

The Codex Boreelianus

Utrecht, University Library, Ms. 1 (1 A 7)

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Description of the manuscript

The manuscript commonly called the Codex Boreelianus is a Greek uncial manuscript of the four gospels in a version of the Byzantine Majority text. In the modern edition of the *Novum Testamentum Graece* and other works which discuss the manuscript tradition of the New Testament it has the siglum F 09. The codex is often dated to the ninth or tenth century, but palaeographically it is close to the lectionary British Library, Harley 5684 (= G 011), which has been dated to the beginning of the eleventh century.¹

According to the modern foliation it has 219 folia, but, as will be discussed below, this is not quite accurate. The folia measure roughly 28 x 22 cm; usually they are a few mm smaller. The Codex Boreelianus is not bound, but kept in a bookcase in loose quires. The beginning and the end of the manuscript are missing, the first folio begins with Matthew 9:1, the last ends with John 13:34. Quite a number of (bi)folia are missing, especially in Luke, and a number of leaves are mutilated, torn, cut or damaged (e.g. fol. 2, 7, 16, 115, 140-142, 147, 149, 150, 152, 157, 160, 171, 173, 176, 192, 199). Yet folio 122 has been repaired. A modern foliation is written with lead-pencil on the top corner on each recto folia, but it is somewhat flawed. For example, fol. 140-142 are not three separate folia, but one folio which was cut up in three parts. The numbering of a total of 92 quires or gatherings by the same hand, often encircled, is incorrect. Both are retained in the digital edition for reference purposes.

The manuscript is written in a late Greek uncial (majuskel) script, with larger images on 71v (beginning of Mark), 128r (Luke) and 179r (John). Further drawings (e.g. 170v) are rare, as are decorated initials (e.g. 110v, 180r, 181r, 219v). Headings in gold are more common (e.g. 17v, 74v, 83r), and in red frequent (e.g. 88r, 105v, 111r; 191r at the bottom). A few parts of text are erased (e.g. 55r, 59r, 66v).

Marginal texts in Greek in various hands, including the hand of the manuscript, are also common, indicating frequent use (see 24r, 27r, 33v, 53v, 55v, 67v, 68r, 83v, 101v, 124r, 149v, 157r, 159r, 170v, 179r, 180r, 190v, 200v for representatives of various examples). There are also notes in Arabic (e.g. 9r, left top corner), and in Dutch (168r, and upside down 40r and 40v).

Images of the manuscript in its bookcase are printed below.

¹ Edoardo Crisci, 'La maiuscola ogivale diritta origini, tipologie, dislocazione', *Scrittura e civiltà* 9 (1985) 103-45: 137.

History of the manuscript

The Codex Boreelianus Rheno-Trajectinus, as it is fully called, is named after Johan Boreel (1577-1629). He studied law and theology, and published a Latin translation of the English study on the Book of Daniel by Hugo Broughthon in 1599, and his own commentary in 1600.² He was held in esteem by a number of noteworthy scholars of his time, most notably Hugo Grotius. Boreel became a pensionary of Middelburg in 1613, of the States of Zeeland in 1615, and grand pensionary (*raadspensionaris*) of Zeeland in 1625. He was sent to the court of king James I of Britain on three occasions, and was even knighted by the king.³

There is no record of Boreel obtaining the codex, but it is generally thought that he acquired it on one of his travels to the Middle East. In fact, it is only from the evidence forwarded by Johann Jakob Wettstein that the codex is linked to Johan Boreel. In 1751 Wettstein published a revised version of his *Prolegomena ad Testamenti Graeci editionem accuratissimam ...* (originally published in 1730), which was incorporated in his *Novum Testamentum Graecum editionis receptae, cum lectionibus variantibus codicum mss ...*, an edition of the Greek New Testament based on various manuscripts. In these revised *Prolegomena* Wettstein mentions that his ‘codex F’ was based on a collation made by an unknown person. The collation was a comparison between the manuscript and edited versions, yet only for the gospels Matthew, Mark and halfway Luke. For unknown reasons it excluded the rest of Luke and the whole of John, yet the curious remark $\text{Χριστῶ τελείῳ χάρις}$ on the page which gives the number of chapters of John (see 178v) is noted and was copied by Wettstein. He also remarks that the manuscript begins with Matthew 7:6, and that only the folia with Matthew 8:25 and Mark 11:6-16 are missing - in other words, the manuscript was far more complete than at present.⁴ The collation had been pointed out to him by Izaak Verburg, rector of the Amsterdam gymnasium, in 1730. Wettstein adds that the original had been in the possession of Johan Boreel and that he was not aware of its current location.

