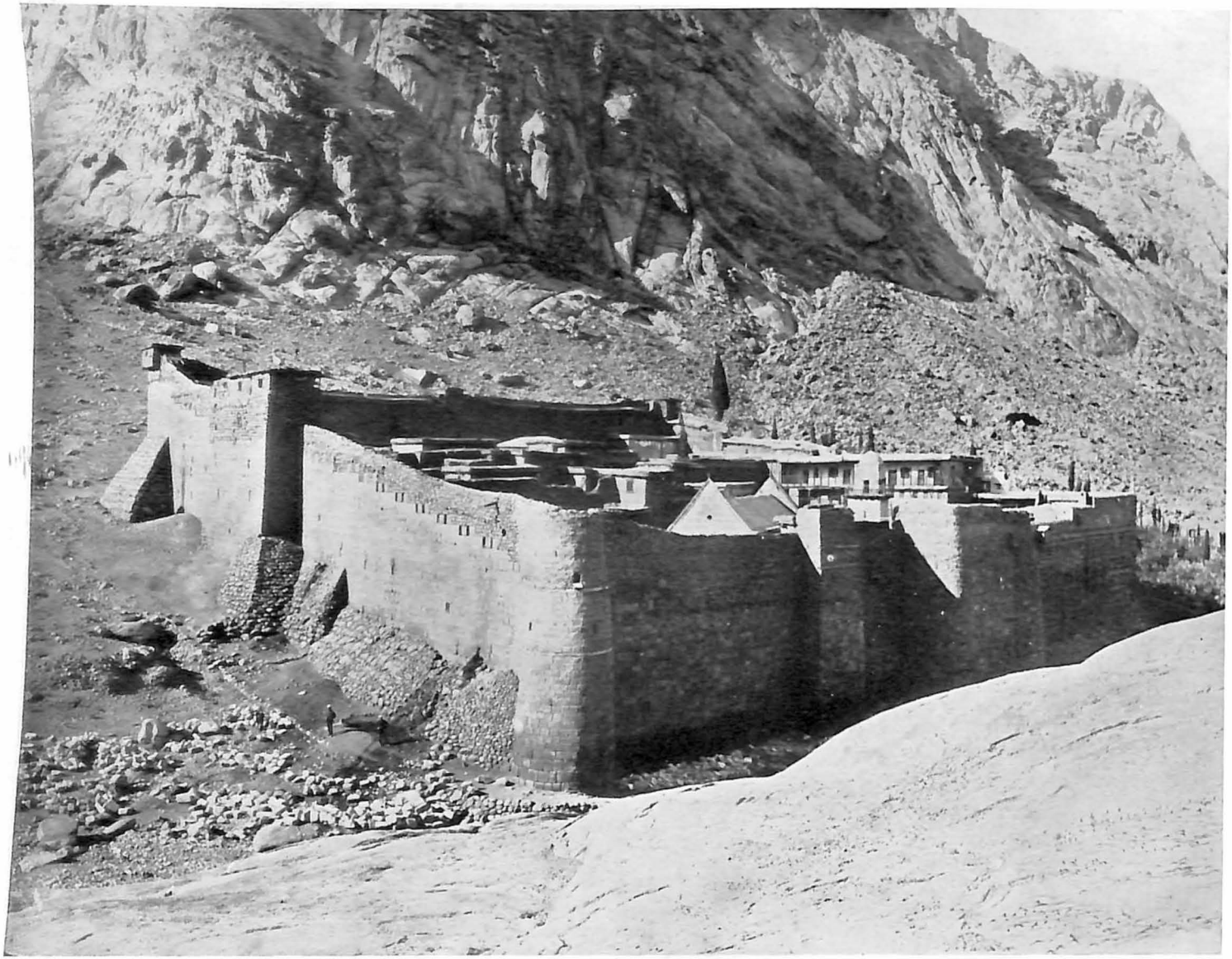
The prosecution of these researches, of which the results are embodied in the work *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus* published by the Trustees earlier in the present year, made it necessary to postpone somewhat the issue of this pamphlet. It has been prepared by Mr. H. J. M. Milne and Mr. T. C. Skeat, two of the Assistant Keepers, joint authors of the work just mentioned.

H. I. BELL

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

THIS publication, first issued in 1938, was reprinted by offset lithography (with a few minor corrections) in 1951. When the stock of this reprint became exhausted in its turn, it was decided to issue a new edition, and the text has accordingly been revised throughout by Mr. T. C. Skeat, Deputy Keeper in the Department.

A. JEFFERIES COLLINS



I. THE MONASTERY OF ST. CATHERINE ON MOUNT SINAI

From a photograph taken by the British Ordnance Survey, 1868

(See Lt.-Col. H. E. M. Newman, 'The Ordnance Survey of Sinai', *The Royal Engineers' Journal*, lxiii, 1949, pp. 168–81)

THE CODEX SINAITICUS

1. History of the Manuscript

THE Codex Sinaiticus derives its name from the place of its discovery, the famous monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, founded in the middle of the sixth century A.D. by the Emperor Justinian (Plate I). How and when the manuscript reached Sinai it is impossible to say. It may have been seen there in 1761 by an Italian visitor, Vitaliano Donati;[1] but all we know for certain is that in May 1844 a German Biblical scholar named Constantine Tischendorf (1815–74), travelling in search of ancient manuscripts of the Bible, noticed in the hall of the monastery a large basket filled with old and tattered parchments, which the librarian informed him were to be burnt as rubbish, adding that two other basketfuls had already been disposed of in the same manner. Among this heap of fragments Tischendorf was amazed to find many leaves, 129 in all, from a manuscript of the Old Testament in Greek which seemed to him the oldest he had ever seen. But his ill-concealed delight aroused the suspicions of the monks, who after allowing him to take one-third of the leaves retained the rest themselves. All that Tischendorf could do was to urge them to take better care of the treasure they had so nearly destroyed, and to keep a look-out for further fragments of the manuscript.

On his return to Europe Tischendorf presented his 43 leaves to Frederick Augustus II, King of Saxony, who deposited them in the University Library at Leipzig, where they remain to this day. In the King's honour Tischendorf named them the Codex Friderico-Augustanus, which is still their official designation, the term Sinaiticus being properly restricted to the part of the manuscript which Tischendorf brought away in 1859.

Two years later (1846) Tischendorf published the Codex Friderico-Augustanus, which he attributed to the middle of the fourth

[1] His diary (published by G. Lumbroso, *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, 1879, p. 501) mentions a 'Bibbia in membrane bellissime, assai grandi, sottili, e quadre scritta in carattere rotondo e bellissimo'. The identification of this with the Codex Sinaiticus was first proposed by S. de Ricci, *Revue archéologique*, xiv, 1909, p. 159.

century A.D. He remained, however, purposely vague about the antecedents of the manuscript, fearing lest others might anticipate him and carry off the leaves he had failed to obtain.

Not until 1853 was Tischendorf able to revisit the monastery, and then all his efforts proved unavailing. The monks could not, or would not, tell him anything of the manuscript, and his sole discovery was a tiny scrap with a few verses from Genesis.

Six more years elapsed, and on 31 January 1859 Tischendorf was once again welcomed to the monastery. More cautious now, he delayed until the eve of his departure (4 February) before raising the subject of ancient manuscripts of the Bible in a conversation with the Steward. The latter, anxious to display his own learning, remarked, 'And I, too, have read a Septuagint', that is, the Greek Old Testament; and so saying he took down from a shelf over the door of his cell[1] a bulky parcel wrapped in a red cloth, which, when undone, revealed to Tischendorf's astonished gaze not merely the leaves which he had rescued from the flames fifteen years before, but other parts of the Old Testament, and the New Testament complete, with two early Christian works, the Epistle of Barnabas and the 'Shepherd' of Hermas. Tischendorf casually asked, and readily obtained, permission to borrow the volume for the night; and, alone in his cell, he set to work to copy the Epistle of Barnabas, the original Greek text of which had been known only in very imperfect copies.[2]

[1] The shelf was also used for the storage of spare coffee-cups kept for the entertainment of visitors to the monastery; this picturesque detail was related to a Russian scholar, V. N. Beneshevitch, in 1908 by the Steward Polycarp, who added that the manuscript itself had come to light among some 'rubbish' which his predecessor in office had been clearing out and burning in the bread ovens! Tischendorf's account of its destruction is thus confirmed by the traditions of the monastery (В. Н. Бенешевичъ, Описаніе Греческихъ Рукописей Монастыря Святой Екатерины на Синаѣ, С.-Петербургъ, 1911, p. xvi, n. 1).

[2] It afterwards transpired that a Russian savant, Porphyrius Uspensky, had seen the entire manuscript in 1845 and again in 1850; but his account being written in Russian (Первое Путешествіе въ Синайскій Монастырь въ 1845 году, 1856, pp. 225–38) remained unknown even to Tischendorf, who first heard of it in August 1859 (*Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus*, i, p. 4*). Uspensky also discovered some fragments of Genesis and Numbers in the bindings of manuscripts in the convent library. In the Polish periodical *Elpis*, 8, 1934, pp. 127–51, the Archimandrite Grzegorz Peradze has published

Eventually Tischendorf persuaded the monks to send the manuscript to Cairo, where he copied it completely in the space of two months. This was in itself a remarkable achievement; but the hastily made transcript proved unsatisfactory, especially in the distinction of the various hands which had corrected the manuscript. Foreseeing the difficulty of producing an accurate edition under such circumstances, Tischendorf put forward the suggestion that the manuscript should be presented to the Tsar of Russia, under whose patronage he was travelling. The idea of such a gift to the acknowledged champion of the Orthodox Church, who, like his predecessors, had conferred numerous benefits upon the monastery, and from whose dominions the brethren derived a large share of their revenues, was not unreasonable, and it must have been well understood from the first that such a 'gift' would, by Oriental usage, entitle the monastery to some substantial return. The monks themselves received the suggestion favourably, but an unexpected obstacle presented itself. The Archbishop of Sinai, whose consent was necessary for so important a transaction, had lately died, and his successor, though unanimously approved by the monks, was yet unconsecrated, and was, moreover, on bad terms with the Patriarch of Jerusalem, to whom by custom the right of consecration pertained. A deadlock ensued which threatened to delay indefinitely the fulfilment of the gift, until Tischendorf at last suggested that he himself should take the manuscript to St. Petersburg, on the understanding that if the proposal to present it fell through, it would be restored to the monastery. The monks agreed, and Tischendorf carried off the manuscript in triumph. On 19 November 1859 he was received in audience by Alexander II at Tsarskoe Selo and placed the volume in his hands.

For the next three years Tischendorf was fully occupied with his monumental edition of the manuscript in facsimile type. This magnificent work, in four huge quarto volumes, appeared in October

some correspondence between Uspensky and Tischendorf concerning the Codex Sinaiticus, but without adding anything of importance to the facts already known; the article as a whole is mainly a glorification of Uspensky, with a repetition of the familiar charges against Tischendorf.

1862, and was speedily followed by several popular editions printed in ordinary type. In 1864 F. H. Scrivener published a collation of the text with a well-written and scholarly introduction which enabled English readers to appreciate more fully the importance of the discovery.

Meanwhile, the ultimate fate of the Codex Sinaiticus, as it may now be called, remained undecided. The Sinai monastery was torn by domestic factions which culminated in 1867 in the deposition of the Archbishop, Cyril Byzantius, by his own monks. These troubles, it should be noted, were quite unconnected with the gift of the manuscript, and Cyril's successor Callistratus was no less friendly to Tischendorf, as is clear from letters which passed between them. When order was restored, the Imperial Government offered the sum of 9,000 roubles (about £1,350) and a number of Russian decorations as a suitable return for the Codex. The offer was accepted, and the monks signed a document stating that they had presented the manuscript to the Tsar on those terms. Then, and only then, was the Codex placed in the Imperial Public Library at St. Petersburg.

