

Papyri, ii 69. 29 [A. D. 265] and 75. 8 [A. D. 305]—and two more from pseudonymous literature, *Apocalypse of Baruch* (in *Texts and Studies*, v 1), 93. 29, and *Apocalypse of Paul*, ed. Tischendorf, 51. 1. [I can now add myself Athanasius *Tom. ad Antiochenos* 4 ἀλλὰ πλήρη εὐσεβείας εἶναι, where the Benedictines note that two MSS—including their best, the *Regius*—read πλήρης.]

In speaking of the Syriac versions (p. 123, ll. 14, 15) I fell into error in under-estimating the support they give to my view. My friend Mr. F. C. Burkitt tells me that (1) in the Curetonian the (masculine) gender of the word 'full' shews that it must go not with 'word' which is feminine, but with either 'glory' or 'only-begotten' which are both masculine: (2) in the Peshitto the sometimes ancient punctuation retained in the New York edition divides the verse into three clauses: (i) καὶ ὁ λόγος . . . ἐν ἡμῖν, (ii) καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, (iii) δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός πλήρης χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας, so that 'full' is separated from 'The Word,' but goes equally well with 'glory' or 'only-begotten,' or indeed even with 'Father': (3) in the Palestinian Syriac 'glory' is feminine as well as 'word,' so that the masculine 'full' must be taken with μονογενοῦς or πατρός.

My most grateful thanks are due to both Dr. Nestle and Mr. Burkitt for supplying me with these opportunities of confirming my argument.

C. H. TURNER.

NOTE ON THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS CONTAINING, OR RELATING TO, THE PROPOSALS OF THE NONJURING BISHOPS FOR A 'CONCORTATE' WITH THE HOLY ORTHODOX CHURCH OF THE EAST (1716-1725).

MR. LATHBURY was, if I mistake not, the first writer during the present century to give a tolerably full account of the negotiations between certain of the nonjuring bishops and the Russian and Greek Churches, extending, at intervals, from 1716 to 1725. In his *History of the Nonjurors*, 1845 (pp. 309-358), he printed, from a MS in the collection made by Bishop Jolly, a large body of letters and papers which, in their English form, had been transcribed and arranged by Dr. Thomas Brett, who had been consecrated a bishop among the nonjurors in 1716. In 1868 Mr. George Williams published his volume, *The Orthodox Church of the East in the eighteenth century, being the correspondence between the Eastern Patriarchs and the Nonjuring Bishops*. With his scholarly

instincts he naturally made search for the original documents. There was a hint that they might be in the Library at Lambeth, but on enquiry this hope turned out to be unfounded. He discovered, however, that 'copies of the most important papers in Greek are contained in a small 4to volume among the Wake Papers in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford'; 'but,' he adds, 'the bulk of the Correspondence and the Original Letters of the Patriarchs have as yet baffled my search' (p. lxxvii). Now it is curious to find that one of the copies of Brett's 'Account' which Williams collated (apparently the same as that used by Lathbury) was lent to him from Bishop's Jolly's library, then deposited at Trinity College, Glenalmond, and that by a piece of remarkable ill-luck Williams was not supplied with the originals which he sought and which all the while were lying probably on the very same shelf with Brett's 'Account.' These interesting and valuable documents were some years ago transferred to the Theological College of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, at Edinburgh. It may be of use to students to have these documents catalogued.

We have no express evidence as to how the documents came into Bishop Jolly's collection; but as the original suggestion that a 'Concordate' should be attempted came from the Scottish bishop, Archibald Campbele, and as he and his fellow-countryman, Bishop James Gadderar, took an active part in the negotiations, one may conjecture that it was through one or other of these that the documents reached Scotland. But as to how or where they were preserved before coming into the hands of Bishop Jolly I am unable to say¹.

The documents are contained in three folio volumes, bound in brown calf, and consist of (1) the original 'fair copies' (transcribed in a clear clerkly hand) of the letters, &c., sent by the nonjurors to Russia and the East, together with (2) the actual letters and other official documents sent in reply. These latter are all neatly inserted (sometimes mounted on guards), and are in perfect preservation. These three volumes I will designate respectively as A, B, C.

There is a fourth folio volume (in limp parchment), which I will mark D. But it is only a copy of Brett's 'Account,' that is, a transcript of the English drafts of the correspondence on the side of the nonjurors², and of translations into English of the Latin, Greek, and Muscovite letters and documents on the side of the Russians and Greeks, all arranged chronologically, together with some observations by Brett

¹ There is some reason, I think, to suppose that they were once in the possession of William Falconer, bishop, successively, of Caithness, Moray, and Edinburgh, and Primus (1762-82); but the question need not be pursued here.

