

Latin *Nomina Sacra* in the Early Fifteenth-Century Manuscript of the Wycliffite Bible*

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Abstract

The main objective of this paper is to investigate the use of ‘nomina sacra’ in the Gospel of Matthew from an early fifteenth-century manuscript of the Wycliffite Bible (Mscr. Dresd.Od.83). nomina sacra are abbreviations for names sacred for Christians. They were transferred to Latin texts from Greek manuscripts of the Bible. The sacred names were abbreviated by the means of contractions: ‘pure contractions’ – the first and last letter are spelled out and ‘mixed contractions’ – the first two letters are written out along with the last letter (Cappelli 1929/1982, 7). In the analyzed manuscript the scribe chose to use the latter form of contractions. Although at first the originally Greek abbreviation for the name Jesus was Latinised into $\overline{IHS}$, the influence of Irish scribes brought back the Greek-like form $\overline{IHC}$. At the same time the nomina sacra in Latin texts were marked for case e.g. the abbreviation $\overline{IHU}$ – *Iēsū* (denoting genitive, dative, ablative or vocative). The five different abbreviations of the relevant type used in the examined manuscript represent the second category of nomina sacra. There are two abbreviations for the name Jesus $\overline{ihc}$ and $\overline{ihu}$ as well as abbreviations for other proper nouns important for Christians – $\overline{isrl}$ (*Israel*), $\overline{aplis}$ (*Apostlis*), $\overline{ierhu}$ (*Ierusalem*).

Keywords: nomina sacra, scribal abbreviations, paleography, Wycliffe’s Bible, manuscript

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Abstrakt

Celem niniejszego artykułu jest zbadanie użycia „nomina sacra” w Ewangelii wg św. Mateusza będącej częścią manuskryptu Biblii Wycliffe’a (Mscr.Dresd.Od.83) pochodzącego z początku XV wieku. „Nomina sacra” jest to nazwa odnosząca się do skrótów używanych przez skrybów w celu wyrażenia imienia uznawanego przez chrześcijan za święte. „Nomina sacra” były przykładem kontrakcji, abrewiatury, która zazwyczaj składała się z pierwszej i ostatniej litery danego słowa (kontrakcja czysta) lub dodatkowo również ze środkowych liter (kontrakcja mieszana). Skróty te po raz pierwszy pojawiły się w greckich manuskryptach Biblii. Tradycja używania tych skrótów została następnie przeniesiona do Biblii łacińskiej. W języku łacińskim, a później również w językach wernakularnych, istniały dwa systemy skrótów na imiona święte: czysto grecki, np. $\overline{IHC}$ – *Iesus* lub $\overline{XPC}$ – *Christus* oraz częściowo łaciński, np. $\overline{IHS}$ – *Iesus* lub $\overline{XPS}$ – *Christus*. W analizowanej księdze znajduje się pięć skrótów, które mogą zostać zakwalifikowane jako „nomina sacra”: $\overline{ihc}$ (*Iesus*), $\overline{ihu}$ (*Iesu*), $\overline{isrl}$ (*Israel*), $\overline{aplis}$ (*Apostlis*) oraz $\overline{ierhu}$ (*Ierusalem*).

Słowa kluczowe: nomina sacra, średniowieczna abrewiatura, paleografia, Biblia Wycliffe’a, manuskrypt

1.1. The Origins of nomina sacra

Abbreviations were usually used by scribes in order to save time and space. Parchment was a valuable material to write on; therefore, scribes sometimes used faulty parchment (e.g. with holes made during the preparation process) (de Hamel 2013, 12). The term ‘nomina sacra’ was coined by Traube (1907) as a name of a group of abbreviations for names sacred for Christians (quoted in Bischoff 1986/2012, 152). Roberts (1979, 26) argues that the reason for using nomina sacra was not scribe’s intention to save space or time, as was the case with other abbreviations, but rather to show the sacredness of these words. It is important to mention that scribes treated as nomina sacra not only words such as ‘God’ or ‘Jesus’ but also words such as ‘Son’, ‘Father’, ‘Israel’ or ‘Jerusalem’ (Comfort 2005, 119, 250).

The tradition of using abbreviated forms of sacred names was carried from Greek into Latin. It is interesting, however, how the tradition of abbreviating sacred names began and where it came from. Traube (1907) claims that *nomina sacra* came into Latin texts from Hellenistic versions of the Old Testament (quoted in Bischoff 1986/2012, 152). However, Wilkinson (2015, 90) argues that *nomina sacra* are not connected with the Greek Old Testament traditions. Moreover, Comfort (2005, 202) claims that the *nomina sacra* in Latin manuscripts are associated with the Greek texts of the New Testament rather than the Old Testament because the usual abbreviation for YHWH in the Septuagint was spelled out in Greek or Hebrew letters depending on the manuscript. Similarly, Hurtado (1998, 662) shows examples of Greek Old Testament manuscripts, such as 8HevXIIgr or P. Oxy. 50. 3522 with the Hebrew Tetragrammaton (יהוה).

Comfort (2005, 207) claims that the first *nomina sacra* used in a Greek biblical manuscript was $\overline{KC}$ standing for <KYPIOC>, i.e. *kurios*, meaning ‘Lord’. According to Wilkinson (2015, 90), the word *kurios* was used both in Jewish and Christian manuscripts of the Bible; however, it was abbreviated only in manuscripts of the New Testament. At the same time, it is impossible not to notice the Jewish roots of the principle of abbreviating sacred names (e.g. Tetragrammaton). Roberts (1979, 29) suggests that the use of an abbreviation for a sacred word was a warning for a reader reading aloud and a mark of reverence.

