l. 9 dedit m. 3: m. 1 had written a longer word beginning with p (? portauit or porrexit or pertulit).
fol. 94*b* ll. 10, 11 demit|te [not demit|et, as Wordsworth].
fol. 95*a* l. 5 finenis, I think [not fimenis], m. 3.
l. 8 dauit [not dauid]. B.
fol. 96*a* l. 11 clodis [not clodos]. B.
fol. 96*b* l. 9 illi m. 1: illis m. 3.

C. H. TURNER.

FURTHER NOTES ON CODEX *k*.

WHEN passing through Turin in April of this year I was able to spend a couple of days in examining Codex Bobiensis (*k*) with the aid of the Oxford edition, and though the total result was not very large, yet the great importance of *k* for textual criticism seemed to justify the publication of my notes. After I had written what I had to say, I found that my friend Mr. C. H. Turner had also re-collated *k* about a year before my passing visit. Our results, I am glad to say, very greatly coincide. It would be absurd to print the same collation twice over. Mr. Turner has therefore marked the readings of his collation which were also in mine with the letter B, and so I only give here the readings which it was not in his plan to notice, together with the very few places where we are at variance.

1. *Punctuation.* There are two systems of punctuation in *k*, neither of which is consistently represented in the printed edition. The scribe divided sentences by blank spaces and also by a point opposite the middle of the letters. Sometimes we have the space without the point, sometimes the point without the space, sometimes both together. The photographed page (fol. 41 *a*), which contains Mark xvi 6–end will illustrate each of these methods. After *dixi* and *exposuerunt* there are spaces left blank without a dot; after *fugerunt* is a small space with a dot; after *discipulis*, *uidebitis*, *cum* (1°), *tremor*, *pauor*, *adparuit*, *usque* (1°), *illos*, *sanctam*, *incorruptam*, and before *hī*^{s}, there are dots without spaces. I leave it to the reader whether there be a space left between *orientem*· and *misit*. Of these two systems, the space and the point, the space is by far the more important, because it represents the intention of the scribe. Points may have been added later; in the case of the MS before us they may have been added inadvertently. It appeared to me that the scribe of *k* after writing a word often allowed his pen to rest on the vellum while his eye was reading (or trying to read) the next word in his exemplar. The result is a number of fine dots at the ends of words which never

belonged to any system of rational punctuation, but are mere word-dividers, placed semi-consciously. The difference between these dots and the conscious work of the scribe is well seen in Matt. v 47, 48, where *k* has

PUBLICANISICFACIUNT· ERITIS
ITAQ•UOS·PERFECTI

Here the space after *faciunt* marks the end of the sentence and the rather thick dot after Q marks the regular contraction for *-que*. But the dot after *uos* is higher up and much fainter: the pen simply rested on the vellum in making it and did not move, and I doubt if the scribe was aware that he was marking the surface at all. Most of the dots enumerated above from fol. 41 *a* are of this character, as the reader may see for himself from the facsimile.

This result is of some importance when we are considering textual theories which deal with systems of colometry. In such matters I doubt if any secure argument can be founded on the points of *k*, though the spaces left by the scribe and his paragraphs may be significant. In the Oxford edition the paragraphs are carefully marked by indentation, but the blank spaces in the lines themselves are most capriciously represented, e. g. the MS has a space between *superfuerunt* and *dicunt* in Mc. viii 19, and also before Mc. viii 24, 28, but no space after *colludit* in Mc. ix 18. In Mc. viii 27 the small point comes immediately after *uia*, leaving a blank before *et*; but in Mc. x 9 f. *coniuncxit·homo* and *separet·et* barely enough space is left for the dot itself. It would take up too much room, and be wearisome besides, to give a list of all the spacings which I observed and to correct the dots in the printed edition: in this respect the Oxford text, otherwise so excellent a representation of the MS, cannot always be trusted. Of course, where there is a dot in the printed book there is almost always a dot in the MS, but there are dots in the MS which are not inserted in the edition, and there is no distinction made between dots evidently intended by the scribe, dots which are very likely accidental, and dots placed by a later hand where no stop was intended by the original writer.

2. *The Text.* As explained above, the following collation only contains a few points of difference with Mr. Turner, together with some readings which he did not bring forward. As it now has no claim to completeness I have divided it into two parts, the first containing miscellaneous readings and the second some notes on the spelling of the compendia for 'Jesus.' I use k^* for the original work of the scribe, k^c for corrections either by the original scribe or by the corrector called *m.* 2 by the Oxford editors. These corrections are all contemporary with k^*, and it seems to me not unlikely that they are all the work of the same person, who was possibly the original scribe himself. The characters we use in

correcting our own handwriting are not always identical with the 'hand' we write in continuous script. Moreover—and I venture to think it an important point which is frequently overlooked—much of the work of the corrector of a MS is written over vellum that has been recently washed with a sponge or scratched with a knife. A scribe writing over such a surface has to face much the same difficulties as we have when we try to write on blotting-paper. All this affects the appearance of the handwriting of the corrections, and its general tendency is to make us suspect the existence of 'second hands,' where perhaps no fingers have been employed save those of the original scribe going over his own work and correcting it as he read. In any case the readings attested by k^c do not imply the use or knowledge of any other exemplar than that from which Cod. Bobiensis was copied.

