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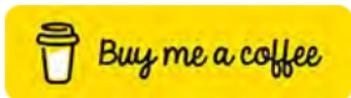
A table of contents for the *Journal of Theological Studies (old series)* can be found here:

pdfs are named: [Volume]_[1st page of article]

IIII°. Idus Septembris. Translacio sancti Egwyni episcopi et confessoris, memoria tantum. Or.

Presta nobis quesumus, omnipotens et misericors deus, ut qui beati Egwyni confessoris tui et pontificis transla⟨cionis diem ueneramur, per ipsius suffragia pie⟩tatis tue beneficia consequamur. Per dominum.

Sancte Eufemie virginis et martiris secundum usum Well'. Or.

Indulgenciam nobis, domine, beata Eufemia virgo et martir imploret, que tibi grata semper extitit et merito castitatis et tue professione virtutis. Per dominum.

Sancti Thome Herfordensis episcopi et confessoris. Or.

Deus qui ecclesiam tuam in beati pontificis tui Thome angelica puritate et virtutum gloria decorasti, concede nobis famulis tuis ut eius suffragantibus meritis angelorum cum ipso mereamur agminibus sociari. Per dominum.

Sancte Wenefride virginis et martiris. Oracio.

Deus qui beatam Wenefredam virginem tuam martirio consummatam mirabiliter suscitasti, et postea in presenti seculo vita diutina consecrasti : fac nobis quesumus ea interueniente vite presentis subsidia consequi pariter et futura. Per dominum.

Sancti Cungari secundum usum Well'. Or.

Deus qui beatum Cungarum fide et moribus preclarum ad regna transtulisti celestia : fac nobis ipsius suffragiis hostium nostrorum oblectamenta inoffensis gressibus transire, et per grata temporalium incrementa eterne prosperitatis premia sentire. Per.

Feria vj in natiuitate domini fiat memoria de sancto Egwyno. Or.

Sancti Egwyni confessoris tui atque pontificis, domine, nos iugiter prosequatur oracio ; et quod nostra non impetrat ipso pro nobis interueniente prestetur. Per dominum.

<div align="right">J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON.</div>

THE OLD-LATIN HEPTATEUCH.

The Old Latin Texts of the Heptateuch, by A. V. BILLEN, D.D. (Cambridge University Press, 1927.)

OLD-LATIN Texts of the Heptateuch have hitherto been more or less neglected. There is a good deal of material, but it was for the most part fragmentary and difficult to evaluate. For a great part of the area there is only one MS extant, the Lyons Heptateuch, which contains

about three-fourths of the whole. The full text of this codex has been available since 1900, and the bad habit has grown up of regarding it as *the* 'Old-Latin', which is just about as inadequate as if in the Gospels one treated *b* (Veronensis) as representing the pre-Vulgate Latin, to the exclusion of *k* and *e* and *a* and their companions. Dr Billen in the book here noticed has for the first time brought together all the material, and put the various elements each in its proper place.

The four main surviving texts are the MSS of Lyons (*L*), of Munich (*M*) and of Würzburg (*W*), and the extensive quotations of Augustine in the Questions and Locutions on the Heptateuch. *M* and *W* are both palimpsests: the former was edited by L. Ziegler in 1883, the latter by E. Ranke in 1871. *M* contains about 1,000 verses from Exod., Lev., Num., and Deut.; *W* about 360 from all the Pentateuch except Numbers. Both *M* and *W* are of the sixth century, if not earlier: *L* is late sixth century.

M, *W*, and *L* have all three been excellently edited. What was wanted, and has been supplied by Dr Billen, was a systematic comparison of them with each other and Patristic quotations. This is not so easy as might at first sight appear. The extant fragments often do not overlap, and where they do it is for the most part in the less quoted parts of the Pentateuch, where moreover the vocabulary is so technical as not readily to be compared with the more familiar vocabulary of the Gospels or the Psalms. There is also this further difficulty, that it is likely that the translation of the whole Pentateuch or Heptateuch was undertaken somewhat later than the more immediately edifying portions of Holy Writ, perhaps therefore by translators different from those of the Gospels or the Psalms or Isaiah, perhaps therefore having somewhat different preferences in the choice of renderings. It cannot be too clearly remembered that some of the things we label 'african' or 'european' are not differences of dialect, but a choice of synonyms made by certain translators. The use of *illic* for *ibi* may indeed be a true 'african-Latin' peculiarity; but the choice, e. g., of *claritas* to render δόξα instead of *gloria* or *honor* is a translator's choice, and we must be prepared to find that the 'african' preference for *claritas* in St Matthew may not hold for St John, still less for such-and-such a group of Old Testament books.

