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Joseph Scaliger's Greek-Arabic lectionary

(Leiden, U.L., MS. Or. 243 = Lectionary 6 of the Greek New Testament)

Bienheureuse la Hollande et Leyden qui peut ainsi jouir de vos labeurs
(Merlin to Scaliger, 17 July 1602; ed. J. de Reves, *Epistres... à Monsr.*
J. J. de La Scala (Harderwyck-Amsterdam 1624), p. 291)

Of the five or six thousand manuscripts in which the Greek text of the New Testament has been preserved, eleven are at present in the Netherlands.* The libraries of the universities of Amsterdam, Groningen and Utrecht each have one, and the other eight are in the University Library in Leiden.¹

Two of these Dutch manuscripts are written in uncials: the Utrecht *Codex Boreelianus*, in a heavy, liturgical uncial of the ninth or tenth century, and the Leiden manuscript Or. 243, in a sloping uncial of more recent date. Of the New Testament manuscripts in the Netherlands these two are the only ones to be included in the critical apparatus of the most widely used reference edition of the Greek New Testament, that of Nestle and Aland. Variants of the Utrecht manuscript are referred to nine times, under the siglum *F*. Only once, however, does Nestle's apparatus quote Leiden Or. 243, under the siglum δ^{lect} , and in this case the reading given is totally inaccurate.²

It is to the Leiden manuscript Or. 243, far less familiar to students of the New Testament than its Utrecht companion, that I shall turn my attention here. I shall in turn discuss its provenance, the environment in which it was written, its dating and its place in the textual history of the New Testament. First of all, however, there follows a brief description of the codex.³

* I am indebted to Professor J. Smit Sibinga of Amsterdam University who was kind enough to read the typescript of this article; I have profited greatly by his criticisms and suggestions.

¹ K. Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (Berlin 1963), 'Bibliotheksverzeichnis'.

² In 1 Pet. 2 : 23, according to Nestle-Aland, the Leiden lectionary reads $\acute{\alpha}\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\omega\varsigma$ instead of $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$. Were this true it would be a significant fact, because a number of Latin witnesses, including the Vulgate, do indeed give *iniuste*. Or. 243 would then be the only Greek witness for this reading. In reality, however, Or. 243 has the usual $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$. The later, clearly distinguishable hand of the Latin annotator who was also active elsewhere in the MS., has added an *alpha* before $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$, in an attempt to make the text of Or. 243 agree with the Vulgate. The faded ink of the addition shows up clearly against the black of the actual text. Moreover, the result of the addition is not $\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\kappa\omega\varsigma$, as Nestle-Aland claims, but $\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$, which is not even Greek.

³ Descriptions of Or. 243 are to be found in: (Stephan le Moine writing in) R. Simon, *Histoire critique des versions du N.T.* (Rotterdam 1690), p. 210; J. J. Wetstenius, *Novum Testamentum graecum*, 1 (Amsterdam 1751), pp. 63-4; M. J. de Goeje, *Catalogus codicum orientalium*, 5 (Lugd.

The manuscript Leiden U.L. Or. 243 (= lectionary 6 of the Greek New Testament) comprises 275 paper leaves.⁴ True, the pagination, which is in a western eighteenth-century hand, goes up to 556, but the numbers 333-4, 433-4 and 505-6 have not been allocated despite the fact that there are no lacunae in the text at these points. On the other hand, such lacunae do occur at five other places without any indication of this fact in the pagination. In other words, at least five leaves are missing.

Because the upper margin has been cut off, the foliation, which is in a western hand of the sixteenth or seventeenth century, has almost entirely disappeared. Among the numbers still distinguishable are those of the first seven leaves and the number 274 on p. 555. The outer margin has also been cut off, so that the old Arabic foliation has survived only in part. At present the leaves, the margins of which have been restored with strips of paper, measure 19.2 x 13.4 cm.⁵

On each page there are two columns, the left-hand one being the Bible text in Greek, the right-hand one a translation in Arabic (see photograph 1). The Greek column generally comprises eighteen lines averaging between twelve and thirteen uncials. The Arabic text usually requires fewer lines.

The contents of the manuscript are a series of passages taken from the New Testament and the Psalms. As indicated above each of the passages, they served as liturgical readings from the Scriptures in the period between Palm Sunday and the Saturday after Easter. A complete and accurate list of the passages in the codex was published by A. Baumstark in 1915.⁶

The Bible text is written in an ink which is still black today. Headings above the individual lessons, with references to the source of the passage and the hour for which it is intended, are written in red. In many places in the manuscript a sixteenth-century user has scribbled a Latin translation in the margins or between the lines of the Greek text. The ink of these notes has faded greatly and is clearly distinguishable from that of the original script. The Greek text contains corrections made by the first scribe, sometimes evidently after comparison with a manuscript different from that which served as his original.

The Greek of the codex is all in the same hand, but in some places this first scribe's work has been replaced by text in later, less practised hands. The leaf bearing pp. 1 and 2 has been inserted following the removal of the original

Bat. 1873), pp. 78-9; F. H. A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the N.T.* (Cambridge 1883³), p. 280; C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des N.T.* (Leipzig 1909), p. 387; P. Voorhoeve, *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden... (= Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis. Codices Manuscripti 7)* (Leiden 1957), p. 50, and elsewhere.

⁴ Not 278, as asserted in Aland's *Kurzgefasste Liste*, p. 205.

⁵ The measurements given in Aland's *Kurzgefasste Liste* (14.5 x 9) refer to the area occupied by the text of one page.

⁶ A. Baumstark, 'Das Leydener griechisch-arabische Perikopenbuch für die Kar- und Osterwoche', *Oriens christianus*, N.S. 4 (Leipzig 1915), pp. 40-2.

τὸ αἶμα αὐτοῦ ἐ
 φήμας· καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς
 υἱοὺς ἡμιῶν· τὸ
 τε ἀπέλυσε καὶ
 τοῖς τὸν Βαραββᾶνα
 τὸν δὲ ἰὴν φραγελ
 λῶσας· παρέδω
 κεν ἱναστῶ φη·

دمه على الفلاديا

حسد لطلو برمان

وحد لتسع واسمه

لصلب

العمل الثاني

مس مس

· · · · ·
 ἰ ρ ἕ κ τ ἰ ἰ ἰ ἰ

Κατὰ δὲ ἑορτήν,
 ἀπέλυσε καὶ τοῖς
 ἑνάδεσσι τοῖς, ὅτι
 περὶ τοῦ ἡτο· τ
 ἦν δὲ ὀλεγόμι
 νος Βαραββᾶς, με
 τὰ τῶν συστάσις
 τῶν δεδεμένους·

وكان في ذلك وقت طلوع الشمس

لسبب امر ايهوا

وقال الذي قال له برمان

اسمك مع القائل الذي

كانوا امرهوا سجنًا

first leaf, which possibly needed replacement owing to wear and tear. The text on these first two pages is in a different hand from that otherwise used. The same applies for pp. 189–90, though it is unlikely that wear and tear was responsible for the substitution. A piece of paper has been pasted over the bottom two-thirds of p. 420. On this the original Greek text (Mc. 16: 10 *περὶ τοῦσι* – 13 *ἀπὸ ἀγγέλων*) has been copied out, without alteration but in a later hand; the Arabic translation, however, is changed in some places. Evidently the first Arabic version of p. 420 was considered unsatisfactory.

Bound in before p. 1 of the codex are eleven unnumbered leaves. On fo. 3v. there is a short eighteenth-century note which reads: *Lectiones festales ex Evangeliiis, Actis Apostolorum, et Epistolis, nec non e Psalmis, Graece et Arabice. Dicitur vulgo eximie codex Scaligeri. Is suo tempore 800 retro annis hunc codicem scriptum esse conjecit.* This is followed by bibliographical references to Scaliger, J. J. Wettstein, J. D. Michaelis and C. F. Matthaei. On the evidence of the handwriting I attribute this note to L. C. Valckenacr, professor of Greek at Leiden between 1765 and 1785, to whose serious interest in the philology of the New Testament there are other testimonials.⁷ On fols. 4r.–9r. there is an *Index lectionum*, a list of the passages from the New Testament included in the manuscript. Certainly the heading above this *Index* is by Valckenacr; as regards the list itself I should be wary of committing myself.

Other codicological details, such as the colophon – as yet unpublished – are discussed below.





I. PROVENANCE

That the Leiden manuscript Or. 243 is one of the books which Joseph Scaliger left to the library of the University of Leiden on his death in 1609 is a fact which needs no discussion. At the back of the manuscript, on p. 554, a strip of paper has been pasted in with the words: *Ex legato Illustris Viri Josephi Scaligeri.* In the library's 1623 catalogue⁸ it is accordingly listed among the manuscripts in the Scaliger legacy. And it was Scaliger's hand that wrote *Lectionarium*

7. E.g. his *Oratio de critica emendatrice, in libris sacris Novi Foederis a litteratoribus... non adhibenda* and *Adnotationes criticae in loca quaedam... Novi Foederis*. Among its *libri annotati* Leiden University Library has two copies of the Greek New Testament printed in Geneva in 1619 with numerous notes written in by Valckenacr (759 C 31–32).

8 *Catalogus Bibliothecae Publicae Lugduno-Batavae* (Lugduni Batavorum 1623), p. 134. I have been unable to find the lectionary in the *Catalogus librorum bibliothecae Lugdunensis* of 1612 (cf. E. Hulshoff Pol, *Bibliothekinformatie* 9 (1973), pp. 18–20). Neither is it mentioned in the *Catalogus omnium librorum qui hodie conservantur à Josepho Scaligero* (Leiden, U.L., MS. Vulc. 108, pars 5), nor in Scaliger's list of Oriental MSS. in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS. Dupuy 395, fols. 178r.–179v., probably because these lists were compiled before 1600, the year in which Scaliger received the lectionary.

Graecoarabicum on the spine of the vellum binding.

Scaliger himself mentions the Greek-Arabic lectionary in a letter⁹ of 12 March 1608 in which he sums up the writings from which he has drawn material for his own Arabic dictionary, the *Thesaurus linguae arabicae*. In the Latin testament which he made on 25 July 1607 Scaliger definitely forbade the publication of this lexicon, but the manuscript, in Scaliger's close but clear handwriting, is still preserved in Leiden University Library (Or. 212).¹⁰ Among the sources which he says he has used in compiling his *Thesaurus* Scaliger mentions 'a very old lectionary by Christian Arabs', and adds the following description: 'The Arabic has no diacritic marks. The Greek text from the Prophets [Scaliger means: the Psalms] and from the New Testament is set opposite it, in a square script which ordinary people call "capitals". This is a proof of its not inconsiderable age. As the diacritic marks, which show the difference between letters of similar appearance but different pronunciation, such as  and , and  and , are absent, the Arabic text cannot be read except by those who are proficient in that language... In the use of the lectionary we have the support of the Greek translation which is set opposite it'.

