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σεται ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν κτλ., which practically means, 'And the next parable which illustrates the Kingdom of Heaven is the following'.<sup>1</sup>

It is not possible to argue, as Prof. Burkitt does in the case of εὐθύς and οὖν, that the word 'then' is alien to the spirit of the Aramaic language, for in Syr<sup>sin.</sup> cur. τότε is represented, almost without exception, by ܐܘܢܐ. St Matthew's usage is remarkably illustrated in Biblical Aramaic. In the whole of the Hebrew Old Testament אָ occurs only 20 times to carry on a narrative, and never in the Hebrew portions of Daniel and Ezra. (It is represented in the Targums by הִירִין in Job, Psalms and Proverbs, and by בִּינִן elsewhere.) But it is in the Aramaic portions of Daniel and Ezra that the use is as marked as in St Matthew. In Dan. ii iii v vi אָרִין or בִּרִין occurs 45 times, these instances being represented in the Greek as follows: τότε LXX 32, Theod. 22; καί LXX 8, Theod. 20. Five times the LXX has no word to correspond with it, and Theod. once. Moreover LXX has τότε 8 times, and Theod. 3 times, where the particle is absent from the present Aramaic text. In Ezr. iv v vi it occurs 11 times in the Aramaic, in 10 of which the LXX has τότε, and in the remaining passage no corresponding word.

It seems clear, therefore, that in the third and second centuries B. C. Aramaic writers, when dealing with Biblical subjects, frequently expressed the force of the Hebrew 'wāw consecutive' by 'then', and that the usage still obtained in Palestine in the first century A. D. It is probable that the Greek St Matthew, like the Greek of the LXX, represented the original by τότε in the large majority of cases.

A. H. McNEILE.

## THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF JEAN DU TILLET.

FIVE years ago I contributed to my colleague Dr Fotheringham's edition of the Bodleian MS of St Jerome's Chronicle<sup>2</sup> an appendix, in which I put together all I could find out about the literary history of the earliest known possessor of the MS, bishop Jean du Tillet. In the intervening period I have accumulated, through the kindness of three distinguished scholars, enough additional information to warrant the request for a small corner of the JOURNAL'S space where I may recapitulate this in a collected form. Prof. Bywater, with his wide knowledge

<sup>1</sup> This is simpler than Prof. Zahn's laborious explanation that τότε refers to the moment described in the last two verses of the preceding parable, a moment which is again described in xxv 6, vv. 2-5 being retrospective.

<sup>2</sup> *The Bodleian Manuscript of Jerome's version of the Chronicle of Eusebius reproduced in collytype: with an introduction* by J. K. Fotheringham, Oxford 1905.

of the history of classical scholarship in the sixteenth century, has supplied me with various bibliographical data contained in the *Catalogus bibliothecae Thuanæ* (put together first alphabetically by 'Petrus et Iacobus Puteani', arranged according to subjects by 'Ismael Bullialdus', and finally re-edited by Joseph Quesnel, Paris, 1679<sup>1</sup>), in Maittaire's history of Paris printers (*Historia Typographorum aliquot Parisiensium*, 2 vols., London 1717), and in H. Hagen's *Zur Geschichte der Philologie* (Berlin 1879) part 1 'Der Jurist und Philolog Peter Daniel aus Orleans'. Mgr Mercati sent me from the Vatican library a couple of his most helpful postcards. And Professor Paul Girard of the University of Paris, both by letters and by the gift of his learned and exhaustive paper *Le manuscrit des Gromatici de l'évêque Jean du Tillet* ('Mélanges Fitting: lxxv<sup>e</sup> anniversaire de M. le Professeur Hermann Fitting', vol. 2 pp. 235-286, Montpellier 1908), has enabled me to share step by step in his researches and their results. As becomes a Professor of Law, Prof. Girard is primarily interested in du Tillet from the point of view of his contributions to Roman Law, just as I was primarily interested in his contributions to patristic study: but he intends to write a monograph on the works of du Tillet generally, and full justice will then be done to the man whom five years ago I ventured to call 'A neglected scholar of the sixteenth century'. Meanwhile, and without for one moment setting myself in competition with the coming monograph of Prof. Girard, I will just tabulate the additions and corrections to my two lists published five years ago, of books written by du Tillet and MSS in the possession of du Tillet.