It is Dr Billen's great merit that he has found a method for characterizing the texts of *L*, *M*, and *W*. It is, in a word, to study their vocabularies as wholes, and then to compare, not single passages with single passages (for this can but rarely be done), but vocabulary with vocabulary. Dr Billen has worked out his results with the greatest care and thoroughness. He has shewn at the very beginning (p. 7 ff) that *L* itself is not homogeneous in text, and the same is true even more

strikingly of M (p. 23). Perhaps the most useful service a reviewer can render will be to give Dr Billen's main results in a succinct form, and then test them by a few examples.

L is mainly 'european', occupying roughly the sort of position that b does in the Gospels. It is not homogeneous in character, but agrees with Augustine in having a more 'african' vocabulary in Lev. and Num. than in the other books. Thus both L and Aug. have *proselytus* in Lev. and Num. but *aduena* in Deut.; other coincidences almost equally striking are given by Dr Billen on p. 18, though the two texts are by no means identical.

M is the most interesting of the texts : Dr Billen divides it into three sections of different textual character. The greater part of the surviving fragments (M^1), comprising Exod. xxxi–end, all Leviticus, and Deut. xxii–end, is almost pure 'african', i. e. akin to Cyprian's quotations. A second division (M^2) comprises Numbers and Deut. viii–x : this is a mixed text, less 'african' than M^1, but specially characterized by the fact that it agrees very closely with the corresponding parts of L. This is all the more remarkable, as it has already been established from internal character and by comparison with Augustine that the text of L in Num. is more 'african' than in Deut.: nevertheless the agreement with M^2 in both Num. and the early part of Deut. is well marked. The third division (M^3) consists of the earlier parts of Exodus (ix–xx), in which the text is mostly European.

Thus M has a mixed text, like c of the Gospels, which is 'european' in Matt., 'mixed' with Vulgate in Jn., and largely 'african' in Mk. and Lk. And in view of the very natural preponderance of 'european' elements in our MSS of the Gospels I think we ought rather to congratulate ourselves that the 'african' elements in M are so extensive than to be disappointed at the mixed character of its text.

W appears to be fairly uniform in character, occupying a position between M and W. 'In all places where W and M are both extant M has the more primitive text, while generally W is not so late as L' (Billen, p. 35). It may therefore be compared roughly to a in the Gospels.

In every way Dr Billen's book may be warmly commended to the little band of students who still interest themselves in textual criticism, and further a word should be said upon the attractive way in which the Cambridge University Press have printed it. The Index of Noteworthy Words (pp. 185–222) is a model of clearness without waste of space. I will conclude by a couple of examples, one linguistic, the other textual, which will serve both to illustrate and test Dr Billen's conclusions.

One of the few omissions I find in the book is a discussion of *secus*,

or rather one should say of the Latin renderings of παρὰ with accusa-tive.[1] The main point in such a discussion is that whereas 'african' texts in the Gospels have for 'by the way-side' (παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν) *ad uiam*, *iuxta uiam*, or sometimes *circa uiam*, the 'european' texts, including the quotations of Ambrose, have the non-classical *secus uiam*. Roughly speaking, the presence of the preposition *secus* in a text marks it as non-african and not earlier than the 4th century.

Secus = παρά occurs in *L* Exod. ii 5 (not *v.* 3), xxix 12, xl 29 (26) ; Lev. i 16 ; Num. vi 13, 18, xvi 18 (not *vv.* 19, 27) ; Deut. ii 8 (not *v.* 36), iii 12. This is 9 times in all, out of a possible 37. *Secus* occurs in *W* Exod. xl 29 (26), in agreement with *L*, i. e. once out of a possible 8. In *M*[1] (i. e. Exod. xxxi–end, Leviticus, late Deut.) *secus* does not occur at all : in Exod. xl 6 it has *secundum* (and so probably in xl 29), while in Lev. iv 4, 14 it has *ad* (with *L*). In *M*[2] (i. e. Numbers) *secus* = παρά does not occur, but it has *circa* in xxxiii 9, 50, *iuxta* in xxxv 1, and *ab* (!) in xxxiii 49 : in all four places *L* agrees with *M*[2], a very striking illustration of the similarity of these texts.