In naming the Prophets as the source of a number of lessons in his lectionary instead of the Psalms, Scaliger is in error. We may nevertheless safely accept that in the letter just quoted he was in fact referring to the manuscript now known as Or. 243 – Scaliger never owned any other Greek-Arabic lectionary in uncial script.

Scaliger is the lectionary's earliest known owner. Is it possible to find out where he acquired it?

The provenance of Scaliger's manuscripts has yet to be subjected to systematic research. We know how some of them were acquired, as in the case of the *Glossarium latino-arabicum* which came from Raphelengius's library, before which it had belonged to the French orientalist and mystic Guillaume Postel (1510–81).¹¹ Scaliger's correspondence and other writings contain various clues to the origins of his oriental books, of which we are told but little by W. M. C. Juynboll.¹² But the provenance of Or. 243 is revealed by an unpublished letter kept in the university library in Leiden.¹³

⁹ Scaliger to Stephanus Ubertus, 12 March 1608, *Epistolae* (ed. 1627), pp. 705–6. – For Scaliger's last will in its Latin recension, see 'The Latin Testament of Joseph Scaliger', *Lias* 2 (1975).

¹⁰ On fo. iv. Scaliger names the sources from which he collected his lexicographic material. He does not yet mention the Greek-Arabic lectionary. The reason for this is that he had finished the manuscript of his *Thesaurus* in 1597, as we are told on the title-page. He was not given the lectionary until 1600; it is possible that he did use it later for additions to the lexicon.

¹¹ P. Ravaisse, 'Un Ex-libris de G. Postel', *Mélanges offerts à E. Picot* (Paris 1913), pp. 315–33.

¹² W. M. C. Juynboll, *Zeventiende-eeuwsche Beoefenaars van het Arabisch in Nederland* (Utrecht [1931]), pp. 49–50.

¹³ B.P.G. 77, Daniel Chamier to Jos. Scaliger, 2 August 1600.

The letter to which I refer was written by the French Calvinist theologian Daniel Chamier (1565–1621), a man who owes his reputation to the perseverance with which he carried on the struggle against Catholicism, and who became one of the most influential Protestants in France at the beginning of the seventeenth century.¹⁴ On 2 August 1600 Chamier wrote from Montélimar, where he was a preacher, informing Scaliger that the churches of Dauphiné had charged him with the task of collecting the material for a history of the Waldenses and Albigenses. He writes that he has learnt that Scaliger possesses a rare document relating to the history of the Waldenses, and asks for a transcription of it.

To judge by its contents, this letter was the first contact between Chamier and Scaliger. The request is preceded by carefully formulated praise and avowals of respect and honour. In this introduction we read: 'Vous recevrez s'il vous plait en tesmognage de mon affection, un manuscrit que j'ose vous doner, le quel tomba nagueres entre mes mains, moitié grec, moitié Arabique. C'est a vous que telles choses appartient, a cause de l'exacte conoissance que Dieu vous a donnée de tant de langues pour vous rendre le miracle de nostre age. Cela me servira d'ouverture pour vous communiquer franchement un mien dessain et un mien desir'.

The manuscript 'moitié grec, moitié Arabique' which Chamier sent from Montélimar through Goulart via Frankfort¹⁵ to Leiden was without any doubt the lectionary which is now in Leiden as Or. 243. This is clear from the subsequent correspondence. Just as he always gave encouragement to others in their historical research and rendered practical assistance with material and advice, Scaliger promptly sent Chamier manuscripts relating to the history of the Waldenses.¹⁶ In a covering letter which appears to have been lost, he thanked Chamier for the lectionary and advised him 'de se servir du livre de M. Con-

14 For Chamier see E. and E. Haag, *La France protestante*, 2me éd., tom. 3 (Paris 1881), pp. 1026–40; Charles Read, *Daniel Chamier, 1564–1621. Journal de son voyage à la cour de Henri IV en 1607 et sa biographie* (Paris 1858). For the contacts between Chamier and Scaliger see Read, op. cit., pp. 303, 456–8. Together with Rivet, Chauve and Dumoulin, Chamier was deputed by the reformed churches of France to attend the Synod of Dordrecht in 1618, but they were forbidden to leave France.

15 Cf. Simon Goulart to Scaliger, 15 December 1600 (Read, op. cit., p. 456): 'Je désire qu'ayez receu certain manuscrit que vous ay envoyé ceste dernière foire de Francfort de la part de M. Chamier, ministre au Montélimar en Dauphiné, avec ses lettres et les miennes...'

16 Scaliger's opinion of Chamier was favourable, as appears from the *Secunda Scaligerana* (Amsterdam 1740), p. 263: 'Chamierus de Oecumenico Pontifice & epistolas Jesuiticas edidit, bona opera. O que Chamier escrit bien en Grec! & mieux que Coton.' Scaliger is here referring to Chamier's *Disputatio scholastico-theologica de oecumenico pontifice* (Genève 1601), and his *Epistolae jesuiticae* (Genève 1599). The latter contained letters to some Jesuits, among them P. Coton, and answers from some of his Jesuit correspondents.

stans de Montauban'.¹⁷ On 17 March 1602 Chamier again wrote to Scaliger: 'Vous pouvez aisément penser avec quel contentement je vy ce que me fust rendu de vostre part: tant pour cognoistre qu'avez eu pour agréable le lectionnaire que je vous ay envoyé; que pour les manuscrits des Vaudois que j'ay reccus de vous...'¹⁸

After this, contact between the two men appears to have been broken. The reason is probably that Chamier's many ecclesiastical activities left him no time to realize the project for which Scaliger had provided material. In 1603 and 1604 Scaliger repeatedly inquired of Goulart in Geneva how Chamier's 'histoire des Albigeois' was progressing, and eventually he advised Goulart to take the work over from Chamier: 'qu'il vous plaise de retirer de M. Chamier tout ce qu'il a recueilli des Albigeois, et en faire un bon livre, car vous estes propre à faire cela'.¹⁹

As it happened, Chamier never did finish his history of the Albigenses,²⁰ but despite its failure the project did at least furnish Scaliger in 1600 and Leiden University Library in 1609 with an unusual Greek-Arabic manuscript.

How Chamier himself came into possession of the manuscript unfortunately remains something of a mystery: all he says about it is that it had recently 'come his way' – 'le quel tomba nagueres entre mes mains'. Probably it had already been in France for some time before 1600. The evidence for this includes the fact that a sixteenth-century hand has written on the originally blank page 556 a Latin laudatory poem of fourteen hexameters which is taken to refer to Louis XII (d. 1515). The content of the poem shows that it was composed during the king's lifetime. It may of course have been copied into the manuscript at a later date, but it is nevertheless probable that this was done in France before it was acquired by Chamier. It is not possible to state with any

¹⁷ Scaliger repeats this advice in his letter to Goulart of 9 March 1604, published in part by P. Tamizey de Larroque in *Lettres françaises inédites de J. Scaliger* (Agen-Paris 1879), pp. 379–80. For the 'livre de M. Constans de Montauban', cf. *Secunda Scaligerana*, pp. 274–5: 'M. Constant (*sic*) Ministre de Montauban, a un livre en rime, qu'a escrit & composé un Baron, car il est de vieille Escriture de ce temps-là. Ce Baron estoit avec le Roy Louys & son predecesseur, & faisoit la guerre aux Albigeois: il escrit en langage de ce pays là, & vieux. M. Constant l'entend, & dit des Albigeois qu'ils estoient si meschans, qu'ils disoient que le saint Perc estoit la beste de l'Apocalypse (...). Il y a encore en ces pays-là beaucoup de ces livres, mais entre les Jesuites: j'en ay quelques uns.'

¹⁸ J. de Reves, *Epistres Françaises des Personages illustres et doctes à Monsr J. J. de La Scala* (Har-derwyck-Amsterdam 1624), pp. 224–5.

¹⁹ Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres françaises...*, p. 381.

²⁰ On 15 June 1604 the Synod of Dauphiné at Die resolved to relieve Chamier of his task, and to charge Cresson with it. In 1605 Cresson retired too; now the task of writing a history of the Albigenses and Waldenses was assigned to J. P. Perrin. Perrin's *Histoire des Vaudois* appeared in 1618 at Geneva. Cf. the proceedings of the Synod of Dauphiné in *Bulletin de la Société d'histoire Vaudoise* 20 (1903), pp. 119, 122 and 128 (reference kindly provided by A. Armand Hugon, Torre Pellice, by letter dated 6 November 1974).

certainty how long it had been in France when Chamier sent it to Scaliger. Neither has it proved possible to establish clearly how it came to France from northern Egypt, where, as we shall see, it was written. It is tempting to assume that it was taken to France from the Orient by the envoys whom Louis XII sent to Cairo around 1500 to persuade the Mameluke sultan of Egypt and Syria to allow Christians to visit the Holy Sepulchre. The Latin poem on p. 556 of Or. 243 says of this: [*Ludovicus*]

*Misit ad Aegypti saevum Syriaeque tyrannum, ut
Christicolis vetiti reseraret claustra sepulchri.
Sic hostes pariter vicit, nobisque sepulchrum
Restituit, placans precibus...²¹*

But that Louis's envoys took the manuscript with them to France remains no more than a guess.

II PLACE OF ORIGIN

Deciphering Aland's concise description of Or. 243 in his *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*²² with the help of his 'Abkürzungsverzeichnis', we learn that it contains lessons from the Gospels and the Apostolos (= Acts and Epistles) as in the system of lessons in the Byzantine Church: 'nach der Leseordnung der byzantinischen Kirche'.²³ In reality, however, lessons according to the Byzantine system are precisely what Or. 243 does not contain. One only has to compare the contents of the manuscript with a table of Gospels and Epistles read daily in the Greek Church to establish this fact.²⁴

Scaliger believed his lectionary to be the work of Christian Arabs, calling it a *lectionarium arabum christianorum*.²⁵ There is a reliable tradition that he dated it as c. 825.²⁶ It is unclear whether he thought that it had come from Nestorian

²¹ The poem was published by J. J. Wettstein, *Novum Testamentum graecum* (Amstelædami 1751), 'Prolegomena', p. 64. The French king is named only as 'Ludovicus'. He is praised for the bloodless mission by which he made the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem accessible for Christians. Wettstein's early identification of this Ludovicus as Louis XII, in my view the correct one, follows from the threat, described in the poem, of war with Italy, Germany, Spain and England. H. G. Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of the Wâdi 'n Natrûn. Part II. The History of the Monasteries of Nitria and Scetis* (New York 1932), p. 417, names a number of seventeenth-century visitors to the Natron Valley in northern Egypt, but none in the sixteenth century.