#### I. *Addenda.*

To my list of sixteen books published by du Tillet I have now two or three more to add: viz.

17. A. D. 1554. *M. Fab. Quintiliani institutionum oratoriarum libri XII in commentarios redacti, Petro Paulo Vergerio auctore. Ex Bibliotheca Ioann. Tiliï episcopi Briocensis.* Paris. G. Morel [8°]. Girard p. 260 n. 3 (a copy is in the Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève x 537 in 8°).

The book is a present from du Tillet to his nephews Jean Élie and Jacques: it is meant, as we learn from the dedication addressed to them, to make them 'sharers in the spoils which he had exported from Italy' on the occasion of his Roman journey in the preceding year [see my no. 9, Fotheringham p. 55]. It consists of a sort of résumé in which the work of Quintilian is reduced to a fourth of its original size, and which was no doubt made by some scholar of the fifteenth century. Du Tillet attributed the authorship to Verger (ob. 1428) because he had so found it 'in an ancient MS': but another MS of the same epitome

<sup>1</sup> It is the edition of Quesnel which I have used.

(now *Bibl. Nat. nouv. acq. lat.* 316) gives the name of Francesco Patrizi, bishop of Gaeta from 1460 to 1494. See Fierville *M. F. Quintiliani de Institutione Oratoria liber primus* (Paris 1890) p. xxxv n. 3.

18. A.D. 1561. *Declaration de l'autorité des Ecritures, & du S. Sacrement de l'Autel*. Paris. G. Morel [8°]. Maittaire ii 48.

19. A.D. 1563. *Institution [or Instruction] du pere Chrestien à ses enfans*. Paris. G. Morel [4°]. *Cat. bibl. Thuan.* i p. 77: Maittaire ii 50.

To the similar list of fourteen MSS in du Tillet's possession the following additions now fall to be made:—

xv. To Élie Vinet du Tillet lent not only the two MSS which I catalogued as nos. xii and xiii, but also a MS of Priscian. The loan appears to have been made in 1565, for in a letter of 1568 Vinet speaks of having borrowed the MS three years before. It was in the same year, 1565, that Vinet published an edition of Priscian *de nummis ponderibus* &c. Hagen *op. cit.* p. 34.

xvi. MS gr. 2789 of the Bibliothèque Nationale (ancien Colbert 4874) *Eschylus cum glosis interlinearibus et scholiis*, saec. xv, contains on the guard-leaf the note *De Ranconnet: a Io. Tilio utendum accepi*. Aymar de Ranconnet, to whom du Tillet's edition of Ulpian was dedicated (see my no. 6), a Huguenot and 'président de chambre' in the Parliament of Paris from 1549 to 1559, was in the latter year sent to the Bastille, where shortly afterwards he died. Girard pp. 268 n. 5, 264, 265.

xvii. The 'codex Tilianus' of the Agrimensores or Gromatici, i. e. the Latin writers on land-surveying, was derived from an existing original, the seventh-century MS now at Wolfenbüttel, Aug. fol. 36. 23. It is to the history of this MS, and of du Tillet's copy of it, that Prof. Girard's paper is primarily devoted. The original MS belonged during the middle ages to the great library of Bobbio, the discovery and plunder of which was the great achievement of the scholars of the Renaissance in Italy during the second half of the fifteenth century: our MS found its way to Rome about 1500, passed through the hands of Tommaso Inghirami (Phaedrus), Angelo Colocci, Erasmus, John a Lasco, Gerard Mortaigne, Regnerius Praedinius, J. T. Arcerius (from whom it is known as the Arcerianus), Peter Scriverius, and arrived ultimately in 1663 in the ducal library at Wolfenbüttel. Meanwhile it had been three times copied out, after the zealous fashion of the Renaissance, during its brief stay in Rome: by a scribe whose work is represented by a copy now at Jena, by Basilio Zanchi, and by the jurisconsult Antonio Massa of Gallese. Zanchi's copy was in turn copied by Jean Matal, *alias* Metellus Sequanus, who was at Rome from 1545 to 1555: Metellus's copy was lent to du Tillet, who again copied it and took his copy back to France at the end of 1553. Du Tillet's copy was studied by more than one

