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## Some Notes on the Verse-Division of the New Testament.

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THE first New Testament that is known to contain the modern system of verses is the edition of Robert Stephen of 1551, printed, as is supposed, at Geneva. The volume (or pair of volumes, for it is sometimes divided) is a collector's rarity, on account of the peculiar position which it occupies in the history of the printed text of the New Testament. Copies are sometimes found dated MDXLI. instead of MDLL.; the one in my possession actually has the X erased in the middle of the date.

Photograph 1 is a representation of its title-page. From this we are advised that the book contains the New Testament (in Greek) with two translations, one being that of Erasmus, and the other from the Vulgate. There is also a *Harmonia Evangelica* (wanting in my copy) and a copious index, the latter being taken from some early printed Latin Bible. When we turn to the text, we find that the Greek stands between the Vulgate and the Erasmic renderings, marked at the top of the pages by V. and E. respectively, the arrangement being such that the Vulgate has always the inner place, the Erasmic the outer; and between the Greek and the Erasmic stand the verse-numerations in a column by themselves. Stephen has printed the Vulgate in a smaller type<sup>1</sup> than that of the Erasmic, and it is evident that it was looked upon with less liking. He says, however, in the preface to the reader that he did not think the old version (*i.e.* the Vulgate) was to be contemned; first, because in many places it seemed to be the equivalent of a very early Greek exemplar; second, because it was so rooted in the memory of men, that it could hardly be plucked up; and third, because by a comparison of the versions

<sup>1</sup> A peculiarity which appears already in the 4th Erasmus edition of 1527, where the order is Gk.—Erasm.—Vulg., and the Vulg. is in smaller type. It appears in the same form in the 6th Erasmus of 1541.

ΑΓΙΑ ΤΑ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΙΝΗΣ  
*διαθήκης.*

NOUUM IESV Christi D. N.  
Testamentum.

Cum duplici interpretatione, D. Erasmi, & Veteris  
interpretis: Harmonia item Evangelica, &  
copioso Indice.



Ex officinā Roberti Stephani

M. D. L. I.

Stephen, New Testament of 1551.

with the text, a moderate Greek scholar could readily catch the force of the Greek words. It seems rather strange to us that a strife for existence should have raged between the Vulgate and the Erasmic translation, and that the latter should almost have killed off the former; yet something like this was the case, and when the Erasmic translation ceased to find favor, it yielded the field not to the Vulgate, but to a successor, apparently sprung from its own loins, the version of Theodore Beza. Although this version also has well nigh passed into oblivion, it was, until quite recently, the chosen Latin text of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which did not venture to print the Vulgate, from a fear of the resuscitation of ancient strifes that have been associated with certain of its renderings.<sup>2</sup>

Now with regard to the Greek text we do not need to say much; it is taken, with slight modifications, from the famous royal edition of the previous year 1550.<sup>3</sup> The marginal references have also been taken over from some previous Latin text, but with this modification, that whereas in the earlier editions, the references were made to the chapters and *letters* (under which the chapters were subdivided), the references in the edition of 1551 are by chapters, letters, and *verses*. So that if on the margin of Matt. i. in 1550 we find

Λουκ. γ. Ε  
Γεν. κβ. Δ  
καὶ κε Δ  
Γεν. κθ. Δ  
καὶ λη. Η  
etc.

we shall find on the margin of 1551, not necessarily taken from St.<sup>1550</sup>, but either from that or some early Latin text,

Luc. 3. e. 24  
Gen. 22. a. 1  
Gen. 25. d. 24  
Gen. 29. d. 35  
Gen. 38. g. 27  
etc.

We must pay some attention to these, because they may assist us in identifying editions which are based upon the Stephen of 1551, or in finding the Latin copy from which the Stephen of 1551 was set up. It should also be noticed that the 1551 edition contains references to an Evangelical Harmony, concerning which something needs to be said; and also that it contains a few references, where some other passage of the special book is quoted, under the form *infra* and *supra*, where the 1550 edition says only κεφ. For instance, we find over against

Matt. 7<sup>1</sup> the reference Har. i. 34: and over against  
Acts 7<sup>48</sup> the words *Infrà* 17. f. 24 where ed. 1550 has only κεφ. ιζ. Ζ.,

which means that a similar sentiment will be found in Acts 17<sup>24</sup>.