From all accounts it is clear that the monks actually concerned in the gift of the manuscript were satisfied with their bargain. But it is, perhaps, not unnatural that later generations, better able to appreciate the value of the treasure with which their predecessors had parted, should have attempted to discredit the agreement by accusing Tischendorf of unfairness. The regrettable destruction of nearly half the manuscript makes it difficult to sympathize with any moral right which could be urged on behalf of the monastery; and even the legal claim to ownership put forward by the monks rests on such vague and contradictory statements that it has never been seriously pressed, much less brought before any court of law. At the time of the acquisition of the manuscript by the British Museum the whole transaction was fully discussed in the official publication issued by the Trustees, *The Mount Sinai Manuscript of the Bible*.[1]

[1] Cf. also V. N. Bénéchévitch, *Les Manuscrits grecs du Mont Sinaï et le monde savant de l'Europe depuis le XVII^e siècle jusqu'à 1927*, *Texte und Forschungen zur byzantinisch-neugriechischen Philologie*, Nr. 21, Athens, 1937, pp. 33–78, where, however, Tischendorf's veracity is unjustifiably questioned.

To these serious matters a comic relief is provided by the claim of a notorious forger of manuscripts, a Greek named Constantine Simonides, that he himself had written the Codex Sinaiticus. Shortly before Tischendorf's edition appeared, Simonides, who had a private grudge against the German scholar for exposing some of his forgeries,[1] published an amazing story.[2] Omitting the wealth of picturesque detail with which it was embellished, the main 'facts' are these: Late in 1839, at the age of 15,[3] Simonides, then a student of theology on Mount Athos, was invited to write a copy of the Greek Bible for presentation to Tsar Nicholas I of Russia. The precocious youth speedily mastered the art of calligraphy, and began the task, taking his text from an edition printed at Moscow,[4] controlled by three ancient manuscripts on Mount Athos, and the printed facsimile of the Codex Alexandrinus in the British Museum. He had almost completed the manuscript when the project of presenting it to the Tsar was abandoned, and instead Simonides himself presented it in 1841 to a former Archbishop of Sinai, Constantius, who was living in retirement on an islet in the Sea of Marmora. Thence the volume found its way to the Sinai monastery, where Simonides twice saw it, in 1844 and 1852.

The impossibilities of this story are almost too obvious to need demonstration. So far from the book being written throughout by one person, it is indisputably the work of three (cf. p. 15), and its

[1] Cf. the letter of Tischendorf written in 1856 and quoted in the *British Museum Quarterly*, ix, 1934–5, pp. 18–19.

[2] An entertaining account of the Simonides episode is given by F. H. Scrivener, *Collation of the Codex Sinaiticus*, pp. lx–lxxii. For other literature on Simonides and his forgeries see G. W. Prothero, *A Memoir of Henry Bradshaw*, pp. 92–99; J. A. Farrer, *Literary Forgeries*, pp. 34–66; F. Madan, *Books in Manuscript*, 1927, pp. 139–43; W. R. Dawson, *C. W. Goodwin*, pp. 82–84, and *Who was Who in Egyptology*, p. 148.

[3] Simonides afterwards asserted that he was really 19 at the time, but there is no doubt that his earlier statement was the truth.

[4] This was published by the Holy Russian Synod in 1821; cf. *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, ii, pp. 642–3. In this edition the Old Testament is based on Grabe's edition of the Codex Alexandrinus, while the New Testament is the Textus Receptus. This edition has become the standard Bible text of the Orthodox Church.

pages swarm with corrections in various scripts ranging in date from the fourth century to the twelfth—but not the nineteenth. None of the Athos manuscripts have ever been identified, nor could a combination of them with the Codex Alexandrinus have produced anything resembling the text of the Sinaiticus. Simonides himself never accepted the challenge to write a single page in the style of the Codex Sinaiticus, and his prudence in declining to do so becomes evident from a glance at such of his forgeries as are still in existence.[1]

What proved fatal to Simonides, however, was his ignorance of the very existence of the Codex Friderico-Augustanus until he had already published his story. When he did hear of it, the necessary readjustments involved him in endless inconsistencies, in which he floundered deeper and deeper until he found himself universally discredited.

Connoisseurs in other spheres, as in painting, for example, or sculpture, are even now occasionally deceived on questions of authenticity. It is thus necessary to state that the forgery of manuscripts, above all of manuscripts such as the Codex Sinaiticus, rests on an altogether different footing. That it is a genuine product of the fourth century A.D. simply does not admit of question. To quote Scrivener's conclusion (op. cit., pp. lxx–lxxi):

'That a boy of fifteen, or a youth of nineteen, who many years after has exhibited surprising ignorance of much which even sciolists are presumed to know, should have executed within the compass of a few months a volume of 1,400 pages, comprising nearly four millions of uncial letters; and that too in such a fashion that, WITHOUT THE SMALLEST INTENTION TO DECEIVE, or to pass off his performance as an ancient work, he has actually misled the best critics in Europe:—this proposition we must confess to be so unlikely and indeed incredible that we could not receive it upon any evidence whatsoever.'

[1] These include a papyrus fragment of St. Matthew's Gospel written, according to the colophon, 'in the fifteenth year after the Ascension' which Simonides claimed to have discovered in the collection of an amateur Egyptologist at Liverpool, and published in 1861 (*Fac-similes of certain portions of the Gospel of St. Matthew, &c.*). A vellum roll of the *Persae* of Aeschylus and a papyrus fragment of the Letter of Pseudo-Aristeas, both forged by Simonides, are in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 41478, 42502). Unfortunately the Museum does not possess the 'Greek poem by Oenopides, written on prepared human (female) skin' mentioned along with similar confections 'discovered' by Simonides, op. cit., p. 35!

3. Acquisition by the British Museum

The Codex Sinaiticus seemed to have found a permanent home in St. Petersburg, where in 1908 and 1911 it was completely photographed by Professor and Mrs. Kirsopp Lake for the fine collotype facsimile published by the Clarendon Press. In this facsimile, each volume of which is preceded by an able introduction from the pen of Professor Lake, all the extant fragments are reunited, and for those unable to visit London or Leipzig it is, and will continue to be, indispensable for the study of the manuscript.

The revolution of 1917 left the Codex Sinaiticus unscathed, but brought to power a government which had no particular interest in the manuscript. After attempts to dispose of it in America, negotiations were opened with the British Museum, and in 1933 the manuscript was purchased for the sum of £100,000[1] with the aid and approval of the British Government, which undertook to pay £1 for every £1 raised by the Museum. A public appeal was launched by the Trustees, and proved so successful that eventually the Museum was enabled to contribute far more than its quota to the purchase price.[2] Meanwhile, on 27 December 1933, the manuscript itself reached the Museum, where it was at once placed on exhibition,

[1] It is of interest to compare this figure, and the £1,350 with which the Russian Government rewarded the Sinai monks in 1869 (p. 8), with the probable original cost of the manuscript. Rendel Harris, utilizing the Edict of Diocletian on Prices, which lays down maximum rates for the pay of scribes and the cost of parchment, has calculated the cost as 32,560 denarii (*New Testament Autographs*, 1882, pp. 22–23). The denarius then stood at 50,000 to the pound of gold, which gives some idea of the original cost expressed in gold, though any comparison with present-day values would be misleading. Rendel Harris's figure is equal to 47 Constantinian solidi (struck at 72 to the gold pound), but it is in any case a maximum, and is somewhat too high, since he did not allow for the reduced text content of the pages containing the Poetical Books of the Old Testament: probably about 30,000 denarii, or 43 solidi, would be nearer the mark. With this we may compare the story in the *Vitae Patrum* (iii. 30) of the Egyptian abbot Anastasius who owned a complete Bible on parchment valued at 18 solidi; the whole story, in English (taken from the slightly different version of Pelagius), is given in Helen Waddell, *The Desert Fathers*, 1936, pp. 171–2.

[2] After the manuscript had been bought by the British Museum, the American group which had previously negotiated with the Russian Government offered to repurchase the manuscript from the Museum for £200,000 (Sir George Hill in *Annual Report of the National Art-Collections Fund for 1936*, p. 16).

attracting vast crowds of interested spectators. Subsequently it was incorporated in the collections as Additional Manuscript 43725.

4. Contents of the Manuscript[1]

In its pristine state the manuscript probably comprised at least 730 leaves; but today only 390 leaves remain, 242 in the Old Testament and 148 in the New. Of the Old Testament leaves, 43 form the Codex Friderico-Augustanus at Leipzig, while the remainder, together with the whole of the New Testament, constitute the Codex Sinaiticus in the British Museum.

Nothing now remains of the earlier books of the Old Testament except a few scraps[2] from Genesis and Numbers. The Sinaiticus contains a single leaf of 1 Chronicles (ix. 27–xi. 22), but most of the extant portion of that book (xi. 22–xix. 17) is in Leipzig. The books 2 Chronicles and 1 Esdras are wanting, but 2 Esdras[3] ix. 9– end is at Leipzig, with Esther complete, and Tobit i. 1–ii. 2. The rest of Tobit, Judith (except for one leaf), 1 and 4 Maccabees,[4] Isaiah, and Jeremiah i. 1–x. 25 are in the Codex Sinaiticus. Jeremiah x. 25– end and Lamentations i. 1–ii. 20 complete the Codex Friderico-Augustanus. There follows a gap in the manuscript resulting in the total loss of Ezekiel, Daniel, and the first three Minor Prophets. The remaining Minor Prophets, followed by Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and Job, with which the Old Testament comes to an end, are in the Sinaiticus. The New Testament in the Sinaiticus is complete, and is followed by two non-canonical writings, the Epistle of Barnabas and the 'Shepherd' of Hermas. The latter part of the 'Shepherd', amounting to more than three-quarters of the work, is unfortunately lost; it must have filled some 20 leaves, and there is nothing to show whether or not this formed the conclusion of the whole manuscript.

1 A more detailed list, taking the manuscript page by page, will be found in *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus*, pp. 94–112.

2 These are presumably still in Leningrad.

3 2 Esdras in the Greek Bible is the canonical Ezra and Nehemiah combined. It has nothing to do with the book called 2 Esdras in the English Apocrypha.

4 2 and 3 Maccabees never found a place in the manuscript.

II. CODEX SINAITICUS. LUKE XIX. 13—XX. 34

5. The Making of the Manuscript

In the history of book-production the Sinaiticus occupies an important position, for it exemplifies the final victory of the modern form of book, the codex, over the roll of classical Greece and Rome, and of a new writing material, vellum, over the previously universal papyrus. The era of which it marks the beginning endured until the introduction of paper and printing a thousand years later, and the technical details of its construction thus deserve to be fully described.

The vellum itself includes both sheepskin and goatskin. It is finely prepared, and fairly thin considering the great size of the book. Each quire consists regularly of eight leaves, now about 15 in. in height by 13½ or 14 in. in breadth. Since at least half an inch all round has been sheared off in successive bindings, the huge double sheets must originally have measured quite 16 by 28 in., and no doubt each represents the skin of a single animal.

The sheets are arranged in the quire on a definite principle, which became stereotyped in Greek manuscripts of later days. All vellum has two 'sides', the 'flesh side', which is the whiter and smoother, and the 'hair side' with opposite characteristics; and the sheets are invariably placed so that similar sides face each other throughout the quire, the outside of the quire being the 'flesh side'. Thus each opening of the book presents a uniform appearance.