French scholar among his contemporaries with a view to publication : but in the end it was left to the nineteenth century, and to Blume and Lachmann's *Die Schriften der römischen Feldmesser*,<sup>1</sup> to employ for the first time the testimony of the Bobbio MS and its descendants in the construction of a purified text of the Agrimensores. Girard, *passim*.

xviii. Lambinus used a 'codex Tilianus' of Plautus 'qui fuerat mihi ab Io. Tilio olim episcopo Meldensi, nuper mortuo, commodatus'. Prof. Lindsay, from whose *Codex Turnebi of Plautus* (Oxford 1898 : p. 14 n. 1) Prof. Bywater excerpted this reference, concludes that it was one of the ordinary Renaissance MSS of Plautus.

## II. *Corrigenda*.

2. The MS of St Hilary of Poitiers, from which du Tillet published in 1540 his *editio princeps* of the canons of the Greek councils, appears to be the present MS gr. 1331 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, saec. xiv, (Girard p. 258 n. 4). The promised companion volume of the 'canonical' writings of the Greek Fathers never appeared : but it is possible that the copy for press exists in Vaticanus Reg. gr. 73, of which, as Dr Mercati informs me, the first half, foll. 1-115, consists of the printed text of the edition of 1540, while the second half, foll. 116-242, is written in a sixteenth-century hand (with references to the 'adiuncto exemplari impresso') under the rather puzzling introductory title *Σύνταγμα τῶν κατὰ τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ ἀγίων σύνοδον πραχθέντων*. With reference to the Latin version of the Greek canons and 'canonical' writings which the indefatigable translator, Gentianus Hervetus, dedicated to du Tillet in 1561, Prof. Girard points out (p. 257 n. 3) that I was over-hasty in concluding that du Tillet had been himself present at Trent : the plural of Hervetus, *cum Tridenti essemus in concilio*, is probably the plural of authorship. Prof. Bywater also points out to me that whereas I spoke of the Basle edition of 1559 as 'the first edition of the Greek with Latin version' (*op. cit.* p. 50), the Canons of the Apostles were twice printed in Greek and Latin between 1540 and 1559 : I take the titles from the copies in his possession. (1) ΚΑΝΟΝΕΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΙΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ. *Canones sanctorū Apostolorum. Vñd cum latina interpretatione*. Parisiis. Apud Andream Wechelum, sub Pegaso, in vico Bellouaco, *Anno Salutis*, 1556.<sup>2</sup> (2) Octoginta quinque Regulae,

<sup>1</sup> The Tilianus is mentioned, so Dr Mercati informed me, in vol. ii pp. 14, 32 seqq., 476. In the last of these passages it is proposed to identify it with Paris lat. 7229 : but that MS appears rather to be a copy by Ranconnet of du Tillet's MS (Girard p. 268).

<sup>2</sup> In the margins of this edition reference is occasionally made to 'alterum exemplar', and once to 'aeditio parisiensis' (p. 5), by which latter phrase du Tillet's edition is no doubt intended.

seu Canones Apostolorum; cum vetustis Ioannis Monachi ZΩnarae in eosdem commentariis, Latinè modò versis. Parisiis. Apud Andream Wechelum, sub Pegaso in vico Bellouaco: Anno Salutis, 1558. Cum priuilegio Regis.

3. To the five editions of the 'Chronicle of the French Kings' which I was able to enumerate, the *Catalogus bibliothecae Thuanae* (i, p. 346) adds one—*Io. Tili de rebus Francorum Chronicon a Pharamundo usque ad Henricum II*: Paris, Vascosan, 1555 [folio]—and Prof. Girard (p. 259 n. 6) another, which has the further interest of taking back the original publication by four or five years. Copies of this edition of 1539 are in *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Histoire de France I* (1855) p. 63, with press-mark L. 35. 23, and *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de la ville de Grenoble II* (1835) no. 22, 881. From Maittaire ii 25 I conclude that this is the folio *Paul. Aemyl. de Gestis Francor. cum Chronic.* which M. Vascosan published in that year.

5. Besides the undated edition which I described of the 'leges barbarorum', there are also extant copies of an edition published at Paris in 1573, after du Tillet's death. Girard p. 259 n. 2.

