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in the lowest depths of history, will not be left to languish for lack of the paltry pittance needed to carry it on. The intelligent piety of our country will assuredly appreciate the work, and see that it wants for nothing that can make it more abundantly successful.

[NOTE. — In the citations made from different authors in the preceding Article, the orthography adopted by those authors has been designedly retained, although it differs from the orthography adopted in the main body of the Article. Hence arise the discrepancies which are seen in the method of spelling the proper names.]

ARTICLE VII.

TISCHENDORF.¹

BY CASPAR RENÉ GREGORY, LEIPZIG, GERMANY.

THE life of Tischendorf falls naturally into two parts, one of preparation, and one of work; though the former shows work enough to have made the name and filled the days of a common man. Let us take a general glance at the years, and then follow them in detail.

I. *Preparation*: Twenty-nine years + (1815–1844).

1. Fourteen years + (1815–1829): home.

2. Fourteen years + (1829–1844): student-life.

(1.) Seven years + (1829–1836): studies.

(2.) Seven years + (1836–1844): first publications; 1843, Doctor of Theology.

II. *Work*: Twenty-nine years + (1844–1873).

1. Fourteen years + (1844–1858): two eastern journeys; finds part of great Codex. Extraordinary and Ordinary Honorary Professor.

2. Fourteen years + (1859–1873): third eastern journey; finds larger part of Codex. Ordinary Professor. Applies the Codex to the text of the New Testament.

(One year + (1873–1874): fatal illness.

I. PREPARATION.

1. *Home* (1815–1829).

Certain lands which once belonged directly to the German

¹ *Constantin Tischendorf in seiner fünfundsanzigjährigen schriftstellerischen Wirksamkeit. Literar-historische Skizze von Dr. Joh. Ernst Volbeding. Leipzig. Vol. XXXIII. No. 129.*

emperor, and which, as ruled by a Voigt, or governor, in his name, were called the Voigtland or Vogtland, now form parts of various sovereignties. The southwest corner of the present kingdom of Saxony is one of these parts, and is called the Saxon Voigtland. It is a hilly country, with winding, bluff-edged streams, but has also open spaces. On broad, gently-sloping grounds, at the mouth of the Sulz valley, stands the town of Lengenfeld, about fifty-five English miles south of Leipzig.

At Lengenfeld, on the eighteenth of January, 1815,—the day named Felicitas, or happiness, in the calendar,—about forty days before Napoleon's return from Elba, a child was born, who proved destined to lead a career more successful than that of the Corsican—a career that shed no blood and destroyed no empire. The father, a Thuringian by birth, was the physician of the town, and as well physician and apothecary for the surrounding district. The mother was a descendant of Triller, who rescued the Saxon princes Ernst and Albert, stolen from Altenburg castle by Kunz of Kaufungen, 1455 A.D. Lobegott Friedrich Constantin Tischendorf was the ninth child of his parents. Shortly before the birth of the eighth child, the mother had seen a misshapen beggar; and in consequence, by the singular but not unknown effect of the impressions received by a woman with child, the infant appeared with a deformity like that of the beggar. As the

sig: C. F. Fleischer. 1862. 8°. pp. vi, 98. This work was based on Tischendorf's own papers, and revised by him.

Beilage zur *Allgemeinen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirchenzeitung*. 1874. Nr. 50. Leipzig, 11 December, coll. 1049–1051.

Am Sarge und Grabe des D. th. Constantin von Tischendorf gestorben am 7., bestattet am 10. Dec. 1874. Fünf Reden und Ansprachen, nebst einem Rückblick auf das Leben und einem Verzeichniss sämmtlicher Druckwerke des Verstorbenen. [Some are now, August 12, 1875, for sale at Hinrichs's store in Leipzig].

The late Professor Tischendorf. By Ezra Abbot, D.D., LL.D., Bussey Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation in the Divinity School of Harvard University. Reprinted from *The Unitarian Review and Religious Magazine*, for March, 1875. This contains an able, though brief discussion of Tischendorf's works. Probably no other American, and perhaps only Scrivener, Westcott, and Hort in England, can judge so well of Tischendorf's labors as Professor Abbot.

time of the next birth drew near, the mother saw a blind woman. Her alarm thereat, on remembering the former case, led her to pray most earnestly that the child in her womb might not at birth be found to be blind. When the new-born boy was seen to have good eyes, the mother regarded it as an answer to her prayers, and gave him, as his first name, Praise-God, or Lobegott. A further interest is lent to these circumstances by the fact that the child, as after life showed, had unusually good eyes, being able to see and distinguish clearly what others could not. It would seem as if the "direction of the intention" (not Jesuitical) of the mother to the eyes, had induced in the embryo an uncommon vigor and development in those organs.

The boy grew. His earlier training was received at the town-school of Lengenfeld, under the rectors Otto and Krause.

2. *Student Life* (1829-1844).

The gymnasium at Plauen, the chief town of the Voigtland, about ten miles southwest of Lengenfeld, prepared him for the university. Dölling and Pfretzschner were among the teachers. At Easter, 1834, aged nineteen, he entered the halls of Leipzig. The majority of German students wander from university to university, like so many journey-men, and in not a few cases lose half the force and value of their former drill by this rambling. Tischendorf, on the contrary, pursued his studies until graduation solely at one.

The hopes of his teachers, former and present, were not vain. The theological and philological professors at Leipzig were men well calculated to inspire and to urge on the bright student. Gottfried Hermann then led classical research; and Georg Benedict Winer, who had issued the first edition of his *New Testament Grammar* twelve years earlier (1822), pressed the grammatical and historical exposition of the scriptures. Seven years of student life, since he entered the school at Plauen, had been a time of quiet drinking in of knowledge and of patient mental drill. At the close of 1836, at Michaelmas, the theological faculty — Winer, Winer,

Illgen, Grossmann, and Krehl — gave him a prize medal for an essay on “The Doctrine of the Apostle Paul as to the Value of Christ’s Death as a Satisfaction.” The faculty declared it to be “clearly and concisely written, with great diligence, fit knowledge of the subject, and sound judgment.” This essay, published at Easter, 1837, opens the young writer’s public work. A book of poetry at Christmas of the same year, and a novel two years later, showed a poetic faculty and a power of imagination which found little room in the dry work of his after life. The novel, written while teaching at the school of his after father-in-law, perhaps owed its life in a degree to the mild influences which were gradually weaving themselves into the threads of his destiny. Easter, 1838, awards him another medal, against seven competitors, on the subject: “Christ the Bread of Life; or, on John vi. 51–59.” At the same time he took his doctor’s degree, the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and Master of Arts, which is the necessary precedent to the degree of Licentiate. Closing his work of teaching for Pastor Zehme, near Leipzig, Tischendorf made a short trip through southern Germany, Switzerland, and Strasburg, after which he returned to Leipzig, and began to prepare a critical hand-edition of the Greek New Testament. This was in October, 1839. In 1840, he habilitated as Licentiate and Privat-docent of Theology. We may again observe that, whereas many German privat-docents and professors rise chiefly by change of university, Tischendorf never left his Alma Mater, but rose from Privat-docent to Extraordinary Professor, to Ordinary Honorary Professor, and finally Ordinary Professor, the highest post in a German school.

Just at this point we find Tischendorf involved in a whirl of engagements or undertakings. As we have already said, he is busy at a critical edition of the New Testament; he offers and maintains his licentiate thesis; and, beside minor matters, is preparing scholastically and financially for a journey to Paris, to work at its library. Those who look at him from a distance are in danger of thinking him a man

always well supplied with means. The contrary was often the case; and a poor student may find in Tischendorf's troubles his own consolation, and in Tischendorf's success a pledge of his own. The theological faculty did their best for him; but who does not know the pecuniary position of a theological faculty? After long and almost despairing efforts, one hundred thalers (seventy-five dollars in gold) a year for two years were granted by the Saxon government. This, of course, was too little; so he insured himself in a Life Assurance Company, and secured a letter of credit for a few hundred dollars by leaving the insurance policy as a pledge. His edition of the New Testament appeared, dated 1841, and was received with the best acknowledgments. David Schulz of Breslau, the aged critic, wrote a long review of this edition, hailing it with joy, recognizing in it both good work and great promise, and urging Tischendorf to farther endeavors; saying that, in spite of the indifference of the present, "future generations would value and thankfully own his merit." The edition, fifteen hundred in number, was exhausted in eight years. The twenty-five year old licentiate left Leipzig for Paris on the eve of Reformation-day, 1840.