On the other hand in *M*[3] we find *secus deserta loca* for παρὰ τὴν ἔρημον in Exod. xiii 20.

Secus does occur once in *M*[2], but it renders κατά not παρά, a usage found elsewhere, e. g. in the Latin Clement § 20 (p. 21, l. 7) and in the very ancient MS of the Assumption of Moses. The passage is Num. xxxiv 15, and here also *L* agrees with *M*[2].

Thus a consideration of the use or avoidance of *secus* in our MSS confirms Dr Billen in his analysis of the text of *M*.

It may be asked whether these intricate investigations have any tangible result, whether anything of any general interest is suggested or proved by labelling parts of an almost illegible palimpsest 'unrevised' or 'african'. Let us therefore look and see whether the older parts of *M* bring out anything that is new.

The actual disposition of the sacred objects in the Tabernacle is a matter of some interest. The arrangements are described at length in Exodus xxv ff., but technical descriptions of this kind are particularly liable to scribal errors, and where such errors have occurred we cannot expect our texts to be clear. Nevertheless there can be little doubt as to the main facts ; the sacred objects, the Ark, the Table, &c., are described in Exod. xxv, and their position in the Tabernacle in Exod. xxvi. The Tabernacle was something like a Church with a Nave and Chancel, only the Chancel was at the West end (xxvi 22). At the East or open end was a curtain, and another, known as the Veil, shut off the Chancel (i. e. 'the Holy of Holies') from the Nave in which were the Table of Shew-bread and the Candlestick. This Veil was similar in

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[1] See *J. T. S.* ix 297–300.

position and function to a chancel-screen or the iconostasis of an Eastern Church : it was not in any way comparable to an altar-covering or a table-cloth. Inside the Veil was the Holy of Holies (or Chancel) in which there was nothing but the Ark, on the top of which was laid a golden slab called the ' Mercy Seat ' or ' Propitiatory '.[1]

All this is to be found in any Bible Dictionary under the word 'Tabernacle', but Commentaries on Exodus are not everywhere quite so clear. The ultimate cause of this is that in Hebrew the word for ' veil ' (פָּרֹכֶת *pārōkheth*) is very much like the word for 'propitiatory' (כַּפֹּרֶת *kappōreth*) ; in one or two places they have been confused, with the result that ' on ' the Ark is placed not the sacred portable golden slab but a veil, which inevitably suggests a sort of altar-cloth. Thus in Exod. xxvi 34, where the Hebrew has 'thou shalt put the mercy-seat upon the ark', the LXX is κατακαλύψεισ τῷ καταπετάσματι τὴν κιβωτόν. This does suggest something of the nature of an altar-cloth, though the previous verse has explained that the Veil divides the whole Chancel from the Nave. Yet here Dr McNeile (' *Westminster Commentaries* ' *Exodus*, p. 173) most unaccountably considers פרכת ' veil ' preferable to כפרת ' mercy-seat '.

In the last chapter of Exodus we have the account of the actual inauguration of the Tabernacle. In Exod. xl 3 we are surprised to find no mention at all of the most sacred ' mercy-seat ' or ' propitiatory ': instead of this we read ' and thou shalt make the veil a covering over the ark '.[2] The Revised Version has ' thou shalt screen the ark with the veil ', but that is an interpretation rather than a literal translation. Here the Samaritan text comes to our aid : instead of פרכת (veil) it reads כפרת ' propitiatory '. This is exactly what is wanted, for what was ' over ' the ark was the propitiatory, not the veil. But against accepting this palmary emendation was the fact that the texts of the LXX, though here very confused, all have τῷ καταπετάσματι : there is nothing about a ἱλαστήριον.

That the texts of the LXX here are confused is attested by the fact that Exod. xl 3 is one of the few verses where the Cambridge Editors have deserted B and constructed an emended text for themselves. *L* and *W* are also extant. They have respectively

> *L—et ponis arcam testimonii et coperies arcam de uelamine.*
> *W—et pones arcam testamenti et coperies de uelamine.*

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[1] Connected with this slab were the golden Cherubs. In Solomon's Temple (1 Kings vi 27) they seem to have been fixed objects under which the moveable Ark was put : in the Tabernacle they were obliged to be portable, so they rest *on* the Ark instead of forming a niche overshadowing the Ark.

[2] וסכת על הארן את הפרכת. For the construction see Exod. xxxiii 22 : the usual construction with סכך is to have no direct accusative, as in 1 Kings viii 7.

