

DANIEL HEINSIUS  
AND THE TEXTUS RECEPTUS  
OF THE NEW TESTAMENT



H. J. DE JONGE

Daniel Heinsius  
and the Textus Receptus  
of the New Testament

*A study of his Contributions to the Editions of the  
Greek Testament printed by the Elzeviers at Leiden  
in 1624 and 1633*

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## FOREWORD

It is very pleasing that Mr de Jonge has been able to solve a three-hundred-year-old problem and show that it was in all probability indeed Daniel Heinsius who wrote the *Introduction* to the Elzevier *New Testaments* of 1633 and 1641. The evidence is most persuasive, and though we must now accept that the University Librarian was all too inclined to look upon some of the volumes entrusted to his care as a handy source of scribbling paper, we can certainly be grateful for the new light this discovery sheds upon the closeness of the relationship between Heinsius and the most notable learned publishing house of his time.

I should like to take this opportunity to thank the organizing committee of the Congress and the author for making it possible for this memento of the SNTS meeting at Noordwijkerhout to be presented to those taking part.

August 1971

F. C. WIEDER Jr



## INTRODUCTION

Few\* sentences outside the bible have been quoted so often by New Testament critics<sup>1</sup> as the Latin period 'Textum ergo habes, nunc ab omnibus receptum: in quo nihil immutatum aut corruptum damus'.<sup>2</sup> These words were printed for the first time on f. \*2v. of the second edition of the Greek *Novum Testamentum* published by Bonaventura and Abraham ELZEVIER in 1633 at Leiden. They form part of the address of the printers to the readers, 'TYPOGRAPHI LECTORIBVS de hac editione'.<sup>3</sup> They were repeated on f. \*3r. of the preface to the third edition which appeared in 1641, also at Leiden.<sup>4</sup>

Except for the lay-out, the preface of 1641 is identical with that of 1633: not one jot or tittle has been changed. Spelling, capitals, punctuation, the ampersands, all has been exactly reproduced.<sup>5</sup> But there is one single difference. In 1633 the 'Typographi', who had consistently spoken of themselves in the first person plural ('dedimus', 'nostro', 'nobiscum'), had made a small but notable mistake. At the end of their preface, when, apparently, their attention had begun to wander, they wrote 'ut cum Augustino loquar', in the first person singular. The error was promptly corrected in the preface of 1641, which runs 'ut cum Augustino loquamur'. But the very correction shows that the original reading was not merely an insignificant slip of the pen. The original 'loquar' would seem to indicate that the preface was not written by one of the publishers, who,

as relatives and associates, would not have been likely to forget one another, but—as indeed was and is often done—by another person, who wrote in the name of the ‘Typographi’, but whose mask slipped towards the end. The question is: who was responsible for the text of the preface to the Greek Testament issued by the Elzeviers in 1633.

This question is not new. On the contrary, it has been the subject of scholarly discussion for centuries. It has often been connected, indeed confused with the problem of the editorship of the Elzevier New Testament—not only of the edition of 1633 to which the preface was prefixed for the first time, but even of that of 1624 which had no preface at all. It might however be helpful to distinguish one question from the other. In Chapters III and IV we shall concern ourselves with the editors of 1633 and 1624. To begin with we shall consider the question raised just now: who is the author of the address to the readers in the Elzevier Greek Testaments of 1633 and 1641.

#### NOTES

\* The present pages would not have been written if Prof. dr J. SMIT SIBINGA had not on December 18th 1970 spoken to us about the Greek disticha of Dan. HEINSIUS preceding the text of the New Testament in the Elzevier edition of 1633. Referring to the supposition that the author of the poem was the editor of the text, Smit Sibinga gave it as his opinion, that some inquiry in the Leiden University Library might very well throw fresh light on the much disputed editorship of the Elzevier text. . .

<sup>1</sup> The period, or at least its greater part, has been cited in Latin or translated by APPEL, BAUMGARTEN, BOVER, BURKITT, CULLMANN, VON DOBSCHÜTZ, FEINE-BEHM-KÜMMEL, VON GEBHARDT, GREENLEE, GREEVEN, GREGORY-ABBOT, GREGORY, GROENEN, GROSSOUW,

B. HALL, HOLTZMANN, HUG, KENYON, KENYON-WILLIAMS, KLIJN, KNOPF-LIETZMANN-WEINEL, K. LAKE, C. VAN LEEUWEN, MANGENOT, J. P. P. MARTIN, MASCH, MEINERTZ, Br. METZGER, Gotl. Wilh. MEYER, Wilh. MICHAELIS, McNEILE-WILLIAMS, PARVIS, POTT, Ed. REUSS, A. T. ROBERTSON, ROSENMÜLLER, K. Th. SCHÄFER, SCRIVENER, G. SEVENSTER, Heim. von SODEN, SOUTER, O. STÄHLIN, STEUNENBERG, Vinc. TAYLOR, Von TISCHENDORF, TREGELLES, VACCARI, VAGANAY, VOGELS-J. SCHMID, WESTCOTT-HORT, WESTSTEIN, WIKENHAUSER, and others. Among the works which remained unavailable to us is that of SCHAFF.

<sup>2</sup> The numerous authors who have quoted this passage have obviously fallen under the subtle spell of its perfect rhetorical structure. The less they were conscious of this, the stronger appears the natural force of what CICERO called *concinntas*, the logical structure of a period with inner harmony and balance of its constituent parts. The sentence in question consists of two *comprehensiones*, separated by the colon. These *comprehensiones* are not too long and are both of them composed of two *membra* (cf. Cicero, *Orator* 223: 'non longa, ex duobus enim versibus, id est membris, perfecta comprehensio est') so that the full period numbers four such *membra*, which is, according to Cicero, the ideal number (*Orator* 221: 'Constat enim ille ambitus et plena comprehensio e quattuor fere partibus, quae membra dicimus, ut et auris impleat et neque brevior sit quam satis sit neque longior'.) But this is not all. The two *comprehensiones* are not only *ισόκωλοι*, both of them consisting of two *membra*, they are also *ισοσύλλαβοι*, each of them having 14 syllables. Moreover, the first and the fourth *membrum* have each 6 syllables, the two middle *membra* each 8 syllables; consequently the structural pattern of the full sentence forms at the same time an *inclusio* and a *chiasmus* (6,8; 8, 6).—This analysis is supported by the original punctuation in the printed text of the prefaces of 1633 and 1641, as given above (text). That structure and punctuation cannot be neglected but to the detriment of the right interpretation is apparent from a translation like 'thus *you now have* a text accepted by everyone . . .' instead of 'thus you have the text which is *now received* by all . . .' The misinterpretation, not unusual indeed, is due to the neglect of the comma, which clearly indicates that *nunc* belongs to *ab omnibus receptum*, not to *habes*. One author quotes the passage leaving out *ab* before *omnibus*; another replaces *ergo* by *nunc* (!), omits *nunc* before *ab* (!) and replaces *damus* by *est* . . .

<sup>3</sup> For a full transcript of this preface, see chapter II. A translation has been added.

<sup>4</sup> The fourth to seventh and last Elzevier editions appeared in 1656, 1662, 1670 and 1678 at Amsterdam. In these the longer preface of 1633 and 1641 has been replaced by a shorter one, on f. \*2r., entitled 'TYPOGRAPHI Lectori' in 1656 and 1662, and 'TYPOGRAPHUS Lectori' in 1670 and 1678. The Elzevier preface of 1633 and 1641 figures also in two editions of the Greek Testament *ex officina Arn. Leers*, Roterodami 1654 and 1658. These editions are reprints of Elzevier 1641 (not 1656, as stated by Is. H. HALL, 'On Mill's Statement of the Origin of the Elzevir Greek Text of 1624', *Journ. of the Soc. of Bibl. Lit. and Exegesis*, June 1887, p. 46), which appears from the fact that their preface reads 'loquamur' instead of 'loquar' although the superscription 'TYPOGRAPHI' of the Elzeviers had been adapted to Leers' circumstances and altered to 'TYPOGRAPHUS', singular. That Leers copied the preface of the Elzeviers is not such a shameless fraud as Hall suggests, for Leers did not change 'only the heading of the preface' (thus Hall, p. 46), but also a number of other words, indicating by this that he did not claim to have been the publisher of the first impression of the New Testament alluded to in this preface. In order to clear Leers from the blame cast on him by Hall, we notice here Leers' modifications of the Elzevier preface of 1641. The readings after the brackets are those of Leers. We omit matters of punctuation and orthography. TYPOGRAPHI] -PHUS, dedimus] dederunt, expressimus] expresserunt, concederemus] concederent, expresseramus] expresserant + Regii (*sic!* This 'Regii' alters the meaning of the Elzevier text), denuo] *om.*, in nostro aut] *om.*, editionem novam] editionem hanc, denuo<sup>2</sup>] *om.*

<sup>5</sup> The difficulty we had in comparing a copy of 1641 (Amsterdam, University Library 1146. H. 7) with one of 1633 (Den Haag, Royal Library 224. A. 26) prevented us from noticing in time that the preface of 1641 has à where that of 1633 had a (both times), and that in the preface of 1641 a comma has been added, *cf.* p. 45, n. 24. But that is all.

## CHAPTER ONE

### THE AUTHOR OF THE PREFACE TO THE ELZEVIER GREEK TESTAMENTS OF 1633 AND 1641

The oldest testimony concerning the authorship of the preface prefixed to the editions of 1633 and 1641 is, as far as we know, that of S. J. BAUMGARTEN.<sup>1</sup> This scholar wrote in 1752: 'Dass einige Dan. Heinsium für den Verfasser dieser Vorrede gehalten haben, scheinete von dem kurzen griechischen Gedicht <sup>2</sup> herzurühren, welches nach der *πινυζα* alhier [in the editions of 1633 and 1641] folget, in *novi foederis libros, BIBAE, KAKON ΠΑΝΑΚΕΙΑ &c.* mit beigefügtem Namen Dan. Heinsius. Allein es wird vom Joh. Jac. Wetstein in der Einleitung zu seiner Ausgabe des N. Test. mit Recht dagegen erinnert, dass Heinsius I Cor. 7, 29 eine andere Unterscheidung des Textes annahm und behauptete, als hier [in the Elzevier text] angetroffen wird: daher er [Wetstein] mutmasset, dass Ant. Thysius von den Elzeviren dazu [to write the preface (?)] sey gebraucht worden.'

If we understand Baumgarten correctly, he believed that WETSTEIN was right in denying the authorship of the preface of 1633 to HEINSIUS on the ground that Heinsius rejected the punctuation in I *Cor.* vii, 29 as given by the Elzevier text.<sup>3</sup> If this is indeed what Baumgarten means, he is misinterpreting the words of Wetstein. For in the

'Prolegomena' to his *Novum Testamentum*, published about a year before the appearance of Baumgarten's *Nachrichten*, Wetstein had not concerned himself with the question of who wrote the preface of 1633, but—as he said *disertis verbis*—with the 'Altera quaestio, a quo & qua autoritate prima Elzeviriorum editio sit curata'.<sup>4</sup> And it is in connection with this question, that he said 'Putarunt alii, *Danielem Heinsium* huic editioni [*viz.* that of 1624] prae-fuisse: at illi ex ejusdem V. Cl. *Exercitat.* ad I. Cor. VII. 29. refelluntur [...]. Cogitavi denique de *Antonio Thyσιο* [...]'.<sup>5</sup> So the same observation which prevented Wetstein from believing that Heinsius prepared or supervised the 'prima Elzeviriorum editio' (1624), leads Baumgarten to the conclusion that Heinsius cannot have been the author of the preface of 1633. And so Baumgarten misses the point of Wetstein's argument, and produces a line of argument that does not hold water. For the fact that Heinsius rejected in his *Exercitationes sacrae* (1639) the punctuation of I *Cor.* vii, 29 as given by the Elzevier text by no means excludes the possibility that he wrote, anonymously, a preface to that text on behalf of the Elzeviers. Baumgarten's reference to the argument of Wetstein cannot be considered, therefore, to impair the reliability of the view of those who occasioned him to write 'Dass einige Dan. Heinsium für den Verfasser dieser Vorrede gehalten haben'.

However, there are other possible objections not only to attributing the preface of 1633 to Heinsius, but also to the accuracy of Baumgarten's statement quoted four lines above as a whole.

Firstly, if before the middle of the eighteenth century some people really thought that Dan. Heinsius was the author of the preface of 1633, one cannot but share the suspicion of Baumgarten himself that the attribution of the preface to Heinsius was founded merely on the subscription 'DAN. HEINSIVS.' added to the five disticha 'IN NOVI FOEDERIS LIBROS' adopted in the Elzevier editions of 1633 and 1641. The attribution of the preface to Heinsius 'scheinet von dem kurzen griechischen Gedicht herzurüren, welches nach der *πινάκι* alhier [in the editions of 1633 and 1641] folget, [...] mit beigefügtem Namen Dan. Heinsius'. If this suspicion is justified, the attribution of the preface to Heinsius is a mere guess.

Secondly, just who are the 'einige' who, according to Baumgarten, 'Dan. Heinsium für den Verfasser dieser Vorrede gehalten haben'? As far as we know, only two scholars before Baumgarten connected the name of Dan. Heinsius with the Elzevier editions of the Greek Testament. The first to do so was J. A. FABRICIUS<sup>6</sup> who, in 1717, asserts that the tables of the *κεφάλαια* of the Gospels and the *ἐκθεσις κεφαλαίων* of Acts and all the Epistles which have been added to the Elzevier editions of the New Testament of 1633 and 1641 are due to 'Daniel Heinsius, qui [ea] editioni N.T. Elzevirianae A. 1633. 12. jussit adnecti'.

The other was J. J. WETSTEIN, who, as we have already noticed, said: 'Putarunt alii, *Danielem Heinsium* huic editioni [the first, of 1624] praefuisse'.

Neither Fabricius, nor Wetstein says that Heinsius was the author of the preface of 1633. But Baumgarten, who was not all too scrupulous in his interpretation of the

words of Wetstein, obviously took Wetstein's remark 'Putarunt alii Danielelem Heinsium huic editioni [1624] praefuisse' to mean 'Dass einige Dan. Heinsium für den Verfasser dieser Vorrede [1633] gehalten haben'. As Wetstein spoke about the first edition, in which any prefatory note is lacking, and Baumgarten about the preface to the second edition, it seems that Baumgarten's statement that some people have taken Dan. Heinsius to be the author of the foreword of 1633 is without any foundation.

It is therefore clear that there is no reason to suppose that any people really attributed the preface of 1633 to Heinsius at the time. Yet, Baumgarten is not alone in drawing this false conclusion from the words of Wetstein.