What thoughts may then have crowded his mind — what proud and ambitious thoughts — yes, and what misgiving and despairing thoughts! Yet his imagination can scarcely have conjured up either the extent of the work or the brilliance of the honors which from that date should engage his moments and reward his labors. At the same time, it is worthy of remark that at no period in his now opening career, in spite of his love of appreciation and his regards for honors bestowed, does he seem to have been so intoxicated by success as to have relaxed for an instant the ardor or the conscientiousness of his endeavors.

Paris. — The library at Paris contained a celebrated palimpsest. A manuscript of the Bible from the early fifth century had been cleaned off in the twelfth century, and used for writings of Ephraem Syrus. The result was such that Capperonier, once head of the library, is said to have

declared that no mortal could read the words of the New Testament; and Lachmann, ten years before 1840, wrote that a Parisian scholar could secure immortal fame by publishing this text. Tischendorf set at it, and read it, to the delight of everybody.¹ Meanwhile he also collated the Paris manuscripts of Philo for Professor Grossmann of Leipzig, and the only remaining manuscript of the sixtieth book of the *Basilicas* for Dr. Heimbach at Jena. This was the bread-and-butter, or perhaps better, stage-and-car-fare work, meant to increase his funds so that he might visit all places containing manuscripts.

Firmin Didot, the publisher, bargained with Tischendorf for a re-issue of his Leipzig edition of the New Testament; and then Abbé Jager, a professor in the Sorbonne, begged him to edit a Greek text that should conform as nearly as possible to the Vulgate. The first he dedicated to the Protestant Guizot, the head of Louis Philippe's cabinet, and the second to Affre, the Archbishop of Paris. The two conditions of making the Catholic edition were, that they should never publish it without his own preface and his dedication of it to the archbishop, and that his other edition, with the Protestant dedication, should appear as above. The title and preface were, however, at a later date, so changed as to give the credit of the work to Jager, instead of to Tischendorf.

These successful labors secured for the young scholar the acquaintance and favor of Karl Hase, the keeper of the manuscripts at the library, of Letronne, Raoul Rochette, Mignet, Dübner, the orator and writer Coquerel, the archbishop Affre, Count Em. de Las Cases, Guizot, and Humboldt. Affre commended him to the pope, and Guizot gave him letters to the French ministers and consuls in every direction.

¹ Tischendorf was afterwards accused of having injured and blurred the manuscript by chemicals. He replied that the restoration by chemicals had been made by the librarians themselves, for Dr. Fleck, while he himself was a boy at Plauen gymnasium. The only unfortunate thing was, that neither Dr. Fleck nor anybody else but Tischendorf could read it after it had been restored.

As the preface to one of his Paris editions declares, he had determined to visit all the great libraries of Europe, to unearth the most ancient records of the New Testament text. During the stay at Paris he made two northern journeys. The autumn of 1841 found him in Holland, glancing at the manuscripts, and receiving marked attention from the Dutch professors; and at the end of the summer of 1842 he visited England, working in London, Cambridge, and Oxford. December of 1842 brought him the first copies of his edition of the Codex Ephraemi, — that is, of the New Testament fragments, — and opened the way for many tokens of distinction. Schulz, to whom we have already referred, caused the Breslau theological faculty to bestow on him the title of Doctor of Theology — a title of great worth in Germany, and rarely given to one so young.

Rome. — Leaving Paris in January, 1843, and working four weeks on the Codex E of the Gospels at Basel, — where DeWette showed him great kindness, — Tischendorf passed through Berne, Geneva, Lyons, Avignon (Carpentras), and Marseilles, to Rome; reaching it at the last of the carnival days. Italy kept him busy for more than a year, with the treasures of Rome, Naples, Florence, Venice, Modena, Milan, and Turin. At Rome he worked over the Y fragment of John, and inspected closely what is thought to be the oldest evangelistarium, both in the library of Prince Barberini; and he compared the uncial manuscript of the Acts and of Paul's Epistles from the ninth century (L), in the Angelica Library of the Augustine order. Of course, however, the library of the Vatican was the most interesting to him. Here he copied the sixth century fragment of Matthew (N), which is written in silver letters on purple. They also let him use the Codex S of the Gospels, and uncial codices of the Old Testament. This was all very well. But Tischendorf wished to get at the famous Vatican manuscript, which contained a large part of both Testaments. They told him that he could not see it. The pope, they said, would not allow it. Tischendorf worked around and about the point in every way imaginable, but to

no purpose. The recommendations with which he was so well supplied, by his own government, as well as by the French government and church, made him quite at liberty to use the Vatican library, except in regard to the biblical manuscripts. Let a man into the Dresden Gallery with permission to see everything but the Madonnas, meaning, especially, to forbid the Madonna di San Sisto! After several weeks Tischendorf asked to see the pope. The interview was granted; but the minister told the Saxon ambassador that nothing must be said about the Vatican manuscript. He went. The pope, reading aloud the letter from the archbishop of Paris brought by Tischendorf, chatted awhile about the criticism of the text, and the danger of exciting the opposition of theologians thereby. He showed his own position towards such work by bringing out an old Hebrew Bible, and telling of an unsuccessful attempt he had once made to have the Hebrew text of the Old Testament revised. Turning to Tischendorf's preface in the Paris Catholic edition, he expressed his satisfaction at the critical principles laid down. He noticed the statement therein that Tischendorf meant to search out all the treasures of the largest European libraries, and asked how far the work had advanced. This was a fair opening. Tischendorf replied that he had gotten all he wished in France, England, Holland, and Switzerland, but that the Roman manuscripts were still to be seen. The pope at once said that everything would be at his service. Tischendorf, in spite of the injunctions of the papal minister, said that he had been told that it was not possible for him to see the Vatican manuscript. The pope could not understand this, and went in person to the library the same day; only to find, however, that he could gain no more for Tischendorf than permission to use the manuscript three hours each day for two days, and to take a *fac-simile* of it—the first exact *fac-simile* thereof. The pope was not yet infallible. Of course, it was somewhat annoying to be kept from full use of the manuscript. Still, there was, as Tischendorf owned, a fair and good reason for it. He by no means shared in

the hue and cry of Germany against the restriction. As may be seen from the pope's attitude, the question of Romanism and Protestantism had nothing to do with the matter. It was a case between scholar and scholar. Any German, French, or English librarian would have done what the librarians of the Vatican did. Cardinal Mai was just publishing an edition of this manuscript, and showed Tischendorf five volumes ready printed — four of the Old Testament and one of the New Testament. These volumes of text were waiting for the Prolegomena, which he was too ill to write. Of course he had done the work as well as he could, and did not wish to see it in any way put in jeopardy by the immediate collation and revision of the manuscript by any one else. Hence he begged the pope's minister not to let Tischendorf use the manuscript freely. At the same time Mai and Tischendorf were, and remained, on good terms with each other. At a later date Mai answered, most kindly, questions which Tischendorf sent to him about certain readings of the Vatican manuscript. Twenty-four years later Tischendorf did succeed in making an edition of the New Testament part of this manuscript, though on meagre time.

Naples, Florence, Venice, Modena, Milan, and Turin, were visited. In the first three, as at Rome, he had much intercourse with Cobet, a noted Dutch philologist. In Milan he discovered the Revelation of St. Paul, supposed to be utterly lost long before.

Tischendorf completed his Italian researches, and was eager to visit the East. We have reached one of the turning points of his life. Entering the year 1844, we close the first twenty-nine years, the vestibule to his after career, and open the second twenty-nine years, which contain his greatest work as professor and palaeologist.

A single word more about Italy. He also paid attention to some modern manuscripts while there. They were sent to him by mail from Germany. They did not come from a library, but from the house of Pastor Zehme with whom he

had formerly taught. In short, Fräulein Zehme then agreed that in due time she would become his wife.

II. WORK (1844–1873).

1. (1844–1858.) *Finds part of great manuscript.*

The Sinaitic manuscript lends the chief brilliancy to the twenty-nine years upon which we now enter. In the first year thereof Tischendorf finds a bit of the manuscript. He then spends fourteen years wishing for, or trying to get the rest. These are the years of his extraordinary and ordinary honorary professorship.

The busy student has traversed the best European libraries, and seeks a new field. We have seen how he supported himself by side work, and by the editions of the New Testament. For the journey to the East he again needed the help of others. The Saxon government, the banker Seyfferheld at Frankfort, Favre Bertrand at Geneva, Kestner the Hanoverian agent at Rome, and David Schulz, the old professor at Breslau, supplied him with funds.