A comparison with early printed Latin Bibles, such as the Stephen

<sup>2</sup> Such, for example, as "*agite poenitentiam*" and "*ipsa conteret caput tuum.*"

<sup>3</sup> As Mr. Hoskier points out, it follows the 1550 edition in peculiar blunders.

of 1528, shows that these *infra* and *supra* notes come from the margins of a Latin Bible. Returning now to the leading peculiarity of this edition, *viz.* the verse-numbering, we find that there has been a good deal of discussion as to its origin. The best treatment of the subject is the tract of Ezra Abbot which is incorporated with Gregory's Prolegomena to Tischendorf (pp. 167-182). From it we learn that Tischendorf and Reuss found the origin of the Stephanic verses in a Latin Vulgate published by Stephen in 1548, but that De Wette and Keil correct this to 1558, which rules out the idea of the priority of the Latin. As, however, there was no Stephen Vulgate published in 1548, and, as we shall see presently, the numeration of the verses is found in earlier Latin texts than 1558, we may set these statements aside. Others have suggested that the Latin division occurs in the Stephen Vulgate of 1545, or in that of 1557. We shall see whether there is anything to be said in support of these suggestions.

It has been noted by Abbot that in Acts 24 there is a double numeration of the verses, as follows (p. 447 *verso*):<sup>4</sup>

Erasmus.    <sup>19</sup>    Τινὲς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς 'Α-    Vulgate.  
                  <sub>20</sub>    σίας 'Ιουδαίων, οὓς δεῖ ἐπι

The obvious explanation of this is that a verse has been lost, nor is it difficult to find the missing verse, which is actually extant, with the right numbering, in the Sixtine Vulgate of 1590, though it is omitted in the Clementine Vulgate of 1592. It reads thus: *et apprehenderunt me clamantes et dicentes: Tolle inimicum nostrum*. The fact that the passage is in the Sixtine Vulgate would be a sufficient intimation of its currency in earlier printed Vulgates, and as a matter of fact, it will be found in the Stephen Vulgate of 1545 and 1555, to say nothing of other editions. Here, then, we find that a famous early Western reading in the Acts has deranged the verse-numeration. The suggestion is obvious, that the verses must have been marked upon an early copy of the Vulgate, before they came to be marked in the 1551 Stephen. The Greek is excluded as a first-marked copy, because the gloss or reading is not extant in Greek, and the Erasmus translation is also excluded, on the ground that it follows the Greek.

For confirmation of this theory, we pass on to Professor Nestle's

<sup>4</sup> See plate 2.

redens omnibus  
quæ in Legge &  
Prophetis scripta  
sunt,

Spem habes in  
Deum, fore quæ  
schiliphi expectat  
refurrectionem  
mortuorum, iu-  
storum simul &  
Injustorum.

Quia in hoc de  
Iudeo studeo sine  
offensu tuo con-  
scientiam habere  
erga Deum, &  
erga homines sem-  
per.

Post annos au-  
tem plures accesi-  
si eleemosynas  
exhibere in gæ-  
stam meam, & o-  
blationes:

In quibus con-  
fiteor me purifi-  
cavi in templo,  
hanc enim turba,  
meque cum tumultu.

Quid autem ex A-  
thei iudei, quos o-  
portebat apud te  
presto esse, & ac-  
cusare, si quid habe-  
reus adversum me  
aut hi ipsi di-  
cant, si quid depre-  
henderant in me

πιστεύων πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὸ  
νόμον καὶ τοῖς προφῆταις  
γραμμύτοις,

15 Ἐλπίζω ἔχων εἰς τὸν  
Θεόν, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐπι-  
στέουσιν ἄλλον, ἵνα σώσῃ  
μὴ μόνον ἐπιδαμνευμένων,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ δικαιοσύνην.