A. G. MASCH,<sup>7</sup> for example, wrote in 1778: 'Hujus praefationis auctor a nonnullis habetur *Daniel Heinsius*: majori vero jure adscribitur *Ant. Thysio*, qui tunc temporis Lugduni Batavorum vixit'. This assertion is clearly dependent on the exposition of WETSTEIN. For no other scholar has linked the name of Thysius with the Elzevier Greek Testament.<sup>8</sup> But Wetstein did not suggest that Thysius was responsible for the foreword of 1633—as Masch infers—, but for the edition of 1624. Consequently, Masch' attribution of the preface to Thysius as well as his denial of its authorship to Heinsius, is of no value.

The same applies to the remarks of E. F. K. ROSENMÜLLER (1797), G. W. MEYER (1804) and T. F. DIBDIN (1827).

ROSENMÜLLER<sup>9</sup> gives nothing but a full and clear *reprise* of the confused view of Baumgarten: 'Für den Verfasser jener im Namen der Verleger gefertigten Vorrede halten viele Daniel Heinsius, bloss aus dem Grunde,

weil das kurze griechische Gedicht, welches nach der auch in der ersten Ausgabe befindlichen Πίναξ folgt, In novi foederis libros, BIBΛΕ, ΚΑΚΩΝ ΠΑΝΑΚΕΙΑ κ.τ.λ. Dan. Heinsius unterschrieben ist. Allein Wetstein erinnert in den Prolegomenen zu seiner Ausgabe des neuen Testaments gegen diese Meynung, dass Heinsius I Cor. VII, 29. eine andere Unterscheidung annehme und behaupte, als die in dieser Ausgabe befindliche; daher er muthmasset, Anton Thysius habe jene Vorrede verfertigt'.

The source of these remarks is obviously the misrepresentation which Baumgarten gave of Wetstein's observations and hypotheses. As the opinion of Baumgarten has been proved to be utterly unfounded, the comments of Rosenmüller need no further refutation.

With reference to Rosenmüller and Masch G. W. MEYER<sup>10</sup> speaks in 1804 of 'der zweiten Ausgabe 1633.12. deren Vorrede nach Einigen von Daniel Heinsius, nach Andern von Anton Thysius herrührt'. The bare reference to Rosenmüller and Masch makes it plain that we are not dealing here with reliable information.

A new error was added to the train of misunderstandings when in 1827 DIBDIN<sup>11</sup> wrote: '[The second edition of the Elzevirs . . .] contains a short preface, which some have ascribed to Beza (who, however, died twenty-eight years before the publication,) others to D. Heinsius, and others, with more justice, to Thysius, who lived in Leyden at the time'. What Dibdin says about Thysius is a translation of Masch' words: 'majori vero jure adscribitur *Ant. Thysio*, qui tunc temporis Lugduni Batavorum vixit'. That 'others' ascribed the preface 'to D. Heinsius' is the

well-known and widespread misinterpretation of the words of Wetstein, which Dibdin may also have copied from Masch. Something new comes in, however, when Dibdin says that some have ascribed the preface of 1633 to BEZA (†1605). This allegation is, once again, the product of misunderstanding and confusion, ultimately based on a somewhat unfortunate remark of MILL, as we shall now explain.

In 1626, two years after the appearance of the first edition of the Elzevier Greek Testament, a reprint appeared of the Elzevier text of 1624, printed at Leiden but published by Henricus LAURENTIUS<sup>12</sup> at Amsterdam. This book provided the Greek text accompanied, *ex adverso*, by Beza's Latin version of the New Testament. The preface to this edition of 1626 contains the following passage: 'In textu Graeco secuti sumus eum, qui anno MDCXXIV. Lugduni prodijt, cui non pauci viri, eruditione & pietate praestantes praefuere, qui ad regium exemplar & optimas quasque editiones eum cum cura expresse-runt'. Evidently this passage was the source of MILL's statement<sup>13</sup> about the Elzevier edition of 1624: 'in Editione biennio post[sc. post 1624] ad hujus amussim adornata, *Beza* notat Editioni Elzevirianae praefuisse viros haud paucos eruditione & pietate praestantes'. So Mill implies that BEZA, who died in 1605, was the author of the preface in Laurentius' edition of 1626.

The question whether Mill's form of speech is to be accounted for by supposing a real slip of the pen, or by the supposition that he used the name 'Beza' as a current and convenient designation of every Greek-Latin edition

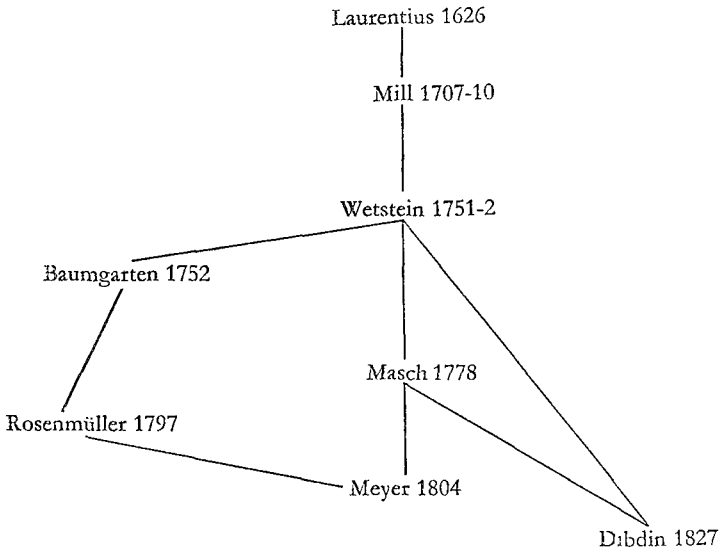
containing the Latin text of Beza, is impossible to answer. At any rate, Wetstein, in his criticism of Mill's statement quoted above, has gone completely astray. He says: 'Quod enim *Millius* [. . .] inquit [the words of Mill are quoted] non uno laborat vitio. Nam editio secunda non *biennio*, sed integro novennio post primam fuit adornata A<sup>o</sup>. 1633.; [But Mill does not even mention the 'second' Elzevier edition], neque Praefatio a *Beza*, qui jam A<sup>o</sup>. 1605 diem obierat, scribi potuit [Did Mill himself believe that he was citing Beza in person?]: denique in hac Praefatione sermo non est de iis, qui primae editioni, sed qui secundae praefuerunt, & non de iis, qui Textum editionis primae concinnarunt, sed de iis, qui Textum editionis secundae a mendis typhothetarum purgarunt, & ad primam recognoverunt'. From this last passage of Wetstein it appears, that he supposed Mill to have spoken with reference to the Elzevier preface of 1633, whereas in reality Mill had cited the preface of Laurentius' Greek-Latin New Testament of 1624. And so as the result of three misunderstandings Wetstein unjustly infers that Mill took Beza to be the author of the preface to the Elzevier text of 1633.

It is this mistake of Wetstein that DIBDIN repeats in saying that 'some have ascribed' the foreword to the edition of 1633 'to Beza'. In fact, no one has ever considered Beza as the author of the preface in question.

After Dibdin (1827) no more attempts seem to have been made to resolve the problem of the authorship of the preface to the second edition of the Elzevier Greek Testament.<sup>14</sup> While the editorship of the Elzevier text has remained a much disputed topic, the question 'who wrote

the preface to the edition of 1633' has fallen into the background, which is indeed just as well, in view of the discouraging number of mistakes by which the small piece of *Forschungsgeschichte* described above is marked.

Summarizing the above, then, we must say that those who have written about the authorship of the preface to the Elzevier Greek Testament of 1633 and 1641 have never given expression to their own and personal view on this matter: they intend only to say what they think *others* have said on the question: 'alii', 'nonnulli', 'viele', 'einige', 'andere', 'Wetstein muthmasset', &c. But the opinion of those 'others' was constantly deduced and reconstructed from what previous writers had said, as shown by the following diagram:



Unfortunately the scholars mentioned seldom succeeded in giving a faithful rendering of what their predecessors really had said. Consequently, the alleged hypotheses of 'others' according to which Heinsius, Thysius or Beza would have been the author of the foreword of 1633 and 1641, have never been conceived and formulated by any scholar as his personal view. These hypothetical attributions have only existed as the supposed opinion of 'alii'. As such they have been noted down and transmitted, as such they deserve to be unmasked and dismissed. The attributions of the preface to Heinsius, Thysius and Beza are the result of, for a great part traditional, misunderstandings.

The foregoing forces us to conclude that the author of the longer Elzevier foreword has in fact never been identified. The answer to the question 'who wrote the preface of 1633' is still in the lap of the gods. It is the object of the present contribution, however, to produce it from there, that is to say, from the University Library at Leiden.

This Library preserves under the shelf mark B. P. G. 50 (*i. e.*, Bibliotheca Publica Graeca 50) a Greek manuscript of the second half of the sixteenth century, containing the *Commentarii in Octateuchum, Reges, Paralipomena I-II* of PROCOPIUS of Gaza († c. 538).<sup>15</sup> The catenae of Procopius end on f. 523r. But it is what follows Procopius' text that is of special interest to us. It was no small surprise for us to read on f. 524r., first lines at the top of the page: 'Anni sunt iam aliquot, Amice Lector, ex quo Foedus Nouum Graece, ex Regijs editionibus [. . .] fide ac cura dedimus

expressimusque, [&c.].’ This is, it needs hardly be said, the opening of the preface to the Elzevier Greek Testament of 1633! It seemed to us<sup>16</sup> that the manuscript Leiden, University Library, B. P. G. 50, f. 524r. provides, except for some smaller fragments, the entire text of the preface of the Elzevier editions of 1633 and 1641.

Some passages of the printed text are missing in the manuscript. The opposite also occurs. Further, there is a great number of smaller discrepancies between the printed text and that of the manuscript. The most salient feature of the manuscript text is, however, its arrangement: three passages that are integrant components of the whole in the printed text, as if they had been written along with their context, are lacking in the context as given by the manuscript, their text having been added afterwards under the original draft. (See accompanying photograph of f. 524r.). Long lines connect these additions with the places where they had to be inserted. One small piece of text<sup>17</sup> has been added on the left-hand page, f. 523v. In the edition of 1633 all these passages have been incorporated in the text proper.

The obvious conclusion is that we here have to do with a *brouillon* of the preface printed in the Elzevier Greek Testament of 1633 and 1641.

Does the manuscript offer any indication of the identity of the hand to which the text is due? The answer to this question is simple. One only needs turn the page to find the name of the writer of the folia under consideration. There, on f. 525r. (see photograph of that page), one reads, third line from the bottom: εἴνσιος.

It admits of no doubt that the text on ff. 524 and 525 of Leiden, University Library, B. P. G. 50 was written by DANIEL HEINSIUS.<sup>18</sup> For firstly, the word εὐνοιος on f. 525r. is the signature of the author's own hand under the draft of a poem which was published on f. [\*8]v. of the New Testament printed by the Elzeviers in 1633, bearing, there, the subscription 'DAN. HEINSIVS.', in red.<sup>19</sup> The poem was printed a second time on p. [(44)] of Dan. Heinsius' own elaborate commentary on the New Testament, his *Exercitationes sacrae* of 1639.<sup>20</sup> The poem also appeared in the reprint of the *Exercitationes* issued at Cambridge, 1640, p. 32, and in the third edition of the Greek Testament published by the Elzeviers at Leiden in 1641, p. [\*8]v., again subscribed 'DAN. HEINSIVS.'

That, further, the hand which wrote the poem on f. 525r. is identical with that to which we owe the text of the Elzevier preface on f. 524r. is also clear from the following observations. Over the Greek poem subscribed εὐνοιος another poem has been written, in Latin, beginning at the top of f. 525r. Its first line runs:

*Dousa pater vatum, patrij tutela Lycei,*

This poem would seem to be a panegyric addressed to the poet, orator and medical student Vincentius FABRICIUS<sup>21</sup> (1612-67) by no less a person than Dan. Heinsius. The poem will be found, *e. g.*, in Danielis Heinsii *Poemata auctiora*, editore Nicolao Heinsio Dan. fil., Lugduni Batavorum 1640, p. 285,<sup>22</sup> as well as in the 'Carminum adoptivorum liber' of Vincentii Fabricii ... *Orationes*,

*dissertationes, epistolae, poemata* . . ., accurante Friderico Fabricio, fil., Francofurti & Lipsiae 1685, p. 672.<sup>23</sup> In the latter collection the poem is headed '*In Amores Nortvicenses, Vincentii Fabricii sui*'. and subscribed with the full name of the author DANIEL HEINSIUS. Now it may be easily seen from the accompanying photographs that the hand that wrote the Latin poem on f. 525r. is the same as is responsible for the text on f. 524r. Accordingly, it is beyond all doubt that Dan. Heinsius is the author of the preface on f. 524r.

Some importance attaches to the order in which the three texts under consideration—the foreword on f. 524r., the Greek verses, and the Latin poem on f. 525r.—were evidently written. In fact, the poem destined for Vinc. Fabricius does not only occur on f. 525r.; earlier phases of development of the same poem may be found on the other side of the leaf, f. 525v., which bears clear evidence of the whole process of birth and growth of the poem. On that page it has been drafted, corrected and repeatedly rewritten until the page was completely filled. Then the author, Heinsius, wrote a definite recension of the poem.

It is worth noting that for this last recension he did not take the following page, f. 526r., but the preceding, f. 525r., where we have already noticed it. The redaction of f. 525r. coming nearest to the printed text form of the poem, it is certain that in this manuscript Heinsius did not work in the normal direction from front to back, but, on the contrary, the other way about. This means that the poem dedicated to Fabricius is the *terminus post quem* for the composition of the Greek disticha, whereas these

Greek verses form in their turn the *terminus post quem* for the text which was to become the preface to the second edition of the Elzevier Greek Testament, published in 1633.

Now the date of the poem *In Amores Nortvicenses, Vincentii Fabricii sui* may be approximately fixed from the following indications. Among the letters of Vincentius Fabricius we found those written at 'Nortvici' (Noordwijk) to be dated from '19. Kalend. Febr. 1632' (January 14th 1632)<sup>24</sup> to 'A.D. 1633. VI. Kal. Aug.' (July 27th 1633).<sup>25</sup> The last letter, that of July 27th 1633, was addressed 'ad Const. Hugenium' (Const. Huygens) and accompanied by an elegiac poem dedicated to Huygens. We were fortunate enough to find both the letter and the poem among the letters of Huygens in the University Library at Leiden (Hug. 37). It appeared that in the autograph of Fabricius the poem has been subscribed 'Nortvici, in secessu' meo. MDCXXXIII.' This addition to the poem justifies the conclusion that Fabricius' 'secessus' from Noordwijk should be dated about July 27th 1633.

The first letter following upon that of July from Noordwijk was written 'Lugd. Batav. 5. Non. Octobr. 1633' (October 3rd 1633).<sup>26</sup> In this letter Fabricius refers to the 'migrationis tumultus' as then being over.

Consequently Heinsius' poem *In Amores Nortvicenses* can hardly have been written before January 14th 1632. At the same time, and *a fortiori*, this date is the earlier limit for the dating of Heinsius' Greek disticha and his preface to the Greek Testament of the Elzeviers.