Leaving Livorno on the twelfth of March 1844, and delaying nine days at cosmopolitan and polyglot Malta, Tischendorf landed at Alexandria on the fourth of April. A Nile boat, sailing on Easter morning, carried him to Cairo within four days. At this time there was enough left of the old modes of travelling, whether by water or land, to fill the traveller's mind with wonder at their thoroughly Oriental character. Nine years later Tischendorf went from Alexandria to Cairo by steamer in from twenty-four to thirty hours, and in 1859 by car in, perhaps, ten hours, though it would only have taken five if the long stops had been left out.

Cairo. — The Catholic monastery at Cairo proved to have but a few manuscripts, and those of small value. The monastery of Mt. Sinai, the mother of the one really at the mountain, said it had no manuscripts at all. Tischendorf did not believe that. They showed him the book-cases and said he might look at the books as much as he pleased. After half an hour's hunting, the monks found the key to the

case, and he at once took down several manuscripts much to their surprise. "Manuscript? manuscript?" they cried. It was his first reward for disregarding the cry that there were no treasures still in the East. This monastery offered in the new discoveries, manuscripts from the eleventh century on. They were church books of various kinds, including five evangelistaria and eight copies of the Gospels. The patriarch's library was not so easily accessible. The Austrian general-consul knew the patriarch very well and thought he could manage the matter. They called. The patriarch put Tischendorf through an examination in reading and speaking Greek, and told him that he had not learned much yet. No reference to Tischendorf's former labors could persuade the patriarch that he knew anything about Greek that was worth mentioning. As for the Greek text of the New Testament, we had the "gospel" and the "apostle," and what could we wish for beyond? Anyhow the library was walled up! It was only after many efforts that, at last, the physician of one of the patriarch's officials succeeded in having the library opened and secured the use of eighteen manuscripts, which were alleged to be all it contained. These were, however, valuable. They dated from the tenth century on, and comprised various church books, saints' lives, homilies, commentaries, and evangelistaria.

It will be seen that we have left the region of exact librarians, and reached that of men who knew little or nothing about their chief treasures.

After looking at the Pyramids and the Sphinx, Tischendorf, on the 18th of April, went by way of Terraneh and Castello Cibara to the four Coptic monasteries of the Libyan desert; the scanty monuments of a former host of hundreds of monasteries which peopled this region. The libraries were in an isolated tower in the court-yard of each. Manuscripts lay on the floor, or packed in baskets, just as it happened. They were in general Coptic and Arabic, with a few Syriac and Aethiopic fragments. Pretty much all contained liturgical or scriptural books. In the fourth monastery Tisch-

endorf was amused by the oldest brother, who, whenever the conversation paused a moment, went over the forms and formulas of reception again; a hint for perplexed European or American hosts, — perhaps the forms of leave-taking would be better.

Tischendorf was in Cairo again on April 27th. He attempted one day to visit a Mohammedan book bazaar. The result was disagreeable. The instant he stopped at the stalls the merchants all around cried, "Shut up the booth, shut up the booth." He was not longer than necessary in getting out of the frowning crowd of Mohammed's followers who thought their Korans too sacred for him.

Sinai, 1844. — Camels were the conveyance for the desert then. On May 12th he started for Suez, and leaving it on the 16th, reached Sinai by the 24th. We cannot delay to tell of the old cloister or to discuss the questions which attach to the mountain itself, with the memory of the Law. This cloister gave shape to the rest of our traveller's life, for it was here that he found the great manuscript. Yet few in Europe knew it at the time, or for years afterwards. It was a secret. In his travels he says nothing of any special discovery here. But we must simply relate. As he examined the library, with its books and manuscripts on shelves around, he noticed, on the floor, a basket stuffed with bits of old manuscripts, and learned that a couple of basketfuls had already been thrown into the fire as useless. In this basket he found several bits which he recognized as belonging to an unusually old manuscript. The monks let him have one of the pieces, numbering forty-three leaves, and he commended the other parts to their careful charge, since they would not let him have them. These forty-three leaves were the Codex Friderico-Augustanus, as Tischendorf named it, in honor of the Saxon king. They contained parts of 1 Chronicles and 2 Esdras, the whole of Nehemiah and Esther, and parts of Tobit, Jeremiah, and Lamentations. At the same time the discoverer copied off a page of the part left behind. This page was for years the goad that urged him to secure

the rest of the precious codex. The first day of June saw him leave the hospitable monastery and start for Cairo. On the twenty-first the desert-ships bore him from Cairo toward Jerusalem, which he reached on the 8th of July, having come by way of El-Arish, Gaza, and Ramleh.

The sights and joys of his two-weeks stay at Jerusalem, with his excursions to Bethlehem and other points, may be imagined, not described. We are with Tischendorf, the manuscript-seeker. One point of these days must be touched. San Saba lies between the Dead Sea and Bethlehem. Our traveller went thither from the latter place. The fortress monastery did not appear at first to have very much of value in the way of manuscripts. They showed him about a hundred in a little room near the nave of the church. But that was not the end of the matter. They passed on to look at the chapel of St. John of Damascus, and inspected the gloomy room which contained hundreds of skulls. Tischendorf had expressed his surprise at the meagre library. The librarian said that there was another in the tower. Of course Tischendorf wanted to see it. That could not be. The custodian had gone off to Jerusalem that morning with the key. This story was worth little. The monks quarrelled among themselves and finally took the European to the tower. Really this was the better part of the library, and contained many patristic, church, and biblical manuscripts, from the eighth or ninth century on. In the case of an old uncial codex, a Greek evangelistarium of the ninth century or earlier, the monk who was with the traveller would not believe that the writing was Greek until he heard a few lines read. This specimen of ignorance was not the last thing in the visit. A heap of fragments of manuscripts lay in one corner, thrown out as good for nothing. The monks said that Tischendorf might pick out some of these as reminiscences of his visit. He made his choice and then they told him that he could not have them. They were glad to have the selection made, and keep it.

Leaving Jerusalem on the 22d of July, the scholar visited

Sichem. Here, among many valuable manuscripts, he found a Samaritan one which to all appearance dated back to the sixth century. Samaria, Nazareth (Tabor, Tiberias), Carmel, and St. Jean d'Acree, led him on to Beyrout. Taking ship on the 3d of August, he reached Smyrna on the 8th. Patmos, with its memories of St. John and with its fine library, demanded a call. Tischendorf pronounced it one of the richest libraries of the East. A Greek made a catalogue of it for him, at the request of the French consul at Athens, and he received it from the French minister at that capital. While on the island he examined each manuscript carefully. There were upwards of two hundred, from the eighth century on, biblical, church, and classical works. Among the Fathers, Basil the Great and John Chrysostom were best represented. He reached Smyrna again on the 16th of August, and left it on the 17th, the steamer arriving at Constantinople on the 19th. The manuscripts there, as far as accessible, were of no peculiar value. Tischendorf bade Constantinople good-by on September 8th, and reached Athens on the 28th, to spend a month.

Thus ended his first Eastern journey. He pursued his homeward way through Italy to Vienna and Munich. In Vienna the *Evangelium Palatinum* busied him awhile. This is a Latin manuscript, or a collection of fragments of a manuscript, containing originally the Gospels entire, but now lacking much of Matthew, a little of John and Luke, and almost all of Mark. The purple parchment and the character of the readings give it the appearance of a production of the fourth or fifth century. The writing is in silver and gold. His eyes gave out while working at the Bobbiensian fragments of the *Itala*. The university library at Munich offered him a Greek manuscript of the Gospels (X), perhaps of the ninth or tenth century, and the *Codex Ingolstadiensis*, one of the oldest manuscripts of the Vulgate. Spending Christmas at his birthplace in Lengenfeld, he arrived at Leipzig in January 1845.

In the course of his accounts of the journey just closed,

Tischendorf often refers to maidens with dark hair and dark eyes. It was in remembrance of one who was waiting for him at home. In the year of his return he published the first volume of his travels. This volume bears the dedication of the work: "To his beloved bride Angelica, presented on the wedding morning." They were married on the day on which the preface is dated, September 18, 1845.