16 Ἐν τούτοις ἵκωμαι ἀ-  
σφαλῶς, ἀποδοκίματον συνεί-  
δησιν ἔχων πρὸς τὸν Θεόν  
καὶ πρὸς ἀθρώπους δια-  
κωνεύων.

17 Διὰ τῶν δὲ πλειόνων  
παραστήσαντων ἐλεημοσύ-  
νας ποιῆσαι εἰς τὸ ἔθνος  
μου, & ὑποδοκίματον.

18 Ἐν οἷς εὐρόν μου ἠγι-  
ομένην ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, αὐμὲν  
ὄχλον, οὐδ' αὐμὲν θορυβόν.

19 Τινὲς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Α-  
θείας Ἰουδαίων, οὓς δὲ ἐπι-  
στέουσιν παρρησίᾳ, & καταγο-  
ρεῖν, εἰ πᾶσι ἔχουσιν πρὸς μου.

20 Ἡ αὐτοὶ αὐτοὶ εἰπα-  
ντων εἰ πᾶσι εὐρόν ἐν ἑμοί

meo, creditis  
omnibus quæ  
in Legge &  
Prophetis  
scripta sunt,

Spem ha-  
bens in Deo,  
quæ et hi ipsi  
expectant, re-  
surrectionem  
mortuorum in-  
justorum & ius-  
torum.

In hoc de  
Iudeo studeo  
sine offensi-  
culo conscientiam  
habere  
ad Deum, &  
ad homines  
semper.

Post an-  
nos plures  
accesi-  
si in gæstam  
meam, & ob-  
lationes.

In quibus  
confiteor  
me purifi-  
cavi in templo,  
hanc enim turba,  
meque cum  
tumultu.

Quid autem  
ex Athei Iudei,  
quos oportebat  
apud te pre-  
sto esse, & ac-  
cusare, si quid  
haberes adver-  
sum me  
aut hi ipsi  
dicant, si quid  
invenierant

capitulum 23

capitulum 23

veritas in qua  
serui sunt de-  
illo.

Tu vero mi  
credideris si  
lib: in diuina  
tus enim et  
ex eis vult  
amplius quod  
quodraginta  
qui se deus  
dicunt non  
manducare  
neque biber-  
re, donec in-  
ferantur etc.

Tristitia  
igitur diuini  
et adolefco-  
rum, praeci-  
pue etiam  
oquuntur  
propter hanc  
iura dei fr-  
idit.

Et conuo-  
ctis duobus  
sacerdotibus  
in diuina il-  
ludate mi-  
sera ducenti-  
do, ut eam  
suo Casp-  
re, et equi-  
p. Scriba-  
re, et in  
actis de-  
bitis, et in  
hanc co-  
let.

Et sumen-  
preparat-

et, ut impo-  
nentes Pau-  
lum, eum sal-  
uē perducen-  
te ad felici  
praesidem,  
scripsit epi-  
stolam con-  
tinentē hęc.  
Claudio Ly-  
das optimo  
praesidi Felici  
salutem.

Virū hunc  
comprehen-  
sum ē in-  
datis, et incli-  
pientem in-  
terfū ab eis,  
superuenit  
eum exerci-  
tu, scripsit, eo  
gusto quia  
hanc est.

Volensque  
scire causam  
quam obli-  
cabant illi,  
dedit eum  
in tribunal  
eorum.

Quem  
non accusat  
et de qua-  
si alibi, lo-  
gicis propterea,  
ubi vult et  
gnum mor-  
te non vincti  
ho habetiam  
vitios.

Et quam  
nulli prece-

ἵνα ἐπιβιβάσασθης πρὸς  
Γαῦλον διασώσωσι πρὸς  
Φίλικα τὸν ἡγεμόνα.