²² Berlin 1963, p. 205: 'U-I+^asel'.

²³ P. 24.

²⁴ Such tables are to be found in: I. M. A. Scholz, *Novum Testamentum Graecæ* 1 (Leipzig 1830), pp. 453-93; W. Smith and S. Cheetham, *A Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* 2 (London 1880), pp. 955-9; F. H. A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction...* (1883³), pp. 78-86; C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik...*, p. 343; and elsewhere.

²⁵ See the letter quoted above (Ch. I) and Note 9.

²⁶ This tradition is discussed in Ch. III.

or Jacobite circles, or from a more orthodox environment such as the monastery of Mar Saba near Jerusalem, where St. John of Damascus (d. c. 750) worked.²⁷ The earliest manuscripts of the Arabic translation of the New Testament do indeed have their origins in Mar Saba and, moreover, in the ninth century.²⁸ Scaliger's reference to his manuscript as written by Christian Arabs, however vague, is therefore anything but absurd, though he seriously overestimated its age.

An attempt to determine the place of origin of Or. 243 more accurately was made, not without some success, by Stephan le Moine, who was professor of theology at Leiden from 1676 to 1689. This much credit at least must go to Le Moine, who was not always equally fortunate in his scholarly enterprises.²⁹ At some time in the 1680s Le Moine received, via the Rotterdam printer and publisher Reinier Leers, a letter from the famous French critic Richard Simon asking for further information about the age and provenance of the Greek-Arabic lectionary in Leiden. Simon published Le Moine's reply, almost in its entirety, in the chapter entitled 'Des Versions Arabes du Nouveau Testament' of his *Histoire critique des Versions du Nouveau Testament*.³⁰

Le Moine first gives a concise but fairly detailed description of the manuscript. He observes that it contains no explicit information concerning where, when and for whom it was written. He continues: 'j'ay quelque soupçon qu'il a servy à quelqu'un de l'Eglise d'Alexandrie, non à quelque Copte Jacobite, mais à quelque Melchite, qui n'entendant pas bien le Grec, lisoit l'Arabe qui étoit la langue vulgaire du pays.' For his part, Simon adds that it was also his opinion that the manuscript was written for the Scripture readings in a Melkite church, where Greek would have been insufficiently understood and therefore had to be followed by an Arabic translation.

Neither Le Moine nor Simon says why the lectionary must have been Melkite. Probably the supposition is founded simply on the assumption that the use of Greek reflected a measure of loyalty to the church of Constantinople. Le Moine evidently expected such loyalty to be most likely to come from the Melkite side, and such an expectation cannot be called unreasonable. In 1962

27 For St. John of Damascus, also called (Yanan ibn) Mansur, see A. Hohlweg in: *Tusculum-Lexikon griechischer und lateinischer Autoren des Altertums und des Mittelalters* (München 1963), p. 249: '... aus vornehmer arabischer christlicher Familie...'

28 A. Vööbus, *Early Versions of the New Testament* (Stockholm 1954), p. 278. *Il libro della Bibbia. Esposizione di manoscritti... della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana dal secolo III al secolo XVI* (C. d. Vaticano 1973), pp. 12-13 (nos. 20 and 23) and Plate XIV.

29 C. Sepp, *Het godgeleerd onderwijs gedurende de 16e en 17e eeuw 2* (Leiden 1874), pp. 256-7. Th. Zahn, *Ignatii et Polycarpi epistolae...* (Lipsiae 1876), p. xliii. J. Clericus, *Cotelerii Patres apostolici 1* (Amstelædami 1724), 'Praefatio', fo.*[4]r. and fo.**[1]r.

30 Rotterdam 1690, pp. 209-11. I have been unable to find the letters of Simon and Le Moine.

fragments of Greek-Arabic liturgical texts were published³¹ which are almost certainly of Melkite origin.

Nevertheless, Le Moine's conclusion was to prove erroneous. True, Or. 243 did come from Egypt: in that he had guessed correctly. But to establish the origin of the lectionary more precisely it is necessary to possess a knowledge of eastern liturgies, which in the days of Le Moine and Simon was quite simply lacking.

It was the founder of comparative liturgiology, Anton Baumstark (1872-1948), who asserted with absolute certainty in 1913 and 1915 that Or. 243 served as a lectionary in the Coptic Church.³² His principal argument was the close correlation between the selection of pericopes in Or. 243 on the one hand and that in four other documents relating to the readings from the Scriptures in the Coptic Church on the other. Although the material which Baumstark was able to use for his comparison was limited, his argumentation is convincing.

Since the publication of Baumstark's studies on Or. 243, much has been discovered that sheds light on the Scripture readings in the Coptic Church. Four of the most important publications in this field deserve more than a passing mention here.

1. In 1933 and 1939 Burmester published 'Le lectionnaire de la Semaine Sainte. Texte copte édité avec traduction française d'après le manuscrit add. 5997 du British Museum'.³³ The manuscript upon which Burmester based this publication dates from 1273 and contains the complete Bohairic text of the lessons for all the offices in Holy Week according to a table ascribed by Coptic tradition to Gabriel Ben Turaik, the seventieth patriarch of Alexandria (1131-46). Burmester also examined the contents of nineteen other Coptic lectionaries and lucidly recorded their similarities and differences in a 'Table de concordance'. The twenty Coptic Holy Week lectionaries, thus made accessible, prove to represent three recensions which are closely related to one another and which arose through the addition or omission of certain lessons.

2. In c. 1325 an encyclopedic compendium of Coptic liturgies was compiled by the priest Abū Barakāt Ibn Kubr, entitled 'The lamp of darkness and the exposition of the [liturgical] service'. It contains a special chapter (XVIII) on the liturgical practices of the Coptic Church in Lent which gives an account of the cultic actions, lessons, sermons and hymns of the week from Palm Sunday until

31 O. H. E. Khs.-Burmester, 'A Greek Synaptè and Lectionary Fragment from Scetis', *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 16 (1961-2), pp. 73-82.

32 A. Baumstark, 'Ein griechisch-arabisches Perikopenbuch des koptischen Ritus', *Oriens christianus* N.S. 3. Band (1913), pp. 142-4; 'Das Leydener griechisch-arabische Perikopenbuch für die Kar- und Osterwoche', *Oriens christianus* N.S. 4. Band (1915), pp. 39-58.

33 *Patrologia orientalis* XXIV/2 (1933), pp. 179-294, and XXV/2 (1939), pp. 179-485.

Easter. This important chapter was published in 1925 by L. Villecourt.³⁴

3. In 1962 and 1964 Burmester reconstructed part of the text of a Coptic-Greek-Arabic Holy Week lectionary from Scetis by combining a large number of fragments dispersed among various European collections.³⁵ The codex is dated by Burmester in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The pericope system of this lectionary, which is the same as that of B.M. Add. 5997, reflects the 'shorter and earlier form of the Holy Week Lectionary' of the Coptic Church. I shall return to this trilingual lectionary below.

4. Finally, there are the recently published 'Studien zu koptischen Pascha-Büchern' by Maria Cramer.³⁶ These include a complete and detailed list of the contents of the Vienna manuscript Copt. 9, another Coptic Holy Week lectionary, which dates from the fourteenth century or later.

Comparison of Or. 243 with the information found in these four publications completely confirms Baumstark's conclusion: Or. 243 is a lectionary of the Coptic rite. This is not the place for a detailed comparison, but to illustrate the means whereby this conclusion is reached, here is a single simple and arbitrarily chosen example. The synaxarion of the Byzantine Church gives as New Testament lessons for the liturgy of Palm Sunday: Phil. 4: 4-9 and John 12: 1-18. Or. 243, on the other hand, gives for this liturgy: Heb. 9: 11-24, 1 Pet. 4: 1-15; Acts 28: 11-31; Ps. 80: 4, 2, 3; Luke 19: 29-48; John 12: 1-19. The Coptic lectionary B.M. Add. 5997 gives exactly the same passages for the liturgy for Palm Sunday; at the same time, however, it adds a number of lessons which the Leiden lectionary gives for Morning Prayer on the same day. In its turn the Vienna manuscript Copt. 9 has the same lessons as B.M. Add. 5997 but gives all of them a place on the eve of Palm Sunday.

It is therefore thoroughly justifiable that J. Duplacy, in his geographical classification of New Testament lectionaries, should have counted Or. 243 among the 'lectionnaires d'Égypte'.³⁷ Equally justly, however, in referring to Or. 243 Duplacy speaks of 'sa structure très probablement unique' and 'une structure rarissime, sinon unique'.³⁸ After all, in certain respects Or. 243 differs conspicuously from all other known Coptic 'Easter-books'. Two important differences deserve mention. (1) Or. 243 contains no Old Testament passages

34 'Les observances liturgiques et la discipline du jeûne dans l'Église Copte. IV. Jeûnes et Semaine-Sainte', *Muséon* 38 (1925), pp. 261-320.

35 'The Coptic-Greek-Arabic Holy Week Lectionary of Scetis', *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 16 (1961-2), pp. 83-137 and 'The Bodleian Folio and Further Fragments of the Coptic-Greek-Arabic Holy Week Lectionary from Scetis', *ibid.*, 17 (1963-4), pp. 35-48. Scetis is the ancient name for Wâdi 'n Natrûn.

36 'Studien zu koptischen Pascha-Büchern. Der Ritus der Karwoche in der koptische Kirche', *Oriens christianus* 47 (1963), pp. 118-28; 49 (1965), pp. 90-115; 50 (1966), pp. 72-130.

37 Jean Duplacy, 'Les lectionnaires et l'édition du Nouveau Testament grec', *Mélanges bibliques en hommage au R.P. Béda Rigaux* (Gembloux 1970), pp. 509-45, esp. pp. 526-7.

38 Pp. 536-7.

besides those from the Psalms, while the other Coptic lectionaries for Holy Week include passages from not only the Psalms but also the Prophets, the Pentateuch, the Historical Books and the Sapiential Books. (2) The Leiden lectionary also contains the lessons for Holy Week, like other Easter-books, but in addition those for the week following, up to and including the Saturday. At the same time, however, it must be pointed out that the pericope system of Or. 243 for Easter Week again largely corresponds to the system given in complete Coptic synaxaria for that week. Such a synaxarion occurs in the codex Vatic. Borg. Copt. 21.³⁹ For the Thursday following Easter, to mention but one example,⁴⁰ this document lists the following New Testament lessons: Eph. 1: 15–2: 7; 1 Pct. 3: 8–15; Acts 4: 13–21; Luke 7: 10–17. The same readings, with the usual insignificant variations in the length of the pericopes, are to be found in Or. 243 for the same day.

