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978-1-107-67466-0 - The Text of Acts in Codex 614 (Tisch. 137) and its Allies

Edited A. V. Valentine-Richards

Frontmatter

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

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[More information](#)

THE TEXT OF ACTS IN
CODEX 614 (TISCH. 137) AND
ITS ALLIES

Edited by the late

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Christ's College, Cambridge*

With an introduction by

J. M. CREED, D.D.

Ely Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge

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Cambridge University Press

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Edited A. V. Valentine-Richards

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CONTENTS

PREFACE	page vii
INTRODUCTION	
<i>The Manuscripts used in this work</i>	ix
<i>The relations of these MSS with one another and with some other minuscule MSS of Acts</i>	xiii
<i>The relations of the text of Codex 614 and its allies with the 'Harclean' Syriac and with D</i>	xvi
TEXT OF ACTS IN CODEX 614 (TISCH. 137)	1
APPENDIX	
<i>Collation of Codd. Act. 180 224 with the Textus Receptus</i>	61

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-67466-0 - The Text of Acts in Codex 614 (Tisch. 137) and its Allies

Edited A. V. Valentine-Richards

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Cambridge University Press

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

P R E F A C E

Codex 614 is well known to textual critics as the best and most important of a group of minuscule MSS which give a distinctive text of the book of Acts with a considerable proportion of 'Western' additions. For those portions of Acts where Codex Bezae is defective, 614 becomes an authority of the first importance, and in reconstructing the 'Western' text its evidence can never be safely neglected. The late Mr Valentine-Richards had been long engaged in study of the intricate textual problems raised by the text of 614 and its allies, Greek and Syriac, and a promised study of these texts was eagerly looked for. Unfortunately this work was never written, and we are left with a full reproduction of the text of Codex 614 in Acts and an apparatus criticus giving the readings of some of its chief supporters. There seems no doubt that scholars should be given the advantage of the help that this fragment will afford to them. Although the chief readings of 614 have long been known and are easily accessible, there is no continuous text of this important MS. This edition will be particularly useful as a supplement to the apparatus in Ropes' great edition of the text of Acts, which is defective in its statement of the testimony of these MSS to the 'Western' text. I am able to shew in the Introduction that, though Mr Valentine-Richards' work needs to be set in the context of a wider group of minuscule MSS which von Soden has brought within our ken, its value is not seriously affected by more recent discoveries, and at the same time that it makes some definite additions to our knowledge of the history of the text.

Certain anomalies in the form of the published book have their explanation in the fact that the finished pages were actually printed off some years ago, and therefore must appear now as they are or not at all. The heading Appendix I proves that Mr Valentine-Richards contemplated at least Appendix II. Perhaps he intended to deal with the readings of the 'Harclean'

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-67466-0 - The Text of Acts in Codex 614 (Tisch. 137) and its Allies
Edited A. V. Valentine-Richards
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

viii

PREFACE

Syriac and its marginalia. What he has left us is a fragment, but it is a piece of work which need not be done again and it is a not unworthy memorial of a scholar whose achievement might have been greater, if his ideal of scholarship had been less exacting.

It remains for me to acknowledge the kindness of the authorities of the General Library of the University of Michigan and of Professor Sanders in clearing up some doubtful points about Codex 876 (Tisch. 224), now one of the Michigan collection of New Testament Manuscripts.

J. M. C.

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978-1-107-67466-0 - The Text of Acts in Codex 614 (Tisch. 137) and its Allies

