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Codex Edinburgensis.

A HITHERTO UNKNOWN MANUSCRIPT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BY PROFESSOR THE REV. A. R. S. KENNEDY, D.D., UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

I.

AMONG the manuscript treasures of the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh is a magnificent Codex of the Old Testament, of which it may safely be said that for size, condition, and calligraphy it has few rivals among similar MSS in any library in the world. Strangely enough, it has hitherto escaped the notice of Old Testament scholars. None of our great students of the Hebrew text, from Kennicott in the eighteenth century to Ginsburg in our own day, seems to have been aware of its existence.¹

At the request of Mr. W. K. Dickson, Keeper of the Library, I undertook to make a preliminary study of the CODEx EDINBURGENSIS, as it may fitly be named, and have now the privilege of making its existence and contents known to fellow-students of the Old Testament. For the present it must suffice to refer briefly to the more general features of the Codex, such as one gleans at a first survey, reserving for a second paper details of a more technical character regarding its script, punctuation, readings, and Massoretic notes.

The manuscript is contained in two huge folio volumes, the boards of which measure 22 inches (56 centimetres) in height. The first volume, of 221 folios, comprises the Pentateuch, with the Onkelos Targum alternating verse by verse with the Hebrew text; the second, of 310 folios,² the rest of the O.T. books in the original only. Of the peculiar, if not unique, order in which the books of the Hagiographa appear, I shall have something to say at a later stage. The material is parchment, the leaves of which are bound up in quires of eight folios, *i.e.* sixteen pages, with catchwords at the left-hand bottom corner of each quire. The

size of the folios is fully 21 in. by 15 in., say 54 by 38 centimetres, each with three columns of text. The height of the columns is 14½ in. (36·8 cms.), and each contains 34 lines. The columns and lines have been ruled in the usual way with a stilus. The text is accompanied by the Massorah parva in the right-hand margin and between the columns, as well as by the Massorah magna, which occupies, as a rule, two lines in the upper, and three in the lower, margin of the page.

The writing shows a fine, bold German hand, and the letters are not less than ¼ in. or 6 millimetres in height. With the exception of a page here and there, they are as clear and distinct as on the day they were written. The appearance of the pages of the new Codex may be seen from the reduced photograph of the page containing the first chapter of Jeremiah (note the later Latin title in red), which forms the frontispiece to this number of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES. The handwriting and the arrangement of the page (*e.g.* 34 lines) closely resemble those of Plate XII. of Dr. Ginsburg's *Series of xviii. Facsimiles of MSS of the Hebrew Bible*, reproducing folio 278a of a British Museum manuscript of the same school, which is described in detail in his *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible* (pp. 526-533). But even the 'immense folios, 19½ in. by 14½,' of this splendid Codex are considerably exceeded in size by the one now being described.³ The consonantal text, both of the original and of the Targum, is provided throughout with the familiar vowel-points and accents by the hand of a Nakdan or punctuator, who used a much inferior ink.

In the first volume, the later chapter-divisions

¹The only Scottish MS. known to Kennicott was that entered by him as Codex 139—a MS of the O.T. then in Marischal College, Aberdeen, and said to date probably from the end of the fourteenth century (*Diss. Generalis*, 82).

²Originally 314; four leaves (2 Ch 5⁷-12¹⁶) have disappeared owing to the thin parchment having been too heavily ruled along the inner margins. In vol. i., also, fol. 122 (as I reckon) has been lost, and replaced by a very inferior and incomplete copy.

³It should be added that the leaves of our Codex were originally at least an inch larger each way than the dimensions given above, as is clear from the total or partial disappearance of many of the catchwords at the bottom, and of the Hebrew book-titles at the top corners of the pages, as well as of parts of the later indications of the Christian chapter-divisions on the outer margins of vol. ii., the leaves having been severely 'trimmed' in the binding.

up to Leviticus (chap. 17) have been indicated in a cursive hand on the margins of the columns. In the second volume, however, not only are the chapters indicated by large coloured Roman numerals, but the Latin titles of the several books have been added in an elegant book hand, a distinction which probably has some bearing on the previous history of the two parts of the Codex.