For the third hand I retain the notation *m.* 3. As Dr. Wordsworth said (p. x): 'The third scribe is much later, perhaps several centuries. . . . It is like the work of an amateur or owner of the book.' It would be misleading to use the symbol k for his work.

(A). *Miscellaneous remarks.*

Mc. viii 11 (fol. 1 *a*, l. 7) et coeperunt farisaei conquire *is all legible, if you hold the leaf up to the light and look through*

viii 16 (fol. 1 *b*, l. 8) . . cum . . . . . isset dixit ill . . *This probably stands for* [et] cum [cognou]isset dixit ill[is], *but the letter before* -isset *looked rather like* c. *Yet* rescisset *would not fill the space*

viii 22 (fol. 2 *a*, l. 7) bestaiida k^*, *as I thought.* C. H. T. *has* bestaida. *It seemed to me also that the correction* bedsaida *was by m.* 3, *as the Oxford editors say*

viii 24 (fol. 2 *a*, l. 14) suspiciens k^*

viii 28 (fol. 2 *b*, l. 14) elian k: *I did not think there was an aspirate*

ix 2 (fol. 4 *b*, l. 1) mentem at cum k^*

ix 43 (fol. 8 *b*, l. 13) su·manni k^* (vid)

x 2 (fol. 9 *b*, ll. 9, 10) temp|tantes k (*sic*): 'mp' *is written in a ligature* mp, *while* 'np' *would be* np

x 10 (fol. 10 *a*, l. 12) cum (*misprint*)] eum k

x 14 (fol. 10 *b*, ll. 8, 9) dixit illis·|inice k^* (i. e. 'inique')

x 23 (fol. 12 *a*, l. 1) *begins a paragraph in k*

x 24 (fol. 12 *a*, l. 6) solomonem k^*, sermonem k^c

x 25 (fol. 12 *a*, l. 10) acut k^*, acus k^c

x 47 (fol. 14 *b*, l. 10) miserere k^*, myserere k^c

xi 2 (fol. 15 *b*, l. 1) introeuntesibus k^*, introeuntibus uobis k^c

xi 25 (fol. 17 *b*, l. 14) quisq· k^*, quis quit k^c

xii 10 (fol. 19 *b*, ll. 7, 8) ferro lauerunt k^*, reprobauerunt k^c

xii 19 (fol. 21 *a*, l. 2) tuo k^* (vid), suo k^c
xii 36 (fol. 22 *b*, l. 9) dicit · $\overline{\text{dom}}^{\text{s}}$ $\overline{\text{dom}}^{\text{o}}$ *k* (*sic*)
xiii 2 (fol. 23 *b*, l. 13) illi non k^*, illis non k^c
xiii 18 (fol. 25 *b*, l. 13) hic me k^*, hieme k^c
xiii 33 (fol. 27 *a*, ll. 11, 13) *a space is left between vv.* 32 *and* 33, *but none between* 33 *and* 34
xiv 1 (fol. 27 *b*, l. 14) infidus *k*
xiv 6–47 *was not collated by me, except that I verified* amphoram quae (*v.* 13), *and came to the conclusion that the addition of* suis *after* discentibus *and the correction of* quae *into* aquae *were by m.* 3
xiv 49 (fol. 33 *a*, l. 6) quotidie *k* (*sic*)
xv 21 (fol. 37 *b*, ll. 5, 6) *I think* k^* *wrote* factione eum cru|ce ambulare, *but* 'factione' *is perhaps not quite certain*
xvi 4 (fol. 40 *b*, l. 1) uiui dī *k* (*sic*); *the extra stroke that makes the last word look like* $\overline{\text{dī}}^{\text{i}}$ *is taken off from the opposite side*[1].

Matt. i 17 (fol. 43 *b*, l. 9) generationis (*misprint*)] generationes *k*
i 21 (fol. 44 *a*, l. 11) sic k^* (vid), hic k^c
i 22, 23, fol. 44 *b begins at* per prophetam (*misprint*)
ii 2, 3 (fol. 45 *a*, l. 1) stellam cum audis|set k^* (*so also* C. H. T.): *then* (1) eius *was added above the line*, (2) k^c *erased everything between* stellam *and* -set, *and added the missing words at the foot of the page*
ii 13 (fol. 46 *b*, l. 2) cum k^*, eum *m.* 3
ii 15 (fol. 46 *b*, l. 7) $^{\text{hd}}$ *k*, *not* $^{\text{ha}}$
iv 21 (fol. 51 *a*, l. 2) *no capital to* zebdei *in k*
v 30 (fol. 55 *a*, ll. 4, 5) abi|ice (*misprint*)] abi|ce *k*
vi 25–xiv 17 *was not collated, except that in* Matt. viii 29 (fol. 67 *b*, l. 2) *I agree with* C. H. T. *that* ii *is merely a set-off.*
xv 30 (fol. 96 *a*, ll. 7, 8) ie|cerunt *k* (*Gr.* ἔριψαν), pro|cerunt *m.* 3