The unique structure of the system of lessons in Or. 243 deserves more detailed liturgical and historical research.⁴¹ It seems probable that this system of pericopes must be seen as older than that developed in the other known Coptic lectionaries for Holy Week. On the other hand, there can be no longer any doubt whatever that the system in Or. 243 is indeed Coptic.

There is palaeographic evidence which enables us to determine within 25 kilometres where Or. 243 was written. This is not to say, however, that the Or. 243 type of uncial script is particularly familiar or interesting to palaeographers (to disregard the Arabic script). Standard works on palaeography such as those of V. Gardthausen and M. Thompson offer nothing to shed any light whatever on this writing. In *Ricerche sulla maiuscula biblica* by G. Cavallo⁴² and *The Principal Uncial Manuscripts of the New Testament* by W. H. P. Hatch⁴³ one seeks in vain even the most obscure palaeographic analogy with Or. 243. Nevertheless, as early as 1708 Montfaucon⁴⁴ revealed a specimen of the sort of

39 A. van Lantschoot, *Codices coptici Vaticani Barberiniani Borgiani Rossiani 2*, i (C. d. Vaticano 1947), p. 96.

40 Another example is pointed out by K. Gamber, 'Fragmente eines griechischen Perikopenbuches des 5. Jh. aus Ägypten', *Oriens christianus* 44 (1960), pp. 75–87, esp. p. 84: 'Das Evangelium vom ungläubigen Thomas (John 20: 19–31)... findet sich in den abendländischen Evangelienlisten regelmässig am Sonntag nach Ostern, ebenso in den konstantinopolitanischen', with note 88: 'Im Cod. Borg. Copt. 21 erscheint Jo 20, 19–23 im Orthros des Samstags des Osterwoche; Jo 20, 24–31 zur Messe des gleichen Tages... Dieselbe Anordnung auch schon im cod. Scaligeri 243 der Universitätsbibliothek Leyden'.

41 As a liturgical document Or. 243 has been investigated not only by Baumstark but also by Dom E. Lanne, in an interesting study of the essential features of Coptic ritual for Holy Week: 'Textes et rites de la liturgie pascale dans l'ancienne Église Copte', *L'Orient Syrien* 6 (1961), pp. 279–300.

42 Firenze 1967.

43 Chicago 1939.

44 Bernard de Montfaucon, *Palaeographia Graeca* (Parisii 1708), pp. 313–5. I am grateful to J. Duplacy (letter dated 6 June 1974) for drawing my attention to this item by Montfaucon.

uncial script appearing in Or. 243. This was in Paris gr. 325 (then 3023 of the Bibliothèque Royale), a Greek-Arabic (!) manuscript of the liturgies of Basil and Gregory in their Coptic recension. Earlier the brilliant Richard Simon had named this manuscript as a parallel to Or. 243 without, however, having seen the latter.⁴⁵ According to E. Renaudot (d. 1720),⁴⁶ J. M. Vansleb bought the Paris manuscript in Cyprus. Montfaucon, who judged it unmistakably written 'more Aegyptiaco', held open the possibility that it had been taken to Cyprus from Egypt.⁴⁷ The question is inescapable whether Vansleb did not himself take the manuscript home after one of his visits to Egypt in 1661 and 1672/3.⁴⁸

In his *Medieval Greek Bookhands* (1973)⁴⁹ Nigel Wilson was the first to publish another specimen of the relevant uncial script. This was in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, MS. Gr. bibl. c. i. It can hardly be a coincidence that this Bodleian manuscript – of which only three leaves have survived – is a lectionary in Greek and Arabic (l 1746 of the Greek New Testament). The history of the uncial script in Egypt between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries has meanwhile proved to be a completely separate and as yet unwritten chapter in Greek palaeography.⁵⁰ From the considerable volume of material available⁵¹ I have chosen the following two examples.

In palaeographic terms, no document is so clearly related to Or. 243 as a leaf

45 *Histoire crit. des versions du N.T.* (see n. 3), p. 211: 'J'ay aussi trouvé dans la Bibliothèque du Roy deux Liturgies..., où le Grec est d'un costé, et l'Arabe de l'autre. Mais il me semble que ces Liturgies, dont la première porte le nom de S. Basile, et la seconde celui de S. Gregoire de Nazianze, ont plutôt esté écrites par quelque copte Jacobite, que par un Melchite'. Independently of Simon, the same analogy has been drawn by Dom E. Lanne, art. cit. (n. 41), p. 282, n. 12.

46 In Montfaucon, p. 314.

47 'utrum ex Aegypto in Cyprum delatus, an in ipsa Cypro scriptus fuerit, incertum. parumque sane interest utriusvis regionis sit, cum exploratum habeamus plerosque Cyprios Aegyptiaco more scripsisse' (p. 314).

48 For Vansleb's travels to Egypt, see H. G. Evelyn White, *The Monasteries...*, Part II (cf. note 21), p. 419.

49 Boston 1973 (= *Medieval Academy of America*, 81). plate 8. I was unable to consult this work, to which the author was kind enough to draw my attention in a letter of 30 May 1974.

50 There is also a terminological problem. In Aland's *Kurzgefasste Liste* (cf. n. 1) the script of l 1993 is referred to in a note as a 'Semiuziale'. A similar term is used for l 494, l 495, l 1935, and 053 and 2768 (*Materialen zur Neutestamentlichen Handschriftenkunde* 1 (Berlin 1969), 'Fortsetzung der "Kurzgefassten Liste"', p. 29, n. 33). The same term, however, is absent from the entry for l 6 (Leiden Or. 243) and l 1746 (Oxford, Bodleian, Gr. bibl. e. 1.), which are listed as 'U' (= 'in Majuskelnbuchstaben geschrieben', cf. *Kurzgefasste Liste* I, p. 24). Dom Lanne, art. cit. (n. 41), calls the script of Or. 243 an 'onciale semi-cursive'. By analogy Dom Lanne names Paris gr. 325, which, in his terms, is also written in an 'onciale semi-cursive' (J. Doresse-Dom E. Lanne, *Un témoin archaïque de la liturgie copte de S. Basile* (Louvain 1960), p. 7).

51 These include the ten MSS. named in notes 50 and 59, the documents published by Burmester, 'A Greek Synapte and Lectionary Fragment from Scetis' (see n. 31) and probably also a considerable number of other witnesses of the text of the New Testament, e.g. l 1994 (fragment of a Greek-Coptic lectionary), l 961, l 962, l 963, l 964a and b, l 965 and (?) l 1353.

from a Holy Week lectionary of the Coptic Church which is now preserved in the Papyrological Collection of the National Library in Vienna: K 11 346 (see photograph 3). Maria Cramer has published a short description and two photographs.⁵² The leaf contains lessons from the Gospels and the Psalms in three parallel columns: from left to right, Coptic, Greek and Arabic. The Greek Gospel passages on both sides of the leaf are in a script virtually identical to that in Or. 243.

I do not know where Vienna K 11 346 was found. But it seems highly likely that it is part of the same codex to which three Coptic-Greek-Arabic leaves in the British Museum (Or. 1242, 6; / 1993) and a similar leaf in the Bodleian Library (Lib. Copt. c. 3; / [1605] of the Greek New Testament) also belong. There are, moreover, a large number of other fragments of this trilingual codex: these were in 1964 in a private collection. Both the London and Oxford leaves and these privately owned fragments have been published, with photographs, by Burmester.⁵³ And Vienna K 11 346 can be fitted neatly into the gaps in Burmester's reconstructed text: the Greek hand on B.M. Or. 1242, 6, fo. 1b⁵⁴ and Bodleian Lib. Copt. c. 3⁵⁵ is identical to that of the Gospel passages on the Vienna leaf. Furthermore, the Coptic script of all three fragments is by the same hand.

There is no uncertainty surrounding the origins of these parts of the trilingual lectionary: the three London folios and the numerous fragments of 29 leaves in the private collection are from the Anbâ Bišoï monastery, 90 kilometres north-west of Cairo on the Wâdi 'n Natrûn. Referring to the Oxford folio Burmester observes: 'if it were acquired from the Monastery of the Romans (Dair al-Baramûs), as A. J. Butler definitely states, then it must certainly have

52 In *Oriens christianus* 50 (1966), p. 130 and plates 9 and 9a. In fact Vienna 11 346 consists of one and a third leaves. The smaller fragment, which is not considered here, constitutes 'den Rest von beiden Seiten des Mittelblattes einer Lage' and contains parts of Matt. 25: 14-24. For this information I have to thank Dr. K. Junack and Mr. G. Mink, who compared for me Vienna K 11 346 and / 1993 when I was not yet able to examine personally reproductions of the latter manuscript. Their conclusion is that the possibility cannot be ignored ('kann man... nicht ausschliessen') that / 1993 and the Vienna fragments were once part of the same codex. I am most grateful to Dr. Junack and Mr. Mink for this information, conveyed to me in a letter dated 17 May 1974.

53 See n. 35. The trilingual lectionary discussed here has already been mentioned in the text on p. 153 under '3'.

54 For the relationship between the Vienna and London fragments, see the cautious opinion of Junack and Mink in n. 52. British Museum MS. Or. 1242,6 is No. 775 in W. E. Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London 1905), p. 336.

55 On the relationship between the Vienna and Oxford fragments Nigel Wilson (Oxford) says, in a letter of 30 May 1974 for which I am, again, most grateful: 'The Vienna leaf is probably from the same codex as the Oxford leaf... I would say that the two leaves may be the product of the same scribe, separated perhaps by a slight interval in time, since there are one or two trivial differences of script'.

been taken there from the Monastery of St. Pišoi (Anbâ Bišoi), since all the other folios and fragments are definitely known to have been found in this latter monastery.⁵⁶ On one of the London leaves there is a note, 'Dayr Anba Bishoi', eliminating any possibility of doubt. It must be assumed that the Vienna fragments also originate from Anbâ Bišoi.

As long as there is no definite and explicit information regarding the provenance of Or. 243, we must use the palaeographic evidence available to draw conclusions by analogy with the trilingual lectionary now dispersed as indicated above. This, at least, was my conclusion when my eye fell upon an inconspicuous footnote in Evelyn White: 'From the same region [Anbâ Bišoi/Al Baramûs], I suspect, comes the Graeco-Arabic Lectionary for Holy Week now at Leyden (Cod. Scaligeri, 243)'.⁵⁷

This conclusion is supported by a second palaeographic parallel with Or. 243. In a study of the essential features of the liturgy for Holy Week in the Coptic Church, Dom E. Lanne (Chevetogne) has written: 'Pour des raisons que je compte exposer autre part, je crois pouvoir dater assez exactement ce codex Leiden Or. 243. Il s'agit d'un ouvrage... écrit très probablement au monastère d'Abû Macaire à l'époque du patriarche Benjamin II, soit dans le second quart du XIVe siècle'.⁵⁸ Dom Lanne has been unable so far to carry out his intention, but he was kind enough to inform me of his reasons for considering Or. 243 as probably having been written in the monastery at Abû Makâr. In passing it is worth noting that Abû Makâr is only about 10 kilometres from Anbâ Bišoi, which is again no more than some 14 kilometres from Al Baramûs, from which monasteries the trilingual lectionary discussed above originated and whence Evelyn White also considers Or. 243 to have come.