After the sheets had been folded over to form the quire, pricks were made right through the eight thicknesses of vellum to mark the position of the ruled lines. To render them as inconspicuous as possible, these pricks were so placed as to fall within the area of writing—a device characteristic of the most ancient vellum books, Latin as well as Greek. The ruling was impressed with a hard point, always on the 'flesh side' of the vellum, and throughout the prose books each page was ruled with four narrow columns, containing generally 48 lines (Plate II). In the poetical books of the Old Testament, however, where the text is broken up into verses instead of being written continuously, each page contains two wide columns, with extra indented lines to guide the overruns (Plate III). Last of all, the area to be filled with writing was rubbed over with an

abrasive to remove all grease and gloss from the surface and provide the ink with a secure hold.

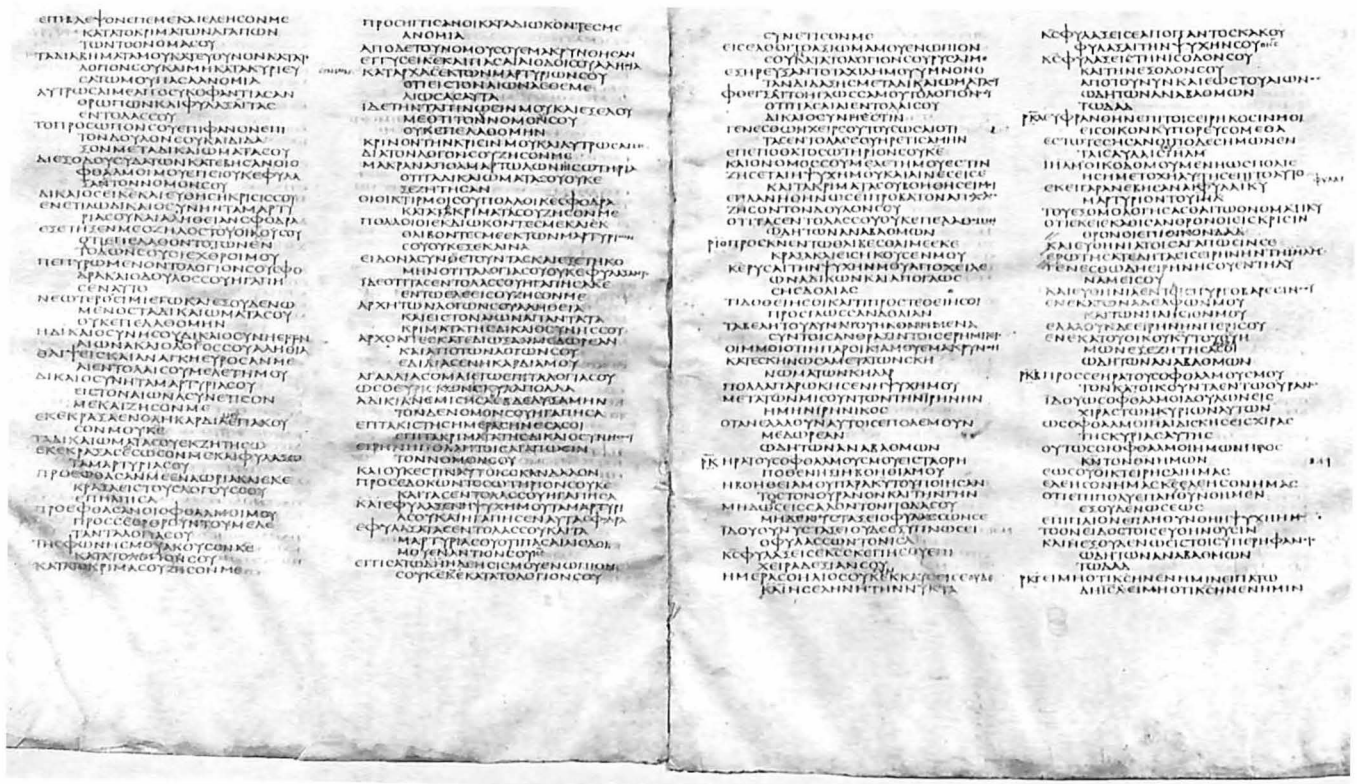
This description of the external appearance of the manuscript may fitly conclude with a reference to its binding. When Tischendorf saw it in 1844 and 1859, back and covers had long since disappeared. Examination has shown, however, that it was re-bound at least once in the Middle Ages, the most recent binding being so incompetent a piece of work that its loss need cause no regrets. During its sojourn in Russia the manuscript was kept just as Tischendorf had found it; but soon after its transference to the British Museum the provision of a new binding was seen to be imperative, and this task was carried out in 1935 by the late Douglas Cockerell.[1] The most difficult and laborious part of the work proved to be the reconditioning of damaged leaves and quires, for which special methods had to be evolved. For binding, the book was divided into two volumes, containing the Old and New Testaments respectively. Plain oak boards were chosen for the covers, joined with backs of white morocco, simply ornamented and lettered in gold. The method of sewing, by which paper stubs are interposed between the quires and the binding cords, not only protects the vellum from contact with glue, but enables the entire page to be opened out flat, greatly facilitating the examination of the manuscript.

6. The Writing of the Manuscript

The Codex Sinaiticus is written in the massive but elegant form of capital letters commonly known by the name of 'Biblical uncial'.[2] The style is here seen at its zenith, the letter-forms still marked by a dignified simplicity, free from the ornamental serifs which so disfigure later examples, and which are already prominent in the Codex Alexandrinus. Indeed, on script alone one would be tempted to date the Sinaiticus in the third century A.D., were it not for other considerations (cf. pp. 19–20 below) which forbid us to place it earlier than the fourth century.

[1] Cf. *British Museum Quarterly*, x, 1935–6, pp. 180–2 and Plate LIII.

[2] A misleading title, for so far from being specially associated with Bibles, or even Christian writings in general, we now know it to have been in regular use for non-Christian works as early as the second century A.D.



III. CODEX SINAITICUS. PSALMS CXVIII. 132—CXXIII. 2

(Psalms cxix. 132—cxxiv. 1 in the English Psalter)

The other great fourth-century Bible in Greek, the Codex Vaticanus in Rome, is written in the same type of script, but with less contrast in the shading of the letters, a feature once held to indicate an earlier date. But as the heavier type of hand found in the Sinaiticus occurs in papyri of the third, and even of the second, century, the relative dates of these two manuscripts must be decided on other grounds. Indeed, their amazing similarity, even in certain minute details, makes it difficult to separate them at all widely in date.[1]

Tischendorf identified four different scribes, whom he named A, B, C, and D, at work on the manuscript. But it is now clear that they were only three in number, the poetical books of the Old Testament, which Tischendorf claimed for his 'scribe C', being in their earlier part (up to Psalm xcvii. 3) by scribe D, and subsequently by scribe A. To avoid confusion the names A, B, and D are retained here, but it should be borne in mind that 'scribe C' no longer exists.

These three hands are extraordinarily alike, and the scribes must have received their training in some large writing establishment with a definite tradition of its own. Fortunately they possess individual peculiarities apart from the formation of letters which make it possible to distinguish them; and one of these is the relative correctness of their spelling. In Greek, as in English, pronunciation continued to develop after the spelling had become fixed, with the result, only too familiar to ourselves, correct spelling had to be learned in the main by sheer force of memory. That such an achievement was possible is shown by scribe D of the Sinaiticus, whose spelling is wellnigh faultless. Scribe A, on the other hand, would be put down as a poor speller but for the existence of scribe B, whose illiteracy is so startling that it is indeed a puzzle to understand how he can ever have been chosen to work on a manuscript of this class.

These and other points make it possible to demonstrate that scribe A wrote most of the historical and poetical books of the Old Testament, almost the whole of the New Testament, and the Epistle of Barnabas, while scribe B was responsible for the Prophets and the

[1] The impression of greater delicacy in the Vaticanus is partly due to wider spacing of the letters, and to the smaller scale of the whole book, which is only about two-thirds the size of the Sinaiticus.

'Shepherd' of Hermas. Scribe D's contributions are curiously spasmodic: in the Old Testament he wrote the whole of Tobit and Judith, the first half of 4 Maccabees, and the first two-thirds of Psalms. In the New Testament he rewrote six pages where, apparently, scribe A had made some unusually serious mistakes. He also made a beginning with Revelations, but relinquished his task in favour of scribe A after writing only the first five verses.

Variations in spelling are not only useful as a test for distinguishing the scribes, but they enable us to draw one most important conclusion, namely, that the manuscript was written *from dictation*. Hitherto little has been known of the methods by which these great manuscripts were copied, for few ancient writers trouble to record such (to them) trivial details, and the manuscripts themselves are singularly reticent. In the Sinaiticus, however, the facts admit of no doubt; for precisely the same standards of spelling, good or bad, remain constant throughout those portions of the manuscript written by one and the same scribe; and it is contrary to reason to suppose that the exemplar from which the Sinaiticus was copied changed the character of its spelling at the precise point where, in the Sinaiticus itself, a new hand takes over the work. Moreover, the errors of spelling are nearly all phonetic, such as one would expect to find in a dictated manuscript, but which are inexplicable if the book was copied by eye.

One amusing example of a mistake caused by dictation is in 1 Maccabees v. 20, where the manuscript should read *eight thousand*, written as a numeral thus: ϞΗ. In its place we find an apparently meaningless jumble of symbols: ΗϘΗϞϜ. The second and fourth of these can only be the numerals *6* and *3,000*, while the first and third either stand for the figure '*8*' or, taken together, the words '*either . . . or*'. The latter alternative gives the clue to the puzzle: the reader was unable to decipher the numeral in the book before him, and called out '*either six or three thousand*', which the thoughtless scribe wrote down word for word!

7. The Correctors

The number and variety of corrections which have been made from time to time in the Codex Sinaiticus place it in a class by itself.

Tischendorf's great edition enumerates 14,800 places where some alteration has been made to the text, and this figure does not include the Codex Friderico-Augustanus. The identification of the various correctors is by far the most difficult task facing the student of the manuscript, and though the broad outlines of the problem are now known, much work still remains to be done in detail.

Here it will be convenient to take the corrections in the order in which they were made in the manuscript. First come those noted by the scribe himself as he went along, minor slips which could be remedied without a pause in the work. Then, as soon as a section of the manuscript was completed, it was compared with the original, one man reading aloud from the exemplar, while the other, who was usually the responsible scribe, checked the text he had written. By this means a considerable number of errors were detected and repaired: but unfortunately the work was not systematically carried out, and large stretches of the manuscript were left untouched, or only sporadically corrected.

In the Gospels, where the corrections are very numerous and often of textual importance (cf. the instances quoted on pp. 26–29 below), the position is unusually complicated. The reader who dictated the Gospels must have been singularly careless, for again and again whole sentences have dropped out where his wandering eye had failed to keep the place. A good many of these were inserted in the margins of the manuscript by scribe A when going over his work in the usual desultory manner. But the corrections from his pen show such variations of script that they probably represent several different attempts at revision, while interspersed among them are supplementary corrections by scribe D, who perhaps had the last word in cases of special difficulty. Nor are these corrections confined, as elsewhere in the manuscript, to rectifying scribal errors; for many of them make actual changes in the wording, introducing variants known to us from other sources. There is indeed some reason to think that these variants were noted in the exemplar from which the Sinaiticus was copied—a species of master copy, amounting almost to a critical edition. But on what principles one variant was preferred to another, and to whom the decision ultimately belonged, it is not easy to discover.