Γράψας ἑπιστολὴν πρὸς  
εἰχούσαι τὸν τύπον τοῦ  
τον. Κλαύδιος Λιδίας τῆς  
κρατίστῃ ἡγεμόνι Φίλικῃ  
χαίρειν.

Τὸν ἄνδρα, τῷ τῆσιν σου  
ληφθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν Λου-  
δαίων, καὶ μάλιστά τι ἀνα-  
ρεῖσαι ὑπὸ αὐτῶν, βάν-  
τας σὺ τῆς στρατιᾶς  
ἐκπομπῆν αὐτῶν, μαθὼν  
ὅτι ῥωμαῖός ἐστι.

Βουλόμενος δὲ γινῶσθαι  
τινὲς αἰτίαι δι' ἧσιν ἐκεί-  
λων αἰτιῶν, κατήγαγον  
αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ σιμβόλιον  
αὐτῶν.

Οἱ αὐτοὺς ἔκκαλούμε-  
νον ἀπὸ ὑπὸ μᾶται τὸ τὸ  
μου αὐτῶν, μηδὲν δὲ ἄ-  
ξιόν ἐστι αὐτοῦ ἢ δεσμῶν  
ἢ καμίας ἔχοντα.

Μίωθις δὲ μοι 30

te, ut impo-  
nentes Pau-  
lum, saluam  
perducant ad  
felicem praesidem

Scriptis literis  
in hac forma.  
Claudio Lydas  
potentissimo pra-  
sidi Felici salutē.

Virū hunc com-  
prehensum ē in-  
datis, quum iam  
esset interficien-  
dus ab eis, super-  
uenienti eum ex-  
ercitu, scripsit, co-  
gnito quod Ro-  
manus esset.

Volensque sci-  
re causā ob qua  
accusaret illum,  
deduxi illum in  
cōcilium eorum.

Quem compo-  
ri accusari de qua  
itionibus Legis-  
pforum, nullū di-  
gnum morte aut  
vinctulis habentē  
crimen.

Et quū indicatū

Stephen, New Testament of 1551.

recent discovery that there is another case of such double numeration in the preceding chapter (Acts 23<sup>25/26</sup>, p. 445 *recto*) as follows:

Vulgate.	Γράψας ἐπιστολὴν πε- <sup>25</sup> ριέχουσαν τὸν τύπον τοῦ- τον· Κλαύδιος Λυσίας τῷ κρατίστῳ ἡγεμόνι Φήλικι χαίρειν.	Erasmus.
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Here again there has been the loss of a Latin verse, *viz.* "*Timuit enim ne forte raperent eum Judaei, et occiderent, et ipse postea calumniam sustineret, tanquam accepturus pecuniam.*" This is clearly the missing v.<sup>25</sup>: it is actually extant as the v.<sup>25</sup> in the Clementine Vulgate of 1592 (and in the Sixtine of 1590?); moreover, the Antwerp Polyglot of 1571 expressly says, in printing this verse from the Latin with no counterpart in Greek or Syriac, "*deest 25 versus.*" It appears also in the Vulgate of 1566 as v.<sup>25</sup>, and, no doubt, in many similar places. We have, then, found two cases where the verse-numeration of St.<sup>1551</sup> has been deranged through the use of a previous verse-divided Vulgate text containing glosses.<sup>5</sup> Stephen does not print the glosses, but he preserves their verse-numeration.

We shall now be in a better position to determine the origin of the verses, for we are limited to the Latin Vulgate, and either a printed edition has been taken and marked for office copy, or else an edition of the Latin Vulgate has actually been issued before 1551 with the Stephanic enumeration. Now against the second of these suppositions, there are a number of adverse considerations: in the first place, the probability is that such an edition, if it ever existed, would be one of Stephen's own; and perhaps this would lend some color to Tischendorf's statement that the verses first appeared in the Stephen Vulgate of 1548. There is, however, no such Stephen edition. There is, indeed, a Lyons Vulgate of 1548, but it has no enumeration; although, as might have been expected, the glosses to which we have referred are in its text. There is no trace that I know of in the Lyons Bibles of the time of the existence of such verses: the Lyons Vulgate of 1553 has the glosses, but not the numbers; the Lyons French text of 1551 is equally destitute of enumeration; so are the Lyons French of 1556, and the Lyons Italian of 1551. These considerations make powerfully against the belief that the Lyons

<sup>5</sup> These glosses are found in the Vulgate columns of the 4th edition of Erasmus of 1527 and in the 6th edition of 1541.