On the other hand, the *terminus ante quem* is provided by

Fabricius' departure from Noordwijk. He was 'in secessu' on July 27th 1633, and on the 3rd of October his removal was a thing of the past. From this we may conclude that the Latin panegyric was written before 3 October 1633, possibly before 27 July 1633. It is indeed quite probable that it was on the very occasion of Fabricius' departure that this Latin poem was composed, just like the panegyric on Fabricius written by C. BARLAEUS, entitled *In Secessu Nortvicenses doctissimi Juvenis Vincentii Fabricii Epigramma*. In Fabricius' 'Carminum adoptivorum liber' mentioned above, Barlaeus' poem follows immediately upon that of Heinsius. For both these panegyrics a date in July 1633 would probably be correct.

In the manuscript the Latin panegyric of Heinsius figures on the same page as his Greek one on the New Testament. They may well have been written at about the same time, namely somewhere about July 1633. The poem on the New Testament was apparently intended to be published together with the preface. This means that the composition of the preface cannot be of much later date than the disticha.

All in all we may say that the preface to the second and third editions of the Elzevier Greek Testament was written after January 1632, but probably not after 3 October 1633, presumably by about August 1633.<sup>27</sup>

This calculation proves to agree remarkably well with the date of publication of the Greek disticha and the foreword to the New Testament of the Elzeviers, issued in 1633. Eb. NESTLE once wrote, referring to the 'fünf griechische Distichen auf das N.T. von dem berühmten,

1655 verstorbenen holländischen Philologen Daniel Heinsius. Ich weiss nicht, ob sie hier erstmals veröffentlicht sind.<sup>28</sup> The question must be answered in the affirmative.

Thus it is clear that some time between January 1632 and October 1633 Dan. Heinsius used the blank leaves at the end of the Procopius manuscript as his rough-copy book. Yet he was not the owner of the manuscript. As early as 1614 the codex was in the possession of the Leiden University Library. In that year it is mentioned in the *Catalogus librorum bibliothecae Lugdunensis, s.l., s.a.*, p. 89, third title: 'Procopij Epitome commentariorum in octo priores Veteris Testamenti libros Graece. volumen nondum editum'. Exactly the same title (but 'Comm-') occurs in the *Catalogus bibliothecae publicae Lugduno-Batavae, Lugduni-Batavorum (Ex officinâ Isaaci Elzevirii)*, 1623, p. 140, third title.<sup>29</sup> Both these catalogues were compiled by Daniel Heinsius himself in his capacity as Praefectus bibliothecae publicae, which he obtained in 1607, at the age of twenty-seven, and did not resign until 1653.<sup>30</sup>

In want of some scribbling paper, then, the Leiden University Librarian seems to have had no scruples in availing himself of the open space in a manuscript belonging to the Library.<sup>31</sup> For this many excuses can be advanced. It is not even impossible that lack of paper did play a part. Such things happened at the time. A short time after at least, in May 1634, Dan. Heinsius makes mention of a 'mira atque inusitata chartae penuria' at Leiden.<sup>32</sup>

Daniel Heinsius not only acquired, catalogued, and

‘supplemented’ the manuscript, we find also evidence that he read in it. In his *Aristarchus sacer, sive ad Nonni in Iobannem metaphrasin exercitationes* [...], published in 1627,<sup>33</sup> he quotes some words of ‘Procopius, not yet edited in Greek’. Dwelling at the meaning of the words καταβαῖνον, ὡσεὶ περιστεράν in *John* i, 32, Heinsius writes: ‘Hunc columbae motum, dum ex aëre paulatim descendit ac defertur, voce ηηη exprimunt Hebraei. Hellenistae ἐπιφέρεσθαι dixerunt. Principio Geneseos, καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τῶν ὕδάτων. successu tamen impari, vt ipsi Graecorum Critici notarunt. Procopius, nondum Graece editus, ὅπερ οὐκ ἔσχεν ἢ τῶν Ἑλλήνων διὰ μιᾶς λέξεως παραστῆναι φωνή: *cujus vim vocaboli vna eademque voce Graecorum*, inquit, *lingua exprimere non potuit*’.<sup>34</sup> It is obvious that Heinsius appeals here to the Procopius manuscript under his charge in the University Library. In his *Exercitationes sacrae*<sup>35</sup> of 1639 Heinsius cites once again some words of ‘Procopius [...] in Commentariis ad Exodum, nondum Graece editis’.<sup>36</sup> It is most striking indeed, that the passages quoted by Heinsius in his *Exercitationes sacrae* from Procopius, about thirty in number, have been derived, without any exception, from those parts of Procopius’ commentaries which had not been edited by Meursius.<sup>37</sup> In view of the rather great number of Procopius quotations scattered throughout the *Exercitationes*, it is likely that Heinsius in preparing his *Exercitationes* has had the Procopius manuscript constantly at hand.<sup>38</sup> Thus it is not too surprising that Heinsius, in need of some writing-paper, made use of the manuscript of Procopius. Interrupting for a moment his work at the *Exercitationes sacrae* in order to write—as he

often did—some short texts on behalf of the Elzeviers, and not having the necessary paper immediately available, Heinsius took from his desk, or from the shelf, the much consulted codex of Procopius always lying ready for use at that time, turned to the blank leaves at the end of the manuscript and began to write . . .

What exactly he wrote may be seen in the following chapter. Let us first sum up the results reached in this part of our study.

Concerning the authorship of the preface of the Elzevier Greek Testament of 1633 the learned tradition appeared to dispose of anything but reliable information. Again and again scholars refer to people ascribing the preface to some author, but on examination these references proved to be merely due to misunderstandings of the statements of previous critics. The question, however, 'who wrote the foreword to the edition of the Greek New Testament published by the Elzeviers in 1633' is directly and sufficiently answered by the ff. 524 and 525 of the manuscript Leiden, University Library, B. P. G. 50. On f. 524r. one finds the draft of the preface. As appears from the signature εἰς τιος subjoined to some Greek disticha of Dan. Heinsius occurring on f. 525r. and from the identical handwriting of ff. 524 and 525, it is to none other than DANIEL HEINSIUS that the text of the preface to the second edition of the Greek Testament of the Elzeviers is due. For this, Heinsius made use of the remaining space at the end of a manuscript belonging to the Leiden University Library of which he himself was Librarian. As the text of Heinsius' preface must have been written during Vinc. Fabricius' stay

at Noordwijk, Heinsius wrote this preface for the Elzeviers after the middle of January 1632 and before 3 October 1633, probably in July or August 1633.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> *Nachrichten von merkwürdigen Büchern*. Erster Band . . . , Halle 1752, p. 208-9.

<sup>2</sup> Dan. Heinsius' poem *In Novi Foederis Libros*, a panegyric on the New Testament consisting of five Greek disticha, immediately precedes the text of *Matthew* in the Greek Testaments issued by the Leiden Elzeviers in 1633 and 1641, in both of them on f. [\*8] v. The poem bears the subscription 'DAN. HEINSIVS.', in red, just like the words 'IN NOVI FOEDERIS' which form the upper line of the title. For the text and a translation of the poem, see chapter II.

<sup>3</sup> DANIEL HEINSIVS, *Sacrarum exercitationum ad Novum Testamentum libri XX* . . . *Quibus Aristarchus sacer, emendatior nec paulo auctior, indicesque aliquot . . . accedunt*, Lugd. Bat. (Ex officinâ Elseviriorum) 1639, p. 382, l. 46 ss.: (*ad I Cor.* vii, 29): 'Cum autem additur, τὸ λοιπὸν ἐστὶν [*sc. post ὁ καιρὸς συνεσταλμένος*], metuo ne recentiori hic non accedendum sit interpreti, qui haec conjungit, ὁ καιρὸς συνεσταλμένος τὸ λοιπὸν ἐστὶν. quod interpretatur, *tempus contractum est in posterum*. Quanto enim melius Robertus Stephanus, & si qui alii, ὁ καιρὸς συνεσταλμένος· τὸ λοιπὸν ἐστὶν, ἵνα καὶ οἱ ἔχοντες γυναικας, &c. Nihil vsitatius Apostolo, quam vt peculiare μεταβατικὰς, ex more suo, hoc est, quibus ad alia transire solet, adhibeat notas [. . . p. 383 . . .] Quo magis mirum, reperiri, qui distinctionem cum recentiori, de qua dicebamus, tuentur.' The 'recentior' is Beza.

<sup>4</sup> J. J. WETSTENIUS, *Novum Testamentum Graecum editionis receptae cum lectionibus variantibus* . . . , Amstelædami 1751-2, I, p. 152.

<sup>5</sup> 'A. Thysius' is the signature that Wetstein found appended to a note prefixed to a collation of his ms. 12 (= GREGORY 10), see p. 60, and for Thysius' words p. 63, n. 5. As Thysius states 'we have got this collation from Scaliger', the Thysius referred to seems to be the father Antonius Thysius (1565-1640), not his son of the same name (1603?-65). Scaliger died 1609. The father, a much-travelled scholar, pupil of Beza and Casaubon, was professor of divinity at Leiden, 1619-40. See A. J. van der AA, *Biographisch Woordenboek der*

Nederlanden, voortgezet door K. J. R. van Harderwijk en G. D. J. Schotel, Nieuwe Uitgaaf, XVIII, Haarlem 1876, p. 114-119.

<sup>6</sup> J. A. FABRICIUS, *Bibliotheca Graeca* . . ., Liber IV, Hamburgi 1717, cap. V, p. 222.

<sup>7</sup> A. G. MASCH, *Bibliotheca Sacra post cl. cl. vv. Jacobi le Long et C. F. Boernerii iteratas curas ordine disposita, emendata, suppleta, continuata*, Pars I, 'De editionibus Textus Originalis', Halae 1778, p. 227.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, *loc. cit.* V.s., p. 6.

<sup>9</sup> E. F. K. ROSENMÜLLER, *Handbuch für die Literatur der biblischen Kritik und Exegese*, I. Band, Göttingen 1797, p. 308.

<sup>10</sup> Gottlob Wilhelm MEYER, *Geschichte der Schriffterklärung*, in: *Geschichte der Künste und Wissenschaften*, Elfte Abtheilung, Theologie, IV, Geschichte der Exegese, Dritter Band, Göttingen 1804, p. 180, n. 20, l. 7 ss.

<sup>11</sup> T. F. DIBDIN, *An Introduction to the Knowledge of Rare and Valuable Editions of the Greek and Latin Classics together with an Account of . . . Greek Testaments . . .*, Vol. I, London 1827<sup>4</sup>, p. 134-5.

<sup>12</sup> D.N. *Iesu Christi Testamentum novum Gr. Lat. Theodoro Beza interpr. Prioribus editionibus multo accuratius et a multis mendis expurgatum*, Amsterodami, sumptibus Henrici LAUR<ENTI>, 1626, v. p. ( ) 2v.—P. [902]: Lvgdvni Batavorvm. Typis Ioannis Cornelii Wourdani, Anno 1626. (A copy is in the University Library at Amsterdam).

<sup>13</sup> J. MILLIUS, *Novum Testamentum Graecum cum lectionibus variantibus Mss. Exemplarium, Versionum, Editionum, Ss. Patrum et Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum*; [&c, &c . . .], rec. Lud. KUSTERUS, Roterodami MDCCX (= 1710), Prolegomena, p. 138, paragr. 1307.

<sup>14</sup> It was not meant as a contribution to the solution of the problem at issue when A. F. J. KLIJN, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, Leiden 1967, p. 194 wrote: 'In 1633 Elzevier [Bonaventura or Abraham?] wrote in a preface: *textum ergo habes nunc* [<ab>] *omnibus receptum in quo nihil immutatum aut corruptum damus* ('thus you now have a text accepted by everyone in which we offer you no alteration or corruption').'

<sup>15</sup> MIGNE, P. G. 87, I, 21-1220. For a description of the ms., see K. A. de MEYER, adiuv. E. HULSHOFF POL, *Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis, Codices Manuscripti*, VIII, *Codices Bibliothecae Publicae Graeci*, Lugd. Bat. 1965, p. 71-2. On p. 72 one reads: 'Codex non laudatur apud A. Rahlfs, Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments (Nachrichten v. d. kön. Gesellschaft d. Wiss. zu

Gottingen Philol.-histor. Klasse 1914 Beiheft), p. 379 sq. The statement is correct, but not wholly to the point as RAHLFS has obviously omitted the ms. designedly, *cf.* his paragraph 'Absichtlich ausgeschlossen sind 1) jüngere Hss., die nur Excerpte enthalten, 2) Hss., welche von occidentalischen Schreibern im XVI. Jahrh. geschrieben sind 3) Hss., welche möglicherweise oder sicher dem XVII. Jahrh. angehören', p. XIII. Leiden B. P. G. 50 as described by De Meyier can claim no place, therefore, in Rahlfs' *Verzeichniss*

<sup>16</sup> 7 January 1971

<sup>17</sup> *Viz* the words 'vel hic, vel in editionibus quas hactenus secuti fuimus'. They are missing on the photographs in this booklet, *cf.* n. 31 and ch. II, n. 12

<sup>18</sup> K. A. DE MEYER, *op. cit.*, p. 71-2 [ ] ff. 524-527 quae conscripsit alia manus eiusdem temporis (Danielis Heinsii?) [ ] F. 524, 525, 526-527. Exempla prima aliquot a Dan. Heinsio († 1655), ut videtur, conscripta multis deletis atque additis (f. 524) praefatio ad quoddam opus "Anni sunt iam aliquot, Amice Lector, ex quo Foedus Nouum Graece, ex Regijs editionibus", etc., (f. 525) duo carmina, alterum "Dousa pater vatum," etc. [Danielis Heinsii poemata latina et graeca (Amstelod. 1649), p. 404, sq.] [The poem was published as early as 1640, De J. *Cf.* p. 15], alterum βιβλε, θεανθρωποι, etc., (f. 526) carmen "Nortwicum teneres Dousae, quos lusit amores", etc. [This is, however, not a different poem from the one just mentioned *Dousa pater*, but the fifth line of the same poem, in an earlier phase of the genesis of the poem it was the first line. See photograph of f. 525r, line 5 De J.], et iteratio aliquot versuum ex primo carmine in f. 525'.

<sup>19</sup> *Cf.* n. 2

<sup>20</sup> *Cf.* n. 3

<sup>21</sup> Chr. G. JOCHER, *Allgemeines Gelehrten Lexicon*, II, Leipzig 1750, col. 494 'FABRICIUS (Vincentius), ein Poete, Redner, Jctus und Medicus, geboren 1612 [ ] zu Hamburg, machte sich zu Leiden mit Heinsio bekannt, [col. 495] wurde 1640 zu Bourges Licentiat der Rechte, 1643 Rath bey dem Bischoff von Lubeck, 1644 Syndicus, ja endlich 1666 Burgermeister zu Dantzic. Er starb zu Warschau auf dem Reichs-Tage 1667, [ ] schrieb *Positiones medicas, considerationes monetales, orat., poemata, epistolas* und andere Werke, welche von seinem Sohne [ ] heraus gegeben worden. AE. Fa. Mol. *Cf.* J. C. F. HOEFER, *Nouvelle biographie generale depuis les temps les plus recules jusqu'a nos jours*, XVI, Paris 1856, col. 965

<sup>22</sup> De Meyier, *op. cit.*, p. 72, refers to the edition which appeared nine years later.