There remain the so-called 'C' correctors, linked together by general similarities of script and technique, and probably dating from the seventh century A.D. By far the most important of these is C^a, who carefully revised the entire manuscript (excepting the Epistle of Barnabas), bringing it into general conformity with the Byzantine texts familiar to him. Only slightly later in date is the corrector denominated $C^{Pamph.}$ by Professor Lake, who has made extensive corrections in 2 Esdras and Esther, and added two extremely important notes at the end of these books. Both these notes are in the portion of the manuscript at Leipzig; that at the end of Esther, which is the fuller of the two, may be translated as follows:

> Collated with an exceedingly ancient copy which was corrected by the hand of the holy martyr Pamphilus; and at the end of the same ancient book, which began with 1 Kings[1] and ended with Esther, was a note in the autograph of the same martyr, more or less to the following effect, viz.:—*Copied and corrected from the Hexapla of Origen corrected by himself. Antoninus the Confessor collated, and I, Pamphilus, corrected the volume in the prison by the great favour and enlargement of God. If one may say so without offence, it would not be easy to find a copy comparable with this copy.* The same ancient book differed from the present manuscript [i.e. the Sinaiticus] in respect of certain proper names.

The Hexapla, chief treasure of the great Christian library at Caesarea in Palestine, was the critical edition of the Old Testament compiled by Origen (d. A.D. 254). It was written in six parallel columns, containing respectively the original Hebrew, the Hebrew written in Greek letters, and the four Greek translations of Aquila, Symmachus, the Septuagint (revised by Origen himself), and Theodotion. From the note in the Sinaiticus we see that the books 1 Kings –Esther had been extracted from the Septuagint columns of the Hexapla by two Christian scholars, Antoninus and Pamphilus, presumably about A.D. 309, since Antoninus was martyred on 13 November of that year, and Pamphilus on 16 February following. With this extract from the Hexapla the Sinaiticus itself has been collated, and the corrections made by $C^{Pamph.}$ thus derive with but one intermediate stage from Origen himself.

[1] = our 1 Samuel.

Now it is admittedly probable that such an historic manuscript as that of Pamphilus and Antoninus would have been preserved at Caesarea, where Pamphilus's famous library had its home; and scholars have been inclined to infer that the Codex Sinaiticus must therefore have been at Caesarea when these corrections were inserted. Could this be proved, it would constitute almost the only definite fact in the early history of the manuscript. But unfortunately the argument is not entirely conclusive. If the Sinaiticus was really at Caesarea, why was it not collated with the original Hexapla, and that too, in the whole of the Old Testament and not merely the books 1 Kings–Esther? The pious reverence for the Pamphilus and Antoninus manuscript, too, suggests that it was something quite out of the ordinary, whereas autographs of Pamphilus must have been common in his library at Caesarea. These are not, of course, fatal objections, but they are a warning against making too much of the evidence of the $C^{Pamph.}$ notes. In this respect these notes just fall short of giving us the certainty we require; but this does not detract from the vivid picture which they present of the sufferings of Christian scholars under the Great Persecution.

8. Date and Provenance

The Codex Sinaiticus contains no statement of the date and place of its writing, and any attempt to answer these important questions must be based upon indirect evidence. The style of script shows that the manuscript cannot be later than the fourth century and might even have been written in the third, but present-day knowledge of palaeography does not suffice to fix the date more closely, though there are certain reasons for preferring the first half to the second half of the fourth century. The third century, however, is virtually excluded on other grounds; for the text of the Gospels is divided into numbered sections on the system designed by Eusebius of Caesarea,[1] and as the numeration has been inserted by scribes A and D it is

[1] On the Eusebian system the articles by E. Nestle, 'Die Eusebianische Evangelien-Synopse', in *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 19, 1908, pp. 40–51, 93–114, 219–32, have not yet been superseded.

absolutely contemporaneous with the manuscript. Eusebius lived from about A.D. 265 to 340. Unfortunately we do not know when he published his system,[1] nor how rapidly it spread, but even in the most favourable circumstances we should not expect to find it in a manuscript of the third century. That the Codex Sinaiticus was written after A.D. 300 may thus be taken as certain, and on the whole the safest verdict is the first half of the fourth century, or at least not appreciably later than A.D. 350.

As for the question of provenance, it is still more difficult to make even the most qualified assertion. The manuscript was at Sinai in 1844, and possibly at Caesarea in the seventh century, but beyond this we are almost reduced to guesswork. That the Vaticanus comes from the same part of the world as the Sinaiticus is practically certain, but the Vaticanus is equally silent about its own origin. Certain peculiarities in the two manuscripts admittedly point to Egypt, although the dearth of evidence outside Egypt makes it impossible to be certain that they are characteristic of that country; the most that can be said is that there is nothing to contradict an Egyptian origin.

It might be expected that the character of the text would shed some light on the question; but in recent years it has been growing steadily clearer that the old idea of a variety of local texts, each confined to a particular area, is mistaken. Nowhere, indeed, is this more obvious than in Egypt itself, where we find a number of radically different texts circulating side by side. In the Old Testament it is perhaps legitimate to argue that, had the Sinaiticus been written in Caesarea or elsewhere in Palestine, one would expect the text to be taken from Origen's Hexaplaric Septuagint, which is certainly not the case. According to St. Jerome, writing in the closing years of the fourth century, the Hexaplaric Septuagint, of which Pamphilus had issued a separate edition, was all but universal, above all in Palestine. However, Jerome's statements are liable to be coloured by his own prejudices, and he was an enthusiastic supporter of the Hexaplaric text; and even if he can be relied upon here, we are by no means

[1] C. Nordenfalk, *Die spätantiken Kanonentafel*, 1938, pp. 50–51, 273, puts the date between 314 and 331 (?). Cf. also *Oriens Christianus*, 36, 1941, p. 262.

bound to assume that the position was the same in the earlier part of the century.[1]

The point is important, for there actually are some curious errors in the Codex Sinaiticus which would be readily explicable if the manuscript had been written at Caesarea. The first of these, to which Dr. Rendel Harris first called attention in 1884,[2] is in Matthew xiii. 54, where for εἰς τὴν πατρίδα (= to his own country) read by all other authorities, the scribe wrote εἰς τὴν Ἀντιπατρίδα (= to Antipatris). Now Antipatris was a town about thirty miles to the south of Caesarea, and, to quote Dr. Harris:

'As it seemed to me impossible that this should be an assimilation to a passage in the Acts[3] where Ἀντιπατρὶς is mentioned, I referred it to the aberration of a scribe's brain, as he sat writing in the neighbouring city of Cesarea. It is to my mind much the same as if a printed text of Shakespeare should put into Mark Antony's speech the line

"I come to Banbury Caesar, not to praise him."

Such a text would probably be the work of Oxford printers.'

A somewhat similar instance is in Acts viii. 5, where instead of 'Philip went down to Samaria' the scribe has actually written 'Philip went down to *Caesarea*'. Although Caesarea is frequently mentioned in Acts, it is important to note that the first occasion where it is named is in Acts viii. 40, *later* than the verse in question.

The significance of these points is undeniable, and the claim of Caesarea to be the birthplace of the Codex Sinaiticus deserves to be treated more seriously than it has been in the past.

Both date and provenance of the manuscript would be fixed with

[1] Canon B. H. Streeter, in his book *The Four Gospels*, 5th impression, 1936, pp. 590–7 (Appendix IV: *Jerome and the Codex Sinaiticus*), has propounded the fascinating theory that St. Jerome himself used the Codex Sinaiticus. His argument is based on certain coincidences of readings quoted by Jerome with those found in the Codex. Unfortunately his decisive point involves the supposition that the words *nor the Son* in Matt. xxiv. 36 had been marked for deletion by a corrector before the manuscript came into the hands of Jerome, who supposed the omission to have the approval of Origen; but renewed examination of the original has confirmed that Tischendorf was correct in ascribing the deletion to the corrector C[a] (see p. 27) who, whatever his exact date (see p. 18), can hardly be as early as Jerome's time.

[2] See his *Stichometry*, 1893, p. 75.

[3] Acts xxiii. 31.

all the precision the most exacting critic could demand if only it were possible to believe, as more than one responsible scholar from Tischendorf onwards has done, that the Sinaiticus and Vaticanus are two of the fifty vellum Bibles which the first Christian Emperor, Constantine, ordered from Eusebius of Caesarea in A.D. 332 for the use of the new churches in Constantinople.[1] In his Life of Constantine,[2] Eusebius has preserved the original text of the Emperor's letter, which makes interesting reading in view of the fact that, in any case, the Sinaiticus and Vaticanus must have been produced within a few decades of this event. Constantine writes:

'I have thought it expedient to instruct your Intelligence that you should command to be written fifty volumes on prepared vellum, easy to read and conveniently portable, by professional scribes with an exact understanding of their craft—volumes, that is to say, of the Holy Scriptures, the provision and use of which is, as you are aware, most necessary for the instruction of the Church. Letters have been dispatched from our Clemency to the accountant of the province, advising him to supply everything requisite for the production of the books, and it will be your care to ensure that they are prepared as quickly as possible. Using the authority of this letter you should commandeer two public carriages for their transport, for by such means will these fine volumes be most readily brought before our eyes, this duty being performed by one of the deacons of your church, who on reaching our presence will experience our liberality.'

Unfortunately, beyond the fact that the Sinaiticus and Vaticanus are undoubtedly complete Bibles on vellum written about the time of Constantine's order to Eusebius, there is no evidence whatsoever to support the hypothesis that they are the sole survivors of the consignment. There is nothing to show that either has ever been anywhere near Constantinople, and if it could be proved that the Sinaiticus was at Caesarea in the seventh century, the supposition would be definitely improbable so far as that manuscript is concerned.

For the present, then, the home of the manuscript must remain undetermined. Egypt and Palestine have the strongest claims, the former perhaps leading by a narrow margin; and if the claim of

[1] Cf. Kirsopp Lake, 'The Sinaitic and Vatican Manuscripts and the copies sent by Eusebius to Constantine', *Harvard Theological Review*, 11, 1918, pp. 32–35, and Carl Wendel, 'Der Bibel-Auftrag Kaiser Konstantins', *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 56, 1939, pp. 165–75.

[2] *De Vita Constantini*, iv. 36–37.

Egypt be admitted, this can scarcely mean anything but Alexandria itself, which as a centre of Christian teaching with a long tradition of critical scholarship would be eminently appropriate for the production of so splendid a volume.

9. Character of the Text

The character of a manuscript of the Bible is not a constant factor, but varies from book to book with the varying characters of the separate rolls or codices from which its text is ultimately derived. In the Old Testament the character of the Sinaiticus is somewhat uneven; on the whole it agrees with the Codex Vaticanus, usually regarded as the best all-round manuscript of the Old Testament, and chosen as the basis of critical editions. In certain books, notably 1 Chronicles, 2 Esdras, and the Prophets, the Sinaiticus has the better text, its superiority being especially marked in Isaiah. The Vaticanus is defective in Psalms cv. 27–cxxxvii. 6, where the Sinaiticus consequently becomes our principal authority, a position which it also holds in 1 and 4 Maccabees, none of the Maccabaean writings finding a place in the Vaticanus. In Tobit the Sinaiticus has a different and much longer version for which it is the only Greek witness.

But it is the books of the New Testament, and above all the Gospels, which have first claim upon our attention. Here the Sinaiticus is again found at the side of the Vaticanus, and together they head the representatives of the 'Neutral' text, so called because its great champion, Dr. Hort, regarded it as having descended almost uncorrupted from the autographs of the Evangelists. In the Committee charged with the revision of the English New Testament Hort exercised great influence, and as a result the Revised Version of 1881 is to a large extent the 'Neutral' text in English dress.

At the time of the Revision the principal rival of the 'Neutral' text was the long-established 'Received' text (*Textus Receptus*), universal in medieval Greek manuscripts and early printed editions, and the basis of our Authorized Version of 1611. This 'Received' text is now generally admitted to be a later revision which makes its first traceable appearance well on in the fourth century A.D., and though its

use by the Church for 1,500 years gives it a certain historical importance, as an authority it must be regarded as superseded.