Dom Lanne's argument is as follows. The Leiden lectionary must have been written in a Coptic environment in which Greek was still used regularly as the language of the liturgy. In the Abû Makâr monastery that was the case until the beginning of the fourteenth century, as can be seen from the leaves of the Greek liturgies of Basil and Gregory found there and now in the Coptic Museum of Old-Cairo, No. 20.⁵⁹ These folios can be dated in the patriarchate of Benjamin II (1327-39), whose name occurs in one of the prayers. Palaeographically speaking, there is a remarkable similarity between Or. 243 and Cairo 20 (see photograph 4). Hence Dom Lanne's conclusion that the Leiden

⁵⁶ Art. cit. of 1963-4, p. 35.

⁵⁷ H. G. Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of the Wâdi 'n Natrûn. Part I. New Coptic Texts from the Monastery of Saint Macarius* (New York 1926), p. xxxv.

⁵⁸ Art. cit. (n. 41), p. 282.

⁵⁹ These fragments have been published by H. G. Evelyn White, who has also described the script and published various photographs, in his *The Monasteries of the Wâdi 'n Natrûn. Part I. New Coptic Texts from the Monastery of St. Macarius* (New York 1926), pp. 200 ff. and plate XXI A-B.

<p>ΙΩΑΝΝΗΝ ΜΑΡΘΟΝ ΤΑΙΝΣΕ ΠΥΛΑΙΝ ΜΙΟΥΔΑΙ:</p>	<p>ΕΥ ΕΚ ΚΑ ΑΗΝΗΝ Η ΔΕ ΕΓΓΥΣΤΟ ΠΑΣ ΧΑΤΩΝ Η ΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ</p>
<p>ΟΝΘΑ ΤΙΝΣ ΔΟΥΛΗΩ ΕΡΗΝΙΑΙ Μ ΕΒΟΛΘΕΝ ΧΩΡΑ ΒΑΔΕΝ ΠΙ ΠΑΣΧΑ ΖΙΝΑΝΤΟΥ ΩΟΥ ΝΑΥΚΩ ΦΟΥΝ ΠΕ ΝΣΑ ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΕΝ ΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΕΝ ΔΕ ΣΙΜΩΝΟΣ ΝΟΥ ΕΡΗ ΟΥ ΕΝ ΟΥ ΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΒΕ ΠΕΡ ΦΕΙΔΕ ΟΝ ΠΙ ΕΤΕ ΤΕ ΝΙ... ΕΡΟΥΣ ΕΡΕΝ ΙΑΝ ΕΠΟΛΙ ΕΑΤ ΦΟΥΤΗ ΖΗ ΔΕ Ν ΔΕ ΝΙ ΑΡΧΗ ΡΕΥΣ ΜΕΛΙΝΙ ΦΑΡΙΣΕΟΣ</p>	<p>ΚΑΙ ΑΝΕΒΗΣΑΝ ΠΟΛΛΟΙ ΕΙΣ ΙΕΡΟΣΟΛΥΜΑ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΧΩΡΑΣ ΠΡΟΤΟΥ ΠΑΣΧΑ ΙΝΑ ΔΕ ΓΝΙΩΣΙΝ ΕΑΥ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΖΗΤΟΥΝ ΟΥΝ ΤΟΝ ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΛΕΓΟΝ ΜΕΤΑ ΛΗΛΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΙΕΡΩ ΕΣΤΗ ΚΟ ΤΕΣ ΤΙ ΔΟΚΕΙ ΥΜΙΝ ΟΤΙ ΟΥ ΜΗ ΕΛΘΗ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΟΡΤΗΝ ΔΕ ΔΩΚΗΣΑΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΦΑΡΙΣΑΙΟΙ ΤΟ ΛΗΝ</p>
<p>ΣΙΝΑ ΔΕ ΡΕΥΣΑΝ ΟΥ ΔΙΕ ΜΙ ΔΕ ΔΕ ΑΣΘΩΝ Η ΤΕ ΤΑ ΜΩ ΟΥ ΕΡΟΦΙΣ ΕΤΑΡΟΥ</p>	<p>ΝΑ ΕΑΝ ΤΙΣ ΓΝΩΤΟΥ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΜΗΝ ΥΣΗ ΟΙΩΣ ΠΙ ΔΩΣΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ</p>
<p>ΤΑ ΔΕ ΠΑΝΤΕ ΠΙ ΕΚΩΡ ΝΤ ΚΟΥ ΔΙΝ ΤΗ ΠΙ ΔΣ</p>	<p>ΕΝ ΤΗ ΕΟΡΤΗ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΕΟΡΤΗ</p>
<p>ΜΙΝΗ ΦΟΥΝ ΟΥΝ ΝΗ: ΔΙΕ ΔΕ ΘΗΣ ΕΡΟΚΝ ΔΕ ΤΑ ΦΥ ΧΗ ΔΕ ΔΕ Φ ΚΕΡΡΕΑ</p>	<p>ΔΕ ΝΕΝ Ο ΜΕ Ο Υ ΕΣ ΕΛΘΗΣΟΝ ΜΕΙ ΟΥ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΟΙ ΟΥ ΜΗ ΧΗ Μ ΕΣΤΙ</p>
<p>1 2 3 4 5</p>	<p>ΔΙΕΝ ΤΑ ΚΙ ΑΤ ΟΝ</p>

3. Vienna, Papyrological Collection of the National Library, K II 346. A leaf from a Bohairic-Greek-Arabic lectionary for Holy Week, 13th. century (By courtesy of the National Library, Vienna)

lectionary came from the same atelier as Cairo 20.

In its essentials Dom Lanne's argument is correct, but it is possible to advance objections to details. Abû Makâr is not the only monastery on Wâdi 'n Natrûn where Greek liturgical manuscripts have been found. 'There are grounds for believing that Greek was occasionally used for liturgical purposes at other of the desert monasteries.⁶⁰ From the neighbouring Monasteries of Anba Bishoi and El Baramûs come fragments of a Lectionary for Holy Week in Greek, Coptic and Arabic'.⁶¹ (The lectionary referred to here is the trilingual one discussed above.) We may not, therefore, assign Or. 243 to Abû Makâr with any certainty. On the other hand, Abû Makâr was the literary centre of the region and had the most important library. It was from here that the other monasteries borrowed manuscripts in order to copy them.⁶² The place of origin⁶³ of Or. 243 can therefore best be said to have been one of the monasteries of Wâdi 'n Natrûn. Of these Abû Makâr has the most convincing claim.

III DATING

Among the problems posed by Or. 243 is that of dating. Scholz dates it in the tenth century.⁶⁴ Scrivener and Gregory, on the other hand, assign it (with a question mark) to the eleventh century.⁶⁵ Baumstark expressly states that on palaeographic grounds alone the manuscript is difficult to date, but that the pericope system is earlier than the beginning of the fourteenth century. By how long, he is unable to determine.⁶⁶ In Aland's *Kurzgefasste Liste*,⁶⁷ l 6 is given as thirteenth-century. Dom E. Lanne has expressed the opinion that the manuscript almost certainly dates from the second quarter of the fourteenth century.⁶⁸ Wettstein observes simply that he dares not make any pronounce-

60 In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries both Greek and Coptic had long been dead languages in the Natron Valley. Even the Greek copyist of Or. 243 copied his text without knowing Greek: in Luke 20 : 28 he writes $\epsilon \acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\acute{o}\varsigma$ instead of $\delta \acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\acute{o}\varsigma$, in Luke 22 : 52 $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\eta\tau\acute{o}\upsilon\varsigma$ instead of $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\acute{o}\upsilon\varsigma$, and in Luke 9 : 30 he writes $\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ instead of $\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$, probably because he was unable to work out the suspension in his original.

61 Evelyn White, op. cit. (n. 57), p. xxxv.

62 Evelyn Whyte, op. cit. (n. 57), pp. xxvii-xxix.

63 Although the place at which a manuscript is found cannot, of course, be assumed to be the place at which it was written or copied, an identification of this kind regarding both the Coptic-Greek-Arabic Holy Week lectionary of Scetis as reconstructed by Burmester and the fragments of the liturgies of St. Basil and St. Gregory (Cairo 20), seems justifiable. This applies, at least, if one does not insist on the name of one or other monastery but is content to know that the manuscript originated from the Wâdi 'n Natrûn.

64 Op. cit. (n. 24), p. xcvi, paragraph 42, no. 6.

65 Scrivener, op. cit. (n. 3), p. 280; Gregory, op. cit. (n. 3), p. 387.

66 Art. cit. (n. 6), pp. 57-8.

67 Op. cit. (notes 1 and 22), p. 205.

68 Art. cit. (n. 41), p. 282 (quoted in the text, p. 158).

ment as to its age.⁶⁹

Under the embarrassment of this uncertainty regarding Or. 243's age, various scholars have at various times thought it well to repeat what Scaliger himself said on the subject. 'From the Greek script the illustrious Scaliger in his time concluded that this manuscript was written 800 years ago', *ex caractere Graeco colligebat illustris Scaliger suo tempore, 800. retro annis scriptum fuisse hoc exemplar*, according to De Goeje's *Catalogus codicum orientalium*.⁷⁰ However, as this dating, which is also mentioned by Baumstark and Dom Lanne,⁷¹ is nowhere found in Scaliger's own writings, one is justified in wondering what was the source of this information.

De Goeje quotes Scaliger's estimate from Wettstein's 'Prolegomena'. Wettstein and Dom Lanne have it from the *Catalogus librorum... Bibliothecae publicae Universitatis Lugduno-Batavae* of 1716. The source used for the 1716 catalogue was clearly, as it also was for Baumstark and Simon, the *Catalogus Bibliothecae publicae Lugduno-Batavae* of 1674.⁷² There, however, Scaliger's view is expressed in somewhat more cautious terms: *exemplar antiquissimum et octingentis forte (ut è Graeco caractere colligebat Scaliger) abhinc annis scriptum*. The same formulation is also used in the 1623 catalogue.⁷³ As I have been unable to find in the 1612 catalogue⁷⁴ an entry corresponding to Or. 243, Scaliger's judgement of the age of his lectionary seems not to have been recorded before the catalogue of 1623, which was compiled by the then librarian to the University, Daniel Heinsius, who had been Scaliger's favourite pupil.