Edited A. V. Valentine-Richards

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

INTRODUCTION

Although Mr Valentine-Richards has left no introduction to his edition of the text of Acts in Cod. 614 and its allies, two full and magisterial reviews contributed by him to the *Journal of Theological Studies* in 1900 and 1901 shew us something of the studies which lie behind this work, and the direction in which he looked for the interpretation of the evidence which he has presented. These are (1) a review of Hilgenfeld's edition of the Acts (Berlin 1899), *J.Th.S.* vol. I, pp. 606–613, and (2) a review of August Pott's study *Der abendländische Text der Apostelgeschichte und die Wir-Quelle* (Leipzig 1900), *J.Th.S.* vol. II, pp. 439–447. These two reviews have been an invaluable help in compiling this Introduction. Needless to say progress has been made since 1901. No one can write now on the text of Acts without continual reference to the laborious researches of von Soden, and the monumental work of J. H. Ropes, not to mention A. C. Clark's recent edition of the 'Western' text with its full apparatus and appendices. But as an introduction to the particular aspect of the problem presented by 614 and its allies, I think that these two reviews still hold their ground, and point to the truth concerning the place of these minuscule MSS in the textual history of Acts, and their importance for the textual critic.

I. *The Manuscripts used in this work.*

The text here reproduced is that of Codex 614 (Gregory)¹, formerly Act 137 Paul 176, = von Soden *a* 364.

¹ The greater part of Valentine-Richards' work was set up in type before the publication of Gregory's catalogue *Die griechischen Hss. d. N.T.* (Leipzig 1908) and consequently it followed the older notation of the MSS. The work had been printed off and the type distributed before it came into my hands, so that it was out of the question to make any change in the apparatus or the page headings. Since however Gregory's notation is now generally received, I have adopted Gregory's number (614) on the title-page and throughout this Introduction to denote the MS formerly known as Act 137. I have however thought it best to retain, at the cost of consistency, the older notation of the other MSS collated for this edition, in order to facilitate the use of Valentine-Richards' apparatus. MSS other than those used in the apparatus or in the Appendix are referred to in this Introduction by Gregory's notation.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-67466-0 - The Text of Acts in Codex 614 (Tisch. 137) and its Allies

Edited A. V. Valentine-Richards

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

The MS is in the Ambrosian Library at Milan (E. 97 sup.).

Dr Gregory's description of the MS is as follows:

137 Saec xiii (xi?), 25·6 × 18·8, membr, foll 276, col 1, ll 23; prol, (m ser itin et mart Paul), lect, init, ἀγαγν, (m ser syn, men, liturgica), subscr, σριχ: *Act Paul* (Phm Heb) *Cath*; deest Jud 3–25; plurima bonae notae praesertim (Act) e textu occidentali habet. Cf WH *Intr* § 212. Corcyrae emptus. Scholz plurima cont. Vidi 16 Feb 1886¹.

The imperfect collation by Scholz is that reproduced in Tischendorf's apparatus. A new and complete collation was made by Dr Giovanni Mercati for Hilgenfeld's *Acts*. Unfortunately Mercati himself corrected three sheets only of the proofs, and the collation as published by Hilgenfeld contains many errors enumerated by Valentine-Richards in his review of Hilgenfeld in *J.Th.S.* vol. I (1900), pp. 609 ff.² As he tells us in this review, Valentine-Richards had himself collated the MS 'some years' before 1900, and the text as here given no doubt represents his own labours on the MS.

The use of Clarendon type in the text indicates addition to or variation from the Textus Receptus.

Besides recording the readings of the Textus Receptus where they are different from those of 614, the apparatus criticus records the readings of part or the whole of the following three MSS:

1. Codex Act 58 (Paul 224), old notation; = 383 (Gregory), α 353 (von Soden).

At Oxford, in the Bodleian Library (Clarke 9).

Gregory's description is as follows:

58 Saec xiii, 18·4 × 12·8, membr, foll 181, col 1, ll 24–28; lect: *Act Cath Paul* (Phm Heb); Heb xiii. 7–25 evanidus. In tegumento foll duo ex Evl. Gaisford contulit. Wetst 58 est Act 22. Vidi 15 Feb 1883.

A complete collation of the text of Acts in this MS was undertaken for von Soden by August Pott and published by him at the end of his book *Der abendländische Text der*

¹ *N.T. Graece*, Tischendorf, vol. 3, *Prolegomena* by C. R. Gregory (1894), p. 633.