The elimination of the 'Received' text, however, did not leave the 'Neutral' in possession of the field; it had now to face a much more formidable opponent in the shape of the 'Western' text. In the main this is the text of the earliest Latin translations current in the Western half of the Roman Empire. But scattered readings of 'Western' type are frequent in the East too, for example in the oldest Syriac version; it is, moreover, the text usually quoted by the earliest Christian fathers (notably Clement of Alexandria), and that it is extremely ancient is undeniable. Compared with the 'Neutral' text, the 'Western' shows extensive variations in wording, too serious to be explained as mere scribal corruptions, and numerous additions to the text, the most striking of these being the story of the woman taken in adultery (John vii. 53–viii. 11), which, in spite of its rejection by Oriental Christendom, has found its way *via* the 'Received' text into our own Bible. The Sinaiticus itself still retains a considerable 'Western' element, but in the Vaticanus any such tendency has been thoroughly eradicated.

Finally, there is the most important discovery of recent years, the 'Caesarean' text used by Origen during his residence at Caesarea in Palestine. Except in St. Mark's Gospel, however, little is yet known of this text, which is not continuously preserved in any one manuscript, but has to be painfully reconstructed from sporadic readings in manuscripts which have all been heavily contaminated with the 'Received' text. Its value in the search for the authentic texts of the Gospels is at present problematical.

The wisdom of Hort's emphatic preference for the 'Neutral' text has been in general confirmed by subsequent discoveries and researches. In one respect, it is true, the claims he made for it can no longer be upheld: we now know that its excellence is due, not to the negative virtue of an escape from corruption, but to deliberate and drastic editorial revision. Even so, this does not necessarily diminish its value; revisions can be good as well as bad, and the revisers of the 'Neutral' text seem to have performed their task with a degree of skill and thoroughness which would do credit to an editor of today.

Thus we may still regard the 'Neutral' as, on the whole, the best available text of the Gospels, without having to accept it as infallible. No one 'family' of manuscripts, indeed, has the monopoly of truth, and there are even instances where the now-discredited 'Received' text has preserved the true reading while the 'Neutral' has gone astray.

When and where the 'Neutral' revision was made is at present obscure. There is a tendency to associate it with Egypt, but this is largely based on the supposition (which has yet to be proved) that its principal representatives, the Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, were written there. Palestine is also a possibility, especially after what has been said above (pp. 20–23) respecting the provenance of the Sinaiticus. As regards its date, there is a marked lack of direct evidence for the 'Neutral' text before the third century A.D.; but its close agreement with the Sahidic (Upper Egyptian) version, itself probably written down before A.D. 200, carries it well back into the second century.

Still less is known of the way in which the revision was executed. Was it the work of a single mind, carried through once for all, or a gradual, almost instinctive process, such as seems to have produced the 'Received' text? Here the early correctors of the Sinaiticus are of great value, for they show a revision of the text actually in progress, and enable us to form some notion of the methods employed.

Before passing on to give examples of outstanding passages in the Sinaiticus, something must be said of the rest of the New Testament. In Acts the Vaticanus and Sinaiticus are joined by the Alexandrinus (which in the Gospels has an early form of the 'Received' text), and together they stand opposed to the 'Western' text, which is here marked by such serious divergences, not only of language but of fact, that it has been widely held that the book was issued in two different 'editions'. Both 'Neutral' and 'Western' texts have found eloquent advocates, and at present it is not easy to say which of the two is the earlier and more authentic. For the remaining books the differences between the various 'families' are not so marked, nor are the readings involved of such intrinsic importance. Here the value of the Sinaiticus is enhanced by its completeness, for the Vaticanus

has lost the latter part of Hebrews (from ix. 14 onwards) and the whole of 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon, and Revelation, while the Alexandrinus lacks the greater part of 2 Corinthians.

Some typical examples of important readings, necessarily few in number and restricted to the Gospels, will now be given. It may be pointed out here that there is no continuous English translation of the Codex Sinaiticus as such (though there is of the Vaticanus), but its readings are quoted, in English translation, in such publications as *The Variorum Teacher's Edition of the Holy Bible*, London, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1904, or the American *Concordant Version of the Sacred Scriptures*, Los Angeles, 1930, in which particular prominence is given to the readings of the Sinaiticus and its correctors, especially C^a (there designated S^2). In 1869 Tischendorf published, in Leipzig, an edition of the English Authorized Version, with the variant readings, in English, of the Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, and Alexandrinus, as the thousandth volume in the Tauchnitz collection of British authors.

In the following examples the English Authorized Version is printed first, in italics, followed by notes on the readings of the Sinaiticus, its correctors, and the Codex Vaticanus.

MATT. v. 44. *Bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you* (= Luke vi. 27–28). Omitted by Sinaiticus and Vaticanus.

MATT. vi. 28. *Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin.* Sinaiticus has the unique reading *how they neither card nor spin nor toil*, altered to the usual version by an early corrector.[1]

MATT. x. 39. *He that findeth his life shall lose it.* Omitted by the Sinaiticus alone of all our authorities, but supplied by an early corrector.

MATT. xii. 47–48. *Then one said unto him, Behold, thy mother and thy brethren stand without, desiring to speak with thee* (from Mark iii. 32 and Luke viii. 20). Omitted by Sinaiticus and Vaticanus, but supplied in the former by an early corrector. The Sinaiticus also omits (without support from other authorities) the words *desiring to speak with him* at the end of the preceding verse, but this also has been added by the same corrector.

MATT. xiii. 35. *That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet.* Sinaiticus (though not Vaticanus) adds *Isaiah*, but this has been deleted by

[1] See 'The Lilies of the Field', in *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 37, 1938, pp. 211–14; P. Katz, *Journal of Theological Studies*, v. 2, 1954, pp. 207–9.

an early corrector. Actually the quotation is not from Isaiah at all, but from Psalm lxxviii. 2.

MATT. xvi. 2–3. *When it is evening, ye say, It will be fair weather: for the sky is red. And in the morning, It will be foul weather to day: for the sky is red and lowring. O ye hypocrites, ye can discern the face of the sky; but can ye not discern the signs of the times?* Omitted by Sinaiticus and Vaticanus.

MATT. xvii. 21. *Howbeit this kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting* (= Mark ix. 29). Omitted by Sinaiticus and Vaticanus, but supplied in the former by an early corrector.

MATT. xix. 9. *And whoso marrieth her which is put away doth commit adultery* (= Luke xvi. 18). Omitted by Sinaiticus but included by Vaticanus.

MATT. xxiv. 35. *Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.* Omitted by Sinaiticus alone of all authorities.

MATT. xxiv. 36. *But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only.* Sinaiticus and Vaticanus add *nor the Son* after *heaven*, apparently the original reading which was removed through fear of doctrinal misunderstanding. In the Sinaiticus the words are bracketed by the corrector C^a (see p. 21, note 1).

MATT. xxvii. 49. After this verse the Sinaiticus and Vaticanus insert *And another took a spear and pierced his side, and there came out water and blood*, from John xix. 34. Here the 'Neutral' text is unquestionably wrong.

MARK i. 2. *As it is written in the prophets.* Sinaiticus and Vaticanus read *in Isaiah the prophet.* Actually the quotation includes words from Malachi as well as from Isaiah.

MARK xvi. 9–20. This, the conclusion of the Gospel, is omitted by Sinaiticus and Vaticanus and a number of ancient and important authorities. It is generally thought that the original ending (if indeed the Gospel did not end with verse 8) perished through some accident, and that the present verses 9–20 were written as a substitute.

LUKE vi. 17. *Out of all Judaea and Jerusalem.* Sinaiticus adds *and Peraea*, a typical 'Western' reading chiefly found in manuscripts of the Old Latin version.

LUKE ix. 55–56. *And said, Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of. For the Son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them.* Omitted by Sinaiticus and Vaticanus.

LUKE x. 42. *But one thing is needful.* Some other authorities have *But few things are needful*, Sinaiticus and Vaticanus *But few things are needful or one* —a manifest conflation.

LUKE xi. 2–4. The Lord's Prayer. Here the Sinaiticus and Vaticanus have a much shorter version, as follows: *Father, Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, as in heaven, so also in earth* (Vaticanus omits this sentence). *Give us day by day our daily bread. And forgive us our sins, as*

(Vaticanus *for*) *we ourselves also forgive every one that is indebted to us. And lead us not into temptation.* The version in the Vaticanus is probably the authentic one, expanded in the 'Received' text by wholesale interpolation from Matt. vi. 9–13. In the Sinaiticus, either interpolation has already begun (by insertion of the clause *Thy will be done*, &c.) or, as is perhaps more likely, the interpolations have not been completely removed by the editor.

Luke xvii. 35. *Two women shall be grinding together; the one shall be taken, and the other left.* Omitted by Sinaiticus, probably in error, but added by an early corrector.

Luke xxii. 43–44. *And there appeared an angel unto him from heaven, strengthening him. And being in an agony he prayed more earnestly: and his sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground.* Omitted by Vaticanus, but included by Sinaiticus; in the latter an early corrector has bracketed the passage for deletion, but the brackets have been subsequently erased by the corrector C^a.

Luke xxiii. 34. *Then said Jesus, Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.* Omitted by Vaticanus, but included by Sinaiticus, where, however, the words have been bracketed for deletion by an early corrector. As in the preceding passage, the brackets were later erased.

Luke xxiv. 51. *He was parted from them, and carried up into heaven.* The words *and carried up to heaven* included by the Vaticanus but omitted in the Sinaiticus. In the latter they are supplied by the corrector C^a. In omitting the passage Sinaiticus agrees with the 'Western' text.

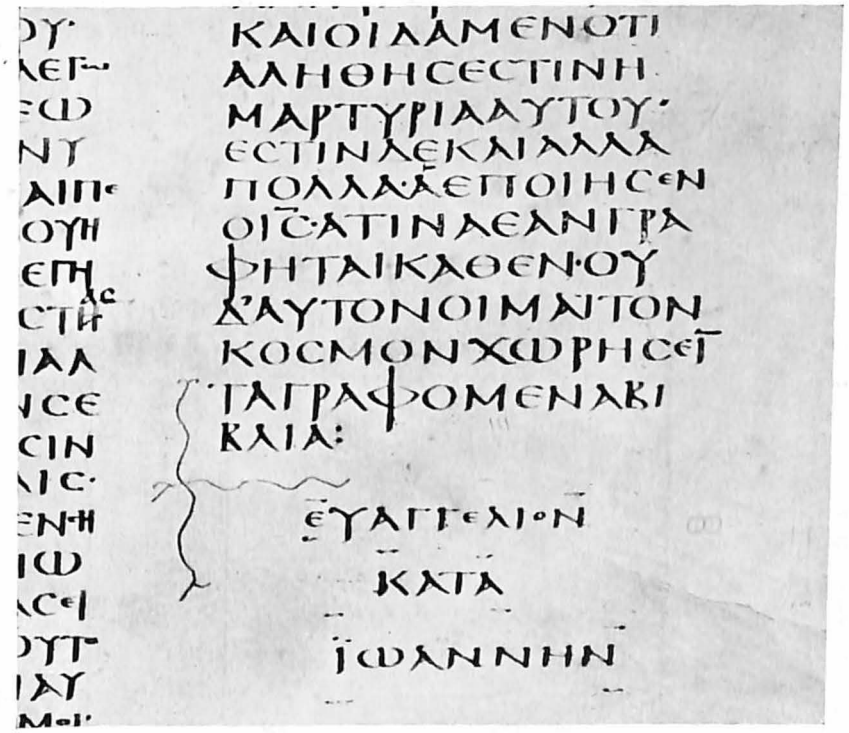
John ii. 3. *And when they wanted wine.* Sinaiticus alone of all Greek authorities has *And they had no wine, for the marriage wine was finished*, agreeing with some of the Old Latin manuscripts. An early corrector has replaced this with the usual version.