(B). *Compendia for 'Jesus.'*

Mc. viii 27	*for*	$\overline{\text{is}}$	*read*	$\overline{\text{hi}}^{\text{s}}$
ix 2	,,	$\overline{\text{hi}}$	,,	$\overline{\text{hi}}^{\text{s}}$
4	,,	$\overline{\text{hi}}$	,,	$\overline{\text{hs}}$ (= *iesu*)
8	,,	$\overline{\text{hi}}$	,,	$\overline{\text{hs}}$ (= *iesum*)
25	,,	$\overline{\text{hi}}$	,,	$\overline{\text{hi}}^{\text{s}}$
27	,,	$\overline{\text{hs}}$	,,	$\overline{\text{hi}}^{\text{s}}$

[1] This refers of course to the actual reading of the MS: Mr. Turner's conjecture as to what underlies it is very attractive. At the same time I am not quite convinced that 'the glory of the Living God' is wrong: comp. e.g. Lk. ii 9, Rev. xxi 23. As I pointed out in *Texts and Studies* iv 3, p. 94, 'surgente . . . simul ascenderunt cum eo' might be a rendering of ἐγερθέντος αὐτοῦ . . . συνανέβησαν αὐτῷ, on the analogy of Matt. viii 1 *k*.

Mc.	x 23	*for*	$\overline{\text{hī}}$	*read*	$\overline{\text{hī}}^{\text{s}}$
	27, 29	„	$\overline{\text{hīs}}$ (*bis*)	„	$\overline{\text{hī}}^{\text{s}}$ (*bis*)
	xiv 53	„	$\overline{\text{hī}}$·	„	$\overline{\text{hī}}^{\text{s}}$ (= *iesum*)
	60	„	$\overline{\text{hs}}$	„	$\overline{\text{hs}}^{\text{u}}$
	67	„	$\overline{\text{hīu}}$	„	$\overline{\text{hī}}^{\text{N}}$ (= *iesu*)
	xv 43	„	ihu	„	Ihu
	xvi 6	„	ihn	„	Ihn

Only a small proportion of the corrections made by Mr. Turner and myself affect the critical value of the text of *k*, except so far as they serve still further to illustrate the idiosyncrasies of the scribe. In a few cases monstrosities put down to him do not exist (e. g. Mark x 10, xii 39, 41, xiii 34, xiv 1, 3, 32, xv 27, 40; Matt. i 17, iii 6, v 30, 32, viii 29). It is especially pleasant to be able to read *temptantes* in Mark x 2 instead of *tenptantes*[1], and to know that in Matt. viii 29 *quid huc uenisti* is not preceded by *ii*. In Mark xv 23 F. F. Fleck (the first editor of *k*, whose inaccuracy is bewailed by all who have written on the MS) was right in reading *bibere uinum* and not *uinum bibere*; and in Mark viii 28, where *k* really has *dixerunt illi dicentes* in agreement with ℵBC*LΔ and the Bohairic, Fleck's 'responderunt illi dicentes' is no further off the true reading than the 'dixerunt illi omnes' of Tischendorf and the Oxford editors.

The point of most general interest brought out by the re-examinations of *k* has been perhaps the reading *maledixisti* in Mark xv 34, where the late cursive hand here called *m.* 3 has substituted *dereliquisti*, as in the Vulgate. A full note on this reading will be found in *J. T. S.* i 278. I only wish to add here that the use of *dereliquisti* does not prove that *m.* 3 was correcting *k* by means of another MS. The scrawl used by *m.* 3 can hardly be dated earlier than the seventh century, if so early, and doubtless the Vulgate occupied by that time a dominant position in most parts of Western Europe. Nearly all the emendations made by *m.* 3 look like the work of a reader who was trying to make out an incorrectly written text as best he could. In Mark ix 26 *m.* 3 turns *ueluemortuus* into *uelut mortuus*, though the Vulgate has *sicut mortuus*; and in Mark ix 9, where *k* has *descendentibus*, *m.* 3 adds *eis* to eke out the sense, though the Vulgate has *illis*. Similarly in Matt. v 43 *ubi* is rightly changed by *m.* 3 into *tibi* where the Vulgate has *tuum*, and in Mark xiv 55 *facta* is changed by *m.* 3 into *falsa* where the Vulgate omits. At the beginning of Mark ix 5 *m.* 3 supplies *et ait Petrus*, in agreement with the Llandaff Gospels (Wordsworth's L), where the Vulgate has *et respondens Petrus ait Iesu*, but this may be only a

[1] The error was caused by misreading the ligature np. This may be a convenient place to mention that the following ligatures occur in *k*, mostly at the ends of lines: *ci, li, ul, um, un, mp, or ur, is ns us, ct nt unt ut, eu.*

coincidence. The nationality of *m.* 3 is a point of some historical interest, for if it be a true tradition that makes S. Columban a former owner of *k*, then *m.* 3 is the only hand that can be identified as the Saint's (Wordsworth, p. x). But does not *pesces* (for *pisces* Matt. xv 36) point to an Italian?