We may pass over the next few years quite rapidly, leaving the close discussion of Tischendorf's various publications to those who are versed in his department. The Old Testament fragments of the Codex Ephræmi, in 1845, remind us again of his work in Paris. The Codex Friderico-Augustanus, published in an exquisite *fac-simile*, is the set of forty-three leaves found in the monastery at Mount Sinai. He naturally did not wish to tell where he had found this, since he expected to go back and buy or copy the rest of the fragments. Hence in the preface he merely says as to place: "These venerable leaves, before my late discovery of them among fragments of old manuscripts that had been cast aside and lost, seem always to have lain concealed in Egypt, or, at least, in the neighborhood of Egypt." The *Monumenta Sacra Inedita* display the fragments of seven New Testament manuscripts which the traveller had worked over in Paris, London, Vienna, and Rome, etc., or had brought from the East. The book of travels, in two volumes, both dated 1846, and not 1845 and 1846, as is usually said, give the popular view of his journey. Tischendorf's own copy, in two cunning little volumes, bound in red morocco and gold, is now at the writer's side. His Vienna studies return to us in the *Evangelium Palatinum* of 1847. The year 1849 carried him again to London, Paris, and Oxford. Aside from working over the Greek Apocrypha of the New Testament and some fragments from the Psalms, his chief aim was a new revision of his copy of the Codex Claromontanus. He had copied it in 1840, and revised it twice in that and the following year, but could not rest till he had made this third revision. A fully re-wrought edition of the Greek New Testament appeared in

1849, and was so well received that the edition of sixteen hundred copies was exhausted in seven years. His visit to Florence, on his Italian journey of 1843, now comes to light in an edition of the Codex Amiatinus, one of the oldest manuscripts of the Vulgate, dating from the close of the first half of the sixth century.¹ This he in a wise dedicated to the memory of Pope Gregory XVI., the one who had received him so kindly at Rome. The date of the edition of the Codex Amiatinus is also that of his Ordinary Honorary Professorship, 1850.

The same year unfolds to us the results of Tischendorf's researches in a new line. His name is by many attached almost exclusively to the New Testament. Yet the work he did upon the Greek translation of the Old Testament was also of great worth, and met with success. Ten years exhausted two editions of twelve hundred copies each. The fifth edition has just been issued, 1875. He used the Vatican text, applied his wide knowledge of the New Testament in the comparison of it with the Septuagint, and gave various readings and a full introduction. The book may be said to have gone into general use. He intended later to publish a critical edition of the text.

The next year, 1851, offers the first fruits of his work at still two other subjects, in both of which he proved himself a master, and continued to do service. On the one hand, he discussed the apocryphal Gospels in their origin and use, publishing also the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles; and on the other hand, he issued the first edition of his Synopsis of the Gospels.

Second Eastern Journey, 1853. — The edition of the Codex Claromontanus, in 1852, which he had in vain tried to arrange for in Oxford ten years earlier, now closed his European work for a brief space. Tischendorf has never for an instant

¹ Hamann, reviewing Tischendorf's *Biblia Sacra Latina* of 1873, in the *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1873, pp. 591-596, speaks of this Codex Amiatinus, and declares on p. 596: "The Codex Amiatinus springs, at the earliest, from the seventh century."

forgotten his darling manuscript at Sinai. He had written to the Egyptian viceroy's physician, and to the patriarch of Constantinople about it, but to no purpose. So in 1853 he again journeyed eastward, intending to copy the manuscript off, if he could not secure it bodily. Unfortunately, however, he did not even catch a glimpse of it this time at the convent, and concluded that it had been carried away to Europe. This annoyed him exceedingly. He determined to let the secret out, and claim the credit of having discovered said fragments, and of having saved them from being burned. This he did in the first volume of his *Monumenta Sacra Inedita, Nova Collectio*, in which he also published the page of Isaiah and Jeremiah which he had copied off in 1844. We shall see, nevertheless, that the manuscript was not laid aside in his mind. He could not give it up.

It is needless to follow him through this second Eastern journey, whose first aim we have thus described. Although he failed in that aim, he found much of value, including sixteen palimpsests. Among these and the other manuscripts were rich gifts for Greek, Syrian, Georgian, Arabic, and Jewish scholars, and several noted students set about working them up. Some of these went to the Bodleian Library at Oxford, some to the British Museum, some to the Leipzig University library, and the larger part to St. Petersburg in 1857. At the latter place an odd thing revealed itself. One of the Karaite manuscripts, a collection of poems, had lost eight leaves from the middle. Not long after a Karaite scholar, Firkowitsch, came thither with manuscripts he had collected. The eight leaves were among them! Tischendorf had bought his at Cairo, and Firkowitsch had gotten his at Jerusalem.

The stream of publications continued. He was also busy in the university. The next three years he used his holidays for journeys to libraries. In 1854 Wolfenbüttel in Brunswick, and Hamburg were the scenes of his work. London, Oxford, and Cambridge were visited in 1855. At the last named place the authorities were delighted with his discovery

of papers held to be lost. The celebrated scholar Bentley had made a second collation of the Codex Vaticanus, through Abbé Rulotta, at least Rulotta's collation is called Bentley's second collation, but no one could tell anything about it; even Tregelles in 1856 bewailing its fate. These papers Tischendorf found, recognized, and used. He spent the holidays of 1856 in Munich, St. Gallen, and Zürich. It will hardly be agreed that this manuscript work was a very healthful way of using holidays.

But we must still dwell upon 1855. Then appeared the first volume of his *Monumenta Sacra Inedita, Nova Collectio*, mentioned above. The name indicates a new collection, in distinction from his book of 1846, of fragments of the Bible which had not before been printed. It supplies the place of the manuscripts, and, like his editions of the larger manuscripts, places critical sources in the hands of the learned world in general. This unfortunately is one of the projects left unfinished at his death. He intended at first to have six volumes, but finally he made it nine — the seventh and the eighth being still unpublished. It should be added, in view of the name of the series, that volume seven is devoted to Chrysostom, whose writings are of great value for the criticism of the text, owing to their numerous quotations of scripture.

Simonides' Uranios. — The year 1856 witnessed a service done by Tischendorf's palaeographic knowledge. A sharp Greek named Simonides took up the manuscript trade, and tried to sell a palimpsest of Uranios and a few leaves of the Shepherd of Hermas to the Berlin Academy, through Professor Dindorf of Leipzig. The Hermas leaves were bought, and two thousand five hundred thalers, half of the price of the Uranios, had been paid. Professor Lykurgos of Athens sent word to Tischendorf that he considered both to be cheats made by Simonides. Tischendorf secured a view of them, and at once offered to prove in court that they were forgeries. Nobody would hear of it. At four P.M. on January 29th, he telegraphed to Alexander von Humboldt, and wrote to Boeckh

and Pertz. Humboldt gave the dispatch to the president of the Academy the same evening. Lepsius had by the 27th of January become suspicious, though he had paid the two thousand five hundred thalers, as above said, on the 11th. The Academy had a chemical and microscopical examination made on the 30th, and, in short, Simonides was arrested on February 1st in Leipzig.

This was followed by a contest about the text which Simonides had used for his *Hermas*. Tischendorf insisted at first that it was a text made by retranslation from the Latin; but after he found the part of *Hermas* in the Sinaitic manuscript, he at once said that the text used by Simonides was from the original Greek, though corrupted by use of the middle age Latin text.

The first sheets of his "seventh larger critical edition" of the Greek New Testament were issued early in 1856, and the last of its thirteen parts was published at Christmas 1858. This work surpassed all previous editions of the text, and is, perhaps, only less valuable than his eighth larger critical edition, of which we must speak later.

We have thus reached the close of the first fourteen years of his professional life, the third quarter of his whole life. In these years he has not only worked, but has also fixed the direction of his labors more definitely. Nothing of a new kind appears in the last fourteen years of his work. The bits of Philo in 1868 recall his work on Philo in his younger years, and his Defence of the Gospels is but a part of his text criticism. In the years gone by, he has been longing for the old manuscript which he had once seen. We now pass to his actual gaining of the treasure.

2. (1859-1873.) *Finds the larger part of the great manuscript.*

As early as the close of the year 1856, Tischendorf had sent a proposition to the Russian government to make an Eastern trip at their expense, under their protection, and for their advantage. In spite of the favor of princes, ministers, and scholars, the matter made little progress. It was

an odd mission to intrust to a foreigner and a Protestant. At last, as the Saxon government said it would help him again if need be, he wrote to St. Petersburg for a decided yes or no. The question was settled. In September 1858 he received the answer, yes; and was left to travel as he thought best, upon the funds granted.