John iv. 9. *For the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans.* Omitted by the Sinaiticus (a 'Western' reading) but added by an early corrector.

John v. 3–4. . . . *Waiting for the moving of the water. For an angel went down at a certain season into the pool, and troubled the water: whosoever then first after the troubling of the water stepped in was made whole of whatsoever disease he had.* Omitted by Sinaiticus and Vaticanus.

John vii. 53–viii. 11. The story of the woman taken in adultery. Omitted by Sinaiticus and Vaticanus and many other Greek manuscripts and the Oriental versions generally.

John xxi. 25. *And there are also many other things which Jesus did, the which, if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written.* Tischendorf maintained that this verse in the Sinaiticus was not part of the text as originally written, but an addition by one of the early correctors, whom he identified as scribe D of the manuscript. In the past this view has been regarded with scepticism,



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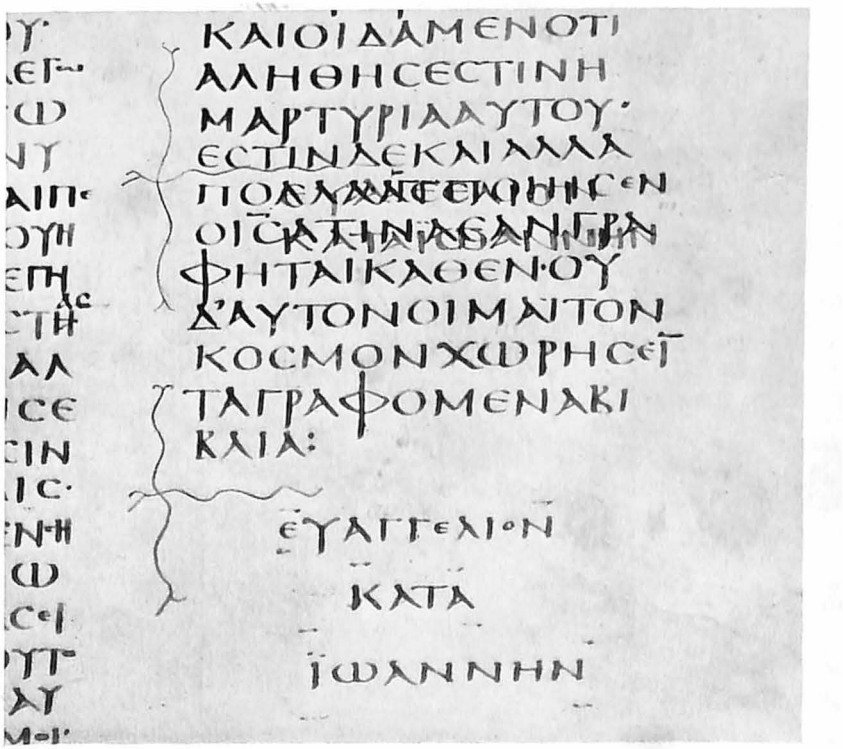

With the original colophon restored from traces visible by ultra-violet light

IV. CODEX SINAITICUS. END OF ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL

but re-examination of the passage by ultra-violet light has proved it to be substantially correct (Plate IV). It can now be seen that the text originally concluded with verse 24, followed by the customary *coronis*, or ornamental tail-piece, and the title, *Gospel according to John*, which as in all the most ancient manuscripts stands at the end of the book; subsequently both *coronis* and title were erased by the scribe himself (scribe A), who, after inserting verse 25 in the now vacant space, rewrote them farther down the page.

Save for the original text of the Sinaiticus there is no manuscript authority for omitting verse 25, which was probably rejected here for reasons of internal criticism. It has indeed been convincingly argued[1] on grounds of content, style, and language that verse 25 is an addition to the Gospel, written when the original conclusion (*And many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book: but these are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye might have life through his name*) was accidentally transferred to the end of the preceding chapter (now John xx. 30–31).

[1] L. Vaganay, 'La Finale du quatrième Évangile', *Revue biblique*, 45, 1936, pp. 512–28. It is a curious fact that in a few Greek minuscule manuscripts of the Gospels verse 25 appears by itself on the final page of the manuscript. These are the minuscules known as 63, 65, and 700, the last named of which is Egerton MS. 2610 in the British Museum. For a twelfth-century Greek minuscule manuscript which apparently ended at John xx. 31 see the Duke University *Library Notes*, April 1953 (Durham, North Carolina), p. 7

THE CODEX ALEXANDRINUS

1. Its Presence in Constantinople

THIS, the second of the three great Greek codices to become known, emerges into the light of history in the correspondence of Sir Thomas Roe, English ambassador to the Sublime Porte. Sir Thomas, in the course of his duties at the Turkish capital, was brought into close contact with the Greek Patriarch, Cyril Lucar (Plate V), whom he was often able to support in his incessant struggle against the pretensions, backed by the French ambassador, of the Latin church.[1] By way of recompense, the Patriarch, a great collector of books, was able to assist Sir Thomas in the search for manuscripts and other antiquities in which the latter was engaged, both on his own behalf and for virtuosi in England.[2] The first mention of the Codex occurs in a letter from Roe to the Earl of Arundel dated 20 January 1624/5, in which Sir Thomas describes, as handed over to him for the King of England, 'an autographall bible intire, written by the hand of Tecla the protomartyr of the Greekes, that liued in the tyme of St. Paul; and he doth auerr yt to be true and authenticall, of his owne writing, and the greatest antiquitye of the Greeke church'.[3] King James, however, died on 27 March 1625, while the volume was still in Constantinople. For two years the

1 For a sketch, in English, of the character and career of Cyril Lucar see Germanos, Metropolitan of Thyateira, *Kyrillos Loukaris, 1572–1638*, London, S.P.C.K., 1951.

2 The quotations from Roe are taken from *The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe*, published in 1740. For a modern account see M. Spinka, 'Acquisition of the Codex Alexandrinus by England', *Journal of Religion*, Chicago, 16, 1936, pp. 10–29. Twenty-eight original letters of Cyril Lucar to Roe are preserved in the Public Record Office and formed the subject of a communication to the Byzantine Congress at Salonica in 1953 by M. I. Manousakas; a summary of this paper has been published in the Greek periodical Ἑλληνικὴ Δημιουργία, 11, 1953, pp. 617–20.

3 It must be emphasized that nothing like palaeographical knowledge of Greek manuscripts existed at this period, as is well exemplified by an incident later in the century: in 1662 the Earl of Winchilsea, English Ambassador at Constantinople, wrote to the Lord Chancellor forwarding an 'antient Greeke Evangelist', 'the ancientest that the Patriarch of Constantinople could with the most diligent inquisition and scrutiny procure in any of the monasteries or churches of Greece', which was intended as a gift for Charles II. The manuscript subsequently found its way, through Clarendon, into the Bodleian, where

V. CYRIL LUCAR (1572–1638), PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE
DONOR OF THE CODEX ALEXANDRINUS

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matter seems to have hung fire, but at the New Year of 1627 the Patriarch, who apparently had resumed possession of the book, again sent it to Roe as a seasonable gift for his master, now of course Charles I. This time the manuscript reached its destination, although no account exists of its actual arrival in the Royal Library, whose vicissitudes it subsequently shared, happily surviving the disastrous fire at Ashburnham House (where the Library was temporarily housed) on 23 October 1731, on which occasion the Librarian, the famous Dr. Bentley, was observed in his nightgown and great wig carrying a volume of the Codex under his arm to a place of safety. It finally became the property of the British Museum, with the rest of the Royal Library, by the gift of George II on 6 August 1757.

2. Previous History

Of the previous history of the Codex, before it came into the possession of Cyril Lucar, only one fact is certainly known. At the foot of the first page of Genesis is an Arabic note, which, on palaeographical grounds, can be dated thirteenth–fourteenth century,[1] and which, translated into English, reads: 'Bound to the Patriarchal Cell in the Fortress of Alexandria. He that lets it go out shall be cursed and ruined. The humble Athanasius wrote (this).' It has long since been proposed to identify the writer of this note as Athanasius II,[2] Orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and some recently published evidence has converted this into a certainty. In 1945 a catalogue of the Greek manuscripts in the Patriarchal Library at Alexandria, published by T. D. Moschonas,[3] revealed that two manuscripts still remaining in the Library con-

it is now MS. Auct. D. infra. 2. 12: it turns out to be a Lectionary of the thirteenth century (*Historical MSS. Commission*, *Report on the MSS. of Allan George Finch*, i, 1913, pp. xxxv, 186, 227).

[1] This date has been confirmed by Dr. A. S. Fulton, late Keeper of Oriental Printed Books and MSS. in the Museum.

[2] Sometimes called Athanasius III, e.g. in Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, but Le Quien's Athanasius II (Patriarch from 490 to 496) is rejected as Monophysite by the Orthodox Church.

[3] Καταλόγοι τῆς Πατριαρχικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης, Τόμος Α', Χειρόγραφα, Alexandria, 1945.

tained notes of presentation by this same Athanasius.[1] Literally translated, they read as follows:

1. 'The present book was acquired by me in the Queen of Cities [i.e. Constantinople] and dedicated to the Holy Patriarchal Church of God in Alexandria: which whosoever succeeds to the [Patriarchal] Throne is bound to transmit and hand down in the place where it has been dedicated. And I pronounce an anathema upon him who shall remove or abstract it. +. The humble Athanasius of Alexandria' [MS. 12, a tenth-century manuscript of the Sermons of St. John Chrysostom].

2. 'The present book was given to me by Master Demetrios Iatropoulos in Constantinople, and was dedicated by me to the most holy Church of God in Alexandria for a memorial of him. And whosoever succeeds to the [Patriarchal] Throne is bound to take over and preserve it in the Patriarchal establishment in which it has been dedicated. And whosoever shall attempt to remove it shall incur indelible excommunication. + The humble Athanasius, Archbishop of Alexandria' [MS. 34, another manuscript of the Sermons of St. John Chrysostom, written in the year 968].

To explain the references to Constantinople it is necessary to say something of Athanasius II, whose wanderings and adventures, of which we can read in the *History* of his contemporary, George Pachymeres, recall the career of his great predecessor of nearly a thousand years earlier. Originally a monk of Sinai, he was elected Patriarch of Alexandria in 1276. Two years later he visited Constantinople, where he was soon in favour with the Emperor Michael Palaeologus (d. 1282), whom he accompanied on his expedition to the Sangarius. Under his son, Andronicus II, he continued intermittently in favour, but his position was endangered by the bitterness of current theological disputes and, in particular, the enmity of his namesake, Athanasius I of Constantinople (Patriarch 1289–93 and again 1304–10), which caused him for a time to retire to Rhodes. Nevertheless, the Emperor entrusted him with several important missions, including one to the King of Armenia in 1296, in the course of which he was captured by pirates at Phocaea and narrowly escaped with his life. He seems to have been an intelligent man of moderate views, and won the good opinions not only of the historians Pachymeres and Nicephorus Gregoras, but also of the

[1] Photographs of these notes, kindly presented to the Museum by Mr. Moschonas, have been incorporated in the collections of the Department as MS. Facs. Suppl. VIII(a).

greatest Byzantine scholar of the age, Maximus Planudes. At length, in 1308, after many year's residence in the capital, he set out to return to Egypt, by way of Crete. His ship put in at Euboea, where he was seized by some Latin ecclesiastics who tried to have him burnt alive as a heretic; he escaped to Thebes, where he was thrown into prison and held to ransom; he succeeded, however, in ingratiating himself with Guy II, Duke of Athens and Thebes, regained his liberty, and reached Crete in safety. Later he proceeded to Egypt where he died in 1316.