² Some of these errors reappear in A. C. Clark's apparatus, e.g. at xi. 19, 614 reads *μοις* not *μονον*; at xiii. 19, 20 om *και μετα ταυτα ως* 614; at xxiv. 8, 614 reads *επι σου* not *επι σε*.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-67466-0 - The Text of Acts in Codex 614 (Tisch. 137) and its Allies

Edited A. V. Valentine-Richards

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

INTRODUCTION

xi

Apostelgeschichte u. die Wir-Quelle; eine Studie (Leipzig 1900). The first twelve and the last six chapters of Acts have for the most part a very ordinary text. Chapters xiii–xxii on the other hand have noteworthy ‘Western’ readings and the text closely resembles 614. Valentine-Richards gives the readings of 58 for chapters xiii–xxii only¹.

2. Codex Act 180 (Evv. 431 Paul 238), old notation; = 431 (Gregory), δ 268 (von Soden).

At Strassburg, in the Library of the Roman Catholic Seminary (I. Scr. 14).

Valentine-Richards (*J.Th.S.* I, p. 608) describes this MS as follows:

‘It is a beautiful little book, measuring only 13½ × 10 centimetres. The writing, which is small and regular, occupies a space of about 9½ × 6½ centimetres. The number of lines on a page varies in different parts, but in the Acts is usually twenty-eight. All the books of the New Testament are present except the Apocalypse; there is some prefatory matter, and lists of *κεφάλαια* and *ὑποθέσεις* are attached to nearly all the books. The date, Mr F. G. Kenyon kindly informs me, must be circa 1200. The collation of the text given by Scholz (from Arendt), and adopted by Tischendorf, is generally correct, though a few important readings are omitted. The text itself is curiously mixed—there are notable Western readings, and, on the other hand, remarkable coincidences with **NB**. But it is clear from many minor readings that the MS has an intimate connexion with 137 (i.e. 614), and the group at the head of which this latter stands.’

The statement in Gregory’s *Prolegomena*, reproduced by Hilgenfeld, that the MS perished in the fire at Strassburg in 1870, is corrected in the *Addenda* to Gregory’s volume, p. 1308. The MS was formerly at the Jesuit College at Molsheim and was taken to Strassburg, when the College was transferred and united with the University in 1702. Since then it has remained in the Strassburg Seminary and thus escaped the fire which

¹ A. C. Clark gives the readings of 58 (383) in his apparatus for the whole of Acts.

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

destroyed the University Library at the siege of 1870 (*J.Th.S.* 1, p. 608).

Valentine-Richards collated the MS for the text of Acts in 1898. In this book he has given the readings of 180 in the apparatus for the first nine chapters of Acts only. In these chapters Codex 180 is a remarkably close supporter of 614, reproducing most of its minute variations from the Received Text. The readings of the MS for the remaining chapters of Acts he has relegated to the Appendix.

Von Soden, depending on a collation of chapter xiii only (vol. 1, pp. 1686 f.), has missed the testimony of this MS to the sub-group headed by 614—I^{c2} in his notation—and assigns it a low place in his first and largest division of I codices, i.e. I^a, headed by Codex Bezae.

3. Codex Act 216 (Paul 272), old notation; also c^{scr}; = 1518 (Gregory), α 551 (von Soden).

Supposed to be at Constantinople in the Library of the *Μετόχιον του αγίου τάφου*, a daughter-house belonging to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem.

A MS of the fifteenth century containing Acts Catholic Epp. Paul, written on paper. This is one of the MSS which were brought to England by J. D. Carlyle, Sir Thomas Adams' Professor of Arabic at Cambridge (1795–1804), and sometime Chaplain to Lord Elgin's Mission to Constantinople (1799–1801). On Carlyle's death, this and his other MSS were purchased for the Lambeth Library by Archbishop Manners-Sutton. Here the MS remained (no. 1184) until 1817. In that year it and six others were claimed by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, as having been lent, not given to Carlyle¹, and were returned to Constantinople. Fortunately a careful collation of the MS had been made for Carlyle by the Rev. W. Sanderson of Morpeth and this is retained at Lambeth (1255, 10–14)².