As to the difficult question of the age of the Codex Edinburgensis, there is no indication in the manuscript itself, in the shape of a colophon to any of the books, of the date or place of writing, unless some expert in these matters can identify the scribe, whose name will be given presently. The character of the writing is thus the main clue at present available, and it shows that we have not to do with a very early MS, say of the tenth or even of the eleventh century. On the other hand, our Codex cannot be later than the early 14th century. And this on the following grounds. (1) The characters in red and purple of the ornamental titles, and of the chapter-numeration, in the Prophets and Hagiographa, show that these entries date, as my colleague, Professor Hume Brown, assures me, from the fourteenth or early fifteenth century. With this dating another expert in Latin palæography, Professor Souter of Mansfield College, agrees.

(2) That the fifteenth century is the latest possible date for the chapter rubrics of both volumes, as well as for the contemporary headings to the Psalms¹ and a few Latin glosses in vol. ii., is shown by three small facts, which are at least interesting as antiquarian *curiosa*. The one is that certain Arabic numerals are used side by side with the Roman letters. For example, four successive chapters in Judges are indicated thus: xvi, 1A, 18, xix. The second curiosity is this; the cipher 7 has sometimes, as in the example cited, its early form of an inverted v. Finally, the writer of the cursive hand in vol. i., who noted the Christian chapter-divisions as far as Leviticus, still uses the old Franco-German and English form of the Arabic 'four,' which has not yet been supplanted by the Italian form 4. This change took place on the Continent before the end of the fifteenth century

¹ These consist of the opening words of a Latin rendering of each Psalm, taken partly from the Gallican or Vulgate Psalter, and partly from Jerome's Psalter. But of this on another occasion.

(see Steffens, *Latin. Palæogr.*, 2te Aufl. [1911], p. xl, also Plate 147 of the Palæographical Society's publications for a press-mark (dated 'sec. xiv. xv.') from the old Library of Fountains Abbey, which, like the Latin additions to Codex Edinburgensis, shows the employment of the old Arabic 'four' and the old 'seven' side by side with the Roman iv. and vii.).

It is thus evident that if the later Christian rubrics are to be assigned to the 14th or 15th century, we must assign a date at least a century earlier to the original manuscript; let us say, provisionally, 1200-1300 A.D. There is nothing in the style and character of the Codex, so far as I am aware,—but I do not profess to be an expert in this department,—that forbids this assignation.² If I am right in my conclusion, Scotland is able to claim that she possesses *one of the oldest existing manuscripts of the complete Hebrew Bible*. A considerable number of MSS of parts of the O.T. are extant of an earlier date than the thirteenth century, but a complete Bible earlier than 1200 A.D. is in truth a *rara avis in terris*.

To complete this description of the new Codex, it may be added that the binding, which is in pigskin over wooden boards, is characteristic of the arts of Germany and the Low Countries in the sixteenth century. One of the stamps of the figured panels which surround the borders bears the date 1557. The inner sides of the boards are lined with leaves of Vulgate and other MSS, probably of the ninth and tenth centuries. The subsequent history of the Codex is a blank, as there is no record of when or how it came into the possession of its present owners, the Faculty of Advocates of Edinburgh.

The name of the scribe of Codex Edinburgensis—or, it is also possible, of the patron who employed him—has been preserved in a manner not unusual in MSS of the German school. The last word of Deuteronomy, *ישראל*, is written across the last page but one of vol. i. (the first and last pages have been left blank) in large hollow characters 3 in. in height,³ the surfaces of which are filled

² The British Museum MS, mentioned above as closely resembling the Edinburgh MS, is dated by Ginsburg 'circa 1300 A.D.' Alas that the complaint of Eichhorn in 1803, that there is no science of Hebrew palæography, should still have to be repeated by Kahle (*Der masoret. Text*, etc.) in 1902!