Before Wettstein, the manuscript was never referred to by New Testament textual critics. It did not play any role in the edition of various Greek New Testament manuscripts undertaken by Erasmus (1516), Robert Estienne (Stephanus) (1546) or Elzevir(e)r (1624, 1633).⁵ The anonymous collation was his only witness, and by then the manuscript had already been out of scholars’ sight. What happened to it remains unknown. Although we

² *Commentarius in Daniele. Primum Anglicé scriptus ab Hughone Broughthone: nunc Latinitate donatus per Joannem Boreel Mittelburgens;* Basileae, per Sebastianum Henricpetri [1599]; *Commentarius in Daniele, cum accessione Graecorum patrum, qui nunc primum in lucem veniunt;* ex M. S. Basileae, Henricpetri, 1600.

³ Jacobus Kok, *Vaderlandsch woordenboek*, zevende deel (Amsterdam 1787) 789-90. See also R. Breugelmans, ‘Lopez, Boreel en Kuyper’, in Nop Maas (red.), *Waardevol oud papier. Feestbundel bij het tienjarig bestaan van Bubb Kuyper Veilingen Boeken en Grafiek 1986-1996* (Haarlem 1996), 36-38, which also gives a reproduction of Boreel’s handwriting. For what follows, see in particular C. F. M. Deeleman, ‘Het terugvinden van den Codex Boreelianus herdacht’, *Nieuwe Theologische Studiën* 20 (1937) 162-71. See also K. van der Horst, L. C. Kuiper-Brussen and P. N. G. Pesch, *Handschriften en oude drukken van de Utrechtse Universiteitsbibliotheek. Samengesteld bij het 400-jarig bestaan van de bibliotheek des Rijksuniversiteit, 1584-1984* (Utrecht 1984) 210-12.

⁴ See H. E. Vinke (ed.), *Jodoci Heringa El.fil. Disputatio de codice Boreeliano, nunc Rheno-Trajectino ab ipso in lucem protracto* (Utrecht 1843) 17; this publication is further discussed below.

⁵ Cf. Vinke, *Jodoci Heringa*, 18.

know that Johan Boreel's library was sold in 1632, it is not completely sure that the manuscript was among the items for sale. It could also have remained in the possession of Boreel's family, for example of his younger brother, the theologian Adam Boreel (1602-54). Either way, there are no clues about the manuscript's whereabouts until it was found in 1823 by Jodocus Heringa Ezn (1765-1840), professor of Divinity at the University of Utrecht, who became rector magnificus of that university the next year.

In 1823 Heringa visited a friend and pupil of his, the preacher Hendrik Herman Donker Curtius, in Arnhem, who showed him fragments of an unknown manuscript which he had borrowed from Johannes Michaelis Roukens, lawyer and member of the city council of Arnhem. Roukens allowed Heringa to borrow the whole manuscript, who identified it as Wettstein's 'codex F' beyond any doubt, and was thus able to trace it back to Boreel. In a letter of 11 March 1830 Roukens explained that the manuscript had been in the possession of his father Arend Anton Roukens, mayor of Nijmegen, who had inherited it from his father, the legal scholar Johannes Michaelis Roukens. It was likely that he again had inherited from his father Theodoor Roukens, secretary of the city council of Nijmegen, who probably got it from the library of his brother, Willem Roukens.⁶ This Willem Roukens was a legal scholar, and mayor of Nijmegen from 1702 to 1705, when he was beheaded.⁷ Here the trail, such as it is, ends. There is no known connection between the families of Boreel and Roukens which can explain how the manuscript ended up in the latter's hands, nor is there any clear indication as to why this family of legal students and civil servants would have kept it in their possession for three generations. The monogram (NLB?) on 168r with the date '9 Febr 1756' does not agree with any of the mentioned members of the Roukens family. The scribblings in Dutch on 40r and 40v are difficult to decipher, and has as yet not yielded any solid clues as to who possessed the manuscript after Johan Boreel.