Sinai, 1859. He started off on the 5th of January 1859, leaving Vienna on the 9th, and Trieste on the 11th, and landed in Alexandria on the 16th. Everywhere his eye met signs of the rapid advance in modern appliances since his former visits. Instead of five days by camel to Suez, he had only five or six hours, on January 23d. The camels then bore him to the monastery, reaching it at 10 A.M. on January 31st. The monks whom he had met before welcomed him heartily. There are three libraries. The smallest, on the ground-floor, has about one hundred printed books, on shelves. In the second story stands the library proper. Cyril, the monk from Athos, had been professor and librarian of the monastery for a number of years, and had made a catalogue of it. In all, there were about fifteen hundred books. Of these some five hundred were manuscripts, chiefly theological, in Greek, Arabic, Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, and Slavonic. The third library contained the priestly robes, the church vessels, and the lectionaries, liturgies, and patristic and biblical manuscripts. The most gorgeous was a gospel book for church reading. It was written in gold letters on beautiful white parchment, probably in the seventh or eighth century. Nothing, however, was to be seen of the one thing which Tischendorf wished for, and he regarded it as useless to ask for it. On the morning of February 4th, a servant was sent to the Bedouins to order the camels ready by the 7th. That afternoon the steward of the monastery guided Tischendorf on a short excursion. Returning at dusk, he asked the latter to come to his room for refreshments. While there, the steward brought from the corner of the room a manuscript wrapped up in a red cloth, saying that he had a Septuagint. The scholar at once recognized the fragments which he had

saved from the fire in 1844. His joy may be imagined. But better yet; he saw that they had added to the Old Testament fragments the whole of the New Testament, and the letter of Barnabas. The monks who stood about him could see, but could not understand, his delight. The steward allowed him to take it to his own room, to examine it more closely, and he there found that it also contained a part of the Shepherd of Hermas.

This was the decisive point for the rest of Tischendorf's life. The remaining fourteen years are occupied with the publication, the use, and the defence of this manuscript. Looking at it more closely, he found that its three hundred and forty-six leaves included twenty-two of the Old Testament prophetic, poetical, and apocryphal books, most of them complete, the whole New Testament, the letter of Barnabas complete, and the first part of the Shepherd of Hermas. Barnabas and Hermas, both held almost as canonical by the early church, were before this only unsatisfactorily known, partly by translations, and partly by late manuscripts of the original. Tischendorf therefore at once, that night, began to copy off Barnabas, and before leaving the monastery finished it and Hermas. It should be added, moreover, that this is the only complete manuscript of the New Testament of anything like such an age, both the Alexandrian and the Vatican being defective.

The question was, how to secure this prize. He knew they would not wish to sell it, so he told them he would like to copy it. There were no conveniences for that work in the monastery, and therefore he wished to take it to Cairo. All except the librarian, Vitalius, to whose library, the third, such books belonged, wished to let him have it. The prior, who alone could decide, had gone off to Cairo for the election of an archbishop, and might sail at once to Constantinople. Tischendorf left on the 7th, reached Cairo at midnight of the 13th, and saw the prior on the 14th early. The latter sent a sheik with a swift dromedary for the manuscript, and in nine days, on February 23d, it was in Cairo. Prior, vicar

and professor met at the Russian general consulate, and it was agreed that Tischendorf should have sets of eight leaves at a time, the manuscripts being made up of such sets, or quaternions. He worked at it for two months in the Hotel of the Pyramids. Two Germans, a physician and an apothecary, helped him copy, while he revised their work, and studied out the passages which had been corrected by various hands.

A young Englishman, who heard of the treasure, offered to buy it, but the prior said that the monastery would prefer to give it to the Russian emperor. Of course, that suited Tischendorf exactly. But the newly chosen archbishop could not give the manuscript away till he had been consecrated by the patriarch of Jerusalem, and acknowledged by the Porte and by the viceroy of Egypt, all of which would take three months. Accordingly Tischendorf set out for the Holy Land, leaving Alexandria on May 5th for Jaffa. His travels about Jerusalem and its neighborhood were made largely in company with the party of the Russian Grand Duke Constantine. At San Saba he found three palimpsests, and at the monastery of the Holy Cross others came to sight. They told him at San Saba that there was a wonderful manuscript at Laodicea; but it proved to be only an evangelistarium of, perhaps, the twelfth century. Reaching Smyrna on June 26th, he started for Patmos on the 29th, and arrived there on the evening of July 1st. The manuscripts kept him busy for eight days. Before leaving Smyrna for Patmos, he had looked at an eleventh century manuscript belonging to the Greek church in the former place. Fourteen days later, on his return to Smyrna, one of the officers of the church met him, and asked about a manuscript, which he showed him. It proved to be a Greek uncial manuscript of the Gospels, of the ninth century (*II*). Tischendorf wished to add it to the Russian collection. It belonged, however, to a rich private family, in which it had been for a century, and they would not sell it. At last the mother, who held it almost as a talisman, agreed to give it to the Russian emperor if her

darling son, then in England, would consent, and if the emperor would favor her son. Tischendorf went to Constantinople about the Cairo affairs, the Sinaitic manuscript, and the archbishop. Coming by Smyrna again on August 13th and 14th, word had arrived from the son, and the mother gave the manuscript to him. It is one of the ten uncial manuscripts of the Gospels which are nearly or quite complete, and its text is superior to that of most of the later uncials.

When Tischendorf left Cairo at the beginning of May they told him that they would be ready to give him the manuscript in three months, and therefore he returned before the end of July. But the archbishop's election had not been acknowledged by the patriarch, and everything stood still. So off he travelled again to Constantinople, only to find that he could do nothing there. At last a plan was hit upon and agreed to. He was to take the manuscript to St. Petersburg, and publish it. In case, however, the newly constituted authorities should not be willing to let the emperor have it, it was to be returned to the convent. Leaving Constantinople on the 22d of September he reached Cairo on the 27th. The next morning the assembled priors and brethren gave him the manuscript; on November 19th he laid it before the Emperor of Russia at Tsarskoe-Selo, and before the end of the year he had begun a typographical imitation of it.

This year, 1859, is the date of his full, or Ordinary Professorship, a special chair of sacred palaeography having been made for him. While the publication of the manuscript was progressing, in 1860, Tischendorf wrote an account of its projected issue, adding a list of the manuscripts he had brought from the East. In spite of the several other books published in the years 1860 and 1861, the Codex Sinaiticus appeared in 1862, a fitting mark for the twenty-fifth year of the editor's life as an author, and as well for the thousandth anniversary of the Russian empire. The Codex appeared in four folio volumes of the largest size. These contain full Prolegomena, a critical palaeographical commentary on the

corrected places, nineteen photo-lithographic *fac-similes*, to show how the text really stands, two other plates for comparison of the writing with *fac-similes* from the oldest known codices, and the manuscript itself printed off in type specially prepared for this work, so as to make it as like the original as possible. The emperor gave copies away to scholars, or institutions of learning, all over the Christian church.

After publishing his new Eastern travels in 1862, Tischendorf brought out in 1863 a hand-edition of the Codex Sinaiticus, and two pamphlets in defence of the Sinaitic manuscript, one in February and the other in August. The first opposed English and Russian attacks. Simonides, who still kept on with his manuscript forgeries and sales, came out in the Guardian with the announcement that he had, himself, written the Codex Sinaiticus. And Porphyrius Uspenski, a Russian archimandrite, charged the Codex Sinaiticus with heresy. In February 1863 Tischendorf answered these two with a storm of ridicule and sharp speeches. He reminded the manuscript forger of the facts which showed him to have been utterly ignorant of the manuscript before its discovery, and he not only charged the archimandrite with not having seen the book, but also made it plain that the alleged heresy found no hold in it at all. The second was against an anonymous writer in a church paper. The anonymous personage was furnished with dates, figures, and facts, generously seasoned with Tischendorf's too ready sarcasm, and finally the full quotation of Rev. iii. 17, 18, was commended to him, — a passage which, it was added, stood unchanged in the Sinaitic manuscript.

Having now gathered all the manuscript sources that seemed accessible, Tischendorf began the issue of what he intended in a certain sense, it is said, to be his final large critical edition of the New Testament, dating the first of the eleven parts October 1864. We shall speak of it again. The next year's visit to England gave him the homage of Oxford and Cambridge, the former creating him Doctor of Civil Law, and the latter Doctor of Laws.