Among sacred names which were abbreviated in Greek biblical texts were: $\overline{\Theta EOC}^1$ – ‘God’, $\overline{XPICTOC}$ – ‘Christ’, $\overline{IHCOYC}$ – ‘Jesus’ and $\overline{KYPIOC}$ – ‘Lord’ (Hurtado 2006, 97). These words were abbreviated in Greek manuscripts of the New Testament in several ways. Comfort (2005, 200) claims that Greek *nomina sacra* can be divided into two groups: abbreviation by contraction and abbreviation by suspension. However, abbreviation by contraction could consist of two letters, the first and the last letter of a given word, or of three letters with an additional word-medial letter. For example, the words previously mentioned could be abbreviated in the following ways: < $\overline{IHCOYC}$ > was represented by two variations of abbreviations – $\overline{IC}$ or $\overline{IHC}$; < $\overline{KYPIOC}$ >, however, was usually abbreviated with the sign $\overline{KC}$ and never with $\overline{KPC}$ (Comfort 2005, 208–211).

¹ The last letter in this word <C>, a simplified version of <Σ>, called ‘lunate sigma’ was used in Greek manuscript from around the fourth century BC to Late Middle Ages (Thompson 1912, 108).

1.2. Forms of nomina sacra in the Latin Language

When the tradition of using nomina sacra was brought into the Latin language, the Greek pattern of abbreviating sacred names was retained. The scribes writing in Latin used contractions as a means of abbreviating sacred names. The usual way of abbreviating nomina sacra was the so-called ‘mixed contraction’, i.e. an abbreviation comprised of three letters (e.g. $\overline{ihs}$ or $\overline{sps}$) (Bischoff 1986/2012, 152; Cappelli 1929/1982, 7).

The scribes writing in Latin used many different forms of nomina sacra for the same word. For example, there were two variations of an abbreviation for the name *Iesus* – $\overline{ihs}$ and $\overline{i\hbar c}$. The first version ($\overline{ihs}$) was created from a Greek abbreviation in order to match the Latin spelling of the name *Iesus*; however, the letter <H> (the Greek letter *eta*), which appeared in the middle of the abbreviation, caused confusion resulting in a frequent occurrence of a spelling variation <Ihesus> (Mantello and Rigg 1996, 80). The second version of this abbreviation ($\overline{i\hbar c}$) was introduced to the Latin system of abbreviations most likely around the eighth century by Irish monks who proposed the use of fully Greek nomina sacra for *Iesus* – $\overline{i\hbar c}$ and *Christus* – $\overline{xpc}$ (Bischoff 1986/2012, 154).

Another abbreviation of a sacred name which occurs in more than one variant is the abbreviation for the word *Dominus*. In this case the variation affects the middle letter of the contraction, creating abbreviations like: $\overline{dms}$ and $\overline{dns}$ (Bischoff 1986/2012, 152). Whereas the variation between the forms $\overline{ihs}$ and $\overline{i\hbar c}$ stems from different approaches to Latinising the Greek nomina sacra, the difference between $\overline{dms}$ and $\overline{dns}$ is connected to the scribe’s choice of one of the middle letters in the word *Dominus* <m> or <n>.

In Latin manuscripts nomina sacra were often inflected for case. For instance the abbreviations $\overline{ihs}$ and $\overline{i\hbar c}$ appeared as $\overline{i\hbar u}^2$ or $\overline{i\hbar m}^3$ and the word *spiritus* could appear, apart from the form $\overline{sps}^4$, also in forms such as: $\overline{spm}^5$ and $\overline{spu}^6$ (Bischoff 1986/2012, 152; Lindsay 1915, 401, 404; Charzyńska-Wójcik 2013, 714–715).

² denoting gen., dat., abl. or voc. (*Iesu*).

³ denoting acc. (*Iesum*).

⁴ denoting nom. sg., gen. sg., voc. sg. (*spiritus*).

⁵ denoting acc, sg. (*spiritum*).

⁶ This abbreviation tends to be incorrectly expanded into the forms *spiritus* and *spiritum* (in Toronto Corpus and Strake’s edition of the Paris Psalter Latin) rather than the correct form *spiritu* (Charzyńska-Wójcik 2013, 714–715).

2.1. The Mscr.Dresd.Od.83 Manuscript of the Wycliffite Bible

The manuscript of Wycliffe's Bible analysed in this paper comes from the year 1400 and its exact measurements are 17 x 12 cm.⁷ It is written on parchment using gothic script with initials and pilcrows written in blue ink. The *capitula* are written in blue ink as well and are followed by red abbreviations of the name of the evangelist. The beginning of each Gospel is richly illuminated with flowers, but other pages are not illuminated.

The Mscr.Dresd.Od.83 consists of the following books of the New Testament: the Gospels, the Epistles and the Book of Revelation. They are preceded by Jerome's prologues. The manuscript contains also the Calendar of Gospel Readings and the Readings from the Old Testament for different parts of the liturgical year.