There is a slight difference between Scaliger's dating as given in the 1716 catalogue and as Heinsius reports it. Heinsius reckoned eight hundred years before 1623: *abhinc*, whereas the 1716 catalogue says that Scaliger himself reckoned eight centuries back: *suo tempore*. This could make a difference of a quarter of a century. Even if one considers this difference too subtle to be of any significance, Scaliger's responsibility for the dating ascribed to him must still be qualified, not merely because of the sceptical *forte* which Heinsius added to it.

It is quite possible that Heinsius heard Scaliger's estimate of the age of his bilingual lectionary from his own mouth, and that he only noted it down much later. If this were so, we might see in this tradition an isolated item of 'Scaligerana'. For comparison, here is a quotation from the *Secunda Scaligerana* of

69 Op. cit. (n. 3), p. 63: 'Cum sit papyraceus, de aetate ejus pronunciare non audeo.'

70 Cf. n. 3.

71 Dom Lanne, art. cit. (n. 41), p. 281 is not wholly correct in translating *800. retro annis* by '(remontant à) au moins huit cents ans'.

72 Here Scaliger's lectionary is mentioned on p. 281, under no. 38. This number, 38, also occurs on the spine of the manuscript.

73 Cf. n. 8.

74 Cf. n. 8.

c. 1603: 'Les lettres capitales en Grec sont notes des plus vieux MSS.'⁷⁵ Scaliger's dating nevertheless should be regarded as an orally expressed opinion rather than a conclusion arrived at and committed to paper after careful observation and weighing up of the evidence. Like many apodictic pronouncements in the *Scaligerana*, this dating must be put into more kindly perspective. What Scaliger actually wrote about his lectionary was more cautious: *vetustissimum... , litera quadrata, quam capitalem vulgus vocat. quod est argumentum vetustatis non infimae.*⁷⁶

Heinsius himself was no more specific when referring to the matter. In his commentary to the New Testament, the *Exercitationes sacrae* of 1639, he quotes two passages from the lectionary. On one of these occasions he refers to it as the *vetus Lectionarium Graeco Arabicum, quod magni olim Scaligeri fuit*, and on the other he calls it the *Lectionarium Graeco-Arabicum antiquissimum.*⁷⁷ 'Antiquissimum' is also Heinsius's term describing both the Codex Alexandrinus,⁷⁸ dating from about the fifth century, and the thirteenth-century minuscule of the Gospels (Gregory 155) which he owned,⁷⁹ now Vatic. Reg. gr. 79. Daniel Heinsius's palaeographic judgement was considerably less sharp than that of his son Nicolaas.⁸⁰

The accuracy of the early dating ascribed to Scaliger was first called into question by Stephan le Moine.⁸¹ In his letter to Simon he wrote: '... Je ne le croy pourtant pas aussi ancien qu'il paroît dans le Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de Leyden, et que Heinsius l'a crû. Il est vray que le Grec est écrit *uncialibus literis*, qui est une marque d'antiquité. Mais l'Arabe qui est en une colonne sur la même page me paroît d'une écriture et d'une version qui n'est pas si ancienne.' And naturally Le Moine's doubts about the accuracy of Scaliger's dating were shared by Simon.

I do not propose here to discuss datings given by other authors without sufficient evidence. That by Dom Lanne, however, deserves attention. As we have seen, Dom Lanne has attempted to establish the date (and place of origin) of Or. 243 by analogy with the manuscript of the Alexandrian liturgies of Basil and Gregory in the Coptic Museum of Old-Cairo, No. 20. This dating commends itself insofar as Dom Lanne has not only drawn a true analogy,⁸²

75 Ed. Des Maizeaux (Amsterdam 1740), p. 441.

76 *Scaligeri Epistolae* (ed. 1627), p. 705, cf. n. 9, and the corresponding quotation in my text.

77 Pp. 66 and 68.

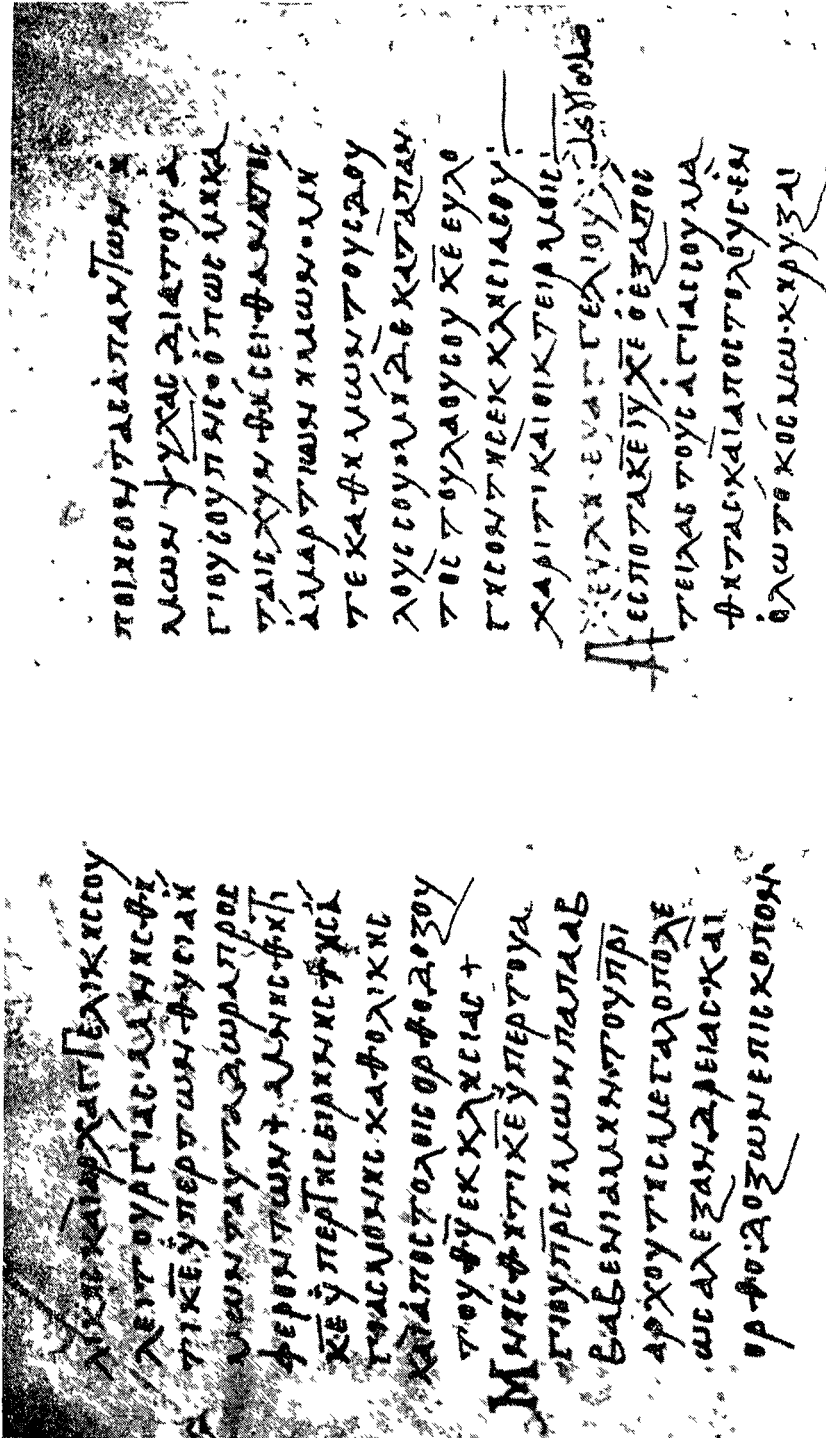
78 J. Kemke, *Patricius Junius (Patrick Young), Bibliothekar der Könige Jacob I. und Carl I. von England. Mitteilungen aus seinem Briefwechsel* (Leipzig 1898), no. 109 (Heinsius to Young).

79 See my note 'The "Manuscriptus Evangeliorum Antiquissimus" of Daniel Heinsius', *New Testament Studies* 21 (1974/5), pp. 286-94.

80 F. F. Blok, *Nicolaas Heinsius in dienst van Christina van Zueden* (Delft 1949), pp. 228-33.

81 Cf. n. 3.

82 As a palaeographic analogy Wettstein names the 'codex Prophetarum, qui olim Cardinalis Rupefocaldii fuit'. This is the famous Codex Marchalianus, now Vatic. gr. 2125 = codex Q



4 Cairo, Coptic Museum of Old-Cairo, MS 20 Part of a manuscript of the Alexandrian liturgy of St Basil, second quarter of the 14th century In the 4th line from the bottom of the left-hand page there is the name of Benjamin, patriarch of Alexandria from 1327 to 1339 (After H. G Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of the Wādī 'n Natrān Part I. Nūw Coptic Texts from the Monastery of St. Macarius* (New York 1926), plate XXI A)

but also compared it with the only known parallel capable of accurate dating. Cairo 20 must have been written during the rule of the monophysitic patriarch of Alexandria Benjamin II (1327–39), who is named in an intercession in the manuscript (see photograph 4).

In the absence of any concrete, explicit information, we shall indeed have to be content with dating *per viam analogiae*. Or. 243, however, has not yet been sufficiently researched for direct data: it turns out to have colophons in both Greek and Arabic to which so far no scholar has drawn attention.

On p. 554 (see photograph 2) we find a colophon by the scribe who copied the Greek column throughout the manuscript. A transcript follows below. Suspensions and contractions have been expanded in parentheses (). Words and letters missing because of damage to the leaf have been added to the left of]]. That the number of letters replaced in this way varies considerably from line to line is a result of the fact that it is not possible to tell how intensively superposition of letters was employed at these places. Both in the rubrics above the lessons and in the surviving parts of the colophon superposition is extremely frequent.

᾽ΕΓΡΑΦ(Η) ᾽ΥΠ(ὸ)] ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛ(ΟΥ) ΠΕΤΡΟΥ ᾽Α
 ΜΑΡΤ]ΩΛ(ΟΥ) ⚪ ᾽ΑΜΗΝ:
 ᾽ΕΥΛ(Ο)ΓΗΤ(ὸ)C] Ὁ Θ(Ε)ὸC ᾽ΗΜῶ(Ν) ᾽ΑΜΗΝ:

The Petros in this colophon, who like so many monks called himself *doulos* and *hamartolos*, is not identifiable with any of the *griechische Schreiber* listed by Maria Vogel and Viktor Gardthausen,⁸³ and presumably must be added to their list. The year in which the copyist Petros, a monk at one of the monasteries in the Natron Valley, wrote the Greek text in the manuscript now in Leiden is revealed by his Arabic-writing colleague.