<sup>23</sup> The first edition, the so-called *editio belgica*, of this book was not available to us.

<sup>24</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 266.

<sup>25</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 285.

<sup>26</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 287.

<sup>27</sup> It may be noticed in passing that this period from Jan. 1632 until Oct. 1633 was not the easiest of Heinsius' life. There was not only the quarrel with J. L. G. de BALZAC and the imminent friction with Cl. SALMASIUS, but also personal grief. In April 1633 he wrote to ROVERIUS: 'Si laborum meorum Annales audias, non mireris quod tardius rescribam. Vix defunctus morbo, universam supellectilem librariam transferre, ac migrare coactus sum. Vix ingressus aedes novas, tibiam gravissime offendi [*tibia*= shin-bone, or: leg]: adeo, ut cum chirurgo etiam hoc tempore res nobis sit.' (Quoted from D. J. H. ter HORST, *Daniel Heinsius*, (1580-1655), diss. Leiden 1934, Utrecht <1934>. p. 120; the ms. of the letter is in Leiden, Univers. Libr., Pap. 2). Illness, removal and a serious injury to his leg, even his feuds were nothing compared with the severe sufferings and death of his wife Ermgard, who died 12 September 1633.

<sup>28</sup> Eb. NESTLE, *Vom Textus receptus des Griechischen Neuen Testaments* . . ., (Salz und Licht, Vorträge und Abhh. in zwangloser Folge, 8), Barmen 1903, p. 5.

<sup>29</sup> In the catalogue of 1623 the remark 'volumen nondum editum' has simply been copied from that of 1614, although it was certainly from this codex that Joh. MEURSIUS edited his *Procopii Gazaei in libros Regum et Paralipomenon scholia*, Lugd. Bat. 1620. This appears from the 'Notae quaedam' added at the end of Meursius' edition, in which the editor states several times 'Ad oram codicis nostri adscriptum erat . . .' Without exception these marginal readings prove to have been derived from Leiden, U.B., B. P. G. 50. So De MEYIER is quite right in stating, *op. cit.* p. 72, 'Ex hoc codice editit Joh. Meursius commentarios in Reges . . .', whereas Heinsius was not so in repeating the note 'volumen nondum editum' in 1623, part of the ms. having been edited as early as 1620. Of this fact Heinsius can hardly have been unaware. As Librarian he must have known that the ms. had been used by Meursius, even if Meursius did not honour the library with a copy of his book: it does not occur in

the *Catalogus 1623*. It may be added that it looks as if the suggestion of De MEYIER that Meursius was the possessor of the Procopius ms. before it came into the possession of the University Library is not wholly exempt from objections. Meursius admittedly speaks (1620) of the codex he used as 'Procopium hunc vulgarem, è Bibliotheca mea depromptum' (*op. cit.*, 'epist. dedicat.'). But the ms. had belonged to the University Library since 1614 at the latest. Did Meursius speak the truth when writing 'è Bibliotheca mea'? As it was not until 1625 that Meursius accepted the professorship of History at the Danish university of Sorø, it cannot have been on the occasion of Meursius' departure that the ms. in question passed from the library of Meursius to that of the University.

<sup>30</sup> Ter HORST, *op. cit.*, p. 147; Paul R. SELLIN, *Daniel Heinsius and Stuart England*, Leiden-London 1968, p. 65 (full title: ch. IV, n. 18).

<sup>31</sup> Those who in justification of Heinsius' proceeding might object that the leaves used by Heinsius did possibly not yet belong to the ms. when serving as his scribbling-paper, and guess that they may have been added to the ms. at a later date, are sufficiently refuted by the aspect of f. 523 v., being the blank verso of the last leaf containing text of Procopius. This last verso shows many traces of what looks like mirror-writing, but what actually are letters taken off from the opposite side. Besides, one reads on this left hand page the words 'vel hic, vel in editionibus quas hactenus secuti fuimus', an addition to the text of Heinsius which could not be inserted on the right-hand page. (Cf. n. 17, and ch. II, n. 12). These things confirm that Heinsius did use the Procopius ms. in its present form. The 'mirror-writing' shows moreover that when Heinsius had finished the whole preface and closed the ms., the ink of even the first line at the top of the page had not yet become dry. This text has not taken him very long!

<sup>32</sup> If it was no mere pretence, this unexpected shortage of paper caused a stagnation in the execution of printing-work committed to the Elzeviers. Cf. Heinsius' letter to Patrick YOUNG *d.d.* 15 May 1634, in: Joh. KEMKE, *Patricius Junius (Patrick Young), Bibliothekar der Könige Jacob I. und Carl I. von England. Mitteilungen aus seinem Briefwechsel* (Sammlung Bibliothekswissenschaftlicher Arbeiten . . ., 12. Heft), Leipzig 1898, p. 73. But compare Heinsius' habit in his function of Secretary to the Senate (1610-54) of Leiden University: 'de secretaris had blijkbaar niet altijd wit papier ter zijner beschikking, en notuleerde dan maar waar hij in zijn aantekeningen van

vroeger nog wat onbeschreven gedcelten vond', P. C. MOLHUYSEN, *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit*, II, 's-Gravenhage 1916, p. VIII.

<sup>33</sup> Lugd.-Bat., Ex Officinâ Bonaventurae & Abrahami Elzevir. Academ. Typograph.

<sup>34</sup> *Op. cit.*, pars posterior, p. 322. The ms., f. 8v., line 13, does not read παραστήναι, but παραστήσαι.—For Heinsius' words 'nondum Graece editus', cf. his own note on the ms. in the catalogues of 1614 and 1623 quoted above: 'volumen nondum editum', p. 19.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. n. 3.

<sup>36</sup> P. 173, l. 5-6.

<sup>37</sup> On Meursius' edition, see n. 29.

<sup>38</sup> Incidentally it may be observed that Heinsius had also long planned to make an edition of PROCOPIUS, but not of Procopius Gazaetus, whose commentary he quoted so often, but of Procopius Caesariensis, the historian and contemporary of the former. 'Instante Iosepho Scaligero, id [a revised Latin edition of Procopius] tentavit B. Vulcanius: deinde incepto destitit, senio confectus. [VULCANIUS died Oct. 1614 at Leiden, 77 years of age. Suffering from blindness, he had been assisted in his duties as Secretary to the Senate by Heinsius from 1609, and succeeded in 1610.] Negotium in se ultro receperat Daniel Heinsius, tum iuvenis [in 1614 he was 34] in quo diligentia, Scaligero [†1609] teste, cum eruditione certabat'. (C. Maltretus, *v.i.*). Dan. HEINSIUS 'Procopium intra biennium abhinc proximum vix dabit' (Luc. HOLSTENIUS, [v.i.], *ep.* 226, *ad G. Elmenhorstium*, a. 1628?, in: P. BURMANNUS, *M. Gudii . . . Epistolae . . .*, Ultrajecti 1697, p. 290). Further the ms. Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apost. Vat., Barber. lat. 3631 (XLII: 177), s. XVII contains several letters written by the Elzeviers at Leiden from Sept. 1634 until Jan. 1636, to Luc. Holstenius, a former student of Heinsius' at Leiden, at the time in the service of the Cardinal Fr. Barberini at Rome. The Elzeviers ask for collations with a view to a planned edition of Procopius with the Latin translation of Vulcanius emended by Heinsius (cf. J. A. F. ORBAAN, *Bescheiden in Italië omtrent Nederlandsche kunstenaars en geleerden*, I, Rome, Vat. Bibl. Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën uitgegeven in opdracht van Z. Exc. den Min. v. Binnenl. Zz., Kleine Serie 10, 's-Gravenhage 1911, no. 330). On Oct. 10th 1650 Heinsius wrote to his son Nicolaas: 'In Procopio . . . et interpretatione . . . Vulcanii, diligenter recensenda versari iam statui'. (ms. Leiden, U.B., Burm. F. 4, *Heinsius, Dan. ad Heinsium*,

*Nic.* 101-110, 4th leaf). 'At illum [Heinsium] alia studia sic averterunt, ut promissi munus haud comparuerit', thus C. MALTRETUS, seven years after the death of Heinsius in the preface to his *Procopii Caesariensis Historiarum sui temporis libri VIII* [Gr. et Lat.], Parisiis 1662, f. ē ij.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF HEINSIUS TO THE ELZEVIER GREEK TESTAMENTS OF 1633 AND 1641: THE PREFACE AND THE PANEGYRIC ON THE NEW TESTAMENT

In this chapter we aim at making known to the reader the text of the preface to the Elzevier Greek Testaments of 1633 and 1641 and that of the panegyric on the New Testament adopted in the same editions, as noted down by HEINSIUS in the ms. Leiden, University Library, B. P. G. 50. We shall first deal with the text of the preface.

#### A. THE PREFACE

As the draft texts in the manuscript show many differences when compared with the printed text, of which several are likely to interest the reader, we think it will be useful to give both texts in columns side by side. The left column presents the manuscript text.

Words which Heinsius added *inter lineas* by way of correction are marked by an asterisk. Letters or words deleted by Heinsius are given between double square brackets. Letters wrongly omitted by Heinsius are supplied between pointed brackets. Dots under words indicate uncertain letters.

From various sides it was suggested that a translation

might be desirable. This has therefore been appended to the Latin text, also in two columns. A few notes have been added to the text proper.

a) *The Latin text*

Ms. Leiden, University Li-	Editio Elzeviriana,
brary, B. P. G. 50, f. 524r..	1633: ff. *2r.-*3r.,
	1641: ff. *2r.-*3v.,

[Headpiece, 1633:

RAHIR 17,

Headpiece, 1641:

RAHIR 21]\*

TYPOGRAPHI  
LECTORIBVS  
de hac editione.

*Anni sunt \*iam aliquot, Amice Lector, ex quo Foedus Nouum Graece, ex | Regijs editionibus, ac caeteris, quae solae nunc habentur* [[elegantēs]] \*emendatae [[ac | emendatae]] \*nitidaeque |, ea fide ac cura \*dedimus expressimusque, vt nec elegantia editio-| nis, neque diligentia concederemus ijs quas expresseramus. Neque hic | [[stetimus.]] \*cura \*nostra [[\*substitit.]] \*sibi

*ANni<sup>1</sup> jam sunt aliquot,<sup>2</sup> Amice ac Christiane Lector, ex quo Foedus Nouum, Graece, ex<sup>3</sup> Regijs ac caeteris<sup>4</sup> editionibus, quae maxime ac prae caeteris nunc omnibus probantur, ea fide<sup>5</sup> ac religione<sup>6</sup> dedimus expressimusque,<sup>7</sup> ut non elegantia editionis,<sup>8</sup> concederemus iis quas expresseramus.*

\*satisfecit. [[*Distractis*]] *exemplaribus*, \**distractis* \*ac \**divenditis*, editionem, omnibus acceptam, de-novo doctorum oculis subiecimus. ut si quae [[*restarent*]] \**superessent mendae vel | lenissimae*, vel hic, vel in | editionibus, quas hactenus secuti fuimus | cum cura tollerentur. Quod cum accurate ab ijs | factum esset, nam ad hanc Pandoram, ornamentum quisque [[*contulit*],] \**excogitavit*, \**quisque symbolam ad ἔργον* | commune, lubens volens, [[*elargitus est*],] contulit. (quis enim Deo | ac divinis quicquam neget;) memor [[*templi*]] \**tabernaculi sub* [[*antiquo*]] \**prisco foedere*, | quod ita crevit, | ad editionem novam, his praesidijs muniti, denuo | accessimus. In qua \**praeter caetera*, & versus accuratius distinximus, [[*ut*]] ne quic- | quam amplius [[*desiderarent*]]: . vel morosissimi desiderarent.

*Exemplaribus* <sup>9</sup> *distractis* <sup>10</sup> ac *divenditis*, editionem, omnibus acceptam,<sup>11</sup> denuo doctorum oculis subiecimus. Ut si quae, vel<sup>12</sup> minutissimae, in nostro, aut in iis, quos secuti sumus, libris, superessent mendae, cum iudicio ac cura tollerentur.

Quod cum accurate ab iis factum esset, (nam<sup>13</sup> ad hanc Pandoram,<sup>14</sup> non Poeticam, sed vere talem ac divinam, ornamentum quisque excogitavit, quisque symbolam ad ἔργον commune, lubens volens contulit.<sup>15</sup> quis enim Deo ac divinis quicquam neget; memor tabernaculi<sup>16</sup> sub prisco Foedere, quod ita crevit?) ad editionem novam, his praesidijs<sup>17</sup> muniti, denuo accessimus. In qua, praeter caetera, & versus quos nunc vocant, accuratius notavimus.<sup>18</sup> ne<sup>19</sup> praetermissa quidem veterum distinctione, ab hac nostra satis aliena: quam sub finem, ne quid desit, exhibemus.