2.2. Methodology

The analysis of *nomina sacra* in this paper is based on the Gospel of Matthew. The reasons for analysing this particular book is that most of *nomina sacra* appear only in the New Testament; at the same time, the Gospel of Matthew contains a lot of references to the Old Testament. In order to conduct the analysis I prepared a semi-diplomatic transcript of the Gospel. The reason for using this form of transcribing the manuscript is that it provides a sufficiently accurate picture of the original manuscript and, at the same time, makes collecting and analyzing data more efficient. The transcript consists of 24 620 words, which equals 100 060 characters (excluding spaces). The abbreviations were expanded whenever possible and italicized. It is especially important when it comes to *nomina sacra* as they were expanded according to their Latin spelling, which includes the inflectional endings within the abbreviations. This is important as the Mscr.Dresd.Od.83 manuscript, like other texts written in the Middle English period, proper names (and generally nouns) no longer show inflections (except for the genitive case).

Furthermore, the verses from the manuscript containing *nomina sacra* were compared with the corresponding verses from the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate. The reason for using a version of Latin Vulgate from 1592 rather than a version corresponding in age with the manuscript was that in the fifteenth century, and more generally throughout the

⁷ According to the information provided by Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats – und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (SLUB Dresden), where it is held.

Middle Ages, manuscripts of the Vulgate were extremely varied,⁸ which was one of the causes of appointing the papal commission (after the Council of Trent) to prepare an edition of the Vulgate (Vicchio 2006, 21). It led to the creation of a version later called the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate. As an edition prepared from versions circulating at that time, it provides sufficient material for investigating the appearance of sacred names in the Gospel of Matthew as well as the grammatical case of these words in Latin.

2.3. nomina sacra in the Examined Manuscript

In the manuscript there are five different abbreviations which can be classified as nomina sacra. These abbreviations are: $\overline{ihc}$, $\overline{ihu}$, $\overline{ierhu}$, $\overline{isrl}$ and $\overline{aplis}$. As two forms of *Iesus* abbreviation ($\overline{ihc}$ and $\overline{ihu}$) are used within this manuscript, one of the main objectives of this paper is to find the possible reasons for the use of two nomina sacra for the name Jesus and only one form for each of the other abbreviations. All nomina sacra used in the Gospel of Matthew can be classified as mixed contractions, i.e. abbreviations of whole words consisting of one or more middle letters apart from the first and last letter, according to Cappelli's (1929/1982) division of Latin abbreviations. The nomina sacra mentioned above appear 162 times within the Gospel of Matthew.

2.3.1. $\overline{ihc}$ / $\overline{ihu}$ Abbreviations

The abbreviations for the name Jesus are the most common out of all the abbreviations by contraction, with 116 of them in the form $\overline{ihc}$ and 54 in the form $\overline{ihu}$. The scribe uses the abbreviations: $\overline{ihu}$ (*Iesu*) and $\overline{ihc}$ (*Iesus*) interchangeably in order to indicate that a given passage from the Gospel is about Jesus. Even though the two forms are used interchangeably, their number differs substantially.

Within the entire text of the Gospel of Matthew the abbreviation $\overline{ihu}$ appears 54 times and the unabbreviated form <iesu> appears only once. Therefore, it would be logical to assume that the abbreviation appears in places where *Iesus* corresponds to the genitive, dative, ablative or vocative case in the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate. However, the abbreviation corresponds to the grammatical case of the word only in 21 occurrences of the $\overline{ihu}$

⁸ See Charzyńska-Wójcik (2013) for more reasons behind consulting the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate when analyzing the Wycliffite translations.

abbreviation, for example, in verse 1.1:⁹ “The book of pe ge=neracioun of *iesu* crist pe sone of dauip. pe sone of Abra=ham/” the form of the abbreviation matches the genitive case it shows in the Latin sentence. In 33 occurrences the abbreviation matches either the nominative case (23 occurrences, e.g. verse 8.3 “and *iesu* heeld forp pe hond...”) or the accusative case (10 occurrences, e.g. verse 26.69 “...pou were w^t *iesu* of galilee/”). This led to a comparison of all *ih* abbreviations with the corresponding verses from the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate, as there was a possibility of transmitting the Latin use of said abbreviation into a Middle English translation.

However, when the verses were compared with the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate, something different was observed. Only fourteen of the abbreviations correspond to the Latin form <iesu> (denoting genitive, dative, ablative or vocative) in the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate. The rest of them can be grouped into two categories: other declensional forms (nominative *Iesus* or accusative *Iesum*) and other ways of naming Jesus (e.g. pronouns). Table 1¹⁰ below shows the verses where the abbreviations in the manuscript do not correspond to any words in Latin version of the Gospel or correspond to a form different than <iesu>. To facilitate comparison, the relevant items are underlined in the two texts.

Table 1. Comparison of the ‘Iesu’ Verses in the Dresd.Od.83 Manuscript and the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate.

Verse	in English	in Latin
1.18	But pe generacioun of crist was pus¶ Whanne marie pe modir of <u>iesu</u> was spousid to Ioseph; bifore pei camen togidere. sche was founden haun- n=ge of pe holi goost in pe wombe/	Christi autem generatio sic erat: Cum esset desponsata mater <u>eius</u> Maria Ioseph, antequam convenirent, inventa est in utero habens de Spiritu Sancto.
3.15	but <u>iesu</u> answeride and seide to him/ Suffre now/ For pus it fallip to us to fulfille al riztfulnes/	Respondens autem <u>Iesus</u> , dixit ei: Sine modo: sic enim decet nos implere omnem iustitiam. Tunc dimisit eum.