² As the English drafts were not subscribed, Brett has added the subscriptions from the Latin and Greek of the letters as actually sent.

himself. In the following note it has been found seldom necessary to refer to D. Its contents have been printed in Mr. George Williams' volume referred to above, and as this is a book which every one who is interested in the subject must have in his hands, it may be useful to note the pages in Williams' book (which I designate as W) at which the documents referred to in the catalogue may be found.

There is inserted in the front of A a catalogue of all the letters and documents in a hand which I have not identified¹. It is evidently written by one who had some knowledge of the inner history of the proceedings, and contains some valuable information as to the persons who drew up the documents on the side of the nonjurors, and as to those who were employed to do the work of translation into and from the Greek and Latin.

I have thought it best to transcribe this old catalogue, placing anything added by me in square brackets.

'An Acct of the Papers relating to a Concordate between the Greek Church and the Catholick remnant of the British Churches.'

1. A Proposal for a Concordate, Gr. [A 1] Lat. [A 9] and English [A 19: W 4], dated August 18, 1716. The English, I suppose, was drawn up by Mr. Collier or Dr. Lee; the Latin by Dr. Lee, and the Greek by Mr. Spinckes. It was sent into the East to Muscovy, subscribed by Mr. Collier, and Mr. Campbell, and Mr. Gadderar; and concocted at Mr. Hawes's.

[On a loose folio sheet lying in the same volume (A) containing a transcript of the catalogue there is added in a contemporary hand, 'N.B. The English of this 1st Proposal was not sent, but only the Gr. to the Patriarchs, and the Latin was given to the Abp. of Thebes [*sic*], that he might, if he had an opportunity, communicate it to the Moscovites, when he was there. And both the Lat. and Gr. were subscribed by the same Bps.']

2. A Letter to the Czar of Moscovy, Lat. [B 2] and Eng. [B 1: W 12], dat. Oct. 8, 1717, drawn up, I believe, in both languages by Mr. Collier, and subscribed by Mr. Collier, Mr. Campbell, and Mr. Gadderar.

3. A Letter from the Abp. of Thebais in Greek, dat. from Petersburg, Aug. 16, 1721 [B 5], with a Translation by Tho. Wagstaffe [B 7: W 12]².

4. The Patriarchs' Answer to the proposal, in Greek [A 31-82], dat.

¹ Quære, T. Deacon's!

² The words 'The *second Decade* of the month *Μεταγετηνίου*,' which will be found in W and in D, are not in Wagstaffe's translation. Arsenius seems to have first written *ισταμένου*, and then, seeing his mistake, to have corrected it into *μεσούτος*, but the word is not very legible. As I read the words they are *μεταγετηνίου 15' μεσούτος*.

April 12, 1718, but not brought hither till about 1722; subscribed by Samuel, the then Patriarch of Alexandria, and his Patriarchal Seal impressed at the bottom, with a Translation by T. Wagstaffe [A 85-145: W 15¹].

5. Reply to the Patriarchs' Answer to the Proposal, dat. May 29, 1722, drawn up in English by Mr. Collier [A 181-201: W 83], but sent only in Greek and Latin; of which the Greek [A 149-162] was done by T. Wagstaffe, and the Latin [A 163-180] by Mr. Jebb; subscribed by Mr. Collier, Dr. Brett, Mr. Campbel, and Mr. Gatherer, and Thomas Deacon, the registrar. [Gatherer is a not infrequent variant of Gadderar in the nonjuring writings of the time. Collier subscribed the Greek version as δ' Ἀγγλο-βρετανίας πρῶτος ἐπίσκοπος Ἱερουσάλης. The πρῶτος, when it came to the knowledge of Archbishop Wake, naturally gave offence. T. Deacon, too, subscribes in rather grandiloquent language, δ' μέγας χαρτοφύλαξ Θεωμῆς δ' τοῦ Διακόνου.]

6. Communion Office in Gr. [A 203] and Lat. [A 227], of which the Greek was done by Mr. Griffin, and the Latin by Mr. Ford. [These documents show at a glance that Mr. Williams (p. 102) is in error in stating that the Communion Office referred to was 'the Scottish Communion Office.' They are translations of the English Nonjurors' Communion Office, as it appears in the volume *A Communion Office, taken partly from the Primitive Liturgies, and partly from the first English Reformed Common Prayer Book, together with Offices for Confirmation and the Visitation of the Sick: London, 1718*. This has been reprinted in P. Hall's *Fragmenta Liturgica*, vol. v (1848), and in Dowden's *Annotated Scottish Communion Office* (1884). Mr. Williams' error is however partially condoned by the fact that he did not find the office in any of the copies of Brett's Account which he had collated. It is interesting to note that in the document sent to the East the non-juring bishops gave the words of the Creed, referring to the Double Procession as follows: τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς [καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ] ἐκπορευόμενον; and added the marginal note Ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα [καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ] παραλειφθήσονται ὅταν ἡ ἐκκλῆσις τῆς κοινωνίας χάριτι τοῦ θεοῦ εὐδαιμόνως συντελεθῇσεται.]