E qua discas, qui qualesque

*fuerint, quos τειλους nunciabant, quos in sua iterum κεφάλαια, omnino aliter quam fit a nobis, olim dividebant. Qui majores ita vulgo nunc vocamus partes, quas in στίχους (an ubique satis commode, quaerendum aliis relinquimus, qui utiles non curiosi volumus videri) ut investigandi labor absit, utilissime dividimus.*

*Textum*  
*habes, iam [recep-| tum,] ab omnibus receptum, | in quo nihil immutatum, | aut [pe] corruptum, nihil | curiositati, nihil novita-|ti [datum|. quem-| admodum a cibus | muscae merito arcentur, ita | istas ad hoc<e> non admittimus, | quos contactu|. [[ita ad-| mi]]: ita ab his sacris, | qui vel optimo successu, | aliquid esui dant. dedimus. qui ut lapides | & monumenta veterum, | ita chartas has, religiose | vindicandas arbitramur. |*

*Textum*<sup>20</sup> ergo  
*habes, nunc ab omnibus receptum: in quo nihil immutatum aut corruptum*<sup>21</sup>

*damus. Qui, cum lapides*<sup>22</sup> *ac monumenta antiquorum quidam venerentur ac religiose repraesentent, multo magis chartas has, ab argumento*<sup>23</sup> *θεοπνεύστους, vindicandas a mutatione ac corruptela judi-*



Dousa pater intem, patrij tutela byces,  
 Quo nil candidam terra Batava tulit,  
 Littora Martius camposq; accendit, et muros  
 In gremio domui dnm sua fuit canit  
 In gremio tenens Dousa, quos lupit, amores,  
 Quaque Ida stetit basia mille sua,  
 In caelestibus solij, flammisque et carmina Nympharum  
 Hauserunt, patrios, Reveredisque Deos.  
 Tota calet tellus, et adhaec locus ubi turis pro sacris  
 quom sub Bano <sup>residens</sup> nitha quoque vivit amor.  
 Dignus utroque Deo vi tos meus, ardet utroque,  
 Neo desit, Nec minus <sup>inania</sup> nec minus igne calet.  
 Incola Nortwici, pariter Jindimque Papsimque  
 Haussit amatque simul, nec moriturum carit  
 Nil opus est Cirra Batavis, n  
 Nil veniens, nec per spera ca miltit Amor  
 Dousa meus doctos Nortwicum translulsi ignes  
 Nunc afflat vates numine Dousa suo

Isa Vopy  
 vinctus  
 ppur

Heinrich  
 Poemata  
 1649 p 404

Neo desit  
 Osalis

Βίβλις, θεῶν ἰσοπέδιο ἀνασταλὶς διαβίβου,  
 Πλάσσει βίβλιν ἐν βαυλίῳ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστοτέρων,  
 Καί μιν ἐπιγράμματα, χθονίῳ ἐπιγράμματα, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστοτέρων,  
 Ἄνδρες ἐπιγράμματα σὺν βαυλίῳ ἐπιγράμματα,  
 Ζεὶ ὀρθοῦν, ὀρθοῦν, ἀνασταλὶς ἀριστοτέρων  
 Ἄλλοι βαυλίῳ  
 Ζεὶ ἢ ἀριστοτέρων, οὐκ ἢ ἀριστοτέρων.  
 Ζεὶ ἢ ἀριστοτέρων ἀριστοτέρων ἀριστοτέρων,  
 Ζεὶ βίβλιν ἐν βαυλίῳ οὐκ ἢ ἀριστοτέρων ἀριστοτέρων.  
 Βίβλις, θεῶν ἰσοπέδιο, ἀνασταλὶς διαβίβου.  
 Ζεὶ, μὴ ἀριστοτέρων, ἀριστοτέρων ἀριστοτέρων  
 Ζεὶ, μὴ ἀριστοτέρων, ἀριστοτέρων ἀριστοτέρων

Ms Leiden, University Library, B P G 50, f 528r  
 Draft of a panegyric on the NT of εὐνοῖος (third line from the bottom)  
 (Copyright Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden)

*Et nobiscum quisquis ad | religionem sapit. | Formam | vides, περιφόρητον, [ & vsui accommodatam. ] \*καὶ \*εὖωνον. \*ὥς \*καλοῦσι. Qu[od]ae cum [quisque] in su-|pellectilem comendat et, [vsibus humanis] in qua nihil praeter | vsum spectant homines, vulgarem illum [atque] ac humanis [rebus] | [commodu] \*ministeriis \*accommodum, quanto minus negligendum fuit in diuino instru-|mento, cuius vsum vita ista habet, fructum altera [habebit. ] | [quae nulla morte, vt Aug<u>[i]st<in>us loquitur, terminatur, exhibebit. ] | quae nulla [fin] morte finietur, vt cum Augustino loquar, | exhibebit.*

*camus. & nobiscum quisquis <sup>24</sup> ad religionem sapit. Formam habes περιφόρητον καὶ εὖωνον: hoc est, ut ille ait, ὀλίγην <sup>25</sup> τε pariter, καὶ φίλην. Quae <sup>26</sup> cum ipsam quoque supellectilem commendent, in qua nihil praeter usum spectant homines, vulgarem illum ac humanis <sup>27</sup> ministeriis accommodatum; quanto minus negligendum in diuino instrumento, cuius usum <sup>27</sup> vita ista habet, fructum verum altera, quae  
nulla morte finietur,*

*ut <sup>28</sup> cum Augustino loquar, <sup>29</sup> exhibebit? Vale, ac fave.<sup>30</sup>*

b) *A translation of the preface*

Ms. Leiden, University Library, B. P. G. 50, f. 524r.

Editio Elzeviriana,  
1633 & 1641

THE PRINTERS  
TO THE READERS  
on the Present Edition.

*It is \*already some years, dear reader, since we \*edited and printed the New Testament in Greek, on the basis of the Royal editions and the other ones which are now considered as especially [elegant] \*correct [and correct] \*and \*beautiful.*

*We produced our New Testament so faithfully and carefully, that we yielded to none of the [publishers whose] editions we had taken as the basis for ours.*

*But even at this point [we did did not come to a stand] \*our \*care [did not come to a halt] \*was not yet \*satisfied. [Sold out] The copies [of the first impression] \*being \*completely \*sold \*out we have anew submitted our edition, which has been accepted by all, to the eyes of the learned, in order that all errors, even the smallest, that might [be left] still \*remain either here or in the editions we followed till now, might*

*It is already some years, dear Christian reader, since we edited and printed the New Testament in Greek, on the basis of the Royal and other editions that now enjoy especially great approval.*

*We produced our New Testament with such devotion and bestowed so much care on it, that we yielded to none of the [publishers whose] editions we had taken as the basis for ours, either in the elegance of our edition or in diligence.*

*The copies [of the first impression] being completely sold out we have anew submitted our edition, which has been accepted by all, to the eyes of the learned, in order that all errors, even the most insignificant, that might still remain either in our work or in those which we followed, might be removed with discernment and*

*be removed with care. When this had been carefully done by them (for on behalf of this Pandora*

*everyone* [[contributed]] \*devised something to adorn her with, \*everyone [[bestowed]] contributed willingly and spontaneously his share to the common ἔρανον [feast]. (For who would withhold anything from God and from what is under his sanction) remembering the [[temple]] \*tabernacle under the [[old]] \*former covenant which arose in the same manner), we undertook the new edition, strengthened by this support. In this edition we have, \*among \*other \*things, also marked the verses more carefully [[that]] lest [[one should find]] even the most meticulous should find something more to be desired.

*care. When this had been carefully done by them (for on behalf of this Pandora—not invented by a poet, it is true, but assuredly of a like nature and divine—*

*everyone devised something to adorn her with, everyone contributed willingly and spontaneously his share to the common ἔρανον [feast]. For who would withhold anything from God and from what is under his sanction), remembering the tabernacle under the former covenant which arose in the same manner?) we undertook the new edition, strengthened by this support. In this edition we have, among other things, also marked more carefully what nowadays are called 'verses'. Even the division of the ancients, rather different from ours, has not been omitted. We shall provide it at the end, that nothing shall be lacking. From this, one will learn what were the so-called τῖτλοι, which were formerly subdivided each into*

*its own κεφάλαια, in quite a different way from ours. For nowadays we are accustomed to call by that name [κεφάλαια] sections of greater length, and in order to eliminate the trouble of tracing a certain passage, we divide these greater sections [chapters] into στίχοι [verses], a system that has proved to be extremely useful, [though it might be asked] whether this division into verses always corresponds sufficiently well to the sense of the text. But as we want to make ourselves useful, not to be officious, we leave this question to others.*

*You have here the text which is now [received] generally received, in which nothing [is given] changed or [‘pe’] corrupted, nothing [left] to strangeness, nothing to innovation. [Just as from food flies are rightly fended off, so we do not permit these [corruptive factors] to contaminate the present [food]] [so permi-]: so from these sacred leaves, which*

*Thus you have here the text that is now generally received, in which we give nothing changed or corrupted.*

*indeed with the happiest result  
provide nourishment.*

*has been given by us.*

*For we are of the opinion that,*

*even as stones [with inscriptions] and monuments of the ancients,*

*so these leaves*

*have to be defended with meticulous care. And [on that], everyone endowed with a correct appreciation of religion will be agreed. As you see, the format of the book is περιφόρητον [and adapted to practice] \*καὶ \*εὐωνον, \*ὡς \*καλοῦσι. [such as to enable you to carry it with you, and of reasonable price, as it is called.]*

*And as [everyone] th[is]ese qualities are a recommendation for domestic furniture, and [to the practice] in which people have nothing in view but utility—that ordinary [and] utility*

*For we are of the opinion that, while certain people have a great veneration for stones [with inscriptions] and monuments of the ancients and reproduce them with meticulous care, it is much more necessary that these leaves,*

*θεόπνευστοι [inspired] in respect to their content, should be defended against change and corruption. And [on that], everyone endowed with a correct appreciation of religion will be agreed. The format of the present book is περιφόρητον καὶ εὐωνον [such as to enable you to carry it with you, and of reasonable price], that is to say, as the great poet expressed it, ὀλίγη as well as φίλη [small but pleasant].*

*And as these qualities are a recommendation even for domestic furniture, in which people have nothing in view but utility—that ordinary utility adapted to the employ-*

*\*adapted to the [affairs] [convenience] \*employments of man, how much less should one lose sight of this in a divine instrument, the use of which is enjoyed in this life; the fruit of which, however, will be [possessed] received in the next [that by no death, as Augustine says, comes to an end,] that will be brought to an end by no [end] death, to quote Augustine.*

*ments of man, how much less should one lose sight of this in a divine instrument, the use of which is enjoyed in this life; the fruit of which, however, will be received in the next that will be brought to an end by no death, to quote Augustine. Farewell and regard us and our work with favour.*

## B. THE PANEGYRIC ON THE NEW TESTAMENT

### a) *The Greek text*

1. Ms. Leiden, University Library, B. P. G. 50, f. 525r., cf. photograph.

Βίβλε, θεανθρώποιο πανυστατή διαθήκη,

[[Πρὸς]] \*Εἰς βίον ἐκ θανάτου πᾶσιν ανισταμέν[[ος]]ου,

Κλίμαξ οὐρανή, χθονὸς οὐρανὲ, πᾶσι μέλουσα,

Ὡν πόθος οὐρανίων στήθεσιν ἐμπέφυε,

Σοὶ προσφύς, σοφίης, [[τε πανυστη]] τῆς ἀνδρομέης λελαθοίμην,

Σὺν καὶ Ἀριστοκλέους, σὺν καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους.

Σὺν σοὶ, θνητὸν ἕνακτα τὸν ἀθάνατον προσίδοιμι·

[[Πρὸς]] \*Εἰς βίον ἐκ θανάτου σὺν σοὶ [[ἀνερχομε]] ἀνιστάμενος.

εἷσιος.

Βίβλε, σόφον μελέδημα, θεηγενέος βασιλῆος,

Βουλῇ, καὶ [[μ]] πινυτῇ, καὶ παθέων [[α]] [[ανάκη.] πανάκη.

2. Editio Elzeviriana, 1633: f. \*8v., 1641: f. \*8v.

IN NOVI FOEDERIS <sup>31</sup>  
LIBROS

**Β**ΙΒΛΕ, <sup>32</sup> ΚΑΚΩΝ ΠΑΝΑΚΕΙΑ, ΠΑ-  
ΝΥΣΤΑΤΗ <sup>33</sup> ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ

ΖΩΗΝ ΕΚ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΥ ΠΑΣΙ ΧΑ-  
ΡΙΣΣΑΜΕΝΟΥ·

ΒΙΒΛΕ, ΦΙΛΟΝ ΔΩΡΗΜΑ ΘΕΗΓΕ-  
ΝΕΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΗΟΣ·

ΜΟΥΣΗ, ΚΑΙ ΣΟΦΙΗ, ΚΑΙ ΧΑΡΙΣ  
ΟΥΡΑΝΗ, <sup>34</sup>

ΖΩΗ ΕΠΙΧΘΟΝΙΩΝ, ΧΘΟΝΟΣ ΟΥ-  
ΡΑΝΕ, ΠΑΣΙ ΜΕΛΟΥΣΑ <sup>35</sup>

ΩΝ ΠΟΘΟΣ ΑΘΑΝΑΤΩΝ ΣΤΗ-  
ΘΕΣΙΝ ΕΜΠΕΦΥΕ·

ΣΟΙ ΠΡΟΣΦΥΣ, <sup>36</sup> ΣΟΦΙΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΝ-  
ΔΡΟΜΕΗΣ ΔΕΛΑΘΟΙΜΗΝ,

ΣΥΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ, <sup>37</sup> ΣΥΝ  
ΚΑΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ·

ΣΥΝ ΣΟΙ ΘΝΗΤΟΝ <sup>38</sup> ΑΝΑΚΤΑ, ΤΟΝ  
ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ ΠΡΟΣΙΔΟΙΜΙ·

ΣΩΗΣ <sup>39</sup> ΤΟΝ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ ΣΥΝ ΣΟΙ  
ΑΜΕΙΨΑΜΕΝΟΣ.

DAN. HEINSIVS.<sup>40</sup>

b) *A translation of the panegyric*

1. According to the manuscript text

Ο Book, final Testament of the God-man,  
who rose from death [to] unto life on behalf of all,

Ladder to heaven, earthly heaven, heeded by all  
 in whose heart a longing for the heavenly things has  
 been implanted;

May I, cling to you, forget the wisdom [final] of men,  
 both of 'Aristokles' and that of Aristotle.

May I behold with you the mortal, yet immortal, Master,  
 [going up] rising with you from death [to] unto life.

HEINSIUS

O Book, wise care of the God-begotten King,  
 counsel, [c] wisdom, and remedy of all sorrow.

2. According to the printed text, adopted in the Elzevier  
 editions of 1633 and 1641

TO THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

O Book, remedy healing all evil, final Testament of Him  
 who graciously bestowed life out of death upon all men,

Book, dear gift of the God-begotten King,  
 Muse, wisdom and grace from heaven,

Life of men on earth, earthly heaven, heeded by all  
 in whose heart a longing for the immortal world has  
 been implanted;

May I, cling to you, forget the wisdom of men,  
 both of 'Aristokles' and that of Aristotle.

May I behold with you the mortal, yet immortal, Master,  
 when I shall have changed life for death—with you.

DAN. HEINSIVS.

## NOTES

\* E. RAHIR, *Catalogue d'une collection unique de volumes imprimés par les Elzevier . . .*, Paris 1896, Fleurons et marques typographiques des Elzevier de Leyde et des Elzevier d'Amsterdam, p. 427.

<sup>1</sup> *ANni jam sunt*: (ms.: *Anni sunt \*iam*), cf. DAN. HEINSIUS, *Poemata latina et graeca; editio . . . postrema, longe auctior*, Amstelodami 1649, dedicatory letter, f. \*3: 'Anni jam sunt plures, Vir Nobilissime'. In the *Poemata auctiora*, Lugd. Bat. 1640, the same preface began: 'Anni jam sunt plurimi, Vir Nobilissime'.

<sup>2</sup> *aliquot*: nine.