⁹ The verse numbering in this paper corresponds to the verse numbering used in the transcript of the Gospel of Matthew (which in turn corresponds to the verse numbering in Hetzenauer’s edition of the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate). Verses were not numbered in the manuscript.

¹⁰ Within all the tables shown in this paper italics are used in places where a scribal abbreviation was used in the manuscript.

¹¹ This is to signify that there is nothing in the source text that *iesu* in the English text corresponds to, i.e. it has to be treated as an addition.

Verse	in English	in Latin
3.16	panne <u>iesu</u> suffride him/ <i>and</i> whanne <u>iesu</u> was baptisid; anoon he wente up fro pe watir/ <i>and</i> lo heuenes weren opened to him; <i>and</i> he say pe spirit of god comyn=ge doun as adowue. <i>and</i> comynge on him/	Baptizatus autem <u>Iesus</u> , confestim ascendit de aqua. et ecce aperti sunt ei cæli: et vidit Spiritum Dei descendentem sicut columbam, et venientem super se.
5.1	And <u>iesu</u> seyng pe peple; wente up into an hil/ <i>and</i> whanne he was seit; hise disciplis ca=men to him/	Videns autem <u>Iesus</u> turbas, ascendit in montem, et cum sedisset, accesserunt ad eum discipuli eius,
7.28	<i>and</i> it was doon whanne <u>iesu</u> hadde een=did pese wordis; pe peple wondride on his techinge/	Et factum est: cum consummasset <u>Iesus</u> verba hæc, admirabantur turbæ super doctrina eius.
8.3	<i>and</i> <u>iesu</u> heeld forp pe hond; <i>and</i> touchide him <i>and</i> seide/ I wole; be pou maad clene/ <i>and</i> anoon pe lepre of him was clen=sid/	Et extendens <u>Iesus</u> manum, tetigit eum, dicens: Volo: mundare. Et confestim mundata est lepra eius.
8.10	<i>and</i> <u>iesu</u> herde pese pingis. <i>and</i> wondri=de <i>and</i> seide to men pat sueden him/ Truli I seie to <i>3ou</i> ; I foond not so greet feip in israel/	Audiens autem <u>Iesus</u> miratus est, et sequentibus se dixit: Amen dico vobis, non inveni tantam fidem in Israel.
8.14	<i>and</i> whanne <u>iesu</u> was come into pe hous of symount petir; he siz his wyues modir liggyng <i>and</i> schaken wip feueris/	Et cum venisset <u>Iesus</u> in domum Petri, vidit socrum eius iacentem, et febricitantem:
9.4	<i>and</i> whanne <u>iesu</u> hadde seen her pouztis. he seide/ wherto penken ze yuel pingis in <i>3oure</i> hertis.	Et cum vidisset <u>Iesus</u> cogitationes eorum, dixit: Ut quid cogitatis mala in cordibus vestris?
9.19	<i>and</i> <u>iesu</u> roos <i>and</i> hise disciplis; <i>and</i> sueden him/	Et surgens <u>Iesus</u> , sequebatur eum, et discipuli eius.
9.22	<i>and</i> <u>iesu</u> turned <i>and</i> siz hir <i>and</i> seide/ Douztir haue <i>pou</i> trist; pi feip hap maad <i>pee</i> saaf/ <i>and</i> pe womman was hool fro pat hour/	At <u>Iesus</u> conversus, et videns eam, dixit: Confide, filia, fides tua te salvam fecit. Et salva facta est mulier ex illa hora.
9.23	<i>and</i> whanne <u>iesu</u> came into pe hous of pe prince. <i>and</i> siz mynstrallis <i>and</i> pe pe=ple makinge noise;	Et cum venisset <u>Iesus</u> in domum principis, et vidisset tibicines et turbam tumultuantem, dicebat:
11.20	panne <u>iesu</u> bigan to seie repreef to citees; <i>in</i> whiche ful manye ver=tues of him weren doon; for pei diden not penaunce/	Tunc cœpit exprobrare $\emptyset^{11}$ civitatibus, in quibus factæ sunt plurimæ virtutes eius, quia non egissent pœnitentiam:

Verse	in English	in Latin
12.25	and <i>iesu</i> wi=tynge her thou3tis; seide to hem; Ech kingdom de=partid azens it silf; schal be desolate/ and ech citee or hous departid azens it silf; schal not stonde/	<i>Iesus</i> autem sciens cogitationes eorum, dixit eis: Omne regnum divisum contra se desolabitur: et omnis civitas vel domus divisa contra se, non stabit.
14.29	And he seide/ Come pou/ And <i>Petir</i> zede doun fro pe boot; <i>and</i> wal=kide on pe watris to co=me to <i>iesu</i> /	At ipse ait: Veni. Et descendens Petrus de navicula, ambulabat super aquam ut veniret ad <i>Iesum</i> .
15.32	and <i>iesu</i> ; whanne hise disciplis weren cle=pid togidere. seide to hem/ I haue reupe of pe peple. for pei han abiden now pre daies wip me <i>and</i> han no ping to ete; <i>and</i> I wole not leue hem fastinge; lest pei failen in pe wey/	<i>Iesus</i> autem, convocatis discipulis suis, dixit: Misereor turbæ, quia triduo jam perseverant mecum, et non habent quod manducant: et dimittere eos ieiunos nolo, ne deficiant in via.
17.4	And <i>petir</i> answeride; <i>and</i> seide to <i>iesu</i> ; lord; it is good us to be here/ If pou wolt; make we here pre tabernaclis; to pee oon. to moises oon; <i>and</i> oon to elie/ zitt pe whi=le he spak; lo	Respondens autem Petrus, dixit ad <i>Iesum</i> : Domine, bonum est nos hic esse: si vis, faciamus tria tabernacula, tibi unum, Moy-si unum, et Eliæ unum
17.8	And pei liften up her izen; <i>and</i> sizen noman; but <i>iesu</i> aloone/	Levantes autem oculos suos, neminem viderunt, nisi solum <i>Iesum</i> .
18.1	IN pat our pedisciplis camen to <i>iesu</i> ; <i>and</i> seiden/ who; gessist pou; is gre=t=tere in pe kingdom of he=uenes?	In illa hora accesserunt discipuli ad <i>Iesum</i> , dicentes: Quis, putas, major est in regno cælorum?
22.15	¶ panne farisees 3lden awei <i>and</i> token acounseil to take <i>iesu</i> in word/	Tunc abeuntes pharisæi, consilium inierunt ut caperent <i>eum</i> in sermone.
22.35	And oon of hem atechere of pe lawe ax=ide <i>iesu</i> <i>and</i> temptide him/	et interrogavit <i>eum</i> unus ex eis legis doctor, tentans <i>eum</i> :
22.37	<i>Iesu</i> seide to him/ pou schalt loue pi lord god of al pin herte. <i>and</i> in al pi soule. <i>and</i> in al pi mynde/	Ait illi <i>Iesus</i> : Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et in tota anima tua, et in tota mente tua.
26.4	<i>and</i> maden acoun=seil to holde <i>iesu</i> w ^a gi=le <i>and</i> sle him/	et consilium fecerunt ut <i>Iesum</i> dolo tenerent, et occiderent.
26.17	And in pe firste dai of peerf looues pe disci=plis camen to <i>iesu</i> . <i>and</i> se=iden/ where wolt pou pat we make redi to pee; to ete pask?	Prima autem die azymorum accesserunt discipuli ad <i>Iesum</i> , dicentes: Ubi vis paremus tibi comedere Pascha?

Verse	in English	in Latin
26.25	But iudas pat bitraiede him; answe- ride seiyn=ge/ maistir wher I am? <i>Iesu</i> seide to him/ Pou hast seid/	Respondens autem Judas, qui tradidit eum, dixit: Numquid ego sum Rabbi? Ait illi: Tu dixisti.
26.49	49 And anoon he cam to <i>iesu</i> and seide/ heil mais=tir/	Et confestim accedens ad <i>Iesum</i> , dixit: Ave Rabbi.
26.50	50 And he kisside him/ And <i>iesus</i> seide to him/ frend wherto art pou come? panne pei camen ny3 and leiden hondis on <i>iesu</i> ; and heelden him/	Et osculatus est eum. Dixitque illi <i>Iesus</i> : Amice, ad quid venisti? Tunc accesserunt, et manus injecerunt in <i>Iesum</i> , et tenuerunt eum.
26.57	And pei heelden <i>iesu</i> and ledden him to cai=phas pe prince of pres=tis/ where pe scribis and pe farisees and pe eldre men of pe peple weren comen togidere/	At illi tenentes <i>Iesum</i> , duxerunt ad Ca- ipham principem sacerdotum, ubi scribæ et seniores convenerant.
26.59	And pe prince of preestis and al pe counseil souzten fals witnessynge azens <i>iesu</i> pat pei schulden ta=ke him to deep/	Principes autem sacerdotum, et omne concilium, quærebant falsum testimonium contra <i>Iesum</i> , ut eum morti traderent:
27.1	BUt whanne pe morutid was co=me; alle pe princis of preestis and pe el- dre men of pe peple token acoun=seil azens <i>iesu</i> . pat pei schulden take hym to deep/	Mane autem facto, consilium inierunt omnes principes sacerdotum et seniores populi adversus <i>Iesum</i> , ut eum morti traderent.
27.17	perfore pilat seide to hem/ whanne pei weren togidere/ whom wolen 3e; pat I delyuere to 3ou. wher barrabas; or <i>iesu</i> ; pat is seid crist?	Congregatis ergo illis, dixit Pilatus: Quem vultis dimittam vobis: Barabbam, an <i>Iesum</i> , qui dicitur Christus?
27.20	Forsope pe prin=ce of preestis and pe eldre men counseiliden pe pe=ple pat pei schulden axe barrabas. but pei schul=den distrie <i>iesu</i> /	Principes autem sacerdotum et seniores persuaserunt populis ut peterent Barab- bam, <i>Iesum</i> vero perderent.
27.26	panne he de=lyuerede to hem barrabas/ but he took to hem <i>iesu</i> scourgid to be crucified/	Tunc dimisit illis Barabbam: <i>Iesum</i> autem flagellatum tradidit eis ut crucifigeretur.
27.27	panne kniztis of pe ius=tise token <i>iesu</i> in pe moot halle. and gadriden to hym alle pe cumpanye of knyztis/	Tunc milites præsidis suscipientes <i>Iesum</i> in prætorium, congregaverunt ad eum universam cohortem:
27.37	and setten aboue his heed his cause writen/ pis is <i>iesu</i> of nazareth: kyng of iewis/	Et imposuerunt super caput eius cau- sam ipsius scriptam: Hic est <i>Iesus</i> rex Judæorum.