7. Letter to the Abp. of Thebais, dat. May 30, 1722, drawn up in Eng. [B 9: W 102] by Mr. Campbel, but sent, as I remember, only in Latin [B 11], which was done by Mr. Jebb; subscribed by Mr. Collier, Dr. Brett, Mr. Campbel, and Mr. Gaderar.

8. Letter to the Ecclesiastical Council at Petersburg, dat. May 30, 1722, Eng. [B 13: W 104] and Lat. [B 15], viz. Eng. by Mr. Collier and Lat. by Mr. Jebb, subscribed by the same as the former, and sent, I think, in both languages, but *quære*. [The Latin has appended the

¹ This is throughout written in beautiful clerly Greek script, save the autograph attestation and subscription.

following, not reproduced in Brett's 'Account' or in W, '*Serenissimo Imperatori Magnae Russiae, et Sacro Concilio Praesidentibus, Reverendissimis Archiepiscopis ac Dominis D. Stephano Razamiensi, D. Theodosio Novogradensi, D. Theophani Piscoviensi.*']

9. Letter to the Count de Golowkin, Lord High Chancellor of Russia, Eng. dat. May 31, 1722; drawn up by Mr. Collier, and subscribed by him, Mr. Campbel, and Mr. Gaderar. [B 17 : W 106. A marginal note in the old catalogue observes of 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 'these were all sent at the same time.']

10. Letter from the Abp. of Thebais in Greek [B 19], dat. June 11, 1722, with a Translation [B 21 : W 107] by T. Wagstaffe.

11. Letter in Eng. from the Protosyncellus, dat. Petersburg, Sept. 20, 1722 [B 23 : W 107].

12. Letter from the Abp. of Thebais in Lat., dat. at Moscow, Dec. 9, 1722 [B 27 : W 108. The English translation given by W is not among the originals].

13. Answer to the Abp. of Thebais in Lat., dat. January 28, 1723, subscribed by Mr. Collier and Mr. Campbel [B 31. The English [W 110] is not among the originals].

14. A Letter from the Abp. of Thebais in Lat., dat. from Moscow, Aug. 25, 1723 [B 33. The English translation [W 112] is not among the originals, but is taken, as in the last instance, from Brett's 'Account.']

15. Letter from the Russian Synod, Moscovitick [B 37] and Latin [B 41], dat. from Moscow, Feb. 1723 : subscribed by Theodosius, Archiepiscopus Novo-Gardiae et Archimandrita Alexandro-Nevensis, Theophanes [in the Latin original 'Theophanus'] Archiepiscopus Plescoviensis, Gabriel Archimandrita Sanctae Trinitatis, Sergii Monasterii, Theophylactus Archimandrita Czudoviensis, Ierotheos Archimandrita Noevospaski, Petrus Archimandrita Simonoviensis, Athanasius Igumenus Tolski, Anastasius Nausius. [W 114 is from Brett's 'Account.']

16. Letter from the Russian Synod, Moscovitick [B 45] and Latin [B 49], dat. from Petersburg, Feb. 2, 1724, subscribed by Theophanes Archiepiscopus Plescoviensis, Theophylactus Episcopus Tweriensis, Gabriel Archimandrita SS^{ae} Trinitatis, Theophilus Archimandrita Czudoviensis, Ierotheus Archimandrita S. Salvatoris, Petrus Proto-Presbyter Ecclesiae S. Petri. [W 116 is from Brett's 'Account.']

17. The Patriarchs' Rejoinder to the Reply, in Greek [this important document is bound separately in C], dat. from Constantinople, Sept. 1723, subscribed by Ieremias Patriarch of Constantinople, Athanasius Patriarch of Antioch, Chrysanthus Patriarch of Jerusalem, Callinicus of Heraclea, Auxentius of Cyzicum, Païsius of Nicomedia, Gerasimus of

Nice, Parthenius of Chalcedon, Ignatius of Thessalonica, Arsenius of Prysa, Theoctistus of Philopopolis, Callinicus of Varna : with a translation [C, at the end] by T. Wagstaffe, of as much of it as is not to be found between page 225 and 333 of the *Synodus Bethlehemitica*, published in Greek and Latin at Paris An. 1676. [Williams has in an Appendix (pp. 141-168) translated the parts omitted by Wagstaffe ; but it should be observed that the passage (p. 168) referring, in contemptuous language, to 'Claud, a minister of Charenton,' is not found in the Greek of the Patriarchs' Rejoinder. A marginal note in the old catalogue states that 14, 15, 16, 17, were 'all brought hither at the same time.']