Heringa studied the manuscript, and he may have left the identifications of the gospel and verse on almost each recto folio of the manuscript. Before he could publish his notes he died in 1840. His successor in the professorship of Divinity, H. E. Vinke, bought the manuscript from Roukens for the collection of the University Library. Word got around in the scientific community, and Constantinus Tischendorf visited Utrecht a year later to view the manuscript. However, it was summer and he was denied access. Yet he was allowed to read Heringa's papers on it,⁸ which were finally edited and published by Vinke in 1843 under the title *Jodoci Heringa El. Fil. Disputatio de codice Boreeliano, nunc Rheno-Trajectino ab ipso in lucem protracto* ([digitized](#) by the University Library of Utrecht).

After Tischendorf other scholars followed. The bookcase in which the Codex Boreelianus is kept contains a paper with three reports, all written by the same hand.

- 1) A report of four pages entitled 'De codice Boreelliano nunc ultra-jectino', written in Latin, ending 'Ultrajecti Kl. Augusti MDCCCXLVII fr. J. B. O. Pitra O.S.B. ex Abbatia Solesmensi cong. gall.'
- 2) A report of one page headed '8e eeuw' (8th century) in French and Dutch, with a note at the end that this was an oral account by Dom. Pitra later noted by the librarian, F. B. Adèr (died 1861).

⁶ This letter is summarized by Deeleman, 'Het terugvinden', 167-8.

⁷ For Willem, Theodoor and the latter's son and grandsons, see Jacobus Kok, *Vaderlandsch woordenboek, vijf en twintigste deel* (Amsterdam 1791) 176-99.

⁸ Deeleman, 'Het terugvinden', 170-1.

3) A report of four lines on the date in Dutch, with a note at the end that this was an oral account by Sam. Prideaux Tregelles later noted by Adèr.
(these papers are printed below).

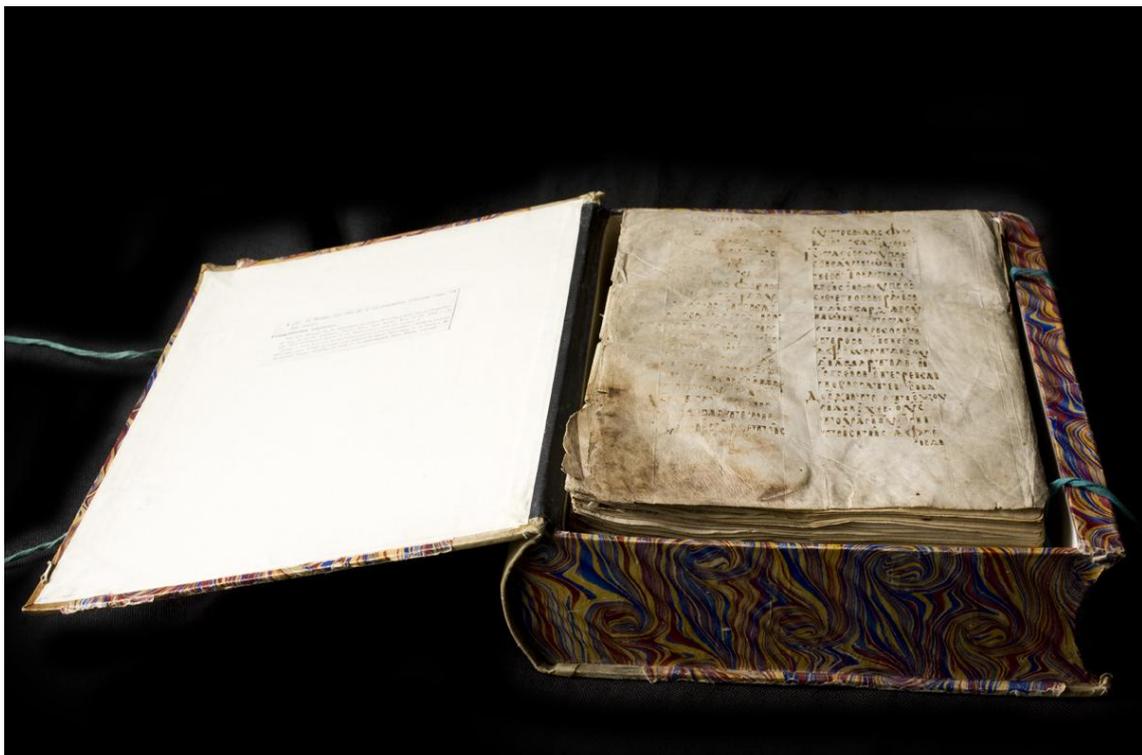
The friar Pitra in question is Jean-Baptiste François Pitra (1812-89) of the abbey of Solesmes, who was in Zwolle on 18 september 1847 for a celebration about Thomas à Kempis.⁹ He later became librarian of the Vatican Library, and was a cardinal from 1884 to 1897. Samuel Prideaux Tregelles (1813-75) was an English theologian and New Testament scholar.