¹ Scrivener, *Collation of MSS of the Greek Testament* (1853), pp. xxv f.

² Sanderson's collation was used by Scrivener for the apparatus published in *Codex Augiensis* (1859), Appendix, pp. 415 ff. Valentine-Richards' statement of the evidence is to be preferred to Scrivener's in respect both of completeness and of accuracy. But I have detected no note of the readings of 216 which he could not have taken from Sanderson.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-67466-0 - The Text of Acts in Codex 614 (Tisch. 137) and its Allies

Edited A. V. Valentine-Richards

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

INTRODUCTION

xiii

The text of Acts vii. 52–viii. 25 is missing. The readings of this MS for the whole of the rest of Acts are given in the apparatus.

Lastly, in the Appendix, Valentine-Richards has given a collation of Codex Act 224 (Paul 279), old notation; = 44 (Westcott and Hort), 876 (Gregory), α 356 (von Soden).

This MS, formerly in London in the Burdett-Coutts Library (III, 37), has been since 1922 in the General Library of the University of Michigan (N.T. MSS no. 16. See the descriptive survey by K. W. Clark and E. C. Colwell).

Gregory's description is as follows:

224 Saec xiii (Scr. xii), 15·8 × 11·5, membr, foll?, col 1, ll 20; lect, subscr, $\sigma\rho\iota\chi$ in Heb: *Act Cath Paul* (Phm Heb); Heb 10.15–11.7 suppl m rec chartis; textu haud vulgari [Scr. 221]. Vidi 10 Jul 1883.

II. *The relations of these MSS with one another and with some other minuscule MSS of Acts.*

Since Valentine-Richards prepared the text and apparatus here printed, the researches of von Soden and his army of helpers have thrown more light upon the groupings of the minuscule MSS of the N.T. in general, and of Acts in particular. Unfortunately von Soden's grouping of the MSS is partly determined by a theory of the history of the text—especially the 'Western' Text—which has failed to win general support, and recently doubt has been thrown upon the accuracy of his classification of the minuscule MSS of the Gospels¹. His work must therefore be used with some reserve. At the same time it should be said that he has surveyed an immense and hitherto uncharted sea of material, and a student of the later MSS cannot but begin under his guidance. His classification of the minuscule MSS of Acts² will probably enable us to appreciate in the main correctly the place of this group of MSS in the later tradition of the text. It will be seen that Valentine-Richards' text with his apparatus gives a convenient conspectus of the text of one of von Soden's

¹ See Excursus I in *The Caesarean Text of the Gospel of Mark* by Kirsopp Lake (*Harvard Theol. Rev.* Oct. 1928).

² Von Soden's conclusions are conveniently stated by Ropes, *Beginnings of Christianity*, III, pp. xxiii–xxx.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-67466-0 - The Text of Acts in Codex 614 (Tisch. 137) and its Allies

Edited A. V. Valentine-Richards

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

three groups of I MSS in both of the two forms into which he divides it.

The text of Acts is contained in upwards of 500 minuscule MSS. Of these, seven give a text allied to that of **ΣBC** (von Soden's H); about 117 have a text with a 'Western' element more or less pronounced (von Soden's I); the remaining MSS (370–80 in number) are all believed to be more or less pure representatives of the Byzantine text (von Soden's K). It is with the second or I division alone that we are here concerned. This division in turn falls into three groups I^a, I^b and I^c, the MSS in each of which have marked characteristics in common. I^a is the largest group, containing 58 MSS. Cod 180 Act is assigned a low place by von Soden in this category, but so far as the first nine chapters are concerned this, as we have already said, is undoubtedly a misplacement. I^b, with two subdivisions I^{b1} and I^{b2}, is represented by 35 MSS. I^c, with which alone we are here concerned, is represented by 24 MSS, which again, with one exception, are grouped in two subdivisions I^{c1} and I^{c2}. The former subdivision, I^{c1}, consists of four MSS only, one of which is 216 here collated. The latter subdivision, I^{c2}, contains 19 MSS headed by 614 (Gregory) and 58. 224 appears low in the same list. Thus Valentine-Richards' text and apparatus give a view of this type of text in both of the two forms distinguished by von Soden.

