

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

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FURTHER NOTES ON CODEX \mathfrak{k} .

WHEN passing through Turin in April of this year I was able to spend a couple of days in examining Codex Bobiensis (\mathfrak{k}) with the aid of the Oxford edition, and though the total result was not very large, yet the great importance of \mathfrak{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 \mathfrak{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 \mathfrak{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. 41a), 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 \mathfrak{h}^{e} , 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 \mathfrak{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. 41a 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*

vi. 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) bestaūda *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 np, 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 · dōm^a dōm^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 cruce 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 dīⁱ is taken off from the opposite side¹.
 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) hā k, not h^a
 iv 21 (fol. 51 a, l. 2) no capital to zebdei in k
 v 30 (fol. 55 a, ll. 4, 5) abilice (misprint)] abilce 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. ἐρεψαν), pro|cerunt m. 3

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

Mc. viii 27	for	ī̄s	read	hī ^a
ix 2	„	hī	„	hī ^a
4	„	hī	„	hīs (= iesu)
8	„	hī	„	hīs (= iesum)
25	„	hī	„	hī ^a
27	„	hīs	„	hī ^a

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	hī	read	hī ^a
	27, 29	„	hīs (bis)	„	hī ^a (bis)
xiv	53	„	hī ⁱ	„	hī ^a (= <i>iesum</i>)
	60	„	h̄s	„	h̄s ^a
	67	„	hī ^u	„	hī ^a (= <i>iesu</i>)
xv	43	„	ih ^u	„	Ih ^a
xvi	6	„	ih ^a	„	Ih ^a

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 NBC*LA 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 *mp*. 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 ul, 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 *pescas* (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 δεξιαῖς*), 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 century¹. 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 *ic* does not occur, as the MS has *hī*^s in Mark viii 27. In the two places where *k* was reported to give the common Latin compendium (*ih̄*^u Mark xv 43, *ih̄*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 *Ih̄*^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. 308¹², cod. S is said to have *quotidie*.

Sacramentary and the *Capitula* of Remedius) that have been taken from Chur to S. Gallen¹, 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. Patrick².

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 *f*, whereby 's' is confused with 'i' and with 'f,' but this long *f* can be illustrated from written Pompeian tablets (*Pal. Soc.* I, vol. iii, plate 159), so that it affords no evidence for date or place³. 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 compiled⁴ 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 308¹⁹, 310^{5, 15}).

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 agnoscitis* he wrote *solī agnoscitis* '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 8f) 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 history¹.

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.

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