When however we turn to *M* we find

Et pones arcam testamenti et super eam propitiatorium,

followed by 'and thou shalt bring in the Table' (*ver.* 4). Thus *L* and *W* agree with the extant Greek texts of the LXX in supporting the פרכת of the Masoretic Hebrew text, while *M* agrees with the Samaritan in supporting כפרת. The variation obviously arose in a Hebrew text, not in a Greek or Latin one, and it seems to me impossible to resist the conclusion that here not only is the Samaritan right and the present Hebrew wrong, but also that *M* here preserves, and preserves alone, the true original 'Septuagint' and that all the other extant texts, including *L* and *W* and also codex B, have been revised to agree with the present Hebrew.[1] It is, I may remark in passing, a merit in B that in this verse it should be so faulty as to be unsuitable as a basis for the various readings of the other MSS, for it is as if a lying witness should whisper 'Do not trust me, I have had a false word put in my mouth here'.

It will be noticed that there is no verb in *M* corresponding to σκεπάσεισ (וסכת). I incline to think this omission is part of the style of translation, like *eam* instead of 'ark': there is in *M* a certain impatience all through these chapters with the leisurely style of the Priestly Code. It was probably the presence of the verb 'cover' instead of 'put' (as in Exod. xxv 21, xxvi 34) that caused the corruption of כפרת into פרכת.

It may be remarked also that in xl 19 (Heb. *ver.* 21) the *propitiatorium* appears in *M* and in the Hebrew, though it is absent from all other LXX authorities, including *L* and *W*. The wording of *M*—here much mutilated—does not agree verbally with the present Hebrew, so that *M* cannot have got its text from a Hexaplar source. In any case the decisive letters P . . . . . . | RIUM, i. e. *propitiato*rium, are visible.

The furniture of the Tabernacle and its disposition may be regarded by some as a matter of indifference. But I venture to think that the details of the transmission of Exod. xl 3 in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin do force upon us the conclusion that in this instance—and who knows in how many others?—all our LXX authorities except one branch of the Old-Latin have suffered revision from the Masoretic Hebrew. This conclusion, if accepted, is important. It shews us how little textual weight the LXX has when it agrees with the existing Hebrew, while at

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[1] I brought forward this variation as an instance of the particular value of the text of *M* in *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (1903), col. 5023, note 2. In that note delete 'and the Jer. Targ.', for the 'propitiatory' is only found in a printed ed. of that Targum, not in the only extant MS (which is now known to have פרוכתא).

the same time it brings into due prominence the unique value of the ancient Latin documents in the elucidation of which Dr Billen has worked so patiently and so successfully.

F. C. BURKITT.

THE TEXT OF EXODUS XL 17–19 IN THE MUNICH PALIMPSEST.

THE Munich Palimpsest, called Mon. by Dr Billen and here *M*, is a sixth-century Latin uncial, with two columns to the page. When turned into a palimpsest the page was cut down so that about one-half of every alternate column is missing. There should be from 15 to 19 letters in a line, rarely more in Exod. xl, and any reconstruction should aim at an average of 17. Ziegler, who deciphered the MS so admirably, was not equally careful in his reconstructions of the missing half-lines, and he tends to suggest supplements that are too long. In counting, each letter, even 'M', counts one, but two 'I's' only count as one letter.

I here print my reconstruction of Exod. xl 17–19, giving Ziegler's (= Z) in the notes. Emended lines are marked with a *.

Ziegler, p. 29, col. *b*, ll. 6–25.

TUITCOLUMN*AS"ETEXTE-*
DITAULEAIN*TABERNACU*
LO   ETINPOS*UITUELU-*
TABERNACU*LIDESUPER*   *
10 SECUNDUM*QUAEPRAE*
CEPITILLIDS
18ETACCEPITTES*TIMONIAETI-*   *
MISITINARC*AMETSUBMI*
SITGESTATOR*IASUBANSO*
15 LASARCAE 19*ETINTULITEA-*   *
INSANCTU*MSANCTO*
RUM   ETI*NPOSUITSU*
PEREAMP*ROPITIATO*   *
RIUMQU*ODERATDE*   *
20 *SU*PER   *
ETDIUI*SITMOYSESINTER*   *
SANCTU*MSANCTORUM*   *
ETTAB*ERNACULUM*   *
TESTIM*ONIISICUTEI*   *
25 PRAECE*PITDMS*   *

9 *desuper*] *super illud* Z : this is too long, and *desuper* corresponds to ἐπ' αὐτὴν in *ver.* 29.