<sup>3</sup> *ex Regiis . . . editionibus*: allusion to the title of the first Elzevier edition of the Greek New Testament, of 1624, which alleges to be 'Ex Regijs alijsque optimis editionibus cum curâ expressum'. By *Regiis* the editions of R. STEPHANUS are meant, his three principal editions (1546-49-50) having been issued from the Royal Press. Those of 1546 and 1549 are known as the *editiones mirificae* on account of the opening words of their preface 'O mirificam *Regis* nostri optimi et praestantissimi principis liberalitatem . . .'. The third edition, of 1550, bears on its title-page the inscription Βασιλεῖ τ' ἀγαθῷ, κρατερῷ τ' αἰχμητῆϊ, in honour of Henry II. In the edition last mentioned the authority is quoted of eight mss. from King Henry II.'s Library. Cf. SCRIVENER, *A Plain Introduction . . .*, Cambridge 1883<sup>3</sup>, p. 436-7, 441.

<sup>4</sup> *caeteris editionibus*: equally an allusion to the title of 1624, cf. n. 3, referring substantially to the editions of BEZA. But other editions were used as well. How the editor of Elzevier 1624 picked and chose his readings as he liked, becomes clear from the list of differences between the editions of Stephanus 1550 and Elzevier 1624, with the support afforded to their variants by the editions of Erasmus, Colinaeus, the remaining Stephanus editions, those of Beza, the Complutensian and the Aldine Bible, given by H. C. HOSKIER, *A Full Account and Collation of the Greek Cursive Cod. Ev. 604 . . .*, London 1890, Appendix B. The editor of Elzevier 1624 followed now one and now another edition or combination of editions most eclectically.

<sup>5</sup> *fide . . . industria concederemus*: cf. S. CURCELLAEUS, Η' ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ, *NOVUM TESTAMENTUM. Editio nova . . .*,

Ladder to heaven, earthly heaven, heeded by all  
 in whose heart a longing for the heavenly things has  
 been implanted;

May I, cling to you, forget the wisdom [[final]] of men,  
 both of 'Aristokles' and that of Aristotle.

May I behold with you the mortal, yet immortal, Master,  
 [[going up]] rising with you from death [[to]] unto life.

HEINSIUS

O Book, wise care of the God-begotten King,  
 counsel, [[c]] wisdom, and remedy of all sorrow.

2. According to the printed text, adopted in the Elzevier  
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 when I shall have changed life for death—with you.

DAN. HEINSIVS.

## NOTES

\* E. RAIHR, *Catalogue d'une collection unique de volumes imprimés par les Elzevier . . .*, Paris 1896, Fleurons et marques typographiques des Elzevier de Leyde et des Elzevier d'Amsterdam, p. 427.

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<sup>2</sup> *aliquot*: nine.

<sup>3</sup> *ex Regijs . . . editionibus*: allusion to the title of the first Elzevier edition of the Greek New Testament, of 1624, which alleges to be 'Ex Regijs alijsque optimis editionibus cum curâ expressum'. By *Regijs* the editions of R. STEPHANUS are meant, his three principal editions (1546-49-50) having been issued from the Royal Press. Those of 1546 and 1549 are known as the *editiones mirificae* on account of the opening words of their preface 'O mirificam *Regis* nostri optimi et praestantissimi principis liberalitatem . . .'. The third edition, of 1550, bears on its title-page the inscription Βασιλεῦ τ' ἀγαθῶ, κρατερῶ τ' ἀλχητηρῆ, in honour of Henry II. In the edition last mentioned the authority is quoted of eight mss. from King Henry II.'s Library. Cf. SCRIVENER, *A Plain Introduction . . .*, Cambridge 1883<sup>3</sup>, p. 436-7, 441.

<sup>4</sup> *caeteris editionibus*: equally an allusion to the title of 1624, cf. n. 3, referring substantially to the editions of BEZA. But other editions were used as well. How the editor of Elzevier 1624 picked and chose his readings as he liked, becomes clear from the list of differences between the editions of Stephanus 1550 and Elzevier 1624, with the support afforded to their variants by the editions of Erasmus, Colinaeus, the remaining Stephanus editions, those of Beza, the Complutensian and the Aldine Bible, given by H. C. HOSKIER, *A Full Account and Collation of the Greek Cursive Cod. Ev. 604 . . .*, London 1890, Appendix B. The editor of Elzevier 1624 followed now one and now another edition or combination of editions most eclectically.

<sup>5</sup> *fide . . . industria concederemus*: cf. S. CURCELLAEUS, Η' ΚΑΙΝΗ' ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ, *NOVUM TESTAMENTUM. Editio nova . . .*,

Amstelaedami, Ex Off. Elzev., 1658, Preface, f. \*2v.: 'hoc nostro aevo Elzevirii, nemini antecedentium fide aut industria cedentes . . .'.

<sup>6</sup> *religione*: = *cura*, the reading of the ms.

<sup>7</sup> *expressimus*: 'exprimere' = 'describere et imprimere', 'typis suis describere'.

<sup>8</sup> *industria*: = *diligentia*, the reading of the ms.

<sup>9</sup> *Exemplaribus . . . divenditis*: imitated (?) by Eb. NESTLE in the preface to his *Novum Testamentum Latine*, 1912<sup>2</sup>: 'Divenditis exemplaribus primae impressionis' (quoted from his *Novum Test. Gr. et Lat. . . .*, Stuttgart 1954, p. VIII).

<sup>10</sup> *distractis*: as a mercantile term 'distrahere' is a synonym of 'divendere', cf. LEWIS and SHORT, 1962, s.v. 'distraho', I.A.2., and I. BAUER, *Thes. l. Lat.*, V<sup>1</sup>, col. 1542, s.v. 'distraho': 'temporibus recentioribus abiit in significationem simplicem vendendi (cf. Schmalz, Berl. phil. Wochen-[col. 1543] schr. 1893 p. 1090 sqq.).

<sup>11</sup> *omnibus acceptam*: Is. H. HALL, *art. cit.* (Introduction, n. 4), p. 45, plainly misses the point in saying that this *omnibus acceptam* does not refer to the edition of 1624 (as SCRIVENER had affirmed in his *Plain Introd.*, 1883<sup>3</sup>, p. 442), but to that of 1633. What the 'Typographi' mean is this: since the copies of the edition of 1624 are disposed of, they have, before proceeding to the printing of the second edition (1633), submitted to the eyes of the learned their first *editionem*, *omnibus acceptam* in order to elicit criticism and, in doing so, to keep their second edition free from any mistake. So it is of the edition of 1624 that they speak as that *omnibus acceptam*.

<sup>12</sup> *vel . . . secuti sumus*: in the ms. these words do not occur on f. 524r., but on f. 523v.; they form a later addition for which Heinsius could find no place on the right-hand page. Accordingly this passage is not found on our photographs. In the ms. the addition runs *vel hic, vel in editionibus quas hactenus secuti fuimus*, cf. chapter I, n. 17, 31.

<sup>13</sup> (*nam ad hanc Pandoram . . . ita crevit*): in fact, this parenthesis was a later addition, written at the bottom of f. 524r., see photograph of that f.

<sup>14</sup> *Pandoram*: cf. HESIODUS, *Erga . . .*, 80-2: θεῶν κῆρυξ δνόμηγε . . . τήνδε γυναιῖα Πανδώρην, ὅτι πάντες . . . δῶρον ἐδώρησαν. Ob-

viously the figure of Pandora strongly intrigued HEINSIUS, as indeed did the whole work of Hesiod. Even the most brutal detractor of Heinsius must admit 'Het Pandora-verhaal stond in het middelpunt van de belangstelling des bewerkers . . . Hier zien we hem op zijn allerbest', D. J. H. ter HORST, *op. cit.*, p. 28. In 1603 Heinsius edited his ΥΜΝΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΠΑΝΔΩΡΑΝ ΗΣΙΟΔΟΥ. *Hymnus in Pandoram Hesiodi. Singularum ratio redditur in introductione ad librum Εργων και Ημερων, quae cum Dan. Heinsii Hesiodo prodibit.* The latter work appeared also in 1603: ΗΣΙΟΔΟΥ ΑΣΚΡΑΤΟΥ τὰ εὐρισκόμενα . . . *Cum Graecis scholiis Procli, Moschopuli, Tzetzae, in Εργα και Ημερας; . . . Accessit liber . . . in quo doctrina Εργων και Ημερων . . . ostenditur; item notae, emendationes, observationes, & index. . . in Hesiodum eiusque interpretes.* Heinsius considered Pandora as the 'prototype of mutual generation, procreation', as he expressed it in the letter by which he dedicated his *Graeca et e Graecis versa* in the *Poematum editio tertia* . . . Lugd. Bat. 1610 to Isaac CASAUBON, p. 171: 'Graeca enim quaedam praemisimus, quorum Pandora merito agmen ducit: antiquissima Naturae filia, & si Hesiodicae sapientiae credimus, τῆς ἀλληλο-[sic]λογονίας πρωτότυπον.' In a later edition he wrote, more correctly, ἀλληλολογονίας, (1640, p. 42).

<sup>15</sup> *ad . . . divinam ornamentum quisque symbolam . . . lubens . . . contulit:* this passage was paraphrased by CURCELLAEUS, *op. cit.* (n. 5), as follows: '(ne jam plures alios commemorem), qui ad divinum istud opus ornandum singuli symbolam suam alacriter contulerunt'.

<sup>16</sup> *tabernaculi: Ex. 25, 1 ss.; 30, 11-16; 35, 4 ss.; 36, 3-7.*

<sup>17</sup> *his praesidiis:* the alleged contributions of the learned, on which see chapter III, p. 48-9.

<sup>18</sup> *versus accuratius notavimus:* in the edition of 1624 the numbers of the verses had been placed in the inside margin of each page, but in that of 1633 in the outside margin of the left-hand page, and in the inside of the right-hand page. Moreover, the text of 1633 is broken up into the separate verses, the first word of each verse commencing with a capital letter.

<sup>19</sup> *ne . . . dividimus:* the greater part of the passage dealing with the different systems of division applied to the New Testament is lacking in the ms. text and must have been inserted afterwards. But in his *Aristarchus sacer* . . . , Lugd. Bat. 1627, *posterior pars*, HEINSIUS had devoted a whole chapter to this subject: Caput XIII, 'de

Capitum ac Commatum divisione', p. 254-263. There Heinsius had already pointed out that Greek writers used to designate sections of greater extent as τίτλοι ('tituli'), and smaller ones as κεφάλαια ('capitula') (one 'titulus' consisting of thirteen 'capitula' on an average). On p. 257 he speaks of the evidence concerning the division of the Gospels used by EUTHYMIUS, which appears to be entirely different from 'divisione nostra'. Heinsius concludes (p. 258): 'Secutus autem est divisionem suam, aut, si vis, Graecorum. A qua aliquantum Catalogus Theophylacti abit. In Evangelista nostro [*John*], titulos  $\eta\eta$  Suidas, & cum eo Graeci ponunt. Nam κεφάλαια minores ibi sectiones sunt. Sic Evangelista noster titulos  $\eta\eta$ [18], capitula  $\sigma\lambda\beta$ [232] habere dicitur. Vt sit primus,  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$  τοῦ ἐν κανῶ γάμου . . . Nam quod nunc primum, vt Praefationem, separarunt'. Then Heinsius gives the list of the eighteen 'tituli' of *John*, and adds, p. 259: 'Quae in manuscripto meo Evangeliorum antiquissimo, modo in superiori, modo in inferiori parte paginae, ad verbum notata invenias'. To this description the Leiden codex evv. Univ. Libr., Gron. 137 [= GREGORY 435], fully corresponds, but up till now the name of Heinsius has never been mentioned as that of a possible possessor of the ms.

<sup>20</sup> *Textum ergo habes*: On this period, see Introduction, p. 1 and 3, n. 2. Note that Heinsius wrote this passage as a later addition, see photograph of f. 524r., column at right-hand side of the page.

<sup>21</sup> *corruptum*: in the ms. there follows a comparison between the mental food of the Bible and normal food: the Bible has to be protected against textual errors, just as ordinary food against flies. Possibly this interesting comparison sounded a bit disrespectful. Anyhow, in the definitive version of the text Heinsius abandoned this passage altogether. [ $\rho\theta$ ] in the ms., *sc. pe*<rditum>?

<sup>22</sup> *lapides ac monumenta*: that there is in fact a great difference between the accurate reproduction of an inscription and the constitution of a text like that of the New Testament, has rightly been stressed by Eb. NESTLE. In the former case we have the original under our eyes, in the latter we are separated from the original by a chain of mss., each of them being a potential source of errors. Eb. Nestle, *Vom Textus receptus des Gr. N. T., Ein erweiterter Vortrag* (Salz und Licht. Vorträge und Abhh. in zwangloser Folge, 8), Barmen 1903, p. 6.

<sup>23</sup> *ab argumento*: *ab* means 'in respect of', 'as regards', 'as to', *cf.* *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Fasc. I, Oxford 1968, *s.v.* 'ab', *sub* 25, p. 3.

<sup>24</sup> *quisquis ad religionem sapit*: we are afraid that NESTLE, *op. cit.* (see n. 22), p. 5 is wrong in translating 'jeder, der es mit der Religion hält'. 'Sapere ad aliquid' = 'sapere [to have sense, or discernment] in aliqua re, cum de re quapiam agitur' [that is, when there is no question of wisdom or knowledge in a stricter, more or less philosophical sense], FORCELLINI, V, *s.v.* 'sapio', 9, p. 336, *cf.* his examples. *Ad* means 'in point of', 'in respect of', 'in relation to', 'with regard to', and *sapit* might be translated by 'has a due sense', 'a true understanding', 'a right consciousness', 'a correct appreciation', or something similar. The edition of 1641 has a comma before *quisquis*.

<sup>25</sup> ὀλίγην τε . . . καὶ φίλην: a Homeric formula, *Od.*, 6, 208 and 14, 58; δόσις δ' ὀλίγη τε φίλη τε, *Iliad* 1, 167 (Achilles to Agamemnon): τὸ γέρας . . . ὀλίγον τε φίλον τε.

<sup>26</sup> *Quae cum . . . commendant . . . ; quanto minus negligendum*: the construction is inconsistent, *negligendae* would have been a more logical continuation.

<sup>27</sup> *usus . . . fructus*: on this famous Augustinian distinction, see, e.g., F. CAYRÉ, 'Notes complémentaires. 18', in: G. COMBÈS et J. FARGES, *Le magistère chrétien, De cat. rud., De doct. chr.* (Biblioth. August., Oeuvres de S. Aug., 11, Opuscules), p. 558-561. According to HEINSIUS, AUGUSTINE considered the Holy Scripture as an object not only of *usus* but also of *fructus*. This can hardly be correct. To Augustine, the one and only object of 'frui' is the Holy Trinity. Doubtless the Scriptures belong to the 'caeteris' of which Augustine says 'Caeteris autem utendum est, ut ad illarum [rerum aeternarum] perfructionem pervenire possimus' (*Doctr. chr.*, I, XXII, 20). He who succeeds in 'enjoying' the eternal things 'non indiget Scripturis (!) . . . Itaque multi . . . etiam in solitudine sine codicibus vivunt. Unde in illis arbitror jam impletum esse quod dictum est: Sive prophetiae evacuabuntur, sive linguae cessabunt, sive scientia evacuabitur [I Cor. xiii, 8]' (*Doctr. chr.*, I, XXXIX, 43). All things considered, Heinsius' words reflect more the language (*usus, fructus, nulla morte finietur*) than the thoughts of Augustine. We do not believe that he really quotes a passage of Augustine, apart from the fact that *nulla morte finietur* may echo Augustine's ' . . . finire morte non poterit' (*Civ. D.*, 19, 28). But *cf.* Min. Fel. 37,3 'nec morte finitur'.