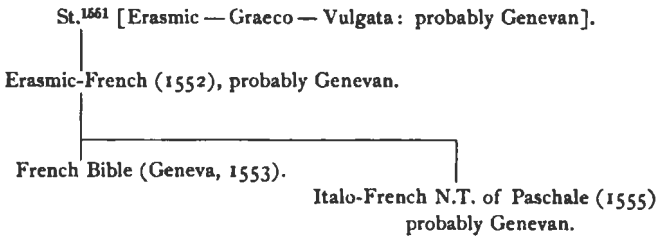
Vulgate of 1548 is the *fons et origo versuum Stephanicorum*. Nor has any other Vulgate text been found, printed before 1551, which contains the verses. For example, the Paris Vulgate of 1549 has no verse divisions nor enumeration, though it has the glosses, which are obelized: neither are there any divisions or numeration in the Paris Vulgate of 1552. Until some copy is produced of a printed Vulgate with verse-numeration earlier than 1551, we must fall back upon our other alternative supposition, *viz.* that a Vulgate has been taken and marked as a printer's copy to be used in setting up the edition of 1551. We will see whether anything can be done in the way of identifying this copy.

First of all, let us try to find out something about the printed Greek Testaments and translations which derive their arrangement from Stephen of 1551.

I have before me the French-Italian edition of the blessed martyr<sup>6</sup> Giovanni Luigi Paschale, published in 1555, and, as is supposed, at Geneva. It has the verses numbered, and is evidently based on St.<sup>1551</sup>. He expressly says in his preface that he has taken over the Stephanic verses: "*Habbiam poi voluto aiutar la memoria di quelli che volentieri s' esercitano in questa santa lettione, si per poter piu facilmente riscontrare insieme passo per passo l' una e l' altra traduzione, stamparle cosi distinte per versati, secondo il compartimento di Roberto Stefano.*" The language is based upon Stephen's own preface. Moreover, he takes to his own margin all the matter in the Stephen margin, with the exception of the references to the Harmony; and uses *Disopra* and *Disotto* to translate the *Infra* and *Supra*, which we have seen above to be a feature, though not a peculiar feature, of the Stephen of 1551. Thus in Matt. 3<sup>7</sup> the marginal note of Paschale, Disot. 23. a. 34, is meant for *Infra*, 23. d. 34, of Stephen, unless it can be shown to come from some previous Latin text. Now this Franco-Italian New Testament appears to have an intermediate link with St.<sup>1551</sup>, for Paschale is not responsible for the French. He found that, as I suppose, in the French Stephen of 1552, which also had the numbered verses, and had in all probability (for I have not seen it) corrected the wrong versing of the two glosses in the Acts in the same way as Paschale corrects it, by pushing the verses forward until the end of the chapter. Now this French Stephen, which we assume to lie between St.<sup>1551</sup> and the Italian French Stephen of 1555, is in reality a double text; it is

<sup>6</sup> Burnt in Rome in 1560.

French-Erasmic. Apparently, then, it is a bilingual text arrived at by taking the Stephen of 1551, discarding the Vulgate, and translating either the Erasmic or the Greek. The French text in Paschale's New Testament follows Erasmus so closely as to print in a smaller character the small-type expansions of the Erasmic text. This copy is followed, no doubt, by the French Genevese Bible of 1553. All these copies are, in fact, to be referred to Geneva. The system of verses is, then, Genevan in origin, appearing first in what we may call the trilingual of 1551, and from thence passing to the other editions, as follows :



To Geneva, also, must be referred the first English New Testament in verses, *viz.* the Whittingham of 1557. While, then, there is no evidence for a number of years of the printing of verse-divided Bibles and Testaments elsewhere than at Geneva, there is abundant suggestion that at Geneva verse-divided texts had become the fashion. And a number of such printed texts are seen to be directly derived from the Stephen of 1551.