Verse	in English	in Latin
27.54	And þe centurien <i>and</i> þei pat weren w ^t him kepinge <i>iesu</i> . whanne þei sizen þe erpe scha=kynges <i>and po</i> pingis pat weren doon. þei dreden greetli	Centurio autem, et qui cum eo erant, custodientes <i>Iesum</i> , viso terræmotu, et his quæ fiebant, timuerunt valde, dicentes: Vere Filius Dei erat iste.
27.55	And þer weren <i>pere</i> ma=nye wym- men afer; pat suden <i>iesu</i> fro galilee; <i>and</i> ministriden to him/	Erant autem ibi mulieres multæ a longe, quæ secutæ erant <i>Iesum</i> a Galilæa, mini- strantes ei:
28.5	But þe aungil answe=ride <i>and</i> seide to þe wymmen/ Nyle 3e drede/ For I woot pat 3e seken <i>iesu</i> pat was crucified/	Respondens autem angelus dixit mulie- ribus: Nolite timere vos: scio enim, quod <i>Iesum</i> , qui crucifixus est, quæritis.
28.10	þanne <i>iesu</i> seide to hem/ Nyle 3e dre- de/ Go 3e tel=le 3e to my briperen; pat þei go into galile. pere þei schu- len se me/	Tunc ait illis <i>Iesus</i> : Nolite timere: ite, nun- tiate fratribus meis ut eant in Galilæam; ibi me videbunt.

As shown in Table 1, in five of the Latin verses neither *Iesu* nor *Iesus* appears. In those verses the meaning is expressed by a 3SG verbal ending or a pronoun. In verses 1.18, 22.15, 22.35 the abbreviation *ihu* is represented by two forms of the masculine pronoun 'is' (eius, eum). In verse 11.20 the meaning is expressed by means of a verbal ending *cœpit* (3SG.PERF.IND.ACT.). Additionally, the nominative and accusative forms are used more frequently than the forms which match the syntactic function of the item in the English sentence.

The abbreviation *ihc* with as many as 116 occurrences, is more common than *ihu*. In the Gospel of Matthew there are only three occurrences of an unabbreviated form. This confirms the clear preference of the scribe to resort to abbreviations in the case of nomina sacra. However, unlike the *ihu* abbreviation, *ihc* appears only in the subject position. In order to investigate the difference between the instances of using the *ihc* and *ihu* abbreviations in the subject function, the relevant verses were compared with the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate. Table 2 shows only those verses in which the form in the manuscript does not correspond to the (overt) form in the Latin Vulgate.

Table 2. Comparison of the *Iesus* Verses in the Dresd.Od.83 Manuscript and the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate.

Verse	in English	in Latin
1.25	and he kneew hir not. til sche hadde born hir firste bigeten sone. and clepid his name <u>iesus</u>	Et non cognoscebat eam donec peperit filium suum primogenitum: et vocavit nomen eius <u>Iesum</u> .
8.1	whanne <u>iesus</u> was come doun fro pe hil; miche peple sue=de him	Cum autem descendisset Ø de monte, secutæ sunt eum turbæ multæ
8.28	and whanne <u>iesus</u> was come ouer pe watir into pe cun=tre of men of gerasa; two men metten him pat had=den deu-elis and camen out of gaues ful woode. so pat no man myzte go bi pat wei/	Et cum venisset Ø trans fretum in regionem Gerasenorum, occurrerunt ei duo habentes dæmonia, de monumētis exeuntes, sævi nimis, ita ut nemo posset transire per viam illam.
9.1	And <u>iesus</u> wente up into aboot; and passide ouer pe watir. and cam into his citee/	Et ascendens Ø in naviculam, transfretavit, et venit in civitatem suam.
9.18	Whilis pat <u>iesus</u> spak pese pingis to hem; lo aprince cam and worschipi=de him and seide/ lord my douz=tir is now deed; but come pou and putte pin hond on hir; and sche schal lyue/	Hæc illo loquente ad eos, ecce princeps unus accessit, et adorabat eum, dicens: Domine, filia mea modo defuncta est: sed veni, impone manum tuam super eam, et vivet.
9.27	And whanne <u>iesus</u> pas=side fro pens; two blynde men sueden him crynge and seiden/ pou sone of da=uiþ; haue merci on us	Et transeunte inde <u>Iesu</u> , secuti sunt eum duo cæci, clamantes, et dicentes: Miserere nostri, fili David.
13.24	Anopir parable <u>iesus</u> puttide forþ to hem; and seide/ pe kingdom of he=uenes is maad lijk to a man; pat sewe good seed in his feeld	Aliam parabolam proposuit illis, dicens: Simile factum est regnum cælorum homini, qui seminavit bonum semen in agro suo:
13.31	Anopir parable <u>iesus</u> put=tide forþ to hem; and seide; pe kingdom of heuenes is lijk to acorn of sene=uey; which aman took and sewe in his feeld/	Aliam parabolam proposuit Ø eis dicens: Simile est regnum cælorum grano sinapis, quod accipiens homo seminavit in agro suo:
13.33	Anothir parable <u>iesus</u> spak to hem/ pe kingdom of he=uenes is lijk to sourdouz/ which awomman took; and hidde in pre mesuris of mele; til it were al sowrid/	Aliam parabolam locutus est Ø eis: Simile est regnum cælorum fermento, quod acceptum mulier abscondit in farinæ satis tribus, donec fermentatum est totum.
14.14	and <u>iesus</u> zede out; and siȝ agreeet peple; and hadde reupe on hem; and heelide pe sike men of hem/	Et exiens Ø vidit turbam multam, et misertus est eis, et curavit languidos eorum.