In Mark xii 36 it is satisfactory to find that *k* has *ad dextera*, i. e. it supports Mr. Turner's theory that the earlier Latin texts represented ἐκ δεξιῶν by the neuter plural of 'dexter' (*J. T. S.* ii 610). In Mark xiv 62, xv 27, *k* has *a dextra* and in x 37 *a dextram*, no doubt under the influence of the classical training of the scribe in the art of writing. In Mark xvi 5 therefore, when we find *in dextra* (for ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς), it is probable that the final *a* is long and that the word is in the ablative singular.

In the matter of spelling it is interesting to note that editors have correctly reported *k* to read *quotidie* in Mark xiv 49, a spelling otherwise almost unknown in Christian MSS earlier than the eighth century[1]. In Matt. vi 11 *k* has *cottidianum*.

With regard to the compendia for *Iesus* (or rather *Hiesus*), it is worth noting that the common Greek abbreviation $\overline{\text{IC}}$ does not occur, as the MS has $\overline{\text{hi}}^{\text{s}}$ in Mark viii 27. In the two places where *k* was reported to give the common Latin compendium ($\overline{ih}^{\text{u}}$ Mark xv 43, $\overline{ih}^{\text{n}}$ Mark xvi 6), the first letter is in each case majuscule and I incline to think the exemplar may have had a sign beginning with H, for there is very little difference between $\text{I}\overline{\text{h}}^{\text{u}}$ and Hi^{u}. Certainly the authority of *k* cannot be safely invoked for the spelling *ihesus*.

3. *The personality of the scribe of k.* This is a really important question, for *k* contains by far the most valuable text for critical purposes of all our Old Latin authorities, and it would be well if we could find out when and where it was written, and what qualifications the scribe had for his work. The tradition connecting *k* with S. Columban does not give us much help. If true, it might mean that *k* belonged to the earliest stratum of the Library at Bobbio, a thing not very probable in itself. Bobbio was only founded about 613 A.D. By that time *k* must have been at least 200 years in existence and its text was out of date. It was not in the least the kind of book that would be *used* in the seventh century, and it probably did not come to Bobbio until S. Columban's foundation had become a famous centre of books. The analogy of Codex *n* is here instructive. Most of the surviving fragments of *n* are now at S. Gallen, but two leaves (those formerly called a_2) are still at Chur, and it is highly probable that the whole MS once formed part of the Chapter Library there. We know of at least two MSS (the

[1] In Cyp. 308[13], cod. S is said to have *quottidie*.

Sacramentary and the *Capitula* of Remedius) that have been taken from Chur to S. Gallen[1], but we know of none that have made the return journey. In any case it is more likely that ancient MSS should migrate to centres of learning and books, such as the great Benedictine House at S. Gallen became, than that they should go from S. Gallen to Chur, a place that once had been the centre of Roman culture and government, but was so no longer. I may add that the ancient connexion of Chur and Milan explains the presence in Switzerland of a North Italian text like *n*. It seems probable that *n* came to S. Gallen in a fragmentary state and only got there because S. Gallen had already become a famous repository for old books. For similar reasons and in a similar state *k* may have been brought to Bobbio. There is no trace in *k* of Irish influence; the hand is not an Irish hand, the spelling is not Irish spelling, and the text is not the Irish text of the time of S. Patrick[2].

The extraordinary blunders in the text of *k* have often been used to demonstrate the ignorance of the scribe. It is true that he seems to have been quite unfamiliar with Christian phraseology: a scribe who writes *ueni ad regnum tuum* in the Lord's Prayer (Matt. vi 10) could not have known his Paternoster very well. But he was not ignorant of Latin, for his mistakes generally make well-spelt Latin words. Too much, I venture to think, has been made of his confusions of one letter with another; he seems rather to guess the wrong *words* than to misread the several *letters*. No doubt his exemplar had a form of long ſ, whereby 's' is confused with 'i' and with 'f,' but this long ſ can be illustrated from written Pompeian tablets (*Pal. Soc.* I, vol. iii, plate 159), so that it affords no evidence for date or place[3]. But the spellings found in *k* are quite inconsistent with any theory that makes the scribe an uneducated man. His spelling, in fact, is what we might expect from his beautiful handwriting. I have elsewhere compiled[4] a list of spellings which agree with those in the best MSS of Plautus, but are hardly to be found in any Christian document except *k*. They include *beniuolus*, *deuorsoria*, *inlutis manibus*, *noum*, *optuma*, *optume*, *paruolis*, *pos nos*, *simulare*, *uolimus*[5], also *ciuitast*, *similest*, *im mare*, etc.

[1] See Wilson's *Gelasian Sacramentary*, p. xlii; Planta, *Das alte Rätien*, p. 309.

[2] See Bernard and Atkinson (*Liber Hymnorum*, ii 100) on the Hymn of S. Sechnall *Audite omnes*, and *J. T. S.* iii 95.

[3] Another good instance is to be found in the tombstone of Gaudentia (A. D. 338) in the Capitoline Museum at Rome, of which a good facsimile is given in F. Steffens, *Lateinische Paläographie* i 12. I am glad to have an opportunity of calling attention to this useful publication.