Von Soden declares that the four MSS classified as I^{c1} are all 'very good' representatives of the archetype of the subdivision¹ but 216 (a fifteenth-century MS, as we have seen) comes last on his list, and he gives a preference to a twelfth-century MS, 94 in the National Library at Athens, = 1611 (Gregory), α 208 (von Soden). The other two are: 1108 (Gregory) = 370 (von Soden), Athos Esphigmenu 64; and 2138 (Gregory) = 116 (von Soden), Moscow Univ. 1.

In the subdivision I^{c2} 614 holds the premier place, but besides 58 it has two other close allies:

2147 (Gregory) = δ 299 (von Soden); Leningrad Imp. Libr. Gr. 224.

¹ *Die Schriften d. N.T. in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt*, 1, iii, p. 1688.

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Edited A. V. Valentine-Richards

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

INTRODUCTION

xv

257 (Gregory) = α 466 (von Soden); Berlin, kön. Bibl. Gr. Quart. 43.

The remaining 15 MSS (including 224) are weakened representatives of the same class, contaminated by the Byzantine text¹.

Valentine-Richards' apparatus reveals the extent of common ground between 216 (I^{c1}) and 614 (I^{c2}). 216 is considerably nearer to the Textus Receptus than 614 and considerably further from 614 than 180 and 58 where the latter give a comparable text. A calculation for cc. i–vii. 51 shews that Cod. 614 gives 113 variations from the Textus Receptus². Cod. 180 supports Cod. 614 in 66 of these, and Cod. 216 supports Cod. 614 in 39. Codd. 614, 180 and 216 agree against the Textus Receptus in 32 of these readings. In these chapters almost all the variants are small and insignificant. They are not for that reason the less valuable as evidence that a common type of text underlies all these MSS³. For a minute analysis of the characteristics of this text, as well as of the characteristics of the two forms distinguished as I^{c1} and I^{c2}, reference may be made to von Soden, vol. 1, pp. 1742–1749.

The main interest of the MSS however lies in the additions, mainly 'Western' in character, which they contain. These are much more numerous in 614 than in any other MS of the group. They occur mainly, but by no means exclusively, in the last nineteen chapters. Many of these additions, in the same or slightly differing form, are also attested by D, by *gig* and other Old Latin texts; and very nearly all of them are found—usually in identical form—either in the text or margin of the 'Harclean' Syriac. For a list of these additions and the texts which support them reference may be made to von Soden, I, pp. 1743 f. The addition of *ο πιστος Στεφανος* at xvi. 27 is known only in

¹ Von Soden, *op. cit.* p. 1688. The list is given in full by Ropes, *op. cit.* p. xxviii.

² A certain deduction would have to be made from these figures if we considered, as we ought to do, the Byzantine text instead of the Textus Receptus, in order to allow for cases where 614 sides with the normal Byzantine text against a minority of minuscule MSS followed by the Textus Receptus. A further deduction is necessary for the idiosyncrasies of 614.

³ The error *κοπιωντα εδει* for *κοπιωντας δει* in 614 at xx. 35 though not found in 216, occurs in two other I^{c1} MSS, viz. 1611, 2138. See von Soden, I, p. 1745.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-67466-0 - The Text of Acts in Codex 614 (Tisch. 137) and its Allies

Edited A. V. Valentine-Richards

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xvi

INTRODUCTION

614 and 2147. The addition of *τινες δε ηπιστησαν* in xvii. 12 is attested by D only apart from 614 (with 58 Tisch and 2147). The addition of *διαλεγομενος και* in xviii. 28 is attested only by D and the Michigan Papyrus apart from 614 (with 58 Tisch, 2147 and 257).