It is noticeable that both the Greek manuscripts which Athanasius presented to the Patriarchal Library came from Constantinople, and there is therefore a presumption that the Codex Alexandrinus was also acquired by him in the Capital, and that the Arabic note which he wrote on the first page was inserted precisely because the manuscript had *not* been in the Patriarchal Library at an earlier date.[1]

One legend at least can now be regarded as finally exploded: a deacon of Cyril Lucar, Matthaeus Muttis by name, afterwards asserted (perhaps in an attempt to shield his master from the charge of having improperly removed the manuscript from Alexandria) that Cyril had obtained it from Mt. Athos. Accepting this very dubious statement, Professor F. C. Burkitt has further suggested that the manuscript, if found on Athos, probably came originally from Constantinople.[2] Reviewing Professor Burkitt's suggestions, Sir Frederic Kenyon drily remarked that 'one is tempted to say that they have only the attractiveness of the improbable';[3] but it now appears that in connecting the manuscript with Constantinople Burkitt may after all have been right, though for the wrong reasons.

Since, then, it is reasonably certain that the manuscript was in Alex-

1 As is implied in a seventeenth-century Latin note on f. 1 of the manuscript, stating that the book was given to the Patriarchal Cell in the year 814 of the Martyrs (= A.D. 1098). If this statement is based on any ancient evidence, the date must have been misread: Year 1024 of the Era of the Martyrs (= A.D. 1308) would be about right.

2 *Journal of Theological Studies*, 11, 1909–10, pp. 603–6. Burkitt's suggestion is quoted with approval in Silva Lake, *Family II and the Codex Alexandrinus* (Studies and Documents, v), 1937, p. 9.

3 Introduction to *The Codex Alexandrinus in reduced photographic facsimile*, O.T. Part I, 1915, note 1.

andria some three centuries before the time of Cyril Lucar, who before his election as Patriarch of Constantinople had been Patriarch of Alexandria, we need now have no hesitation in concluding that Cyril brought the manuscript away with him from the latter city. We know indeed from Roe's correspondence of at least one other volume which he similarly carried off, 'an old and great manuscript in Arabique,[1] antiently belonging to the patriarch of Alexandria, and by Cirillus brought away'; so the history of the Codex Alexandrinus from about 1300 onwards can now be regarded as finally established.

3. Condition when found

From Roe's account it would appear that the Bible, as he saw it, formed one volume. Both the Greek and the Arabic numerations suggest that this was originally the case, and had it been bound in several volumes Roe would almost certainly have mentioned such a signal fact.[2] For all we know, the leaves may have been lying loose or at least without covers. However, when once in England, the Codex was divided into its four natural sections, the Historical, Prophetical, and Poetical books of the Old Testament each forming one volume, and the New Testament a fourth, and each volume bears to this day on its covers the royal arms and the initials C. R. It has been argued by Baber in his edition of the Old Testament portion of the manuscript that this division into volumes occurred earlier in its history, on the ground that the first and last leaves of each volume have suffered more than the rest, but such wear and tear is natural at well-marked openings and can in any case be observed at other points of the Codex where the vellum chances to be especially fine.

4. Contents and Present Condition

The Codex Alexandrinus, apart from the imperfections to be

[1] Possibly the Arabic Pentateuch presented by Cyril to Archbishop Laud and now in the Bodleian (Laud MS. Or. 258).

[2] On a note in the manuscript in cursive Greek script suggesting that the manuscript may at an early period have been divided into two volumes, the first volume ending with the Books of Maccabees and the second beginning with the Psalter, see G. Mercati, *Un' oscura Nota del Codice Alessandrino*, *Mélanges E. Chatelain*, 1910, pp. 79–82.

mentioned, contains a complete text of the Greek Bible. The Old Testament includes the Apocrypha (with all four Books of Maccabees). The Psalter, which includes the extra or 151st Psalm, is preceded by the Epistle of Athanasius to Marcellinus on the Psalms, the *Hypotheses* (i.e. table of contents) of the Psalms by Eusebius of Caesarea, and Canons of the Morning and Evening Psalms, and is followed by the fourteen Liturgical Canticles. At the end of the New Testament Revelation is followed by two extra-canonical works, the First and Second Epistles of Clement to the Corinthians. An ancient table of contents prefixed to the entire manuscript shows that II Clement was followed by the apocryphal Psalms of Solomon, which concluded the volume.

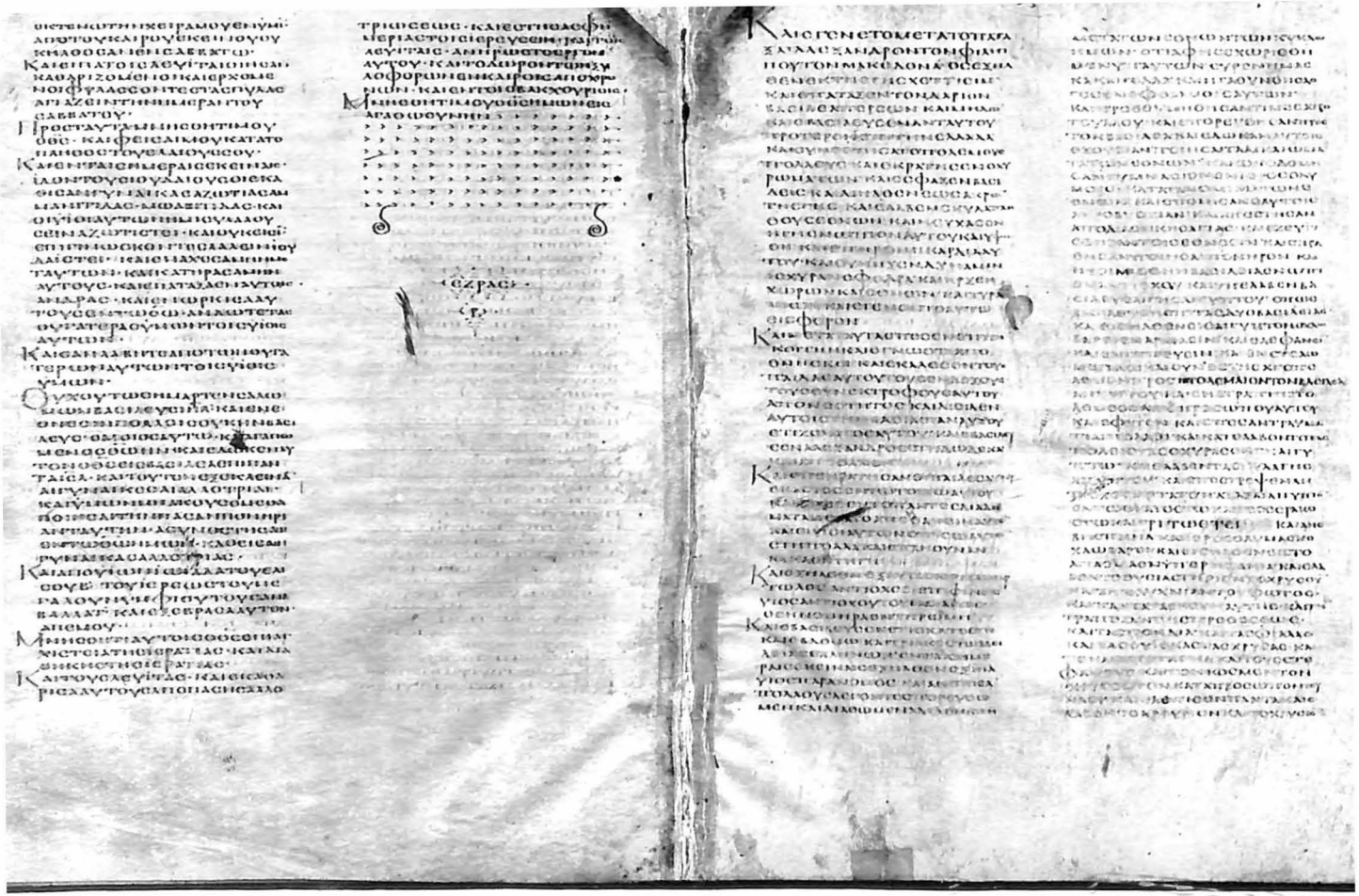
In its present condition the manuscript consists of 773 vellum leaves, measuring approximately $12\frac{5}{8}$ in. × $10\frac{3}{8}$ in. Of these, 630 belong to the Old Testament, and 143 to the New. Ten leaves have been lost from the Old Testament, one containing 1 Kings (= 1 Sam.) xii. 20–xiv. 9, and nine containing Psalms xlix (l). 20–lxxix (lxxx). 10. In the New Testament the beginning has been lost, as was already noted by Roe, to the extent of 25 leaves covering Matthew i. 1–xxv. 6, with the prefixed table of chapters and, almost certainly, the Canon Tables of Eusebius. Further, two leaves have been lost with John vi. 50–viii. 52, three with 2 Corinthians iv. 13–xii. 6, one after f. 142 containing the 1st Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians 57, § 6–63, § 4, and one (conjoint with the last mentioned) containing the end of the so-called 2nd Epistle of Clement (from c. 12, § 5). In addition, an uncertain number of leaves have been lost from the end of the manuscript, containing the Psalms of Solomon: if five leaves be allowed for these, the manuscript in its original state would have consisted of 820 leaves. An Arabic numeration, previous to these mutilations, and assigned to the fourteenth century, is written in the outer lower corner of the *verso* of the leaves. The quires, as originally arranged (before a modern rebinding, which rearranged them in gatherings of six leaves), were normally of eight leaves, numbered (in Greek characters) in the centre of the top margin of each first page. This quire-numeration, like the Arabic leaf-numeration, runs continuously through the whole manuscript,

the New Testament (including the three quires and one leaf lost at the beginning) occupying quires 85 to 106. The modern ink foliation, separate for the Old and New Testaments, as well as the modern chapter notation, was made by Patrick Young, librarian to Charles I.[1]

5. Where and when written

As we have seen, there is reason to believe that the manuscript reached Alexandria from Constantinople in the fourteenth century. That does not, of course, imply that the manuscript was written there, since it may have reached Constantinople from any part of the Greek world. As to when it was written and by whom, we may dismiss the fables of the Patriarch retailed by Roe regarding the penmanship of Thecla, whether we identify her as the legendary companion of St. Paul or as the 'daughter of a famous Greeke, called Αβγιερινος who founded the monestarye in Egypt vpon Pharoas tower, a deuout and learned mayd, who was persecuted in Asya, and to whom Gregorye Nazianzen hath written many episteles'. Such surmises are unlikely to be based on any other foundation than the fourteenth-century Arabic note on the fly-leaf which runs, as translated by the great Bentley, 'Memorant hunc librum scriptum fuisse manu Theclae Martyris'; but such a note can carry no weight. Apart from other considerations, scribes at this early period never record their names. An objective *terminus post quem* is provided by the inclusion of works of Eusebius (d. 340) and Athanasius (d. 373), since we must allow time for them to acquire sufficient authority to earn a place in a manuscript of the Bible. Consensus of opinion now assigns the writing of the manuscript to the first half of the fifth century. Certain characteristics stamp it as definitely later than the Vaticanus and the Sinaiticus, the most obvious being the heavier type of script, with prominent serifs to the letters, the use of enlarged letters to mark the new paragraphs, the panel-like shape of the tail-pieces at the end of the various books, and the arrangement

[1] Young's numeration is still often used for convenience of references since his ink numbers show up much better in the facsimiles than the official Museum pencil foliation. Young's foliation is not faultless: it skips, in the Old Testament, from 460 to 470, and makes allowances, though not consistently, for leaves lost from the manuscript.