18. Mr. Cassano's Letter [B 53] to the English Bishops for a character [W 122], and their Letter to the Archimandrite upon that subject in Greek, subscribed by Mr. Collier and Mr. Campbel [B 55. Brett's translation in W 123].

19. Answer to the Abp. of Thebais, dat. July 13, 1724, drawn up in English [B 57 : W 123], I think, by Dr. Brett, but sent only in Latin [B 59], which was done by Mr. Jebb, subscribed by Mr. Collier, Dr. Brett, Mr. Griffin, and Mr. Campbel.

20. Answer to the Russian Synod, dat. July 13, 1724, Eng. and Lat., of which the Eng. [B 61 : W 125] was drawn up by Mr. Collier, and the Latin [B 63] by Mr. Jebb, subscribed by the same as the former, and sent in both languages in one cover.

21. Letter to the Great Chancellor of Russia, English [B 65 : W 126], dat. July 13, 1724, drawn up by Mr. Collier, and subscribed by the same as the two former. [A marginal note states that 19, 20, 21 'were all sent at the same time.']

22. The Receipt given to the Protosyncellus (for the books sent to the English Bishops as a present from the Patriarchs), Latin, dat. July 13, 1724, drawn up and subscribed by the same as the three former letters [B 67. The English translation [W 128] is from Brett's 'Account'].

23. A minute delivered to Mr. Cassano, in English, March 8, 1724, i.e. 1724. [B 68 : W 129.]

24. Letter to the Russian Synod, drawn up in English [B 69 : W 129] by Mr. Campbel, as I remember, but sent only in Latin [B 70], which was done by Mr. Jebb, dat. April 11, 1725, and subscribed by Mr. Collier, Mr. Griffin, and Mr. Campbel.

25. Letter to the Great Chancellour of Russia, Eng., dat. April 11, 1725, drawn up by [a blank space is left here], and subscribed by the same as the former. [B 71 : W 130.]

26. Letter to the Abp. of Thebais, dat. April 11, 1725, drawn up in English [B 72 : W 130] by [a blank here], but sent only in Latin

[B 72], which was done by Mr. Jebb, subscribed as the two former. [In the margin 'These (24, 25, 26) were sent at the same time.']

27. The Great Chancellour of Russia's Answer, in English, dat. Sept. 16, 1725 [B 73 : W 131].

This concludes the old catalogue. Some day it may be thought of sufficient interest to print the originals ; but it must be acknowledged that the English of Brett's 'Account,' as printed by Williams, gives in all material points the sense of the documents. The important point to notice is that the Greek bishops of that day adopt absolutely the doctrinal definitions of the Synod of Bethlehem, and peremptorily demand of the British bishops acceptance of these doctrinal definitions as the first step towards union.

JOHN DOWDEN.

1. ON ISAIAH xix 18.

ACCORDING to the ordinary text we read in Isaiah xix 18—

'In that day there shall be five cities in the land of Egypt that speak the language of Canaan and swear to the LORD of hosts ; one shall be called The city of destruction.'

So R.V., which adds to the word 'destruction' the marginal note 'Or, *Heres* Or, according to another reading, *the sun*.'

It is obvious that there is a difficulty here. 'City of Destruction' is not a cheering title, and 'City of Heres' is unmeaning, while 'City of the Sun' betrays itself as a mere conjecture, though it is as old as Symmachus and the Targum. 'City of the Sun' would mean Bethshemesh, i. e. Heliopolis, and Isaiah would hardly have announced in the name of Jahwe that a certain Egyptian city after its conversion would continue to bear an idolatrous name ; moreover, the word used is a poetical term for the sun, quite out of place in this passage, as the English reader will feel if he substitutes *Phoebus' Town* for *City of Destruction*.

Most texts of LXX have

πόλις ἀσεδὰκ ἐληθήσεται ἡ μία πόλις.

It is usually said in commentaries that LXX reads עיר הצדק (i. e. 'City of Righteousness') for עיר ההרס, but this is a very violent change. The object of this Note is to suggest a slight alteration in the Greek, partly attested by existing documentary evidence, which leads to a satisfactory emendation of the Hebrew. I wish to read ἀσεδ (or ἀσεδ) for ἀσεδὰκ, corresponding to עיר החסד. Thereby instead of 'City of