216 gives a few, but only a few, of the additions of 614. On the other hand it has a small number of additions of its own, e.g. ii. 6 + *αυτων* (with Hcl text and 224); iv. 27 + *εν τη πολει ταυτη* (with Hcl text **NBD** 224 al); vii. 43 + *λεγει Κυριος ο θεος ο παντοκρατωρ ονομα αυτω* (the addition of *ονομα αυτω* attested by Hcl* and 224¹); xxvii. 9 + *των Ιουδαιων λεγεσθαι* (so only 216 Tisch; 224 Tisch, 1611, 2138, 1765? give *των Ιουδαιων λεγειν*²); xxviii. 10 + *οσον χρονον επεδημουμεν* (only 216 Tisch and its fellows 1611 and 2138).

It may however be noted that the readings of 224 as given in Valentine-Richards' Appendix shew that where there is divergence between 216 and 614, 224 does not keep a steady course. It has many readings distinctive of 614, which are not present in 216. But in minor points it not infrequently sides with 216 against 614 and Textus Receptus. This suggests the question whether von Soden's I^{cl} and I^{c2} is not an unsatisfactory refinement. It would be better to bracket together the four MSS which compose I^{cl} under the same general head as 614, 58, 224 and the rest of their class.

III. *The relations of the text of Codex 614 and its allies with the 'Harclean' Syriac and with D.*

Of the MSS here used probably none is earlier than the thirteenth century. The longer list of von Soden gives one tenth-century MS and five eleventh-century MSS among the inferior supporters of 614, and one MS of the eleventh century and one of the twelfth among the kindred of 216. But that

¹ Also according to von Soden by the following I^c MSS: 1611, 913, 1765. But he omits the testimony of 216 and 224 Tisch.

² Von Soden (*op. cit.* p. 1749) gives *λεγεσθαι* for 1765 and wrongly ascribes *λεγειν* to 216 Tisch. He states the evidence differently in the textual note on Acts xxvii. 9.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-67466-0 - The Text of Acts in Codex 614 (Tisch. 137) and its Allies

Edited A. V. Valentine-Richards

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

INTRODUCTION

xvii

the additions characteristic of 614 as well as the fundamental text common to 614 and 216 are far older than the extant MSS is proved by the close relation which exists between these MSS and the 'Harclean' or Philoxenian Syriac. If the weighty arguments recently adduced by Mrs Silva Lake¹ and by Professor A. C. Clark² win acceptance, and we return to the traditional view that the text, as distinct from the marginalia, of the 'Harclean' really is the Philoxenian Version made at the instigation of Philoxenus by the chorepiscopus Polycarp³, then we have evidence that the form of text represented by these MSS was already current by the beginning of the sixth century. In any case the 'Harclean' Syriac, as we have it, carries us back to the second decade of the seventh century.

The similarities between our MSS and the 'Harclean' are close and frequent. Many readings common to these MSS and the 'Harclean' are not found elsewhere, and as we have already seen, almost all the additions of 614 not present in the Byzantine text are found in the 'Harclean' either in the text, or in the margin. Valentine-Richards has shewn that the coincidences are by no means confined to the striking variants, and that agreements are even more numerous with the underlying 'Harclean' text than with readings with asterisk or with the marginalia. A testing of chapters xiii–xxii yielded the result that in these chapters there is agreement of our MSS in distinctive readings with the 'Harclean' text fifty-five times, with asterisked readings twenty-eight times, and with margin eighteen times.

He continues: 'These peculiar variants of syr.hkl.text–58–137 (i.e. 614) etc. are mostly trifling (e.g. use of different particles, change in the order of words, besides minor omissions and additions), but they prove the existence not later than the close of the sixth century of an independent text more conclusively than the more striking readings, a considerable number of which are found in D at present, and many more of which

¹ *The Caesarean Text of the Gospel of Mark*, Excursus III.

