

'secunda' in all cases within square brackets, as being, if not certainly unauthentic, at least not certainly authentic¹.

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FURTHER NOTES ON THE MSS OF ISIDORE OF PELUSIUM.

THE following notes and indices are the results of a visit to Grotta Ferrata made in accordance with a grant by Magdalen College during the Long Vacation of 1904. They were rendered possible by the kindness of Mr C. H. Turner, who supplied me with many valuable notes on the subject of Isidore's letters. To save space I shall throughout use the following symbols: G = the Grotta Ferrata MS of Isidore; *G* = the archetype of G, the Vatican and Ottobonian MSS; *S* = the original collection of 2,000 letters made by the Sleepless monks of Constantinople.

1. *The order of the letters in G.*

As Mr Turner pointed out in the last number of the JOURNAL, *S* contained 2,000 letters. According to the note in MS Cassin. 2 these were divided into four books of 500 letters each. No extant MS preserves the whole of *S*; but *G*, which can be reconstructed with certainty, must have done so.

There is no reason to doubt that the order of letters 1-1000 in *G* is an accurate presentation of the order in *S*; but the order of the second thousand must be wrong, as the total is three short of the full number. The problem, therefore, is to discover where the errors occur in *G*. The appended *indices* suggest the following places.

1. *G* omits Migne *P. G.* 78 iii 229, 374, iv 143, 144.
2. *G* passes over 1319 and 1377 in numeration.
3. *G* gives 1783 as the number of two consecutive letters.

But as Mr Turner has mentioned, this points to a total of 2,001, and it is necessary to investigate more closely in order to see which of these errors, suggested by a superficial examination, can be substantiated by collateral evidence, and which of them can be shewn to be merely apparent, for *ex hypothesi* one of them must be so in order to give us the number 2,000.

We have the following criteria:—

1. MS Paris Gr. 832 gives the order of Epp. 1-1213.
2. MS Laud Gr. 42 gives the numbers in *S* of thirty-eight letters on the Psalms (see Index C).

¹ As on other occasions, so here again I have to express my warmest thanks to my friend and old pupil, the Rev. C. Jenkins of New College, whose affectionate diligence has verified all references to Hartel's pages or apparatus in the foregoing paper. Where my readings of A or L differ from Hartel's, the difference may be taken to be due to an error or omission of Hartel's in collating these MSS.

It will be easier to consider the evidence afforded by these criteria by working backwards from the end of the collection.

The last letter in *G* is numbered 1998, and according to the note in MS Cassin. 2 this was the last letter in *S*. If, therefore, there were 2,000 letters in *S*, the numbers in *G* must be increased by *two* in order to correspond with those of *S*.

This is supported by MS Laud Gr. 42, which gives the following equations:—

<i>Laud Gr. 42</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>Migne P. G. 78</i>
1906	1904	iv 107
1968 (l. 1868)	1866	iv 112

This confirms the suggestion that *G*'s 1998 is *S*'s 2000, and incidentally shews that MS Laud Gr. 42 is derived from *S* independently of *G*.

But in *G* 1783 is given as the number of both Migne P. G. iv 51 and v 408, therefore *G* 1782 ought to be *S* 1783, and the numbers up to *G* 1783 must be increased by one in order to give the numbers of *S*.

This again is confirmed by the equations found in Laud Gr. 42¹:—

<i>Laud Gr. 42</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>Migne P. G. 78</i>
1718	1717	iv 173
1705	1704	v 359
1597	1596	iv 43
1525	1524	iv 149

In this way *G* 1378 = *S* 1379, but as *G* passes in numeration from 1376 to 1378 omitting 1377, *G* 1376 = *S* 1378, and *G*'s numbers must now be again increased by two in order to give those of *S*.

Once more Laud Gr. 42 confirms this by giving the equation:—

<i>Laud Gr. 42</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>Migne P. G.</i>
1370	1368	iv 161

At this point, however, a difficulty arises. *G* omits 1319 in numeration, which ought to make its numbers up to that point smaller by three units than those of *S*, but Laud Gr. 42 does not confirm this and gives 1308 as the number of the letter, which is 1306 in *G*.

This at first sight seems to suggest that the archetype of the Laudian MS had here the same mistake as is found in *G*; but if we now turn round and examine the numeration of *G* from the beginning it seems clear that this is not the true explanation.