[4] *Cambridge University Reporter* for March 5, 1901.

[5] *Volimus* is also found in cod. W of Cyprian's *De Mortalitate* (Hartel 308^{19}, $310^{5, 14}$).

But it may be said that these ancient spellings are due to the stupid faithfulness of the scribe who only copied what he saw. From this point of view the misreadings of *k** are of some interest, for they shew us the kind of words that naturally flowed from the scribe's pen. Thus in Mark xii 14 the puzzling official word *capitularium* is given without mistake, but in the lines preceding instead of *in ueritatem uiam Domini doces* we find that *k** wrote *honestatem uiam Domini dices*, i. e. 'you say that the Lord's way means wealth.' This is a fine perversion of the text, but nevertheless *honestas* is a good Latin word. In Mark xiii 12 the prophecy of persecutions makes the scribe think of the law-courts, and so *frater* is miswritten *praetor*. In Matt. v 28 the strange-looking *ean sam* is really *causam*. In Mark xiii 28 the scribe did not try to begin a Latin word with 'dg' as the edition makes him, but instead of *folia adgnoscitis* he wrote *soli adgnoscitis* 'ye alone know.' Of course these misreadings do not make true sense, e. g. *latramus* in the preceding line is ridiculous, but yet the misreadings generally make up something which looks like Latin. To crown all, the scribe, who stumbles over the names of Peter (Mark xvi 8*f*) and of Mary (Matt. i 20), turns 'how much doth a man differ from a sheep' (Matt. xii 12) into *Quanto ergo differt homo Ioue*! I cannot help suspecting that Paganism was still alive when *k* was being written, and that the scribe was a professional copier of books, perhaps a heathen still or only a recent convert. Such a man would have what might be called a compositor's knowledge of literature, admirable so far as it went, but stopping short of syntax. It should however be noticed that in Mark x 24 *k** seems to have written *solomonem* instead of *sermonem*, thereby indicating some knowledge of Jewish history[1].

The difference in general appearance between *k* and other Christian MSS, the beautiful handwriting, the traces of Classical culture in the scribe's work, coupled with his surprising unfamiliarity with the Gospel phraseology—all these considerations point to a very early date. The text of *k* is practically identical with that used by S. Cyprian, and such a text was not used, so far as we know, in any part of the Christian world after, say, the death of S. Augustine. Thus textual criticism and palaeography unite in suggesting that *k* is one of our oldest MSS. I venture to think that we may consider it to have been written in the fourth century.

No direct indication of the place of writing survives. There is no reason why we should doubt that it was written in Africa, the only place where a text like *k* seems likely to have been in actual use, but how the MS eventually reached Bobbio must remain for the present an unsolved problem.

F. C. BURKITT.

[1] In Matt. the name is spelt *salomon* and *salamon*.

SOME FURTHER NOTES ON THE MSS OF THE WRITINGS OF ST. ATHANASIUS.

IN the course of a visit to Mount Athos and a few hours spent in passing at Basel and Paris, Mr. W. E. Moss[1] and I had in the summer of 1902 the good fortune to see several manuscripts of Athanasius; two, B and R, which have been recently discussed in the *J. T. S.* by Dr. Wallis and Mr. C. H. Turner[2], and five others which have not previously been noticed. These I shall call A K X Y Z.

I propose first to make a few remarks on B and R.

Cod. B (Basel A iii 4). Described by Dr. Wallis in the *J. T. S.* vol. ii, pp. 245 ff. On p. 246 n. he says: 'There is a phenomenon in connexion with the numbering of the quaternions which I cannot interpret . . . I have traced a tampering with the signatures of the quaternions to the end of f. 412^{v} [from f. 117^{v}]; the corrector has desired to move the quaternions five places back,' &c. The explanation of this phenomenon is that the gatherings are not quaternions, as can be seen by looking at the 'strings' instead of the signatures. As I was only stopping at Basel between two trains I had not time to take full notes of the gatherings, but I satisfied myself that the history of the tampering is this:—

(α) The signator of the MS began his work on the assumption, in which Dr. Wallis has followed him, that the gatherings are quaternions.

(β) After inserting fifteen signatures on this mistaken plan he saw his error and henceforth followed the gatherings, but without correcting his numeration.

(γ) Later, the signatures were altered to correct this mistake, each being moved back.

Cod. R (Paris Nat. Grec. 474). Described by Dr. Wallis in the *J. T. S.* vol. ii, pp. 97 ff. On p. 98 he gives an account of the various notes which are written on the first and last leaves. To his transcriptions I am now able to make a few additions[3]:—

(α) The note on f. A^{v} should be

τω·σα φυλ(λα) $\overline{\nu\nu\varsigma}$. [i. e. τόσα φύλλα, $\overline{\nu\nu\varsigma}$].

(β) The note (i) on f. 1 is in red. I judged it to be of the thirteenth or fourteenth century.

(γ) The note (ii) seemed to be of the same age or a little later.

[1] I am much indebted to Mr. Moss for many valuable suggestions, especially in connexion with the identification of κυρίζου.