The comparison shows that the abbreviation is used not only in those places where the corresponding Latin verses show the nominative form, but also in verses where the meaning was conveyed by means of a 3SG verbal ending (cf. verses 8.1, 8.28, 9.1, 13.33, 14.14), a pronominal subject (cf. verses 9.18, 13.24) or by means of a different form of the name – *Iesu* or *Iesum* (cf. verses 1.25, 9.27).

2.3.2. Other nomina sacra

Apart from the nomina sacra indicating the name of Jesus, the scribe chose to use other abbreviations that also expressed concepts important and sacred for Christians. There are three abbreviations of this type: *aplis*, *isrl*, *ierhu*. They represent the following words: *Apostlis*, *Israel* and *Ierusalem*.¹²

The abbreviation *aplis* appears only once within the Gospel of Matthew. It is also the only appearance of the word *Apostlis* in the Gospel of Matthew. The word appears in the genitive (cf. verse 10.2 “¶ And pese ben pe names of pe twelue *apostlis*; ...”). The scribe chose the abbreviation which ends with the letters <-is>, which correspond to Middle English plural. This form also correlates to the Latin dative and ablative plural forms. Additionally, the form of the abbreviation does not correspond to the form appearing in the Vulgate (see Table 3 below). As there is only one occurrence of this abbreviation in the Gospel of Matthew, it is difficult to determine if different declensional forms of this ‘nomen sacrum’ were used.

The abbreviation *isrl* appears three times in the Gospel of Matthew. The word *Israel* in its unabbreviated form appears seven times. This contrasts with the use of the abbreviations *ihu* and *ihc*, which appeared more frequently than the unabbreviated forms. A closer examination of the abbreviated and unabbreviated *isrl* cases reveals that there is no reason for not using the abbreviation as the abbreviated and unabbreviated forms appear in similar contexts. Another fact which distinguishes this abbreviation from the previously discussed nomina sacra is that only one form of the abbreviation is used within the manuscript, which also corresponds to the Latin nominative form.

The third abbreviation mentioned above, *ierhu*, appears twelve times. There is only one instance of the word *Ierusalem* appearing without abbreviation. In this respect, *ierhu* seems to follow the pattern of the abbreviations *ihc* and *ihu*. However, similarly to *isrl* and *aplis*, there is only one form of an abbreviation for *Ierusalem* used in the examined

¹² These words are written here according to the spelling used in the manuscript.

corpus. Interestingly, the form *ierhu* suggests that the word ends with the letter <u>. However, no declensional form of this word ends with this letter. This is due to the fact that the Latin words for ‘Jerusalem’ can be classified, according to Collins (1985, 140), into three categories of nouns: indeclinable – *Ierusalem*, first declension singular – *Hierosolyma*, *Hierosolymae* or second declension plural (neuter gender) – *Hierosolyma*, *Hierosolymorum*. Table 3 below shows the comparison of the *Israel*, *Ierusalem* and *Apostlis* verses in both the manuscript and the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate.

Table 3. Comparison of the ‘Israel, ‘Apostlis’ And ‘Ierusalem’ Verses in the Dresd. Od.83 Manuscript and the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate.

Verse	in English	in Latin
<i>Apostlis</i>		
10.2	2 ¶ And pese ben pe names of pe twelue <i>apostlis</i> ; pefirste Symount; pat is named Petir and An=drew his bropir/	Duodecim autem <i>Apostolorum</i> nomina sunt hæc. Primus, Simon, qui dicitur Petrus: et Andreas frater eius,
<i>Israel</i>		
10.23	and whanne pei pursue zou in pis citee; fle ze into anopir/ Truly I seie to zou/ ze schulen not eende pe citees of <i>israel</i> ; tofore pat mannes sone come/	Cum autem persequentur vos in civitate ista, fugite in aliam. Amen dico vobis, non consummabitis civitates <i>Israël</i> , donec veniat Filius hominis.
27.9	panne pat was ful=fillid/ pat was seid by pe <i>profete</i> ieremie seiinge/ And pei han taken pretti pens pe priis of aman preisid whom pei <i>pre</i> -isiden of pe children of <i>israel</i> ;	Tunc impletum est quod dictum est per Ieremiam prophetam, dicentem: Et acceperunt triginta argenteos pretium appretiati, quem appretiaverunt a filiis <i>Israël</i> :
27.42	seiden/ He made opere men saaf; he mai not make him silf saaf/ If he is kyng of <i>israel</i> ; come he now down fro pe cros. and we bilee=uen to him/	Alios salvos fecit, seipsum non potest salvum facere: si rex <i>Israël</i> est, descendat nunc de cruce, et credimus ei:
<i>Ierusalem</i>		
2.1	Therefore whanne <i>iesus</i> was born in bethleem of Iuda. in the daies of king Eroude; lo astromiens camen fro pe eest to <i>ierusalem</i> and seiden/	Cum ergo natus esset Iesus in Bethlehem Iuda in diebus Herodis regis, ecce magi ab oriente venerunt <i>Ierosolymam</i> ,
2.3	But king eroude her=de/ and was troublid; and al <i>ierusalem</i> wip him/	Audiens autem Herodes rex, turbatus est, et omnis <i>Ierosolyma</i> cum illo.