A little book, however, published this year, 1865, did more to make his name known than a dozen degrees could. His previous popular works, namely, his two sets of travels — to pass by his youthful efforts — had no doctrinal aim, though they included some information as to his manuscript work. This book was professedly to teach about the Gospels. But we must get at it in due form. Since the time of Strauss's *Life of Christ*, in 1835, not to look earlier, there had been an almost constant war waged over the Gospels. The strife was still largely confined to professors and teachers, though Strauss had issued his *Life of Christ*, wrought over for the German nation, only the year before, 1864. In March 1865 Tischendorf struck in with a little book called, *When were our Gospels Written?* The edition of two thousand copies sold in three weeks, and a second came out in May. These were technical. But though the contest was chiefly among scholars, it had an effect on the people, which needed to be counteracted. A society in Zwickau asked him to make the book more popular, so that they could publish it. This he did; prefacing it with an account of his researches, and especially of the discovery of the Sinaitic manuscript. This introduction was dated August 1865. The little book, translated from one edition or the other, spread like wildfire. The sceptics, of course, attacked it with vigor. Tischendorf replied in an enlarged edition of 1866, aiming especially at Hilgenfeld and Volkmar, with his usual freedom in sarcasm and in the application of epithets. There were three French, three-English and American,¹ two Swedish, and single Danish, Dutch, Italian, Russian, and Turkish translations.

¹ Tischendorf noted three in each country; but they were, perhaps, double editions of three translations. One is by Rev. Mr. Gage, who writes thus in the *Christian Union* of February 24th, 1875, touching a visit to Tischendorf: "The chief trophy which I brought away from that pleasant interview was the honor done me by his request that I should translate his work . . . ; which I have since then conscientiously fulfilled." Note this, and then turn to Professor Abbot's pamphlet cited at the head of this Article, and read the foot-note on pp. 16 and 17. The translation can hardly be too strongly condemned. Mr. Gage should, as a matter of honor to Tischendorf's memory, and as a means of retrieving his own character, beg the Tract Society to issue a revised edition of

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We saw above that Tischendorf had tried in vain, during 1843, to gain full use of the Vatican manuscript. He visited Italy in 1866, and succeeded, at least, better than before. They let him work at it for forty-two hours, and in 1867 he issued the New Testament part much more correctly than Cardinal Mai had. Two pamphlets of 1869 and 1870 gave still further light as to this manuscript.

The Codex Sinaiticus had been taken to St. Petersburg in 1862. It was kept by the foreign office until 1869, when the monks of Sinai completed their part in the matter, and it was removed to the library. The latter year also, 1869, was the date of the imperial ukase, giving Tischendorf place in the hereditary nobility of Russia "in recognition of his great scientific merits and especially on behalf of Russia." One book of this year was a striking business success. Baron Tauchnitz asked Tischendorf to make a hand-edition of the English New Testament with various readings, to be the thousandth volume of the Tauchnitz collection of British authors. Forty-five thousand copies of this are said to have been sold in a single year.

Towards the close of 1872 the last of the eleven parts of the two volumes of the text of the "eighth larger critical edition" of the Greek New Testament appeared. The Prolegomena, to form a third volume, were still to be written. The text of this last great edition is liked by some, disliked by others. After all, Tischendorf's most worthy service is not in the actual text which he determined. He did more than pick out a text. In his Codices and Monumenta he put the records of the past into the hands of all who have access to ordinary libraries. And still more, in his seventh and eighth editions he gives the authorities with such fulness that the book. His knowledge of German may be better now. If not, he should improve it, and then the translation. In a second Article in the Christian Union of March 17th, 1875, pp. 218, 219, the same writer says that Tischendorf's ninth edition of the New Testament "was not quite ready for publication," at his death. As an American lady remarked, it would have been nearly as pertinent to say that the tenth or fifteenth was not quite ready. The eighth edition was not complete at the time of the author's death, although the seventh had been issued fourteen years before, 1856-1859 (Christmas, 1858).

each scholar, sitting in his own study, may make his own decision as to the proper reading of any passage. He has put the tools and the stuff for text-making in our hands, and we may weave as we like, if his fabric does not please us.

But we near the end of the story. With 1873 we finish the second half of the scholar's life. The scholastic world is waiting anxiously for his new volumes. He himself means to go to the East again, and then to visit the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance at New York. All expectations fail. On the fifth of May, 1873, he is seized by apoplexy. He recovers somewhat from the attack, takes an interest in the newspapers and in things around him, visits the Teplitz baths, but gains no working power. In November 1874, the malady grew worse, a tri-weekly illness beginning. On the 7th of December 1874, he passed away.

The funeral services were held on the 10th. After part of a hymn, Pastor Ahlfeld spoke of the character and life of Tischendorf; Professor Kahnis said a few words of the friendship he had enjoyed with him. The service at the house ended with two more verses of the opening hymn. At the grave, a hymn by the celebrated Thomanerchor was followed by the motette, *Beati mortui*, "Blessed are the dead," by the University Singing Society 'Paulus,' whereon Professor Luthardt spoke of the labors of his deceased colleague, closing with the last farewell: *requiescas in pace et lux perpetua luceat tibi*, "Rest in peace, and perpetual light shine upon thee." A few words by Pastor Müller from Zwenkau, a hymn, and the blessing by Pastor Zehme of Briesnitz concluded the services.

Tischendorf was a man of uncommon quickness, keenness, energy, and ambition. A giant memory helped him in his work, and made him delightful in the home circle. Art and literature were the relief from his toil. His vigor and sprightliness, and the fresh, young look which he retained for some time after his youth was over, were so deceptive

that he was once taken to be a son of, and not actually, the famous and necessarily time-worn text-critic.

One side of his character should be emphasized. He was in many points as open as a child. What he thought, he said. Men counted him as, on the one hand, more vain and, on the other hand, more severe, perhaps, than one intimately acquainted with him would have granted. People came to see him, to hear of his great deeds, and he talked of them with all childish delight. He wrote of what he had done, and enjoyed the subject, and so did the world. While he flattered no one, he did not hesitate to praise when opportunity offered. And when he blamed anybody, he did it likewise with all his heart.

Unfortunately none of his sons follow in his line of studies. Paul Andreas, the eldest, after pursuing Oriental studies, entered the diplomatic service, and has for three years past been dragoman of the embassy of the German empire at Constantinople. The second son, Johannes, is a jurist, and the third, Immanuel, is studying medicine.

We have purposely passed over many of his books, or editions. They will be found in the list of his writings at the close of this number. Little has been said of his lectures at the university, because they were not his strong point. It was always agreed that he should have an unusual freedom in the duties of his chair, so as to pursue his more important work. He lectured upon New Testament Exegesis, Interpretation, and Criticism, on the Life of Jesus, on Knowledge of the East, on New Testament Introduction, and on the History of the New Testament Text.

Probably no theologian ever received so varied and so numerous signs of distinction, academic and civil. His extreme satisfaction in them was no proof that he did not deserve them. He was made a Russian noble, a Saxon privy-councillor, knight of many orders, doctor of all suitable degrees, and member of an indefinite number of societies.

It is as yet not possible to say just when, how, and to what extent, his unfinished works will be published or completed.

The only one already in hand is the third volume of his "eighth larger critical edition" of the Greek New Testament, which is to consist of the Prolegomena. Americans will be interested to learn that Professor Ezra Abbot of Harvard, entirely without his knowledge, was taken into serious consideration for the completion of this important work. National reasons and reasons of business convenience decided against that, as also the pressing engagements of the Professor mentioned would have decided. At last, Dr. Oscar Gebhardt was persuaded to take the material in hand. Hopes are cherished that he may so find his way into the work of Tischendorf as to be able to complete still other parts thereof, and give them to the public.

There are three pictures of Tischendorf. The first is an idealized portrait. We see the young student who has just won his laurels in reading the Parisian palimpsest. He is sitting in an antique arm-chair; at either side of the back sits on the chair-post a tiny carved figure; to our left, a bald-headed, long-bearded hermit, with a manuscript on his lap, but his gaze thrown upward in meditation; to our right, a cowed monk, who is reading intensely a huge old manuscript volume. The subject of the sketch, seated in the chair, is no unworthy companion of these ancients. A fine, oval face with high brow, large eyes, and almost smiling lips, is surrounded by bushy, curling hair. He is looking forward and upward, as if engaged in thought. A loose, rolling collar encircles his neck and contrasts its white with the fur collar of his study gown. A huge manuscript volume stands in his lap, his right arm curled around it below and his left hand holding it up by the middle of the top. This is just before his first Eastern journey and the finding of the Codex Frederico-Augustanus. The flush of Parisian successes urges him to try something greater.

The second is the Ordinary Professor; yet the picture calls up to our thoughts rather the man of the world than the student. He has trodden the halls, and received the honors of all Europe. The double chin, the full, firm mouth,

the short whiskers, the sharp eyes, the high forehead, and the slight baldness tell of a busy, well-to-do, and self-satisfied man. He has found the great manuscript, and he means to have it out in time, and to use it well.