<sup>28</sup> *ut cum Augustino loquar*: HEINSIUS used exactly the same formula at least three other times: (1) in the 'Prolegomena ad Aristarchum sive De verae criticae apud veteres, ortu, progressu, vsuque, cum in caeteris disciplinis, tum, in Sacris, Dissertatio' (in *Exerc. sacr.*, Lugd. Bat. 1639, p. 647, line 1); (2) in his *Aristarchus sacer* . . . , I, cap. III (*ibid.*, p. 730, line 40); (3) in his *Exercitationes sacrae* . . . , 'Prolegomena', p. (5), line 33.

<sup>29</sup> *loquar*: the edition of 1641 has, more correctly, *loquamur*. On this correction, see our Introduction, p. 1.

<sup>30</sup> *fave*: 'nos cooptaque nostra favore ac benevolentia complectere', 'fave conatibus nostris'.

<sup>31</sup> In both editions the words IN NOVI FOEDERIS have been printed in red.

<sup>32</sup> Initial B in red, running down two lines.

<sup>33</sup> πανυστατήρ stands for καινή.

<sup>34</sup> χάρις οὐρανίη, cf. SOPHOCLES, *Oed. Col.* 1752 χάρις ἡ χθονία.

<sup>35</sup> πᾶσι μέλουσα, cf. HOMER, *Od.* 12, 70 Ἀργῶ πᾶσι μέλουσα cf. *ibid.* 9, 19-20, and line 7 of Heinsius' own *Hymnus in Pandoram* (cf. n. 14) Ἰλαθι πασιμέλουσα, πανόλβιε, πόντα θεάων (quoted from the *Poemata Graeca et e Graecis Latine reddita* . . . , Lugd. Bat., 1640, p. 43).

<sup>36</sup> For προσφύς cf. HOMER, *Od.* 12, 433.

<sup>37</sup> Ἀριστοκλέους, the only comment of Eb. NESTLE on the disticha of Heinsius was the following: 'Zu ihrem Verständnis will ich nur bemerken, was nicht mehr jedem Theologen, nicht einmal mehr jedem Philologen unserer Tage sofort gegenwärtig sein wird: Aristokles neben Aristoteles ist Beinamen Platos nach seinem Grossvater', (*op. cit.* [n. 22], p. 5), as if not 'jeder Philologe unserer Tage' knows this designation of PLATO to be usual in the works of Heinsius. Cf., e.g., D. Heinsii *Poematum editio tertia* . . . , Lugd. Bat., 1610, p. 190: 'In Platonis scripta' (= Εἰς τὰς τοῦ Πλάτωνος βιβλους), first line: Παῖδες Ἀριστοκλέους(!) . . . . Another example, from the *Peplus*, in: *Poemata Graeca* . . . , Lugd. Bat., 1640, p. 25: Εἰς Ἀριεσιλάον τε καὶ Λακύνδην, τῷ, μετὰ τὸν Σωκράτη καὶ Πλάτωνα, τὴν μέσσην τε καὶ νέαν Ἀκαδημίαν καταστησαμένω. Πολλοὶ σοῖς Ἀκάδημῆ ποτ' ἐν κήποισι πέτοντο | Ὀρνιθες, σοφίης μούσων ἀεισάμενοι. | Τῶν μὲν Ἀριστοκλέους (sic) ἢ ποικιλόφρονος ἀηδῶν | Ἦρξατο, &c. &c.

<sup>38</sup> θνητόν . . . ἀθάνατον, we should perhaps mention the comment of MELITO of Sardes on this common antithesis: θνητόν διὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ γῆ (εἰς γῆν?) ταφήν, ἀθάνατον διὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν (*On the Pascha*, 11, 19-20)

<sup>39</sup> σωῆς, the printer's error σωῆς for ζωῆς occurs only in the edition of 1633. It has been corrected in the editions of the *Exercitationes sacrae*, 1639-40, in the third Elzevier edition of the Greek Testament, 1641, as well as in the reprints of LEERS, (see Introduction, n. 4), 1654-8.

<sup>40</sup> The name 'DAN. HEINSIVS' has been printed in red, in both editions.—Here we may add three notes on the second of the two additional lines in the ms. text of the poem. (1) The deleted μ may be the first letter of the stem μελ-, 'care'. (2) Note that in the final recension of the poem πιτυτή has been replaced by σοφίη, and βουλή by Μούση. (3) ἀνάκη apparently derived from ἀνακέομαι 'repair', but non-existent (unless as a geographical name, or as a λιπογραφία for ἀνάγκη); therefore deleted and replaced by πανάκη.

### CHAPTER THREE

## THE EDITOR OF THE ELZEVIER GREEK TESTAMENT OF 1633

The foreword to the Elzevier Greek Testament of 1633 was written by Dan. HEINSIUS. Can he also be regarded as the editor of the text?

On behalf of the 'TYPOGRAPHI' Heinsius says that copies of the first impression were submitted to the eyes of the learned, in order that all errors of the first edition might be taken away. These learned did their work, according to Heinsius, very accurately, and contributed willingly to the joint undertaking.

Now it is very easy to prove that these learned and their alleged emendations and contributions are a bare fiction. The edition of 1633, it is true, has always been considered a model of typographical excellence and much the more perfect of the two editions of 1624 and 1633 by every writer on the subject before SCRIVENER. Scrivener, however, pointed out that, although some of the worst errors of the edition of 1624 are amended in that of 1633, others just as gross are retained, to which have been added a number peculiar to the edition of 1633 itself. Of real variant readings between the two Elzeviers he noted but eight instances, in six of which the text of 1633 follows . . . the Complutensian.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, in 1890 HOSKIER published an exhaustive

collation of the editions of 1624 and 1633 together with a thorough analysis of their divergences and errors. 'From this analysis it may be easily seen that 1633 is certainly not more correctly printed as a whole than the previous edition of 1624, and indeed, although it proves to be more correct in the matter of accents and iota subscript [...], we find 1633 247 times in fault against 147 times in 1624 [...]. And the *long list of errors common to both* should be taken into consideration, as it was the duty of 1633 to correct these, not to perpetuate them. The printing-ink used in 1633 was about the only improvement'.<sup>2</sup>

From this it may be inferred that whoever may have been the editor of 1633, it is most improbable that he was assisted by scholars who 'cum judicio ac cura' proposed corrections in the text of 1624. The responsibility for the second edition lies fully with the editor himself.

Remarkably enough Heinsius does not credit the learned collaborators mentioned in his preface with the revised division of the verses, nor with the insertion of the tables of ancient chapter-headings occurring for the first time in the edition of 1633. He only says '... versus accuratius notavimus' and—with reference to the newly adopted lists of titles—'quam [...] sub finem, ne quid desit, exhibemus'. As to the originator of the latter improvement, Heinsius' preface is silent. We learn more of this matter from J. A. FABRICIUS.

Before proceeding to discuss the statement of Fabricius, however, we should mention a remark of CURCELLÆUS, this being the very first thing we hear about the editor of the Elzevier text of 1633. Steph. Curcellæus, himself

editor of a Greek Testament issued by the Elzeviers in 1658, tells that the Elzeviers in preparing their repeatedly reprinted editions had been assisted by 'plures alios [. . .], qui ad divinum istud opus ornandum singuli symbolam suam alacriter contulerunt'.<sup>3</sup> This information, of course, is nothing but a paraphrase of part of the preface to the Elzeviers of 1633 and 1641, and cannot be considered as an independent testimony.<sup>4</sup> It need not be more than indicated here.

A most interesting statement, on the other hand, we owe to J. A. FABRICIUS (1717).<sup>5</sup> In an exposition about the ancient divisions of the New Testament text this polyhistor makes mention of the fact that the lists of κεφάλαια at the end of the Elzevier editions of 1633 and 1641 were inserted in accordance with directions given by Dan. HEINSIUS: 'Singularum pericoparum inscriptiones Graecae sive argumenta paucis verbis comprehansa [. . .] Daniel Heinsius [. . .] editioni N. T. Elzevirianae A. 1633. 12 jussit adnecti'.

The significance of this remark becomes clear in the light of the fact that in the literature dealing with the Elzevier editions previous to Fabricius, the name of Heinsius had never been mentioned. Unfortunately it is not obvious how Fabricius came by such knowledge. But as his information does not show any indication of having been put forward by way of supposition or conjecture, and bears on a striking particular, we are inclined to think that we are concerned here with scholarly tradition from a reliable source, recorded for the first time, as far as we see, by Fabricius. In this

connection it may be observed that Fabricius seems to have thought that Heinsius was something like 'supervisor' of the Elzevier edition of 1633. For how could Heinsius 'have ordered the lists of chapter-headings to be added' if he had not some control over the edition?

For almost two centuries the knowledge communicated by Fabricius concerning Heinsius' contribution to the Elzevier edition of 1633 was forgotten. As to the editorship of the Elzevier text critics from then on confess again and again their ignorance, without always making a clear distinction between the edition of 1624 and that of 1633.

In the second half of the eighteenth century J. D. MICHAELIS confines himself to the statement 'one cannot guess which scholar had the supervision of this edition, and chose their readings'.<sup>6</sup> G. W. MEYER speaks, in 1804, of the Elzevier editions as 'von einem gänzlich Unbekannten zusammengesetzt'.<sup>7</sup> J. L. HUG says, in 1826: 'die Elzevire [...] vertrieben, ohne auch mit einer Sylbe des Verfassers zu erwähnen, diese Recension [von Beza] in mehreren [. . .] Ausgaben'.<sup>8</sup> The view of S. P. TREGELLES was, in 1856: 'Who the editor employed by the printers may have been, is wholly unknown',<sup>9</sup> that of F. H. A. SCRIVENER, in 1883: 'Of the person entrusted with its superintendence we know nothing'.<sup>10</sup> Of these critics only the last mentioned refers more especially to the edition of 1633.

But about the beginning of the twentieth century Eb. NESTLE wrote the following lines: 'Welche Gelehrten sie [die Buchhändler Elzevir, 1624, 1633] an der Hand hatten —wenn man hier überhaupt noch von Gelehrten reden darf—ist

unbekannt. [and some lines further down Nestle signalizes] am Schlusse des Ganzen, wiederum erst in der Ausgabe von 1633, auf 34 nichtgezählten Seiten die Tafeln der κεφάλαια zu den Evangelien, Apostelgeschichte und Briefen. Nach Fabricius [it was] Daniel Heinsius, qui [illa] editioni NT. Elzevirianae a. 1633. 12 iussit adnecti [. . .]. Danach wäre *dieser grosse Philologe*, der in der PRE noch keinen Artikel hat, der eigentliche Urheber des 'Textus receptus' (*italics of the present author*).<sup>11</sup>

Nestle's statements are somewhat inconsistent, but have the great merit of rescuing from oblivion the information provided by FABRICIUS. And when E. von DOBSCHÜTZ re-edited, in 1923, the *Einführung* of Nestle he could safely record that 'die Leydener Buchdrucker Isaak, Bonaventura und Abraham Elzevier' published their editions of the Greek Testament 'vielleicht mit Hilfe des berühmten Philologen Dan. Heinsius'.<sup>12</sup> Unhappily this result seems to have been overlooked by F. G. KENYON, who as late as 1926 repeats the standpoint of the eighteenth and nineteenth century: 'No editor's name is attached to the edition of 1624, nor to any of its successors'.<sup>13</sup>

This concludes our historical survey of what has been said with regard to the editor responsible for the text of 1633.

By far the most valuable information is that of FABRICIUS: according to this scholar the tables of chapter-headings at the end of the edition of 1633 were added at the direction of Dan. HEINSIUS. There is scarcely any reason for supposing that this is not true. We are now able to add that it was also certainly Heinsius who composed the preface

to this edition, and consequently, that his words 'at the end we shall append the chapter-division of the ancients', in the first person, may literally be understood as referring to himself. We for our part venture to presume that the same applies to the first person in his assertion 'in this text *we give* nothing changed or corrupted', that is to say, that it is indeed Heinsius who prepared the Elzevier text of 1633. We know that at the time of the appearance of the edition of 1633, Heinsius was deeply engaged in his New Testament studies; on May 16th 1633 he himself wrote: 'in exercitationibus ad N. Testamentum serio versamur'.<sup>14</sup> It is moreover most unlikely that Bonaventura and Abraham Elzevier would have published a Greek New Testament in which their friend and, one might say, Managing Editor the famous and qualified New Testament critic Daniel Heinsius was allowed to write the preface, a Greek panegyric, and the lists of ancient chapter-headings, without entrusting the same scholar with the constitution of its text.

Our hypothesis is indeed far from new. Eb. Nestle was the first to speak of Heinsius as 'der eigentliche Urheber des Textus receptus'. But there still remain two questions: first, why was the editorship of Heinsius kept so secret, and second, is the editorship of Heinsius confirmed by agreements between the text-critical remarks made by Heinsius in his *Exercitationes sacrae* (1639) and the text of the Elzeviers?

The former question may be answered with a simple reference to the rather modest quality of the Elzevier editions of the New Testament from a scholarly point of

view. We need not repeat what has been said on this matter at the beginning of this chapter. The judgment of Hoskier was that in the edition of 1633 'the printing-ink was about the only improvement'. Heinsius is likely to have foreseen that he had a personal interest in not being known as the editor of such an edition.<sup>15</sup>

As to the latter question, this much is plain that if by chance Heinsius rejects in his *Exercitationes* readings or punctuations supported by the Elzevier text of 1633—as he certainly does—, this can by no means be considered as throwing doubt upon the supposition that he himself was responsible for the text of the Elzeviers. In the first place, one may change one's mind about the solution of text-critical problems. In the second place, it is quite natural that Heinsius should not impair the value of his *Exercitationes* by publishing bare results six years before in an anonymous text edition. And finally, Heinsius must have been well aware of the trifling scientific merits of the Elzevier text, and—as previously stated—would certainly have avoided revealing himself as its editor, whether by bringing the Elzevier text into accord with his personal text-critical views as set forth in his *Exercitationes*, or by adopting the Elzevier text without alteration as the basis of his commentary.

Let us try to come to a cautious conclusion.