VI. CODEX ALEXANDRINUS. 2 ESDRAS XXIII. 21–31 (END); 1 MACCABEES I. 1–23

The left-hand page is by scribe II, the right-hand page by scribe I

of the text in two columns as contrasted with the normal three columns of the Vaticanus and four columns of the Sinaiticus. A later date than the fifth century is precluded by the script and the general air of simplicity.

6. Appearance of the Manuscript (Plates VI, VII)

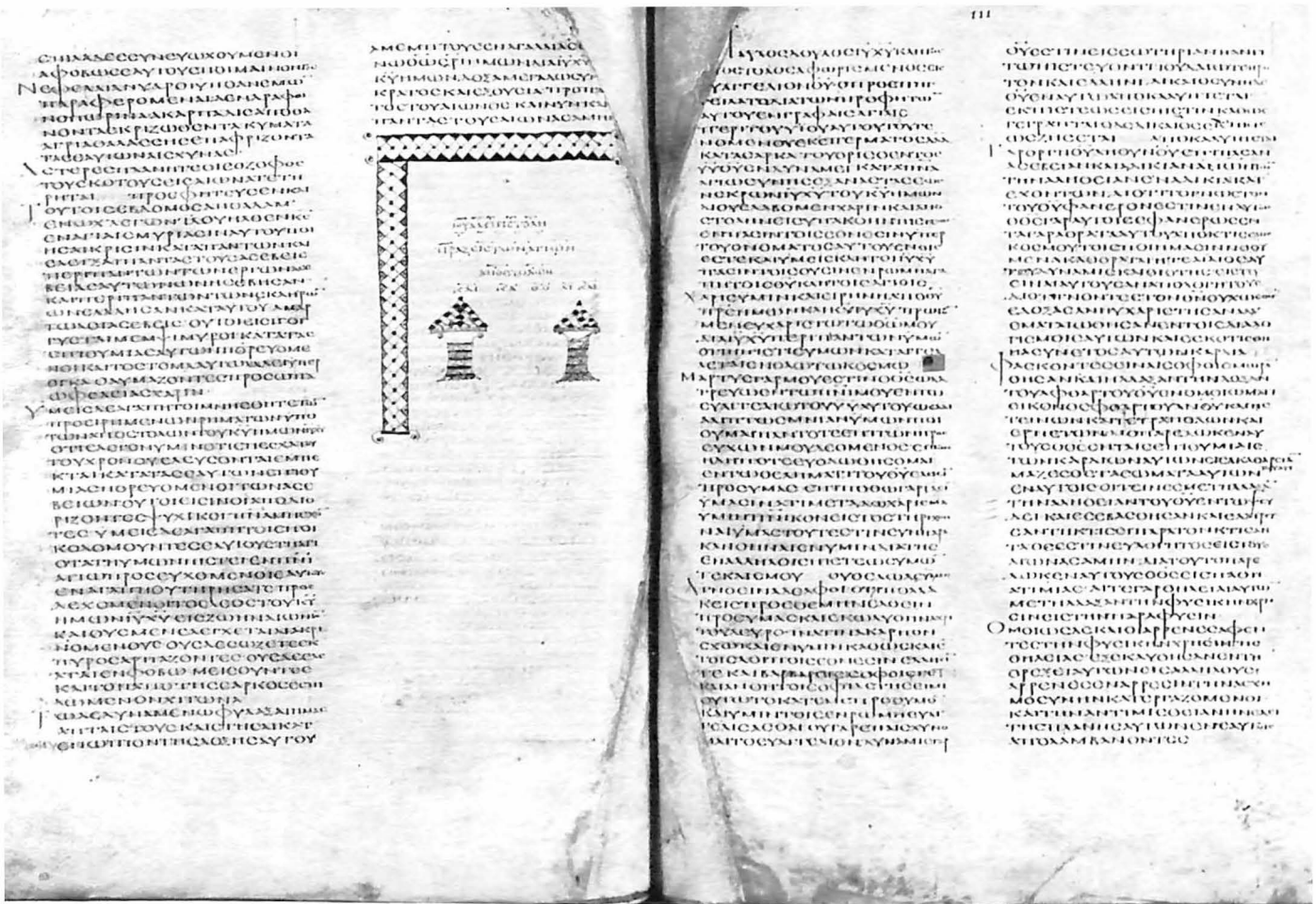
The vellum of the Codex varies in quality but is for the most part fine, so fine that the ink has frequently bitten right through and fretted many of the pages. Owing to its treatment at the hand of binders the vellum has lost its natural resilience, and now presents a limp, dead appearance in marked contrast to the vellum of the Codex Sinaiticus. The writing is arranged in double columns of from 46 to 52 lines, 50 or 51 being the usual number. The ruling is done, as usual at this period, on the flesh-side of the vellum, the quires, normally of eight leaves, being so arranged that the first and last page of each quire and the two interior pages show the flesh-side, while the other pages open flesh-side to flesh-side and hair-side to hair-side. The ink has faded very differently in different parts of the manuscript, and sometimes takes a reddish hue; as in most manuscripts, the hair-side has held the ink better than the flesh-side, presumably through its rougher surface. Red ink has been used for the first line or lines of each book, for the titles of Psalms, and in a few other connexions. The initial letters of paragraphs are enlarged, and (except in the Poetical books) stand in the margin; in cases where a new paragraph begins within the line the first letter of the *next* line is enlarged and stands in the margin.[1] As in other early uncial manuscripts, the letters at the ends of lines are often reduced in size. Punctuation is partly by blank spaces at the end of sentences, partly by a high point, and is due to the original scribes. Quotations are indicated by arrow-head marks in the margin, opposite all the lines of the passage in question.

[1] This latter feature has been quoted as an indication of the manuscript being later in date than the Codex Sinaiticus and the Codex Vaticanus, where this system is not found; but in fact it recurs in some papyrus fragments of St. Matthew's Gospel which may be as ancient as the late second century (C. H. Roberts, *Harvard Theological Review*, 46, 1953, p. 234).

7. The Scribes

Two scribes (cf. Plate VI), easily distinguishable from each other, share the Old Testament, the first being responsible for the Octateuch, Prophets, Maccabees, Job–Ecclesiasticus, the second for Kings, Chronicles, Esther–Esdras, Psalms. Peculiar to the second scribe is the form of upsilon with wide fork and square clubbings at the extremities, and the occasional use of the long-pronged omega (ѡ). This scribe also consistently avoids beginning a new paragraph in the same line as the old one ends; he always starts afresh with a new line. The first scribe, on the other hand, frequently begins his new paragraph in the same line, leaving a short blank interval to mark the fact. The tail-pieces at the end of each book provide an equally unmistakable criterion, for the second scribe confines himself to one pattern only, composed of arrow-heads and spirals, while the first scribe expresses himself in a wide range of designs.

The evidence of these tail-pieces or colophons acquires a special importance when we come to judge the scripts of the New Testament. If we grant that without exception the scribe of the text also penned the colophon as a sort of sign-manual, we should be almost compelled to assign the whole of the New Testament to one writer, and to identify that writer with the first scribe of the Old Testament, for the colophon patterns are identical. (About the Clementine Epistles there has never been any doubt; they were indubitably written by the second scribe of the Old Testament.) The real difficulty lies with the obviously different appearance of the leaves (ff. 44–121b) containing Luke i. 1–1 Corinthians x. 8, which exhibit a smoother lighter hand and a reddish-brown ink (cf. Plate VII). Yet when examined in detail, this hand agrees strikingly in its habits with the remaining New Testament and with the first scribe of the Old, the shape of the letter pi, with its noticeably prolonged cross-stroke, possibly excepted. Still, even this form can be paralleled in the first hand of the Old Testament, and in any case is finally abandoned within the above section itself. A more serious obstacle perhaps lies in the different method of cross-reference between the chapter-titles at the top of the pages in the gospels and the chapters



VII. CODEX ALEXANDRINUS. JUDE 12–25 (END); ROMANS I. 1–27

themselves in the text. There can, however, be less hesitation in assigning the rest of the New Testament to the first scribe of the Old, and in fixing a maximum number of three scribes for the whole manuscript, with just a possibility of two.[1]

8. Character of Text

In judging the text of these early codices we must not expect to find a uniform tradition running through all the component parts. We must remember that the various books, before being brought together into these huge volumes, circulated separately or in small groups, and so developed an individual textual history. An excellent parallel is provided by the first collected edition of Shakespeare's works. In this case, too, each play had had its individual vicissitudes, and the previous history of each must be studied separately if we wish to establish a basic text. In the Alexandrinus we find, for example, that the text of Deuteronomy resembles very closely the text of a papyrus in the Rylands Library written six centuries earlier, much more closely than does the text of the Vaticanus, which is older than the Alexandrinus by a hundred years. Yet when we come to the Gospels the text-type differs markedly from that of the Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, showing already some of the changes which ultimated in the common ecclesiastical type known as the *textus receptus*. The rest of the New Testament, however, exhibits no such signs. For certain books not preserved in the Vaticanus or Sinaiticus the Alexandrinus is our earliest witness, e.g. for the second and third books of the Maccabees, for the liturgical Canticles,[2] and for the Clementine Epistles. Till recently this was true also of Genesis, but that primacy has now been lost to papyri in the Chester Beatty library and at Berlin.

[1] A detailed examination of these hands will be found in Appendix II of *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus*, where also the complete series of colophons has been reproduced. The conclusions there suggested have been questioned by Sir Frederic Kenyon, *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts*, 4th edition, 1939, p. 136, n. 1, but renewed examination of the manuscript has confirmed the criteria recorded by Milne.

[2] See now H. Schneider, *Die biblischen Oden im christlichen Altertum*, *Biblica*, 30, 1949, pp. 23–65.

9. Publication of the Text

The publication of the Alexandrinus was a gradual process. As was natural, the newly discovered Clementine Epistles appeared first, being edited by Patrick Young, the Royal Librarian, in 1633. Nothing came of Young's proposal to edit the entire Old and New Testaments, but evidence of his activities remains in transcripts. In 1657, five years after Young's death, the notes he had prepared as far as Numbers xiv were printed in Vol. VI of Walton's Polyglott Bible. Vol. V of the same work contained a collation of the principal readings of the Alexandrinus in the New Testament, prepared by Alexander Huish, prebendary of Wells. A second attempt at a complete edition was made at the Restoration, between 1675 and 1685, by Dr. Thomas Smith, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, but the cost apparently proved prohibitive. The Psalter was issued in 1678 by Thomas Gale, afterwards Dean of York, but this is in no way a critical edition. The New Testament was collated for Mill's great edition in 1707. At last, in 1707–20, a complete edition of the Old Testament was produced by J. E. Grabe, and in 1786 an edition in uncial types of the New Testament, not including the Clementines, was brought out by C. G. Woide, Assistant-Librarian of the British Museum (reproduced in a handier form by B. H. Cowper in 1860). In 1812 the Rev. H. H. Baber, Keeper of Manuscripts in the British Museum, issued a facsimile of the Psalter in Woide's types, and then, in specially cut type, the Old Testament in three volumes, 1816–21, the third with elaborate notes. Finally, a complete full-size facsimile of the manuscript, made by the autotype process, was issued by the Trustees of the British Museum in four volumes, 1879–83, under the editorship of Sir E. Maunde Thompson, and a reduced collotype facsimile in five volumes is at present in course of publication, the New Testament and three parts of the Old having already appeared.