The third picture is from the house of silence. The traveller has made his last journey; the scholar has read his last manuscript; the man has gone to rest. It is a delicate pencil-sketch, taken by Adolf Naumann, December 9th. On the pillow lies a calm face. The broad forehead seems still larger; the bright eyes are closed; we see the slightly aquiline nose, the full upper lip, and the double chin again. The locks, which in the former pictures seemed to press forward with a busy, bustling life, are now smoothed back by quiet sleep. It is the young man of Paris, but matured. His hopes on earth have been more than realized. He is now done with them.

It is a complaint of the present day in Germany that the age of great theological professors is long gone by. The student points back to Schleiermacher, Neander, and De Wette, and declares that there were giants in those days, but that pigmies now possess the land. We do not believe it at all. Perhaps a glance at Tischendorf's life will go far to dispel that illusion. He did not excel in the same points as the men named. Duties change with man and time. He proved, if you please, that a high position could be won in a new line of theological study.

If greatness consists in the unwearying pursuit of one idea, Tischendorf was great. If greatness consists in persistent and successful application to the study of difficult things, Tischendorf was great. If greatness consists in surmounting hinderances and prejudices, scholastic, religious, and national, Tischendorf was great. If greatness consists in the acquaintance with the use of, and the turning to general advantage of, the chief literary treasures of Europe and of the nearer East, Tischendorf was great. If greatness consists in earning the gratitude of the scholars of all lands, Tischendorf was great. And if greatness consists in a par-

ticipation alike in the favor of prince and scholar, of state and of church, Tischendorf was great.

THE WRITINGS OF PROFESSOR TISCHENDORF.

THE following list is the most complete yet made. There are probably a few unimportant articles not noted. The best list before was that in the pamphlet *Am Sarge und Grabe*. That has been corrected and variously enlarged. The owners of the J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung at Stuttgart, who control the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Augsburg), kindly forwarded at request a full list of the articles Tischendorf wrote for that journal. The *Jahrbücher der Literatur* (Wien), the *Serapeum*, the *Studien und Kritiken*, and the articles in the *Leipziger Repertorium der deutschen und ausländischen Literatur* as far as given, as well as most of the books proper, have been seen at first hand.

Abbreviations. *Leipz. Rep.* = *Leipziger Repertorium*; *Allg. Zeit.* (A.) = *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Augsburg); *Jahrb. d. Lüt.* = *Jahrbücher der Literatur* (Wien); one Thaler = .75 in gold, and one Neugroschen = .025.

1837. *Doctrina Pauli apostoli de vi mortis Christi satisfactoria.*

Commentatio a S. V. Theologorum Lips. ord. praemio regio ornata. Lipsiae: Hinrichs. 8°. ff. 4, pp. 64. 10 Ngr.

1838. *Maiknospen* [Gedichte]. Leipzig: Kollmann. 8½ sheets. 1 Thlr.

1839. *Disputatio de Christo, pane vitae, sive de loco evang. Ioann.*

c. VI. vv. 51-59, coenae sacrae potissimum ratione habita. Praemio [Ammoniano] ornata. Lipsiae: Koehler. 8°. pp. 83 (1). 10 Ngr.

***Der junge Mystiker* oder die drei letzten Festzeiten aus seinem Leben.**

Eine biographische Skizze von Dr. Fritz [Pseudonym]. Leipzig: Köhler. 21½ sheets. 1 Thlr. 10 Ngr.

1840. *Die Geissler*, namentlich die grosse Geisselfahrt nach Strassburg

im Jahre 1849. Frei nach dem Französischen [L. Schneegans]. Leipzig: Fritzsche. 6 sheets. 10 Ngr.

Dissertatio critica et exegetica de ev. Matth. c. xix. 16 et sqq.

Lipsiae: Koehler. 8°. pp. 20. 5 Ngr.

De recensioibus quas dicunt Novi Testamenti ratione potissimum

habita Scholzii. Lipsiae: Koehler. Habilitation Essay, reprinted in the Prolegomena to the Greek Testament, the next book below.

1841. *Novum Testamentum Graece.* Textum ad fidem antiquorum

testium recens. brevem apparatus crit. una cum variis lectionibus Elzev., Knappii, Scholzii Lachmanni subjunxit argumenta et locos parallelos indicavit, commentationem isagogicam notatis propriis lectionibus edd. Steph. iii. atque Millianae, Matthaeianae, Griesbachianae praemisit A. F. C. T. Lipsiae: Koehler. sqr. 16°. pp. lxxxv (1), 671, ff. 3. Two of the ff. 3 are a note written from Naples, on the Feast of John the Baptist, 1843, and added to this edition.

1842. N. T. Gr. Ad antiquos testes rec. lectionesque variantes Elz. Steph. Griesbachii notavit C. T. Paris: Didot. 8°. ff. 8, pp. iii–xxii, 534, 91. This is the Protestant edition.

N. T. Gr. et Lat. In antiquis testibus textum versionis vulgatæ Latinæ indagavit lectionesque var. Steph. et Griesb. notavit V. S. V. Jager in consilium adhibito C. T. (Editio DD. Affre archiep. Parisiensi dicata.) Paris: Didot. 1842. 1. 8°. pp. (vi), ix, 411, 39. 3 Thlr. 10 Ngr. The Catholic edition.

Eadem editio sine textu Latino. Paris, 1842, etc. 8°. 1 Thlr.

Zur Kritik des Neuen Testaments. *Studien und Kritiken*, 1842. (H. 2), pp. 496–511.

1843. Codex Ephraemi Syri rescriptus sive Fragmenta utriusque Test. e cod. Gr. Paris. celeberrimo quinti ut videtur p. Chr. sæculi. 2 tomi. (Vol. ii. Fragmenta Novi Testamenti, 1843, Vol. i. Fr. Veteris Test. 1845.) Lipsiæ: B. Tauchnitz. 4°. Vol. ii. 1843. ff. 4, pp. 44, 358. Plate. 18 Thlr.

Allg. Zeit. (A.) 1843. Nr. 261, Rom, 7 September; 261, Florenz, 10 September; 297, Romagna, 17 October.

1844. Allg. Zeit. (A.) 1844. Nr. 101, Malta, 25 März; 156, Kairo, 2 Mai; 192, Reise zum Sinai; 238, Wanderung nach Jerusalem; 272, Die Insel Patmos; 273, Von Jerusalem nach Nazareth; 276, Paläologischer Fund; 308, Wanderungen in Constantinopel; 310 (Nov. 5, 1844), Athen, 21 October. This is: Zur Geschichte der Ministerien Maurokordatos und Kolettis. 355, Tischendorf.

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1845. Weihnachtspredigt. Bei seiner Heimkehr aus dem Morgenlande in seiner Vaterstadt Lengenfeld gehalten. Leipzig: Koehler. 8°. pp. 14.

Codex Ephraemi Syri rescriptus. Vol. i. Fragmenta Veteris Testamenti. ff. 4, pp. 11, 177. Plate. 9 Thlr. Vol. ii., the New Testament, was published in 1843; see above.

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I. Die von mir aus dem Oriente im Original mitgebrachten Handschriften, in griechischer, syrischer, koptischer, arabischer, armenischer, äthiopischer, und arabisch-drusischer Sprache, pp. 1–15.

II. Die Bibliothek in Patmos, pp. 15–19. *Jahrb. d. Lit.*, Wien, Bd. cx. 1845, *Anzeige-Blatt*, pp. 1–19.

III. Die Patriarchalbibliothek zu Kairo, pp. 25–30.

IV. Die Bibliothek des Sinaitenklosters zu Kairo, pp. 30–40. Anhang zum ersten Artikel (see I. above), pp. 40–42. *Jahrb. d. Lit.*, Bd. cxii. 1845, *Anz.-Blatt*, pp. 25–42.

1845. *Allg. Zeit.* (A.) 1845. Nr. 2, Besuch bei Mehmed Ali; 4, Jerusalem (these two were in the *Monatblättern*); 92, Leipzig, 15 März; 226, 227, Koptische Klöster; 342, Das heilige Grab.

1846. *Reise in den Orient.* 2 vols. Leipzig, 1846. B. Tauchnitz. 40 sheets. 3 Thlr. 15 Ngr. Eng. trans. by Shuckard, W. L. "Travels in the East." London, 1847. 8°. pp. xvi, 287.

Monumenta Sacra Inedita sive reliquiae antiquissimae textus Novi Test. Gr. ex novem plus mille annorum codicibus per Europam dispersis. Lipsiae: B. Tauchnitz. 4°. pp. 29 (1), 431. 3 Plates: 18 Thlr.