It is true, of course, that the evidence offered above in favour of the hypothesis that HEINSIUS was the editor of the Greek New Testament issued by the ELZEVIERS at Leiden in 1633, is not perfectly conclusive. Heinsius' responsibility for this Elzevier text cannot be established

with documentary proof, as it could for the preface, and presumably this is exactly what Heinsius intended. But that Heinsius was involved in this edition is absolutely certain. We see no reason to assume that the contributions of Heinsius confined themselves to the preface (1), the panegyric on the New Testament (2), and the tables of chapter-headings (3) at the end of the edition. On the contrary, his narrow relation with the publishers (4), the active part he used to play in their undertakings (5),<sup>16</sup> and in particular his own engagement in the field of New Testament criticism at the time (6) leave no doubt as to his editorship of the Elzevier text. There is no reason for denying the editorial responsibility for the Elzevier Greek Testament of 1633 to Dan. HEINSIUS. The *doctorum oculi* referred to by Heinsius in the preface are in all probability none other than his own.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> F. H. A. SCRIVENER, *A Plain Introduction . . .*, Cambridge 1883<sup>3</sup>, p. 442.

<sup>2</sup> H. C. HOSKIER, *A Full Account and Collation of . . . Cod. Ev.* 604 . . ., London, 1890, Appendix C, p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* (see ch. II, n. 5), f. \*2v.

<sup>4</sup> *Cf.* ch. II, n. 15.

<sup>5</sup> J. A. FABRICIUS, *Bibliotheca graeca*, Lib. IV, Hamburgi 1717, c. V, p. 222.

<sup>6</sup> J. D. MICHAELIS, *Inleiding in de Godlijke Schriften van het Nieuwe Verbond, uit het Hoogduitsch naar den derden . . . druk in 't Nederduitsch vertaald, onder het opzicht . . . van Fr. G. Chr. RÜTZ, I, 2, 's-Gravenhage 1778, p. 1284-5: 'Men kan niet gissen, welke Geleerde daarover het opzicht gehad, en de leezingen verkoozen hebbe'.*

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.* (see ch. I, n. 10), p. 181.

<sup>8</sup> J. L. HUG, *Einleitung in die Schriften des N. T.*, Erster Theil, Stuttgart-Tübingen 1826<sup>3</sup>, p. 326.

<sup>9</sup> S. P. TREGELLES, *An Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the N. T.* . . . , = Vol. IV of T. H. HORNE, *An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*, London 1856<sup>10</sup>, p. 124.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.* (sec n. 1), p. 442. Cf. also J. M. S. BALJON, *Geschiedenis van de Boeken des Nieuwen Verbonds*, Groningen 1901, p. 594: 'Onbekend is, wie voor deze uitgaaf de behulpzame hand hebben geboden.'

<sup>11</sup> Eb. NESTLE, *Einführung in das Griechische Neue Testament*, Göttingen 1909<sup>3</sup>, p. 14-5.

<sup>12</sup> E. von DOBSCHÜTZ, *Eberhard Nestle's Einführung in das Griechische N. T.*, Göttingen 1923, p. 65.

<sup>13</sup> F. G. KENYON, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the N.T.*, London 1926<sup>2</sup>, p. 272.

<sup>14</sup> Letter to Patr. YOUNG, in *op. cit.* (see our n. 32 of ch. I), p. 68.

<sup>15</sup> There is indeed reason to believe that for Heinsius' learned contemporaries his editorship of the Elzevier Greek Testament was nothing but a matter of course. The influence he exerted on the business of the Elzeviers was common knowledge, and Heinsius himself was ill-famed for the way in which he used this influence (cf. A. WILLEMS, *Les Elzevier* . . . [see p. 66], p. CLXIX-CLXXV). The Latin of the preface and its allusion to Pandora could only confirm what those who knew something of Heinsius may simply have taken for granted.

<sup>16</sup> See Appendix.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE EDITOR OF THE ELZEVIER GREEK TESTAMENT OF 1624

*Consului de hac re viros doctos  
in Belgio: at frustra.*

J. J. WETSTEIN

It only remains for us to say a few words on the most obscure question in this connection: 'who was the editor of the Elzevier text of 1624?'

As early as 1626 we learn from the address to the reader prefixed to the Greek and Latin text edition of the New Testament published by Henricus LAURENTIUS: <sup>1</sup> 'In textu Graeco secuti sumus eum, qui anno MDCXXIV. Lugduni prodijt, cui non pauci viri, eruditione & pietate praestantes praefuere. qui ad regium exemplar & optimas quasque editiones eum cum cura expresserunt'.

Laurentius' words 'ad regium exemplar & optimas quasque editiones eum cum cura expresserunt' allude to the title of the Elzevier edition of 1624, which announces itself as 'Ex Regijs alijsque optimis editionibus cum curâ expressum'. But Laurentius leaves us in uncertainty as to the source of his information about the 'non pauci viri, eruditione & pietate praestantes' who, according to him, prepared the Elzevier edition. Neither does he mention any of them by name. His information therefore may deservedly be suspected of having been invented only as

a recommendation for the edition of Laurentius himself, without being founded on fact. In exactly the same way Heinsius was to pretend that the second edition of the Elzeviers was due to the collaboration of several *docti*.

Although Laurentius' statement conveys little conviction to the reader, it was on the authority of Laurentius that J. MILL wrote: '*Beza* [*sic, pro* 'Laurentius', *v. p. 10*] notat Editioni Elzevirianae praefuisse viros haud paucos eruditione & pietate praestantes'.<sup>2</sup> That Mill attributes the words of Laurentius to Beza, is due to the fact that in the edition of Laurentius the Greek text of the New Testament was accompanied by the Latin translation of Beza. As the statement of Mill is entirely dependent on that of Laurentius, we need not dwell further upon it, nor indeed upon the numerous misunderstandings that have been called up by it, and which have been treated in the first chapter of this publication.

We now turn to the consideration of this problem by WETSTEIN. Discussing the question 'a quo & qua autoritate prima Elzeviriorum editio sit curata', Wetstein tells us: 'Consului de hac re viros doctos in Belgio: at frustra; nihil enim habuerunt, quod responderent, praeter conjecturas. Suspicabilem, cum Editio prima Elzevirii prodierit eodem tempore, quo N.T. autoritate publica Belgice fuit conversum, forte eosdem fuisse *Interpretes Belgas* & Editores textus hujus Graeci: sed instituta comparatione statim rem aliter se habere deprehendi. [. . .] Putarunt alii, *Danielem Heinsium* huic editioni praefuisse: at illi ex ejusdem V. Cl. *Exercitat.* ad 1. Cor. VII. 29. refelluntur'.<sup>3</sup>

The most striking remark of Wetstein is that 'some

people have thought Daniel Heinsius prepared this edition'. It is not wholly clear whether this is one of the 'conjecturae' suggested by the Dutch scholars whom Wetstein says he consulted. Judging from his words one would not say so, for after making mention of his contact with the Dutch scholars and their conjectures, which do not seem to have been worth while, he first gives one of his own hypotheses, according to which the 'Statenvertalers' might have been the editors of the Elzevier text of 1624, and not until he has proved this supposition to be untenable, does he proceed to make reference to the opinion of those ('alii') who took Heinsius to be responsible for the Elzevier text. From the train of Wetstein's thoughts one gets the impression that his 'alii' should not be identified with some of the 'viri docti in Belgio' previously mentioned.

Be this as it may, Wetstein knew of certain people holding the opinion that the Elzevier text of 1624 had been edited by Heinsius. This opinion is not met with in the literature antedating the 'Prolegomena' of Wetstein and seems to have been picked up by Wetstein from oral tradition. It should of course be clear that this tradition is not disproved by the objection of Wetstein. It is true that Heinsius rejects in his *Exercitationes sacrae* the punctuation of I *Cor.* vii, 29 as it was presented by the Elzevier text of 1624.<sup>4</sup> But for the various reasons set out in the preceding chapter such discrepancies between the text of the Elzeviers and that supported by Heinsius can be no reason for denying to the latter the editorship of the Elzevier New Testament issued in 1624.

- E. von DOBSCHÜTZ (1923):<sup>14</sup> 'Die Linie Erasmus-Stephanus-Beza setzen die Leydener Buchdrucker Isaak, Bonaventura und Abraham Elzevier fort, vielleicht mit Hilfe des berühmten Philologen Dan. Heinsius'.
- F. G. KENYON (1926):<sup>15</sup> 'No editor's name is attached to the edition of 1624'.
- J. de ZWAAN (1949):<sup>16</sup> 'Op grond nu van al het voorafgaande [*viz.* the Complutensian and the editions of Erasmus, Stephanus and Beza] heeft een onbekende in 1624 het eerst voor de Elzeviers de tekst geconstrueerd, die later vereerd zou worden met de titel *receptus*'.  
This list does not claim to be exhaustive.

An evaluation of all that has been said about the editor of 1624 leads to the following conclusion. Henceforth only two standpoints deserve attention, that of LAURENTIUS who maintained that the edition had been prepared by 'several erudite and pious men', and that of the *alii* mentioned by WETSTEIN, who regarded Dan. HEINSIUS as the editor of the Elzevier text of 1624. Laurentius' view is under the serious suspicion of being dictated by his wish to augment the authority of his own reprint of the Elzevier text. The *alii* of Wetstein might claim (1) that the relations between Heinsius and the Elzeviers certainly date from a time before 1624, (2) that in 1624 Heinsius was certainly working at his *Aristarchus sacer*<sup>17</sup> which 'marked his début as a serious student of the New Testament',<sup>18</sup> and (3) that in all probability Heinsius was the editor of the second impression of the Elzevier Greek Testament.

The evidence is scanty, but it cannot be denied that there is a case for the standpoint of Wetstein's *alii*. There is certainly something to be said for the view of those who believed the Elzevier text of 1624 was constituted by Heinsius, and nothing against it.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See ch. I, n. 12.

<sup>2</sup> See ch. I, n. 13.

<sup>3</sup> See ch. I, n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> See ch. I, n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> WETSTEIN, *op. cit.*, Prolegomena, p. 46-7: 'Collationem hujus codicis [Stephani id = Reg. 2865 = Küster Paris. 5] ac-|curatorem ante hos tres annos inveni in Bibliotheca V. R. Caesaris de Missy, Pastoris Ecclesiae Gallicanae Londini, adscriptam editioni typis excusae in folio, cum hac annotatione praefixa: "... Hos Codices inter se collatos diligentissime a quodam viro bono, a Clarissimo viro Domino Scaligero habuimus A. Thysius". Cf. ch. I, n. 5.

<sup>6</sup> J. J. GRIESBACH, *Novum Testamentum Graece. Textum ad fidem codicum, versionum et patrum recensuit et lectionis varietatem adjecit*. Vol. I, Quatt. Evv., Ed. sec. . . ., Halae Sax. et Londini, 1796, p. XXXII r.

<sup>7</sup> H. MARSH, (*Lectures*, part i, 1842, p. 111, quoted by) S. P. TREGELLES, *op. cit.* (see ch. III, n. 9), p. 687.

<sup>8</sup> J. I. DOEDES, *Verhandeling over de Teksteritiek des Nieuwen Verbonds, (Verhandelingen, rakende de natuurlijke en geopenbaarde Godsdiens, uitgegeven door TEYLER's godgeleerd Genootschap, XXXIV. Deel)*, Haarlem 1844, p. 83.

<sup>9</sup> Ed. REUSS, *Bibliotheca Novi Testamenti Graeci cuius edd. ab initio typographiae ad nostram aetatem impressas quotquot reperiri potuerunt collegit digessit illustravit*, Brunsvigae 1872, p. 110.

<sup>10</sup> Ed. REUSS, *Die Geschichte der heiligen Schriften Neuen Testaments*. Braunschweig 1887<sup>6</sup>, p. 459.

<sup>11</sup> C. R. GREGORY, *Novum Testamentum Graece . . . recensuit . . . C. Tischendorf*, Vol. III, Prolegomena, Pars prior, Lipsiae 1884, p. 217, n. 1.

<sup>12</sup> C. R. GREGORY, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, Leipzig 1909, p. 938, Anm.

<sup>13</sup> Eb. NESTLE, *Einführung in das Griechische Neue Testament*, Göttingen 1909<sup>3</sup>, p. 14.

<sup>14</sup> E. von DOBSCHÜTZ, *Eberhard Nestle's Einführung in das Griechische Neue Testament*, Göttingen 1923, p. 65.

<sup>15</sup> F. G. KENYON, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, London 1926<sup>2</sup>, p. 272.

<sup>16</sup> J. de ZWAAN, *s.v.* 'Bijbel' in: *Winkler Prins Encyclopaedie*, Zesde . . . druk, Vijfde Deel, Amsterdam-Brussel 1949, p. 297.

<sup>17</sup> D. J. H. ter HORST, *Daniel Heinsius (1580-1655)*, diss. Leiden 1934. Utrecht <1934>, p. 99.

<sup>18</sup> P. R. SELLIN, *Daniel Heinsius and Stuart England, with a short-title checklist of the works of Daniel Heinsius* (Publications of the Sir Thomas Browne Institute Leiden, General Series No. 3), Leiden-London 1968, p. 35-6.

## CONCLUSIONS

For the reader's convenience we shall sum up here the main conclusions reached in the foregoing chapters.

1. The author of the preface to the Greek Testament published by the ELZEVIERS in 1633 (and 1641) is Daniel HEINSIUS.
2. It is in the highest degree probable that Daniel HEINSIUS was the editor of the text published by the ELZEVIERS in 1633.
3. It is very possible that the ELZEVIER Greek Testament of 1624 was edited by Daniel HEINSIUS.

The part which Heinsius had in these Elzevier editions was to become of far-reaching significance. Up to the end of the nineteenth century the Greek text of the New Testament generally followed on the continent was that issued by the printing and publishing house of the Elzeviers on the Rapenburg at Leiden.

Leiden

Rapenburg 95

## APPENDIX

### DANIEL HEINSIUS AND THE ELZEVIERI

Extract from the biography of Bonaventura ELZEVIER (1583-1652) in: A. WILLEMS, *Les Elzevier, histoire et annales typographiques*, Bruxelles-Paris-La Haye 1880, p. CLXIX-CLXX.

„Cette rapide esquisse serait incomplète si nous omettions de parler d'un homme qui, sans attache officielle auprès des Elzevier, n'en a pas moins exercé sur eux une influence prépondérante, et dont le nom est inséparable du leur. Daniel Heinsius, c'est de lui qu'il s'agit, a été à vrai dire l'âme de toutes leurs entreprises. Les Elzevier ne se guidaient que d'après ses conseils; c'est à lui qu'ils se référaient toutes les fois qu'ils hésitaient sur le mérite ou l'opportunité d'une publication, et s'il y avait lieu, ils lui communiquaient le manuscrit. Il y a plus: ou nous nous trompons fort, ou *nous croyons reconnaître le style et l'élégante latinité de ce savant dans la plupart des épîtres dédiatoires et avertissements que, suivant l'usage du temps, ils mettaient en tête de leurs éditions*”.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Italics of the present author.

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