It follows from the foregoing that in examining for Latin Vulgates divided into verses, and making a study of their genealogy, we must be careful in every case to eliminate such as may be derived directly from the Latin columns of St.<sup>1551</sup>.

For example, suppose we take the famous Stephen Latin New Testament of 1556/7, which is also the first Bezan text. The text of this volume is double, the place of honor and the preëminence of large type being given to Beza's own *Nova Tralatio*, while the Vulgate is on the margin in smaller letters just as in the Stephen of 1551. This text is derived from St.<sup>1551</sup> by removing the Greek and revising the Erasmic. Look for example at the first page of Matthew, where the margin shows

1 Para. 2. a. 5  
ruth 4. 6. 18,

and the Bezan edition has even followed the printing of *ruth* with a small 'r.'<sup>7</sup> Then look at the spelling of Ozias in v.<sup>9</sup>, where Beza follows Erasmus in spelling Hozias. Evidently the Vulgate-Beza text is derived from St.<sup>1551</sup> by omitting the Greek, and reforming the Erasmic. Notice, again, how persistent is the contempt for the Vulgate.

The verse-division is in this Stephen-Beza of 1556/57, but it can only be referred to the St.<sup>1551</sup> and not to any previously existing Latin Bible. And this conclusion is confirmed by the fact that it has the traces of the glosses to which we have been referring, in the shape of the double numeration which characterizes St.<sup>1551</sup>.<sup>8</sup>

Coming now to a slightly earlier date, we find two volumes that must be carefully examined; *viz.* the Stephen Vulgate of 1555, and a Stephen commentary on the Gospels of 1553. Of these the former is said by Abbot to be the first Latin Bible divided into verses. It is, like the other volumes which we have been discussing, a Geneva edition.<sup>9</sup> What is remarkable about it is that the text is *not* broken up into verses; at the same time it has the verse-numeration inserted in the body of the text. The first fact shows that it is not likely to have been set up from the Latin column of 1551; the second fact may be used to prove that its verse-numeration was taken from St.<sup>1551</sup> directly. For look at the glosses from which our argument proceeds; they are in the text, though wanting in Stephen, but they are numbered as follows:

Acts 23 . . . . . ¶ 25 et 26 Ti-  
muit enim ne forte raperent eum Judaci  
et occiderent etc.

Acts 24 . . . . . ¶ 19 et 20 Et  
apprehenderunt me, clamantes et dicentes,  
Tolle inimicum nostrum Quidam autem ex  
etc.

<sup>7</sup> I find this small 'r' in the Lyons Vulgate of 1548: *eg.* 1 par. 2. b ruth. 4. d.

<sup>8</sup> Beza has a note on Acts 24<sup>19</sup> which betrays his knowledge of the lost gloss, as follows:

"*Neque cum tumultu, μήτε μετά θορόβου. In nonnullis exemplaribus Vulgatae editionis subiiciuntur ista quae in nullis Graecis codicibus invenimus, Et apprehenderunt me, clamantes et dicentes, tolle inimicum nostrum, καὶ ἐκράτησάν με κράζοντες, καὶ λέγοντες, αἶρε τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἡμῶν.*"

<sup>9</sup> It has no mark of place, but on the title-page "*Oliva Roberti Stephani, M.D.LV.;*" what might seem, at first sight, to make against Geneva is the colophon, which shows that it was not directly or wholly Stephanic: "*excudebat Roberto Stephano Conradus Badius, anno M.D.LV. viii. idus aprilis.*"

... et illis dicitur, viant ofque Carit...  
... et in eadem pagina de sancto...  
... et in eadem pagina de sancto...  
... et in eadem pagina de sancto...

O Illud dicit enim in eborilium...  
... et in eadem pagina de sancto...  
... et in eadem pagina de sancto...