Afterwards the interest in the manuscript faded, until in March 2007 professor David Trobisch visited Utrecht and viewed the manuscript with a number of colleagues. This set a whole new interest in the manuscript in motion, and directly lead to its digitization in September and October the same year.¹⁰

Bart Jaski (with thanks to Jan Krans for discussing the manuscript with me)
21-11-2007

converted to pdf-format with a few minor corrections, and with the images incorporated in this document, 9-11-2011

Images of the manuscript



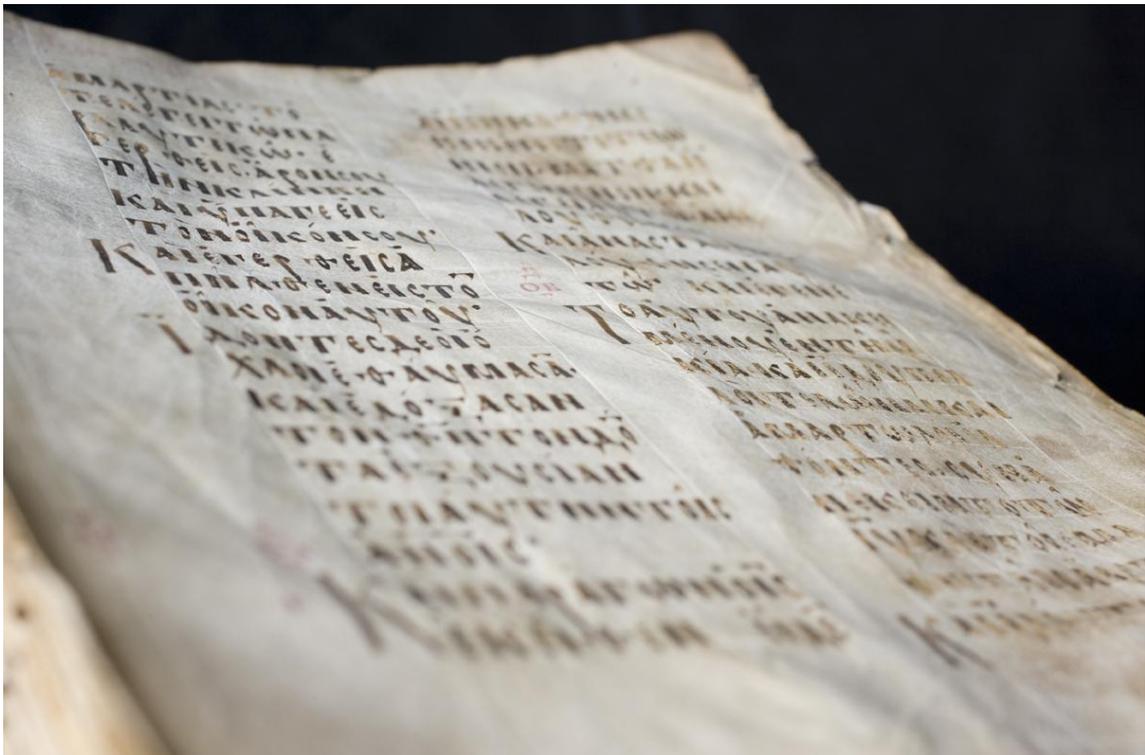
The Codex Boreelianus in its bookcase

⁹ See [on the website of the KNAW](#), accessed 15-11-2007.

¹⁰ See the blogs by Jan Krans at [vuntblog](#), and [the evangelical textual criticism blogspot](#), accessed 15-11-2007.



View of the spine, showing that the manuscript was once bound



The pages of the manuscript were ruled with a metal stylus

De codice Beccelliano
nunc ultra-petere.

Pauca, non judicantes, sed ceteri inspicientis in istis,
notare jurat.