6. Of the edition of Ulpian I had myself only seen the Louvain reprint of 1550. I noted the existence at Leyden of a copy of the original Paris issue of 1549, and to this Prof. Girard adds two more, Paris Bibliothèque Mazarine 21,242 and Troyes *Catalogue, Jurisprudence I* (1888) p. 42, no. 225. Girard p. 259 n. 3.

7. Prof. Bywater's library contains a copy of this edition of the Theodosian Code, and copies also of the Greek Canons (no. 2) and the Hebrew Matthew (no. 9).

9. Of the Hebrew Matthew I had seen no copy. Prof. Bywater's library contains it, and so does the Bibliothèque Nationale, A 600 in 8° (du Tillet's Hebrew MS is also in the Bibliothèque Nationale, *fonds hébreu* no. 132). Prof. Girard corrects (p. 258 n. 1) an error of Herbst, repeated by me, that du Tillet's letter of Nov. 27, 1554, printed in the text, was addressed to Mercier; in reality the letter is nothing else than the dedication to the cardinal of Lorraine. Prof. Bywater tells me that the same printer (Hebrew founts were, I suppose, not common in Paris) had also republished in 1551 the older Hebrew Gospel of Matthew originally issued by Münster at Basle in 1537.

11. It would appear that the 1563 edition of the *Epître d'un évêque aux Ministres des églises nouvelles* was followed up either by a second edition or by a sequel; for Maittaire (ii 52) catalogues, among the books published in 1566 by Morel's widow, a *Reponse aux ministres des églises nouvelles*.

ix. An early reference to du Tillet's MS of Frankish annals is supplied by a letter of January 1578 from Gifanius to Peter Daniel (Hagen *op. cit.*

p. 43): 'Saepe diuque te rogavi, vir doctissime, ut Chronicam illam de rebus gestis nepotum Caroli Magni, in qua et foedus est inter eos sermone Germanico et Gallico conscriptum, ab D. Tili heredibus commodato sumptam describendam mihi curares . . . Scio te gratia tua et auctoritate facile id consecuturum quod Bodinus iam est consecutus: nam in libris suis de rep. foederis verba quaedam commemorat.'

xii. The difficulty which I raised with respect to the employment by Vinet in his edition of 1563 (Poitiers) of any MS of Cornutus in Persium belonging to du Tillet is solved by a letter of Vinet's to Peter Daniel (Hagen *op. cit.* p. 36), from which it is clear that du Tillet only lent him the MS in question after 1563: 'de Cornuto . . . gaudeo plurimum de isto Veneto exemplari' [= a copy of the *editio princeps*], 'ex quo et altero illo tuo et eo quod post Pictaviensem editionem nobis commoda-uit Ioannes Tillius Briocensis episcopus, alteram editionem spero longe emendatiorem fore.'

C. H. TURNER.

#### ON ΨΗΛΑΦΩΜΕΝΩ IN HEB. XII 18.

IN Heb. xii 18 ψηλαφωμένω has rightly been translated as a participial form agreeing with ὄρει understood, for the contrast is obviously intended between mount Sinai and mount Sion, and is one that receives further point from the assonance of the two names, though Sinai is not mentioned. Dr Westcott, however, gave us 'palpable' after the Latin Vulgate, and made it to agree with 'fire' instead of 'mountain'—Ὁὗ γὰρ προσεληλίθατε ψηλαφωμένω καὶ κεκαυμένω πυρὶ κτλ., 'a palpable and kindled fire', and he induced the revisers to give this translation a place in the margin. It may, however, be questioned whether it is Greek and still more whether it is sense. 'A fire that has been burnt' would naturally mean a fire that has ceased to burn and is extinct. But there is no support for κεκαυμένω πυρὶ in the sense of a fire that has been kindled: καιομένω πυρὶ is the Greek for that. But what could the writer imagine by a 'fire that was palpable', when nobody ever knew a fire that was not palpable? And if we had to deal with a 'palpable' fire what use would there be in adding the statement that it was 'kindled'? If one should argue that 'kindled fire' is the commencement of the quotation from Deut. iv 11, the answer is that the words there are τὸ ὄρος ἐκαίετο πυρὶ, widely removed from the tense of κεκαυμένω πυρὶ and lending no sanction to the opinion of Westcott: and further that in that