[2] *J. T. S.* iii 245 sqq.

[3] I have enclosed in brackets letters which are represented by contracted forms.

(δ) The note (iii) seemed still later, possibly of the fifteenth century.

(ε) The note (iv) is βι(βλίον) δογματ(ικὸν) ἁγ(ίου) (?) ἀθανα(σίου) θησαυρό(ς) in the same hand, I think, as note (ii).

(ς) The note on f. 458 runs thus :—

+ουτοῦς δῦτο τὴς κυρίζου δῖα ῖυ χυ ἐγένετο + ὧς
κτημῖτοις ότ(αν) επαρθοι· υπολης μοναχο(ς) απο τ̂
αγί(αν) σωφή(αν) την ετῖμησ(εν) δῖχου τὸν ἐξοδο

I cannot quite rewrite this: it is obviously somewhat corrupt both in spelling and grammar. The best I can offer is :—

οὕτως τοῦτο τῆς κυρίζου διὰ Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ ἐγένετο πόλεως[1] κτημίτης[2] ὅταν ἐπάρθη ἡ πόλις μοναχὸς ἀπὸ τὴν[3] ἁγίαν Σοφίαν τὴν ἐτίμησεν διχοῦ τῶν ἐξόδων.

I cannot construe this, but I take the meaning to be that the MS was taken at the fall of Constantinople from St. Sophia to the Monastery of Kyrizos and used to defray the expenses of the monk who brought it.

The impression formed on my mind by the character of the writing is that it probably referred to the fall of the city in 1204 rather than in 1450, though the spelling may perhaps be regarded as favouring the later date.

I must now turn to the more speculative question of the history of the MS.

Dr. Wallis has suggested two identifications. He takes the monastery τοῦ κυροῦ Διονυσίου to be the monastery of τοῦ ἁγίου Διονυσίου on Mount Athos. This seems certainly right: I would only add that the title κύρου rather than ἁγίου seems to point to a time probably before and certainly not long after the death of Dionysius (i. e. about 1400).

He also takes κυρίζου to be Caryes on Mount Athos. This, I think, is impossible. Caryes is probably Καρυαῖς, a dative plural which has acquired the force of a nominative from the fact that it was most often used in the phrase ἐν Καρυαῖς. By no possibility could it be corrupted into Κυρίζου. Moreover, there never has been a μονὴ Καρυῶν, though what is now called Πρωτάτου was once known as ἡ λαύρα ἐν Καρυαῖς.

But if we abandon this identification, what suggestion can be made?

As the MS seems to have probably been at Dionysiou in the founder's lifetime, his history may be expected to give us the clue.

I therefore give an extract from a report made in 1706 by P. Braconnier[4].

'Ce nom (Dionysiou) luy vient d'un solitaire nommé Denys, né dans les montagnes de Castoria au lieu nommé Kyrissos. . . .'

[1] I do not think that this is right, I do not understand it.
[2] I do not know what this can be.
[3] ἀπό takes an accusative in modern Greek.
[4] H. Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient*, p. 1001.

Surely it is quite probable that Kyrissos (now Goritza in the vilayet of Monastir) is the place referred to in the note, and the history of R is that it belonged (1) to St. Sophia at Constantinople, (2) to a monastery at Goritza, which bought it from a fugitive monk from Constantinople after the capture of the Crusaders in 1204, (3) to the monastery of Dionysiou, which acquired it through the founder, who came from Goritza, (4) to Colbert, who obtained it through one of his many agents in the East; it would probably not be very difficult by a few days' research in Paris to trace the exact channel by which it reached him.

Cod. A. (Vatopedi 7). Vellum (34·9 × 21·8 cm.)[1], twelfth century.

In the corner of f. 101 there is a sponged out note which may be a date, if so it is perhaps ϛφξου, but I have no confidence either that this is right or that, if it is, it has any bearing on the date of the MS. I thought that it probably belongs to the second half of the twelfth century, but it is a difficult MS to date. It is written by probably ten hands, some good, some quite bad.

The original MS was identical in contents with L (see *J. T. S.* vol. ii, p. 105), and is therefore probably connected with BL and, as will be shown, with K; it is the earliest of this group.

Bound up with it is another collection of Athanasian tracts, written at the same time and probably never separate. These are:—

1. f. 1. *τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις* $\overline{\pi\rho\varsigma}$ *ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπιστολὴ προοιμίου δύναμιν ἔχουσα καὶ τραγωδίαν τῆς τῆς ἐκκλησίας ταραχῆς.* Arranged in twelve chapters.

2. f. 24. *ἀπολογία περὶ τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως ἡνίκα ἐδιώχθη ὑπὸ σευηριανοῦ τοῦ δουκός.*

3. f. 32v. *κατὰ ἀρειαιῶν καὶ κατὰ σαβελλιανῶν καὶ ἀπολογία ὑπὲρ διονυσίου ἐπισκόπου ἀλεξανδρείας.*

4. f. 42. *πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἀφρικῇ ἐπισκόπους.*

5. f. 47v. *περὶ πίστεως ὀρθοδόξου κατὰ σαβελλιανῶν.* This is a long dialogue between Macedonius and Orthodoxus.