³ The final *ל*, indeed, is 7 in. high, and takes the form of a serpent with a fox's head.

in with tracery, and with the figures of a lion and a dragon. Inside the tops of the five letters the scribe has inserted the letters of his own name, 'Nathan, the son of Rabbi Moses' (נתן בר רבי משה), to whose identity I can find no clue.¹

Passing now to other matters, I consider that one of the most remarkable features of the new Codex is its peculiar arrangement of the books of the Hagiographa. The earliest dictum on the order of the Prophets and Hagiographa, as is well known, is the oft-cited passage in the Talmudic treatise, Baba Bathra, fol. 14b, which prescribes the following sequence: 'Joshua and Judges, Samuel and Kings [the two latter always form one book, not two, in the MSS]; Jeremiah and Ezekiel, Isaiah and the Twelve . . . Ruth and the Book of Psalms and Job and Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles and Lamentations, Daniel and the roll of Esther, Ezra [which includes Nehemiah] and Chronicles.'

Our Codex, it is interesting to note, follows this early order as far as the Book of Psalms. It provides us with a fresh witness to the original position of Isaiah after Jeremiah and Ezekiel, a position which is now recognized as having an important bearing on the present composite character of the book. For the eleven books of the Hagiographa, further, Codex Edinburgensis agrees with the Talmud and certain standard MSS (see Ginsburg's *Introduction*, pp. 7 ff., for details and tables dealing with the whole subject) as regards the first two, Ruth and Psalms, and the last four, Daniel to Chronicles, but presents the remaining five in what appears to be a unique order, namely, Canticles, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, Job. If I am not mistaken, none of the Codices described by Kennicott (*op. cit.*), De Rossi (*Varie Lectiones Vet. Test.*, pp. xcvi ff.), or Ginsburg (*op. cit.*) has precisely this arrangement of the books of the third division of the Hebrew Canon. In any case, if the sequence is not unique, it is extremely rare.

¹ Beneath the word ישראל is pasted a slip of paper with a note in Latin of considerable antiquity, containing a strange farrago of blunders which need not be recited here in full. Despite the evidence of the *German* characters, the writer identifies the scribe's father, Moses, whom he names 'Moses of Cardova' in Spain, with Moses Maimonides (1135-1204 A.D.), at the same time confusing the latter with Moses ben Enoch of Sura in Babylonia, who ultimately settled in Cordova, and who died circa 965 A.D. !

Another point of some interest is the fact that the Edinburgh Codex shows only 149 Psalms, although the Psalter is complete. This number it obtains by joining Pss 114 and 115 in one, an arrangement which is found both in the Greek, Latin, and Syriac Versions and in numerous MSS of the Hebrew (see De Rossi, *op. cit.*, vol. iv. 74; Delitzsch, *Bible Commentary on the Psalms* [1887], vol. i. 25).²

Notwithstanding this arrangement of the text of the Psalms, the last entry in the Massorah magna at the close of the Psalter runs thus: '147 (קי"ז) Psalms are in the Book of Praises, according to the years of Jacob.' In one notable MS in Vienna the Psalter is actually divided into 147 Psalms (see Ginsburg, *op. cit.*, p. 777, for the details of this arrangement).

In bringing these preliminary observations to a close I would call attention to two of the three Massoretic entries standing on the third column of the last page of vol. ii., at the close of Chronicles. The third, which gives the number of years supposed to be covered by the books from Genesis to Kings, is of less importance. The first of the entries is of interest for the early history of the Massorah, since it gives not only the number of verses in the O.T., but the several links in the chain by which the tradition is carried back to the first half of the second century of our era.³

The entry in our Codex may be rendered thus: 'And Rabbi Ada (אדא) was at that time a man mighty in the Scriptures, and he received the tradition from Rabbi Hamnuna (חמנונא) who taught it at Nehardea [a famous seat of Jewish learning in Babylonia]; and Rabbi Hamnuna and Rabbi Ada both "received" from Nakkai (נקי),

² I do not know on what grounds Delitzsch further states that 'Kimchi, combining Pss cxiv. and cxv. into one, reckons 149.' In my copy of this eminent expositor's Commentary on the Psalms (ed. P. Fagius, Isny, 1542), the ordinary numbering of 150 Psalms is followed. I find, however, that on commenting in Ps 115¹, Kimchi remarks 'there are some MSS in which this (verse) is not the beginning of the Psalm,' showing that at least he was familiar with the arrangement above referred to.