A Non quinque accepit...  
... et in eadem pagina de sancto...  
... et in eadem pagina de sancto...

B Non pro tua clementia...  
... et in eadem pagina de sancto...  
... et in eadem pagina de sancto...

... et in eadem pagina de sancto...  
... et in eadem pagina de sancto...  
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These verses cannot have been taken from a verse-numbered Vulgate, for in that case <sup>23</sup> and <sup>26</sup>, <sup>19</sup> and <sup>20</sup>, would not have been run together; the verses have been taken from St.<sup>1551</sup>, and have been inserted in the body of a Latin exemplar which was destitute of them.

This is very strong ground for disbelieving in the existence of any Stephanically numbered text of the Latin Vulgate at any earlier date than 1555, for surely, if such a printed text had been extant, other than that contained in St.<sup>1551</sup> and its descendants, such a text would have been used as copy for the Vulgate of 1555. We infer, then, that the verse-numbered Vulgate which was used in St.<sup>1551</sup> had disappeared. Probably it was merely used as copy and destroyed.

From what source, then, was the text of the Latin Stephen of 1555 taken? We can answer this question: it was taken from the Paris Stephen of 1545, and was set up with the very same types and in direct imitation of this edition. The only difference is a very slight reduction in the length of the lines and pages.

Now, on examining this edition of 1545, we find that it is not a simple Vulgate text; it is a double text composed of the Erasmic and Vulgate versions in parallel columns. More curious still, the Erasmic has the outside place, exactly as in the Stephen of 1551.

Now it seems likely that St.<sup>1551</sup> was produced by setting up the Greek text of St.<sup>1550</sup> in the midst of an already existing Erasmic-Vulgate text. For it would be very awkward to set up from three exemplars at once. The Erasmic-Vulgate being to hand in the edition of 1545, we suggest that it was made into copy for St.<sup>1551</sup>, the verses being numbered probably on the margin. This copy having disappeared, a new text of the Vulgate was printed from the 1545 edition, with the verses inserted from the edition of 1551, and the margins brought up to agreement with the same edition. This edition of 1555 takes the place of the lost copy of 1545 from which the printers had worked in making the edition of 1551.

We will conclude the inquiry by a few references to a still earlier Latin text of the Gospels divided into verses. There is extant a volume printed by Stephen in 1553 entitled, *In Evangelium secundum Matthaicum Marcum et Lucam Commentarii ex Ecclesiasticis Scriptoribus Collecti*. It is probably the volume to which Stephen refers in the preface to the 1551 edition, when he says: *His igitur interim fruere, Lector, ut illarum annotationum, quas assiduo cursu persequimur, desiderium lenius feras. Vale.* In this work the verses are (1) separated, (2) numbered. Moreover, the text is again double, but with this difference that this time the large print is the Vulgate and

the small print the Erasmic. The Vulgate was, in fact, forced into the place of honor by its greater likeness to the text that underlies the commentaries quoted by Stephen.

The first three Gospels are followed by an abbreviation of the Evangelical Harmony of Osiander; Stephen had printed this at Paris in 1545. The present abbreviated reprint has the chapters and *verses* of the Evangelists employed in each section indicated in a short preface, so that here also we come across the Stephanic verses. And the volume concludes with the Gospel of John (Vulgate and Erasmic as in the previous Gospels) with the commentary of John Calvin. As far, then, as the Gospels are concerned we have a Latin New Testament in 1553 with verses divided and numbered.

Before leaving this somewhat tentative examination of a difficult problem in the genealogy of texts and editions, it may not be out of place to make some remarks with regard to the two glosses that served as our waymarks in our search after the verse-numbered Latin text.