Codex Friderico-Augustanus sive Fragmenta Veteris Test. e cod. Graeco omnium qui in Europa supersunt facile antiquissimo. In oriente detexit in patriam attulit ad modum codicis ed. C. T. Lipsiae: Koehler. Fol. pp. 23, ff. 43. 32 Thlr. This is the set of 43 leaves of the Codex Sinaiticus, which leaves were found in 1844.

Das feste christliche Herz mitten in den kirchlichen Bewegungen der Gegenwart. Predigt am 6. Trinitatissonntag 1846 in der Universitätskirche zu Leipzig gehalten. Leipzig: B. Tauchnitz. 8°. pp. 15.

Rechenschaft über meine, etc.

V. Die Bibliothek des St. Katharinenklosters am Fusse des Sinai. *Jahrb. d. Lit.*, Bd. cxiv. 1856, *Anzeige-Blatt*, pp. 45-58.

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- Allg. Zeit. (A.)** 1868. Nr. 23, Leipzig; 57, Novum Testamentum; 327, Ueber Schleiermacher; 334, Zur Schleiermacher Feier.
- 1869. Monumenta Sacra Inedita. Nova Collectio. Vol. vi. Apocalypsis et Actus Apostolorum** cum quarti Maccabaeorum libri fragmento, item quattuor evangeliorum reliquiae. Ex duobus codd. palimpsesti. fere et sexti saec. altero Porphyrii episcopi, altero Guelferbyitano. Lipsiae: Hinrichs. 4°. pp. xvii, f. 1, pp. 340. Plate. 16 Thlr.

1869. N. T. Gr. Ad antiquiss. testes denuo rec. apparatus crit. omni studio perfectum apposuit commentat. isagog. praetextuit C.T. Editio viii. critica maior. Vol. i. [Evv.] 1869. pp. 968. 6 Thlr. 5 Gr. Vol. ii. [Act.—Apoc.] 1872. pp. 1044. Lipsiae: Giesecke et Devrient. The temporary preface and "Notantur interim," are in Vol. i. pp. xx, Vol. ii. pp. (3). In a list of his writings made after he was sick, the statement was made "Vol. iii., Prolegomena, appears in the summer of 1874." Dr. Oscar Gebhardt is now working at these Prolegomena (August, 1875).

The New Testament. The authorised English Version; with Introduction, and various Readings from the three most celebrated Manuscripts of the original Greek Text. Leipzig: B. Tauchnitz. sq. 16°. pp. xvi, 414 (1). Plate. (Published at Christmas, 1868). 16 Ngr. 45,000 copies sold in the first year.

Die Aechtheit unserer Evangelien. Vortrag zu Bremen gehalten. Gotha: Perthes. pp. 28. English translation: "Are our Gospels Genuine, or not?" By T. J. Ormerod, Norwich, Eng., 1869. 8°. pp. 28.

Appendix Novi Testam. Vatican. Inest Apocalypsis ex cod. unciali Vatic. 2066. cum supplementis et emendationibus N. T. Vatican. Item illustratur editio cod. Vat. Romana nuperrima. Lipsiae: Giesecke et Devrient. 4°. pp. xviii, 20. 15 Ngr.

Conlatio critica cod. Sin. cum textu Elseviriano, Vatic. quoque cod. ratione habita. Lipsiae: Mendelssohn. pp. xxii, 109. 15 Ngr.

Monumenta Sacra Inedita. Nova Collectio. Vol. iv. Psalterium Turicense purpureum septimi fere saeculi addito Danihelis libro ex cod. Prophetarum Marchaliano nunc Vaticano VI. vel VII. saeculi. Lipsiae: Hinrichs. 4°. pp. xxiii, 296. Plate. 16 Thlr.

Allg. Zeit. (A.) 1869. Nr. 178, Leipzig; 346, Mariendogma.

1870. Responsa ad calumnias Romanas. Lipsiae: Brockhaus. 8°. pp. 54. 10 Ngr. Dated Oct. 31, 1869. It will be noticed that this is the Reformation Anniversary.

Monumenta Sacra Inedita. Nova Collectio. Vol. ix. Codex Laudianus sive Actus Apostolorum Gr. et Lat. ex cod. olim Laudiano iam Bodleiano sexti fere saeculi. Addita sunt nonnulla ex celebri cod. Prophetarum Marchaliano Vaticano. Lipsiae: Hinrichs. 4°. pp. xxxiv (1), 248. Plate. 16 Thlr.

1871. Die Sinaibibel. Ihre Entdeckung, Herausgabe und Erwerbung. Nebst 2 Tafeln. Leipzig: Giesecke und Devrient. 8°. ff. 2, pp. 93. 24 Ngr.

Allg. Zeit. (A.) 1871. Nr. 191, 192, Synode.

1872. Die evangel. Alliance-Deputation an Kaiser Alexander zu Friedrichshafen. Zur Abwehr der groben Entstellungen und Verleumdungen des Herrn v. Wurstenberger. Leipzig: Brockhaus. pp. x, 40. 8 Ngr.

- 1872. N. T. Graece.** Ad antiquissimos testes denuo recensuit C. de T. Editio critica minor ed. viii. maiore desumpta. Lipsiae. 1872. Vol. i. 8°. f. 1, pp. 608.
- Allg. Zeit. (A.) 1872.** Nr. 181, Serailsbibliothek.
- 1873. Clementis Romani epistulae.** Ad ipsius cod. Alexandrini fidem ac modum repetitis curis ed. C. de T. Lipsiae: Hinrichs. 4°. pp. xx., 44. Plate. 3 Thlr. First edition in the App. Codd. celeberrim., etc. 1867.
- Haben wir den ächten Schrifttext der Evangelisten und Apostel?** Leipzig: Giesecke und Devrient. 8°. pp. 25 (1). Plate. 15 Ngr. Translated by W. A. Smith in *Presbyterian Quarterly* and *Princeton Review*, Oct. 1874.
- Biblia sacra Latina Veteris Testam. Hieronymo interprete ex antiquissima auctoritate in stichos descripta.** Vulgatam lectionem ex editione Clementina principe a. MDXCII et Romana ultima a. MDCCCLXI repetitam testimonium comitatur codicis Amiatini Latinorum omnium antiquissimi. Editionem instituit suasore Chr. Car. Josia de Bunsen Th. Heyse, ad finem perduxit C. de T. Cum tabula. Lipsiae: Brockhaus. 1. 8°. pp. lxxii, 991. 5 Thlr. 10 Ngr.
- N. T. Gr.** Ad editionem suam viii. crit. maiorem conformavit, lectionibusque Sinaiticis et Vaticanis item Elzevirianis instruxit C. de T. Lipsiae: Brockhaus. 8°. pp. xxxii, 419.
- 1874. Liber Psalmorum** Hebr. atque Lat. ab Hieronymo ex Hebraeo conversus. Consociata opera edd. C. de Tischendorf, S. Baer, Fr. Delitzsch. Lipsiae: Brockhaus. 8°. pp. xvi, 190.

The following works were in preparation for publication :

Monumenta Sacra Inedita. Nova collectio. Vol. vii. (Chrysostomi cod. Guelferbytanus vi. fere p. Chr. saeculi, cum aliis Chrysostomi fragmentis uncialibus). Vol. viii. (Reliquiae textus sacri utriusque ex pluribus codd. palimps. aliisque veterrimis). — N. T. Gr. Editio viii. crit. maior. Vol. iii. (Prolegomena). — N. T. Gr. Editio viii. crit. minor. Vol. ii. — **Evangelia apocrypha.** Editio ii. — De evangeliorum apocr. similiumque librorum origine et usu. — Reliquiae Graecarum litterarum antiquissimae sive Menandri, Euripidis, Cassii Dionis fragmenta ex membranis iv. et v. saeculi. Item fragmenta grammatica ex foliis palimpsestis saec. vii. — **Palaeographia Graeca.** Cum tabulis plus centum form. maximae, etc.

It may be of interest to know how Tischendorf counted his editions: I. 1841, Leipzig; II. III. 1842, Paris; IV. 1849, Leipzig; V. 1850, 1862, 1873, Leipzig; Tauchnitz; VI. 1854, 1855, 1857, 1858, 1861, 1864, 1867, 1870, 1873, 1875 (Triglott and academic), Leipzig: Mendelssohn; VII. 1859, mai. et min.; VIII. 1869–1872, mai. et min. (not complete).