The copyist of the Arabic text in Or. 243 has left us two colophons. The first is a short announcement written in Arabic in the space which Petros had left him at the bottom of p. 554. Because the leaf is badly damaged at this point, all that remains of this first colophon are the words '... the poor slave...'

of the LXX. A complete facsimile of this manuscript was published by I. Cozza-Luzzi, *Prophetarum codex Graecus Vaticanus 2125... phototypice editus* (Romae 1890). The script of this seventh or eighth-century codex is, however, a classic example of the 'Greek uncial of the Coptic type', the history of which has been written by Jean Irigoien, 'L'onciale grecque de type copte', *Jahrbuch der Oesterreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 8 (1959), pp. 29–51.

⁸³ *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Leipzig 1909).

But apparently the space left for him on p. 554 was not enough for everything our Arabic copyist had to say after so much work. As the page opposite, now p. 555, was still blank, he appropriated it, turned it ninety degrees so that the right-hand margin was now at the top, and filled the whole page with the text for which there had been no room on p. 554 (see photograph 2).

This second Arabic colophon has survived undamaged. Because it was scribbled down carelessly and in great haste, however, it is not easily legible, which is probably why Scaliger did not use it. Neither did Stephan le Moine, who according to Richard Simon was a 'sçavant dans les langues Orientales' but nevertheless erroneously observed in his letter to Simon: 'on ne sçaurait deviner ni par le commencement [du codex] ni par la fin, quand, pour qui et où il a été écrit, ni qui en a été le possesseur.'⁸⁴ Gregory, who was sent Or. 243 in Leipzig for examination in 1889,⁸⁵ also disregarded this colophon, as did Baumstark, who was able to examine the codex in or about 1913 in the Kaiserliche Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek in Strasburg.⁸⁶ At my request P. S. van Koningsveld, sometime Keeper of Oriental Manuscripts at the University Library, Leiden, has been kind enough to decipher the colophon in question. Having examined the text several times at long intervals, he has reached the conclusion that there can be no doubt but that it was written by the same hand which wrote the Arabic Bible text in the codex. Differences between the script in the Arabic lessons and that of the colophon are the result exclusively of the greater speed, the diminished care, and possibly the coarser pen with which the latter was written. The ink is the same.

A few words at the beginning of the colophon and in the last line have yet to be deciphered. For the rest, Van Koningsveld believes that the colophon may be translated as follows:

'... the book of the poor slave who is in need of his exalted Lord, Rahmat Allāh son of the priest Rašid, the Egyptian, may God have mercy upon him, and upon his two sons and upon all the Children of Baptism [i.e. the Christians]. Amen, amen, amen.

The nineteenth of Ramadān of the year nine hundred and 81.

And may God bring his son up... virtuously... in the Abode of Lusts [i.e. the world].

Amen, amen, amen, amen, amen, amen, amen, amen.

The year 981 is reckoned, according to Coptic custom, from the beginning

84 Op. cit. (n. 3), p. 210.

85 Op. cit. (n. 3), p. 387: 'Durch Güte des Leidener Bibliothekars konnte ich diese Handschrift 1889 in Leipzig untersuchen'.

86 Art. cit. (n. 32) of 1913, p. 142: '... habe ich mich mit der Hs. auf der Kaiserl. Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek zu Strassburg eingehend beschäftigt, wohin sie mir freundlich zugesandt wurde'.

of the era of the Pure Martyrs,⁸⁷ which begins on the accession to the throne of the emperor Diocletian (A.D. 284). In other words, the colophon must have been written in 1265. And the same year may be assumed to be the year in which Or. 243 was written.

IV. SOME PALAEOGRAPHIC OBSERVATIONS

The correct dating of Or. 243 is of considerable importance for various reasons, mainly for the history of the liturgy in the Natron Valley, and for the history of the Greek majuscule script. As the type of script used in Or. 243 is relatively unknown, I have permitted myself the following palaeographical notes.

I. The script of Or. 243 and palaeographically related documents has on occasion been referred to by previous authors, with what must be considered an unhappy choice of terminology, as semi-uncial and semi-cursive.⁸⁸ The features which led to these misnomers were probably the following:

1. Most of the letters are between two imaginary horizontal lines. But the tops of the *beta* and *theta*, and often also those of the *delta* and *lambda*, project a little way over the upper line. Occasionally the *gamma* and *tau* and the vertical stroke of the *phi* and *psi* are even higher. The base line to which most of the letters adhere is traversed by *zeta*, *lambda*, *xi*, *rho*, *upsilon*, *phi*, *chi* and *psi*, and to a lesser extent often by *beta*.

2. The diagonals of the *lambda* do not meet at the very top of the letter, but somewhere below the top of the right diagonal.

3. The *mu* is not formed by two vertical stems with a V element between them (i.e. four strokes in all). Instead, it consists of a central U element with whose vertical parts the two stems coincide except for their outward-bent tails (i.e. three strokes in all, or one stroke in three movements). In effect the *lambda* and *mu*, with the *rho* (which is a single rising stroke with a downward terminal on the right) are the only two cursive elements in the script of Or. 243. This type of *rho*, however, first appeared several centuries earlier in the 'majuscula ogivalis inclinata';⁸⁹ the *lambda* and *mu*, as described here, and the difference in

⁸⁷ Cf. the date in the Arabic colophon of the Greek synapte related palaeographically to Or. 243, published by Burmester, art. cit. (n. 31), p. 78: 'the year nine hundred... of the Pure Martyrs'. In this latter colophon, however, we see first the ancient Egyptian name of the month plus the year nine-hundred-and-something in the era of the Martyrs, and only then the corresponding month according to the Arabic calendar (Ramadân) plus the corresponding Hidjra year. In Or. 243 the two calendar systems are telescoped: the Coptic year is combined with an Arabic month.

⁸⁸ See note 50.

⁸⁹ For this type of majuscule script, see: W. Lameere, *Aperçus de paléographie homérique* (Paris-Brussels-Antwerp-Amsterdam 1960), pp. 177-81; G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscula biblica* (Florence 1967), pp. 118-21, and plates 108-11; M. Wittek, *Album de paléographie grecque*

the height of the letters, have long been recognized as characteristic of the majuscule script practised in Egypt and called by Irigoín 'uncial of Coptic type'.⁹⁰

Apart from this the script of Or. 243 also reveals various anti-cursive features. In the Egyptian Coptic-type majuscule script the *upsilon* consists of a loop composed of a single stroke, somewhat similar to the *gamma* in modern printed minuscule script but with the lower edge resting on the imaginary line which for the majority of letters serves as a base line. In Or. 243, on the other hand, the *upsilon* consists of two strokes, as in a V, the right-hand one of which is carried through beyond the junction.

The most characteristic letter in the script of Or. 243 is the *beta*. This consists of a vertical stem which at both top and bottom has a tendency to exceed the usual limits of the letters. On the right of this stem, at the top, there is a small round loop, below which there is a similar but larger loop. These two loops are so situated that the stem is left free between them for the space of about a third of its length. The execution of this *beta* demanded more complicated movements than in any other Greek script. In short, there is insufficient reason to call the script of Or. 243 semi-uncial or semi-cursive as long as the 'majuscula ogivalis inclinata' and Irigoín's 'Coptic-type uncial' continue to be counted as majuscule scripts. In my view the script presented by Or. 243 may best be described simply as '(late Greek) majuscule from Scetis' (*majuscula [graeca] Nitriensis [infimae aetatis]*), after the district from which all instances of the script originate which are definitely locatable.

II. My insistence that this Scetis script must be described as a majuscule is a result of my conviction that it originated as a late provincial revival of the 'majuscula ogivalis inclinata'. An instructive example of this later script is to be found in Venice, Bibl. Marc. gr. 1 (Old Testament, LXX), of which there are reproductions in Wattenbach and Thompson.⁹¹ Similarities between the 'majuscula ogivalis inclinata' and the Scetis majuscule are as follows:

1. the sloping character of both scripts;
2. the conspicuously narrow oval shape of the *epsilon*, *theta*, *omicron* and *sigma*;
3. the presence of very small vertical strokes on the horizontal strokes of the *gamma*, *delta*, *theta* and *tau*;
4. the execution of:
 - epsilon* (with underdeveloped lower half);
 - nu* (the diagonal stroke shows a tendency to cross the right stem slightly

(Gent 1967), plates 14, 15, 16; H. Follieri, *Codices Graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae selecti* (C. d. Vaticano 1969), no. 6 (= Vat. gr. 2066).

90 J. Irigoín, 'L'onciale grecque de type copte', *Jahrbuch der Oesterreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 8 (1959), pp. 29-51.

91 G. Wattenbach, *Scripturae graecae specimina* (Berlin 1936⁴), Plate IX. E. M. Thompson, *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography* (London 1906³), p. 156.

above the foot);

rho (the stem extends below the base-line of the other letters; the letter is executed in a single stroke, from the bottom upwards, then curving downwards to the right);

upsilon (the right-hand stroke descends below the point at which it crosses the left-hand stroke; the point of intersection lies on the base-line of the other letters; at the top both strokes are bent slightly outwards);

chi (both strokes descend below the base-line of the other letters; the point of intersection is on the base-line);

5. the presence of breathings and accents.

The Scetis majuscule has certain features in common with the uncial of the Coptic type. Both scripts share the form of the letters *lambda* and *mu*, and the differentiation in the height of the letters. But with its sloping character and the characteristic form of *upsilon* and *rho* in particular the Scetis majuscule is closer to the 'majuscula ogivalis inclinata' than to the uncial of the Coptic type.

The 'majuscula ogivalis inclinata' is not the most recent development of the Greek majuscule script. In the ninth to eleventh centuries it was superseded by the heavy, artificial 'liturgical majuscule' in which the letters reverted to the vertical position and greater breadth.

The fact that the scribes of Scetis either returned to or retained an antiquated form of majuscule script is perhaps to be explained in terms of an inability of more recent developments to gain acceptance in Scetis, in the same way as the modern minuscule book script failed to be accepted, not only because Scetis was relatively isolated geographically but also because it had already been thoroughly arabicized.

III. Apart from its relation to the 'majuscula ogivalis inclinata' and the uncial of the Coptic type, the Scetis majuscule shows certain signs of having been influenced by a truly Coptic tradition. From at least the ninth century and well into the thirteenth century there was, besides the more careful Coptic book scripts in which the letters were vertical, a type of script in which the letters were inclined to the right and required less care from the scribe. This sloping script was often used alongside the 'vertical' script for secondary elements such as rubrics, instructions for the liturgist, and colophons. A good example of this is to be found in fragments of a witness to the Coptic text of the liturgy of St. Basil, published with photographs by J. Doresse and Dom E. Lanne.⁹² Doresse describes the inclined Coptic script in which various passages in this manuscript are written as 'une semi-cursive sèche et anguleuse'.⁹³ The same script was also occasionally used for the main text in a manuscript, witness the examples in the palaeographic albums of H. Hyvernât, V. Stegemann and M.