Itē 17. dicitur: Saeculi octavi est prima manus, quippe quae
frequenter, more tamen exactissimo, legit in solitis, nec loco
uque debito, recentur, spiritus, interpositiones, litterarum
compleciones & usurpat. Unicali quidam utetus caractere,
haud ita plane, concinneque depicto, sed crassiori et, ut non
nulli dicunt, aerae secundae, a VIII^o circiter saeculo incedente,
attribuendo. Eadem temporis, altera licet, ni fallor, manus
primario Sectionis Ammonianae, ^{XXII} ~~XXI~~ ~~XX~~ ~~XIX~~ ~~XVIII~~ ~~XVII~~ ~~XVI~~ ~~XV~~ ~~XIV~~ ~~XIII~~ ~~XII~~ ~~XI~~ ~~X~~ ~~IX~~ ~~VIII~~ ~~VII~~ ~~VI~~ ~~V~~ ~~IV~~ ~~III~~ ~~II~~ ~~I~~ ~~0~~ ~~1~~ ~~2~~ ~~3~~ ~~4~~ ~~5~~ ~~6~~ ~~7~~ ~~8~~ ~~9~~ ~~10~~ ~~11~~ ~~12~~ ~~13~~ ~~14~~ ~~15~~ ~~16~~ ~~17~~ ~~18~~ ~~19~~ ~~20~~ ~~21~~ ~~22~~ ~~23~~ ~~24~~ ~~25~~ ~~26~~ ~~27~~ ~~28~~ ~~29~~ ~~30~~ ~~31~~ ~~32~~ ~~33~~ ~~34~~ ~~35~~ ~~36~~ ~~37~~ ~~38~~ ~~39~~ ~~40~~ ~~41~~ ~~42~~ ~~43~~ ~~44~~ ~~45~~ ~~46~~ ~~47~~ ~~48~~ ~~49~~ ~~50~~ ~~51~~ ~~52~~ ~~53~~ ~~54~~ ~~55~~ ~~56~~ ~~57~~ ~~58~~ ~~59~~ ~~60~~ ~~61~~ ~~62~~ ~~63~~ ~~64~~ ~~65~~ ~~66~~ ~~67~~ ~~68~~ ~~69~~ ~~70~~ ~~71~~ ~~72~~ ~~73~~ ~~74~~ ~~75~~ ~~76~~ ~~77~~ ~~78~~ ~~79~~ ~~80~~ ~~81~~ ~~82~~ ~~83~~ ~~84~~ ~~85~~ ~~86~~ ~~87~~ ~~88~~ ~~89~~ ~~90~~ ~~91~~ ~~92~~ ~~93~~ ~~94~~ ~~95~~ ~~96~~ ~~97~~ ~~98~~ ~~99~~ ~~100~~ ~~101~~ ~~102~~ ~~103~~ ~~104~~ ~~105~~ ~~106~~ ~~107~~ ~~108~~ ~~109~~ ~~110~~ ~~111~~ ~~112~~ ~~113~~ 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veniciappue Constantino-politana codicem hunc eximium ac
occidentales adhibent, quibus haud asper fatibitur, meminerit
modo, quae jam diu asperiorum est, hactenus recte hactenus ad
Byzantinam, ut voluere, familiam accedat, imo ad eam, ut
paucis fultis infra, primam hactenus agnitam viam sternere.
At in his liturgiis notis, alia quaedam dactili conjicere licet

III Totopix.

Codex, ubi primum fuerit operatus, in usum ecclesiae incidit.
Ne vero ullas delicatioris aures offenderet, sedulo ab umbilico
recognitus est, omnibus naevibus primae manus obstetricandis
expurgatus. Continuo distinctus in Thymianae divisiones,
mensio, auresque insignibus, quo aptius legentibus in ambo.
2. Thymianae occurrit. Tunc ille, doctus velim fuerit
et ecclesiasticus, postquam graeci dicunt dixere Thymianae,
qui quo sit in cathedra sedens et propria auctoritate,
memoria addidit, voluit pauca, cuncta ex integro recensuit.
Hinc notitiam exasit labor publicae commendatione
praestantior. Diu obdormit, per plura certe saecula, ad
aerae vulgari tertium dactili et decimum, quidam se
runt? — Item hunc codicem hunc: inter ea ~~in~~ immota
lectionis publicae consuetudine, accessit novae sive in
marginum oris extremis, sive intra columnas, vel in
ipso textu. Notae novae novo synavario accommodatas,
donec veritas felix permittit, alio maculati, oportetque, et dactili
coepit codex languere, in antiquatos libros obligatus;
ex quo fortan pulvere emptum fecit suum Cl. vir Berzel,
dum, ut fortan, per orientem diverteret. Sed, ut ad majorem
sancti discessum addere est, corvidis inter, pauca, quae
dicant

IV E. 474. 712.