² *The Acts of the Apostles* (Oxford 1933), pp. 305–329.

³ Professor Burkitt is doubtful. *J.Th.S.* xxx, p. 348.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-67466-0 - The Text of Acts in Codex 614 (Tisch. 137) and its Allies

Edited A. V. Valentine-Richards

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xviii

INTRODUCTION

may have had a place in one of its ancestors¹. It is much to be regretted that Valentine-Richards never developed in detail the interpretation which he next proceeds to outline. The 'Harklean' version, he argues, plainly shews traces of the text of 614 etc. and also of the text of D. But 'it shows traces of the ordinary text also, else why should glosses found in both the former be asterisked? How is the co-existence of these three apparently independent texts in the Harklean to be explained?' He tentatively answers the question as follows: 'the archetype of 58-137 (i.e. 614) etc. was not markedly different from the ordinary non-Western text, only varying from it in many small details such as constitute most of its common readings in the syr.hkl. text, and into this text were inserted a greater or less number of additions from some ancestor of D.' The character of this underlying text, and the extent of the old Uncial element which it plainly contains deserve further examination, which this edition of 614 may help to facilitate. In this connexion it is worth while to record a hint dropped by Ropes² that this distinctive form of the 'I' text in Acts may conceivably be an analogue to the 'Caesarean' text in the Gospels.

If Valentine-Richards' suggestion is sound, the importance of this group of MSS is twofold: (1) Together with the underlying text of the 'Harklean' Syriac it gives evidence of a distinctive form of the non-Western text in Acts. (2) With the 'Harklean' asterisked readings and marginalia it yields independent testimony to the Greek 'Western' text. The suggestion that the additions are not indigenous in these MSS is confirmed by the plainly extraneous character of some of the 'Western' additions in the text of 614³, and this makes it natural to conjecture a similar origin for others.

It is a further question how these additions are related to the text of D. Pott attempted to establish the view that D is

¹ *J.Th.S.* vol. II, p. 444.

² *Beginnings*, III, p. ccxvii, n. 2.

³ A clear case is xix. 9 where D supported by Hcl* adds *των εθνων* after *πληθους* and continues with *τοτε* before *αποστας*. In 614 the words *των εθνων τοτε* have been wrongly inserted after *ως δε τιμες* at the beginning of the verse. 58 follows 614, but omits the now meaningless *τοτε*. See further Valentine-Richards in *J.Th.S.* vol. II, p. 446.

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

INTRODUCTION

xix

a degenerate form of an original 'Western' text better preserved in 614 and 58 Tisch. Valentine-Richards' careful examination of Pott's contention may be read in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. II, pp. 445 ff. Here it must suffice to quote his cautious conclusion: 'I can find no evidence of any reading of D being derived from the 58-137-syr.hkl. group; but some of the readings of the latter must lie under suspicion of being taken from D or one of its ancestors: and if so, this would support the idea that the text of [this group] is not homogeneous.'

The provenance of the archetype of 614 and its allies must remain conjectural. But the close affinities between 614 and the 'Harclean' Syriac make it natural to look in the direction of Syrian Monophysitism. Whether or not the textual scholar responsible for the work was himself Monophysite, his work might easily have found its way from Syria to Constantinople at some period prior to the Persian Invasion and the collapse of the Patriarchate of Antioch (609-611). In a very different sphere, the history of the writings of 'Dionysius the Areopagite' illustrates the possible infiltration of Monophysite learning into the Byzantine Church, during the repeated efforts at reunion which engaged statesmen and ecclesiastics during the sixth century. Certain it is that both by its text, and by the textual method behind the text, 614 is intimately related to the Version which the exiled Bishop of Mabog, Thomas of Harkel, edited with marginal readings at the Enaton Monastery, the Monophysite sanctuary outside Alexandria (616 A.D.); and it is at least possible that the earlier Monophysite Version of Philoxenus of Mabog, on which Thomas worked, represented the same type of Greek text.

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