⁹² *Un témoin archaïque de la liturgie copte de S. Basile* (Louvain 1960).

⁹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 3.

Cramer.⁹⁴

IV. Leiden Or. 243 is the second example of the Scetis majuscule capable of being accurately dated. The other is the manuscript of the Alexandrian liturgies of Basil and Gregory, now in the Coptic Museum of Old-Cairo, No. 20 (see above). The Leiden manuscript dates from 1265, that in Cairo from between 1327 and 1339 – some seventy years later. Comparison of the script of the Leiden manuscript with that of the Cairo one reveals a remarkable change in one of the letters, the *mu*. In Leiden Or. 243 the central U element of the *mu* descends hardly or not at all below the imaginary line upon which the stems of the letter rest. In Cairo 20, on the other hand, it reaches far below the line (see photograph 4; the same phenomenon is to be seen, to a lesser degree, in the ‘majuscula ogivalis inclinata’ – an additional argument for the relatedness to this script). That the change in the Cairo *mu* is indeed a more recent degeneration may be verified as follows. In Leiden Or. 243, pp. 1–2 and 189–90 are replacements for pages which have disappeared. The script on these pages is therefore of more recent date than that in the rest of the codex. And on these more recent pages the *mu* is seen to be the same degenerate form as that in Cairo 20. Hence the form of the *mu* has become a criterion for the relative dating of documents written in the Scetis majuscule. The earlier, thirteenth-century stage is represented by Leiden Or. 243 and the Coptic-Greek-Arabic lectionary dispersed over Vienna, London and Oxford.⁹⁵ The more recent, fourteenth-century stage is seen in Cairo 20 and the later pages in Or. 243, and in the Greek synapte and the lectionary fragment from Anbâ Bišoi published by Burmester.⁹⁶ The other ten or twenty examples of the Scetis majuscule deserve to be tested against the same criterion.

V THE TEXT

For an overall picture of the text of Or. 243 from the point of view of New Testament textual criticism, I collated its Luke pericopes, in all about as long as 15 pages of Nestle-Aland, with Von Soden's text⁹⁷ and the *textus receptus*⁹⁸ Von Soden's recension claims to be an Egyptian text form dating from the

94 H. Hyvernat, *Album de paléographie copte* (1881, repr. Osnabrück 1972), Platses X, XV, XX. V. Stegemann, *Koptische Paläographie*, Tafelband (Heidelberg 1936), Plate 15, 19, 21 and 24. M. Cramer, *Koptische Paläographie* (Wiesbaden 1964), Plate 25, 30 and 32.

95 This has been dated by M. Cramer in the twelfth century, by Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste* (see n. 1) once in the twelfth and once in the thirteenth century (cf. *ad l* 1605 and *ad l* 1993), and by Burmester (art. cit. (n. 31), 1961–2, p. 83) in the thirteenth or fourteenth century.

96 Art. cit. (n. 31).

97 H. von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt...*, Text und Apparat (Göttingen 1913).

98 F. H. A. Scrivener, *Novum Testamentum textus Stephanici A.D. 1550...* (Cambridge 1891).

third century. The *textus receptus* is the text type which became dominant not only in manuscripts written in the Byzantine Empire but also in editions printed in Western Europe up to the end of the nineteenth century. The result of my collation⁹⁹ was as follows.

Or. 243 deviates from Von Soden in 180 places, from the *textus receptus* in 52. Of these 180 and 52 cases, 26 are the same. In other words, we can say straight away that Or. 243 is closer to the *textus receptus* than to the Egyptian text.

Of the 52 instances in which Or. 243 deviates from the *textus receptus*, 14 give alternative Byzantine readings. For the rest, 9 are the result of the fact that the *textus receptus* in its printed form gives a relatively unusual reading which is not supported by many Byzantine manuscripts. In such cases, Or. 243 in fact gives the reading found in the vast majority of Byzantine manuscripts. Six other cases are attributable to the capriciousness of Or. 243 itself. The remaining 23 variants as compared to the *textus receptus* are in general supported by witnesses from the *I* groups of Von Soden.

It is not possible to point to any specific preference for any one *I* type in these 23 variants. Or. 243 shows correspondences to all the various denominations in *I*. There are more agreements (8) with Codex Bezae than with other *I* witnesses. Equally often, however, it coincides with *I-J*, the Ferrar group which represents a medieval text used in southern Italy and Sicily, but related to the Caesarean text type identified by B. H. Streeter. Or. 243 repeatedly coincides with two other Caesarean witnesses (minuscule Gregory No. 157 and 1071; each six times) and with two *I* witnesses which are strongly influenced by the Byzantine text (minuscule Gregory No. 472 and 1093; each six times). Or. 243 also contains more readings in common with the Syrian translations than with other translations, while among the fathers of the church Tatian and Eusebius in particular agree with Or. 243, at least according to Von Soden's apparatus.

The text of Or. 243, Byzantine for the most part, thus proves to have certain elements of earlier text forms, especially Syrian-oriented ones. The non-Byzantine element is, however, too heterogeneous to allow of satisfactory classification.

VI CONCLUSIONS

In a recent study of the methodology of research into lectionaries¹⁰⁰ J. Duplacy proposes that one of the first stages of such research must be the establishment of the time and place in which each lectionary was written. The New Testament

⁹⁹ A collation of the entire manuscript is to be found in Jac. Dermout, *Collectaneorum criticorum in N.T. pars prior* (disputatio theologica inauguralis, Leiden 1825) (Leiden 1825). However, Dermout refrains from any judgement.

¹⁰⁰ Art. cit. (n. 37), p. 543.

philologist¹⁰¹ 'devrait s'efforcer de rassembler tous les renseignements disponibles concernant l'origine de chacun de ces lectionnaires. L'idéal serait ici de relever tout ce qui, dans les manuscrits, peut aider à déterminer leur date et leur lieu de copie: ainsi, pour ne parler que des données "historiques", les colophons, les notes de possesseurs ou de dédicace... etc.' As regards the Leiden lectionary we may now state the following:

1. Leiden Or. 243 was written in one of the monasteries in the Natron Valley (Wâdi 'n Natrûn), in north-west Egypt.

2. It was written in 1265 by a Greek-writing copyist named Petros, and by an Arabic-writing copyist Rahmat Allâh ibn al-Qiss Rašid.

3. In the fourteenth century, still in the Natron Valley, some pages of the codex were replaced.

4. The codex may have been taken from Egypt to France about 1500 by emissaries of Louis XII to the Mamcluke Sultan in Cairo. After being in France for at least a period of years it became the property of D. Chamier at the end of the sixteenth century.

5. In 1600 the manuscript was given to Jos. Scaliger as a personal tribute by Chamier.

6. Baumstark's assertion that Or. 243 was a lectionary in the Coptic Church is fully vindicated by more recent publications of Coptic liturgical texts.

7. The Greek column in Or. 243 constitutes the second dated specimen of the later Greek uncial script as it was used for copying liturgical texts in the Natron Valley during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

8. This 'Sectis majuscule', so far ignored by palaeographers, awaits research in at least 10, probably some 20 manuscripts. It is probably a provincial revival of the 'majuscula ogivalis inclinata', developed partly under the influence of the 'Greek uncial of the Coptic type' and the flowing, sloping Coptic script used between the ninth and thirteenth centuries alongside more carefully executed Coptic book scripts.

9. The fragments of a Coptic-Greek-Arabic lectionary in Vienna, Papyrological Collection of the National Library, K 11346, were originally part of the same codex as London, British Museum Or. 1242,6 (l 1993) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lib. Copt. c. 3 (l [1605]). In the textual criticism of the Greek New Testament the Vienna fragments must be classed under the siglum l 1993.

10. By analogy with Leiden Or. 243, the Coptic-Greek-Arabic lectionary dispersed over libraries in Vienna, London and Oxford can be dated in the

¹⁰¹ Art. cit. (n. 37), p. 541: 'Les philologues néotestamentaires doivent donc élargir leurs horizons' in the field of palaeography, codicology, history of manuscript illumination, liturgy, hagiography, etc. 'Il est donc clair que les lectionnaires sont un "lieu" privilégié pour des recherches "interdisciplinaires" ...'

thirteenth century.

11. The Greek New Testament text in Leiden Or. 243 is generally speaking of a Byzantine type; a small proportion of readings, however, are the same as those of other text forms, principally Caesarean and western.

Scaliger's lectionary is unlikely ever to be of any great importance for the constitution of the text of the New Testament. We may ask, as Junack¹⁰² has in similar circumstances: 'Can grapes be picked from briars, or figs from thistles?' (Matt. 7: 16). Indeed, the Leiden lectionary deserves to lose the place it occupies in Nestle. But for the history of the New Testament text, Or. 243 may be of some significance when the medieval lectionary text from northern Egypt has been better researched. For the history of the liturgy and for palaeography, on the other hand, there is no doubt that the manuscript is a document of incalculable value. But it is also of cultural importance in other respects.

Leiden Or. 243 testifies to the hard but very real struggle of a Christian community, in the face of a tendency towards total arabicization, to maintain contact with the original, authentic Greek form of the New Testament. Petros hardly knew Greek.¹⁰³ All the greater, then, is the respect with which we now regard the bi- and trilingual codices from which the Bible was read aloud in the Natron Valley during the thirteenth century. Even then, such multilingual Bible manuscripts served not only liturgical but also philological ends. In the introduction to his edition of the Arabic text of the gospels, Ibn al-'Assâl (13th. c.) informs us that he has made use of various old translations: 'For Greek I had two complete codices, one of them in two columns, Greek and Arabic...'¹⁰⁴ In western Europe such interest for the Greek text did not appear for at least another two centuries: and in the twentieth century, to our shame, it is becoming less and less commonplace.

For the rest, the history of Or. 243 is bound up in one way or another with the ending of the crusades, the history of the Albigenses and Waldenses, the Protestant humanism embodied in Joseph Scaliger, and the keen rationalism of a Simon. The scholar who considers these associations, if only for a moment, becomes aware that even briars and thistles may yield good fruit.

(*trans. L.*)

¹⁰² 'Zu den griechischen Lektionaren und ihrer Ueberlieferung der Katholischen Briefe', K. Aland ed., *Die alten Uebersetzungen des neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväter und Lektionare* (ANTF 5) (Berlin/New York 1972), p. 575.

¹⁰³ See note 60.

¹⁰⁴ D. B. Macdonald, 'Ibn al-'Assâl's Arabic version of the Gospels', *Homenaje á D. Francisco Codera* (Zaragoza 1904), pp. 386-7 (reference kindly provided by P. S. van Koningsveld). Ibn al-'Assâl also informs us: 'I have seen in Cairo a codex of the Psalms in three columns, Coptic, Greek, and Arabic.'