Verse	in English	in Latin
3.5	panne <i>ierusalem</i> wente out to him and al iudee. and al pe cuntre aboute iordan;	Tunc exibat ad eum <i>Ierosolyma</i> , et omnis Iudæa, et omnis regio circa Iordanem;
4.25	And pere sueden him myche peple/ of galilee. and of deca=poli. and of <i>ierusalem</i> . and of iudee. and of bizonde iordan/	et secutæ sunt eum turbæ multæ de Galilæa, et Decapoli, et de <i>Ierosolymis</i> , et de Iudæa, et de trans Iordanem.
5.35	Neipir bi peerpe; for it is pe stool of hise feet/ Neipir bi <i>ierusalem</i> ; for it is pe citee of agreet king/	neque per terram, quia scabellum est pedum eius: neque per <i>Ierosolymam</i> , quia civitas est magni regis:
15.1	Thanne pe scribis and pe farisees ca=men to him fro <i>ierusalem</i> ; and seiden/	Tunc accesserunt ad eum ab <i>Ierosolymis</i> scribæ et pharisæi, dicentes:
16.21	Fro pat tyme <i>iesus</i> bigan to schewe to his disciplis; pat it bihouede him go to <i>ierusalem</i> / and suf=fre manye pingis; of pe eldre men and of scribis and princis of prestos. and be slayn. and pe pridde day to rise aȝen/	Exinde cœpit Iesus ostendere discipulis suis, quia oporteret eum ire <i>Ierosolymam</i> , et multa pati a senioribus, et scribis, et principibus sacerdotum, et occidi, et tertia die resurgere.
20.17	¶ And ie=sus wente up to <i>ierusalem</i> ; and took hise twelue disciplis in priuete. and seide to hem	Et ascendens Iesus <i>Ierosolymam</i> , assump- sit duodecim discipulos secreto, et ait illis:
20.18	Lo we goon up to <i>ierusalem</i> ; and mannes sone schal be bitaken to pe princis of prees=tis and scribis. and pei schulen condempne him to deep/	Ecce ascendimus <i>Ierosolymam</i> , et Filius hominis tradetur principibus sacerdotum, et scribis, et condemnabunt eum morte,
21.1	AND whanne <i>iesus</i> cam nyȝ to <i>ieru- salem</i> . and to bethfage at pe mount of olyuete/ panne sente he hise two disciplis. and seide to hem/	Et cum appropinquassent <i>Ierosolymis</i> , et venissent Bethphage ad montem Oliveti: tunc Iesus misit duos discipulos,
21.10	¶ and whanne he was entrid into <i>ierusalem</i> ; al pe cite was stirid and seide/ who is pis?	Et cum intrasset <i>Ierosolymam</i> , commota est universa civitas, dicens: Quis est hic?
23.37	¶ Ierusalem ierusalem pat sleest profetis and stoonest hem pat ben sent to pee; how ofte w=olde I gade- re togidere pi children as an henne ga=derip togidere hir chike=nes. vndir hir wyngis. and pou woldist not/	Ierusalem, <i>Ierusalem</i> , quæ occidis prophetas, et lapidas eos, qui ad te missi sunt, quoties volui congregare filios tuos, quemadmodum gallina congregat pullos suos sub alas, et noluisti?

2.3.3. Conclusions

The data collected from the Gospel of Matthew (Mscr.Dresd.Od.83) shows the scribe's preference for *ihc* to express the syntactic subject and *ihu* to express other syntactic functions. However, the scribe was inconsistent when it comes to use of these two abbreviations, as *ihu* was used ten times also in nominative position. Moreover, a comparison of the relevant verses from the manuscript and the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate did not provide a clear reason for using an abbreviation different than *ihc* in those ten cases. Additionally, an analysis of the corresponding verses from the manuscript and the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate showed the tendency to use nomina sacra for Jesus even when in the Latin text a pronoun or a 3SG verbal ending is used to indicate the subject of a sentence. Similarly, the use of nomina sacra instead of a pronoun in the Middle English translation can be explained only by scribe's intention to emphasize the sacredness of the person the biblical passage refers to.

What is more, there seems to be a clear distinction between the abbreviations for Jesus and other nomina sacra. There are two forms of the abbreviation for Jesus and only single form for each of the three other nomina sacra. There is no clear reason for the distinction that can be found in the manuscript itself. However, it is possible that the different use of nomina sacra in those cases is connected to Latin scribal practices and the widespread use of the *ihc* and *ihu* abbreviations in comparison to other nomina sacra. Moreover, when it comes to the abbreviations *isrl*, *aplis*, *ierhu*, there is no clear reason why the scribe chose to use the nomen sacrum more frequently (*ierhu*) and in other cases leave the majority of the occurrences unabbreviated (*isrl*), especially because the Latin text does not provide any additional information in that matter.

Even though all abbreviations examined in this paper can be classified as nomina sacra, there is a noticeable difference between abbreviations for the divine name – Jesus and other sacred names. Apart from being used more frequently than other nomina sacra, the abbreviations for the name Jesus also retain two Latin declensional forms.

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