The orders of letters 1-1000 *G* is confirmed by Cod. Paris Gr. 832

¹ Prof. Dr K. Holl of Tübingen has very kindly pointed out to me that MS Coisl. 276 of the *Sacra Parallela* gives on f. 155 the following quotation, 'Ἰσιδώρου Πλουσιώτου ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἐπιστολῆς: 'Ἐν ταῖς πρὸς θεὸν εὐχαριστίας, κτλ. The letter quoted is Migne P. G. 78. v 303, which in *G* is 1631. This is an additional confirmation of the theory here suggested. For further details as to MS Coisl. 276 see Dr Holl's *Fragmente vornicänischer Kirchenväter in Texte und Untersuchungen, Neue Folge, v 2.*

and by the evidence of Cod. Laud Gr. 42; it may therefore be taken as certainly representing the order of *S*.

But the letters numbered 1029 and 1174 in the Paris MS are omitted in *G*, and therefore if the former MS represents the order of *S* the numbers of *G* must be increased by one from 1029 to 1172 and by two from 1173 onwards. This is confirmed by the equations in MS Laud Gr. 42:—

<i>Laud Gr. 42</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>Migne P. G. 78</i>
1284	1282	iv 3
1307	1305	iv 148
1308	1306	iv 182

Thus arguing from the beginning we reach the conclusion that 1306 in *G* is 1308 in *S*, just as arguing from the end it appears that 1368 in *G* is 1370 in *S*. Therefore we seem forced to the conclusion that the omission in *G* of 1319 is not merely the omission of a numeral, but of the letter which is required to make up the number of 2000.

Unfortunately, however, this does not agree with the evidence of the Bavaro-Venetian MS, which supplies us with *two* letters (*Migne P. G.* iv 143 and 144) instead of the one which we require.

The obvious suggestion is that these two letters are not really two and have been wrongly divided, but this does not seem to be supported by their contents.

I do not think, however, that this difficulty is sufficient to invalidate the force of the previous arguments, and the numbers given for *S* in the notes to the following indices have a high claim to be regarded as established.

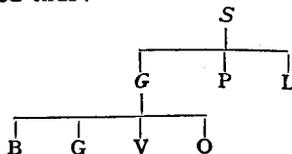
2. *The genealogical relations of some of the MSS of Isidore.*

Dr N. Capo has shewn that the Grotta Ferrata MS (*G*), the Vatican MS (*V*), and the Ottobonian MS (*O*) represent a lost original *G*.

The note in MS Cassin. 2 shews that all known MSS probably represent a MS (*S*) made by the Sleepless monks, extracts from which, direct or indirect, are found in MS Laud Gr. 42 (*L*), MS Paris Gr. 832 (*P*), and MS Paris Gr. 949 (*B*).

The investigation of the order of letters shews that the two first of these three are independent of *G*, and the third must be an extract from *G* because it has precisely the same numbers as *G*, which are deficient throughout the section which it contains (*S* 1544-1772) by one unit.

The relations between the MSS, so far as ascertained at present, may therefore be represented thus:—



It remains for more minute investigation of the text to define the relations more closely, and decide whether PLG are independent authorities for S, and whether BGV O are independent authorities for G.

3. *The immediate archetype of GVO.*

1. *Its tachygraphical character.* A small palaeographical point seems to establish the extreme probability that this archetype, which is not necessarily identical with G, was a minuscule written at least to some extent in a semi-tachygraphic hand.

One of the most noticeable features in V is that it frequently reads $\epsilon\kappa$ - in composition where G has $\delta\pi\sigma$ -. Moreover, in almost all cases it appears that the $\delta\pi\sigma$ - of G is written in the tachygraphic form ω , which might be confused by a hasty scribe with a minuscule $\epsilon\kappa$.

I conclude therefore that the use of this, and possibly therefore of other tachygraphical forms in G, are derived from the common archetype of it and V O. This conclusion has some interest for the student of Greek Palaeography as many of us have been rather inclined to assume that the semi-tachygraphical writing is peculiar to the so-called 'Grotta Ferrata hand', whereas it would seem as though, in the present case, one at least of the forms characteristic of the Grotta Ferrata tachygraphy were found in one of the MSS used by the followers of St Nilus.

2. *Its provenance.* A comparison of the data afforded by the life of St Nilus shews that at the time when the Isidore MS was written the band of Greeks who attended the Saint was staying at Vallelucio, a small dependency of Monte Cassino.

There are two possibilities to choose between in considering how the monks obtained their archetype: (a) they brought it with them, (b) they found it in the neighbourhood in which they settled. It is perhaps impossible to decide between these alternatives, but it is worth noting that, if the latter alternative be taken, the archetype must almost certainly have come from Monte Cassino, where, as we know, an extract and translation from the letters of Isidore had already been made.

Connecting these facts, it is not unreasonable to think that *Acoemetensis monasterii codicibus* in the preface in MS Cassin. 2 means 'the MSS brought from the monastery of the Sleepless', and that the Greek MS used by the Latin monks of Monte Cassino for the purpose of translating, was borrowed by their Greek neighbours at Vallelucio for the purpose of copying.

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