³ De Rossi found a similar but fuller epigraph in one of his MSS (Codex 196—a Spanish MS of the fourteenth century, see *Var. Lect. Vet. Test.*, p. cii). The same tradition is found in several Jewish writings, including a MS of the Pentateuch at Rome (for references see Harris, 'The Rise and Development of the Massorah,' *Jew. Quart. Rev.*, vol. i. 131).

who was taken captive from the land of Israel to Babylon, whom Rufus (רופוס)¹ carried captive in order that the Torah might no longer exist in the land of Israel. And they counted (סמכו) the Torah, and the Prophets, and the Hagiographa, and they made no error and no mistake. The verses are 22,747, nothing less and nothing more.' These, according to Bacher,² 'are the earliest names that can be described as authorities for the Massorah.' The only other form of this tradition to which I have had access starts several generations further down, and gives 'two myriads, and two thousands and 704' = 22,704, as the number of the verses (see Neubauer, *Medieval Jewish Chronicles*, part iv. 174 [Anecdota Oxoniensia]).

¹ Tineius Rufus, governor of Judæa, 132 A.D., at the outbreak of Bar Cochba's rebellion in the reign of Hadrian (Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes*, Bd. i. 4te Aufl. 647 ff., 687 ff.; cf. Otto, *Hist. Doctorum Mishnicorum*, 142 ff.).

² In Winter and Wuensche, *Die jüd. Litteratur*, ii. 124.

The second entry in our Codex, above referred to, is as follows:

'Another calculation:

The verses of the Torah are	5842
" " Prophets are	9298
" " Hagiographa are	8063
The total is	23,203

And the mnemonic sign (סימן) is the two verses'—here follows the Hebrew text of Gn 5⁵ and Nu 3⁴ which contain the numbers 930 and 22,273, the sum of which is 23,203 as above. In this connexion it may be remarked that while this total agrees with that given from the official Massorah by Dr. Ginsburg, who has treated this matter of the verse-divisions of the Hebrew text with his usual thoroughness (*Introduction*, pp. 70ff.), each of three separate entries shows a divergence from the numbers given by Ginsburg in his table, viz. 5845, 9294, 8064. But the subject is too complex and technical to be pursued further at present.

Moffatt's Introduction.¹

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THIS fine work supplies a long-felt need, an Introduction which should represent fairly and impartially the present scholarship of the present day with regard to the writings of the New Testament, and should do that in such a way as to enable the student to form his own judgment upon the many questions involved. Dr. Moffatt's book is a fitting companion volume to Dr. Driver's *Introduction to the Old Testament*.

The conclusions reached, briefly summarized, are these.

1. *Pauline Epistles*.—All the Epistles attributed to St. Paul were written by him, except Hebrews, Ephesians, and the Pastorals. Hebrews was written, c. 80 A.D., to some group in Rome or Italy by a Hellenistic Jewish Christian. Ephesians is a catholicized version of Colossians, written in Paul's name to Gentile Christendom. It is dependent also on 1 Pet, and the idiosyncrasies of style suggest a Paulinist rather than Paul himself.

¹ *An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*. By James Moffatt, B.D., D.D. ('International Theological Library'). Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

The Pastorals cannot be by the Apostle. They presuppose, if genuine, his release from the Roman imprisonment, and he was not released. The diction and style are un-Pauline, and in what the Epistles say about false teaching and ecclesiastical organization we find ourselves in a sub-Pauline atmosphere. They were written somewhere between the death of St. Paul and the period of Ignatius by some one who had access to private notes of the Apostle.

2. *Johannine Literature*.—John the Apostle was martyred early, and cannot therefore have written any of the books traditionally ascribed to him. The Apocalypse was written by John the Presbyter in the reign of Domitian, and the same author more certainly wrote the Second and Third Epistles. The Gospel was written by an unknown author not later than 110 A.D. The writer of the First Epistle may have had some share in the editorial process through which the Gospel reached its final form.

3. *The remaining Catholic Epistles*.—1 Pet is Petrine, written at dictation by Peter's amanuensis