6. f. 62v. *διάλεκτος ὀρθοδόξου καὶ ἀνομοίου, ἄρχεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ ἀσεβοῦς ἀετίου.*

7. f. 69. *εὐνομίου καὶ ὀρθοδόξου ἑτέρα διάλεκτος.*

8. f. 73. *διάλεξις ἀπολλιναρίου καὶ ὀρθοδόξου.*

9. f. 80. *τοῦ αὐτοῦ* [in mg. m. p. *τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου*] *εἰς τὸ ῥητὸν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου περὶ τοῦ εἰς τὸν κύριον ἐμπαιγμοῦ ἐλθόντες εἰς τὸν λεγόμενον κρανίου τόπον κ. τ. λ.*

Cod. K. (Vatopedi, 5, 6). Vellum (27·9 × 24·1 cm.), fourteenth century.

This manuscript contains a note at the beginning, partially erased, which states that it was

[1] These measurements, as those of K, are calculated from photographs, they are therefore probably not quite exact.

βιβλίον βασιλικὸν τοῦ καλ(ὸν) Ἰωαν(νου) . . . ετονομασ-
θέντος διὰ τοῦ θείου καὶ ἀγγελικοῦ σχήματος Ἰωασάφ . . .

Comparing this with the note in MS Paris Nat. Grec. 1275, Τοῦ *εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως κυρίου* Ἰωάννου Καντακουζηνοῦ, *τοῦ . . . μετονομασθέντος* Ἰωασὰφ *μοναχοῦ* . . . there can be little doubt that the emperor who is implied in the word *βασιλικόν* is John Cantacuzene who was associated in the imperial office with John V from 1345 to 1355, and then retired, under compulsion, to end his discreditable career as a monk. He lived for many years and founded a school of calligraphy which lasted for several generations. Its work is easily recognizable by the charming whiteness of the vellum, the beauty of the writing, a peculiar sepia ink of a yellowish tint, and a tendency to flourish marginal letters, especially those in the last line of a page, while in biblical MSS the rule seems to have been to give liturgical notes and mark the *ἀναγνώσματα*, but not the Ammonian sections or Eusebian canons.

I hope that some day the Palaeographical Society may see its way to publishing a little fasciculus of MSS which belong to the Joasaph school,—cod. Evan. 568 (Burney 18) is a good specimen, but there are several more.

The contents of K can best be given by reference to the table of contents in B given in the *J. T. S.* vol. ii, pp. 246–8.

1. B 1–25 = K 1–24, except that the *Disputatio contra Arium* (B 3) is omitted in K in its proper place and is K 27.

2. B 45–88 = K 37–76 with the following exceptions :—

(α) The *De sententia Dionysii*, B 48, is K 47.

(β) The *Encyclica epistola Alexandri*, B 50, is omitted in K.

(γ) The *Epistola Constantini*, B 66, is omitted in K.

(δ) The *Explicatio*, B 69, is omitted in K.

(ε) The *Epistola ad Serapionem*, B 76, the *Historia Arianorum*, B 77, and the *De synodis*, B 78, are K 66, K 65, K 64 respectively.

3. B 26–44 and K 25–36 are arranged so differently, although roughly corresponding, that I must give the table of correspondences in full :—

B 26 = K 32	B 35 = ——
B 27 = ——	B 36 = ——
B 28 = K 36	B 37 = K 28
B 29 = ——	B 38 = K 26
B 30 = K 34	B 39 = K 29
B 31 = K 35	B 40 = K 25
B 32 = K 30	B 41 = ——
B 33 = K 31	B 42 = ——
B 34 = K 33	B 43 = ——
	B 44 = ——

4. K 77–81 are not in B. They are

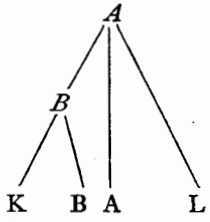
77. *Epistola praefationis loco scripta.*
78. *Dialogus cum Macedoniano.*
79. *Contra Anomoeum.*
80. *Dialogus alter cum Macedoniano.*
81. *Vita S. Antonii* [1].

5. K has the *Iudicium Photii* after the πίναξ, B has it before the πίναξ, as have also A L.

From these facts taken in connexion with what is already known of the MSS of Athanasius it is possible to draw several conclusions, with varying degrees of probability.

1. In speaking of the MS A I have shown that it probably belongs to the group hitherto represented by L and B 1–21. It is possible that K 1–20, 27 must be added to this group,—it would be almost certain were it not that the coincidence between L B A and K is broken by the displacement of the *Disputatio contra Arium*, and as between B and K extends beyond the twenty-first tract.