Quod alii meminere, lectiones nempe varias, correctionesque

nonnullis pretii, nullibi reperitur quae modo ipse publici-
 tam hanc in pulpitis ecclesiarum professorum recensionem
 quo dicitur vobis diopdāuros, demeritis et multorum de-
 culorum perpetua veneratione confirmatam, reperere pi-
 get. Et vero praecumibus praedicare libet, hanc codicem
 adeo sana robustate conservati ut in ea quae circumferuntur
 tūc rēgyptiis recensionem, hic habeatur ordine secundus,
 a Vaticano quartus; ab Ephraemi rescripto tertius; a
 Cantabrigiae secundus; demum, inter Byzantinos,
 primus. Erit fortan, ut jam fuit, qui hunc codicem
 sacrorum generationem, ut biblice loquar, ipsamque in
 duas tantum familias distinctionem distubare velit:
 si qua tamen haecenus communiter accepta remanent,
 perhibentque duplex tūc rēgyptiis reddi ut clas-
 instituta, africa una, altera asiatica, hoc erit ingens
 codicis Boracliani decus, quae, cum alexandrinum
 inter et vaticenium primas africanorum partes assigna-
 turi naerant doctissimi, nemine huc usque palam
 diffidente, hic Athens. Supplicemus innumeris Constantina
 politem testibus testibus duos praecet primamque robusta-
 tis jure locum, utamque veluti sedem, donec aliter
 judicetur, praesidet.

Ultrapote M. Auguste

(1) 17000 XLVII

fr. J. B. O. Petra

O. S. B.

ex Abbacia Solomoni cong. gall.

8^e leçon

Synaxarium ou indication des leçons de bonvent en
marge. Toute indigne 22, il y en a 87.

3 indications: S. Basile et Jean Chrysostome et S. Cyrille.
Fêtes qui se célébraient en Constantinople et au 6^e siècle
minorité. C'est-à-dire de Cyrille, quia Chrysostome festum
ubique in Oriente celebratur. Nisi fuit in ecclesia a
Sci. VIII ad XIII^m.

On voit des changements dans l'indication des évangiles
lithurgiques à une autre main. Les leçons indiquées
sont à peu près les mêmes que celles de Cantabrig. mais dans
le Codex 122, il y en a plus.

ⲓⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ Ⲓ i. e. ⲓⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ i. e. a d. solus ad Auctores,
quod usus erat in eccl. Constantinop.

ⲠⲚ i. e. ⲠⲚⲁⲁⲁⲁⲁⲁ

Les chiffres en marge: l'asticonomie syriacienne, peuple
xixi^e au 4^e siècle par Eustathius. Cf. Fabricii Biblioth.
græc. Nonnulli loca tenent modis et ceteris. S. inter igni,
manu scripta begin in amplexibus, des leçons.

Jean. v. het water te Bethesda niet in Ephraim Syrus
— te synagoge kwam in verschillende leed. græc. re-
tractus. Hierin is de geslachtlijst.

Non nocent tres families d'Alajus 1111 Codices: de Alajus
Cypriote ou de Cypriote. De Alaj. sont de
cudate, noch 1111 de Cypriote. et de Ceteris. Nonnulli
de cudate.

mondel. aamouk. 1111. Deur. P. 1111
Lata. 1111. 1111. 1111. 1111.

1111

Wet de Secur vindt men in de (spichyke) Codices geen uncial handschrift.
In den Ephraim handt zyn deze door latere hand en by gelyc, is als
op vele plaatsen dienselver hand hier en daar wyl heeft bygevoegd (s.
1 Timoth. 3, 16 $\Theta\Sigma$ of $\Theta\Sigma$)

markt. nummer. van de heer Sam. Pridmore
Regeller
later aangekond door de heer Pridmore.

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