The gloss in Acts 24<sup>19</sup> appears to be inserted in order to relieve the harshness of the construction in the Greek *Τινὲς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἰουδαῖοι*, where the verb is wanting: if then we drop the "et" at the beginning of the gloss, and imagine a copy in which the text stood as follows with a marginal reading:

*Quidam autem ex apprehenderunt me  
Asia Judaei, quos clamantes et  
oportebat etc. dicentes; Tolle  
inimicum nostrum:*

we shall see ground for believing that the marginal gloss has got into the wrong place in the text, before *quidam . . . Judaei* instead of after. This misplacement of the Western readings in Acts has been suspected in other cases, and is a strong reason against believing that they are an original feature of the Old-Latin texts in which they are found so displaced.

On the other hand, with regard to this particular gloss, we ought to recognize (a) its antiquity; (b) its possible Lucanity. It is (a) an ancient gloss because of the feeling it expresses of hostility between Paul and the Jews and the language in which it expresses that feeling. A late glossator would hardly have known that the Jews called Paul "our enemy." Nor is there any expression in the Acts containing that statement which could furnish the material for an assimilation of the text. Hence the matter must be either original or at least so early as to have caught the spirit of the time

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 scribitur. sed superueniens tribus Lyca  
 cui magis et imitari eam et multis uoluerit  
 uentis uoluerit et ad se uenire et quo potius  
 ipse inquisitione facta de omnibus illis cognosce  
 re, de quibus nos excusamus. Adhuc non ad  
 de Iudai, dicitur hic ut se habere. *Et respondit*  
 autem Paulus, quum annuisset ipse praeferri in illi  
 coetu. Ad quare ait nos pro scripto ceterum di  
 citur de scilicet, ut uultis si uultis uultis se  
 ad huc, qui postea cognoscere et non plures sunt  
 michi dies, et duodecim est quo ad nos adorata  
 rite Hierosolyma i. et neq in templo comperit  
 me est aliquo disputatum. aut contrarium scien  
 tem turba, neq in synagogis, neq in ciuitate  
 inuenerunt. *Et postquam dixit haec, abiit et con  
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 Paulus ergo cum uenisset in proniciam, post  
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 et postea cum iudicibus sacerdotibus, et primis  
 doctoribus aduersus Paulum et rogantibus eum, po  
 stquam petitis concessis eum, ut haberet precia  
 ei sapienter uteretur. In illis diebus ut in iere  
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Stephen, Erasmus Vulgate of 1545.



when the history was composed. For it is clear that they actually did call St. Paul "the enemy." Compare the appeal of Paul to the Galatians (Gal. 4<sup>16</sup>) ὥστε ἐχθρὸς ὑμῶν γέγονα ἀληθεύων ὑμῖν; and remark how the watchword has colored the Clementine Homilies, where, under the figure of a conflict between Peter and Simon Magus, the struggle between the Peter party and the Paul party is pictorially set forth; e.g. Clem. Hom. i. 18, "For if he (Simon) were known, he would not be believed; and though his deeds are those of a hater, he is loved; and *though an enemy*, he is received as a friend," and in the prologue to the Homilies, which is called the Epistle of Peter to James, we find the statement that "some from amongst the Gentiles have rejected my legal preaching, attaching themselves to certain lawless and trifling preaching of the man *who is my enemy*."

There need, then, be no hesitation in affirming that Paul was described by the Jews as "our enemy," and in this respect the gloss bears the semblance of antiquity and verisimilitude. Yet, as we have said, the evidence is against its having been part of the original Latin text.

As to the other passage, Acts 23<sup>28</sup>, it is so awkward an insertion, that it makes it almost impossible to construe the words γράψας ἐπιστολήν κτέ., which are now far removed from their apposition. Accordingly the gloss is thrown into a parenthesis in the Clementine Vulgate, so as to ease the construction. I am not, however, quite sure whether this parenthesis is editorial in the authorized Vulgate, or whether it is a survival of the marks of obelization with which the sentences are surrounded in earlier printed Latin Bibles. It seems, however, pretty clear that in the Latin the words have come into the text from without, i.e. either from the margin, or (which is not inconsistent with that supposition) by translation from some other language. It is interesting to observe how, in questions of textual criticism, all roads lead to the origin of the much-debated Western readings.