It is probable that the displacement of the *Disputatio* is an accident, but the other fact seems to point to the possibility that although L A, B 1–21, and K 1–20, 27 represent a common archetype, *A* B 1–25 and K 1–24, 27 represent it not directly but through an intermediate MS, *B*, which had added four tracts at the end of the twenty-one which were found in *A*. The relations therefore of the MSS may be put thus :—



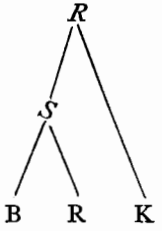
It is perhaps scarcely necessary to add that this only applies to the order of the tracts. It does not follow because a scribe adopted the order of tracts in a certain MS that he also adopted the text, instances of the reverse are not unknown in the MSS of other writers, e. g. Prof. Giles has told me of a notable example in the MSS of Theocritus.

2. The differences between B 45–88 and K 37–76 (1) point to the probability that K is a descendant of the archetype of R, *R*, (2) incidentally suggest that B is indirectly derived from the same MS and not, as Dr. Wallis thought, from R itself.

[1] I must thank the Rev. S. C. Gayford for pointing out to me that the *Vita S. Antonii* is not found in any other *corpus* of Athanasius. It is significant that it is the last tract in the MS.

(1) This is shown from two notes in R, quoted by Dr. Wallis *J. T. S.* vol. ii, pp. 99 and 249. The first note shows that the *De synodis* preceded the *Historia Arianorum* in *R* and that R inverted the order. K has the order of *R*, and, as was mentioned above, also places the *Epistola ad Serapionem* after instead of before both these tracts, showing that besides the alteration in order made by the scribe of R and noted by him, there was a further change which he did not record. The second note shows that the scribe of R wished the *De sententia Dionysii* to be placed next to the *Eusebii symbolum*; B has observed this change, therefore, says Dr. Wallis, it is a copy of R rather than *R*; but K[1] has got the old order, which supports the suggestion made above that it is a copy of *R* rather than R.

(2) That B is indirectly a copy of *R* and not of R is shown by the notes attached to the Sardican epistles in R B K (see *J. T. S.* vol. ii, p. 250). R has a full and accurate note, B has a shorter and less accurate one, therefore Dr. Wallis concluded that B had abbreviated R's note. But K has B's note and K has been shown to be a copy of *R* rather than R, therefore either B and K have independently made the same inaccurate abbreviation of the longer note, or R's note is really an expansion of B's note made because the latter was perceived to be inaccurate. The latter hypothesis is far preferable. The only theory I can see which will account for all the facts is that there was an intermediate archetype between *R* and B R which I will call *S*; this contained most of the notes found in R, which was acted upon by the scribe of B and copied by the scribe of R, but it did not contain the longer note on the Sardican epistles, which is due to the scribe of R, and probably did not contain the note on the *Depositio*. The relations between B K R may therefore be represented thus:—



It will be noticed that this theory reinstates B as potentially equal in value to R, so that the study of K has not merely given us a new authority for the text of *R* but has restored us one which Dr. Wallis's researches seemed to have taken away.

[1] K throws no further light on the position of the *Depositio*: it agrees with R B and has no note. I therefore incline to the belief that the note in R is really intended for the guidance of future copyists, and is not an indication of any difference of order in *R*.

Cod. X. (Laura B 28). Vellum (18·5 × 14·6 cm.), eleventh century. This contained originally:—

(1) Contra Gentes.
(2) De incarnatione.
(3) Disputatio contra Arium.
(4) *ἀποφθέγματα τῶν ἐν ἀσκήσει γηρασάντων.*

but it is now mutilated at the beginning. *inc. καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἄστρα ἐστασίασαν κ.τ.λ.*

Cod. Y. (Laura B 58). Vellum (23·7 × 19·2 cm.), tenth century. This contains:—

1. Contra Gentes (the beginning is missing).
2. De incarnatione.
3. Disputatio contra Arium (incomplete).

Cod. Z. (Laura Γ 106). Vellum (24·7 × 19·6 cm.), tenth century. This contains:—

1. Contra Gentes.
2. De incarnatione.
3. Disputatio contra Arium, at the end of which is written *ἐπληρώθη σὺν θεῷ ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου ἀθανασίου κατὰ ἀρείου ἀριστεία.*

The beginning of this MS has been preserved by the fortunate accident of some leaves of a Chrysostom being bound up with it.

It will be seen that these three MSS are practically identical in contents. Mr. Moss and I compared them for several hours to see if the texts were also identical, and found that there are a few accidental variants in X, though none of the smallest importance, but that Y and Z are either copies one of the other or sister copies of the same original; they agree consistently in the smallest details. It is impossible to say which is the earlier; Z is slightly better written, but both are admirable specimens of late tenth or possibly very early eleventh-century writing.

It only remains for me to add that the monks at Vatopedi and the Laura were so kind as to allow us to photograph the whole of the *De incarnatione* in K A Z. It seemed unnecessary to photograph X Y in view of their textual identity with Z. I have since developed these photographs; there are a few negatives which will be incomplete owing to defects in the film, but even if I am unable to go back to Mount Athos again, I hope that when I have time to collate the prints I shall be able to give a fair representation of the text of *A* based on the readings of L B A K S, as well as of Z, which is of course far the oldest MS accessible for the text of the *De incarnatione*, though it does not follow that it is best; so far as I can see at present it seems to be independent both of B and S.

K. LAKE.